

**MAPIRANJE PROSTOROV MODERNISTIČNIH MEST V KONTEKSTU NAČEL
CIAM-OVE ATENSKE LISTINE**
MAPPING THE SPACES OF MODERNIST CITIES WITHIN THE CONTEXT
OF CIAM'S ATHENS CHARTER



Zbornik prispevkov mednarodne konference projekta
*Mapiranje urbanih prostorov slovenskih mest v
zgodovinskem okviru: Nova Gorica in njeni konteksti*

Proceedings of the international conference of the project
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Historical Perspective: Modernism in Nova Gorica and its
Contexts*

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1 NASTANEK IN UTEMELJITEV FUNKCIONALISTIČNEGA MESTA THE FOUNDATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A FUNCTIONAL CITY

... z dopolnitvijo vsega dobrega, kar nam je zapustila preteklost se šele vzbudi *genius loci*, v katerem se odraža duša ljudstva in kraja (Maks Fabiani, 1934).¹

Uvod

V prispevku skušam osvetliti povezavo med prostorom, v katerega se je naselilo novo mesto in mestom samim, opozoriti na nasprotja, ki so s tem nastala in na posledice, ki jih občutimo še danes. S te plati Nova Gorica še ni bila dovolj poglobljeno obravnavana, ker smo ob občudovanju mesta moderne prevečkrat šli neobčutiljivo mimo prostora, v katerem se nahaja.

Da bi lahko osvetlil konflikt med novim mestom, tujkom, in prostorom, v katerega je bilo umeščeno, se bom v prispevku sprehodil skozi nekatere značilne etape v sedemdesetletnem razvoju mesta, od njegovega umeščanja v prostor, njegove prvotne zasnove, prvega zagona in nato takojšnjega zatona ter naslednjih razvojnih stopenj. Skušal bom prikazati, kake sledove prvotne zasnove lahko še danes opazujemo v mestu ter v koliki meri in s čim bi bilo še vedno mogoče mesto in prostor, v katerem se nahaja, bolje povezati, tudi omiliti napake, ki so nastale v dosedanjem razvoju.

Pri pisanju prispevka, prav tako pri pripravi prezentacije na simpoziju, se bom v glavnem naslonil na gradiva in ugotovitve, ki sem jih zbral ob pisanju knjige *Projekt: Nova Gorica*, v kateri sem, seveda, to materijo obdelal obširneje in bolj poglobljeno.²

Prostor, v katerega je bilo vstavljeno novo mesto

Ta prostor še vedno obstaja, a popolnoma predrugačen – z drugačno funkcijo in drugačnim videzom. Večina vrednot prvotne krajine pa je za večno izgubljena.

Lokacijo mesta so določili v drugi polovici leta 1947, v revolucionarnem obdobju tako glede na politični sistem v takratni Jugoslaviji kot glede na vzore, ki so služili njegovi zasnovi, to je urbanizem Moderne in delo Le Corbusierja, takratnega Ravnikarjevega vzornika. Takrat ni bilo ne časa ne potrebe po podrobnejšem vrednotenju prostora, ugotavljanju njegovih

najizrazitejših značilnosti in njihovega vključevanja v nadaljnji razvoj. Možnih konfliktov, ki bi jih s tem povzročili, se pred sedemdesetimi leti niso zavedali.

Širši prostor bodočega mesta

Nova Gorica leži na ravnini, ki je omejena z železniško postajo in državno mejo na zahodu, s Kostanjevico in Panovcem, južno zeleno fasado mesta, Grčno, takrat redko pozidano nepomembno vzpetino na vzhodu, pobočjem Katarine (Kekca), drugo zeleno fasado mesta na severovzhodu, ter na severu s Solkanom, najstarejšim naseljem daleč naokoli.

Solkan, prvič omenjen v pisnih virih leta 1001, je pred izgradnjo Nove Gorice ta prostor v celoti obvladoval, večji del mu je tudi lastniško in upravno pripadal, predvsem Solkansko polje. Pred moderno upravno ureditvijo Avstro-Ogrske iz leta 1850 pa je Solkanu pripadal tudi južni del bodoče Nove Gorice – Blanče, vse do potoka Koren.³

Solkan je bil prostorsko orientiran predvsem proti jugu, proti Gorici, bil je neke vrste njeno predmestje, na stičišču poti, ki so vodile v Soško dolino ter na Banjško in Trnovsko planoto.

Edina pomembnejša prometnica proti vzhodu je bila makadamska cesta – Ošljek (danes Vojkova cesta), ki je z mrežo poljskih poti služil predvsem za dostop do Solkanskega polja, in se nadaljeval proti vzhodu do Kromberka in naprej proti Vipavski dolini. Svojo vlogo ohranja že dolga stoletja (v urbarjih iz 16. stoletja je omenjen kot »Oslackhi« ali »Osliach«),⁴ njegova trasa je narisana na vojaških kartah iz druge polovice 18. stoletja, na katastru iz leta 1822 in seveda na vseh novejših. V tem dolgem obdobju je postal in ostal »steza slonov«, ki je skupaj z mrežo poti in kolovozov predstavljal razpoznavni skelet Solkanskega polja. Po letu 1947, ko se je z mejo prometna orientiranost Solkana in celotnega prostora popolnoma porušila, pa je postal tudi edina prometnica proti vzhodu.

Solkan je pravzaprav rodil Novo Gorico, zrasla je na njegovih poljih, vanjo so se preselile vse njegove pomembnejše vsebine, celo svojemu imenu se je moral za nekaj časa odpovedati (od leta 1952, ko so ga kot naselje ukinili, do leta 1988, ko so si Solkanci svoje naselje in ime ponovno priborili), da je Nova Gorica bila videti večja in pomembnejša. Tudi mizarstvo, najpomembnejša gospodarska panoga Solkana, je z izgradnjo tovarne pohištva (Meblo) zamrla, mizarji so se večinoma preselili v tovarno, iz obrtnikov so postali industrijski delavci ob tekočem traku. Kljub

1 Jerneja BATIČ, Breda MIHELIČ, Jelka PIRKOVIČ, *Secesijska arhitektura v Sloveniji*, Ljubljana 1997.

2 Tomaž VUGA, *Projekt: Nova Gorica*, Ljubljana 2018.

3 Iz primerjave starih katastrov je mogoče razbrati, da je v katastru iz leta 1822 celotno območje do potoka Koren (ki je imel takrat zelo meandrasto strugo) spadalo v katastrsko občino Solkan, na katastrskih mapah iz leta 1852 pa je meja med Solkanom in Pristavo postavljena mnogo severneje: Solkan je izgubil Blanče, Grčno in večji del ravnine ob Soči. Zakaj je prišlo do te spremembe? Verjetno so z ustanovitvijo sodobnih občin leta 1850 skušali na novo določiti tudi njihova ozemlja; Solkanu sta pripadli tudi katastrski občini Kromberk in Loke, zato pa je moral odstopiti del svojega ozemlja na jugu katastrski občini Pristava (Pristau, kasneje Rafut), ki je spadala v občino Gorica.

4 Vojko PAVLIN, Solkan v goriških urbarjih 16. stoletja, *Jako stara vas na Goriškem je Solkan* (ur. Branko Marušič), Solkan 2001, str. 43.

temu Solkan ohranja svoj duh in značaj, zato zasluži posebno pozornost in prenovu, postati bi moral najzlahajnejši del mesta.

Ožji prostor bodočega mesta

Solkansko polje, severni del sedanjega teritorija mesta, je bilo z Ošljekom razdeljeno na dvoje, zgornje – Ščedne so še nepozidane in več ali manj take kot včasih, spodnje – Ledine (kot »Ladine« ga omenjajo že urbarji iz 16. stoletja)⁵ pa so danes osrednji del mesta. Južni del, Blanče,⁶ so na jugu segale do obronkov Kostanjevice in Panovca, na vzhodu so bile omejene z gričem Grčna, na zahodu pa z železniško postajo.

Povsod opazna značilnost tega prostora je bila njegova naravna orientiranost v smeri severovzhod – jugozahod. Prevladujoči severovzhodni vetrovi so v to smer potiskali vodo, ki je kopala jarke, potoke, med njimi so nastajala polja, steze, kolovozi in kasneje ceste. Te smeri, severovzhod – jugozahod, danes v zgrajenem delu mesta ni več čutiti, mesto je v prostor vneslo popolnoma novo orientacijo.

Druga značilnost je bila voda, ki se je izcejala iz zalednih pobočij. Potoki – jarki – grapirji, vsi so tekli v isto smer. Voda je imela svoje zakonitosti, svoj prostor, ljudje so jo spoštovali in z njo živeli. Te vode v mestu danes ni več, je skrita pod zemljo.

Polja so bila obdana s »štradoni« – ozarami, posajenimi s češnjevimi drevesi. Aprila, ko so češnje cvetele, so bile Ledine bele; bela češnjava drevesa so bila njihova tretja značilnost, opazna od daleč z okoliških hribov. Napori, da bi jih kot avtohtono drevo spet vrnil v mesto, so uspeli le deloma.

Solkansko polje je bilo prepredeno s potmi in kolovozi, s pravo prometno mrežo, ki je omogočala dostop do vsake njive. Navezovale so se na Ošljek, hrbtnico Solkanskega polja. Te mreže ni več, ostaja pa še vedno Ošljek, sedanja Vojkova cesta, čeprav so jo sodobni urbanisti, od prof. Ravnikarja naprej, skušali zradirati, a zaenkrat zaman.

Blanče so bile le redko poseljene, zaradi ilovnatega terena manj primerne za kmetijstvo, južni del pa precej zamočvirjen, ob deževju celo zalit z vodo, ki ni mogla dovolj hitro odtekat po zoženi strugi potoka Koren skozi Gorico.

Koren⁷ je bil pred začetkom gradnje Nove Gorice precej meandrast, sicer v zgodovini večkrat deloma reguliran potok hudourniškega značaja. Da so se ljudje že dolgo pred nastankom Nove Gorice borili z močvirjem, dokazuje tudi ime vzhodnega dela ravnine pod Panovcem, še danes

5 PAVLIN 2001 (op. 4), str. 53.

6 Bile so del katastrske občine Pristava (v starih katastrih Rafut, Prestau), ki je spadala v teritorij mesta Gorica. Ime izhaja iz italijanske besede »bianca« (bela) ali furlanske »blancje« ali »blanchič« (bel, belkast), od tod potem fonetično poslovenjeno ime Blanče.

7 Obširnejšo predstavitev zgodovine Korna si je mogoče ogledati v dokumentarnem filmu: Blaž KOSOVEL, *Goriški sprehodi: Zgodba potoka Koren*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8tDniY9Tu6M> (dostop 3. marec 2020).

poimenovano Palude (močvirje po italijansko), ki so ga začeli izsuševati že v 16. stoletju,⁸ a se je, predvsem po prvi svetovni vojni, ponovno zamočvirilo. Zato je bila prva naloga graditeljev mesta, že konec leta 1947, regulacija Korna, izravnali so ga v tehnični odvodni kanal, nenaravno zarezo v krajino ter melioracija zamočvirjenega terena, s čimer je nastala prva zazidljiva površina, skupaj z opuščnim pokopališčem jedro bodočega mesta.

Posegi v primarno krajinsko strukturo, pred izgradnjo mesta

Leta 1880 je bilo na vzhodnem koncu Blanč, pod Grčno zgrajeno novo goriško pokopališče z dostopno alejo.⁹ Smer aleje in orientacija pokopališča je bila slučajno sicer podobna prevladujoči krajinski orientaciji, ne pa z njo popolnoma skladna.

Mogočno, šest hektarjev veliko pokopališče je bilo porušeno v vojaških bojih leta 1916. Po prvi svetovni vojni so večino grobov prekopali in ostanke prenesli na novo goriško pokopališče, še uporaben gradbeni material z opuščnega pokopališča pa so pobrali okoliški prebivalci ob obnavljanju svojih porušeni hiš. Kljub temu pa so bili leta 1948, pred začetkom gradnje novega mesta, še vedno vidni ostanki pokopališča z delno ohranjenim ograjnim zidom, z nekaterimi še vedno pokončnimi velikimi nagrobniki, pod zemljo pa z zapuščenimi grobovi. Ostalo je tudi nekaj večjih dreves, eno od njih, tisa ob avtobusni postaji, je danes najstarejše drevo v Novi Gorici. Območje nekdanjega pokopališča je danes osrednji del mesta s Travnikom (Trgom Edvarda Kardelja), občinsko stavbo in trgovskim centrom.

Pokopališka ulica (Via Camposanto, Friedhofstrasse) je bila kilometer in pol dolga svečana aleja – kostanj drevored, povezava med Gorico in pokopališčem na Blančah. Po prvi svetovni vojni, ko ni bilo več pokopališča, je z nadaljevanjem proti Kromberku postala zasilna goriška vpadnica z vzhoda. Italijani so jo preimenovali v Ulico sv. Gabrijela (Via San Gabriele) kot se še danes imenuje del na italijanski strani, na naši pa je to Erjavčeva ulica, ena od pomembnejših ulic mesta.

Leta 1906 je bila dokončana Bohinjska železnica z veliko goriško postajo, ki je bila pred izgradnjo mesta dominanten prostorski element na tem območju. V prostor je bila umeščena izključno po tehničnih zahtevah, postajno poslopje je še danes, poleg občinske hiše, najmogočnejša stavba na območju Nove Gorice. V prostor je bila postavljena v smeri (skoraj) sever – jug, z odklonom približno 15 stopinj proti vzhodu, torej glede na krajino še bolj nenaravno kot pokopališče in pokopališka aleja.

Od vsega začetka je železnica bila težko prehodna ovira na poti s severa proti Gorici, le z dvema za današnje razmere neprimernima cestnima križanjema na severu in jugu, vse druge poti iz Gorice proti Solkanu pa so bile presekane. Presekane so bile tudi struge potokov in vodnih

8 Z imenom »Palludt«. PAVLIN 2001 (op. 4), str. 43.

9 O zgodovini pokopališča je bil pripravljen zanimiv dokumentarni film: Blaž KOSOVEL, *Goriški sprehodi: Goriško pokopališče*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n4F-x4q8FII> (dostop 3. marec 2020).

jarkov, ki so odvajali vodo od Katarine proti jugozahodu. Na robovih so ostali neuporabni trikotniki zemljišč.

Železnica je ostala najpomembnejša prostorska determinanta tudi v vseh naslednjih obdobjih, pogojevala je potek državne meje leta 1947, pogojevala je tudi umestitev Nove Gorice in njeno oblikovanje.

Zadnji večji poseg v prostor bodočega mesta je predstavljala po prvi svetovni vojni zgrajena opekarna - »frnaža« ob takratni Via San Gabriele (današnji Erjavčevi ulici), tik ob opuščnem pokopališču. Bila je dragocen proizvajalec gradbenega materiala za obnovo porušene Goriške, zato je predvsem prva leta delala s polno paro,¹⁰ po drugi svetovni vojni pa so jo zaprli, ostali pa so opuščeni proizvodni objekti in razkopana krajina z nesaniranimi glinokopi, ki so se ob deževju spreminjali v blatna jezercja. Eno je še vedno v sedanjem novogoriškem parku, druge pa so med gradnjo mesta zasuli.

Leta 1948 je »frnaža«, edina večja stavba na tem območju, postala center vsega, kar je potrebovalo nastajajoče mesto. Pritličje so preuredili v trgovino, pekarno, najnujnejše servise, nadstropja pa v spalnice delavcev in brigadirjev, ki so gradili mesto. Sanitarne, bivanjske in delovne razmere v »frnaži« so bile obupne, zato je mestna uprava že od začetka petdesetih let skušala zgraditi nove trgovine in servise, opekarno pa porušiti, a odločitev o »odpravi te novogoriške sramote« je le postopoma dozorevala. Podirali so jo postopoma, do sredine šestdesetih let. Rušili so takoj, ko so uspeli kak del objekta izprazniti, preden bi se vanj vselili novi stanovalci.¹¹ Med prvimi so porušili dimnik, takrat daleč najvišji objekt na celotnem območju mesta, o katerem so celo razmišljali, da bi ga ohranili kot spomenik začetku gradnje mesta. Kot spomin na čas pred Novo Gorico pa je ostala upravna stavba opekarne, prenovljena v sedež Krajevne skupnosti Nova Gorica. Danes je to najstarejša stavba v mestu, živi spomenik rojevanju mesta in »frnaži«, zasilnemu centru prvega desetletja mesta.

Umeščanje novega mesta v prostor

Proces odločanja o nadomestnem centru se je začel takoj po nesrečni odločitvi, da Goriška ostane brez svojega zgodovinskega središča in brez vseh, za normalno življenje nujnih dejavnosti – od bolnice, šol, trgovin, uprave.¹² Gotovo so najprej razmišljali o razvoju enega od obstoječih večjih naselij. Razmišljali so o Ajdovščini,¹³ ki se nahaja v središču Vipavske

10 Vili PRINČIČ, Nekoč je bila opekarna / C'era una volta il mattonificio, *Isonzo: giornale di frontiera / Soča: časopis na meji*, 20, 75–76, 2007/2008.

11 Po pogodbi z občino je bilo za rušenje zadolženo SGP Gorica, ki pa svojega dela kljub celi vrsti inšpekcijskih odločb ni mogel opraviti prav zaradi vseljevanja vedno novih in novih stanovalcev, kar je tudi svojstven dokaz vitalnosti takratnega mesta, ki je privlačilo nove prebivalce, a jim stanovanj (še) ni moglo ponuditi.

12 Podrobneje o tem: Branko MARUŠIČ, O Novi Gorici in okoliščinah njenega nastanka, *Mednarodna konferenca Mapiranje prostorov urbanističnih mest v kontekstu načel CIAM-ove Atenske listine* (ur. Helena Seražin in Manuela Dajnko), Ljubljana 2020, str. 12.

13 O tem je Igor Vrišer zapisal: »Nastala situacija je terjala naglo rešitev. Odločiti se je bilo treba ali za

doline in je bila dovolj odmaknjena od prihodnje meje, a je prevladala bolj smela in vizionarska odločitev, naj se novo središče zgradi čim bližje meji, nekje na izteku Soške in Vipavske doline, kamor se je zgodovinsko umestila Gorica. Razlogi za tako odločitev so bili tako politični, obdržati stik z Gorico, do katere takrat še nismo izgubili vsega upanja, kot zgodovinski in geografski, torej graditi na točki, ki je prometno najlažje dostopna iz Posočja, Vipavske doline, s Krasa ter Banjške in Trnovske planote.

Naslednje vprašanje je bilo ali ob meji razvijati eno od obstoječih naselij, ali pa zgraditi popolnoma novo središče, novo mesto – »novo Gorico«. Tudi pri tem je prevladala druga, bolj revolucionarna varianta, ki je nosila v sebi močan politični in propagandni naboj: svetu pokazati svojo moč in sposobnost za gradnjo »svetle prihodnosti«. Zgradili naj bi novo mesto, kot je kasneje poudarjal njegov načrtovalec prof. Ravnikar, mesto, ki »bo sijalo preko meje.«¹⁴

Tretje vprašanje načrtovalcev je bilo, kam umestiti to novo mesto, med Šempeter in Vrtojbo ali na Solkansko polje z Blančami. Konec septembra 1947, torej le nekaj dni po priključitvi (15. septembra) je bila sprejeta odločitev za drugo lokacijo.¹⁵

Za mesto na Solkanskem polju in Blančah je arhitekt Gvardjančič¹⁶ izdelal prvo urbanistično zasnovu¹⁷ že aprila leta 1947, po dokončni odločitvi o lokaciji so sredi septembra istega leta čez noč nastali še trije predlogi,¹⁸ drugi Gvardjančičev, Župančičev¹⁹ in Ravnikarjev²⁰ predlog, ki je bil končno izbran ter je bil izhodišče za vse nadaljnje načrtovanje.

premestitev središča Goriške v eno od že obstoječih mestec in trgov ali sezidati novo mesto; nekateri so bili celo mišljenja, da obstoječi centri kot Ajdovščina, Tolmin, Solkan in Vipava povsem zadoščajo. « Igor VRIŠER, Nastanek in razvoj Nove Gorice, *Geografski vestnik*, 31, 1959, str. 45.

14 Edvard RAVNIKAR, Nova Gorica po 35 letih, *AB arhitektov bilten*, 68/69, 1984, str. 43–46.

15 Odločitev je bila sprejeta po ogledu terena, ki se ga je udeležil minister Matija Maček s člani delovnega odbora za izgradnjo Nove Gorice, PANG, fond Začetki gradnje NG, Spomini B. Gvardjančiča v pismu Cirilu Zupancu.

16 Božidar Gvardjančič (1909–1972), rojen v Slapu pri Vipavi, Plečnikov študent, diplomiral leta 1938, med drugim avtor zazidalnega načrta za Savsko naselje v Ljubljani (1957) in načrta za Kino Šiška (zgrajen 1961), *Primorski slovenski biografski leksikon*, 6 snopič, 1. knjiga, Gorica 1979.

17 Hkrati s predlogom za novo mesto na Vrtojbenskem polju, ki je bila za Gvardjančiča primernejša kot na Blančah, saj naj bi ustrezala »vsem zahtevam moderne urbanistike« in je imela »... neprimerno ugodnejšo lego in lepe pogoje za specifičen razvoj kot metropola »sončne« Vipavske doline in Kraške planote«, Vinko TORKAR, *Racionalizacija urbane strukture Nove Gorice z arhitekturo mesta*, raziskava, 1987, str. 31.

18 Po naročilu takratnega slovenskega Ministrstva za gradnje dne 13. 9. 1947, PANG, fond Začetki gradnje NG, Spomini B. Gvardjančiča v pismu Cirilu Zupancu. Alenka Di Battista, Nova odkritja pri raziskovanju Ravnikarjeve Nove Gorice in Trenzevega Velenja, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n. v. 47, 2011.

19 Marko Župančič (1914–2007) Plečnikov diplomant, v letih 1939 in 1940 delal v ateljeju arhitekta Le Corbusiera, Bogo ZUPANČIČ, *Plečnikovi diplomanti v Le Corbusierovem ateljeju, Le Corbusier 1887-1965. Ob stodvajsetletnici arhitektovega rojstva*, Ljubljana 2007, str. 116–118.

20 Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993), Plečnikov učenec, diplomiral 1935, leta 1939 delal v ateljeju Le Courbusiera v Parizu. Po vojni najprej projektant v takratnem Ministrstvu za gradnje nato pa profesor na Fakulteti za arhitekturo (1946–1980) Povzeto iz: *Hommage à Edvard Ravnikar 1907–1993* (ur. France Ivanšek), Ljubljana 1995.

S stališča umeščanja v prostor sta najzanimivejša Gvardjančičeva in končno izbrani Ravnikarjev predlog.

Gvardjančičeva predloga

Spomladi leta 1947 je Gvardjančič bodoče mesto na Blančah videl predvsem kot podaljšek Gorice, ki bo sicer »začasno« ostala na drugi strani meje. Zato je center mesta organiziral okrog opuščene pokopališke aleje, danes Erjavčeve ulice, ki naj bi postala osrednja os novega mesta, na drugi strani povezana s centrom starega mesta. Z njo bi bila poravnana tudi ulična mreža v ostalih delih mesta.

S Solkanom se ni podrobneje ukvarjal, mestna vpadnica iz Soške doline bi tekla po osrednji solkanski ulici in se nadaljevala po zahodnem robu novega mesta.

Edina prostorska danost, na katero se je Gvardjančič oslonil pri oblikovanju te variante, je bila Erjavčeva ulica.

Jesensko varianto novega mesta na Blačah je Gvardjančič nekoliko prilagodil zahtevam ministra Mačka (po kritiki, da »oslanja Novo Gorico preveč na staro«) in mesto organiziral okrog vertikalne osi, osrednje mestne aleje – magistrale, ki se je proti severu iztekala v Solkan in naprej proti Soški dolini, proti jugu pa z dvema predoroma proti Vrtojbi in Krasu. Opustil je Erjavčevo in namesto nje predvidel pravokotnico na osrednjo alejo, vso ostalo ulično mrežo pa postavil v smeri severovzhod – jugozahod, zavestno ali le slučajno skladno s prevladujočo krajinsko smerjo. S to orientacijo bi bile ulice bliže naravnim smerem v prostoru, prekrivale bi se z naravno smerjo vode, stare poti po Solkanskem polju bi se lahko organsko vklopile v novo cestno mrežo in omogočale postopno zraščanje starega z novim, mesto bi se laže »vrstlo« v naravno okolje. Neusmiljen pa je bil do Solkana, z novimi trasami železnice in magistralne ceste ga je razrezal na koščke, izgubila se je tudi sedanja Vojkova cesta.

Župančičev predlog

Tudi ta je nastal »v treh dneh«, konec septembra 1947, a je bil zaradi neupoštevanja smernic takratnega ministra za gradnje Matije Mačka ocenjen za neprimerne. O njem še najmanj vemo. Obstaja predlog, ki je bil predstavljen ministru,²¹ po katerem naj bi bilo novo mesto v obliki prisekanega trikotnika, s poudarjeno magistralo (to je bila ena od zahtev ministra, ki so jo upoštevali vsi rije natečajniki) in diagonalnim uličnim sistemom, potisnjeno na rob takratnega Solkana in železniške postaje na zahodu. Obstaja pa tudi pa tudi širša skica,²² iz katere je šele mogoče razumeti Župančičevo zamisel, ki pa je bila popolnoma v nasprotju s političnimi

21 Alenka Di Battista, Nova odkritja pri raziskovanju Ravnikarjeve Nove Gorice in Trenzevega Velenja, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n. v. 47, 2011, str. 324.

22 Bogo Zupančič, *Plečnikovi študenti in drugi jugoslovanski arhitekti v Le Corbusierovem ateljeju*, 2018, MAO in KUD Polis, str. 11.

zahtevami, da naj se mesto postavi petsto metrov od državne meje in naj se zaradi umikanja od meje (ob kateri naj bi nastal »brisani prostor«), prestavi tudi železniška proga. Zupančič ni ničesar od tega upošteval, iz druge skice je celo jasno razvidna njegova nasprotna težnja, o oblikovanju enotnega urbanega prostora, shematsko prikazanega v obliki kvadrata, v katerem bodoče novo mesto zaseda skrajni vzhodni vogal, Šempeter južni vogal, večji, zahodni del kvadrata pa Gorice. Na skici ni državne meje! Seveda je bilo tako razmišljanje v tistih časih lahko le osebna možganska telovadba, gledano s stališča današnjega razvoja in teženj pa je še kako zanimivo, saj – simbolno – prikazuje cilj Evropskega združenja za teritorialni razvoj GO o somestju treh mest: Nove Gorice, Šempetra in Gorice.

Ravnikarjev predlog

Ravnikar je za razliko od konkurentov mesto postavil na čistino in ga organiziral neodvisno od Solkana in Gorice. Od obstoječih prostorskih danosti je za primarno orientacijo mesta upošteval železnico oziroma postajo, največji in za vse nadaljnje urejanje usodni tujek v takratnem prostoru, ter ji podredil smer Magistrale in drugih njej vzporednih ulic.

V končni varianti, urbanističnem načrtu mesta iz leta 1948 (dokončanega in oddanega naročniku šele leta 1949) pa je v mestno strukturo vnesel še eno pomembno prvino, staro pokopališko alejo, sedanjo Erjavčevo ulico in z njo nakazal možnost povezave novega mesta z Gorico, preko takrat nepredušno zaprte meje.

S Solkanom se v svojih predlogih ni ukvarjal, saj struktura novega mesta ni segala do njega. Skozi staro jedro naselja je tudi on potegnil novo obvoznico in prestavljeno železniško progo, ki bi, če bi bili takrat izvedeni, uničili še tisto, kar je od Solkana ostalo po prvi svetovni vojni.

Mestni teritorij

Posledica take urbanistične zasnove mesta je tudi njegov teritorij. Kot naselje je Nova Gorica najprej obsegala le območje na Blančah in spodnjem delu Solkanskega polja, leta 1952 pa so ji priključili še naselje Solkan, s čimer sta se velikost mesta in število prebivalcev hipoma povečala. Nadaljnega teritorialnega širjenja mesto ni uspelo realizirati, čeprav so še v šestdesetih letih obstajale politične težnje, da bi v mesto vključili vsa okoliška naselja, celo Šempeter. Še Solkan se je leta 1988 kot naselje ponovno osamosvojil, od takrat je mestno območje Nove Gorice nespremenjeno, (pre)majhno po velikosti in po številu prebivalcev. Zaradi tega nas »tepe« tudi statistika, ki vse podatke obravnava po naseljih ne pa po urbanih območjih, kar bi o Novi Gorici ustvarjalo popolnoma drugačno sliko.

Zaključek

Pri umeščanju Nove Gorice v prostor so vsi avtorji, hote ali nehote, spregledali *genius loci*, tako kot ga je davno pred tem opredelil Maks Fabiani. Prof. Ravnikar je sicer razmišljal širše, o mediteranskem okolju (provansalskem vzdušju, Aix en Provence), ne pa o Solkanskem polju in

Solkanu, o krajinskih značilnostih, ki mogoče niso bile vidne od daleč, saj na tem območju ni bilo velikih rek, a vendar ga je napajala množica potokov; ni bilo pomembnih cest, a je prostor kljub temu imel svoj logični skelet.

Kratek sprehod skozi razvoj mesta od leta 1947 do danes

Dosedanje vraščanje mesta v prostor bom skušal prikazati s sprehodom skozi njegov sedemdesetletni razvoj, od zamiranja prvotne ideje, do zagona na lastnih silah in energiji, ponovnega umirjanja zaradi neugodnih zunanjih pogojev ter stagnacije zadnjih let.

Začetni zagon pri gradnji mesta, prva petletka do leta 1951

Najbolj jasno sliko o viziji novega mesta, še preden mu je bila dokončno določena lokacija, podaja *Investicijski plan Slovenskega primorja za obdobje 1947–1951*,²³ ki ga je slovenska planska komisija poslala zvezni planski komisiji v Beograd le štirinajst dni po priključitvi Slovenskega Primorja Jugoslaviji. Glede na njegovo podrobnost in celovitost je gotovo nastajal že mnogo prej, verjetno takoj po tem, ko je bilo jasno, da bo Primorska izgubila Gorico.

Dokument podrobno obravnava predvsem izgradnjo Nove Gorice, izredno zanimivo sliko o idealnem projektu novega mesta, ki se na žalost ni nikoli uresničil. Imelo naj bi vse, kar je Goriška potrebovala oziroma kar je z mejo izgubila. Za njegovo izgradnjo naj bi bilo predvideno več kot dve milijardi takratnih dinarjev, zagotovljenih iz zveznih in republiških virov, v petih letih (do konca leta 1951!) pa naj bi bilo zgrajeno mesto s 2,500 stanovanji (za 10,000 novih prebivalcev), potrebna ekonomska baza mesta z vrsto novih ali posodobljenih industrijskih obratov (tovarna povišstva, industrija gradbenega materiala, tiskarna, tekstilna tovarna, velika vinska klet, ...), upravni in politični center regije (okraj, sodišče, pošta, carinarnica, banka, Zavod za socialno zavarovanje, ...), kulturni in zdravstveni center (gimnazija, učiteljski dom, prosvetni dom, bolnišnica, ...). Zgrajena naj bi bila vsa potrebna infrastruktura in komunalna oprema, med njimi najpomembnejša nova urbanistična hrbtenica – magistrala od Šempetra do Solkana z dvema predoroma.

Kot rojstni dan Nove Gorice se šteje 13. junij 1948, dan (bila je nedelja), ko so postavili temeljni kamen za prvega od stanovanjskih blokov ob Magistrali.²⁴ Po takratnih poročilih je to bil velik dogodek, poln evforične simbolike in političnega naboja, med drugimi tudi v eni od parol »Nova Gorica mora postati najzapadnejši svetilnik naše države, ki bo naše delovno ljudstvo opozarjal na nevarnosti reakcionarnega zapada,«²⁵ z izrazitim poudarkom na obrambi pred »zapadom«, in ki hkrati spominja na kasnejši pogosto navedeni rek: »Zgradili naj bi nekaj velikega, lepega

23 Pripravila ga je Planska komisija LR Slovenije 27. septembra 1947, njen predsednik je bil Sergej Kraigher. Vladi FLRJ, Zvezni planski komisiji, je bil poslan 29. septembra 1947. Gradivo iz Arhiva Jugoslavije mi je prijazno odstopil zgodovinar Jure Ramšak.

24 Takrat je to bil 13. blok, danes ima hišno številko Kidričeva 33.

25 Dragica UKMAR, Začetki gradnje Nove Gorice, *Kronika*, 41, 2, 1993, str. 31.

in ponosnega, nekaj, kar bi sijalo prek meje.«²⁶

Ob vse političnem in obče človeškem navdušenju, tudi žrtvah vseh, ki so pri gradnji sodelovali, je bil ob koncu petletke prvotni program realiziran le v manjši meri. Nova Gorica je postala žrtev spora Jugoslavije s Sovjetsko zvezo leta 1948, ki mu je sledila prva jugoslovanska gospodarska kriza, zaradi katere so usahnili vsi predvideni zvezni finančni viri za gradnjo; spremenila pa se je tudi jugoslovanska politično strateška usmeritev, naenkrat smo dobili sovražnika na vzhodu, zaradi česar je razkazovanje sposobnosti socializma čez zahodno mejo postalo manj pomembno.

Po prvi petletki bi bil pogled iz letala na mesto, kilavega nedonošenčka, vse prej kot razveseljiv: videli bi le široko, prašno, en kilometer dolgo Magistralo, brez začetka in brez konca, deset (nedokončanih) stanovanjskih blokov na južnem koncu (poleg šestih ob Magistrali še štirje ob Trubarjevi in Rutarjevi s skupaj 240 stanovanji) ter sredi blatnih travnikov mogočno stavbo ObLO (Občinski ljudski odbor), sedaj mestno hišo. Južno od blokov bi videli tehnično urejeno strugo Korna, severno in zahodno od Magistrale pa še vedno skrbno obdelane njive Solkanskega polja. Kar je bilo zgrajeno, je bilo z obstoječo krajino popolnoma nepovezano in z njo neskladno. Predrt je sicer bil predor pod Panovcem (prebili so ga za 29. novembra 1949, betonski svod pa dokončali 22. julija 1951), na otvoritev cestne povezave proti Šempetru pa je bilo treba čakati do leta 1956.

Obratovala pa je že nova tovarna povišstva v Kromberku, razširjeni in posodobljeni so bili nekateri industrijski obrat.

V prvih letih gradnje Nove Gorice se je izkazalo, da je bila njena usoda preveč odvisna od zvezne in republiške politike, ki se je prvotno visoko postavljenim ciljem hitro odpovedala ter skrb za nadaljnji razvoj mesta preložila na lokalne faktorje, najprej na Goriški okraj kasneje pa celo samo na Novogoriško občino. Pri tem prehajanju so na žalost odslovili tudi avtorja urbanističnega načrta, prof. Ravnikarja, ki bi, če sledimo njegovim mislim iz tega časa, gotovo vodil izgradnjo mesta bolj skladno, ne glede na spremenjene ekonomske in politične razmere.

Petdeseta leta

Petdeseta leta je zaznamovalo spoznanje, da je rast mesta odvisna le od lastnih sil in možnosti.

Najprej je bilo treba nadomestiti zasilni mestni center – »frnažo«, takratno sramoto mesta, zaradi česar so ob Delpinovi leta 1957 začeli graditi tako imenovane komunalne bloke, skromne enonadstropne objekte. Najpomembnejši je bil seveda prvi, vanj so naselili novo, nujno potrebno pekarno in prvi sodobni mestni gostinski lokal, slaščičarno, ki je postala zbirališče vseh – od mladih do starih.

Leta 1951 so začeli ob Delpinovi ulici graditi osrednji mestni gostinski objekt s kavarno,

26 RAVNIKAR 1983 (op. 14), str. 43–46.

restavracijo in hotelom. Končan je bil šele leta 1959, z njim je Delpinova dejansko postala mestni center. Dodatno je k temu pripomogla tudi »začasna« tržnica (ki je še vedno utesnjena med stanovanjske bloke).

Sredi petdesetih let so ob Magistrali zrastle štiri nove, po dimenzijah precej skromni objekti, ki so po svoje tudi odražali doseg takratnih ambicij mesta. Za Pošto, DOZ (Državni zavarovalni zavod) in SDK (Služba družbenega knjigovodstva) so zbrali nekoliko manj izpostavljeno lokacijo na južnem koncu, četrti, enako neugleden objekt Uprave Gozdnega gospodarstva (danes »Kremelj«), pa je bil postavljen severno od občinske stavbe. Že takrat je prevladovalo mnenje, da so za pozicijo ob Magistrali preskromni, to velja še danes.

Za šport in rekreacijo je bilo (glede na drugo družbeno infrastrukturo) kar zgledno urejeno. Stadion ob Erjavčevi je bil zasnovan že v času mladinskih delovnih brigad, konec petdesetih let so ga razširili in ga tudi nekoliko drugače orientirali, tak je še danes. Mestni bazen pa je bil zgrajen leta 1953 kot protipožarni vodni rezervoar tovarne pohišva. Vse do zaprtja (zaradi sanitarnih razlogov) leta 1977 je bil poletni osrednji rekreacijski objekt mesta.

V začetku petdesetih let se je zgodila usodna sprememba Ravnikarjevega koncepta zelenja, ki je bolj drastično kot grajene strukture posegla v idejo o mediteranskem mestu. Namesto dreves s košatimi krošnjami in obuličnih drevoredov, pod katerimi bi se tako kot v mestu Aix-en-Provence sprehajali, kupovali in sedeli, so uvedli novo doktrino večno zelenega mesta, večinoma s tujerodnimi zimzelenimi drevesi piramidaste oblike,²⁷ ki si jih lahko gledal le od zunaj. Drevje so svobodno razmetali po zelenicah, tudi namesto načrtovanega drevoreda platan ob Magistrali. Posekali so celo kostonje ob Erjavčevem drevoredu (tako se je takrat imenovala ulica) in jih nadomestili s svobodno parkovno zasaditvijo, tudi tu predvsem z zimzelenimi drevesi.

Mesto se je v petdesetih letih širilo le na jugu, med Erjavčevo ulico in Kornom, kjer so gradili (v nasprotju s prvotnim urbanističnim načrtom, a v skladu s takratnimi možnostmi in potrebami), manjše vile-bloke in celo individualne hiše skoraj že v centru mesta. Podobna zazidava je nastajala tudi pod Grčno in na samem griču Grčna.

V drugi polovici petdesetih let je lokalna politika spoznala, da ne bo mogoče voditi nadaljnjega razvoja mesta brez ustrezne urbanistične dokumentacije. Že leta 1954 se je z Novo Gorico spet začel ukvarjati Božidar Gvardjančič, naslednjih deset let pa je za urbanizem mesta skrbel Projektivni atelje Ljubljana. Nastali so trije za tiste čase kompleksni in pomembni dokumenti: leta 1957 *Urbanistični program za Novo Gorico*,²⁸ prvi resen urbanistični dokument po Ravnikarjevem urbanističnem načrtu, bil je predvsem natančen prikaz takratnih razmer in

27 Najpogostejše drevo je še danes cedra. Povzeto po: Jernej REDNAK, *Urbano drevje in grmovje na javnih površinah Nove Gorice*, diplomsko delo, Univerza v Ljubljani, 2008.

28 Njegovo pripravo je vodil geograf Igor Vrišer (1930–2013), do leta 1958 zaposlen v Projektivnem ateljeju Ljubljana, nato na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani, član SAZU, ukvarjal se je s socialno, urbano in gospodarsko geografijo. Andrej KRANJČ, Igor Vrišer, *Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti. Člani*, <http://www.sazu.si/clani/igor-vriser> (dostop 5. marec 2020).

problemov, s katerimi se je srečevalo neobogljeno mesto; leto kasneje je nastal *Urbanistični načrt Nove Gorice*,²⁹ ki je predvsem povzemal takrat skromne trende in dodajal le najnujnejše spremembe: približevanje mesta državni meji na zahodu ter omejitev širitve preko Vojkove ceste, ki jo je opredelil kot mestno obvoznico. Magistralo je ohranil s prvotno centralno funkcijo, a v skromnejši dolžini, tako kot je bila takrat zgrajena. Strmecki je leta 1959 zaokrožil urbanistično dokumentacijo še z zazidalnim načrtom za centralni del mesta, pri čemer je v osnovi ohranil Ravnikarjevo zazidavo s samostojnimi objekti na zelenih površinah, a je skladno s takratnimi pričakovanji gostejšo blokovno zazidavo omejil le na strogi center, ob sedanji Ulici Gradnikove brigade pa že predvidel atrijske hiše. Nobeden od teh urbanističnih dokumentov pa ni bil uradno sprejet.

Tudi konec petdesetih let pa se mesto še ni vpravilo v okolico, še vedno je bilo tujek. Magistrala se je provizorično stekala v Vojkovo cesto tako, kot so jo zapustili brigadirji, to je bila tudi edina prometna navezava mesta na regionalno prometno omrežje. Koruza je še vedno rastla tik ob Magistrali, za mestno hišo so še vedno bili ostanki zapuščenega glinokopa z neurejenimi bajerji, polnimi žab. Edino stik z mestom onkraj meje je postal nekoliko bolj neposreden, na železniško postajo je bilo mogoče po letu 1955 ponovno priti po Kolodvorski ulici. A mejni prehod na Erjavčevi ulici, najbližja povezava med obema mestoma, je bil še vedno le želja meščanov.

Šestdeseta leta

Šestdeseta leta so pomenila velik premik h kvalitetnejšemu življenju v mestu in k njegovemu bolj urbanemu izgledu. Zavladal je nov duh, ki ga je v občino prinesel Joško Štrukelj,³⁰ spomladi 1963 izvoljen predsednik takratne Skupščine občine Nova Gorica. Njegova najpomembnejša zasluga je gotovo bila kadrovska osvežitev, ne le občinske strukture ampak tudi gospodarskih organizacij v občini, z mladimi perspektivnimi kadri ter po tej plati osamosvojitve od Ljubljane, tudi na področju načrtovanja prihodnjega razvoja.

Pogoj za hitrejši razvoj pa so bile tudi ali predvsem boljše ekonomske razmere. Gospodarske organizacije Goriške so se hitro razvijale, deloma po zaslugi mladih ambicioznih kadrov, deloma pa tudi pod vplivom zahodnoevropskih (kapitalističnih) naprednejših idej, ki smo jih ob »najbolj odprti meji v Evropi«³¹ laže spoznavali in posnemali kot drugje v Jugoslaviji. Odprta meja, in vse večji pretok ljudi in blaga pa sta seveda tudi neposredno vplivala na hitrejši razvoj mesta. Pomemben razvojni izziv je bila prometna lega Nove Gorice na začetku Vipavske doline,

29 *Osnutek urbanističnega načrta za Novo Gorico* avtorjev Vilijema Strmeckega (1914–1990) in Božidarja Gvardjančiča z označenim časom nastanka februar 1958 hrani Pokrajinski arhiv Nova Gorica kot II. del *Urbanističnega programa za Novo Gorico*.

30 Slovenski politik in gospodarstvenik, rojen v Solkanu (1928–2009).

31 To »novinarsko« oznako je dobila meja med Jugoslavijo in Italijo po nastopu goriškega župana Micheleja Martine na 8. srečanju evropskih občin v Berlinu, 9. junija 1967, na katerem je predstavil projekt skupnega mesta »Gorica – Nova Gorica«.

na trasi vseh zgodovinskih poti iz srednje Evrope proti Padski nižini, a kljub prizadevanjem nismo imeli nedvoumne podpore pri republiških organih, ki so v končni fazi odločali o izgradnji avtocestnega omrežja v Sloveniji.³²

V začetku šestdesetih let so zgradili novi zdravstveni dom, gimnazijo in osnovno šolo ob današnji Rejčevi ulici. Tudi Magistrala je dobila nekaj vsebine in bolj mestni izgled: zgrajen je bil prvi večji blok s trgovinami v pritličju – t. i. čebeljak (ta vzdevek je dobil zaradi šesterokotnih balkonov na prednji fasadi) in nebotičnik, tipičen odraz takratnega sicer primitivnega, a vendar zdravega hotenja po »več, više, hitreje«, novo sodišče, urejena je bila nova avtobusna postaja. Na južnem koncu sta bila zgrajena dva stanovanjska bloka, točno po zazidalnem načrtu Viljema Strmeckega, brez obulične vsebine.

Sredi šestdesetih let so dozoreli pogoji za posodobitev trgovske ponudbe v mestu, ne le za domače kupce ampak (ali celo predvsem) za vse številnejše kupce z druge strani meje. Nastal je novi trgovski center s peš ulico, prvo v Sloveniji, ki se je postopoma dograjeval do konca desetletja (zadnji večji objekt je bil Salon Meblo). Ta projekt iz leta 1966³³ pomeni prelomnico z dotodanjimi idejami o urbanistični zasnovi Nove Gorice, hkrati pa poseg, za katerega še danes nekateri trdijo, da je bil »milostni udarec« Ravnikarjevemu načrtu, saj je trgovski center postal težišče mestnega življenja, ki naj bi bilo na Magistrali.

K hitrejši rasti Nove Gorice je bistveno pripomogla tudi leta 1965 sprejeta jugoslovanska stanovanjska reforma, ki je z uvedbo gradnje stanovanj za trg bistveno spremenila dotodanja razmerja na tem, socialno, pa tudi gospodarsko in politično, izredno občutljivem sektorju družbenega razvoja.³⁴ S tem je tudi v Novi Gorici nastala potreba po oblikovanju večjega organiziranega stanovanjskega kompleksa, ki naj bi po predvidevanjih leta 1965 zagotavljal izgradnjo 1.000 stanovanj v naslednjih desetih letih. Nastal je prvi zazidalni načrt za Ledine,³⁵ sprejet v začetku leta 1966, ki pa je služil le za razčiščevanje idej, kaj Nova Gorica sploh rabi in kaj smo sposobni graditi. Zaradi možnosti prilagajanja tako potrebam kot tehnološkim izboljšavam je bilo odločeno, da se območje, kasneje poimenovano Cankarjevo naselje, razdeli na sedem karejev, za katere so se na podlagi grobo določenega »coninga« postopoma izdelovali zazidalni načrti in vsa potrebna izvedbena dokumentacija. V letih 1969–1983 je bilo na 25 hektarjev velikem območju zgrajenih okrog 2.500 stanovanj, v naslednjih letih (do leta 2001) pa je bil dograjen še kare 8 s 420 stanovanji.

32 Sprejetje zakona o avtocestni povezavi Šentilj – Nova Gorica je bilo predvsem zaslug Joška Štruklja, takrat člana Izvršnega sveta Socialistične Republike Slovenije, aktivnosti na občinskem nivoju pa je vodil Rudi Šimac.

33 Projektant Marjan Vrtovec. Zazidalni načrt je bil sprejet konec 1966 kot 4-delni zazidalni načrt *Trgovski center Nove Gorice*.

34 Partnerji v tem procesu so bile občine, ki so načrtovale potrebe in zagotavljale pogoje za gradnjo (urbanistično dokumentacijo, zemljišča, komunalno opremo), delovne organizacije, ki so združevale sredstva, gredbeno podjetje, ki je sprejelo funkcijo "developerja" ter banke, ki so zagotavljale enakomeren pretok finančnih sredstev.

35 Projektant Tomaž Vuga, avtor tudi vseh naslednjih sedem zazidalnih načrtov v Cankarjevem naselju.

Leta 1968 smo obeleževali dvajsetletnico začetka gradnje mesta in (takrat pomembnejšo) petindvajsetletnico vseljenske vstaje na Primorskem, ki naj bi jo obeležili z veličastno proslavo v središču mesta, na takrat zamočvirjenem travniku pred mestno hišo, na Trgu revolucije (tako se je takrat imenoval današnji Trg Edvarda Kardelja – Travnik). Namesto predvidenega asfaltiranja smo župana prepričali, da bo zadostovala le kvalitetna drenaža, tako da je travnik ostal in je tudi danes zeleno jedro mesta.

Tega leta je tudi bil organiziran anketni natečaj o možnostih nadaljnega razvoja mestnega centra. Med povabljeni je seveda bil tudi prof. Ravnikar, njegov predlog je bil od vseh najbolj realen, upošteval je takratno stanje v mestu ter realne možnosti nadaljnega razvoja. Magistralo je ohranil le v takrat zgrajeni dolžini, a jo ponovno opremil v »provansalskem slogu« z dvojnimi drevoredi, sam osrednji del mesta pa zasnoval v stilu takrat že deloma zgrajenega trgovskega centra in v njegovih dimenzijah raztegnil pozidavo tudi čez travnik pred občino, ki je kot trg v tem predlogu izginil, nadomestili so ga drobnejši ambientni v človekovem merilu. Nova Gorica je takrat dobila tudi že nujno potrebne zunanje znake: občinski grb in zastavo.

Z novimi pogledi na razvoj Nove Gorice in z mladimi strokovnjaki za hortikulturo na takratni Komunali Nova Gorica³⁶ je v drugi polovici šestdesetih let zelenje ponovno postalo predvsem funkcionalni del mestnega prostora, opuščena je bila ideja o mestu v botaničnem vrtu. Drevoredi ob ulicah so postali pravilo, prvi je bil drevored z mandeljni ob Gregorčičevi ulici, zasajen leta 1969, sledil je drevored japonskih češenj ob Lavričevi ulici, drevored murv v trgovskem centru ter danes najmogočnejši drevored tulipanovcev ob Cankarjevi ulici. Od takrat so vse nove ulice v Novi Gorici opremljene z drevoredi.

V šestdesetih letih je mesto tudi prvič preskočilo Vojkovo cesto. Severno od nje sta bila zgrajena dva servisna objekta, najprej avtoservis leta 1962, leta 1968 pa še gasilski dom, oba sta postavljena vzporedno z Vojkovo cesto, torej v nasprotju z Ravnikarjevo zasnovi, pač pa po logiki prostora, v katerega sta bila umeščena.

Sedemdeseta leta

Zagon druge polovice šestdesetih se je v sedemdesetih letih le še bolj strmo nadaljeval. Zaznamovale so ga nova bolnica (sicer v Šempetru), obsežen program gradnje vrtcev in osnovnih šol v mestu in občini, nov dom upokojencev, postopoma se je dograjeval severni del trgovskega centra, najprej z objektom takratne Elektrotehne, nato še z objektom SDK kot severnim zaključkom centra in kulturnim domom, v začetku načrtovanem za kinodvorano (odprt leta 1980), z javnim programom se je dopolnjevala sedanja Rejčeva ulica. Konec desetletja je bil dograjen center UJV (Uprava javne varnosti), v gradnji je bila novogoriška cerkev, oba že preko Vojkove ceste, po takrat sprejetem zazidalnem načrtu za Ščedne,³⁷ ki pa je ostal le deloma

36 V obdobju 1964–69 Janez Marušič (kasneje profesor na Katedri za krajinsko planiranje Biotehniške fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani), pred njim pa Jožica Golob Klančič.

37 Avtor Emil Bratina, Projekt Nova Gorica.

izveden.

V sredini sedemdesetih let pa je Magistrala končno dobila nekaj pomembnih objektov. Zgrajena je bila nova stavba banke (današnji NKBM) ter Argonavti, gostinsko-hotelski kompleks, od katerega smo v Novi Gorici pričakovali, da bo prevesil težišče mestnega življenja z Delpinove ulice na Magistralo. Kar pa se kljub izjemno bogatemu programu (pivnica, restavracije, slaščičarna, bowling, bazen, hotel ...) ni zgodilo, ker je bil za takratne razmere še vedno preveč odmaknjen od mestnega centra. K (pre)hitremu propadu pa je seveda pripomogla tudi njegova slaba funkcionalnost in izvedba objekta, zaradi česar je kmalu postal neprijazen za obiskovalce in nemogoč za vzdrževanje.

Nadaljevala se je gradnja stanovanj v Cankarjevem naselju, ki je dosegla kulminacijo v obdobju 1972–1976. Takrat smo v štirih letih zgradili skoraj 1,000 stanovanj, v povprečju 250 na leto. Z gradnjo stanovanj smo se (s karejem 6) približali mestnemu centru. Danes je Cankarjevo naselje več ali manj tako kot takrat, le da se je zelenje (pre)bogato razrastlo in k sreči skriva dotrajanost celotnega parterja, ki je potreben celovite prenove, ne le v fizičnem ampak tudi v vsebinskem smislu.

Leta 1971 je bil sprejet *Odlok o urbanističnem programu občine Nova Gorica*,³⁸ ki je tudi mestu določil popolnoma nove parametre razvoja. Teritorij mesta se je razširil proti jugu do konca Vrtojbe, proti vzhodu pa do Lijaka, na tem območju naj bi leta 2000 živelo 45,000 ljudi, skoraj dva in pol krat več kot leta 1971. Pet let kasneje je bil sprejet še *Odlok o urbanističnem načrtu mesta Nova Gorica – cestno omrežje*,³⁹ ki se je v naslednjih tridesetih letih skoraj v celoti realiziral. Sredi sedemdesetih let so šla razmišljanja o »regionalnem« razvoju mesta še naprej, urbani teritorij naj bi se razširil še na naselja Bilje, Bukovica in Volčja draga, tako da bi nastalo »mesto v krogu«, z ogrlico naselij z različnimi bivalnimi okolji in značilnostmi, razporejenih okrog treh velikih zelenih območij, Panovca, Stare gore in Biljenskih gričev. Ideja je na žalost zamrla, danes pa bi gotovo bila še težje izvedljiva, tudi zaradi tega, ker je to območje danes razdeljeno med štiri občine.

Osemdeseta leta

Po skoraj dveh desetletjih vzponov in uspehov se je Nova Gorica, tako kot njeno gospodarstvo in jugoslovanska družba nasploh, »upehala«. Razlogov je bilo več, gotovo na prvem mestu politična in gospodarska kriza v Jugoslaviji, pa tudi zbirokratizirana samoupravna ureditev, zaradi katere so se sposobni mladi kadri začeli izogibati odgovornim položajem v gospodarstvu.

V osemdesetih letih se je zaključevalo Cankarjevo naselje z nizom stolpnic ob Ulici Gradnikove brigade, za spremljajoči parterni program, ki bi moral predstavljati prehod iz mirnega stanovanjskega okolja v mestni center, pa ni bilo več investorjev. V drugi polovici desetletja so začeli graditi še v severnem kareju 8, a je gradnja potekala bistveno počasneje kot v

38 Vodja projekta Roni Nemeč, Zavod za urbanizem Nova Gorica.

39 Vodja projekta Tomaž Vuga, Projekt Nova Gorica

sedemdesetih, saj tudi potreba po stanovanjih skoraj ni bilo več.

V drugi polovici osemdesetih let je bil zgrajen prizidek k pošti ob Magistrali ter niz obuličnih objektov pri gimnaziji ob Delpinovi ulici in spodnjem delu Ulice Gradnikove brigade, vse karakterizira zapoznena postmoderna arhitektura z obulično zazidavo, v popolnem nasprotju z v Novi Gorici od vsega začetka uveljavljenim načinom pozidave s prosto stoječimi objekti.

Leta 1982 je bila dograjena cerkev Kristusa Odrešenika ob Sedejevi ulici, s katero se je tudi mestno življenje prebilo preko Vojkove proti severu. Mesto se je tudi drugače postopoma vraščalo v okolje, sredi osemdesetih let so uredili prometno varnejši iztek Magistrale na Vojkovo cesto, ki pa je ta del mesta s svojo neurbano ureditvijo iznakazil, konec Magistrale pa spremenil v neurejeno parkirišče. Še vedno čaka na nujno potrebno rekonstrukcijo.

Devetdeseta leta

Nova Gorica je v devetdesetih letih kljub hirajočemu gospodarstvu ponovno vzcvetela. Verjetno je temu botroval tudi optimizem, ki nas je preveval v prvih letih državne samostojnosti in nam dajal zagon, optimistična in prodorna je bila tudi takratna vodilna občinska struktura. Mesto je dobilo nekaj širše pomembnih objektov, gledališče, knjižnico in nov odprt bazen, zrastel je poslovno-stanovanjski objekt SKB, ki je zaključil južno fasado Trga Edvarda Kardelja – Travnika pred občinsko stavbo, trgovski center, takrat že preimenovan v Bevkov trg, je dobil severni zaključek, nov objekt NLB. Obe igralnici, Perla in Park sta doživeli več širitev in dopolnjevanj, a na žalost v škodo mesta, vse bolj sta bili introvertirani, izključeni iz mestnega življenja.

Pobudi Sergija Peljhana, takratnega župana, »dve Gorici, eno mesto«, je bila v polemiki zoperstavljen antiteza »dve mesti, ena Gorica«, ravno tako v želji po tesnejšem združevanju obeh mest, a na drugem izhodišču, ob ohranjanju identitete obeh mest, razvijanju njihovih specifičnosti in promoviranju fenomena prostorsko usodno povezanih, a po značaju in izgledu tako različnih mest.

V tem času je bila pripravljena vrsta poskusov oziroma predlogov podaljšanja Magistrale proti severu, ne le kot prometne ulice, ampak kot mestne aleje, čeprav brez utemeljitve, ali mesto tako dolg »podolgovati trg« sploh potrebuje in ali ga je sposobno napolniti z ustreznimi programi, ki bodo utemeljevali njegovo obliko in značaj. Vsi poskusi so brisali Vojkovo cesto ter tudi severno od nje – v nasprotju z naravnimi danostmi – uvajali ortogonalni sistem ulic in ga skušali na silo povezati s Solkanom.

K sreči so vsi predlogi ostali le na papirju, zaenkrat v naravi ni bilo nič spremenjenega. Mesto je celo desetletje ostalo v glavnem v starih okvirjih, le gledališče in knjižnica sta mejo zazidane površine nekoliko pomaknila proti vzhodu, pa še to le na račun (urbaniziranega) parka.

Po letu 2000

V prvih letih po letu 2000 je stanovanjska gradnja v mestu skoraj zamrla. Ker ni bilo novih

delovnih mest ni bilo novih priseljencev, število prebivalcev v mestu je celo padalo. Leta 2005 je bil zaključen sodoben športni center ob gimnaziji, leta 2008 pa so začeli graditi Eda center, ki je bil delno dan v uporabo leta 2011, a je še danes deloma prazen, saj je bil zasnovan pred krizo, v drugačnih razmerah, za realne novogoriške razmere gotovo preveč ambiciozno.

Po letu 2000 smo dobili tri trgovske centre, vse na robu mestnega centra, a k sreči sta vsaj dva tako blizu, da bi ju bilo mogoče organsko povezati z njim. Nastali so tudi zaradi kupcev z one strani meje, a od tega mesto nima skoraj nič. Dobiček od vsega silnega trgovskega prometa ne ostaja v Novi Gorici; če bo tok kupcev ugasnil, bodo centre enostavno zaprli.

Leta 2014 je mesto doživelo prvo (in doslej edino) večjo prenovu. Sodobno urejen Bevkov trg in trgovska ulica sta postala tudi v resnici dnevna soba Novogoričanov, privlačna točka za zbiranje.

Leta 2012 je občina po 26 letih končno dobila tudi nov temeljni prostorski akt – *Občinski prostorski načrt Mestne občine Nove Gorice*. V njem so podane tudi osnovne smernice za razvoj mesta, ki pa kljub nekaterim nasprotujočim stališčem sledijo temeljni ideji, da se mora mesto tudi v bodoče razvijati v skladu s konceptom prvotnega urbanističnega načrta iz leta 1948 (mesto moderne), tudi severno od Vojkove.

Sledi prvotne Ravnikarjeve zasnove mesta

Kljub temu, da že desetletja poslušamo, kako je bila z odstopanjem od prvotnega Ravnikarjevega načrta pri gradnji Nove Gorice storjena nepopravljiva škoda, lahko še danes, po več kot sedemdesetih letih, v urbani strukturi razpoznamo idejo mesta moderne. V mestu prevladuje zazidava z v zelenju stoječimi samostojnimi objekti, kljub nekaterim opaznejšim odklikom (med nje zagotovo lahko štejemo trgovski center iz sredine šestdesetih let, predvsem pa neobjavljene poskuse zapoznele postmodernistične obulične pozidave ob gimnaziji in na začetku Ulice Gradnikove brigade s konca osemdesetih in začetka devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja). Tudi cestna mreža, skelet mesta, je v glavnem taka, ko je bila zastavljena leta 1948. Magistrala je ohranila svoj središčni položaj (na žalost še vedno čaka na sijaj, ki ji ga je namenil Ravnikar), njen južni del z »ruskimi bloki« pa je tako ali tako zgrajen (sicer ne v celoti dokončan) po prvotnem načrtu. Tudi obvoznica, ki v severnem delu sicer ne teče točno po trasi iz prvotnega načrta, v bistvu sledi Ravnikarjevi ideji, ki je vsi kasnejši poskusi niso mogli ovreči. Prav tako je industrijska cona v Kromberku prav tam in približno enako velika kot v urbanističnem načrtu iz leta 1948.

In v Novi Gorici je še vedno živa želja, »da bi sijali prek meje«, če ne z bleščečimi fasadami, vsaj z urejenostjo in kakovostjo življenja, z utripom mladega mesta.

Se pa je v primerjavi z urbanističnim načrtom iz leta 1948 v sedemdesetih letih razvoja mesta nabralo kar nekaj nepotrebnih in celo škodljivih odstopanj. Med njimi je gotovo največja opustitev že začete prečne napajalne ceste, ki naj bi se navezovala na obvoznico na območju sedanjega kromberškega krožišča. Če bi bila zgrajena, bi mesto imelo tudi v prečni smeri svojo simetralo, katere funkcijo je Strmecki v svojem načrtu leta 1958 prenesel na takratno

Leninovo, danes Rejčevo ulico, ki pa je v celoti nikoli ni mogla prevzeti, s prekinitvijo na Bevkovem trgu pa sploh ne več. Danes lahko teče promet v prečni smeri le po Erjavčevi na jugu in Lavričevi na severu (med njima je vzdolžna povezovalna Cankarjeva ulica dolga točno en kilometer), kar je nepopravljiva pomanjkljivost.

Druga velika napaka pa je bila vsekakor prvotna zasaditev v nasprotju z Ravnikarjevo idejo: namesto senčnih drevoredov z aktivnim parterjem, smo dobili nefunkcionalne dekorativne zelenice, ki še danes v mestu prevladujejo.

Kaj lahko še popravimo

Ko danes razmišljamo in ugotavljamo, kako so umeščali novo mesto v prostor, na kaj so mislili, kaj so hote ali nehote spregledali, ne smemo pozabiti, kdaj in v kakšnih okoliščinah se je Nova Gorica rodila. Vse je nastajalo za današnje razmere z nepredstavljivo naglico, od ugotovitve (konec leta 1946), da bo treba zahodnemu delu Slovenije na novo zgraditi vse, kar bo zaradi (nepravične) meje ostalo na italijanski strani, do odločitve, da se zgradi novo mesto in to na Solkanskem polju in Blančah (konec septembra 1947), je preteklo manj kot eno leto. Le dva meseca kasneje (3. decembra 1947) so se že začela pripravljala dela (urejanje Korna) za njegovo gradnjo, pol leta po tem (13. junija 1948) pa je že bil postavljen temeljni kamen za prvi objekt v bodočem mestu (13. blok). Če bi se takrat poglobljali v problematiko, ki jo v tem prispevku skušam osvetliti, pripravljali vse danes potrebne analize in presoje ter iskali za vse najprimernejše rešitve, Nove Gorice danes (še) ne bi bilo.

Zato to pisanje ni kritika tistih, ki so delali v takratnih razmerah, ampak le čim bolj objektivno ugotavljanje, kaj bi lahko bilo drugače, katere (napačne) odločitve imajo še danes svoj vpliv na razvoj in življenje v mestu. In to predvsem zato, da bi se z današnjimi težavami lažje spoprijemali in jih reševali tako, da ne bomo povzročali novih v bodoče.

Novo mesto je, tako kot železnica, nasilno zarezalo v urejeno krajino, nekatere posledice občutimo še danes: po skoraj sedemdesetih letih se še ni vrstilo v okolje, ni se še »ponaravilo«. Kljub temu pa lahko ugotovimo, da je, predvsem zaradi upočasnjenega razvoja mesta, v širšem prostoru prvotna krajina še razpoznavna, še jo lahko vključimo v nadaljnji razvoj mesta.

Severno od Vojkove ceste je vse več ali manj še vedno tako kot leta 1948, tej obstoječi krajinski strukturi bi bilo treba prilagoditi nadaljnjo širitev mesta, ne pa širiti nenaravne ortogonalne mreže. Prvi poskus, na žalost opuščen, je bil pripravljen že leta 1978,⁴⁰ predlagana ureditev je bila v celoti prilagojena naravnim danostim.

S tem bi tudi dokončno razrešili dileme okrog Vojkove ceste (nekdanjega Ošljeka, stare povezave iz Soške proti Vipavski dolini, najizrazitejše »steze slonov« na območju mesta) in jo ohranili pri življenju kot najpomembnejšo mestno povezavo med Solkanom in vzhodnimi deli mesta.

40 Emil BRATINA, *Regulacijski načrt Ščedne*, Projekt Nova Gorica, 1978.

Dokončno bi tudi razrešili dileme okrog podaljševanja Magistrale in jo na primeren način (ne le tehnično ampak tudi oblikovno) zaključili tam, kjer se sedaj zaključuje s slepim štrcljem – neurejenim parkiriščem.

Mestna cestna mreža še ni dovolj dobro povezana z daljinskimi smermi. Mestna obvoznica je še vedno edina regionalna povezava v smeri sever – jug, ob njej pa nujno potrebujejo še eno, bolj mestno povezavo, obenem pa tudi kot rezervo ob zaprtju predora Panovec (kar se vse pogosteje dogaja).

Ob snovanju Nove Gorice ni nihče razmišljal o vodi kot o primarnem krajinskem elementu prostora, kljub temu da je bilo na njenem teritoriju ogromno. Nimamo rešenega odvodnjavanja meteornih, predvsem pa zalednih voda, ki jim je mesto porušilo naravno smer odtoka. Mesto se je vodi sploh odpovedalo in jo na silo spravilo pod zemljo, edini površinski vodotok na mestnem območju, Koren, je še vedno le tehnični odvodnik – kanal. Še imamo možnost vrniti na površje vsaj del vode, dati vodi potreben prostor, jo osvoboditi, s tem pa tudi prispevati k večji kvaliteti življenja v mestu.

Nismo še rešili najprimernejše povezave osrednjega dela mesta z zelenim zaledjem, ne proti jugu (Panovcu), ne proti severu (obronkom Katarine in Škabrijela). Čeprav bi to bilo najcenejše in hkrati najbolj uspešno povezovanje mesta s širšo okolico, se morajo Novogoričani še vedno prebijati po zasilnih poteh preko Korna na jugu in neurejeno prečkati obvoznico proti severu.

Neupoštevanje danosti je bilo vtakano v rojstvo Nove Gorice, bilo je odraz revolucionarnih pogledov tako modernizma kot socializma. Na žalost se je ta pristop nadaljeval skozi vso zgodovino Nove Gorice, do danes. Smo sposobni danes delati drugače? Tako, kot je pred davnimi leti rekel prof. Ravnikar:

Naselja rastejo in se gibljejo po menjajočih se faktorjih, ki jih v celoti ni mogoče dokončno utrditi. Naloga urbanista spričo konkretne intenzivne preobrazbe ni v iskanju končne idealne forme določenega naselja, ampak predvsem v reguliranju razvoja v njegovih bistvenih tehničnih in ostalih sestavinah.⁴¹

Nova Gorica and its Space

Summary

The paper deals with the space into which Nova Gorica settled, the contrasts and tensions that arose in this space, and with the consequences that are still felt today. In 1947, in the northern part, on the Solkan field, the area of the future town, was an agricultural landscape with a characteristic orientation northeast – southwest, rich with water and a branched net of paths and unpaved tracks, connected mostly to the central road – Ošljek. The southern part – Blanče, was more deserted, while the southern corner next to Korn was marshy. In 1880, the Nova Gorica cemetery reached into this landscape with an accessible avenue, and in 1906, the railway as well, planned and placed into the space exclusively on technical principles. After the First World War, these two foreigners were joined by a brick factory – “frnaža” with its large construction mass and unregulated clay pits. After the decision for the construction of an alternative centre for the lost Gorica was made, Nova Gorica was placed on the Solkan field and Blanče in 1947. It was placed into the space regardless of the small characteristics of the landscape. The only spatial element that influenced its original design was the railway station, after which the Magistrala (the main road) and the town’s road network are oriented. According to the investment programme, the town was to be generally completed by 1951. However, when the state and republic financial sources were drained, the care for the town fell upon local factors, so that the work only restarted in the second half of the 1960s and the 1970s. Owing to the crisis in the 1980s, its growth slowed down until the 1990s, when the town obtained some important buildings, and after 2000, stagnation was re-established, even the number of inhabitants decreased. The greatest problems between the town and its surrounding area mostly remained unsolved; the town still largely remains a foreigner in the area. The problem of rainwater remains unresolved; logistically, the town is poorly connected to regional directions as well as to its immediate surroundings. Nevertheless, there is still a chance to correct these mistakes, straighten out the town, and organically include it in the space into which it was placed.

41 Edvard RAVNIKAR, Ob razstavi arhitekture FLRJ v Moderni galeriji, *Novi svet*, 6, 1949, str. 604 in nasl.

From the Athens Charter to the “human association”: Challenging the assumptions of the Charter of Habitat

Marianna CHARITONIDOU

Towards a universal user: “The Functional City” and its assumptions

The modernist generation in architecture, including architects such as Le Corbusier and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, was characterised by the tendency to define in a holistic and homogenised way the “fictive user” of architecture. During the modernist period, the construction of the “fictive user” was focused on the assumption of the existence of a “universal user.” Representative of such a homogenised and generalisable approach is Le Corbusier’s *Modulor*, which was described by him as a “harmonious measure to the human scale universally applicable to architecture and mechanics”. A point of departure for this paper is the following claim of Reyner Banham regarding the stance of the generation of modernists, in a review of Le Corbusier’s *Modulor* published in 1955 in *The Burlington Magazine*: “To save himself from the sloughs of subjectivity, every modern architect has had to find his own objective standards, to select from his experience of building those elements which seem undeniably integral – structural technique, for instance, sociology, or – as in the case of Le Corbusier – measure.” Banham also maintained that “[t]he objectivity of these standards resides, in the first case, in a belief in a normal man, an attractive though shadowy figure whose dimensions Le Corbusier is prepared to vary from time to time and place to place, thus wrecking his claims to universality.”¹ Five years later, in 1960, Reyner Banham chaired a symposium entitled “The Future of Universal Man,” in which he also addressed the issue of the fiction of a universal man in the case of modernist architecture.²

For Le Corbusier, the architect was the authority on living, as it becomes evident when he declares in *The Athens Charter (Charte d’Athènes)*, originally written in 1933 in conjunction with the fourth CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne), that the role of the architect is to know what is best for humans: “Who can take the measures necessary to the accomplishment of this task if not the architect who possesses a complete awareness of man,

1 Reyner BANHAM, “The Modulor,” *The Burlington Magazine*, 97/628 (1955), p. 231.

2 Reyner BANHAM, “The Future of Universal Man,” *Architecture Review*, 127/758 (1960), p. 253.

who has abandoned illusory designs, and who, judiciously adapting the means to the desired ends, will create an order that bears within it a poetry of its own?”³ Le Corbusier wrote the Charter of Athens in the framework of the fourth CIAM, which was devoted to the theme “The Functional City” and was held in 1933 on board of a ship in the Mediterranean during a trip from Marseilles to Athens. The fourth CIAM was led by the architect Le Corbusier, the urban planner Cornelis van Eesteren and the art historian Sigfried Giedion. The fact that the fourth CIAM, held on the ship *Patris II* in the Mediterranean and in Athens in 1933, was entitled “The Functional City,” shows how important for architectural epistemology had become at the time the notion of functionalism. Other titles that had been also considered for this congress were “The Constructive City” and “The Organic City.” The debates that were held during the fourth CIAM were based on the assumption that it is possible, through efficient architectural and urban design to achieve “a balance between the functions of the particular parts”⁴ of the city.

The first edition of Le Corbusier’s *Charte d’Athènes* was published, in 1943, a year after Josep Luis Sert’s *Can Our Cities Survive? An ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analysis, Their Solutions*.⁵ The simultaneity of these publications is interesting because it concerns two opposing stances vis-à-vis the reinvention of the how urban reality is understood. The two books, which are based on reflections carried out during the fourth CIAM, suggest different conceptions of the user of the city. Sert, who had worked in Le Corbusier’s office in Paris, was the president

3 LE CORBUSIER, *La Charte d’Athènes avec un discours liminaire de Jean Giraudoux suivi de Entretien avec les étudiants des écoles d’Architecture*, Paris 1957; *The Athens Charter*, New York 1973, p. 142.

4 Martin STEINMANN (ed.), *CIAM. Dokumente 1928–1939*, Basel-Stuttgart 1979, pp. 160–163.

5 Josep Lluís SERT, *Can Our Cities Survive? An ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analysis, Their Solutions*, Cambridge 1942. Original edition: *Charte d’Athènes*, Paris 1943.

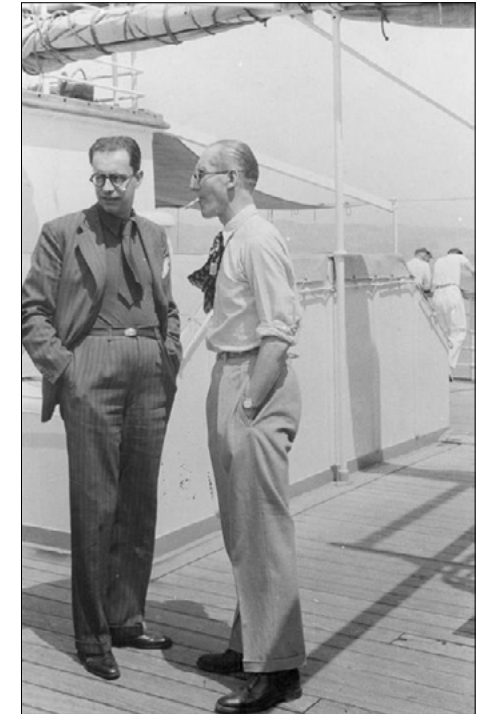


Fig. 1: Le Corbusier and Ghyka on the board of *Patris II* during the CIAM IV, 1933
(© Foundation Le Corbusier, Paris).

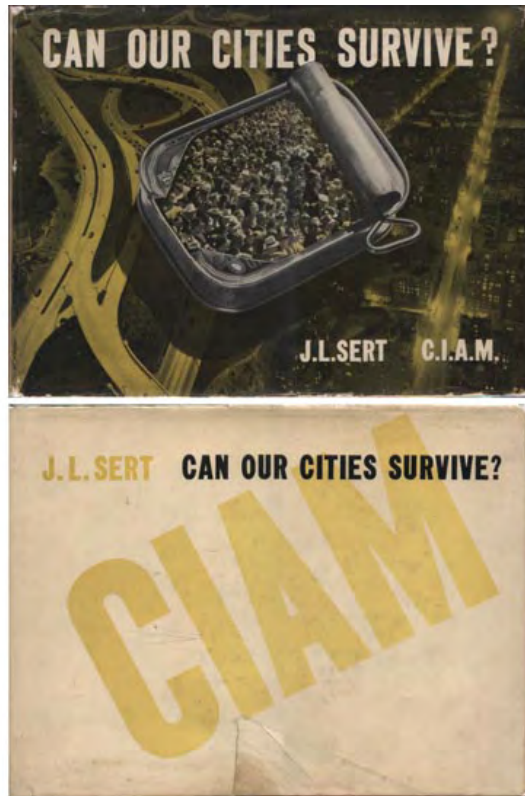


Fig. 2: Front cover and back cover of Josep Lluís SERT, *Can Our Cities Survive? An ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analysis, Their Solutions*, Cambridge 1942.

of the CIAM between 1947 and 1956. In 1952, he held a one-year Visiting Professorship at Yale University. The following year, he was appointed Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Design, where he served as dean until 1969. There, in 1959, he initiated the first professional degree program in urban design.

Second World War technologies and architecture: standardisation as epistemological shift

In the exhibition "Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War"⁶ curated by Jean-Louis Cohen, the materials were chosen and assembled according to the hypothesis that the Second World War was a key moment in the modernisation of architectural theory and practice. In order to convey about the importance of the experience of these years for the transformation of architectural epistemology the exhibition documented

6 Jean-Louis COHEN, *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War*, New Haven-Montreal, 2011.

a series of episodes using artefacts of multiple scales (city to construction details) and forms (industrial objects to architectural plans). Its materials extended from products or posters of mass culture to specialised technical objects. The construction of its narrative was based on a sequence that was thematic rather than chronological. The classification of archival documentation materials into distinct phases was elaborated in order to shed light on the connections of episodes and on the direct and indirect impact of the war on architectural thinking. The main argument was that the architectural knowledge and discipline between the bombings of Guernica in 1937 and Hiroshima in 1945, a time full of research and transformation, was called upon to mobilise its field of experiences in such a way that war functioned as a creative force giving an unprecedented boost to research on prefabrication, and the use of new materials.

The exhibition accomplished in an effective way the purpose of communicating that the contribution of architects to the post-war reconstruction proved to be as strategically indispensable as did the scientists and engineers. Every component of the show, from the interior perspective of Le Corbusier's and Jean Prouvé's 1940 *Flying Schools* project to the original model of Buckminster Fuller's 1945 Dymaxion Dwelling House, as well as from Jean Prouvé's 1941 bicycle frame to war-time guide books for the home, aimed to convince the spectator about how methods developed under the pressures of war emergency were applied to peaceful purposes, extending the field of architectural expertise and knowledge. All the different media used in the exhibition, functioned as systems of coordinates, making operative the mapping of the historical territory under question.

Through a comprehensive documentation of the events, design, and construction that took place during the war, this exhibition revealed certain episodes of post-Second World War architecture and city planning that had been overlooked because of the invisibility and secrecy during the war. The communication of the main incidents, turning points, and inventions that contributed to the emergence of new types of buildings could not become possible without the detailed documentation and the narrative tricks of the exhibition. A core question that the exhibition aimed to address was the following: how architects around the globe responded to the changing conditions because of the war? The selection of the exhibited materials, which serve as sequences of its narrative, was guided by the intention to reveal the main episodes that contributed to the emergence of new visual languages. The exhibition's pan-geographic and chronotopic approach makes explicit that architecture is a major historical actor. The influence of the war-time technological experience on post-war architectural epistemology reminds us that inventions are the amplification of knowledge that give rise to new formalisations and normalisations through the constitution of symbols.

An important figure for architecture's standardisation is Albert Kahn.⁷ Kahn's role for the

7 W. Hawkins Ferry, *The Legacy of Albert Kahn*, Detroit 1970. See also Sonia MELNIKOVA-RAICH, "The Soviet Problem with Two 'Unknowns': How an American Architect and a Soviet Negotiator Jump-Started the Industrialization of Russia, Part I: Albert Kahn," *The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology*,

bureaucratisation and typification of architecture should be taken into account if one wishes to understand how the architecture of bureaucracy and the concept of architectural corporation were intensified during the post-war period due to the incorporation of the war technologies in the common architectural practice.⁸ This shift that was caused because of the typification of the different phases of the architects' task is linked to the emergence of a new understanding of the concept of user, as it becomes evident in the pages of the journal *Plus* and especially in its first issue published in December 1938. The emblematic graphic design by Herbert Matter for this issue is telling regarding this mutation of the conception of the user that was taking place already before the beginning of the Second World War. The editors of the journal *Plus* were Wallace K. Harrison, William Lescaze, Willima Muschenheim, Stamo Papadaki and James Johnson Sweeney and among the journal's collaborators was Albert Kahn.

Two years earlier, the publication of the first issue of *Plus*, Ernst Neufert had used "man as Normed Measure" in *Bauentwurfslehre*. The conception of man as normed measure goes hand in hand with the standardisation of the building procedures. This standardisation is associated with the emergence of the organisational diagrams, which could not have been so intensified without the incorporation of the war technologies in the milieu of industries. The concepts of standardisation and typification were so present in Neufert's thought that he even used an index for his diary. The way organisational diagrams were linked to the mutation of the process of conceptualising architectural practice becomes evident in "The Kahn Organization" diagram, which accompanied an article published in *The Architectural Record* in June 1942, an organisational diagram by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, published in *Bauen + Wohnen* in April 1957, but also in the way Albert Kahn used the concepts of method, management and decentralisation in the case of the General Motors Building.⁹ Charles K. Hyde, in his article entitled "Assembly-Line Architecture: Albert Kahn and the Evolution of the U.S. Auto Factory, 1905-1940," explains how Albert Kahn incorporated new building materials in factory design. He also analyses the impact of the way Albert Kahn's design of Henry Ford's factories, and other factories in Detroit on the American automobile industry at large.¹⁰ An expression of the impact of standardisation on architectural design strategies is a diagram that the Eames published, in *Arts & Architecture* in 1944.

36/2, 2010, pp. 57–80; Claire ZIMMERMAN, "The Labor of Albert Kahn," *The Aggregate website*, <http://www.we-aggregate.org/piece/the-labor-of-albert-kahn> (accessed 6 July 2018); Grant HILDEBRAND, *Designing for Industry: The Architecture of Albert Kahn*, Cambridge 1980.

8 Michael KUBO, "The Concept of the Architectural Corporation," in: *OfficeUS Agenda* (eds. Eva Franchi Gilabert, Ana Milijački, Ashley Schafer and Amanda Reese), Zurich 2014, pp. 37–45.

9 Michael ABRAHAMSON, "Actual Center of Detroit": Method, Management, and Decentralization in Albert Kahn's General Motors Building," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 77/1, 2018, pp. 56–76.

10 Charles K. HYDE, "Assembly-Line Architecture: Albert Kahn and the Evolution of the U.S. Auto Factory, 1905–1940," *IA. The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology*, 22/2, 1996, pp. 5–24.

The humanisation of urban conditions in the fifties: Challenging the relationship between the urban centre and the its peripheries

In order to grasp the climate in the early fifties and how intense was the interest in the connection between architecture and the city at the time, and how present was the theme of the "core" or the "heart" in the debates on architecture in the early fifties regarding the future of the city, we can recall that the theme of the eighth CIAM, held in 1951 in Hoddesdon in the UK, was the "Heart of the City." The analogies between nature and architecture, as well as the analogies between human beings and architectural artefacts are significant for understanding the dominant conception of architecture's addressee during the post-war period. Within this context, concepts such as "human association," "core," "heart," "urban life" became central for the epistemological debates and replaced the four functions doctrine, which classified the city functions in the following categories: dwelling, working, recreation and transportation. This reorientation of the way architects conceived the relationship between architecture's addressees and the city is related to a shift from a universal logic of functionalism to an understanding of architecture's experience based on the intention to grasp the quotidian and human aspect of urban life.

The suburbanisation of the post-war cities led architects to challenge their models regarding their conception of the relationship between the urban centre and its peripheries. The architectural debates of the post-war years reflected the ambition of the architects to adapt the scope of architecture to the need to maintain their role in the control of city's expansion. This re-orientation of the scope of architecture during the post-war years should be understood in conjunction with the mutation of the way the inhabitation of buildings and cities were conceived.

The dominant architectural discourse during the early fifties was characterised by an intensification of the interest in the humanisation of urban conditions, as it becomes evident in Ernesto Nathan Rogers's text entitled "The Heart: A Human Problem," which was published in 1952 in *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*.¹¹ The aforementioned book was published in conjunction with the eighth CIAM held in Hoddesdon in 1951, during which Aldo van Eyck presented his famous playgrounds. That same year, the "First International Conference on Proportion in the Arts" was organised in the framework of the ninth Triennale di Milano.

The rejection of the homogeneous functionalist model: The "Grid of Living"

Alison and Peter Smithson's *Urban Re-identification Grid* signified a distancing from what Le Corbusier maintained, in *The Athens Charter*, where he asserted that "[t]he keys to urbanism are to be found in the four functions: inhabiting, working, recreation (in leisure time), and

11 Ernesto Nathan ROGERS, "The Heart: A Human Problem," in: *The Heart of the City: Towards the umanisation of Urban Life* (ed. Josep Luis Sert, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and Ernesto Nathan Rogers), London 1952).

circulation.”¹² The critique of the doctrine of modernism is related to the emergence of Team 10 and the dissolution of the CIAM. The concern about reinventing the way architectural and urban artefacts are inhabited is reflected in the theme of the ninth CIAM held in 1953 in Aix-en-Provence in France, which was the “Grid of Living.” In the debates that took place during this CIAM, it became apparent that a new understanding of the user of the city has been gradually emerging. The *Urban Re-identification Grid* that Alison and Peter Smithson presented in the framework of this CIAM is significant for understanding how the conception of the user of architecture was transformed during the post-war years. It epitomises a turning point regarding the conception of the inhabitant of the post-war cities. In parallel, it constitutes a declaration against the homogenised and simplified way that the fourth CIAM had treated urban reality. The photograph of Chisendale Road by Nigel Henderson (1951) was part of the Smithsons’ *Urban Re-identification Grid*. The Smithsons’ diagram showing the network of housing and streets in the air and their collage for the competition for the Golden Lane Housing project (1952) were also illustrated in their *Urban Re-identification Grid*. The notions of “house,” “street,” “relationship,” “district,” and “city,” become the dominant concepts of architectural epistemology.

Challenging the assumptions of the Charter of Habitat

The theme of the tenth CIAM held in Dubrovnik in 1956 was “The Habitat: Problem of Inter-Relationships” and its goal was to challenge the assumptions of the Charter of Habitat. During this CIAM meeting, the younger generation of the group – Aldo van Eyck, Jaap Bakema, Georges Candilis, Shadrach Woods, and Alison and Peter Smithson among others – who would form the Team 10, established a new agenda for mass housing under the title “Habitat for the Greater Number.” It was in this CIAM that the Smithsons presented their *Fold Houses*. During the opening of the CIAM X held at Dubrovnik, Sert read Le Corbusier’s “Letter

12 LE CORBUSIER (n. 3), 95–99.

Fig. 3: Detail of the “CIAM Grid,” as developed by Le Corbusier and the ASCORAL group, showing the division of the vertical axis into analytical themes. Drafted in Paris by the members of ASCORAL and adopted by the CIAM Council, this grid was published in June 1948 in a pamphlet entitled *Grille CIAM d’urbanisme; mise en pratique de la Charte d’Athènes*, Paris 1948 (© Foundation Le Corbusier, Paris).

Fig. 4: Display Diagram showing how the Grid analysis is applied to a given problem presented by Le Corbusier during the CIAM VII meeting in Bergamo in 1949 (© Het Nieuwe Instituut Collections and Archive, Rotterdam, CIAM Congresses and Team 10 Meetings).

Titre Thème Heading	LES 4 FONCTIONS THE 4 FUNCTIONS			
	1 Living	2 Working	3 Use of Day Leisure	4 Leisure Night
TITRE 1 : LE THEME. HEADING 1 : THE THEME.				
10 LE MILIEU (environnement, données géographiques et démographiques). ENVIRONMENT, Topographical, Geographical and demographic data.				
11 OCCUPATION DU TERRITOIRE, Zonage et usage à 2 dimensions. OCCUPATION OF THE LAND, Zoning and two dimensional plan.				
12 VOLUME BÂTI ET UTILISATION DES ESPACES AMBIANTS, volume à 3 dimensions. VOLUME CONSTRUCTED AND USE OF AMBIENT SPACES (planning in three dimensions).				
13 EQUIPEMENT, EQUIPMENT.				
14 ETHIQUE ET ESTHÉTIQUE avec étude comparative des notions de l'ancien et du moderne. ETHIC AND AESTHETIC with the comparative study of the relationship between ancient and modern.				
15 INCIDENCES ÉCONOMIQUES ET SOCIALES. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INFLUENCES.				
16 ARBITRAGE, LEGISLATION.				
17 FINANCEMENT, FINANCE.				
18 ÉTAPES DE RÉALISATION, STAGES OF REALISATION.				
19 DIVERS, MISCELLANEOUS.				
TITRE 2 : RÉACTIONS AUX THÈMES. HEADING 2 : REACTION TO THE THEME.				
20 RÉACTIONS D'ORDRE RATIONNEL, RATIONAL REACTION.				
21 RÉACTIONS D'ORDRE AFFECTIF, REACTION OF SENTIMENT.				

Fig. 3

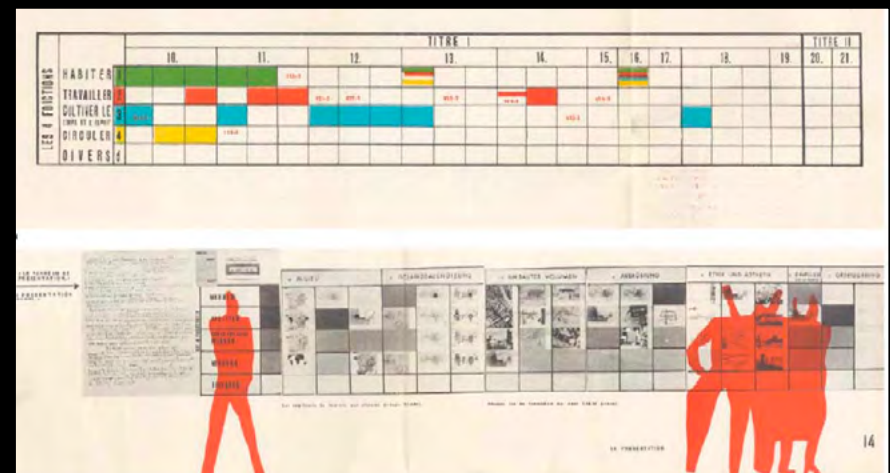


Fig. 4



Fig. 5: Alison and Peter Smithson, *Urban Re-identification Grid*, presented at the ninth CIAM in Aix-en-Provence in 1953 (© Smithson Family Collection).



Fig. 6: Nigel Henderson, *Chisendale Road*, 1951 (Source: Nigel Henderson Collection, courtesy of Tate Archive; © Nigel Henderson Estate).

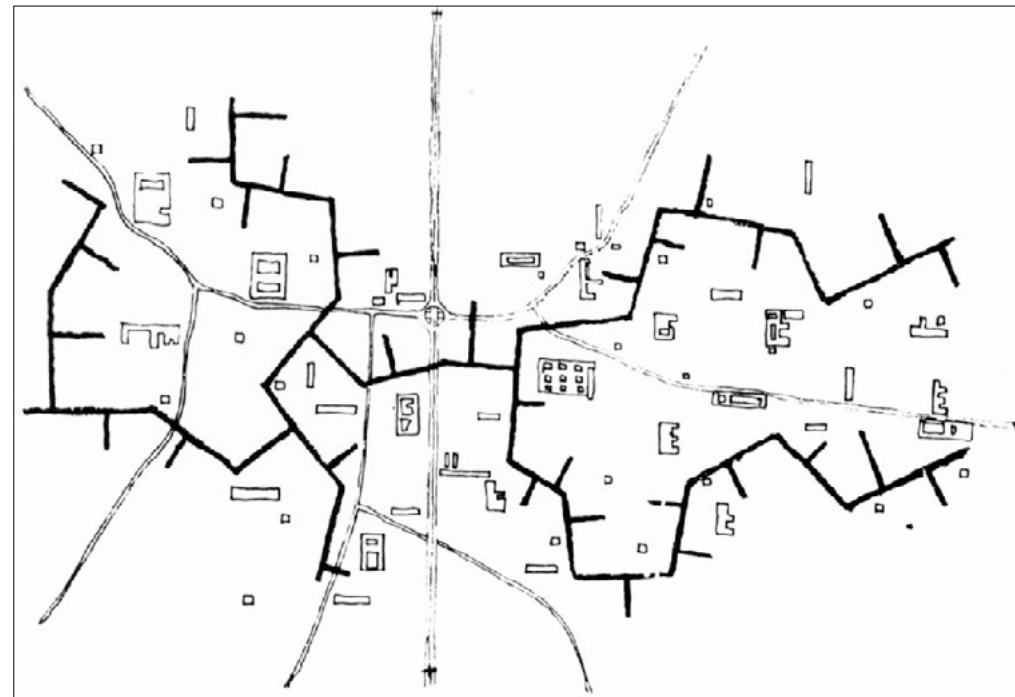


Fig. 7: Alison and Peter Smithson, *Golden Lane Housing project*, 1952, network of housing and streets in the air (© Smithson Family Collection).

to CIAM 10," in which the latter was declaring that the ideology of the first era of CIAM was no longer relevant. Le Corbusier's diagram is telling regarding how he conceived the relationship between the vision of the first CIAM and that of the late CIAM.

The Italian scene and Ludovico Quaroni's critique of functionalism

Defining for understanding what was at stake in the post-war Italian context are the foundation of the Associazione per l'architettura organica (APAO) by Pier Luigi Nervi and Bruno Zevi founded in 1945 and the approach that Ernesto Nathan Rogers developed in the pages of *Casabella Continuità* as its director during the post-war years. In 1957, the latter wrote, in "Continuità o Crisi?": "Considering history as a process, it might be said that history is always continuity or always crisis accordingly as one wishes to emphasize either permanence or emergency."¹³ Ernesto Nathan Rogers and Giuseppe Samonà, who insist on the necessity of an ethical consciousness of the architect, are often described as neo-humanists.

13 Ernesto Nathan ROGERS, "Continuità o Crisi?," *Casabella Continuità*, 215, 1957, pp. 3-4.

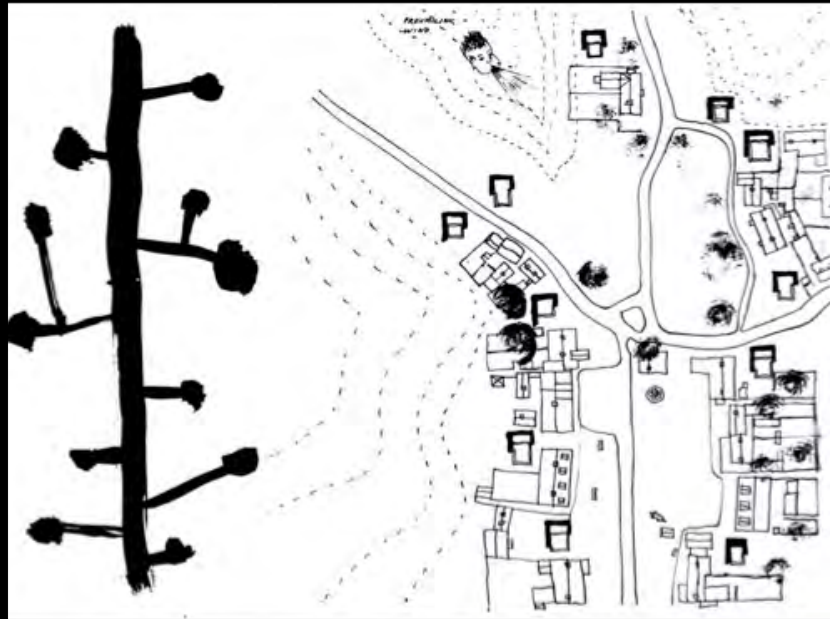


Fig. 8: Alison and Peter Smithson, *Fold Houses*, panels for the tenth CIAM of 1956 (© Het Nieuwe Instituut Collections and Archive, Rotterdam, archive BAKE, inv. nr. 0175).

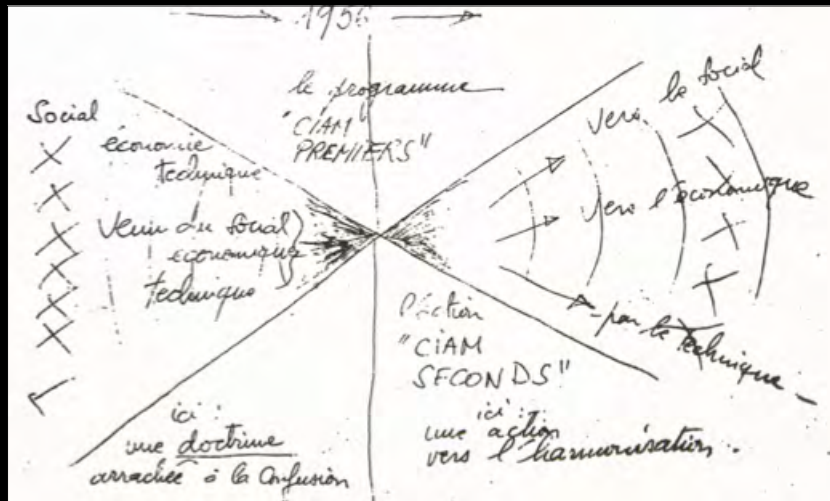


Fig. 9: Le Corbusier, Message to the tenth CIAM at Dubrovnik, "Crisis or Evolution?", 23 July 1956 (Source: Archiv Institut für Geschichte und Theorie der Architektur (GTA), ETH Zurich, CIAM archives, 42-HRM-X-17).

The Italians were not very active in the CIAM. However, the CIAM in Bergamo in 1949 and in Venice in 1950 triggered the cross-fertilisation between the international modernist scene and the Italian modernist models. The Italians who participated to the CIAM of 1953, held in Aix-en-Provence, were: Franco Albini, Ludovico B. Belgioioso, Luigi Cosenza, Ignazio Gardella, Ernesto N. Rogers, Giovanni Romano, Giuseppe Samonà, Ignazio Gardella and Vico Magistretti. Giancarlo De Carlo and Ernesto N. Rogers attended the last CIAM, held in Otterlo in 1959. De Carlo was an active member of Team 10.

The CIAM summer school of 1951 took place in Hoddesdon, while those between 1952 and 1956 were held in Venice, under the direction of Franco Albini, Ignazio Gardella, Ernesto Rogers and Giuseppe Samonà.¹⁴ De Carlo contributed to the CIAM summer school of 1956, which was held in Venice. A non-Italian member of the Team 10 that participated to this summer school was Jaap Bakema, who contributed to it as a guest critic. Ernesto Nathan Rogers did not attend the 1956 CIAM summer school, despite the fact he was invited. Ludovico Quaroni, who had just been appointed as professor in Florence, gave two lectures in the framework of the CIAM summer school of 1956¹⁵ despite the fact that he was not among the Italian supporters of the CIAM. The CIAM summer schools held in Venice had an important impact on the pedagogical methods of the Università luav di Venezia.

Quaroni was one of the professors of Manfredo Tafuri. The latter collaborated with the former as teaching assistant and wrote a monograph on him, published in 1964.¹⁶ Denise and Robert Scott Brown were among the English-speaking people in the audience when Quaroni gave his lecture in the framework of the CIAM summer school of 1956. Scott Brown, who would later marry Robert Venturi and would co-author with him and Steven Izenour *Learning From Las Vegas*, which would appear 16 years later, in 1972,¹⁷ was 25 years old at the time. Robert Venturi was at the American Academy in Rome between 1954 and 1956 thanks to a two-year fellowship he had been awarded.

The main question that Quaroni addressed in the lecture he delivered on 14 September 1956, entitled "The architect and town planning" was the interrogation regarding the ways in which the architects could be part of society. He intended to shed light on the different ways of understanding the relationship between town planning and architecture. He underscored: "what we wanted to know was the kind of relationships between town planning and architecture." He tried to explain "why [...] town planning [should] be the architects' concern,"

14 Giancarlo GUARDA, "Attualità di una scuola," *Casabella Continuità*, 199, 1953, p. 41; Gabriele SCIMEMI, "La quarta scuola estiva del CIAM a Venezia," *Casabella Continuità*, 213, 1956, pp. 69–73; Franco BERLANDA, "La scuola del CIAM a Venezia," *Urbanistica* 13, 1953, pp. 83–86.

15 Herman VAN BERGEIJK, "CIAM Summer School 1956," *OverHolland*, 9, 2010, pp. 113–124.

16 Manfredo TAFURI, "Ludovico Quaroni e la cultura architettonica italiana," *Zodiac*, 11, 1963, pp. 130–145; *Ludovico Quaroni e lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna in Italia*, Milan 1964.

17 Robert VENTURI, Denise SCOTT BROWN and Steven IZENOUR, *Learning from Las Vegas*, Cambridge 1972.

drawing a distinction between an understanding of function as object and an understanding of function as principle. He said: "That's why the latest development of the battle for modern art caused architecture to formulate as an object what is just a principle, namely that the form must rise from the functionalism."

Quaroni's critique of functionalism could be interpreted as a critique of Le Corbusier's categorisation of human actions into dwelling, working, and cultivating mind and body and of his understanding of house as a "machine à habiter." Quaroni criticized Le Corbusier's understanding function in a quantitative and simplistic way. He believed that Le Corbusier had neglected the physical, special, psychological, and moral parameters implied by the notion of function. For this reason, he suggested a reinvention of the concept of function. He asserted: "not having fully digested the idea of function, in the long run, we identified it only with a question of form." Quaroni maintained that "[a]ccording to Le Corbusier's theory, the life of man was summarized in three actions: dwelling, working, cultivating mind and body." He rejected Le Corbusier's conception of the user as "machine-man" and his dwelling as "machine-house," shedding light on the fact that the architect-conceiver, according to Le Corbusier's approach, intended to control the manner in which the users should inhabit their dwelling. In parallel, Quaroni placed Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright and Brunelleschi in the same category, claiming that "Le Corbusier as well as Wright are the last specimen of that generation of architects, the founder of which was perhaps Brunelleschi." He asserted: "not having fully digested the idea of function, in the long run, we identified it only with a question of form: exactly like a century before." He sustained that the "function cannot be determined by means of mere square or cubic meters, since it is a compound of physical, special, psychological, moral factors." He also underlined the importance of the "the relations between the individual and the collectivity, for the new society."

Quaroni's conception of culture was based on the belief that the architects are responsible for contributing to the unity of culture: "The architect is thus rebuilding that unity of culture which had been lost amidst the tragic splendours of the Renaissance. He succeeds in becoming again part of the cultural life, in operating again for the society, in gaining back the object of his activity." Quaroni underscored the importance of understanding "architecture as a social function."¹⁸ According to Quaroni, the contemporary city doesn't have a homogeneous structure. This recognition is related to a different conception of the space/time relationship. Quaroni employed the concept of "marvellous" city, and the notion of "urban architecture", which was central for the debates concerning the reorientations of the educational strategies in the Schools of architecture in Italy during the sixties.

18 BERGEIJK (n. 15), 113-124.

The Doorn Manifesto and the "re-humanisation" of architecture: The "Scale of Association" versus the four functions

The post-war context was characterised by the intention to "re-humanise" architecture. The Doorn Manifesto was pivotal for this project of architecture's re-humanisation. The rediscovery of the "human" and the intensification of the interest in the proportions are two aspects that should be taken into account if we wish to grasp how the scope of architecture was transformed during the post-war period. In 1954, the Team 10 presented, in the Doorn Manifesto, their "Scale of Association," which was a kind of re-interpretation of Patrick Geddes' Valley Section. The "Scale of Association" shows Team 10's intention to replace the four functions of the Charter of Athens - dwelling, work, recreation and transport with the concept of "human association," on the one hand, and to incorporate into the scope of architecture a reflection regarding the impact of scale on the design process, on the other hand. One can read in the draft statement for the tenth CIAM: "This method is intended to induce a study of human association as a first principle, and of the four functions as aspects of each total problem."¹⁹

The post-war period and, especially, the historical moment at which the Team 10 prepared the Doorn Manifesto was not only characterised by an opening of the architectural scope towards the urban scale, but it was also closely related to the belief that the architectural design process, its different phases and its hierarchies should be adapted to the scale of the project. This appreciation of the importance of the adjustment of the architectural and urban design strategies to the scale was related to the project of humanisation of architecture. The significance of the "Scale of Association" lies in the fact that it sets up, as Volker M. Welter mentions, a "comparable and synchronic scale that establishes a conceptual relation that binds the smaller communities into a hierarchically structured, larger whole."²⁰ In other words, through the visualization provided by the diagram in the Doorn manifesto, which was inspired by Patrick Geddes' so-called "Valley Section," the Team 10 aimed to articulate a renewed individual-community assemblage. Thanks to the adjustment of architectural design processes to the needs related to scale that this diagram suggests, a mutation of the ways in which the different scales of architectural and urban interventions are related to each other took place. This re-articulation of the connections between the different scales of the architectural project was part of the Team 10's project to humanise architecture.

The Team 10 placed particular emphasis on the capacity of architectural practice to contribute to the transformation of society. The addressee of the architecture was not any more understood as an individual user, and, for this reason, it seemed inadequate to reduce

19 NAi Collections and Archive, Rotterdam, CIAM Congresses and Team 10 Meetings, Draft statement for the tenth CIAM with Patrick Geddes' Valley Section.

20 Volker M. WELTER, "In-between space and society. On some British roots of Team 10's urban thought in the 1950s," in: *Team 10: In Search of a Utopia of the Present 1953-1981* (eds. Dirk van der Heuvel and Max Risselada), Rotterdam 2005, p. 260.

architectural design process to the endeavour to satisfy the users' activities according to a four-partite division of the functions in dwelling, work, recreation and transport on which *The Athens Charter* was based. In contrast, what became the scope of architecture was the establishment of individual-community assemblages. In the case of Team 10's approach, the question of scale, thus, was what counted most, instead of the categorisation of the satisfaction of the needs related to the user's activities. The term "function," and its universal and abstract connotations, was replaced by the culturally defined experience of the citizens and by the citizens' interaction with the community to which they belonged. Architecture was, therefore, comprehended as a means that can and should enhance the encounter with the community to which the citizens belong, transforming the individual into a citizen, and treating the citizens as responsible for the future of their communities. As one can see in the "Scale of Association" diagram, the Team 10 paid much attention to the relations between the components of the urban fabric and not on its components per se. Team 10's "version of architecture, while modern, was nevertheless capable of integrating the existing social order of a specific place and society."²¹



21 WELTER (n. 20), p. 262.

Fig. 10: Valley Section Diagram as included in Doorn Manifesto for CIAM meeting in Doorn, January 1954 (© Het Nieuwe Instituut Collections and Archive, Rotterdam, CIAM Congresses and Team 10 Meetings).

Od Atenske listine do »povezovanja ljudi«: izpodbijanje predpostavk Listine o habitatu

Povzetek

Za Le Corbusierja je bil arhitekt avtoriteta na področju življenja in njegova vloga je bila vedeti, kaj je najboljše za ljudi, kot je razvidno iz tega, kar je izjavil o Atenski listini: »Kdo lahko sprejme ukrepe, potrebne za doseganje te naloge, če ne arhitekt, ki poseduje popolno zavedanje človeka, ki je opustil iluzorne zasnove in ki preišljeno prilagaja sredstva za doseganje zelenih rezultatov, ki bo ustvaril red, ki v sebi nosi svojo lastno poezijo?« Članek se osredotoča na kritiko načel Atenske listine in njeno povezavo s poskusom krepitve stikov med arhitekturo in njenim družbenim, ekonomskim in političnim kontekstom. Po eni strani preučuje namene *Team 10* za nadomestitev štirih funkcij – bivališče, delo, rekreacija in transport – iz Atenske listine s konceptom »povezovanja ljudi« in po drugi strani, vključitev refleksij, ki se nanašajo na vpliv velikosti na oblikovalski proces, v arhitekturo. Deseti CIAM je bil strukturiran okoli dveh skupin, ki sta zastopali dve nasprotujoči si generaciji. Kot je zapisal Nicholas Bullock v delu *Building the Post-war World: Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain*, se je skupina, ki je zastopala interese starejše generacije, osredotočila na delo CIAM-a od njegovih začetkov v obliki listine, podobne Atenski listini, medtem ko je skupina mlajše generacije poskušala razširiti delo CIAM-a, da bi ponovno premislili »osnovno povezavo med ljudmi in življenjem«, kot sta zapisala Alison in Peter Smithson leta 1956. Cilj desetega CIAM-a, ki je potekal v Dubrovniku med 19. in 25. julijem 1956 je bil izpodbijati predpostavke Listine o habitatu. Na tem srečanju, na katerem ni bilo ne Le Corbusierja in ne Walterja Gropiusa, je mlajša generacija, ki so jo zastopali Aldo van Eyck, Jacob Bakema, Georges Candilis, Shadrach Woods ter Alison in Peter Smithson, vzpostavila nov program za masivna bivališča, »Habitat za večje število« (*Habitat for the Greater Number*). Na tem sestanku sta Smithsonova predstavila njuno idejo »Zložljivih hiš« (*Fold Houses*). Pred tem srečanjem so potekali številni sestanki v Londonu, Doornu, Parizu, La Sarrazu in v Padovi. Glavni cilj tega članka je pokazati, kako so razprave, ki so potekale pred CIAM-om, izpodbijale Listino o habitatu.



Display of the Athens Charter Provisions in Architecture of the Massive Residential Construction in Ukraine in 1960–1980s

Olga Mykhaylyshyn, Svitlana Linda

Introduction

The ideas, which were formulated in the Athens Charter (1933), proved to be very relevant during the post-Second World War construction crisis in Europe. Related to the concepts of free urban planning and zoning, standardization and typing of residential buildings, they have helped to solve housing and infrastructure problems relatively quickly and efficiently. It is in this direction that post-war residential architecture developed in Western Europe and the United States. However, the situation in Ukraine, which at the time was one of the republics of the Soviet Union (USSR), was fundamentally different.

During the Second World War, about 70 million m² of dwellings were destroyed in the USSR. However, the development of architecture did not go the most economical way, which allowed to restore military losses in the short term. After 1945 the ideas of classical architectural and spatial organization of streets and quarters continued to dominate the construction of the USSR. In the development of compositional and stylistic decisions of residential buildings, the principle of “palace” dominated. It was expressed in the creation of symmetrical order compositions, the use of classical architectural decor. The historicist orientation of architecture changed dramatically after 1954 - with the coming to power of Nikita Khrushchov, who criticized Stalin’s neoclassics and its architects, who “understand architecture too aesthetically as artistic activity rather than as a means of meeting the pressing needs of the Soviet. It is they who spend people’s money on no one needs the beauty, instead of building simpler, but more.”¹ It was believed that during his leadership in the 1950s and 1960s, socialism in the Soviet Union and, accordingly, in Ukraine, conquered “completely... when, on the basis of fundamental socio-economic, political and spiritual changes in the life

1 Иван БУСАРОВ, История «хрущёвки» (или жилищное строительство СССР в 1950-1960-е годы), *Наука в Мегалополисе*, 6, 2018, <https://mgpu-media.ru/issues/issue-6/historical-science/story-khrushchev.html>, (accessed 20 January 2020).

of Soviet society, established socialist social relations.”² The Soviet press characterized these years as the time of building a socialist society, when all the prerequisites for the immediate construction of communism were already created.³ The New Socialist Society demanded its visual embodiment in new architectural forms. This form in the field of housing has become *khrushchovka* - a house of Khrushchov.

The purpose of the article is to show the construction of areas of mass housing development of the 1960s–1980s as a special phenomenon in the development of Soviet architecture, to characterize the problems that have arisen today due to the long operation of these areas.

Formation of the concept of *khrushchovka*

Thus, in the early 1950s, the problem of providing Soviet people with cheap and affordable housing remained an urgent issue. The first steps towards overcoming the housing crisis were the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR “On measures for further industrialization, quality improvement and reduction of construction costs”, “On elimination of redundancies in design and construction” (1955), “On the Development of Housing in the USSR” (1957). All professional landmarks in urban planning and architecture have changed. Soviet architecture began to return to the mainstream of world trends. In fact, these documents began the process of implementing the ideas of the Athens Charter, but with other ideological accents and without the official mention of Le Corbusier. This was evidenced by all Soviet housing programs. In particular, one of the first was the 1955 Program, which planned to put into operation in 1959–1965 about 100 million m² of total living space.⁴

The requirements of the Charter’s provisions on the quality of living conditions have led to a change in state policy on the resettlement of citizens. In accordance with the aforementioned resolution of 1957 in the USSR the family settlement of apartments instead of *kommunalka* (shared co-living apartments) began, which was justified by ideological and scientific arguments:⁵

- the *kommunalka* was not a project of Soviet power, but a forced means of saving money during industrialization;

2 *Історія Української РСР, Українська РСР у період побудови і зміцнення соціалістичного суспільства (1921–1941)* (ed. П.Гудзенко), 6, Київ 1977, p. 30.

3 *Історія Української РСР, Радянська Україна у період зміцнення соціалізму і поступового переходу до комунізму (1945–70-і роки). Українська РСР в період розвинутого соціалізму і будівництва комунізму (кінець 50-х – 79-і роки)* (ed. В.Клоков), 8/2, Київ 1979, p. 654.

4 Алла ПЛЕШКАНОВСЬКА, Проблеми реновації забудови міських територій, *Містобудування і територіальне планування*, 25, 2006, p. 183.

5 ПОСТАНОВЛЕНИЕ от 31 июля 1957 г., N 931, О развитии жилищного строительства в СССР, http://www.libussr.ru/doc_ussr/ussr_5213.htm (accessed 10 December 2019).

- moving into one apartment of several families can no longer dramatically improve the living standards of these families;
- *kommunalka* - economically disadvantageous type of housing that does not meet modern requirements;
- the problem of *kommunalka* can be solved by mass construction with the use of new technologies.

During the 1950s and 1960s, it was built of traditional and accessible material - bricks, and began the practice of construction of large precast concrete slabs. This idea of building cheap social housing spread in the USSR in the 1950s after M. Khrushchov's visits abroad. Its implementation was made possible by the considerable attention paid by the then-Soviet leader in industrial development and industrialization of construction. For example, in 1959–1964 over 5 thousand large industrial enterprises were built in the USSR, and in 1955–1966 the factory method of construction was mastered, the most optimal engineering and technical solutions and rational construction technology were developed. In the Soviet version, the German Plattenbau (panel construction) was merged with the American pipeline construction. The construction of prefabricated houses was considered a breakthrough, as it provided housing for many families, resettled *kommunalkas* and post-war barracks. In addition, it became a new impetus for the development of industry: factories and plants for the production of building structures were being built in the state. A new stage in the development of mass housing construction began with the adoption of a government decree "On the application of typical projects in construction" (1958). This act has become an instrument of implementation of one of the fundamental concepts of Soviet housing policy for providing each family with an individual apartment through widespread use in the construction of economic model projects of apartment buildings.⁶ Such houses, massively erected throughout the USSR, were called *khrushchovka*. Construction of *khrushchovka* lasted from 1956 to 1985.

Construction of the first quarters of *khrushchovka* (based on the example of Kyiv and Lviv)

The first series (K-7) of typical panel houses, which have been massively built in the USSR since 1958, was the development of Moscow designer V. Lagutenko. The structures were brought to the construction site directly from the plant, installed and finished. Buildings were assembled as a constructor, workers worked in three shifts, and labor productivity increased. Due to the fact that the thickness of the interior panels was 4 cm and the interior 8 cm. At the same time, most of the construction time occupied by the contractors. The five-story building was erected in 12 days, the decoration lasted 30 days, and the construction took about 50

⁶ Історія Української РСР 1973 (п. 3), р. 264.

days in total.⁷ New panel houses were 30% cheaper than brick counterparts.

Five-storey buildings were designed (a six-storey building envisaged a building elevator) with the simplest architectural design, rational planning structure, minimal rooms (8–12 m²), kitchens (on average 4-5 m²), sanitary facilities, low ceiling of apartments (2,3 m). At the time, it was believed that the desire for savings was reflected in the architecture of the same comfort of housing for all, which is a new aesthetic.

In Soviet Ukraine, mass construction was carried out in Kyiv (7.5 million m²), also in cities with highly developed industrial productions: Donetsk (15.7 million m²), Lugansk (10.06 million m²), Odessa (6.22 million m²), Kharkiv (5.19 million m²) and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (3.03 million m²). The total number of houses was about 25 thousand units. The total area of the housing stock built in Ukraine in the period from 1957 to 1972 amounted to 72 million m², or 23% of the total number of urban apartment buildings.⁸

The master plans of the Ukrainian cities, developed immediately after the war, were revised in 1955, and large residential areas of *khrushchovka* began to form from the late 1950s. At this time there is a transition from the quarterly development of the first new residential areas to the creation of large urban entities - neighborhoods, which were a set of residential buildings, clinics, schools, kindergartens within walking distance. The simultaneous construction of large quarters and the complex construction of new areas also had an economic effect.

The adopted principles of "micro-districting" provided for the introduction of functional zoning of the territory and the corresponding structure of the public service system, and also led to significant changes in the composite construction of residential areas - the application of the principle of "free planning." This vision of urban space organization directly correlated with the provisions of the Athens Charter on four types of urban planning functions: work, housing, leisure, communication. It was considered that the allocation of the corresponding zones reflects the progressive direction in the development of the entire Soviet urban development, since in this case the prerequisites for a coherent spatial organization of the city, where housing, service and recreation facilities are harmoniously combined. The terrain, location of roads and industrial enterprises were taken into account.⁹

The idea of pedestrian accessibility needed for the comfortable life of residents in the city became a marker reflecting another aspect of the impact of the Athens Charter on Soviet urban development: the daily functions cycle should be defined in urban planning, with strict time and attention given to housing as the main function of city planning. Organization of transportation

⁷ Уляна ГРОМОВА, "Хрущовки" як спроба вирішення квартирної проблеми в СРСР, <http://pobudovano.com.ua/news/khrushchovki-sproba-virishennya-kvartirnoho-pitannya-v-srsr> (accessed 12 January 2020); Серия "К-7", http://tipdoma.ru/series_k-7.html (accessed 20 January 2020).

⁸ ПЛЕШКАНОВСЬКА 2006 (п. 4), р. 183.

⁹ Соломон РАЙЗМАН, Николай МИКУЛА, Ярослав НОВАКОВСКИЙ. Растут и благоустраиваются города области, *Строительство и архитектура*, 9, 1967, pp. 5–7.

in the city and housing became another key task that architects had to address. That is, completely changed the urban planning principles. The city was involved in mathematical and statistical science: carefully modeled the life of society in new neighborhoods, calculated the needs of residents, calculated the optimal routes to places of work, schools, clinics. Social preconditions have changed, the new city was seen as a comfortable space for the whole population.

Modernist architecture of the second half of the 1950s departed from the characteristic of architecture in general, with its form and space. Its new beauty was finding the right balance, in the perfect combination of architectural tools for a perfect life. "The architect's task is to organize not only the space of the building but also the open space between the buildings" wrote the architects of the 1960s. Thoughtful organization of this space, balance between its elements and properly placed accents - this is what was needed for the city to work properly. In this paradigm, an individual house ceases to be understood as a self-contained architectural object, becoming a detail of the area - a "social machine" and a detail of the city - a "production machine."¹⁰

The first housing estate of the capital of Ukraine in Kiev, which was built by the method of the so-called industrial house building, became May Day housing estate. The land was built in 1956 on an area of 33 hectares, and then the territory increased several times, reaching more than 220 hectares. The building was carried out in three stages. If in the first stage the territory was divided into the same small quarters with perimeter building, then in the second stage the peculiarities of the terrain were taken into account, attempts were made to increase the attractiveness of the buildings, to prevent the monotony and to decorate the facades if possible. In the development of the array, much attention was paid to landscaping yard, streets and squares. Commercial and cultural services facilities were located in separate two-story insert houses. Thus, 15% of the territory was earmarked for construction, 57% for green space and 28% for streets. At present, more than 27,500 people live on the territory of May Day Residential.¹¹

In the future, the *khreshchovka* residential complexes of Chokolivka, Syrets, Windy Mountains, Otradny, Nyvky, Nova Borschagivka, Akademmistechko, etc. were built in Kyiv. on the right bank of the Dnieper, Sotsmisto, Voskresenka, Lisovyy, Nova Darnitsa - on the left one. However, the *khreshchovka* were built not only compactly within residential areas, but also housed between historic buildings in the central areas of the city on the site of destroyed buildings. The construction of new large housing estates required considerable vacant areas within the city, which were mostly located on the left bank of the Dnipro River in the mid-1950s, but much of it flooded during the floods. That is why the lands for the first residential areas on

10 Николай ЕРОФЕЕВ, Эстетика советской жилой архитектуры, <https://archi.ru/russia/64030/estetika-sovetskoi-zhiloi-arkhitektury> (accessed 16 December 2019).

11 Михаил ШУЛЬКЕВИЧ, Талида ДМИТРЕНКО, Киев: *Архитектурно-исторический очерк*, Kyiv 1978, pp.160-161.

the Left Bank were allocated 3-5 km away from the Dnipro, among them the residential area of the Leningrad (now Darnyts'ka) area, called Sotsmisto. Its construction began in 1957 on a free area of more than 420 ha.¹²

In the first phase, the construction of an array of five-story residential buildings was characterized by regular perimeter planning, and in the next phase, elements of free space planning were more widely used. In 1966-1967 five-stories residential buildings were built, along with them nine-stories buildings also were construct with the infrastructure such as kindergartens and other facilities. Social infrastructure facilities were located mainly on the first floors of residential buildings, as well as in separate two-story buildings. Darnytska Square as a large transport hub became the center of the planning district. Currently, over 71,000 people live on the territory of the Sotsmisto housing estate.

The most densely built up *khreshchovka* residential area was Nyvky, with an area of more than 502 hectares, whose construction began in 1958 at the place where the farms and villas were located. The development also took place in several stages. Initially, only five-storey houses in small rectangular quarters with dense buildings around the perimeter and within quarters were erected next to private houses and garden areas. Since 1965, the construction of high-rise buildings and the organization of large quarters began. Currently, over 54 thousand people live in the territory of the Nyvky residential area.¹³

In Lviv, in 1959 architects A. Barabash and V. Tolmachev began working out a plan for detailed planning of a housing estate in the shape of three residential districts within the radial streets of Kulparkivska and Stryiska. At the end of the year, the development of the first 38-hectare residential district was completed, which was designed for 11,500 people. The neighborhood was designed as groups of neighborhoods united by a network of cultural and community buildings. Residential homes, schools and kindergartens were located in the most favorable areas, away from noise and pollution sources.¹⁴

In 1962, a large-panel house with a capacity of 30 thousand m² came into operation in Lviv, and subsequently 70 thousand m² a year, where the construction of panel 5-storey buildings was completed. In addition, factory of reinforced concrete products was operating on the Stryiska street. In order to provide the construction program, it was necessary to commission another 80-100,000 km² living space for nine-storey buildings. As a result, the construction of Lviv during the first five years was mainly carried out by five-storey houses with a small volume of nine-storey brick houses, which accounted for approximately 7.2% of the total construction volume. It was anticipated that with the introduction of the new building codes, the proportion

12 ШУЛЬКЕВИЧ, ДМИТРЕНКО 1978 (н. 11), p. 162.

13 ШУЛЬКЕВИЧ, ДМИТРЕНКО 1978 (н. 11), pp. 184-185.

14 В. УСПЕНСКИЙ. Проектирование новых жилых районов (из опыта работы Гипрограда УССР), *Строительство и архитектура*, 11, 1959, pp. 2-5.



Fig. 1: The first quarter with typical multi-storey buildings on the Pasichna street in Lviv, built in the late 1950s under the design of L. Nivina and S. Dorosh (photo: O. Morklyanyk).



Fig. 2: Construction of a residential district by five-storey paneled houses at Naukova street in Lviv, built in the late 1960s (photo: O. Morklyanyk).

of nine-storey construction would increase sharply to 18.8% per year in 1970.¹⁵

The first quarters with typical multi-storey buildings were the blocks on the Pasichna street, built in the late 1950s under the design of L. Nivina and S. Dorosh; on the Uhorska street (arch. A. Kamenska), on the May 1 street and Kakhovska street (arch. P. Cont, L. Nivina, A. Consulov). The construction of these first quarters was supposed to be a comprehensive one, which included schools, kindergartens, and trade enterprises. The main compositional technique was the placement of four-, five-storey houses on the periphery of the quarters or in a row with the end facing towards the roadway. The first major residential area designed on the principle of micro-districting was the area between Horodotska, Vyhovskogo, Lublinska streets and railway tracks. One of the first districts of large-panel housing construction (arch. L. Nivina, A. Konsulov) was erected on the territory adjacent to Horodotska and Vygovs'kogo streets. The basis of the composition was the principle of forming residential groups of five-storey buildings, placed perpendicular to each other. At that time, typical large-scale housing construction projects did not include built-in retail outlets, so separate brick houses were built for these establishments with built-in stores.

In the neighborhood between Kulparkivska and Stryiska streets residential buildings of typical series 1-438 were adopted for the development. In general, this series included typical projects of 3–4–5 storey buildings. Mostly these were two-section houses. Each section was formed by four small-sized apartments: three two-room (living space 31, 84 m², total area 43, 98 m²) and one three-room (living area 41,85 m², total area 56, 3 m²).

One of the first houses of the typical series 1–464 were built along the Pasichna street. These

were the first large-panel houses designed by the KyivZNDIEP Institute and were the most widespread in Ukraine. The design of the series was based on a cross-wall structural system. The supporting skeleton of the houses of this series became the transverse reinforced concrete walls, located in steps of 3.2 m and 2.6 m (thanks to this the houses of this type were called houses with the “narrow” step of the transverse walls). They were supported by reinforced concrete floor slabs with the size of “per room”. The end and row sections were practically identical to the living units. On one floor of the private section were located four two-room apartments with the minimum admissible standards of area: the hallway area was 2,8 m², the combined bathroom 2,87 m², the kitchen 5,8 m², the area of one room was 13,88 m², and the other 19,02 m², though the rooms were accessible. The front section provided one one-room and three two-room apartments with similar technical and economic indicators. The peculiarity of Lviv housing in the 1960s was the fact that in Lviv there were basements under houses, while they were not made everywhere in Ukraine.¹⁶

Improvement in the design of residential districts of the Southern planning region was achieved through the completion of the 1–464 series. The nomenclature of five-storey and nine-storey buildings has expanded. In particular, the draft series 1–464D–102, which was finalized in Moscow and put into operation in 1967.

The project of the first residential district on the Khmelnytskyi street was developed in the early 1960's (arch. M. Mikula, L. Kamenska, O. Radomsky). It is used in a series of five-storey large-panel houses series 1–464, ten-section house along the Khmelnytskyi street and point 12 –storey buildings and sides of the Grinchenko street.

15 Archive of the Design Institute «Giprograd», Lviv, 1966, Проект размещения I-ой очереди строительства: Explanatory note, Львов: Гипроград, 1966.

16 Оксана МОКЛЯНИК, *Формування архітектури житла в умовах соціальних трансформацій (на прикладі житлової архітектури Львова на прикладі радянського і пострадянського періоду)* (Doctoral dissertation), Lviv 2006, pp. 99–100.

The new neighborhoods, designed in the early 1970s, were significantly different from those ones built earlier and were built in the typical five-story 1–438 and 1–464 buildings. Already at the time, it was recognized that the limited nomenclature caused the uniformity of neighborhoods. The main goal of the designers was the desire to expand the nomenclature of typical projects. Thus, in projects of typical series 67 and 87 of residential district “Sriblyasty” (Silvery) there are provided apartments of improved planning: enlarged areas of kitchens, in two-room apartments separate bathrooms are designed, cells are provided. The plastic solution of the facades of the houses has been improved due to the removal of the premises for drying linen, the combination of loggias and balconies, and individual elements of the locking of buildings.¹⁷

According to the same principles, housing was deployed in all cities and towns of Ukraine.

Advantages and disadvantages of *khrushchovka* and its fate

Initially, *khrushchovka* was considered a temporary dwelling for 25 years, and later their service life was increased to 50–60 years. This means that the first homes built in 1957 hit a critical mark and should be demolished in 2017. However, there are now opinions that with regular overhaul of *khrushchovka* the service life can be extended to 150 years. As evidence of the feasibility of preserving residential areas of *khrushchovka* include such facts as the comparative cheap housing (apartments in “*khrushchovka*” are the most sought flats for poor categories of the population, young families, students, single people), good infrastructure of residential areas, a large percentage of landscaping. However, the disadvantages are also obvious: too small flats, lack of utility rooms, poor quality of work performance, respectively, poor technical condition of buildings. The repair of the *khrushchovka* was carried out irregularly, the engineering infrastructure of most buildings is worn out. Therefore, the issue of the further fate of *khrushchovka* needs to be addressed first.

The Khrushchov housing estates were built as mass housing for the working class, and in most cases they were located near industrial enterprises. Due to the decline or closure of these enterprises, changes in the functional purpose of industrial premises (in particular, the creation of shopping, entertainment, office, art centers in the premises and on the site of former industrial enterprises) lost the connection of residents with the surrounding area. Therefore, among the residents of the *khrushchovka* of the older age groups, the strategy of “surviving” in such residential areas prevails, and the population of the younger age groups views them within the framework of the transit strategy, that is, as “temporary stops” within the life cycle, in the way of career growth, creation family.

In 2006, the decree “On complex reconstruction of quarters (residential districts) of obsolete housing stock” (residential buildings up to five floors) was adopted in Ukraine. At least 60%

of the structural components of *khrushchovka* are worn.¹⁸ There are three basic approaches to solving the problem of housing stock renewal and creating comfortable living conditions:

- preservation of the existing housing stock with its further overhaul and modernization (for residential buildings that do not require improvement of apartment planning, and with physical deterioration of the basic elements up to 60%);
- reconstruction of buildings (for residential buildings requiring replacement of floors and / or redevelopment of apartments, subject to physical deterioration of the basic elements up to 40%) with possible application, depending on the structural schemes of buildings, superstructures, “inserts” and additions for obtaining modern apartments that meet the commercial demand of today and new premises for retail, public and catering establishments, as well as offices;
- renovation or complete demolition of houses with the subsequent construction of new housing, which corresponds to modern ideas about comfort of living (for residential buildings that have a physical deterioration of the basic elements over 40%) with complex improvement of residential areas.

In order to implement this decree, it was planned to demolish old *khrushchovka* in Kiev and to build new modern multi-storey buildings in their place.

In 2008, the Urban Planning Institute of Kyiv developed a program for comprehensive reconstruction of quarters (residential districts) of obsolete housing stock, according to it the program of the resettlement of demolished *khrushchovka* residents was developed. According to this program, about 6.9 million m² of housing stock (which includes both *khrushchovka* and *stalinka*) is to be demolished in Kyiv, and the area of potential reconstruction is about 1500 hectares. Demolition of *khrushchovka* in Kiev was planned to start from the residential area of Nivky (Academic Tupolev and Marshal Grechko streets), and then - Sotsmista. By 2025, it is envisaged to complete the complete renovation of the 11 quarters of the first mass series residential buildings. But the process of demolition of *khrushchovka* has not started, due to both economic factors, lack of investors, and the disagreement of the residents of the old houses on resettlement.

There are two opposing points of view regarding the further fate of *khrushchovka* in Kiev. On the one hand, the complete renovation of such residential areas is cost-effective, since the demolition of five-storey buildings and the construction of the territory by buildings of a much higher altitude are more profitable both in terms of city development and for investors. To this should be added the fact that the requirements of the population for the architectural and planning qualities of the housing significantly increased. It is also important that as a result of the expansion of the city the arrays of *khrushchovka* appeared in the middle and

17 МОКЛЯНИК 2006 (н. 16), р. 101.

18 Про комплексну реконструкцію кварталів (мікрорайонів) застарілого житлового фонду (2007): Закон України від 22 грудня 2006 року, N 525-V, *Відомості Верховної Ради України*, 10, 2007, р. 88.

central parts with higher land values, which caused a discrepancy between the urban value of these territories and the quality of the housing stock. Therefore, there are concerns about the ineffective use of the city land fund under five-storey buildings. Part of the residents support this view, calling their homes *khrushchoba* (a term that refers to *khrushchovka* as *slums*) and emphasizing the critical condition of their engineering infrastructure, heat conservation issues, inconvenient apartment planning and more. On the other hand, the opinion is expressed about the need to preserve the housing blocks of *khrushchovka* as a cultural and historical heritage of the city, as an example of socialist planning with a well-developed network of social infrastructure institutions, as areas with a high share of green space, etc.

Discussions about the further fate of areas of mass housing development in the 1960s and 1980s continue in other cities of Ukraine.

Conclusions

Thus, the process of designing districts in Soviet cities gave architects a unique chance to implement the functionalist principles of urban space organization - from the project to its implementation, both at the level of regional planning and at the level of individual apartments. This significantly differentiated Soviet designers from most Western European intellectual architects who were predominantly engaged in developing architectural concepts.

During the 1960s and 1980s, a qualitatively new phase in the development of urban planning and architecture of Ukraine was connected with the large-scale construction of *khrushchovka*. The construction of neighborhoods in the cities was based on the principles of functional zoning, it envisaged a complex development with schools, kindergartens, medical institutions, businesses and businesses. 4-, 5-storey buildings were built of precast concrete structures or bricks. The widespread use of typical and redesign methods in architectural practice has enabled relatively large volumes of residential construction to be achieved in a relatively short time. Building on typical projects was considered as one of the means of ensuring social equality. Such architecture formed a new urban landscape, embodied a new doctrine of development of Soviet society, which was based on the concept of "Soviet man" - the man of the future.

Today, an unspecified fate of *khrushchovka* quarters remains. On the one hand, the advantages of living in such quarters are stated, on the other - it is about the economic inappropriateness of their operation. A separate problem is the definition and recognition of the historical value of such housing estates. The fact of the *khrushchovka* phenomenon in the overall architectural context is undeniable. These residential quarters really shaped the "face" of their era, becoming its visual recognizable symbols. However, their widespread distribution, poor performance and poor quality of construction, certain "dislike" of society to *khrushchovka*, are serious obstacle to the recognition of the value of these estates, and therefore problematic is the protection of this unique heritage.

Prikaz določil Atenske listine v arhitekturi masivne stanovanjske gradnje v Ukrajini od 1960-tih do 1980-tih

Povzetek

Historična usmeritev arhitekture v Sovjetski zvezi in Ukrajini se je dramatično spremenila po tem, ko je leta 1954 prišel na oblast Nikita Hruščov. Začetek sprememb je predstavljal sklep KPSZ Centralnega komiteja in ZSSR Sveta ministrov »O odpravi odvečnega v oblikovanju in gradbeništvu« (1955). S tem dokumentom se je začel proces implementiranja idej Atenske listine (1933), vendar z drugimi ideološkimi poudarki in brez uradne omembe Le Corbusiera. Obodni razvoj okrožij in prehodnih ulic je zamenjalo načelo »prostega planiranja«, ki je odražalo »progresivno smer« v razvoju sovjetskega urbanističnega načrtovanja. Široka uporaba tipičnih oblikovalskih metod in arhitekturna praksa sta omogočili, da so bile v relativno kratkem času zgrajene velike količine stanovanjskih zgradb. Istočasno je bila tipična gradnja razumljena kot eden izmed načinov zagotavljanja socialne enakosti. Med 1959 in 1985 je gradnja okrožij v ukrajinskih mestih temeljila na načelih funkcionalnega coniranja, ki so predvidevala razvoj kompleksov s šolami, vrtci, zdravstvenimi ustanovami, obrtjo in vsakodnevnimi dejavnostmi. Omejeno število tipov stanovanj ni prispevalo k ustvarjanju udobnega okolja za bivanje človeka. Danes so okrožja masivnih stanovanjskih naselij (t. i. »Hruščovova okrožja«) v Ukrajini postala problematična za mesta. Po eni strani so zaradi velike količine zelenih con in dobre infrastrukture privlačna za živeti, po drugi strani pa stanovanja z minimalnim prostorom in nizko kvaliteto gradnje niso popularna na nepremičninskem trgu. Danes se odločajo o usodi Hruščovovih okrožij v ukrajinskih mestih – strokovnjaki priporočajo, da se jih poruši in da se namesto njih zgradijo okrožja novih stanovanjskih naselij.

Introduction

The most relevant book that describes in detail and analyses the events connected to the CIAM congresses – from the establishment until the decline of the movement – is the work of Eric Mumford titled *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*.¹ In the book, the Yugoslav CIAM, the 10th CIAM congress in Dubrovnik, Zagreb and its analytical plan, and architects Ernest Weissmann, Vladimir Antolić, Drago Ibler and Radovan Nikšić are mentioned. Slovenian architects are not mentioned in the book and it appears that “CIAMism” and the events connected to it completely passed us by. Architectural theoretic Fedja Košir also wrote about our tardiness, a belated “ciamism” in the chapter Between the CIAM and the Bauhaus movements 1950–1965.² But is this true?

Based on the number of attendants in the atelier of architect Le Corbusier and his cousin Pierre Jeanneret at the 35, Rue de Sèvres, before the Second World War Slovenians are placed at the top.³ Moreover, their role and importance in the atelier are not insignificant.⁴ What are the reasons that Slovenian architects did not participate more actively in the congress activities of the international congresses of modern architecture (fr. *Congres internationaux d'architecture moderne*) or CIAM for short before the Second World War and after it. The congresses were held in the period of a good 30 years, thus from 1928 when the first founding congress was held in Swiss town La Sarraz, until the last, 11th congress in 1959 in the town of Otterlo in the Netherlands, when the movement dissolved. In the article I research the reasons and

- 1 Eric Paul MUMFORD, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, Cambridge-London 2000. The preface of the book was written by architectural historian Kenneth Frampton.
- 2 Fedja KOŠIR, *Zapozneno ciamovstvo. Med ciamovstvom in bauhausovstvom. K Arhitekturi (3. del), Razvoj arhitekturne teorije na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 2007, pp. 160–198.
- 3 After the French and Swiss architects and architects from USA. Plečnik's students, architects Miroslav Oražem, Milan Sever, Hrvoje Brnčić, Marjan Tepina, Jovan Krunić, Edvard Ravnikar and Marko Župančič; Behrens' student, architect Feri Novak, and civil engineers Fran Tavčar and Janko Bleiweis worked in the atelier.
- 4 More in: Bogo ZUPANČIČ, *Plečnikovi študenti in drugi jugoslovanski arhitekti v Le Corbusierovem ateljeju*, Ljubljana 2017.

factors for a poor connection of Slovenian architects with the CIAM congresses. What were the causes for the fact that Slovenian architects attended the congresses only towards the decline of the movement? What was happening with these factors before the Second World War and after it?

The absence of Slovenian architects from the CIAM congresses before the Second World War Architects Weissmann, Antolić and the Work Group Zagreb and Slovenian architects

The CIAM congresses present only a part of the connections of Slovenian architects with international professional environment. Traditionally, Slovenian space was most connected and susceptible to German and Slavic influences, partly also Italian, while after the First World War, it began to open up more to French and American cultures. In the territory of Yugoslavia, the contacts with CIAM were first established by Croatian architects.⁵ In 1928, owing to his international reputation, Zagreb architect of Jewish descent Hugo Ehrlich (1879–1936) was invited to the constituent assembly of CIAM in La Sarraz in Switzerland.⁶ Supposedly, Ehrlich did not come to La Sarraz in solidarity with his friend, architect Adolf Loos, who seemingly was not invited.

After finishing Technical High School in Zagreb, Croatian architect of Jewish descent Ernest Weissmann (1903–1985) first worked with architect Adolf Loos in Paris between 1926 and 1927, and later in the atelier of Le Corbusier and his cousin Pierre Jeanneret, also in Paris.⁷ Weissmann was one of the first young architects, who worked at the atelier; he helped with the first, key projects, which were crucial for their breakthrough in the international architectural arena. Le Corbusier did not only value him and therefore paid him as a co-worker, but he also helped him in general. Their collaboration was particularly strong between 1927 and 1930, when Weissmann worked at the atelier, and occasionally up until 1937, when he collaborated with Le Corbusier, for example on his project *Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux* and the 5th congress of CIAM in Paris. Le Corbusier enabled young Weissmann the entrance into the prestigious world of the most important architectural events and personalities connected to modern architecture. Weissmann became a member of CIAM and CIRPAC, the highest body of this organization, as early as 1928.⁸ When Weissmann attended the second congress of

- 5 Several Croatian authors write about this, such as Tomislav PREMERL, *CIAM i naša međuratna arhitektura, Arhitektura*, 189–195, Zagreb 1984–1985; Tamara BJAŽIĆ KLARIN, *Ernest Weissmann: Društveno angažirana arhitektura, 1926. – 1939.*, Zagreb 2015. Tamara BJAŽIĆ KLARIN, *CIAM networking - Međunarodni kongres moderne arhitekture i hrvatski arhitekti 1950-ih godina / CIAM Networking – International Congress of Modern Architecture and Croatian Architects in the 1950s*, 2017, *Život umjetnosti*, 99, pp. 40–57.
- 6 For more on the architect, see: *Židovski biografski leksikon*, Hugo Ehrlich, <http://zbl.lzmk.hr/> (access 6 February 2020).
- 7 For more on the architect, see: *Židovski biografski leksikon*, Ernest Weissmann, <http://zbl.lzmk.hr/> (access 6 February 2020).
- 8 CIRPAC = international committee for solving contemporary architectural problems (fr. *Comité Internationale pour la Résolution des Problèmes de l'Architecture Contemporaine*)

CIAM in Frankfurt in 1929, the topic of which were apartments for the subsistence level and the building regulations, he recognized and saw possible solutions for the question of housing in a capitalist environment. He visited the Weissenhof housing estate near Stuttgart with left-wing supporters, architects, and then the Neue Frankfurt under the leadership of Ernest May, where based on real examples, he became familiar with the results of the social politics of the Weimar Republic, the leading patron of modern architecture.⁹ As Weissmann was also familiar with Zagreb's poor housing conditions and the hygienic conditions connected to them, he advocated for the use of similar solutions to solve the issue of housing conditions in Zagreb. He was the promoter of the foundation of cooperative Work Group Zagreb (WGZ),¹⁰ which is important because the group actively participated at the 4th CIAM congress in Athens. Politically, Weissmann was a left-wing architect, he advocated for a relationship between CIAM and the Soviet Union, he was highly critical of CIAM and CIRPAC's work; he reproached them elitism, exclusivity, closed nature and their service to international big capital. In accordance with these findings, his work was consistently socially engaged, from the beginning until the end, when he was a high representative of United Nations (UN)! His belief was that the new international style, modern or functional architecture must be a reflection of the time and the new social changes. He was convinced that West European countries and the USA took over the architectural expression of the newly emerging modern socialist society, which rose with the October Revolution in Russia and the Weimar Republic in Germany. He was surprised by bourgeois-capitalistically oriented architects, also by Le Corbusier, for spending so much time on technical, material questions of construction and less on socially important questions. He wrote in his article "Imali smo drugu verziju povelje" [We had another version of Charter]:¹¹ "Unfortunately, CIAM was an elite, exclusive organization. National groups proposed CIRPAC candidates for the membership in CIAM. In the same way the 'delegates' of CIAM were chosen and confirmed. Aside from leading their national groups, the delegates were members of CIRPAC and with that, the judges of contemporary architecture. That was, and remained, a closed circle of international 'elite' in the movement of modern architecture. Together with several young delegates and colleagues (membership candidates) our group prompted the

9 BJAŽIĆ KLARIN 2015 (n. 5), pp. 43–44.

10 Work Group Zagreb (cro. Radna grupa Zagreb, slo. Delovna skupina Zagreb) or WGZ was a group of architects and construction experts, members of which were Vladimir Antolić, Josip Pičman, Josip Seissel, Viktor Hećimović, Zvonimir Kavurić, Bogdan Teodorović and Ernest Weissmann. It was founded as a cooperative on the initiative of Weissmann in 1932. It advocated for progressive ideas of modern architecture and in 1933, as a national section for Yugoslavia at the 4th congress in Athens, it was accepted into the CIAM membership. Part of the material that they prepared for the congress in Athens on the social role of contemporary urbanism, especially of the mid-war period in Zagreb, illegal construction on the outskirts of Zagreb and other, was exhibited at the exhibition of Umetniška skupina Zemlja (The Earth Group) in 1932. Among other things, they prepared a project titled Agriculture and forestry of the Faculty in Zagreb (1932–35; the agronomic pavilion and the pavilion of dairy production were executed), with which they attempted to establish an organic approach in architecture. The group operated for a few years on Croatian cultural scene by participating in architectural competitions, exhibitions and public polemics.

11 Ernest WEISSMANN, Imali smo drugu verziju povelje, *Arhitektura*, 189–195, Zagreb 1984–1985, pp. 32–37.

action for the 'democratization' of CIAM (England, Spain, France)."

Numerous Croatian researchers of architecture study architect Vladimir Antolić (1903–1981) and his work before and after the Second World War because his professionalism and oeuvre exceed local context and because of his connection to CIAM. As a town urban planner and a representative of CIAM for Yugoslavia, Antolić instilled the principles of CIAM in the regulation plan of Zagreb. After the Second World War, at the initiative of Weissmann, who was a senior official at UN in New York at that time, he worked in southeastern Asia with a similar intention. In the book *Le Corbusier i hrvatska škola arhitekture* [Le Corbusier and the Croatian School of Architecture], Vedran Ivanković dedicated to him the eight chapter.¹² Antolić was a full member of CIAM from 1932 to 1939 and participated at all CIAM congresses and other meetings, such as in Athens, Amsterdam, Paris, Zürich and Budapest. In 1933 he signed the Athens Charter, with which Le Corbusier set the foundations of modern town planning and which is one of the most important documents of functional urbanism.

In professional world literature, the Yugoslav CIAM group is connected to Zagreb and WGZ and not to other urban middles in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, such as Belgrade, Ljubljana and Sarajevo. In the 1930s, the connections between Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian and other architects existed, however, they were not as strong as to expand over national environments into an integrated activity on the level of the whole country. The Yugoslav CIAM group was focused on the circle of architects from Zagreb and Zagreb itself, which was known as the financial centre of the country and was at least two times larger than Ljubljana at the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.¹³ In Zagreb, social contrasts connected to the urban development of the city, which were the consequence of rapid urbanization, were more visible than in Ljubljana, even though Ljubljana also had poor suburbs and areas of poverty, such as were Sibirija, Gramozna jama and "Ljubljana's London".

At the newly founded Department of architecture at the Technical Faculty of the University of Ljubljana (OzA TF UL) in 1920, at the time of the foundation of the Bauhaus school in Germany and the rise of functionalism and the CIAM congresses, Prof. Jože Plečnik discouraged his students from modern movement, even though in the Viennese period he was known as the pioneer of modernity, and enthused them about classical principles in architecture. He understood modernism in a different way! Plečnik also had an influence on the regulation of the town through the head of the construction office of the Municipality of Ljubljana, Eng. Matko Prelovšek, since several of Plečnik's graduates were employed at the office. It was different in Zagreb, they had younger architects in the office, who were well acquainted with modern urban tendencies. Zagreb became the centre of modern movement, even though Yugoslavia was known as an agricultural country. Moreover, Croatians had good international connections and several important people in positions connected to architecture. Ljubo(mir)

12 Vedran IVANKOVIĆ, *Le Corbusier i hrvatska škola arhitekture*, Zagreb 2016, pp. 153–178.

13 Without peri-urban municipalities, Ljubljana had slightly less than 60.000 inhabitants in 1931.

Ilić from Split was a correspondent of the *AA* magazine in Paris, while several Croatian architects were active and strongly represented with articles in the magazine *Arhitektura* [Architecture], which was published in Ljubljana between 1931 and 1934.¹⁴ It appears that the contacts were pragmatically business-like!

Slovenian architects were not included in the pre-war CIAM movement. On the one hand, based on the number of Slovenian architects among all architects in Le Corbusier's atelier in Paris, this fact is somewhat surprising. On the other hand, knowing Slovenian circumstances and a different view of the charismatic Prof. Plečnik towards the urban problem topical at that time, it is not. It can be gathered from available sources that, in contrast to strong relations with architect Juraj Neidhardt (1901–1979), Slovenian architects who worked in Le Corbusier's atelier in Paris did not know architect Weissmann. Architect Miroslav Oražem, Plečnik's first student in Le Corbusier's atelier, worked there in April 1929 and in the study year 1930/31, when Weissmann had already returned to Zagreb, which is why it is not really plausible that they would have met there. Architect Milan Sever did exhibit with Weissmann and Neidhardt in the Cahier d'Art gallery in Paris in 1935,¹⁵ however, it is unknown whether they met. It is known from the letter of architect Vladimir Braco Mušič, who studied at Harvard Graduate School of Design in Cambridge,¹⁶ to his cousin in Ljubljana that Weissmann was an acquaintance of architect Marjan Tepina,¹⁷ however, they probably met only after the Second World War. Ravnikar and Weissmann did meet, but probably only after 1945. In the chapter *Suradnici iz Jugoslavije* [Co-workers from Yugoslavia], Weissmann wrote about Ravnikar: "Edo Ravnikar was in the atelier before my arrival. [It is unknown which departure from the atelier Weissmann

14 In the magazine, Weissmann presented the Jewish hospital in Zagreb, several articles on modern architecture were contributed by his friend, art historian Bogdan Rajakovic, Antolić published two articles. In 1931, Antolić received the fifth prize at the competition for the new Ljubljana railway station; the journal *Slovenec* reported about it on 15th November 1931.

15 ZUPANČIČ 2017 (n. 4), p. 70: "Architects Milan Sever and Juraj Neidhardt were good friends, despite minor disagreements; they were both closely connected to architect Dušan Grabrijan, Neidhardt was even his best man. All three helped each other and informed each other about all important events. Neidhardt invited Sever to his exhibition *Jeunes architectes*, which was on display at the Cahiers d'Art gallery in Paris in February and March 1935. Sever is described as a man from Zagreb in the excellent company of ambitious young Zagreb architects Neidhardt and Weissmann. Listed among the exhibitors were also furniture designer Charlotte Perriand, architect Michel Roux from Paris and others."

16 He enrolled in HGSD through the arranging of Ernest Weissmann, who, according to what Mušič told to the author of the article, knew well Mušič's mother Erna, née Uzelac, from the time he spent in Zagreb.

17 ZUPANČIČ 2017 (n. 4), p. 193: In a letter from Cambridge from 15th October 1963, Braco Mušič mentioned to his cousin, architect Marko Mušič from Ljubljana that architects Weissmann and Marjan Tepina knew each other, however, not much was known about it. He wrote, "Dear Marko, as you have probably heard, I am presently stationed at Harvard at the Urban Design Studio, which is a constituent part of the Graduate School of Design, 'Dean J. L. Sert'. There have been some troubles with formal registration since I arrived late, however, for this year they accepted me and gave me a program and work in the scope of the regular course. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt 'Ciam Dubrovnik', whom I have met by chance in the United Nations, when I was visiting arch. Ernest Weissmann for a recommendation for Sert, was of great help. By the way: Weissmann was a close acquaintance of M. Tepina and very interested in the state and development of our urbanism."

had in mind, author's note] I did not meet him in Paris or at the congresses. As far as I am aware, he was not a member of CIAM before 1937."¹⁸ Weissmann and Ravnikar later became members of JAZU [Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts] in Zagreb, as did Neidhardt. In the necrology of Juraj Neidhardt, Ravnikar allowed himself to compare Neidhardt with Sert and Weissmann.¹⁹ Surprisingly, he assessed the latter somewhat critically based on his formal and aesthetic expression.

The supremacy of Plečnik's doctrine and personality and the slowed down (modern) urbanity

In 1920, Prof. Plečnik moved from Prague to Ljubljana owing to his teaching at the OzA TF UL. He worked intensively on his students' seminar work and oversaw their development. He did not allow a departure from the functionalist direction, especially not with the generation from the 1920s, with whom he was particularly strict.²⁰ It was different with the generation of students from the 1930s, with whom, owing to numerous works, he somewhat lessened his strictness as he began to dedicate himself ever more to the construction of the national capital. It was precisely this generation, from which more than a quarter of his graduates began working in Le Corbusier's atelier in Paris,²¹ that produced the turn towards the direction of modern architecture in Slovenia. This includes standing up for public architectural and urban competitions, the desire for the establishment of architectural magazine *Krog* [The Circle] and advocating for greater engagement of younger architects in the profession and the society. At that time a defining moment happened as young architect Ravnikar, who was drawing Plečnik's project for the Modern gallery in Ljubljana, took the project from him and completed it according to his own idea. A real explosion of modernist thoughts occurred after

18 WEISSMANN 1984–1985 (n. 11), p. 36.

19 E. R. (Edvard Ravnikar), In memoriam, Juraj Neidhardt, *Arhitektov bilten*, 44/45, 1979, pp. 9–10: "Neidhardt remained there for years and organized many project works in the atelier, which were crucial for Le Corbusier's breakthrough; it can be said that for the first time in the history of architecture such a breakthrough on a global scale and in global formalization of the concept of architecture occurred. His path will be more clear to us if we think about some parallel examples; of course, many more could be presented. I think, except from him, of Weissmann and J. L. Sert and their different future paths. We know how in Zagreb, after projects made in a completely adequate Corbusier manner, Weissmann gave up the latter and clung onto Mendelsohn's cumbersome manner. Or how J. L. Sert, later boss at Harvard, a participant in and an invalid of the Spanish civil war, who in the LC atelier was far from being as important as the quiet hero of the then Le Corbusier's phase, and as an emigrant still found his place in America with entirely different possibilities than those that remained for Neidhardt in the homeland."

20 Worth mentioning among Plečnik's students of the first generation from the 1920s are the names of those, who later in their careers somewhat moved away from their professor's principles, which is something that Plečnik allowed. These were architects France Tomažič, Dušan Grabrijan, Dragotin Fatur, Maks Strenar, Marjan Mušič, Miroslav Oražem, Domicijan Serajnik, Janko Omahen and possibly others.

21 This were Sever, Brnčić, Tepina, Krunic, Ravnikar and Župančič. The circle around Ravnikar, Tepina and Sever, to which (occasionally) joined architects from the first generation from the 1920s, was especially active.

the Second World War, at the time of the rebuilding of the demolished homeland, when it was necessary to quickly and efficiently build a better world as soon as possible. Owing to the rationality and the housing minimum, larger, spacious apartments and duplexes in accordance with the model of Le Corbusier's works, were not built in Ljubljana. In the necrology in memory of Le Corbusier, Ravnikar wrote that in Slovenia, Le Corbusier's influence was greater in the field of urbanism than architecture: "Much more in urbanism than in architecture did our youth relied on his principles, his thinking, his urban technique, analyses and three-dimensional presentation."²² With his first post-war works, architect Ravnikar offered several comparisons as well as deviations from Le Corbusier's ideas, which presents a real challenge for research work. When the system and the authority changed after the Second World War, social relations and the relationships of power changed in the architectural sphere as well. After the war, young architects focused on modern architecture, took over the leading positions in the field, and at the OZA, there was a generational change among professors.

Slovenian architects and the CIAM congresses after the Second World War

The relationship between Slovenian architects and CIAM was analysed by architect, Prof. Fedja Košir, in a subchapter of his book *Zapozneno ciamovstvo* [Late CIAMism],²³ however, he did not write in detail about the congresses and the Slovenian architects connected to them. He focused more on the analysis of the publicity matter and the theoretical postulate, and less on the extensive building production, characterized by the return to functionalism. Despite poor technological equipment of the construction, the extent of works produced was enviable.²⁴ Publication *Urbanizem, arhitektura, konstrukcije 1945–1946* [Urbanism, Architecture, Construction 1945–1946],²⁵ where all the most important Slovenian architects of that time participated, was issued in the scope of the Projektivni zavod LRS MG [LRS MG Institute of Building]. It appears that the architects were in a whirlwind of intensive building renovations and did not pay attention to theoretical foundations. Košir opined that from a theoretical perspective, the excellent magazine *Arhitekt* (1951–1963) was not as exclusively ambitious. "However, functionalist headwords were [at that time, author's note] so old and familiar that they can barely be heard or nothing new is to be heard,"²⁶ as Košir realized. The orthodox CIAMism is prevalent in the first issues of the *Arhitekt* magazine, however, soon after the death of architect

22 Edvard RAVNIKAR, Charles Edouard Jeanneret Le Corbusier 1887–1965 (in memoriam slovenski učenci), *Sinteza*, 3, 1965, p. 64.

23 KOŠIR 2007 (n. 2), pp. 167–183.

24 A list of architectural and urban works and projects of Plečnik's students, who worked in Le Corbusier's atelier, can be found in the article: Bogo ZUPANČIČ, Plečnikovi diplomanti v Le Corbusierovem ateljeju, in: Fedja Košir, Peter Krečič, Bogo Zupančič: *Le Corbusier*, Ljubljana 2007, pp. 99–118. A record of other works by Slovenian architects focused on modernism is either unknown or has not been carried out.

25 Dušan GRABRIJAN (ed.), *Urbanizem, arhitektura, konstrukcije 1945–1946*, Ljubljana 1948.

26 KOŠIR 2007 (n. 2), p. 168.

Dušan Grabrijan (1899–1952), great supporter of functionalism, the direction slowly changed. Even though Slovenian architects made contact with important art historians and architects soon after the Second World War, which could have been of use in their connections with CIAM, nothing came of it. France Ivanšek wrote in the *Naši razgledi* magazine: "I first met Professor Alvaro Aalto on 14th December 1952 – when he was 54 and I was 30 – in the house of Prof. Siegfried Giedion, Secretary General of CIAM (International Congresses of Modern Architecture), in Zürich/Doldertal. At that time, I was in Zürich as the editor-in-chief of the *Arhitekt* magazine visiting architect Max Bill, with whom I made contact a few years prior – I demonstrated to him Ravnikar's chair Articulum, which he appraised highly – and Prof. Alfred Roth, editor of the Swiss magazine WERK, with whom we had a good editorial relation."²⁷

Ravnikar's first students and others at the OZA TF UL were undoubtedly well familiar with Le Corbusier's ideas, working methods and his works, which can be gathered on the basis of the works that were published in the *Zbornik oddelka za arhitekturo na univerzi v Ljubljani 1946–1947* [Journal of the Department of Architecture at the University of Ljubljana 1946–1947].²⁸ Despite the period of socialist realism, which lasted until the ideological division with the Informbiro in 1948, post-war renovation of demolished villages and the urbanisation of the countryside were inspired by the ideas of CIAM and Le Corbusier's works. This was confirmed by Ravnikar in the article "Urbanistična misel v Sloveniji od leta 1900" [Urbanist thought in Slovenia since 1900],²⁹ where he wrote that on an ideological level, Le Corbusier's urban doctrine prevailed. Later on he wrote that all other Central European doctrines began to withdraw, which is undoubtedly connected to the already mentioned fact that "in its entirety, 20 Yugoslav architects worked" in Le Corbusier's atelier before the war.

Slovenian architects attended the congresses of UIA in Rabat in 1952 and Lisbon in 1953, the international congress of the association of designers in Paris in 1953 as well as the last congresses of CIAM in Aix-en-Provence in 1953 and in Dubrovnik in 1956. Košir wrote that "for Rabat, Professor Ravnikar also prepared a short French introduction of the catalogue, chose images from the first five years of the renovation of the homeland, a true 'poem without words', carefully cleansed of all socialist tones (RPF Yougoslavie, 1951)."³⁰ Later, Prof. Ravnikar and his circle began to move away from the simplified functionalist principles and started to get inspired by critical regionalisms, Scandinavian architecture, such as Alvaro Aalto's and others'. Owing to various reasons,³¹ some Slovenian architects, similar to other architects

27 France IVANŠEK, Srečanja z Alvarom Aaltom, *Naši razgledi*, 36, 10 (849), 29 May 1987, p. 296.

28 Marjan MUŠIČ, France IVANŠEK (eds.), *Zbornik oddelka za arhitekturo na univerzi v Ljubljani 1946–1947*, Ljubljana 1948.

29 Edvard RAVNIKAR, Urbanistična misel v Sloveniji od leta 1900, *Kronika*, 29, 2, 1981, pp. 166–183.

30 KOŠIR 2007 (n. 2), p. 171.

31 Those architects, who worked in state offices, were obliged to increased productivity, while, among others, Prof. Ravnikar and the circle of his supporters worked in the scope of OZA TF UL, where it was significantly easier to work with the help of students and participate at numerous competitions, as well as to experiment.

across the world, fell in their works into simplified schemes of modern architecture, repetition and monotony. Let us look at some events that are important due to their topic and Slovenian architectural history!

The first conference of Yugoslav architects and urban planners in Dubrovnik

From 23rd to 25th November 1950, the first conference of Yugoslav architects and urban planners was held in Dubrovnik. In 2014, Branislav Krstić (1922–2016) wrote a book about this event, the Athens Charter and the architectural and urban thoughts in the 1950s in FLRJ (Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia) titled *Atinska povelja i misao arhitekata i urbanista FNRJ 1950-ih* [The Athens Charter and the Thoughts of Architects and Urbanists of FLRJ in the 1950s].³² In the book, he reprinted all three booklets with papers from Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian architects from the conference, in which colleagues from Montenegro, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina also participated. In the introduction of the book, Krstić described the identification and uniformity of European and world modernist thought and the Athens Charter with Yugoslav architectural and urban thought at the start of the 1950s. He wrote that there was actually no realist socialist thought in the field of architecture in Yugoslavia after the Second World War. He said: "When I mention this, I think of the known evaluations that Yugoslav writers and painters, under the influence of Central Committee 'agitprop', created in the style of socialist realism. Two years after the Dubrovnik conference there was a congress of writers in Ljubljana (1952), where, in his famous paper, Krleža strongly criticized socialist realism and predicted the freedom of creation in literature and art. Yugoslav architects did not need such a congress and this is an outstanding fact."³³ Listed at the beginning are also professional biographies of the attendees, who participated with papers and in the discussion. Among the 15 papers from Belgrade's booklet are papers from Le Corbusier's Milorad Pantović, Jovan Krunic and Krsto Filipović, who at that time represented Montenegro. There are no Croatian architects, who worked at Le Corbusier³⁴ among the 10 papers from the Zagreb booklet, except from Filipović, who is mentioned among the ones from Montenegro. Important among the eight papers from the Ljubljana booklet are the paper from Edvard Ravnikar titled "Kratek oris modernega urbanizma v Sloveniji" [A short presentation of modern urbanism in Slovenia] and the one from Dušan Grabrijan titled "Naše orijentalne i savremena kuća" [Our oriental and modern houses]. Beside the paper printed in the booklet, Ravnikar had another paper titled "Arhitekturi dajmo bolje uslove" [Let us give better conditions to architecture], written in Dubrovnik in Serbo-Croatian language and distributed to the participants at the conference.

32 Branislav KRSTIĆ (ed.), *Atinska povelja i misao arhitekata i urbanista FNRJ 1950-ih*, Beograd 2014.

33 KRSTIĆ 2014 (n. 32), p. 39.

34 At the end of 1944, Kavurić was hung by Ustashas, while Weissmann emigrated from Yugoslavia before the Second World War. Neidhardt was convicted and imprisoned for a short period of time directly after the war, however, he was released because new authorities needed his knowledge in the renovation of the demolished homeland. After the Second World War Neidhardt moved to Sarajevo. Ksenija Grisogono and her father, a former minister in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, escaped from FLR Yugoslavia in 1949.

At this conference, Ravnikar strengthened his professional reputation and met the leading Yugoslav architects, such as Mate Bajlon, Milan Zloković, Oliver Minić, Viktor Hečimović, Ivan Vitić, Zdenko Strižić, Vlado Antolić, Josip Seissel and others. In the absence of Neidhardt and Weissmann at the conference, Ravnikar, who was known for working at Le Corbusier's, became one of the leading Yugoslav architects. This is why republican and federal officials happily invited him to numerous competitions so that they would acquire great ideas. Despite winning these competitions, Ravnikar was not really successful in the execution of the ideas presented there, except later in the Montenegrin Littoral.

The 9th congress of CIAM in Aix-en-Provence

Slovenian architects were first mentioned in connection to the CIAM congress in the scope of the yet unestablished Ljubljana "junior section" at the 9th congress of CIAM in Aix-en-Provence. The congress was held from 19th to 26th July 1953 and was attended by students of architecture France Ivanšek and Braco Mušič from Ljubljana. Among the proposed candidates for the congress were also Prof. Ravnikar and his assistant Stanko Kristl, which can be gathered from Ivanšek's letter dated 20th May 1953, preserved at the FLC in Paris. The reason why the latter two did not attend the congress is unknown. In the report "IX. mednarodni kongres za moderno arhitekturo (CIAM)" [IX International congress of modern architecture (CIAM)],³⁵ Ivanšek wrote that the congress was held in the shadows of bushy sycamores on the courtyard of the École des Arts et Métiers in Aix-en-Provence. Beside the presence of the founders Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Sigfried Giedion, Cornelis van Eestern and Jose Luis Sert and other known architects, a large number of young architects participated at the congress for the first time, which was a novelty. Beside Mušič and Ivanšek from Ljubljana, the 9th congress was attended by another person from Yugoslavia, architect Prof. Drago Ibler from Zagreb. Ivanšek described the topic of the congress: "The topic of the IX CIAM congress, the preparation of the 'Charte de l'Habitat' (Charter of Habitat) encompassed the question of an apartment in the largest meaning of the word. Thus, the IX CIAM was not about studying an apartment as a completely constructional task of this or that size (le logis), but rather about its integration in the versatility of relationships, raised by everyday life of a person as an individual and a member of a community. With the study of an expanded concept of an apartment, it was about the fact that the usual interpretation of this problem, which is too material and technical, as well as too narrow and too schematic, was to be contrasted with a new, wider, more flexible as well as more creative view on the question of apartments. In the centre of research were mutual relations between a person-individual and the society, which were already addressed at the VII CIAM during the study of the "heart of the city", and at the same time, the problems of a narrower cohabitation in the scope of a family."

Later on, he stated that the basis for the work of the five commissions, into which the

35 Fr.[ance] IVANŠEK, IX. mednarodni kongres za moderno arhitekturo (CIAM), *Arhitekt*, 11, 1954, pp. 20–21.



Fig. 1: Series of photographs (in a net), taken by Vladimir Braco Mušič at the 9th CIAM congress (© Museum of Architecture and Design Archive, Ljubljana).



Fig. 2: Students of architecture Vladimir Braco Mušič and France Ivanšek at the 9th CIAM congress (© Museum of Architecture and Design Archive, Ljubljana).

participants of the congress were divided, served 40 work studies of architects of 20 nationalities. The studies were presented in the form of *grilles* [nets, author's note]. They mostly showed practical examples of blocks of flats, neighbourhoods, housing estates and entire cities, with a display of previous state and economic, social, hygienic and geographical conditions. With the help of planned or executed projects, the possibilities or wishes based on the realization of demands of modern residences, as well as their land, spatial, constructive, aesthetic, legislative and financial execution were presented. *Grilles* were wide work studies, which were presented by the Swedes, English, French, Austrians, Belgians, Swiss and Americans (on the example of Pennsylvanian housing estates). Later in the text, Ivanšek problematized some of the conclusions of the congress. Among other things, he stated that the internationalism of modern architecture was replaced by a new climatic regionalism, and added that the working commission for the "formation of an architect" studies problems, in which and how to raise young architects. Parallel with this commission the problem of education was also addressed by the Junior CIAM conference, which Mušič and Ivanšek also attended. At the congress, the attendees of the Junior CIAM conference set up an ad-hoc exhibition titled Junior Groups Towards the Active School, in which the Ljubljana group (in the phase of being established, note of the author) also participated. Ivanšek concluded the article with an information that the IX CIAM was finished with an excursion through southern Provence and a visit of Le Corbusier's block of flats in Marseille, in honour of CIAM's 25th anniversary. Mušič summarised with great enthusiasm his impressions of visiting the block of flats in Marseille in the *Ljubljanski dnevnik* journal, where they also published a section view and a ground plan of an apartment, with the following words: "They later told us that social life in the 'L'Unité' is as developed as nowhere else in Marseille. Numerous social events are held on the terrace. All life in this house gives the impression of a happy commune. The author of this incredible building also walks smilingly among the numerous enthusiastic visitors. I can sense the satisfaction from his face. I have not seen an architect who would walk through his

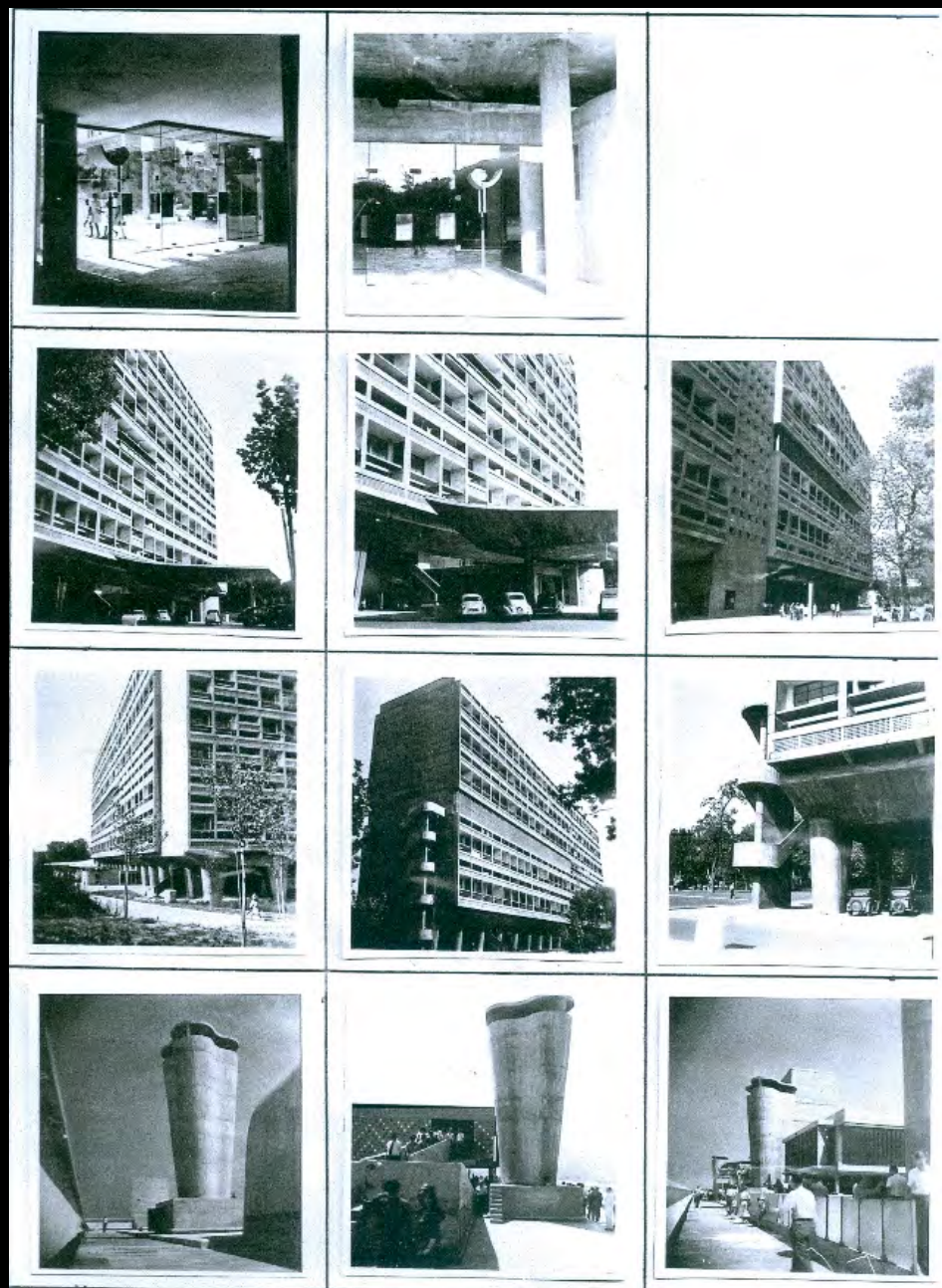


Fig. 3: Series of photographs (in a net), from the terrace of the barely built block of flats *l'Unite d'habitation* in Marseille by architect Le Corbusier. After the formal part of the congress was concluded, a celebration of the 25th anniversary of CIAM was held on the terrace (© Museum of Architecture and Design Archive, Ljubljana).

building with such an expression. He felt to me like the father of all residents. I was irrevocably convinced that architecture decisively influences a person as a social being. Supposedly, an apartment in this block of flats in Marseille costs ca. 18.000 francs, which is a lot. The costs of construction and furnishing were in the billions, however, if more such buildings were constructed at the same time, the price would of course lower. The execution is solid, nevertheless, the craftwork of the interior has an aspect of multiplicity. The craftwork lacks refinement that Slovenians have gotten used to in the last 20 years. But in the face of true value of a bold attempt, this is only a triviality. That same night we again returned to Marseille, where a fun event in celebration of the 25th anniversary of CIAM was held on the terrace of the block of flats. A fantastic concrete landscape of towers, pavilions, chimneys and fans bathed in the milky pale moonlight. Approximately 300 people gathered. Refreshing drinks, dancing movies etc. Dozens of the most outstanding world architects, dozens of advocates of contemporary architecture, dozens of young people, future architects. There were no barriers among us, we all celebrated Corbusier's victory. I knew that among these people there are no hesitations, which can still be found in our country: 'Should we trust modern architecture, since it cannot yet show anything solid, anything that lasts ...?' And similar. More and more such evidence can be found from India to Scandinavia and Japan. The front of rigid academies has been broken through and through."³⁶

The 10th CIAM congress in Dubrovnik

Only Braco Mušič attended the 10th CIAM congress in Dubrovnik, held between 6th and 12th August 1956. At the beginning of the article "Deseti dubrovniški CIAM" [The 10th CIAM in Dubrovnik],³⁷ he stated that the congress went by in a complete physical and spiritual absence of Yugoslav architects, who, besides poor organization, did not contribute anything to the congress. Mušič recognized in the congress an opportunity – even though Yugoslavia was not a member of CIAM and did not have its own CIAM-groups – for an establishment in this organization by joining our problems and forces to the efforts of the congress, which was to lead towards a real progress in contemporary architecture in the world. Mušič agreed with the realization of many others that during the changing of generations, the congress was going through a deep crisis, nevertheless, he was convinced that a reorganization will keep it alive, which did not happen. On the boat from Rijeka to Dubrovnik Mušič met delegates of the congress, who had their first meetings in Padua as early as 2nd and 3rd August. Members from CIAM groups from all over the world attended the congress in Dubrovnik; among the names listed, Mušič mentioned those architects,³⁸ who we come across more frequently.

36 Vladimir B. MUŠIČ, Arhitektura vpliva na ljudi (Iz popotnega dnevnika), *Ljubljanski dnevnik*, IV, 14. januar 1954, p. 4.

37 Vladimir B. MUŠIČ, Deseti dubrovniški CIAM, Ljubljana: *Arhitekt*, 20, 1956, pp. 36–37.

38 J. L. Sert, S. Giedion, J. Bakema, G. Candilis, P. A. Emery, W. Howell, E. Guevrekian, A. Sive, E. May, J. H. van den Broek, F. Albini, P. Bottoni, A. Korsmo, S. Markelius, A. Roth, A. Neumann, A. Blomstedt etc.



Fig. 4: Scenes from the 10th CIAM congress (© Museum of Architecture and Design Archive, Ljubljana).

Gropius and Le Corbusier offered their apologies, the latter with the intention of emphasising the need for the changing of generations in the leadership and in the work of CIAM; Helena Syrkus and Yugoslav architect employed with the United Nations, engineer Weissmann, welcomed the congress in writing. In the name of the UIA, architect van der Broek welcomed the congress, while a representative of the Yugoslav people's authority and even the mayor of Warsaw attended the opening. The opening speech was given by president Sert. On the side of Yugoslav architects, the organization of the congress was led by architect Prof. Drago Ibler, who was the only member of CIAM for Yugoslavia at that time. Later in the text, Mušič said that there are no final conclusions from the commissions, and summarised his findings in this way: "the basis of the Charter of Habitat was formulated, which covered the following main chapters: people, land, environment designed by people, the factor of time and action. The future Charter shows all the width and responsibility of an architect's social work today and thoroughly defines the guidelines of the profession and its development. Particularly interesting was the work of other commissions, who also debated on the current and future state of human environment (Habitat), on the contents of previous texts from CIAM, on these problems, on urbanity, here on the politics and the creative work of urban authorities, on the mobility, which includes ecological, anthropological and technological problems, i.e. from environmental changes, human movement through an environment to the construction of paths, on the changes and growth of the environment, i.e. the development and new projects in general and especially based on the submitted 'grilles'. A special commission led by architect Candilis worked on the relationship between urbanism and habitat, and coordinated

the work of all previous commissions and compiled a chart of results."³⁹ Mušič continued by writing that they debated on the future of CIAM in a closed circle and at a Plenary meeting. The latter consisted of independent groups that were not national but local and mutually coordinated based on the continents. The work of the groups was directed by a committee. Special attention was placed on younger generations, who were to take over the tasks of the older generation. Mušič concluded the article with a thought that CIAM is on its way of ceasing to be an exclusive organization and becoming a unique international framework for mutual education, exchange and comparison of views, and a uniform, truly advanced front in the fight for contemporary architecture.⁴⁰

Owing to his attendance at the 9th and 10th CIAM congresses and the connections that he acquired there, architect Braco Mušič was in a favourable position in the study year 1963/64 and with an American scholarship from Ford found himself at HGSD, where he received good education and information on contemporary events in architecture and urban design. He undoubtedly recognized the tectonic move from rigid functionalist principles towards structuralist tendencies, which he skilfully applied after his return home.

Conclusion

The first reason for which Slovenian architects were not more actively included in the CIAM congress activity is to be looked for primarily in the time gap as well as in the right personality,⁴¹ a Slovenian architect that would grow closer to architect Le Corbusier. The latter was one of the key personalities of CIAM. The Croatians were lucky that at the right time, as early as 1928, architect Weissmann worked at Le Corbusier's atelier and became the facilitator between the CIAM congresses and the Zagreb architectural scene. The second reason is the omnipresent charismatic personality of architect Professor Jože Plečnik, who filled local professional arena with his ideas, which is why Slovenian architects were not able to avoid the influence of the great master for a long time. Plečnik found in the construction of the Slovenian capital a supporter in the head of the construction office, engineer Matko Prelovšek as well as in the city administration, which was in favour of Plečnik's vision of the arrangement of the city. The third reason are the urban circumstances and the level of modern urbanity, which was not as explicit as it was in Zagreb or other large European cities. The city administration of Zagreb had several architects who were focused on functionalism as early as the start of the 1930s. The fourth reason is that Slovenian architects, especially those working at Le Corbusier's atelier, did not accept new ideas uncritically! It is true that Slovenian architects soon recognized the ideas of CIAM, were enthusiastic about the works of Le Corbusier and other modernists, however, they also doubted them. At the time before the Second World War, when young Slovenian architects wanted to translate new, modern ideas into reality, they did not have the leverages, social power and professional plausibility. This all changed right after the Second World War when modernism and "Le Corbusiers" prevailed in administrative departments, for which the politics and socialist ideology were also responsible. After the war

Predmet:
Ustanovitev
ljubljske skupine
CIAM J

1. redakcija
Ljubljana 2. I. 1957.

V skladu z dogovorom s sekretariatom CIAM-a, ustno in z ozirom na dopis g. arh. A. Rotha z dne 1. Okt. 1956 /po Dubrovnikem, 10. CIAM-u/, predvsem pa zaradi nujne potrebe delovnega združenja naprednih arhitektov smatramo za unesno položiti temelje ljubljanski skupini CIAM J kot sestavnemu delu Mednarodnih kongresov za moderno arhitekturo, ustanovljenih leta 1928 v La Sarrazu.

Ljubljanska skupina jugoslovanskega CIAM-a naj predstavlja dogovor naprednih arhitektov in se vključuje v organizacijski okvir Mednarodnih kongresov za moderno arhitekturo /CIAM/. Priznava in sprejema obča načela edine svetovne organizacije naprednih arhitektov z ideološkimi osnovami sodobnega pokreta v stroki in jih namerava obogatiti in uresničevati s svojim aktivnim delom.

Namen skupine je izražen v 6. točkah sklee statuta:

- 1/Prostovoljno združenje za bolj intenzivno vključitev stroke v družbeni razvoj v naši deželi.
- 2/Strokovno zastopati napredne tokove v razvoju sodobne arhitekture, predvsem tiste, ki so direktno povezani z nastajanjem socialno usmerjene arhitekture, ki obenem ne zanika duhovnih kvalitiet.
- 3/Utrjevati etično zadržanje arhitektov do družbe in v medsebojnih odnosih.
- 4/Skrbeti za vzgojo širokih slojev, administrativnih organov, nadaljevalno vzgojo absolventov in za najboljšo vzgojo študentov arhitekture. Izdajati publikacije, predavati, prirejati razstave. Skrbeti za naglo in uspešno sprejemanje domačih in tujih razvojnih pobud.
- 5/Sodelovati in prizadevati si za temeljito razčiščevanje tekočih in perspektivnih problemov, javne ali ožje noreve. Skrbeti za funkcionalno prvirni sestav študij, omogočati razčiščevanje osebnih sporov še znotraj organizacije.
- 6/Sestajati se, diskutirati, sklepati in kontrolirati sklepe.

2

Organizacijske osnove:

Članstvo: prostovoljno, vezano le na aktivnost posameznika v družbi in znotraj skupine. Moralne in strokovne kvalifikacije, vnema in rezultati.

Skelet: 1. delegat ljubljanske skupine CIAM
sekretar skupine
gospodar

To je Sekretariat.

Skupino sestavljajo delovne grupe /tsemi/, ki se bavijo s posameznimi konkretnimi nalozami in pripravljajo gradivo za širše diskusije in za publikacije. Vse delovne skupine se redno zbirajo in zavzemajo enotna, objektivna in dokumentirana napredna strokovna stališča.

Materijska sredstva: člansarina, darila in nagrade, del honorarjev, ki jih sprejemajo posamezne delovne grupe ali Skupina kot celota, za strokovne elaborate študij, ekspertiz in podobno. Sredstva se uporabljajo izključno za poslovanje grupe in pomoč študijskemu delu oz. publikacijam.

Imenjuje se statuta

[Handwritten signature]

Fig. 5: Document on the foundation of the CIAM J group in Ljubljana
(© Museum of Architecture and Design Archive, Ljubljana).



Fig. 6: Seta Mušič, HGSD Dean Jose Luis Sert and V. B. Mušič at The Dean's Party, 27th May 1964 at the end of the study year (© Museum of Architecture and Design Archive, Ljubljana).

and the construction boom or the renovation of the homeland that was demolished during the war, after nearly a decade, leading Slovenian architects or Ravnikar's circle became critical of replicating and imitating simplified examples of modern construction. CIAM of course lived on in the works of numerous imitators across Yugoslavia and outside of it. Ravnikar's student Braco Mušič, who participated at the 9th and 10th CIAM congresses in Aix-en-Provence and in Dubrovnik, was at first highly enthusiastic about modern architecture and the CIAMism. Mušič soon realized that the current of professional happenings of new, younger protagonists of contemporary architecture was going in another direction, which is why he, as did many others, followed Ravnikar's circle. After that Slovenian architectural scene needed a long time for the conflicts between Plečnik's and/or Le Corbusier's students to settle and partly clear. In Zagreb, the capital of "Yugoslavian functionalism", the circumstances after the Second World War changed significantly as well,⁴² but in a different way than in Ljubljana.

42 See n. 34.

Slovenski arhitekti in kongresi CIAM-a

Povzetek

V času vzpona kongresov CIAM je od Slovencev v Le Corbusierovem ateljeju v Parizu od 1929 do 1940 delalo sedem Plečnikovih študentov, arhitekt Feri Novak in dva gradbena inženirja. Glede številčne prisotnosti na 35, Rue de Sèvres v Parizu se slovenski arhitekti pred drugo svetovno vojno uvrščajo v sam svetovni vrh, glede aktivnosti povezanimi s CIAM pa ne. Vzrok za tolikšen pobeg h gurujam moderne arhitekture, Le Corbusieru, je iskati v nazorih prof. Jožeta Plečnika, ki je bil v času vzpona modernega gibanja nedovzeten za sodobne trende v arhitekturi, čeprav so se njegovi študenti in drugi vse bolj spogledovali z njimi. Preobrat v smeri moderne arhitekture je pripravljala druga generacija Plečnikovih študentov oz. mladih arhitektov konec tridesetih let, ki se je po drugi svetovni vojni v spremenjenih družbenih razmerah izkazala pri obnovi porušene domovine.

Prve stike s CIAM so že konec dvajsetih vzpostavili zagrebški arhitekti, ključna osebnost je bil Ernest Weissmann. Stiki slovenskih arhitektov s slednjim bi bili pomembni, saj je bil Weissmann od leta 1928 naprej pomemben član CIAM in CIRPAC. Weissmann zelo verjetno ni imel povezav s slovenskimi arhitekti pred drugo svetovno vojno, gotovo pa je bil v šestdesetih stiku z Vladimirjem B. Mušičem, ki se je kot študent v petdesetih udeležil 9. in 10. kongresa CIAM. Slovenski arhitekti so se o dogajanjih na CIAM in povezanih s CIAM informirali preko strokovnih revij, po drugi svetovni vojni pa tudi preko posvetovanj, kjer je ključno I. posvetovanje arhitektov in urbanistov Jugoslavije leta 1950 v Dubrovniku.

Na 9. kongresu CIAM v Aix-en-Provence leta 1953 sta bila Ravnikarjeva študenta arhitekture Ivanšek in Mušič, ki sta poročala za revijo *Arhitekt*. 10. kongresa CIAM v Dubrovniku leta 1956 se je udeležil le še Mušič, od hrvaških pa prof. Drago Ibler. Čeprav je bilo gibanje CIAM takrat že v zatonu, je Mušič januarja 1957 poskušal ustanoviti ljubljanski CIAM junior, saj je v kongresih prepoznal priložnost za uveljavitev. Tako naj bi, kot pravi sam »naše probleme kot sile priključili h kongresu, ki naj bi vodili k resničnemu napredku v sodobni arhitekturi v svetu«.

2

SREDIŠČA FUNKCIONALISTIČNIH NOVIH MEST IN IDENTITETA MESTA

THE CENTRES OF NEW FUNCTIONALIST TOWNS AND THE IDENTITY OF A TOWN



Pri razmislekih o zapuščini prve svetovne vojne in njeni prisotnosti oz. odsotnosti v identiteti Nove Gorice izhajamo iz vprašanja, zakaj v samem mestu ni spominskega obeležja prvi svetovni vojni, kljub temu, da je ta močno zaznamovala prostor, kamor je bilo mesto umeščeno. Ne glede na to, da sta zaledje in okolica Nove Gorice posejana s pomniki vojne, je to dejstvo zanimivo in odpira vrsto vprašanj identitete mesta od njegovega nastanka do danes.

V *Registru nepremične kulturne dediščine* pod geslom »prva svetovna vojna« zabeležimo 311 zadetkov,¹ medtem ko raziskovalna naloga študentov Oddelka za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani iz leta 2018 obravnava 64 spomenikov tej vojni, razpršenih po celotnem ozemlju Slovenije,² Vili Prinčič pa v topografskem pregledu spomenikov prve svetovne vojne, osredotočenem na območje in zaledje Soške fronte, predstavlja 54 spomenikov, obeležij in drugih spominskih objektov.³ Pregled lokacij teh spomenikov pokaže, da se številni nahajajo v zaledju in okolici mesta Nove Gorice, v samem mestu pa spomenika ali spominskega obeležja prvi svetovni vojni ne najdemo. Zakaj je temu tako?

V prispevku iščemo odgovore na to vprašanje in pri tem razmišljamo, da je Nova Gorica, ki v zasnovi in prvih fazah izgradnje velja za modernistično mesto, v času nastanka modernistična tudi v odnosu do identitete mesta in prostora in s tem tudi do njune zgodovine. Najprej pokažemo, da se pri tem odnosu modernizem ujema z ideološkimi izhodišči novega socialističnega režima, nato pa na analizi primera spomina na prvo svetovno vojno v prostoru Nove Gorice in s pomočjo historičnega razvoja, predvsem po letu 1991, sledimo tranziciji (pre) oblikovanja identitete, ki temelji na obujanju zavedanja o povezanosti mesta, širšega prostora in zaledja Nove Gorice ter njihove zgodovine. Zavedamo se, da predstavljamo »pogled od zunaj«, kar pa razumemo kot priložnost za vzpostavitev distance do predmeta obravnave,

1 *Register nepremične kulturne dediščine*, <https://gisportal.gov.si/portal/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=df5b0c8a300145fda417eda6b0c2b52b> (dostop 3. marec 2020).

2 *Spomeniki prve svetovne vojne. Raziskovalna naloga študentov pri predmetu Socialni spomin in kulturna dediščina* (ur. Anja Moric), Ljubljana 2018.

3 Vili PRINČIČ, *Neme priče vojnih grozot 1915–1918*, Trst 2018.

nikakor pa s tem ne zanikamo oz. zmanjšujemo dejstva, da so lahko nosilci identitete prostora le in zgolj njegovi prebivalci.

Raziskovalci začetkov izgradnje Nove Gorice navajajo, da je bila odločitev o gradnji novega mesta izrazito politični projekt, katerega rezultat bo »socialistično izložbeno okno za kapitalistični svet onstran meje,«⁴ četudi je odločitev hkrati sledila tudi potrebi po vzpostavitvi novega upravnega, kulturnega, šolskega in gospodarskega središča od Gorice odrezanega zaledja.⁵ Dokumenti o nastanku Nove Gorice pričajo tudi o tem, da je bil eden od temeljnih namenov politične odločitve o izgradnji novega mesta tik ob meji tudi kljubovanje nepravični odločitvi Pariške mirovne konference. Poleg tega iz literature izhaja, da so se s povsem političnimi argumenti spajala tudi ideološka izhodišča socialističnega režima o oblikovanju novega človeka jutrišnjega dne, za katerega bo režim iz nič ustvaril idealno življenjsko okolje.⁶ Iz analiz arhitekturne zgodovine izhaja, da je zlasti arhitekt Edvard Ravnikar pri načrtih za novo mesto pomembno izhajal iz izhodišč modernizma in načel funkcionalističnega mesta, kot jih je mr. leta 1933 opredelila Atenska listina združenja CIAM.⁷ Mnoga od teh načel so bila v času med obema vojnoma v Evropi in po svetu razmeroma pogosto udejanjena oz. upoštevana v obliki novih urbanističnih podvigov, legitimnost v očeh nove jugoslovanske oblasti pa so jim podeljevali urbanistični eksperimenti, ki so sicer križani s socrealistično arhitekturo, neposredno po drugi svetovni vojni vznikali zlasti v Sovjetski zvezi, Bolgariji in na Poljskem.⁸ Tako je bilo mogoče ideološko premiso o novem socialističnem človeku in njegovem življenjskem okolju dovolj oprijemljivo povezati z modernističnih izhodišči in načeli funkcionalističnega mesta, ki so sicer vrh dosegli nekoliko pred časom izgradnje Nove Gorice. To velja še posebej, če ta izhodišča razumemo kot uveljavitev novih principov bivanja za nov čas, kot preseganje starega z novim, kaosa z redom in stihije z načrtovanim razvojem, ki v ospredje sicer postavlja posameznika, a le v ustreznem razmerju do skupnosti; principi torej, ki jih je zagovarjala tudi ideologija socialističnega režima.

Čeprav Atenska listina vsebuje razdelek *Dediščina zgodovine* (»Legacy of History«), v katerem dopušča rušenje slumov, zapoveduje pa ohranjanje kvalitetne arhitekturne dediščine, identiteta v dokumentu neposredno ni omenjena. V celoti gledano, pa listina odraža razumevanje identitete, kot je bila obravnavana v modernizmu; ta namreč ni več dana oz. prirojena (kot

4 Jure RAMŠAK, *Ab initio. Moderne ideologije in izgradnja novega urbanega prostora: zgodovina, arhitektura in perspektive kulturnega turizma v Novi Gorici in Raši*, Koper 2015, str. 95.

5 Glej zlasti: Tomaž VUGA, *Projekt: Nova Gorica*, Ljubljana 2018; RAMŠAK 2015 (op. 4); Alenka DI BATTISTA, *Nova odkritja pri raziskovanju Ravnikarjeve Nove Gorice, Narodu Gorico novo bomo dali v dar. Ob sedemdesetletnici Nove Gorice*, Nova Gorica 2017, str. 113–117; Alenka DI BATTISTA, *Nova odkritja pri raziskovanju Ravnikarjeve Nove Gorice in Trenzevega Velenja, Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, 47, 2011, str. 322–340.

6 RAMŠAK 2015 (op. 4), str. 29.

7 *Charter of Athens*, https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/research_resources/charters/charter04.html (dostop 1 marec 2020).

8 RAMŠAK 2015 (op. 4), str. 31.

je bil to primer vse do konca 19. stoletja), ampak je namesto tega pridobljena, lahko se spreminja, temelji na izpraševanju posameznika, kdo je, kateri skupini pripada, in mogoče jo je tudi spreminjati;⁹ govorimo lahko o poteh, namesto o koreninah identitete («The routes rather than roots of identity».)¹⁰ Identiteto je posamezniku, pa tudi skupini, torej mogoče zgraditi oz. pripisati, to ugotovitev pa lahko prenesemo tudi oblikovanje identitete Nove Gorice ob njenem nastanku: »... elite [v skladu s svojim interesi – op. a.] s prilagajanjem kolektivnih spominov krčijo lokalno zgodovino in kulturo.«¹¹ Kolektivni spomini so bili torej v tem procesu oblikovani selektivno »od zgoraj«. Raziskave, predvsem v zadnjih dveh desetletjih, pa kažejo na plasti globljega kolektivnega spomina, ki je vezan na zgodovino prostora pred začetkom gradnje mesta.¹² Ti spomini, ki v okolici in zaledju mesta resda nikoli niso ugasnili, se počasi prebivajo v ospredje in terjajo svoje mesto tudi v identiteti samega mesta Nova Gorica. V idealnih okoliščinah so namreč mesta: »...prostori kolektivnih spominov, kjer se lokalne značilnosti in vizije skupne preteklosti povezujejo v zamišljeno prihodnost.«¹³

Da pa bi se kolektivni spomini prostora Nove Gorice skozi čas lahko v celoti in celovito prebili v ospredje, je treba, med drugim, poznati omenjene mehanizme selektivnega oblikovanja kolektivne identitete. Pri tem je ključnega pomena odnos med identiteto in zgodovinpisjem. Tudi tu lahko potegnemo nekaj vzporednic med modernizmom in socializmom. Modernizem razume znanost kot izrazito objektivno,¹⁴ zato tudi modernistično razumevanje zgodovine temelji na prepričanju, da je zgodovinska resnica ena sama, torej obstaja tudi eno samo resnično razumevanje preteklosti, ki ga proizvajajo za to usposobljeni strokovnjaki na podlagi trdno vzpostavljenih metod.¹⁵ Tudi nov socialistični režim je temeljil na eni resnici in objektivnosti, ki jo je določil sam, kar velja tudi za zgodovinsko resnico in interpretacijo preteklosti.¹⁶

9 Christopher TILLEY, Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage, *Journal of Material Culture*, 1–2, 2006, str. 7–26.

10 TILLEY 2006 (op. 9), str. 9.

11 Kevin LOUGHRAN, Urban spaces, city cultures and collective memories, *Routledge international handbook of memory studies* (ur. Anna Lisa Tota in Trever Hagen), New York 2015, str. 204.

12 Na primer: VUGA 2018 (op. 5); Borut KLABJAN, Borders in Arms. Political violence in the North-Eastern Adriatic after the Great War, *Acta Histriae*, 4, 2018, str. 985–1002; Gorazd BAJC, Mateja MATJAŠIČ FRIŠ, Prednosti Italije pri zasedbi Julijske krajine ob koncu prve svetovne vojne, *Acta Histriae*, 3, 2019, str. 513–529.

13 LOUGHRAN 2015 (op. 11), str. 204.

14 Peter J. ATKINS, Modern urban landscapes. Modern cities and city life, *People, Land and Time* (ur. Peter Atkins, Ian Simmons, Brian Roberts), London, New York 1998, str. 197–212.

15 Jonathan FRIEDMAN, The past in the future. History and the politics of Identity, *American Anthropologist* 4, 1992, str. 850.

16 Mateja REŽEK, Usmerjena preteklost: mehanizmi politične in ideološke »kontaminacije« zgodovinpisja v socialistični Sloveniji in Jugoslaviji (1945–1966), *Acta Histriae*, 4, 2014, str. 975.

Zgodovinske okoliščine nastanka Nove Gorice v veliki meri pojasnjujejo, zakaj je identiteta novega mesta temeljila na novosti, na poudarjanju konstrukta o praznem prostoru, kamor naj bi bilo mesto umeščeno, na promociji sposobnosti novega režima za uresničitev urbanističnega podviga, na negovanju spomina na udarniško delo brigadirjev in požrtvovalnost graditeljev novega mesta. Pomembno je bilo vzpostaviti ideološko distanco do obstoječega, ki je v veliki meri ostalo onkraj meje in dokazati, da je mogoče več in bolje. Novi Gorici je bila tako določena identiteta novega, staro pa je bilo prepuščeno pozabi ali, kot pravi zgodovinarica Kaja Širok: »Ohranjanje in vrednotenje spominov neizogibno poteka v tandemu s pozabo, ki je druga plat istega procesa.«¹⁷

Danes vemo, da Nova Gorica še zdaleč ni bila postavljena v prazen prostor.¹⁸ Če se omejimo zgolj na prvo svetovno vojno, je ta prostoru Nove Gorice in okolice zapustila spomin na uničenje in begunce, v materialni obliki pa vrsto vojaških pokopališč in obeležij. Prostor Nove Gorice in okolice je bila namreč središče Soške fronte in čeprav je ta sprožila ena največjih begunskih kriz prve svetovne vojne, samo mesto Nova Gorica o tem molči.¹⁹ Že samo spricho begunske statistike, je to dejstvo presenetljivo.

Evropa na poti («Europe on the move») je sinonim za evropski prostor v času prve svetovne vojne, ko je vojna povzročila množične migracije in ustvarila milijone beguncev.²⁰ Podatki iz različnih dežel kažejo, da lahko govorimo o več kot deset milijonih beguncev, ki so bili razseljeni znotraj posameznih držav ali pa so bežali preko meja.²¹ Največja begunska žarišča prve svetovne vojne so bila Belgija, Francija, Vzhodna Prusija, Baltik, Srbija, Rusija, Otomansko cesarstvo (Armenci) in, za nas najpomembnejše žarišče, Soška fronta. Vojna med Habsburškim cesarstvom in Italijo, ki se je začela 24. maja 1915, je povzročila demografske premike, ki so še posebej vplivali na slovensko prebivalstvo. Obe državi, Kraljevina Italija in Avstro-Ogrska, sta evakuirali prebivalstvo vzdolž na novo vzpostavljene Soške fronte; prebivalstvo desnega brega je bilo izseljeno v Italijo (od tega okoli 12,000 Slovencev), prebivalstvo levega brega pa na Kranjsko (tu jih je ostalo okoli 50,000), Štajersko in Koroško in od tam v begunska taborišča monarhije (okoli 30,000 Slovencev). Naslednji begunski val je področje zajel po 12. soški bitki, imenovani tudi *Čudež pri Kobaridu*, ko je razpadla Soška fronta.²² Begunska ujma ni prizanesla niti Gorici, še več, junija 1915 se je iz mesta izselilo več kot 50 % prebivalstva

17 Kaja ŠIROK, Kolektivni spomin, pričevalec in zgodovina. Diskurzivne konstrukcije preteklosti, *Acta Histriae*, 1–2, 2012, str. 138.

18 Glej: VUGA 2018 (op. 5).

19 Na stisko spominja le spomenik beguncem v Solkanu, kjer so morali zaradi bombardiranja med prvo svetovno vojno vsi krajani, približno 3,000, zapustiti domove.

20 Petra SVOLJŠAK, Begunci – nedokončana zgodba, *Begunci: slovenski begunci s Soške fronte* (ur. Ines Beguš, Marko Klavara), Nova Gorica, Kromberk, 2016, str. 12.

21 Peter GATRELL, *Refugees, International Encycloaedia of the First World War*, <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/refugees> (dostop 1. november 2019).

22 SVOLJŠAK 2016 (op. 20), str. 15–16.

(15,000), po italijanski zasedbi mesta (9. avgusta 1916) in 12. soški ofenzivi (24. – 27. oktobra 1917) pa je v mestu ostalo dobesedno nekaj desetlin prebivalcev.²³ Številke kažejo, da se je prostor, ki ga obravnavamo, soočil z velikanski materialnim uničenjem in hudo begunsko krizo, kar, nenazadnje, potrjujejo tudi upodobitve umetnikov (mdr. ciklus *Begunci* Frana Tratnika, upodobitve razrušenega Tolmina in Gorice).

Naslednji primer, ki priča o tem, da spomin na prvo svetovno vojno ne biva v mestu Nova Gorica oz. še bolj o selektivnem zgodovinoisju, je poslikava Slavka Pengova v *Zeleni dvorani* občinske stavbe v Novi Gorici, ki je bila dokončana leta 1952. Namen poslikave je vizualni prikaz zgodovine Primorske in velja za enega redkih primerov zgodovinskega slikarstva v slovenski umetnosti.²⁴ Na poslikavi pa prizori, ki bi bili neposredno povezavi s prvo svetovno vojno, niso upodobljeni. Kljub temu, da bi lahko upodobitev Simona Gregorčiča posredno povezali tudi s prvo svetovno vojno – npr. upodobitve na razglednicah serije *Vojska v slikah*²⁵ – in da bi upodobitev apokaliptičnega jezdeca, ki na poslikavi predstavlja poosebljeno zlo fašizma,²⁶ lahko povezali tudi z apokaliptičnim jezdecem, ki prinaša vojno, oz. da bi jo lahko razumeli tudi tako, da je bil fašizem posledica vojne, je odsotnost neposredne likovne navezave na prvo svetovno vojno opazna. Kar je na prvi pogled presenetljivo, po drugi strani pa ne le razumevanje okoliščin nastanka poslikave, ampak tudi podrobnejši razmislek o zgodovinoisju nudi podlago za razumevanje tega dejstva. Umetnostna zgodovinarica Katarina Mohar, ki je analizirala poslikavo, izpostavlja, da je moral avtor poslikavo zasnovati v skladu s takratno politično interpretacijo zgodovinskega razvoja na tem ozemlju in s propagandnimi nameni nove oblasti, pri čemer je šlo zlasti za povičevanje učinkovitosti nove družbene ureditve in prikazovanje preteklosti v skladu z ideološko zaznamovanim zgodovinoisjem.²⁷ Slednje je bilo zato selektivno in je sledilo partijskemu ideološko-političnemu programu.²⁸ Zgodovinoisje se je moralo po diktatu oblasti osredotočati predvsem na novejšo in sodobno zgodovino, zlasti na obdobje med obema vojnama ter na čas druge svetovne vojne in narodnoosvobodilni boj.²⁹ Kar zadeva starejšo zgodovino, je socialistično zgodovinoisje mdr. močno poudarjalo kmečke upore, »kot edine zgodovinske dogodke, ki se morejo po vztrajnosti in junaštvu ljudstva primerjati z narodnoosvobodilno vojno,«³⁰ usmeritev, ki jo odseva tudi Pengova freska. Prva svetovna vojna, ki jo je slovenski prostor preživljal na strani centralnih sil, kot del takrat že močno načete Habsburške monarhije, v zgodovinoisju socialistične Slovenije

23 SVOLJŠAK 2016 (op. 20), str. 15-16.

24 Alenka DI BATTISTA in Katarina MOHAR, *Občinska stavba v Novi Gorici*. Ljubljana, 2019, str. 29–53.

25 Janez J. ŠVAJNCER, *Vojska v slikah. Slovenske vojne razglednice v 1. svetovni vojni. Zbirka Miloša Mikoliča in Miomirja Križaja*, Logatec 2015.

26 DI BATTISTA in MOHAR 2019 (op. 24), str. 49.

27 DI BATTISTA in MOHAR 2019 (op. 24), str. 29–53.

28 REŽEK 2014 (op. 16), str. 971–992.

29 REŽEK 2014 (op. 16), str. 975.

30 DI BATTISTA in MOHAR 2019 (op. 24), str. 47.

ni našla vidnejšega mesta. To, ne nazadnje, dokazujejo še vedno trdovratne delitve slovenske zgodovine 20. stoletja na zgodovino do leta 1918, ki hkrati zajema domala vsa starejša obdobja, in nato na zgodovino med vojnama, na čas druge svetovne vojne in na čas po vojni; 20. stoletje se je torej v zgodovinoisju nekdanje države zares začelo šele po letu 1918.

Na Primorskem je odnos do prve svetovne vojne še dodatno zapleten. Do prve svetovne vojne je bilo vse ozemlje Primorske, tudi Trst, del Avstro-Ogrske monarhije. Z njenim razpadom, ki ga je neposredno povzročil razvoj dogodkov prve svetovne vojne, se je ozemlje Primorske začelo travmatično obdobje fašističnega nasilja, raznarodovanje in italianizacije ter kolonizacije. Italija je svojo prevlado na tem ozemlju dokazovala tudi s privzajanjem spomina na prvo svetovno vojno in padle, kar dokazujeta med drugim monumentalni kostnici v Sredipolju in na Oslavju. Na levem bregu Soče pa je spomin na prvo svetovno vojno zamrznil. Vojaška pokopališča so ostajala zapuščena, obeležja so propadala, dokler ni pred približno dvema desetletjema zgodovinoisje obudilo spomina na prvo svetovno vojno, kar se je ob 100-letnici konca vojne še dodatno okrepilo. Po drugi strani pa sta tako socialistična oblast kot tudi italijanska stran to obdobje razlagali vsaka po svoje, kar je mogoče, med drugim, razbrati tudi iz učbenikov.³¹ Freska Slavka Pengova je tako logična upodobitev ne le uradnega zgodovinoisja, ampak tudi spomina prostora v času nastanka poslikave.

Toda identiteta je proces. Postmodernizem je vprašanje identitete močno razprl in razrahljal in jo razume kot nenehno gibanje in iskanje ter se pri tem odmika od kakršnekoli določenosti, fiksacije.³² To ni ostalo brez odmeva tudi v novo zgrajenih socialističnih mestih, ki so še posebej po padcu berlinskega zidu 1989, ko je zgodovinski razvoj povzročil korenite spremembe politične krajine, začela pospešeno iskati nove točke oprijema identitete:

Vprašanje, kaj storiti z ostalinami »matičnih režimov«, pa je verjetno najbolj prisotno v novozgrajenih mestih, kjer celotna urbana struktura izziva deljeni spomin in postavlja pred njihove prebivalce in oblasti dilemo, kakšno podobo (»city-branding«) si nadeti pred obiskovalci. Tovrstno identitetno vprašanje se najbolj očitno odpira v nekdanjih socialističnih planiranih naseljih...³³

31 O zgodovinoisju tako na slovenski kot italijanski strani in učbenikih več: Mateja REŽEK, Obmejni fašizem in antifašizem v slovenskih zgodovinskih učbenikih od konca druge svetovne vojne do danes, *Acta Histriae*, 4, 2016, str. 905–918; Branko MARUŠIČ, Slovensko zgodovinoisje 20. stoletja o slovensko-italijanskem obmejnem območju in o njegovih mejah, *Acta Histriae*, 3, 2012, str. 307–320; Rolf WÖRSDÖRFER, L'Alto Adriatico tra ottocento e novecento parametri storiografici, *Acta Histriae*, 3, 2012, str. 335–350; Raoul PUPO, La più recente storiografia italiana di frontiera. Alcune questioni interpretative, *Acta Histriae*, 3, 2012, str. 293–306; Egon PELIKAN, Zgodovinoisje ob slovensko-italijanski meji, *Acta Histriae*, 3, 2012, str. 281–292; Marta VERGINELLA, Asimmetrie, malintesi e sguardi speculari. Da una storia etnocentrica ad una storia plurale e congiunta della regione Alto-Adriatiche, *Acta Histriae*, 3, 2012, str. 321–334; Marta VERGINELLA, O zgodovinoisju dihotomije mesta in podeželja, *Acta histriae*, 3, 2017, str. 457–472.

32 TILLEY 2006 (op. 9), str. 10.

33 RAMŠAK 2015 (op. 4), str. 14.

Ta iskanja je dodatno spodbudil razvoj turizma, še posebej kulturnega turizma, ki postaja ena najmočnejših gospodarskih panog,³⁴ in ponuja široke možnosti razvoja. V zadnjih 15 letih se tako razvija področje, imenovano trženje mesta (»city-brandig«), ki se v prvi vrsti veže na to, na kakšen način bi se mesta rada predstavila turistom in obiskovalcem, vendar hkrati pomeni tudi mnogo več in je tesno povezano s tem, kako svoje mesto in prostor v katerem bivajo, vidijo prebivalci sami: »Trženje mesta pomeni razumevanje, oblikovanje, vplivanje in upravljanje podobe, za katero mesta želijo, da jo občudujejo in prepoznavajo tako tuji obiskovalci kot domačini.«³⁵

Nova Gorica priložnosti zagotovo prepozna, mdr. tudi s široko paleto aktivnost ob 70-letnici ustanovitve mesta in s kandidaturo za *Evropsko prestolnico kulture 2025*,³⁶ kar je oboje prineslo številna nova spoznanja, tudi ali pa predvsem glede zgodovine in identitete mesta in prostora, torej oblikovanja »city-brandinga«. Novi spomeniki, povezani s prvo svetovno vojno v okolici mesta (npr. spomenik generalu Svetozarju Borojeviću pl. Bojna, poveljniku avstro-ogrskih sil na soški fronti na Prevali, odkrit leta 2016, spomenik, posvečen slovenskim žrtvam Soške fronte na Doberdolu, ki je bil prav tako odkrit leta 2016), prenove do nedavnega opuščeni in propadajoči spomenikov, kažejo na večje zavedanje o pomenu dediščine prve svetovne vojne na tem prostoru. Prizadevanja Nove Gorice za oblikovanje nove identitete segajo vse globlje v zgodovino, pa tudi vse širše v prostor in kažejo na ponovno tkanje historične niti časa in prostora, na preseganje ločnice med mestom in zaledjem in na stapljanje zgodovine, ki jo nosi po eno strani mesto, po drugi strani pa okolica (na primer zamisli o somestju). Na ta način tudi spomin na prvo svetovno vojno simbolno vse glasneje vstopa v prostor mesta.

Legacy of the First World War and Identity of Nova Gorica

Summary

The territory of present day Nova Gorica and its surrounding experienced the First World War in all its dimensions. The fringes and hinterland of Nova Gorica preserve many memories of the war, such as war cemeteries, memorials and monuments. However, there are no war memorials and/or monuments in the modernist town itself. Why is that so? Even though the reasons might at first sight be evident due to the political decision to build a new city after the Second World War, due to its modernist design, and due to history of fascism that followed the First World War, exploration of this complex topic should embrace additional aspects of various research fields in order to gain even deeper understanding of this phenomenon. It must therefore necessarily interfere with both the analysis of historiography and the theories of collective memory and identity, and, last but not least, with considerations on the so-called City Branding. Although such a comprehensive analysis by far exceeds the scope of this paper, some reflections upon the topic are given, focusing primarily on defining the legacy of the First World War in the multifaceted process of contemporary Nova Gorica identity formation. This was done by compilation of the most recent historiographical, art historical, heritage and sociological studies and by the analysis of selected case studies, representing the presence/absence of memory on the First World War.

34 Kulturni turizem ima 40 % delež v evropskem turizmu. Štirje od desetih turistov izberejo destinacijo na podlagi kulturne ponudbe. *Cultural tourism*, https://ec.europa.eu/growth/sectors/tourism/offer/cultural_en (dostop 1. marec 2020).

35 *City Branding is not about the logo*, <https://www.europeancitiesmarketing.com/city-branding-is-not-about-the-logo/> (dostop 1 marec 2020).

36 *Kandidatura za EPK 2025 Nova Gorica – Gorizia*, <https://www.go2025.eu/> (dostop 1. marec 2020).

Being Modern beyond the Conflict: the Architecture of Void in Gorizia and Nova Gorica

Valentina RODANI

The year 1933 is an emblematic moment inward the architecture and urban modern culture of the interwar period. More precisely, it manifests the whole body of contradictions and telluric forces that would have burst in Europe less than a decade later and beyond.

In Wien, the revolutionary architect of the Goldman & Salatsch house, which daringly faces the Hopfburg in Michaelersplatz, died. In Berlin, the Gestapo dreadfully closed and seized the Bauhaus school, ending its project without any way out except for its exodus. In Moscow, the planned IV "Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne" had been cancelled.

Nevertheless, when the international groups of architects boarded on the steamboat *Patris II* during the summer of the same year, leaving Marseille on 29 July to reach Athens on 1 August and coming back to Marseille on 13 August, the mythological and controversial voyage that later would have gave birth to the programmatic manifesto of modern urbanism as well as its exemplary fragment,¹ the Athens Charter officially began. At the IV CIAM opening, Sigfried Giedion stated: "If we travel to Greece, this does not mean an escape; we do not want in any way to escape the difficulties of reality, but always attentive to the deep problems that are going to develop, we want to take a moment of reflection."² However, this founding moment is characterized by some significant absences. First of all the Soviets, but also Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius, who sent a letter to the secretary of the Ciam to inform him of his condition, closing it with a warning "cultivez votre jardin."³

It is tangible that, even during one of its founding moments, the project of modernity is deeply intertwined with conflicts.

1 Paola DI BIAGI, *La Carta d'Atene. Manifesto e frammento dell'urbanistica moderna*, Roma 1998, pp. 25–72.

2 "Se noi viaggiamo verso la Grecia, ciò non significa un'evasione; noi non desideriamo in nessun modo sfuggire alle difficoltà della realtà, ma sempre attenti ai problemi profondi che si sviluppano, vogliamo intercalare un momento di riflessione." Gino POLLINI, *Il IV Ciam, Parametro*, 52, 1976, p. 19; DI BIAGI, *La Carta d'Atene*, 1998 (n. 1), p. 40. Translation by the author.

3 Giuliano GRESLERI, *Da Le Corbusier a Otto Neurath, Transnational Associations* 55, 1–2, 2003; DI BIAGI 1998 (n. 1), p. 158.

Concurrently, elsewhere northern and remote in relation to the Mediterranean but also on the front of the Italian landscape, the contradictions mentioned above manifested in the rewriting process of the formerly traumatized territory of Isonzo/Soča river. Gorizia already experienced a profound ideological transformation by means of its architecture but, conversely to the several monumental projects that were still changing the city, in 1933 the design of a residential villa expressed an alternative form of thought. Villa Schiozzi,⁴ designed by Umberto Cuzzi, could be in fact considered one of the direct materialization of modern architecture in this borderland.

Within this context of conflict between ideologies and ideals, which permeated thoughts as well as facts and artifacts, architectural theories and practices produced several hypotheses that in many cases have been realized only afterwards. Thoughts and intentions were tried rather than their difficult realizations, confusing built and constructive failures for disastrous ideas. Thus, starting from the recognition of the fragmentary nature of the modern project, this paper traces a trajectory to investigate the hidden layers of its spatial realm and discourse, in order to question whereas the project of modernity could reveal its prospective and unfinished condition.

Indeed, the permanence and the countless variation of the void will be explored within the multiple garden cities imagined, designed, built, and lived in the territory of Gorizia and Nova Gorica. Reckoning with the modern spatial discourse, from the symbolic and figurative aspects of the Athens Charter to the theories of Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* and Camillo Sitté's *Der Stadte-Bau*, heterogeneous city images emerged on the isontine ground: from the green and functionalist Nova Gorica by Edvard Ravnikar, to Antonio Lasciac's projections for a garden Gorizia, or the therapeutic vision of an Austrian Nice.

The void as absolute sun, space and green: towards the new city

L'homme marche droit parce qu'il a un but; il sait où il va. Il a décidé d'aller quelque part et il y marche droit. L'âne zigzague, muse un peu, cervelle brulée et distrait, zig-zague pour éviter les gros cailloux, pour esquiver la pente, pour rechercher l'ombre; il s'en donne le moins possible. [...] La rue courbe est le chemin des ânes, la rue droite le chemin des hommes (Le Corbusier, 1925).⁵

4 Una villa a Gorizia, *Domus*, XII, 1934, pp. 17–19.

5 "Man walks in a straight line because he has a goal and knows where he is going; he has made up his mind to reach some particular place and goes straight to it. The pack-donkey meanders along, mediates a little in his scattered-brain and distracted fashion, he zigzags in order to avoid the larger stones, or to ease the climb, or to gain a little shade; he takes the line of least resistance," LE CORBUSIER, *Urbanisme, The city of tomorrow*, Paris 1925 (reprint New York 1971), p. 11; "Luomo marcia dritto perchè ha sempre uno scopo e sa dove sta andando; si è messo in testa di raggiungere un posto particolare e va dritto lì. L'asino invece, che zig-zaga, perché è una testa matta, perché è sempre distratto, zig-zaga per evitare i massi più grandi, o per attenuare la salita, o per guadagnarsi un po' d'ombra; segue la linea di minor resistenza," Francesco TENTORI, *Abitare nella pianura friulana. L'insediamento, il sedime, la casa*, Venezia 1987, p. 46.

Looking at a territory from above, as it happens in flight from an airplane or a lookout, it is possible to read its geography at least as much as the way man inhabits it. Nevertheless, as much as such an image can evoke the illusion of a presumed or hoped totality, it is still a partial vision of socio-material reality and the imprint it leaves on the earth's surface.

In the case of Nova Gorica, this sort of view was decisive in the controversial choice of the site in which to locate the new city, promised application and impossible translation of the idea of a functionalist city, heir to the principles proposed by the Athens Charter, and the hope of a hypothetical future integration with the pre-existence.

Only shortly after the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty on April 10, 1947, the three architects Božidar Gvardjančič, Edvard Ravnikar and Marko Župančič carried out an on-site inspection with Minister Ivan Maček to observe the territory from different distances, from Montesanto/Sveta Gora, Castagnevizza/Kostanjevica⁶ and San Marco hill in order to choose the location of the future city between the two proposed sites, respectively north and south of the Castagnevizza/Kostanjevica hill. The territory, although traumatized by the signs of war and torn by that line that will destroy the unity of the landscape, is anything but a *tabula rasa*.

In fact, in addition to the specific orographic conditions, a characteristic element of the landscape morphology is the water of the Corno/Koren and Vertoibizza/Vrtojica torrents, often manipulated by human action. The rural settlements of Salcano/Solkan and San Pietro/Šempeter have stratified over time according to the northeast to southwest orientation, cut only by the more recent signs of the *Wochein* railway, the railway yard and the *Transalpina* station. In this forest of anthropic and non-anthropic signs, some artifacts emerged. South of Salcano/Solkan, in Blanče, the straight line marked by wild chestnut trees of via del Camposanto (formerly via San Gabriele, then Erjavčeva ulica) crossed the tracks to connect the town of Gorizia to this unfertile and clayey soil, where the abandoned cemetery, enclosed by walls, lay.⁷ In San Pietro/Šempeter the road connecting the town ran tangent to the asylum and its park, embraced similarly by a perimeter wall.

Observing this landscape from above and from afar, among all these traces not simultaneously visible, the fabric of the city of Gorizia could result at a distracted (or intentionally focused) glance the most significant, permanent and probably cumbersome presence, a figure to be moved in the background by juxtaposing an opposing image of the city.

It is possible to draw a parallel by bringing this founding glance of the city idea closer to what, many years before, had marked the conflicting experience of the IV CIAM.

The view from the sea aboard the heterotopic ship *Patris II* over the city of Athens, immersed

6 Letter from Božidar Gvardjančič, dated 4 December 1967. The architect tells about the choice of the site by the Minister during the *in situ* inspection, PANG, Zbirka Gradnje Nova Gorica 61, f. 1; Alessandra MARIN, *Gorizia. Piani e progetti per una città di confine*, Udine 2007, p. 64.

7 Tomaž VUGA, *Projekt: Nova Gorica*, Ljubljana 2018, pp. 29–45.

in that landscape dominated by the Parthenon and the Acropolis that Le Corbusier had seen in his *Voyage en Orient*,⁸ reveals some symbolic and iconographic aspects hidden in the founding voyage of modern urbanism and its constitutive medium, the Athens Charter (or the Charters, considering its multiple versions). These aspects place in violent contradiction the central theme of the IV CIAM, the concept of functional city developed from the observation of 33 existing cities and built programmatically (as underlined by the prospective character of “il faut exiger”) on the four functions of living (residence, leisure, work and circulation), and the implicit objective of giving rise to an idea of city, opposite and inverse to the city of origin, the classical one.

The programmatic and conceptual triad “sun, space and green” manifested in the Charter can be traced back to the iconographic tradition of landscape painting that idealized nature by transforming it into a model, but it is never defined and coincides with an unspeakable space. In the text of the Charter, the word “space” takes on different meanings that overlap and confuse. Sometimes it seems to mean the unbuilt, other times the open or the vacant space, as well as free space or metaphorically green space; other times instead, it indicates the distance between volumes. In other words, the Newtonian space of the Athens Charter⁹ corresponds to a necessary and irreducible void, a dimension complementary to the material and physical dimension, which uses distance as an expressive tool to capture the infinite.¹⁰

In the case of the foundation of the city Nova Gorica, the decision to establish the new urban system south of Salcano/Solkan instead of San Pietro/Šempeter maximized the expressive and symbolic effect of the void, a paradoxically rarefied density, which laid the foundations for generating a city or, in some ways, a garden,¹¹ orthogonal and total.

The void as a vision: the garden Gorizia of tomorrow

La leçon de l'âne est à retenir (Le Corbusier, 1910).¹²

At the beginning of the short 20th Century, Gorizia is a changing city that, until then, had grown by parts and specific projects, doubling its population, becoming a tourist resort, centre of industries and trade. The urgency of modernization of the city, which was facing its full growth while the countryside was becoming depopulated, becomes indispensable with the choice to

8 Franco PURINI, *Indizi per un paesaggio*, DI BIAGI 1998 (n. 1), pp. 371–381.

9 André CORBOZ, *La Carta d'Atene: uno spazio newtoniano?*, DI BIAGI 1998 (n. 1), pp. 309–316.

10 Leonardo BENEVOLO, *La cattura dell'infinito*, Roma, Bari 1991.

11 Tina POTOČNIK, *Gorizia and Nova Gorica: One Town in Two European Countries*, *The Design of Frontier Spaces: Control and Ambiguity* (eds. Carolyn Loeb, Andreas Luescher), Farnham 2015, pp. 175–192.

12 “The lesson of the donkey should be retained,” LE CORBUSIER, *La Construction des Villes*, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years. Charles-Edouard Jeanneret at La Chaux-de-Fonds* (ed. Harold Allen Brooks), La Chaux-de-Fonds 1910 (reprint Chicago 1999), pp. 185–208; “La lezione dell'asino va meditata,” TENTORI 1987 (n. 5), p. 46.

graft the second railway, which becomes the opportunity to equip itself with a plan at least as much as a unified vision for future urban development.¹³

The architect Antonio Lasciac, from his studio in Egypt, responds to this altered temporal condition, projected into an ever nearer future, and proposed not only four design solutions to connect the city with the new *Stazione Transalpina*, located further north, but subsequently also the proposal for a master plan for the entire Gorizia plain.

The first urban project¹⁴ configures a generating system for the entire northern area of the city. In fact, if the first three hypotheses, formulated to recognize the Transalpine Station as the centre from which to radiate tree-lined avenues according to a trident scheme, the last hypothesis reverses the system polarity, declaring the new station to be the tangential point of a circular scheme, which appears in the design partly denied. In the latter solution, from the point of entry and head of the urban system, the station is implicitly read as a boundary, one among many. It thus leaves a trace of an inversion of the point of view that from the infrastructure moves into the new city, shifting the centrality of the system towards the agricultural areas leading to the Isonzo/Soča river.

The considerations concealed in this design fragment, as well as echoing the Sittian lesson both for the shape chosen for the layout of the open spaces and for the design of the greenery, are made explicit in the next project,¹⁵ which reveals the depth of his vision for tomorrow's Gorizia.

Radial and curvilinear paths give shape to three new expansion areas of the city, delimited longitudinally by the doppelganger railway and enclosed by the left bank of the river Isonzo and the Psychiatric Hospital in the opposite direction. The network of roads, the services, the settlement and the building typology are composed adapting to the topography and the morphological order of the territory, immersed in a green foam of public and private gardens. Lasciac also hypothesizes three typologies (the apartment building, semi-detached villas and the country house) that alternates, composing common and permeable green bands with variable density. Therefore, the architectural dimension of the void is highlighted by the experiments and gutting proposed when the multipolar system interact with the existing city.

The antithesis between city and countryside is then rewritten in a Gorizia-garden, a total

landscape, most likely aware of Howard and Unwin's model,¹⁶ but which does not become a rule conforming to the picturesque urban, on the contrary, it adapts leaving a ground open to inventive possibilities.

It is interesting to note that in one of the early writings of the young Charles-Édouard Jeanneret on the construction of cities, the architect, influenced by Camillo Sitte's reading, argues that "roads must be curved, vary in width and slope to ensure the closure of the view, avoiding geometrical or symmetrical arrangements," and associates to this principle a lesson that man can learn (and reproduce) by observing nature, however domesticated, personified in a commentary on the edge of the page by the figure of the mule. As is well evident in the not strictly geometrical traces of ancient cities, the movement by walking from one point to another is generated by the more human aspects of the inhabited area, which viscerally depend on the continuous adaptation of the culture to the place, transforming it into the culture of the place.

In fact, Lasciac's view on the city, or rather his vision of a future Gorizia, represents a projection, which by definition, is possible only if the observer's point of view is at a certain distance. Perhaps it is precise because of the coincidence between the observer and the object observed in those who received the plan, as well as the conflict and heterogeneity of individual interests with respect to collective interests, that Lasciac's vision has never been adopted or realized, except for fragments and unfinished quotations.

The void as an imaginary view: the Austrian Nice

The irruption of modernity manifests itself in the city of Gorizia with the materialization of two spatial devices that would change in a very short time, not only its deep structure but also its image: the railway and the garden.

In fact, when in 1860 the first railway connection with the *Südbahn* was inaugurated, the city, which only a few years before had seen the development of the first industrial manufacturing plants and the consequent birth of a working-class alongside the emerging bourgeoisie, was the terrain of important social, cultural and urban transformations that would be repeated in 1906 with the opening of the *Wocheinerbahn* line.¹⁷

13 MARIN 2007 (n. 6), pp. 24–33.

14 Luisa CODELLIA, Federico GRAZIATI, *Il Novecento a Gorizia. Ricerca di una identità. Urbanistica e architettura*, Venezia 2000, pp. 24–25; MARIN 2007 (n. 6), pp. 35–36.

15 The watercoloured and retouched heliographic copy of 1913 *Piano regolatore della città di Gorizia* by Antonio Lasciac, on a scale of 1:200, is located in Archivio Storico Provinciale di Gorizia, Gorizia, Fondo Mappe censuarie, n. 2753/15. The photographic reproduction of the original is kept in Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Roma, coll. 1568. The following version of the plan was elaborated in 1917 for the reconstruction of the city, with the addition of typological examples to the architectural scale. Diego KUZMIN, *Antonio Lasciac tra Oriente e Occidente la Villa sul Rafut*, Trieste 2016, pp. 84–94, <https://arts.units.it/handle/11368/2908007?mode=simple.1002> (accessed 1 January 2020).

16 Ebenezer HOWARD, *The Garden city of To-morrow*, London 1902 (first published 1898).

17 *The Südbahn/Ferrovia Meridionale*, with its 577 km completed in 1857, linked central-eastern Europe from Wien to the Trieste port system (via Graz and Ljubljana), with the ambition to connect to Venice and Milan through the two lines of the *Ferdinandea* (283 km from Milan to Venice, completed in 1857) and the *Veneto-Illirica* (197 km, from Mestre to Aurisina via Pordenone, Udine and Gorizia completed in 1860). *The Wocheinerbahn Transalpina*, on the other hand, connected Trieste to Jesenice through the Isonzo/Soča valley (144 km, completed in 1906). Franco OBIZZI, *Transalpina: un binario per tre popoli*, Gorizia 1996; Alessandro PUHALI, 1000 chilometri di binario tra Vienna e Milano (1839–1860), *Signori si parte! Come viaggiamo nella Mitteleuropa 1815–1915* (ed. Marina Bressan), Mariano del Friuli 2011, pp.173–186.

The first signs impressed on the ground trace a road link between the city and the Southern Station, with the conversion of agricultural areas into building plots and thus directing the growth of the city towards the south. The generating elements of the new city, without a plan but built by parts, are a bent and tree-lined street, via della Stazione (later Corso Francesco Giuseppe, nowadays Corso Italia) and via del Giardino (currently Corso Verdi), on which two public gardens are grafted (now the Giardino Pubblico and Parco della Rimembranza), the second of which was created by placing the bottom of the old cemetery, and some representative objects: the town hall, the hotel, the theater and public baths.¹⁸

It is a city that joins the existing one and dilates it, opening it to the eye and to a new dimension. In fact, the two courses draw a linear system that develops for about two km, barycentric with respect to the two topographies of Colle del Castello and Valletta del Corno, and marks a new way of living the city to the rhythm of walking and passing through the often rarefied and low-density building curtain, which never leads to a square.

Moreover, if the square itself (the ancient "travnik", today piazza Vittoria) as a place of coexistence is refuted and remains in the background of the pre-existing city, the garden instead, besides becoming critical of it, is elevated to a model of the city. Both public gardens (with a rectangular ground footprint of 100 x 200 – 300 m) are more than twice the size of the main square (triangular in shape with cathets of about 90 x 190 m) and compete in size with the size of the Town Hall park, Coronini park or Borgo Castello park, but they are strongly spaced out. The gardens cultivated and protected by the Gorizia fence are replaced by these large, shaded and decorated, in some ways exotic, green surfaces; in other words, a new form of landscape.

Camillo Sitte, in his criticism of the construction of the modern city, also recognized in greenery a symbolic and iconographic element that was changing shape and therefore meaning, even in political terms. The "fairly large blocks, built along the perimeter and containing vast green areas, gardens, vegetable gardens, courtyards, all connected to each other to form remarkable complexes absolutely quiet and full of air and sunshine" almost parts of the countryside, risked dissolving into the antithesis between decorative greenery that "belongs almost exclusively to the street and the most lively places, because it only has the purpose of being watched by the greatest possible number of people [...] according to its only fantastic effect" and sanitary greenery, where "everything must instead tend towards rationality: protection from dust and wind, isolation from the roar of traffic, shady coolness in summer."¹⁹

This dichotomy materializes in Gorizia with the construction in a fertile and protected area south-east of the city of the *Asylum Francesco Giuseppe I*, the smallest of the seven hospitals built in the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the Viennese prototype of the *Steinhof*. Characterized

18 MARIN 2007 (n. 6), pp. 19–23.

19 CAMILLO SITTE, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen, L'arte di costruire le città* (ed. Luigi Dodi), Wien 1889 (reprint Milano 1953), pp. 149–151.

by pavilions inspired by suburban villas symmetrically arranged on a central axis of services, the *Asylum* is immersed in a park with a geometric layout with informal inserts and tree-lined areas, whose spatiality opposes to the agricultural colony, which makes it self-sufficient.²⁰

As in many other cases, the health and hygiene discourses had found their direct correspondence at the urban level, and many localities connected by the *Südbahn* returned an image of small towns surrounded by greenery, sunny and favoured by a healthy climate and air, attainable alternatives to the congested metropolis.

Of course, with the railway establishment not only people and goods circulate, but also ideas. Thus, the first imagined Gorizia is depicted as a climatic and therapeutic resort, in the words of Baron Carl von Czoernig:

[the city] lends itself very well as a winter climatic health resort for sick and sick people [...] and occupies among the subalpine climatic health resorts one of the most conspicuous places and offers the citizens of the Empire the advantage of staying in their own country and taking advantage of convenient communications and cheap life.²¹

The view from the railway represented a real perceptive revolution. Space as much as time was distorted and compressed by speed, distorting the relationship between near and far, between looking and being looked at, and bringing not only a new dimension to the experience of places, marked by constant movement but also their representation. And this change of condition is well recognizable in the discursive and visual practices (in the media) that emerge in this transformation of the collective, not without contradictions. Tourist guides, advertising, panoramic postcards, travel novels, magazines, maps and geographic maps begin to spread; thus, heterogeneous and sometimes contrasting images of cities are born.²² The gaze that belonged properly to landscape painting becomes first accessible, breaking into the collective imagination, and then reproducible.

20 The project of Manicomio Francesco Giuseppe I is the work of Arturo Glessig and Lodovico Braidotti, it dates back to 1904, it was realized in the years 1905–1908 and inaugurated only in 1911. Giuseppina SCAVUZZO, *Progetto e libertà terapeutica. Parco Basaglia a Gorizia / Design and therapeutic freedom. The Parco Basaglia in Gorizia, Festival dell'Architettura Magazine*, 2017, p. 46–47, <http://www.festival-larchitettura.it/festival/it/ArticoliMagazineDetail.asp?ID=221> (accessed 1 January 2020); Giuseppina SCAVUZZO, Sergio PRATALI MAFFEI, Gianfranco GUARAGNA (eds.), *Riparare l'umano. Lezioni da un manicomio di frontiera*, Siracusa 2019, pp. 12–43.

21 CARL VON CZOERNIG, *Das Land Görz und Gradisca / I territori di Gorizia e Gradisca*, 3/3, Wien 1873 (reprint Gorizia 1969).

22 In addition to the myth of a climatic and therapeutic resort, Gorizia is defined not only as Austrian Nice, but sometimes as a "pleasant" town or "Austrian Eden". Diego CALTANA, *Görz, immagini di città tra Otto e Novecento* (ed. Alessandra Marin), Udine 2007, pp. 66–75. In other cases it is idealized in the sign of the Habsburg myth of tolerance between peoples, i.e. as belonging to the "imaginary regione" called Central Europe, a "composite city, ethnically and culturally multilingual." Ákos MORAVANSZKY, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918*, Cambridge-Massachusetts 1998; Lucio FABI, *Storia di Gorizia*, Padova 1991, p. 59.

“Photography does for architecture what the railway did for cities, transforming it into merchandise and conveying it through the magazines for it to be consumed by the masses.”²³

The void as the invention of the landscape

Observing this territory today from the hills that surround it, such as Calvario/Podgora, Montesanto/Sveta Gora or Kromberk, and from those that structure it, such as the Castle Hill and the Castagnevizza/Kostanjevica hill, on the one hand, the simultaneity of conflicting views and images suggests to give up the possibility of a univocal reading of the built environment. On the other, the landscape emerges in all its exceptionality: the uniformity of the whole, a large green surface, is punctuated by the precise variation of its heterogeneous and innumerable voids.

Changing the point of view and dissecting this landscape transversally, for instance starting from Salcano/Solkan, passing through the heart of Nova Gorica on trg Edvarda Kardelja, to Erjavčeva ulica and via San Gabriele, and continuing to Corso Verdi, to the Giardino Pubblico, in Valletta del Corno and beyond to the Isonzo river, it is possible to recognize some fragments of emptiness, site-specific expression of the many ideas of garden cities composed with that triad of elements “light, space, green” never realized *in toto* but juxtaposed by parts.

Reading these fragments archaeologically in their symbolic and figurative aspects, it is therefore possible to reconstruct the birth of a condition and a view in movement, sometimes narrative, sometimes projective, certainly partial, transitory and alternative but which aspires to the totality of its vision. These fragments testify to the birth of a gaze that since the irruption of modernity has been confronted with the symbolic horizon of his vision.

The modern eye, in fact, inflects the void through several spatial devices: from the void as an ideal model to the void as an alternative vision, the void reveals itself as absence and mechanism of exclusion, it is the void that relates at a distance, it is a symbolic device of capture and expression of the infinite, it is a void to take care of.

The void is then a critical device of the existing city, of the many ideas of imagined cities, of localized utopias,²⁴ of those realized and lived in the isontine territory, which can be read, thinking back to the words of Marc Antoine Laugier in his *Essai sur l'architecture*, as the invention of a landscape, in some ways, unfinished.

23 Beatriz COLOMINA, On Adolf Loos and Josef Hoffmann. Architecture in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, *Raumplan versus Plan Libre. Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier 1919–1930* (ed. Max Risselada), Amsterdam 1988, p. 69; Beatriz COLOMINA, *Privacy and Publicity: modern architecture as mass media*, Cambridge 1996, p. 47.

24 *3x3x1 utopie localizzate Gorizia Nova Gorica Šempeter-Vrtojba. Quadro conoscitivo volume 1*, Trieste 2014.

Modernost onkraj konflikta: arhitektura praznine v Gorici in Novi Gorici

Povzetek

Urbani sistem Gorice (Italija) in Nove Gorice (Slovenija) kot stične točke prekinjenega teritorija, ki ga prečka reka Soča, je bil skozi stoletja prizorišče konfliktna zgodovine. Zaradi njegovih spreminjajočih se meja in zahtevnega sobivanja med njegovimi deli, je to območje, ki je sestavljeno iz fragmentov namesto iz načrtov, ki so nastali s pomočjo izjem in ne toliko s pomočjo pravil. Referat, ki se začne z izbruhom modernizma z vzpostavitvijo dvotirne železniške proge (*Südbahn* leta 1860 in *Neuen Alpenbahnen* leta 1906), sledi krivulji in se osredotoča na vprašanje obstojnosti in neštetihih variacij praznine znotraj številnih vrtnih mest, ki so si jih zamislili, načrtovali, zgradili in v katerih so živeli v Gorici in Novi Gorici. Če upoštevamo moderni prostorski diskurz, od teorij Camilla Sitte *Der Städtebau in Garden Cities of Tomorrow* Ebenezerja Howarda do programskega manifesta Atenske listine, so se heterogene mestne podobe pojavile znotraj soškega teritorija: od turističnih vizij avstrijske Nizze, do napovedi Antonia Lasciaca o vrtni Gorici ali do zelene in funkcionalistične Nove Gorice Edvarda Ravnikarja. Medtem ko se urbano tkivo pojavlja kot raztrgano telo, realizirano skozi kolizijo fragmentov, lahko relevantnost in potrebo po praznini – ne samo v sklopu nezgrajenega, temveč tudi znotraj konceptualnih in ikonografskih terminov za svetlobo, zrak, prostor kot tudi za razdaljo in prizor – preučujemo kot dispozitiv modernega očesa ali iznajdbo krajine.

King Faisal II's plans for Greater Baghdad

Tanja POPPELREUTER and Lena KARIM

During the short reign of King Faisal II (1939–1958), from his coronation at the age of 18 in 1953 to his execution during the “14 July Revolution” in 1958, plans for the modernisation of Greater Baghdad were initiated. It was a large-scale and ambitious programme with the goal to improve and develop infrastructure and housing, provide essential public buildings, reform the building industries and train Iraqi architects. A central part of these plans was the invitation of internationally renowned architects whose buildings would make these modernisation efforts visible.

Among the architects who accepted the invitation were Alvar Aalto (1898–1976), Walter Gropius (1883–1969) and The Architects Collaborative (TAC), Le Corbusier (1887–1965), Gio Ponti (1891–1979), and Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959). Most of their designs were not executed and only the faculty tower and gateway monument to Baghdad University by Walter Gropius and TAC, and the office building for the Development Board by Gio Ponti were built. The Baghdad Gymnasium – that was part of the sports facilities that Le Corbusier worked on until his death in 1965 – was constructed in 1980 under Saddam Hussein.

The plans for Greater Baghdad have until recently received little attention. Among the literature that critically discusses the topic is the 2008 anthology *Modernism and the Middle East* by Kishwar Rizvi and Sandy Isenstadt¹ that contains two chapters on Baghdad and Iraq. The 2008 special edition *Bagdad* of the journal *DC papers* also contains articles on the political changes and individual commissions. The 2009 exhibition catalogue *Modernism and Iraq* and the article “A Dream we call Baghdad”² by Nada Shabout provides an analysis of the modern art movement during the 1950s.³

Monographs on invited architects occasionally discuss their Baghdad projects. Among them are Neil Levine's 1998 monograph *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright* and Mina Merefat's

1 *Modernism and the Middle East. Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, (eds. Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi), Seattle 2008.

2 Zainab BAHRANI, Nada M SHABOUT, Wallach Art Gallery, *Modernism and Iraq*, New York 2009.

3 Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Departament de Composició Arquitectònica, *DC Papers. Revista de crítica y teoría de la arquitectura*, Número Extraordinario 1. Dedicado a: Especial Bagdad, 2008, <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/ejemplar/311991> (accessed 10 January 2020).



Fig. 1: Walter Gropius and the Office Tower of the University of Baghdad, 1967 (© Harvard Art Museums/Busch-Reisinger Museum, Gift of Ise Gropius, BRGA.124.7).

2006 article *Wright's Baghdad*.⁴ Ala Younis' research on Le Corbusier's gymnasium led to an exhibition at the Guggenheim, New York and an article in 2016.⁵ The work by Gropius and TAC was addressed by Merefat in 2008.⁶ Limited material is, unfortunately available on the projects by Aalto and Ponti.⁷

Researchers offer diverse interpretations of the plans for Greater Baghdad. Magnus T. Bernhardsson in the anthology *Modernism and the Middle East* interprets them as being based on multiple pre-existing cultural identities and as a result of a harking back to the Islamic and pre-Islamic past. Cultural heritage was utilised and interpreted by local as well as Western architects in order to express a distinct new Iraqi cultural identity.⁸ Levine, whose primary interest is in the work of Frank Lloyd, seems to support this when writing that “Wright's response ... articulates in figurative terms the problems of cultural identity and self-determination at a moment of impending change”.⁹ Merefat argues in her article on Gropius' plans for

the University of Baghdad that they were a means to build “worthy symbols of a nation's entry onto the world stage” and as such the Baghdad University became “a linchpin in the sense of a new identity that was part of the nationalizing process”.¹⁰

4 Mina MAREFAT, *Wright's Baghdad. Ziggurats and green visions*, *Docomomo*, 35, 2006, pp. 78-86; Joseph M. SIRY, *Wright's Baghdad Opera House and Gammage Auditorium. In Search of Regional Modernity*, *The Art Bulletin*, 87, 2, 2005, pp. 265-311.

5 Ala YOUNIS, *Le Corbusier's Raised Arm Gestures a Backstroke*, *Cartha*, 3, 2016, http://www.carthamagazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/03_CARTHA_2016_ISSUE-2_YOUNIS.pdf (accessed 19 January 2020).

6 Mina MAREFAT, *From Bauhaus to Baghdad. The Politics of Building the Total University*, *Tarii Newsletter*, 2-3, 2008, pp. 2-12.

7 Frederick GUTHEIM, *Alvar Aalto*, New York 1960, pp. 29-33.

8 Magnus T. BERNHARDSSON, *Visions of Iraq. Modernizing the Past in 1950s Baghdad*, *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (eds. Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi), Seattle 2008, p. 92.

9 Neil LEVINE, *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright*, Princeton 1998, p. 383.

10 MAREFAT 2008 (n. 6), pp. 9-10.

This paper analyses the plans for Greater Baghdad in its political and socio-economic context, outlines the individual projects of architects and their aspirations briefly, and provides examples of reactions to these locally and internationally. The short period between 1953 and 1958 allows the focus to be on some of the interplaying forces that aimed to develop and modernise Baghdad and with the help of postcolonial theory it can be argued that this situation was the result of cultural hybridisation.

In Homi Bhabha's 1994 book *The Location of Culture*¹¹ hybridisation is introduced as a way to discuss and describe sociocultural interactions between diverse groups in conditions of colonialization and globalization. In an effort to understand the effects of cultural interactions Bhabha argues that languages, cultures and identities are not homogenous but instead ambivalent and the results of continuous influx and interactions. It is the latter that drives the development of culture and is a motor for cultural productivity. In the chapter "Signs taken for Wonders" Bhabha outlines the impossibility of truthful translation from one language and culture to another and uses this as an example to outline the emergence of a hybrid. Hybridity therefore is not achieved through an accumulation of elements and symbols but instead a process that can create power relationships as well as tensions and crises. Applied as a theoretical framework to the plans for Greater Baghdad it provides insights to the ways in which its modernisation was initiated and supported.

King Faisal II was a member of the Hashemite Monarchy that ruled from 1921 to 1958. It was a constitutional monarchy modelled on the example of Britain with Faisal I as the first king. It had been instated to minimise tensions but was dependent on the British military. In 1932 the Kingdom of Iraq became a sovereign state, the British mandate ended, and the country was admitted to the League of Nations. Dependency on the British, however, still remained and changing alliances between landowners, military, tribal chiefs and officials influenced and guided the regency of the monarchs.

During the early years of the Cold War, the pre-existing political relationship with Britain contributed to the formation of the 1955 Baghdad Pact. The pact was, similarly to NATO, initiated to safeguard against a feared expansion of the Soviet Union, but also stipulated mutual cooperation and protection. In addition to Iraq and Britain it was joined by Turkey, Pakistan and Iran.

The increase in the economy that subsequently enabled the plans for Greater Baghdad to be developed was due to negotiations with the British-controlled Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) in 1952 that achieved an equitable share of oil rights and a substantial increase in Iraq's revenue.¹²

By 1950 – the same year Iraq began to exploit its oil fields – the semiautonomous Development Board ("Majlis al a'mar") that consisted of six members including a foreign advisor¹³ had been founded with the directive to improve infrastructure and living conditions.

11 Homi BHABHA, *The Location of Culture*, New York 1994.

12 Stacy E. HOLDEN, *A documentary history of modern Iraq*, Gainesville 2012, p. 125; Rémi BAUDOÛI, To build a stadium. Le Corbusier's project for Baghdad, 1955-1973, *DC Papers. Revista de crítica y teoría de la arquitectura*, Número Extraordinario 1. Dedicado a: Especial Bagdad, 2008, p. 271; LEVINE 1998, (n. 9), p. 383-384.

13 BERNHARDSSON 2008 (n. 8), p. 84.

After negotiations with the IPC in 1952 the Board received a percentage of the annual oil revenue and in 1955 it established a six-year-plan with a large budget, a quarter of which was assigned for public buildings. The Board therefore commanded the funds necessary for large-scale projects. In an effort to secure authority of the monarchy and to thwart possible tensions, funds needed to be invested in urban areas where it was feared conflict would appear. The exponential increase of the population of Baghdad between 1947 and 1957 made it necessary to invest in infrastructure and housing, as well as in projects that would show visible benefits quickly – which was another way to counter opposition.¹⁴

Commissions for public buildings followed and the first ones went to the German architect Werner March (1894–1976) for the Iraq Museum and the English firm J. Brian Cooper to build the National Parliament and the Royal Palace. Swiss architect William Dunkel (1893–1980)¹⁵ won the 1954 competition for the National Bank, while Constantinos Doxiadis (1913–1975) built hundreds of dwelling units by the end of the 1950s.¹⁶ Josep Lluís Sert (1902–1983) was contracted by the US government to construct their Embassy in 1955.¹⁷

The first internationally renowned architect who was contacted by the Development Board was Le Corbusier in 1955. At the same time the London planners Minoprio & Spencely and PW Macfarlane drew a masterplan to lay out – among other things – sites for public buildings. This plan generated a series of discussions during which the above-mentioned world-renowned architects were commissioned for central projects.¹⁸

According to an anecdote relayed by Rifat Chadirji (1926) the selection of architects originated from his criticism of the initial group.¹⁹ Chadirji was the son of the former leader of the Iraq National Democratic Party and after studying architecture at the Hammersmith School of Building and Arts & Crafts in London he returned to Baghdad in 1952. Together with Nizar Jawdat (1921–2017) and his wife Ellen²⁰ a new list of names was made. Jawdat's father had been the ambassador of Iraq to the United States and Jawdat had been a student of Gropius' at Harvard University. The influence that these young, Western educated architects might have

14 LEVINE 1998, (n. 9), p. 383; BERNHARDSSON 2008 (n. 8), p. 84.

15 The Orient Expressed?, *The Architects' Journal*, 121:3142, 1955, p. 662.

16 Panayiota I PYLA, Baghdad's Urban Restructuring, 1958: Aesthetics and Politics of Nation Building, *Modernism and the Middle East. Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, (eds. Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi), Seattle 2008, pp. 97-115.

17 Samuel ISENSTADT, "Faith in a Better Future." Josep Lluís Sert's American Embassy in Baghdad, *Journal of Architectural Education*, 50:3, 1997, pp. 172-188; Jane C. LOEFFLER, The Architecture of Diplomacy. Heyday of the United States Embassy-Building Program, 1954-60, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 49:3, 1990, pp. 251-278.

18 LEVINE, 1998 (n. 9), pp. 384-386; Pedro AZARA Nicolás, City of Mirages. Baghdad, from Wright to Venturi, DC Papers. *Revista de crítica y teoría de la arquitectura*, Número Extraordinario 1. Dedicado a: Especial Bagdad, 2008, p. 253-254.

19 MAREFAT 2008 (n. 6), p. 2.

20 BERNHARDSSON 2008 (n. 8), pp. 81-96.

had on the Development Board is difficult to discern in retrospect but this anecdote illustrates that there was a group of young architects educated in the United States or Britain – Faisal II was himself schooled at the British boarding school Harrow – that formed an elite familiar with the principles of modern architecture. Their interest in modern architecture was such that in 1955 Ellen Jawdad thought possible to form a “Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne” (CIAM) group in Baghdad.²¹

Invitations were issued around January 1957; Oscar Niemeyer rejected it but Wright, Aalto, Gropius and Ponti accepted and also agreed to “give conferences in Baghdad that would serve as a model and support for a new generation of architects.”²² This shows that the efforts of reforming and modernising the city were paired with efforts to improve the buildings industries by training Iraqi architects. In addition to this, Western architects would work collaboratively with Iraqi practices and it can be assumed that these collaborations were meant to have an “osmotic” effect whereby skill and knowledge would be imparted to local practices over the course of the projects.

This historical narrative reveals a range of interplaying internal interests regarding the plans for Greater Baghdad. The commissioning of modernist architects was supported by a complex political and cultural situation that enabled modernism to become the main expression in art and architecture. It was hoped that the modernisation efforts would help stabilise the monarchy. This also demonstrates the existence of a strong opposition and unstable conditions. Another factor was the young generation whereby a western-educated elite supported modernism.

Wright was the first to work on the project. Originally, he had been invited to contribute designs for an opera house and cultural centre but, encouraged by the flexibility of the Development Board, he changed the site from the centre of Baghdad to “Pig Island” – that he renamed “Edena” – a small island on the Tigris. By July 1957 Wright not only drew a cultural and educational complex but also – among other buildings – a university, a gallery for contemporary art, a botanical garden and an urban master plan. After General Abdul al-Karim Qassim’s (1914–1963) *coup d’état* and Wright’s death in 1959 the project came to a halt.²³

From the beginning Wright was critical of all efforts towards Westernization and modernisation which he amplified in terms of (Western) “materialism” and “commercialism” and (Eastern) “spiritual integrity”. This became apparent in a talk for the Society of Engineers in Baghdad and Wright’s appeal to not be influenced by the “wrong kind of success,” to “reject [Western] commercialization” and instead to seek “contact with what is sound, what is deep in the spirit and what [is] genuinely” part of Iraqi history and culture.²⁴ Wright argued against an adaptation of modern architectural principles because to him these would deplete the historic and cultural

21 Ellen JAWDAT to Walter Gropius, 14 January 1955, MAREFAT 2008 (n. 6), p. 10.

22 AZARA 2008 (n. 18), p. 254.

23 LEVINE 1998 (n. 9), p. 387.

24 LEVINE 1998 (n. 9), p. 387.

integrity of a place: “... no architect should come here and put a [Western] cliché to work.”²⁵ Levine interprets Wright’s outlook to be that he did not regard Iraq as an underdeveloped nation to which he brought the fruits of technology, but that Wright instead wanted to preserve the character of the place. Wright found this reflected in historical and literary sources. Among them was Caliph al-Mansur who is believed to have founded Baghdad on an ideal circular plan between 762 and 766 AD. Another was the selection of tales of *Arabian Nights* that also originated in the 8th century and during the reign of Harun ar-Rashid. Wright also mentions the Garden of Eden that according to a belief was located south of Baghdad.²⁶

The plans and drawings that Wright produced echo al-Mansur’s circular layout and are imbued in greenery to allude to the Garden of Eden. Tales of the *Arabian Nights* are, according to Levine, referred to in the design of the Opera house. Wright’s contribution was a means to support his reference-based way of design but to a significant extent a way to reject the functionalist architecture of his contemporaries.²⁷ The tenuous links to the misogynist tales of *Arabian Nights* and the reference to the Garden of Eden seem to stem from a romanticised notion of the Orient rather than from an understanding of contemporary Iraqi culture or architectural traditions.

Also in 1957 Gropius and TAC were commissioned to build the University of Baghdad. Aided by the Baghdad-based architects Medhat Ali Madhloom (1913–1973) and Hisham Munir (1930) TAC was responsible for several masterplans as well as for most of the subsequently completed buildings.²⁸

The master plan(s) incorporated pre-existing dykes and trees and enclosed the university by a ring road. The university consisted of low-rise buildings for classrooms, lecture theatres, laboratories etc. that were grouped around a central plaza. Here, auxiliary buildings were arranged that included the library, auditorium, administration, mosque, and – in later iterations of the plans – the faculty office tower. Apart from the dome of the mosque the project was characteristic of Gropius’ designs of that time and adhered to the principles of International Style. Gropius’ remark that the plans signify: “balance of unity and diversity, of integration and differentiation in order to provide for the students the intellectual and emotional experience from both East and West”²⁹ suggests a wish for integration of diversity but little of this can be discerned in the masterplan or the executed faculty office tower. The 1958 revolution slowed down the project but did not bring it to a halt and work continued on the project until Gropius’ death in 1969. The “Open Mind” gateway to the university and the Faculty Office Tower were built after the *coup d’état* and under Qassim’s government.

25 Frank Lloyd Wright, Talk to Engineers, LEVINE 1998 (n. 9), p. 387.

26 Frank Lloyd Wright, Talk to Engineers, LEVINE 1998 (n. 9), p. 392.

27 Frank Lloyd Wright, Talk to Engineers, LEVINE 1998 (n. 9), p. 389; SIRY 2005 (n. 4), p. 265.

28 MAREFAT 2008 (n. 6), p. 5.

29 Walter GROPIUS, TAC, the University of Baghdad, *Architectural Record*, April 1959, p. 148. See also: MAREFAT 2008 (n. 6), p. 8.

Aalto was commissioned to design a Post and Telegraph Office and an Art Museum. His Museum design was determined by the climate. Cooling effects were planned with vertical louvres, roof gardens, and environment-appropriate construction. The latter consisted of a double concrete wall with an insulating air-space to support the air conditioning. The critic Frederick Gutheim summarised the project in 1960 as resulting in “the familiar Aalto combination of regularity and original architectural forms, practical nature and artistic whim...”³⁰ To Gutheim, the artistic whim might have been the cladding of the museum in dark blue ceramic tiles which created a striking effect. The familiarity that he detected was due to the very similar designs of Aalto’s unbuilt museum projects in Tallin, Estonia, and in Avesta, Sweden as well as with his completed Museum in Aalborg, Denmark.

Ponti’s office building design focussed also on technological solutions for the climate and displays similarities to his Pirelli Building in Milan. Ponti deliberately eschewed historic or regional references as he regarded attempts to implement such motifs by foreign architects as invalid and fatuous.³¹ He therefore focussed on providing a functional solution for a more quantifiable problem such as climate control.

Le Corbusier’s commission, finally, was to design sports facilities that were to include a wave swimming pool, exercise grounds and a stadium for 50,000 spectators.³² This project was also not discontinued after the *coup d’état* and Le Corbusier continued to work on it (the site however was changed and a new masterplan by Doxiadis was developed) until his death in 1965.

The initial site for the sports complex was on the bank of the Tigris and had been set aside for this purpose in the urban plan by Minoprio, Spencely and PW Macfarlane. Le Corbusier organised the buildings on a trapezoidal terrain in a way that Rémi Baudouï interprets as implementing the four functional urban principles formulated at the fifth gathering of CIAM in 1937: to dwell, to enjoy, to work, to transport.³³

Plans for Greater Baghdad acquired international attention as a letter from the British Board of Trade demonstrates that was sent to a number of British architects. The letter was published by Rayner Banham in the *Architects’ Journal* in 1958, only months before the *coup d’état*. The unnamed author wished to “obtain some photographs of unusual architectural work of designs produced by British architects”³⁴ that could compete with the architects commissioned by the Iraqis. Photographs of buildings with “an exciting, bizarre or unconventional character which might stir the Iraqis” were requested.³⁵ Banham’s chagrined response focussed on the lack of ability and skill that he blamed for the omission of British architects, but he also mentioned:

30 GUTHEIM 1960 (n. 7), p. 30 and 121; BERNHARDSSON 2008 (n. 8), p. 87.

31 LEVINE 1998 (n. 9), p. 390.

32 BAUDOUÏ 2008 (n. 12), p. 271.

33 BAUDOUÏ 2008 (n. 12), p. 275.

34 Rayner BANHAM, Don’t be a Square, BoT, *The Architects’ Journal*, 127:3303, 1958, p. 921.

35 BANHAM 1958 (n. 34), p. 921.

the unadulterated cultural colonialism ... the hurt tone that the Iraqis should go out and buy the kind of architecture that they want, instead of accepting the kind that we like to hand out to them, spending all that lovely lolly from their oil-wells on “foreign architects”.³⁶

The letter and Banham’s response recognise the wealth of Iraq and the status that modern architecture is given in the efforts of modernisation. It also demonstrates that these efforts are not quite taken seriously and are regarded merely as based on a superficial desire for the extraordinary and bizarre. The letter and Banham’s response can be regarded as examples for the ways in which the plans for Greater Baghdad were viewed externally. They show efforts of the former coloniser seeking to be included in the lucrative commissions on the one hand and the indignation of the critic on the other hand.

The ways in which the focus on the West and the invitation of modernism was regarded internally can be exemplified by a 1951 talk by modernist artist Jawad Salim. A journalist had labelled Salim’s Baghdad Modern Art Group “enemies of the people” which led Salim to explain that “at least ninety-seven percent of the people would no doubt oppose ... the modern styles that they used.”³⁷ That the execution of Faisal II in 1958 was justified with the excessive ‘Westernization’ of Iraq society furthers the recognition that there was no consensus about the modernisation of Iraq.

Bhabha’s concept of hybridity allows for an interpretation of the ways in which the plans for Greater Baghdad created tension and his theories aid in understanding the discourse not as a unilateral means to modernise Baghdad but instead as a complex interplay of competing interpretations, plans and motivations. Bhabha uses the tensions that arise between the seemingly binary system of coloniser and the colonised as object of his study. Applied to the narrative of Baghdad in the 1950s it appears that this binary system no longer existed in its original form but implications caused by colonialization have, arguably, been retained.

Political tension had been introduced by the British colonisers already in 1921 when the Hashemite Monarchy was instated and when representatives of the colonised now replaced the original coloniser. This created a political situation whereby the new king, Faisal I, became a mimicry of the “original” British king. As such, the monarchy was already a hybrid system consisting of an indigenous king ruling over a colonial political system.

Mimicry, in the context of Bhabha’s thinking is part of the measures use by colonial forces towards civilising their subjects. In the chapter “Of Mimicry and Man” Bhabha argues that “colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other as a subject of difference that is almost the same but not quite.”³⁸ In fostering mimicry, indigenous interpreters of the colonial system are created that will, however, never be the same as the colonizer. This process creates a hybrid class of people who remain interpreters of the original culture.

36 BANHAM 1958 (n. 34), p. 921.

37 BAHRANI, SHABOUT 2009 (n. 2), p. 35.

38 BHABHA 1994 (n. 11), p. 86.

Regarded in this sense, this type of mimicry and hybridisation was continued in the example of Iraq across the next generation – in Faisal II as well as the sons of leading officials who were educated in Britain or the United States. This way, the political power was in the hands of colonial representatives whose position within the complex system of coloniser and colonised was not clear. This type of mimicry is, according to Bhabha: “the sign of the inappropriate ... a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance and poses an imminent threat.”³⁹

To Bhabha the class of people who are almost like the coloniser but not quite the same ultimately pose a threat to the coloniser because differences and systems of classification of the “inappropriate” can no longer be applied effectively.

Conversely, applying Bhabha’s theory to the status of the “inappropriate” towards not the coloniser but the colonised, hybridisation has removed them from their previous status to which they cannot return to. In the absence of a ruling colonial power – Iraq was a sovereign state from 1932 – this “inappropriate” class of people continued with the hybridisation process across the next generations so that it shifted into the gap the coloniser left.

The commissioning of well-known Western architects was meant to reinforce the Hashemite dynasty and to impart knowledge to Iraqi architects. This utilisation of Western cultural objects as a means to impart knowledge is a fundamentally colonial method. In the chapter “Signs Taken for Wonders”⁴⁰ Bhabha describes this with the example of the translation of the *Bible* into Hindi. In 19th century India, the British colonisers used the *Bible* not only as a means to instruct but more importantly to reinforce the binary system between coloniser and colonised and to clarify the contours between superior and inferior.

The translation of the *Bible* into the native language led, however, to a lessening of the desired effect. This was caused by the act of translation in that it is impossible to translate a cultural artefact in its entirety – including cultural references that are needed for it to have an identical signification. Bhabha uses the example of the translation of the *Bible* to outline that the meaning of an object does not exist in the object itself but that the production of its meaning is a Western historical construct. The translation displaces this meaning and leaves a void, that is through the same system of signification imbued with new meaning, relevant to the culture it now resides in.

For the example of the plans for Greater Baghdad this passage in Bhabha’s book has two implications. Firstly, it supports the suggestion that the invitation of Western architects was a means to reinforce the supremacy of the monarchy, secondly that the designing and building of Western architecture created hybrid symbols that were imbued with new meaning and lessened the desired effect.

This process of signification can perhaps be explained best in the ways in which General Qassim

retained and continued with some of the projects. Although the new regime had fundamentally dissimilar notions of nationhood and identity some of the architectural projects continued – it was possible to alter the meaning and signification of the architectural language from constitutional monarchy to Qassim’s republic.

Načrti kralja Faisala II. za Veliki Bagdad

Povzetek

Med kratko vladavino kralja Faisala II., med letom 1953 in njegovo usmrtno vajo v času državnega udara leta 1958, se je sprožilo veliko načrtov za modernizacijo Velikega Bagdada. To je bil velik in ambiciozen program, katerega cilj je bil izboljšati in razviti infrastrukturo in bivališča, zagotoviti nujne javne zgradbe, reformirati gradbeno industrijo in vzgajati iraške arhitekte. Osrednji del teh načrtov je bilo povabiti mednarodno priznane arhitekte, katerih delo bi naredilo te poskuse modernizacije vidne. Med njimi so bili Alvar Aalto (1898–1976), Walter Gropius (1883–1969) in The Architects Collaborative (TAC), Le Corbusier (1887–1965), Gio Ponti (1891–1979) in Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959). Po državnem udaru so nadaljevali z razvijanjem večine projektov, vendar so bili zgrajeni le stolp fakultete in vhodni spomenik Univerze v Bagdadu Walterja Gropiusa in TAC ter poslovna zgradba Razvojnega odbora (1957–58) Gia Pontija. Bagdadska telovadnica, ki je bila del športnih objektov, na katerih je delal Le Corbusier vse do svoje smrti leta 1965, je bila zgrajena leta 1980 pod oblastjo Saddama Husseina. Članek analizira prizadevanja za Veliki Bagdad ter poskuša razumeti načine, s katerimi so spodbujali modernizacijo. Menimo, da so načrti za Veliki Bagdad primer kompleksnega procesa hibridizacije v času političnih napetosti.

39 BHABHA 1994 (n. 11), p. 86.

40 BHABHA 1994 (n. 11), p. 102.

3

ENOLIČNOST ALI RAZNOLIKOST MODERNISTIČNE STANOVANJSKE ARHITEKTURE
MONOTONY OR DIVERSITY OF MODERNIST RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE



Cohesion of Local Environment and Modernist Residential Architecture in Latvia after the Second World War

Alina BEITANE

The modernist residential architecture is represented by one of the most widespread groups of residential buildings in Latvia built in the post-war period.¹ Le Corbusier stated: "The problem of the house is a problem of the epoch"² and underlined that the quality of the available housing is fundamental to social equilibrium. The concept of high-quality residential architecture and high sanitary standards of urban environment are central for contemporary Latvian architecture since the 1920s and 1930s when the Modern Movement style was introduced. Anyhow, values of Latvian residential building traditions seem very close to the statements expressed under the section "Dwelling" of the Athens Charter (1933),³ but critics still question the architectural value of post-war modernist housing estates.⁴

The existing body of literature provides a diverse description of modernist residential areas and an analysis of political and socio-economical context mostly in Riga, with some examples in other cities.⁵ Latvian architect Eižens Laube (1880–1967) published numerous essays on modernist and regional architecture.⁶ One of the first Latvian urban planners – prof. Arnolds Lamze (1889–1945) has studied the development of foreign cities and, based on this study, proposed the Riga's urban development scenario.⁷ The architect's and university teacher's Pēteris Bērzkalns (1899–1958), the assistant of prof. A. Lamze, main field of professional interest was architecture of apartments. His research on apartments in Riga in

1 Jānis RUBĪNS, *Rīgas dzīvojamais fonds 20. gadsimtā : tipoloģiskā rakursā*, Rīga 2004, p.61.

2 LE CORBUSIER, *K arhitekture* (eds. S. D. Komarov, Konstantin Topuridze), Moscow 1970, pp. 9–24 (Translation of Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture*, Paris, 1923, pp. XXIII–XXVII).

3 LE CORBUSIER 1970 (n. 2), pp.155–190.

4 Jānis KRASTIŅŠ, Ivars STRAUTMANIS, Jānis DRIPE, *Latvijas Arhitektūra no senatnes līdz mūsdienām*. Arhitektūra pēc Otrā Pasaules kara, Rīga 1998, p. 200.

5 KRASTIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), pp. 185–229; Sandra TREIJA, *Dzīvojamās vides attīstība Rīgā : promocijas darbs*, Rīga 2006, p.160; Jānis KRASTIŅŠ, *Arhitektūras stili Latvijā*, Rīga 2012?, pp.135–142, https://mantojums.lv/media/uploads/dokumenti/petijumi/arhitekturas_stili_latvija.pdf (accessed 20 January 2020).

6 Eižens LAUBE, *Raksti par arhitektūru*, Lincoln 1960, p. 205.

7 Arnolds LAMZE, *Teritorijas problēma Lielrīgas izbūvē*, Rīga 1932, p. 40.

1913 concludes that, in the time of Art Nouveau and National Romanticism, Riga's regulations does not pay attention to proper ventilation and insolation of the buildings, but concentrates on the street and building facade. He also underlines that 1/3 of Riga's residents lived in the rooms with unhealthy conditions.⁸ The essay of architect Janina Jasenas on values of Latvian contemporary architecture was published in 1940 and republished in 1980.⁹ In 2004, Jānis Rubīns (1928) published a detailed analysis of the 20th century housing stock in Riga. This publication is of special importance because of the author's practical experience in the field of design and construction of modernist housing estates since he was the head of the State Construction Committee between 1964 and 1985.¹⁰ The terms 'regional architecture' and 'identity' have been intensively discussed since the second decade of the 20th century, when the style of National Romanticism intensified the search for physical expression of Latvian architecture. In 2015, French historian Eric Le Bourhis defended his doctoral thesis on urban planning practice in Riga in the USSR (1945–1990), analysed professional practice of urban planners in Riga in "political, administrative, professional and intellectual context."¹¹ This research provides the analysis of vast selection of archival sources in the context of practical implementation of modernist ideas. The planning aspects of modernism housing estates are analysed in Chapter 6.¹² The scientific paper of Aija Ziemeļniece (Latvian University of Agriculture), which was written in 2011, describes the importance of cultural historical landscape in "transferring of the intellectual values from one generation to the next one."¹³ Overall review of architectural competition practice in after war period and its influence on architecture of modernist residential areas is provided in doctoral thesis by Linda Leitāne.¹⁴

The modernism architecture is a topic of lively interest in the Latvian professional society – in 2014, the modernist residential buildings were part of the Latvian Pavilion dedicated to modernism at the Venice Architectural Biennale. In 2018, large-scale residential neighbourhoods were the main theme of the Latvian Pavilion. In the summer of 2019, the Latvian Museum of Architecture organised the exhibition with the intention to analyse the origin of large-scale neighbourhoods.¹⁵

The **subject of the research** is the process of incorporation of modernist housing estates,

8 *Latvijas Arhitektūras meistari* (ed. Jānis Lejnietis), Rīga 1995, p. 211.

9 Janina JASENAS, *Arhitektūras tautiskums, Latvijas Arhitektūra*, (1989), p. 41–42.

10 RUBĪNS 2004 (n.1), p. 104.

11 Eric LE BOURHIS, *Avec le plan, contre le modèle: Urbanisme et changement urbain à Riga en URSS (1945–1990)*, PhD dissertation, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2015, p. 6.

12 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n. 11), pp. 327–387.

13 Aija ZIEMEĻNIECE, Restoration and preservation of the identity of historical cultural landscape, *Rīgas Tehniskās universitātes zinātniskie raksti. 10. sērija, Arhitektūra un pilsētplānošana*, 5, 2011, pp. 66–69.

14 Linda LEITĀNE, *Arhitektūras konkursi Latvijā*, promocijas darbs, Rīgas Tehniskā universitāte, 2019, pp. 57–69.

15 Kristīne BUDŽE, Priedes ģurdzēja un ģirbēja, *Diena*, <https://www.diena.lv/raksts/kd/maksla/priedes-urdzēja-un-ģirbēja-14223717> (accessed 20 January 2020).

built after the Second World War in Riga (1958–1962), Jelgava (1945–1982) and Salaspils (1966–1982), into existing environment. The chosen case studies consist of buildings, which were built in various decades of post-war modernism period, but all of them respond to the aspects discussed in Athens Charter and allows analysing the differences in interpretation of international modernist and regional values by Latvian architects.

The **aim of the research** is a qualitative analysis of mutual relations between the modernist residential area and unique aspects of the territories, where modernist residential neighbourhoods were built. To achieve the goal, planning methods, characteristics of modernist housing estates, preserved cultural and environmental heritage were analysed. Each territory of the case study was visited and observed by the author for spatial analysis.

The **methods** used to reach the aim of research are qualitative analysis of case studies, analysis of literature on modernist residential areas and analysis of critics on after war modernism by its contemporaries. For case studies, analysis of unpublished archive materials, graphical analysis of maps and images, site visiting and observation methods were used.

The limitations of research are determined by usage of large amount of secondary sources (for analysis of critics on modernist residential buildings), the complexity of architecture of residential areas and various aspects of existing environment, which lead to the need to pick up only certain qualities for analysis in the context of Athens Charter. Not all information about construction process of each building in analysed case studies was gathered, a further research is needed for more detailed conclusions.

1. Suitability of Modernist Housing Estates to Social Tasks of Residential Architecture in the Post-war Latvia

After the Second World War, Latvia was economically and socially exhausted, lots of demolished buildings and infrastructure were the cause of constant pressure on urban planning processes. The housing stock was both ruined and in shortage because of increase of the number of citizens (e.g. in Riga in 1945 there were 228,000 inhabitants, but in 1950 – as many as 428,000 residents),¹⁶ caused both by urbanization and incorporation of Latvia into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1945. Lots of Latvian architects and builders went abroad in search for better living conditions, and foreign specialists entered professional areas of local architecture and construction.

Almost all centres of Latvian cities of republic importance were severely damaged.¹⁷ One of such cities was Jelgava. Its historic city centre (founded in the 13th century as well as Riga, with high proportion of the 18th century architectural monuments) was massively bombed on 28 June 1944,

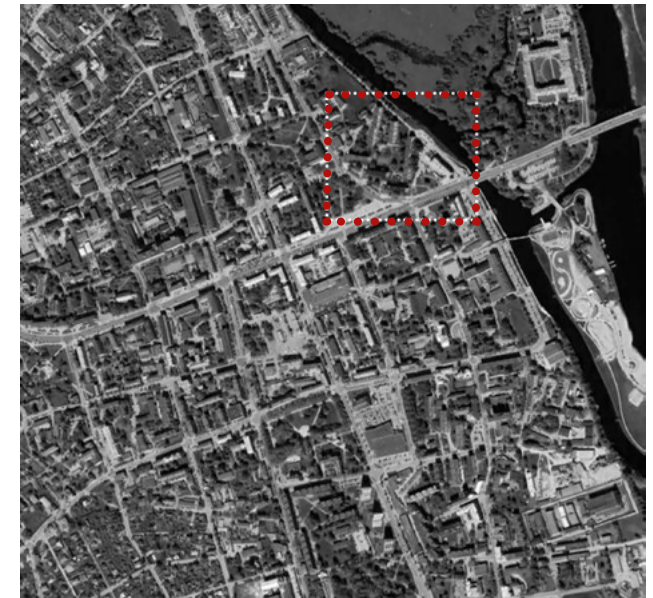


Fig. 1: The map scheme of Jelgava city centre. District next to Driksa river is highlighted (scheme by author).

what destroyed 90% of buildings in the city centre.¹⁸ The first detailed plan for Jelgava city centre rearrangement was developed in 1945. The perimeter block scheme was preserved, the plan listed remains of historical buildings, and reestablishment of existing industry was planned.¹⁹

Author assumes that Riga, as the capital of the country, faced similar post-war challenges as other Latvian cities. Soon after the war, in 1945, the Riga's regeneration project was produced. It was based on "The Master Plan of Riga" developed by urban planner-architect A. Lamze in 1939. However, the markers of socio-economic development of the city were not perceived correctly in the beginning of planning process, as a result, the master plan required adjustments several times.²⁰ The main priorities set to the city of Riga in the post-war period were:

- To recover from destructive effect of the Second World War and re-establish the balance of housing stock.²¹
- To continue and rethink building traditions of Art Nouveau and Modern Movement.²²

16 RUBĪNS 2004 (n. 1), p. 9.

17 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n. 11), p. 51, Fig. 2.

18 LNB:Karšu lasītava, Kartes KtCDL08/1, *Jelgava. Arhitektūras un mākslas virtuālā rekonstrukcija*, Latvija 2007 (digital resource).

19 Latvijas Valsts Arhīvs (LVA), Lasītava Skandu ielā, Generalnaja shema g.Jelgava (General plan of Jelgava city), 1945/9-I, 796–797.

20 KRASTIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), pp. 185–229.

21 KRASTIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), p. 185.

22 KRASTIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), p. 191.

- To restore traditional urban planning principles of the city (for Riga – perimeter blocks with accentuated corners).²³

During the first decade of the post-war period, the residential areas formed by individual buildings expanded chaotically and were built with high density (average area of a plot – 600 m²). At the same time, the first standard residential buildings were designed, i.e. Type “301” and a later updated version of it – “303” (V. Rammane, E. Kalniņa, 1950), which formed the first worker settlements in Riga. In the 1950s, the built multi-apartment residential areas were up to three floors high and “expressed an intention to marry pre-war local experience in building multi-apartment buildings and available material-technical resources of that time.”²⁴ The housing incorporated traditional building materials, brick walls and decorative details in the façade resembling the traditional Latvian patterns.²⁵

In 1950, Riga’s housing stock was 6,500,000 m² that is on average 15,2 m² per resident.²⁶ However, living conditions varied significantly between decently built residential buildings in pre-war periods and worker barracks and dwellings of poor quality.²⁷

In 1957, the vision of residential building areas changed to large-scale housing estates. This shift was caused by the requirement for simplification of architecture imposed by the central government, increase of technological capacity and speed of production.²⁸ J. Strautmanis and his colleagues expressed the regret that the shift to more rational and unified modernist large-scale neighbourhoods happened not as a result of in-depth studies of previous architectural experience of the interwar period of Modern Movement in 1920s and 1930s, but as a strict requirement.²⁹

E. Le Bourhis states that the meaning of “large block” was not absolutely clear to local architects at that time – “generally designated multi-storey group accommodation of a certain size, for example offering more 10,000 m² of living space, or around 400 dwellings” and opposed to “buildings often scattered on separate plots in different areas of the city.”³⁰ The choice of appropriate plots for building large-scale modernist housing estates was one of the main tasks of urban planners. All modernist housing estates in Riga were built in the outer perimeter of the railroad,³¹ which almost encircles the central part of the city and its historic area. The urban planners primary had to operate with the plots, which belonged to the government. The next

criteria for choosing the territory, where to erect buildings, was the condition that the area should have been vacant. However, it was challenging, as due to issues of master plan the areas of individual housing developed too close to the city centre and inevitably confronted with new large-scale residential areas, causing inconsistencies in the composition of the housing estate.³² Urban planners were pragmatic and paid attention to the quality of connection between the city centre and a new neighbourhood, the proximity of urban networks – transport, sewage and engineering networks³³ and favourable hydrological conditions.

The principles of urban planning before 1960 differed from those of a later period. The urban planners while choosing lands for building housing estates made an effort not to divide historic plots, but rather adjust them for arrangement of large-scale residential areas.³⁴ They also took into consideration the existing buildings and surrounding environment.³⁵ I. Strautmanis underlines a more sensible approach to architecture during the 1950s than in the 1960s.³⁶ J. Rubīns points out that in the Soviet Union the main measurement for a housing stock analysis was residential area in square meters, not the number of flats, or houses like in other European countries.³⁷ However, both measurement systems are solely quantitative and do not provide any information on the quality of dwellings.

One of the first modernist housing estates in Riga was Āgenskalna priedes situated amid of Kristapa, Dreiliņu, Āgenskalna and Alises Streets (1958–1962, N. Rendelis).³⁸ The territory of Āgenskalna Priedes was a part (10 hectares) of the vast territory adjacent to Schwarzenhof (Švarcmuiža) Manor, “which was likely bought by municipality in 1920.” In the Master Plan of Riga this territory was depicted as a public green space, and was mentioned as a popular meeting place of residents and nearby lyceum students.³⁹ Furthermore, the area was covered by a relatively dense pine forest with several dunes – iconic elements of Latvian nature. However, that was not the only that type of dunes in Riga, closer to the sea boarder in Bolderājs and Vecmīlgrāvis the sand dunes were one of the highest and were considered nor appropriate for construction of large buildings because of changing relief, nor for gardening area both because of unfertile ground and low level of ground water.⁴⁰

The minutes of the meeting of the Interdepartmental Committee of the Riga City, which was prepared by architect Ruta Paikune (1929), shows that decision to allow construction of

23 KRASIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), p. 193.

24 KRASIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), p. 187.

25 KRASIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), p. 187.

26 RUBĪNS 2004 (n. 1), p. 73.

27 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n. 11), p. 246.

28 RUBĪNS 2004 (n. 1), p.73; KRASIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), p.191.

29 KRASIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), p. 191.

30 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n.11), p. 326.

31 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n.11), p. 329.

32 RUBĪNS 2004 (n. 1), pp. 81–82.

33 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n.11), p. 329.

34 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n.11), p. 327.

35 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n.11), p. 327.

36 KRASIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), pp. 185–229.

37 RUBĪNS 2004 (n. 1), p. 95.

38 KRASIŅŠ 2012? (n. 5), p. 135.

39 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n.11), p. 340; KRASIŅŠ 2012? (n. 5), p.135.

40 LAMZE 1932 (n. 9), pp. 10–11.



Fig. 2: The map scheme of Āgenskalna Priedes district (scheme by author).



Fig. 3: The map scheme of Salaspils Enerģētiku district, the highlighted zone is a part of the original plan or its edition (© Daugavas muzeja krājums, DoM 6817, scheme by author).

Āgenskalna Priedes in the area of a valuable green territory was not unanimous. The chief agronomist of Riga disagreed with this decision and the wording of the committee's decision from "to recommend the territory [...] for construction of a multi-storey residential area" was changed to a passive expression as "have no objections against."⁴¹

The construction of modernist residential area in Salaspils (bordered by highway, Nometņu and Skolas streets) is tightly connected with the construction of Riga Hydropower Station (Rīgas HES) (1966–1974). The new modernist residential area was supposed for the station workers.⁴²

The existing private houses on the perspective building-site were demolished and its residents were compensated. The hydrological conditions of territory were not favourable for multi-storey residential buildings, as the area was rather swampy, and stabilization of basement of buildings was problematic. Nevertheless, the builders aimed to both optimize the construction process and to implement experimental techniques, where standardized solutions were not useful.⁴³

Riga HES significantly changed the territory of Salaspils, as adjacent territories with historical values were submerged.⁴⁴ One of the historical monument which stayed above the water level was St. George church (Sv. Jūra baznīca) – was almost destroyed, before, in 1976, it was included into the list of protected heritage. Nowadays it is "the closest to Riga conservation of 14th century architectural monument."⁴⁵

2. Spatial Relations between the Existing Environment and Modernist Residential Buildings

Le Corbusier had seen the solution of a housing crisis in analysis, experiment and unification.⁴⁶ But all studied information sources are critical about modernist "monotonous, primitive and alienated"⁴⁷ built environment. There are three types of environment in Latvia, where modernist residential buildings were built:

- Territory with a characteristic urban environment (e.g. Jelgava city centre, Riga city centre, etc.).
- Vacant urban territory or undeveloped, rural territory (e.g. Salaspils, collective farm "Nākotne", etc.).
- Territories with a unique urban character (e.g. Āgenskalna Priedes).

41 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n. 11), pp. 325–387.

42 Lilita VANAGA, *Salaspils Novads. Gadsimtu hronoloģija 9. g. t. pr. Kr.–21. gs.*, Salaspils 2011, pp. 209–233.

43 Genadijs SALFETŅIKOVŠ, Tur, kur slika govīs, *Daugavas gaismas pils*, 1999, pp. 70–73.

44 Lilita VANAGA 2011 (n. 42), pp. 212–218.

45 Lilita VANAGA 2011 (n. 42), pp. 230.

46 LE CORBUSIER 1970 (n. 2), pp. 9–24.

47 KRASTIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), pp. 185–229.



Fig. 4: The most expressive standard modernist residential building in Āgenskalna Priedes district with artists' workshops on the top of it (photo by author).

All modernist residential areas were incorporated into the city's transport infrastructure and had a strong connection with adjacent industrial zones and green areas intended for relaxation. Although the size of modernist residential neighbourhood increased by the time, they kept the form and structure of isolated islands in-between of urban and green territories. One of the most developed modernist residential area in Riga – Imanta (1970–1982), in spite of well thought-out planning, “lost its purpose” after the construction of the neighbouring factory was stopped.⁴⁸

Āgenskalna Priedes is one of the first residential neighbourhoods built in Riga using the principle of free standing buildings instead of traditional perimeter blocks. The spatial planning of Āgenskalna Priedes resulted in a visibly flattened ground relief of the site, and “approximately a half of dunes and a pine forest was retained”⁴⁹ and other types of trees, such as birch, oak and linden were added. The buildings respect the relief of the ground compensating for the height in the basement level of each building. The shorter side of 16 out of 21 buildings of this neighbourhood was oriented from north to south. This position ensures the best insolation of flats by eastern and western sun.

For the first time, in the older part of the neighbourhood Āgenskalna Priedes, special artist workshops were arranged on the fifth floor of buildings, which mostly contained two to three rooms standard flats with the minimum area provided for all other utility spaces. Probably, as a compensation for small areas of rooms in the standard flats, the neighbourhood has three large

48 KRASTIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), pp. 185–229.

49 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n. 11), pp. 358.

green zones. These zones could be called public parks, as they are situated in a freely accessible territory of green vegetation. Yet its landscape qualities are underdeveloped, the structure of pathways is inconsistent as there are only two types of paths – diagonal shortcuts and a path running along the perimeter. The green zones lack functionality and diversity, and overall landscape design is provided on minimal level.

In the essay of architect Janina Jasenas the modern architecture, as a response to the needs of contemporary spirit of society, is tightly connected to the nature “in organic way.” She advocated for both sensitive incorporation of the building in the existing landscape and implementation of the most contemporary technologies – which for that time were exactly homogenous structures – steel and reinforced concrete products. The main aspect, which contradicts the result of Āgenskalna Priedes and other modernist housing estates, is that “the most important factor in new 20th century architecture is connection between spiritual content and [its] form.”⁵⁰

In the centre of the Jelgava city, in spite of the detailed plan of 1945,⁵¹ which continued historical principle of city's organization in perimeter blocks,⁵² modernist residential buildings, however, are situated parallel to the streets, do not form a visually united perimeter block. Inconsistent variation in the volumes of buildings, various distance from adjacent street lead to “unmotivated axis and forms”⁵³ in historical environment and resulted in lack of compositional conjunction of each perimeter block.

50 JASENAS 1989 (n. 9), pp. 41–42.

51 LVA, Generalnaja shema g. Jelgava, 1945/9–I, 796, p. 1, p. 6.

52 *Senā Jelgava* (ed. Elita Grosmane), Riga 2010, p. 37.

53 KRASTIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), pp. 185–229.

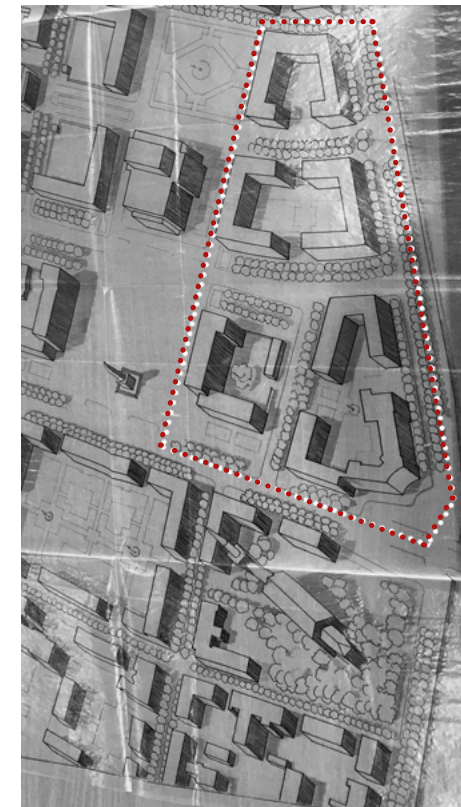


Fig. 5: Axonometry of Jelgava city centre detailed plan (1945). Residential area next to Driksa River (scheme by author).

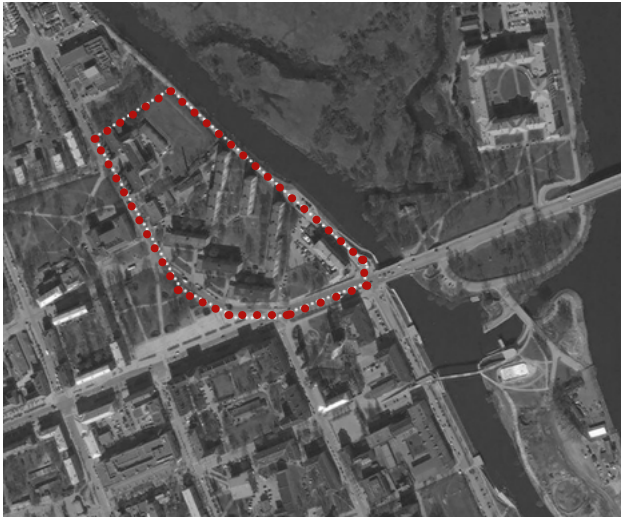


Fig. 6: Residential area next to Driksa River (scheme by author).

Architects felt restricted in their creative thinking by the inflexible requirements set to composition, planning principles, optimal number of floors and standard technical-economical parameters of the buildings. The only parameters that varied were the height of buildings (i.e. five, nine, 12 storeys) and the number of sections of each house. In such circumstances, the picturesque view of the Driksa riverbank in Jelgava accompanied by rhythmically scattered standard residential buildings has produced a surprising result. To the left from the post-war residential buildings, there is Hotel Jelgava at Lielā Street 6 (1939, Alfrēds Laukirbe (1901–1993)) built in the manner of Neo-eclecticism. The overall view is balanced by the presence of a unique environmental feature – the riverbank. The sophisticated architecture of the public building stands out on the rhythmical background made up by modernist residential buildings.

The spatial restriction imposed in Salaspils was much looser; it was an almost unbuilt territory close to the historic centre. Anyway, the built-up complex is rather monotonous and alienated from neighbouring areas. The main roads of the district provide clear organization of territory on the plan, but from the human scale form a “tunnel” trough residential area with almost identical facades and underdeveloped courtyards.

The critics pay attention to the loss of architectural expression after 1960s when the prefabricated panels were introduced as the general building material.⁵⁴ At the same time, the area of modernist residential buildings in 1960s became larger, and its architectural and formal language was enriched by variant on building heights.

Āgenskalna Priedes residential area is composed solely of five floor high buildings (brick



Fig. 7: The view on modernist residential buildings next to the Driksa river and Neo-eclecticism style building of hotel Jelgava (photo by author).



Fig. 8: View on Inženieru iela in Salaspils (photo by author).

and concrete panel types of building), which are much higher and more monumental than surrounding it existing architecture. The boxy shape of building was product of high rationalisation of construction process and was not as rooted in regional traditions as wooden private house proportions. Aija Ziemeļniece underlines the same imbalance in the context natural landscape: “unfamiliar scale and proportions [...] reduce the expressiveness and special context of the historical landscape.” In Jelgava city centre and Salaspils, there also prevail five floor high buildings. Nine and twelve floor high buildings seem to be added later, not in the first edition of the general plan. It contrast with the example of Kengarags (1957–1970) residential neighbourhood, where 12 floor buildings not only diversify the environment, but serve as accents and makes it easier to locate yourself in the area.

54 KRASTIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), pp. 185–229.

3. Mutual influence of Modernist Residential Buildings and Latvian Regional Identity

Le Corbusier promoted the idea of dwelling culture, and warned that decline of it “would lead to downfall of contemporary society.”⁵⁵ His vision of dwelling was based on abstract definitions of human needs: “house – resource of comfortable movement, standing and laying; enjoyment of coolness or warmth; relaxation, immersing into thinking; the opportunity to experience or initiate the presence of the environment”⁵⁶ and did not include any external influence factors like politics, economical circumstance and traditions.

Similar values tried to fulfil Latvian urban planner and scientist prof. Arnolds Lamze (1889–1945). In 1916, A. Lamze defended architects diploma with distinction in Riga Polytechnic University, which was evacuated to Moscow.⁵⁷ Since 1919, A. Lamze worked in architectural department in Latvian University later the name of institution changed several times. He was a docent of urban planning department, active researcher and practitioner. He intensively participated in international conferences, travelled abroad to expend his knowledge and experience, was a member of International Federation for Housing and Town planning.

From 1924 to 1937, A. Lamze led the work on Riga general plan with detailed plan of Old Riga territory. The Riga in his vision was to become a global city with 1,000,000 or even 1,500,000 residents (despite the shrinkage of population to 180,000 in after-war period). His attitude to the heritage is controversial, as, in sake of “self-representing functions” of the Riga city, the plan offered the demolition of historical districts in Old Riga.⁵⁸

On the other hand, A. Lamze intensively collaborated with the director of Riga gardens – Andrejs Zeidaks (1874–1964). He supported the idea of “garden city”, which was already implemented in the beginning of 20th century in Mežaparks – residential area of private housing with low density and close presence of nature (pinewood). A. Lamze considered this type of residential area as the best development scenario for Riga’s suburbs – one to two floors high housing in intensively Latvian traditional environment. Acknowledging the necessity of expansion of city area for low-density residential territories, A. Lamze planned to expand the borders of the Riga city closer to the centres of adjacent cities.⁵⁹

A. Lamze had a “socially responsible attitude” to residential areas of the city, advocating for hygiene, healthy living conditions, well-being of citizens as well as “harmony in coordination of



Fig. 9: View on Kalnciema street historical wooden houses from Āgenskalna priedes residential area (photo by author).

dwelling and working place.”⁶⁰ The aspect of same importance for A. Lamze was aesthetics of the city. A. Lamze was determined to stop “fossilization” of Riga suburbs, expressing critics of first five to six floors high residential areas.⁶¹

Already before the Second World War the architecture of Modern Movement was criticised for its “anationality” and strong interest in ornamental planning of residential areas, but prof. Eižens Laube also admitted that the rational influence of Modern Movement could help with “cultivation of [architectural] values, which could be of great use to develop Latvian-national style.” Eižens Laube expressed the regret of lack of possibilities to use personal taste and national features in modern architecture.⁶²

The analysed residential areas of Salaspils and Jelgava city centre have the mix of types of standard residential buildings, but, in Āgenskalna Priedes, each of residential area’s zones is composed of variations of one type of standard buildings. Usually the older, brick buildings have more decorative details, such as ornamental change of brick colour (grey and red bricks): patterns, the year of construction laid in contrasting colour of the brick, which makes them more vibrant and organically included in the surrounding context.

The differences in scale, building materials, and façade articulation decrease visual homogeneity of the analysed area in Salaspils, but consistent realisation of the plan of residential area,⁶³ which followed the modernist urban planning principles, such as wide green areas between the houses and ornamental placement of buildings on the plan, keep the territory united. On the other hand, in Jelgava both positive (district near Driksa river) and negative examples of typological diversity have been found.

Aija Ziemeļniece sees the historical cultural landscape as the link for transferring cultural values

55 Le Corbusier, Pushki, snarjadi? Uvoljte! Zhilischa? Pozhalujsta! Predpochitaesh li ti voejevat?, *Le Corbusier, Arhitektura XX veka* (eds. S. D. Komarov, Konstantin Topuridze), Moscow 1970, pp. 143–154 (Translation of Daria Sophie, *Le Corbusier, sociologue de l'urbanisme*, 1964, pp. 182–183).

56 LE CORBUSIER 1970 (n. 55), 143–154.

57 *Latvijas Arhitekturas meistari* 1995 (n. 8), p.149.

58 Vaidelotis APSĪTIS, Pie Lielrīgas šūpuļa, *Literatūra un Māksla*, 6, 1989, <http://periodika.lv/periodika2-viewer/view/index-dev.html?lang=fr#panel:palissue:/lima1989n006|article:DIVL256|query:Arnolds%20Lamze%20Lam%C5%BEljissueType:P--> (accessed 20 January 2020).

59 LAMZE 1932 (n. 7), p. 10–11.

60 APSĪTIS 1989 (n. 59).

61 APSĪTIS 1989 (n. 59).

62 LAUBE 1980 (n. 6), pp. 137–138.

63 Daugavas muzeja krājums, DoM 6817.



Fig. 10: Brick and reinforced concrete panel buildings in Salaspils (photo by author).

from one generation to the next one. The functional unity of the historical place creates united historic environment and positioning of the buildings in the territory depicts "circulation of the social life of that time."⁶⁴ The director of Latvian Museum of Architecture Ilze Martinšone expresses the opinion, that for Nordic nations the beauty is in rationality of the forms, which respond to practical reasons, e.g. climate conditions.⁶⁵ The nature in Latvia is considered as one of the identity values with intimate and picturesque qualities.⁶⁶

In the meantime, Le Bourhis concludes: "the conservation principle was imposed on town planners against their will." In January 1958, deeming the initial sketch too rigid, the Architecture and Construction Council asked N. Rendelis to vary the positioning of buildings taking into account the trees and to integrate a botanist to the design team.⁶⁷ The value of large trees between the buildings, in practice, was justified not so much by urban landscape value as by military standards of passive defence.⁶⁸ The information sources provide facts, that the decision of preservation existing buildings in the territory of perspective modernist housing estates was moral dilemma for specialists – as materially consistent and valuable buildings was not practical to demolish,⁶⁹ on the other hand, the complete compositional idea of modernist housing estate called for absolutely neutral and clean of buildings plot.⁷⁰

Jānis Rubins finds that economic freedom of society to choose the place to live and its demand for higher standards of dwelling is necessary condition for development of decent quality residential areas: "In the conditions of communal housing stock, in the situation of acute shortage of dwellings and subjective principle of dwelling distribution, the low culture of dwellings is unavoidable."

64 ZIEMEĻNIECE 2011 (n. 13), p. 67.

65 Ilze MARTINŠONE, Unpublished interview with Alina Beitane (Riga, December 27, 2017).

66 KRASTIŅŠ, STRAUTMANIS, DRIPE 1998 (n. 4), pp. 185–229.

67 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n. 11), pp. 362–363.

68 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n. 11), pp. 362–363.

69 RUBĪNS 2004 (n. 1), p. 104.

70 LE BOURHIS 2015 (n.11), pp. 325–387.

Conclusions

It is a much-debated question, whether modernist housing estates have any cultural value and can be incorporated into Latvia's regional landscape since the introduction of this idea till nowadays. The modernist housing estates were an effective tool to increase the area of housing stock in post-war situation and to provide more families with individual apartments.

Planning principles used in modernist housing estates differed from Latvian building traditions of the beginning of the 1920s and 1930s as the later one advocated for available housing for the major part of society (families) and could not incorporate Latvian traditional sensitivity to context and aesthetics into the large-scale planning and building process. This dilemma resulted in inconsistent solutions in modernist housing estate planning and was an obstacle on the way to the re-establishment of the balance of housing stock in Latvia.

The rigid system of planning and huge housing crisis did not allow coming to solid decisions in the choice of territories to build modernist housing estates. The question bordered both strong necessity of immediate practical solution and irrational use of unique regional resources with inevident practical value, like unique natural landscape of Āgenskalna priedes district.

The choice of territories for building modernist housing estates, accordingly to Athens Charter, was executed thoroughly and with best intentions. However, misconceptions in general urban planning, such as chaotic mix of large-scale housing estates and small private houses with local roots, put the limits to realisation of architect's idea. In the any type of territory (with or without the existing historical context), modernist residential buildings look alienated as they do not respond to the surroundings as infills and do not form the sustainable urban structure by itself.

The quantitative criteria, prevailed in evaluation of quality of built environment in the Soviet Union, allowed reporting the progress clearly, but at the same time excluded the opportunity to discuss and variate the necessary aspects for each unique project area.


The comparative analysis of the case studies and analysis of theoretical base of modernist architecture in context of Latvian regional identity shows that the idea of placement of modernist residential buildings is shaped by the factors of external influence, like existing surrounding, politics, economical circumstances and traditions. That is why the idea of the ideal placement of modernist residential buildings should be realised in individual and authentic way for each region with intention to find the **balance** of external factors and rational modernist principles – the aspect that was overlooked in Athens Charter – both on large scale and on small scale.

Kohezija lokalnega okolja in modernistične stanovanjske arhitekture v Latviji po drugi svetovni vojni

Povzetek

V Latviji modernistično stanovanjsko arhitekturo zastopa ena izmed najbolj razširjenih skupin stanovanjskih zgradb, ki so bile zgrajene v povojnem obdobju. Koncepti visokokvalitetne stanovanjske arhitekture in visokih sanitarnih standardov urbanega okolja so ključni za sodobno latvijsko arhitekturo od 20-tih in 30-tih let 20. stoletja naprej, ko se je uveljavil modernizem. Zdi se, da so vrednote tradicij latvijskih stanovanjskih zgradb zelo podobne tistim, ki so zapisane v delu »Bivališče« v Atenski listini, vendar kritiki še vedno dvomijo v arhitekturno vrednost povojnih modernističnih stanovanjskih naselij. Vsebina raziskave je proces vključitve modernističnih stanovanjskih naselij, ki so bila zgrajena po drugi svetovni vojni v Rigi (1958–1962), Jelgavi (1945–1982) in Salaspilsu (1966–1982), v obstoječe okolje. Cilj raziskave je kvalitativna analiza medsebojnih odnosov med modernističnim stanovanjskim okoljem in unikatnimi vidiki območja, na katerem so bile modernistične stanovanjske soseske zgrajene. Za doseg tega cilja je bila izvedena analiza metod načrtovanja, značilnosti modernističnih stanovanjskih naselij, ohranjene kulturne in okoljske dediščine. Avtorica je za potrebe prostorske analize obiskala in opazovala vsako območje, ki je vključeno v študijo primera. V prvem poglavju je analizirana ustreznost modernističnih stanovanjskih naselij v povezavi z družbenimi nalogami stanovanjske arhitekture v povojni Latviji. Ena izmed glavnih nalog je bila ponovna vzpostavitev ravnovesja stanovanjskih objektov v izrabljenem, vendar rastočem mestu. V drugem poglavju so analizirani prostorski odnosi med obstoječim okoljem in modernističnimi stanovanjskimi zgradbami. Odločitev glede zemljišča za gradnjo modernističnih stanovanjskih naselij je bila kompleksna, vendar se zgradbe niso odzivale na okolico in so izgledale odtujene. V tretjem poglavju so analizirani medsebojni vplivi modernističnih stanovanjskih zgradb in latvijske regionalne identitete. Pomen narave, velikosti in proporcev v krajini predstavlja latvijske kulturne vrednote in občutek za estetiko, vendar vseh standardov modernističnih stanovanjskih zgradb ni bilo mogoče vključiti v obstoječo krajino. Zaključiti je mogoče, da se načela načrtovanja, ki so bila uporabljena pri modernističnih stanovanjskih naseljih, razlikujejo od latvijskih gradbenih tradicij iz začetka 20. stoletja, saj so slednje zagovarjale razpoložljiva stanovanja za večji del družbe in niso mogle vključiti latvijskega tradicionalnega občutka za kontekst in estetiko v obsežne procese. Rezultat te dileme so nedosledne rešitve pri načrtovanju modernističnih stanovanjskih naselij, kar je predstavljalo oviro na poti do ponovne vzpostavitve ravnovesja stanovanjskih enot v Latviji. Primerjalna analiza študij primera in analiza teoretične podlage za modernistično arhitekturo v kontekstu latvijske regionalne identitete nakazuje, da idejo postavitve modernističnih

stanovanjskih zgradb oblikujejo zunanji vplivi, kot npr. obstoječa okolica, politika, ekonomske okoliščine in tradicije. Zaradi tega bi morala biti ideja o idealni postavitvi modernističnih stanovanjskih zgradb realizirana na osebni in avtentičen način za vsako posamezno regijo, z namenom, da se ohrani ravnovesje zunanjih faktorjev in racionalnih modernističnih načel – vidik, ki je bil spregledan v Atenski listini – v večjem in manjšem obsegu.



4 **POZABLJENA IN PROPADAJOČA INDUSTRIJSKA DEDIŠČINA**
THE FORGOTTEN AND DECAYING INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

The city of Adriano: Functionalism out of the Box

Giuliana DI MARI, Caterina FRANCHINI, Emilia GARDA, Alessandra RENZULLI

1. Italian historical framework. Le Corbusier and Italian architects

In the several International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) architects present and discuss ideas and experimentations in progress or potential in different European cities regarding the space of living, on a domestic and urban scale, using a logical and deductive working method of neo-positivist matrix, which in some ways also seems to impose the structure and themes of the conferences: from the smaller scale, housing, to an increasingly larger scale, neighbourhood, city, and region.

The CIAM in Athens was a unique opportunity for Italian architects to interact with their master Le Corbusier. As Gino Pollini recalls in an interview, the pre-war congresses, like the CIAM IV in Athens in 1933, had seen Le Corbusier as an extremely active protagonist. Because of the situation determined by Nazism in Germany, the architects of the German group like Gropius were absent, and Le Corbusier could be the uncontested leader without other important personalities. On the occasion of Athens, he personally edited and published the results of the congress, known as the "Athens Charter". The inhabitable space that the Athens Charter wants to suggest has the open space as a central element, the green that would not be an element of separation between functions, a container of isolated objects, but rather an element to establish a relationship between different urban areas, different functions. The Italian group at CIAM in 1933 was formed by Gino Pollini with his wife Renata Melotti, Piero Bottoni, Piero Maria Bardi and Giuseppe Terragni.

In Bergamo in 1949 CIAM members met for the first time in Italy. It was a particular moment, Europe and the whole world were rearranging after the end of the war, the differences and difficulties between the various groups of nations, both from a political and cultural point of view, were emerging. Moreover, after the end of the war the CIAMs represented a real point of reference and convergence for all architects of the modern world, facing political and social issues and promoting the dialectic dialogue on these issues.

Surprisingly, at the VII Congress of Bergamo in 1949, Le Corbusier informed the members that "CIAM VII will aim to draw up a Habitat Charter," a topic that had never been introduced before but that, as Eric Mumford says, would become from that moment on the main argument of the CIAMs' work to the resumption of activities after the war, opening a new phase that would try to overcome the limits of the Athens Charter. A first attempt to re-establish a human habitat in the city.



Fig.1: Le Corbusier, Saporta, Terragni, Renata Pollini e Bottoni at CIAM in 1933 (© Le Corbusier in Italia (eds. Giovanni Denti, Andrea Savio, Gianni Calzà), Milano 1988, p. 35).



Fig.2: Le Corbusier, Saporta, Pollini e Terragni at CIAM in 1933 (© Le Corbusier in Italia (eds. Giovanni Denti, Andrea Savio, Gianni Calzà), Milano 1988, 37).

Among the topics addressed was the application of the Athens Charter through Le Corbusier's grid. Among the various examined there was that of Ivrea presented by Figini and Pollini for the project of the Olivetti building, its houses and collective services. Le Corbusier found that the project was satisfactory in particular for the optimal solution given by the problem of the orientation of the buildings and their insertion in the environment.

The Italian architects of modernity who participated in the CIAM and made Le Corbusier their mentor, are the same who, thanks to Adriano Olivetti, participated in the realisation of what would soon become the industrial Ivrea, the city of Adriano.

They were not the only ones to recognise themselves in Le Corbusier's ideologies, Olivetti himself assimilated them and transposed them, creating what would become the thinking behind the city, the factory and society.

2. From Le Corbusier to Olivetti. Transposition of a thought

Olivetti was certainly Le Corbusier's preferential interlocutor in Italy, in a dialogue that began in 1934 and continued until the death of the entrepreneur. Le Corbusier described

Adriano as:

...a man who had a sense of public service, a sense of responsibility for his actions, a sense of good and evil, of the best and the worst. He had been able to create an atmosphere full of spirituality and quality around him. His research and the value of his attempts are not a providential fruit, but the result of great individual strength, great will, tireless perseverance.¹

At first sight, there are many points of contact between Adriano Olivetti and Le Corbusier: the idea that technology is at the service of man, the attention towards the new world coming from the United States, in particular for the organisation of the Taylorist work, the need to theorise one's own society projects and then give them direction (Le Corbusier through CIAM, Olivetti with the Community Movement), a fund of spirituality, the understanding that the 20th century sees the masses bursting into history and therefore how it is necessary to rearrange them into new social morphologies.

Olivetti is an entrepreneur in his early thirties caged by Fascism, with whom he also has good relations in these "years of consensus", but he is working to transform his father's company into an international group, with a new concept of work and the relationship between the factory and the community. The architect and the entrepreneur would like to build non alienating factories in territories that are community spaces. This is the period of the *Valle d'Aosta Regulatory Plan* and the new buildings (the glass factory, the social services) of the young rationalist architects Figini and Pollini. Le Corbusier declares them his students and proposes a plan of large buildings, trying to override the two architects, who, of course, oppose each other. Olivetti also has some perplexities, both for the nature of the relationship and for the type of project, too magniloquent for little Ivrea. Le Corbusier, knowing of Olivetti's intention to create a neighbourhood for the employees, "with great confidence and authority", emphasises Bodei, aims to be the designer. But Olivetti replies that Figini and Pollini have already been assigned. Two years later, Le Corbusier and Olivetti meet in Ivrea to visit the area of the intervention, Le Corbusier persists with a series of objections to the two architects, moved by the desire to have a role in that project anyway. But the resistance of the two, even in front of the revered master, is resolute. And Olivetti agrees. He declared:

... we are opposed to this collaboration that Le Corbusier wishes; and this for two reasons. From a political point of view, Le Corbusier's intervention would mean giving a weapon to our friends - the enemies of modern architecture - who, even recently, on the subject of Brera, have accused us of internationalism, communism, etc... Moreover, such an intervention, even a limited one, would represent in the shortest time a fact of public domain in Italy and abroad.

1 Renato ZORZI, Le Corbusier e il caso Olivetti, *Le Corbusier in Italia* (eds. Giovanni Denti, Andrea Savio, Gianni Calzà), Milano 1988, p. 91.

And given that our plan has been published and known everywhere it would create a situation that would be unpleasant for us, such as to make our collaboration more or less impossible.²

A silence of almost 20 years followed. In 1953, Le Corbusier contacted the engineer of Ivrea and wanted to import Olivetti's community methods into his studio. In the meantime, Adriano was more committed than before to urban planning (since 1950 he has presided over the INU, Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica), and the *Edizioni di Comunità* published Lewis Mumford. In addition, his experiments on electronic calculators proceeded with extraordinary efficiency. In 1957 the first computers were built (*Elea 9001* and *Elea 9002*) and the following year, under the guidance of Mario Tchou, the *Elea 9003* was born, the first fully transistorised computer in the world. The Olivetti has become a giant in continuous expansion. And it is in this context that a document is drawn up, of which there is only a typewritten version, entitled "Reasons in favour of Arch. Le Corbusier's choice for the design of the new Olivetti electronic plant." The text, explains Bodei, "highlights that the architect's work was the main source of inspiration in the construction of the company's factories from 1936 onwards." And this for both the general philosophy and the design details. The project was assigned to Le Corbusier, who on 10 February 1960 wrote to Adriano thanking him and confirming that he was passionate about "the issues related to the machinist civilisation," especially when they are based "on human value and the binomial Man - Nature and aimed at the research of harmony." It seems the beginning at last of a virtuous collaboration between the architect and the entrepreneur, but destiny seems to break these hopes. The sudden death of Olivetti and the difficult years that followed make it impossible to carry out this project.

Although the two personalities, Le Corbusier on the one hand and Olivetti on the other, have never been linked in the real realisation of a project, they have constantly influenced each other during thirty years of correspondence and meetings. Important writings at the basis of Olivetti's thought were *Le trois établissements humains*, translated by Edizioni di Comunità (founded by Olivetti himself), the Athens Charter, the two projects of Ronchamp and La Tourette. The factory model conceived by Olivetti must incorporate the surrounding landscape and contribute to creating a new one. He adopted Le Corbusier's idea that the "black factory", symbol of alienating fatigue, should be replaced by the "green factory", "which will re-establish the 'conditions of nature' around work." So "sun, space, green, will bring here, as in residential areas, cosmic influences, the response to the breath of the lungs, the virtues of the air, as the presence of that natural environment that accompanied the long and meticulous elaboration of the human being." This thought supports the commission to Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini to enlarge the Ivrea factory, up to the new buildings in via Jervis, is replicated by inviting Ignazio Gardella to realise the canteen,

2 Renato ZORZI, Le Corbusier e il caso Olivetti, *Le Corbusier in Italia* (eds. Giovanni Denti, Andrea Savio, Gianni Calzà), Milano 1988, p. 93.

and continued with the houses for the employees (again Figini and Pollini) and the other houses (Nizzoli and Fiocchi). Already in the Thirties, however, the reference to Le Corbusier is constant. The *pan de verre*, the large glass walls adopted by Figini and Pollini reflect the matrix of the Swiss master and translate the principle of social transparency, capable, writes Bodei, "of giving an image of dignity to the worker's work and continuous communication with the surrounding context and landscape."

3. The creation of the Adriano community concept

The maximum expression of Olivetti's thought turns into the definition of the concept of community. In the post war years, the "Movimento di Comunità" was set up in Italy in order to contribute to democratic reconstruction starting from institutions that considered the measure of man and the necessity of functional autonomism. The vision of a city of the CIAM, divided into three disciplinary matrices, is therefore found again. Reference is made, in this case, to the one that sees the centrality of the technical aspects and of working in synergy with the authorities, using the urban plan as an instrument to recompose the inequality between the parts of the city and their functions and re-establishing relations between them through an effective infrastructural system. This matrix is the one adopted mainly by the Dutch Van Eesteren group and supported by the Swiss.

Adriano Olivetti had developed the concept of "Comunità" by working on the regional plan of Valle d'Aosta, when in the mid 1930s he identified urban planning as a rational science capable of organising society and corporate economy. In the following decade he enhanced the personal value of the "Comunità" and definitively suppressed the corporatist, technocratic and excessively rationalist accents that had characterised the previous conception of town planning, even if in a modernist way he would have always lived the plan as "a valid instrument by which the creative power of the leaders of the 'Comunità' could express itself and work worthily." A planning that did not necessarily have to mean "authoritarian fixation of the quality and quantity of the entire national production," Olivetti emphasised what he had written during the Second World War and stated that the coordination of the public economy had to be supported by a private and free economy and have to go with urban planning, both subject to "a single territorial authority", the "Comunità". For Olivetti the need that derives from these reflections is for urban planners to bring organisational work to a single fundamental measure, simplifying it. If one assumes the second-level community, what Olivetti calls the true and vital "Comunità", on the human scale, as the fundamental organisation of planning, it is easy to understand how the first-level community plans underlying it constitute the true detailed, executive plans of the community. The regional plan (third-level community) will be the suitably modified and corrected overview of the fundamental plans of the second level communities.

"Comunità", the name says it and the programme confirms it. It is a Movement that aims to unite, not divide, it aims to collaborate, it wishes to teach, it aims to build. We have not

come, therefore, to divide but to exalt the best, to protect the weak, to raise the ignorant, to discover vocations.³

A concept that does not remain utopian, but which Olivetti truly concretises with antiracist ideals and high human values within his factories. In a speech to the workers of Ivrea he affirms why he never asked, at the time of the assumption, which religious faith they belonged to, in which political group they militated or from which region of Italy they came from.

And he continues:

...our "Comunità" must be concrete, visible, tangible, "Comunità" that is neither too large nor too small, territorially defined, dated with wide powers, that gives all activities that indispensable coordination, that efficiency, that respect for human personality, culture and the arts that human civilisation has achieved in its best places. "Comunità" that is too small is incapable of allowing sufficient development of man and of the Community itself; on the other hand, the great metropolises in their concentrated and monopolistic forms atomise man and depersonalise him: between the two there is the *optimum*.⁴

Technique and culture lead towards decentralisation, towards the federation of small cities with intense life, where harmony, peace, green, silence, far from the current state of overcrowded metropolises, as well as from the isolation and dismay of man alone.

4. The concretisation of the Adriano community concept

The conditions for "Comunità" to express itself are:

- An optimum of living space that can be organised, meaning the territory;
- An adequate administrative structure;
- Organisation of the Community with a view to its manifestation.

This last condition is specific to town planners as it is identified with a formal plan. A fourth condition remains unexpressed but is the most important: the inclusion of spiritual values in the city.

The place for civil development is the factory. It is a utopian idea but one that can easily be translated into reality. The factory needed to accommodate all the principles of modernisation of workplaces, to encourage the socialisation of those who entered and to create different material and living conditions. The industrial city of Olivetti in Ivrea is based on these reasons and aims to promote the new industrial culture of community-reforming inspiration.

To the "Comunità" adds the "concreta" term, with an optimal size of one hundred thousand

3 Adriano OLIVETTI, *Città dell'uomo*, Milano 1960.

4 OLIVETTI 1960 (n. 4).



Fig. 3: Olivetti factories along via Jervis (© Associazione Archivio Storico Olivetti, Ivrea).



Fig. 4: Adriano Olivetti portrayed discussing with his workers in a factory in Ivrea (© Associazione Archivio Storico Olivetti, Ivrea).



Fig.5: Palazzo Uffici in Ivrea, Olivetti Headquarters (view from the main lobby with hexagonal staircase) (photo Studio Casati).



Fig.6: Facade of Officine ICO, one of the additions by Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini (photo Gianluca Giordano).

inhabitants. The “Comunità concreta” is dominated by the four spiritual forces that are the foundation and end of all true social progress: truth, justice, beauty and love. From it, in federal stages, one rises to the regional states, to the nation state, to the European state, and finally to the world state. “Comunità” is the natural place to develop the person, who is not an isolated individual (“Society does not exist. There are individuals” – Margaret Thatcher, 31 October 1987) nor a collective in which the individual is dissolved (as in totalitarianism). In the “Comunità”, a fundamental propulsive role, in Adriano’s thought, is played by the factory, not only by investing its profits externally on the territory, but also by becoming fully democratic internally. At the end of a transition process, the factory will be based on the tripartition of work, culture, city.

Adriano tried to realise his ideas in his small homeland, the Canavese. It had begun to transform itself into community centres, direct emanations of “Movimento di Comunità”, and into a network of small industrial and agricultural companies, spread throughout the territory, the result of local initiatives but strongly supported by the technicians of the Olivetti company. So why did this experience collapse with the death of Adriano? Because he was a small heretical island surrounded by an adverse environment and because the necessary investments from the profits ground up in those years by Olivetti were lacking.

But after an eclipse that lasted about twenty years following his death, Adriano Olivetti’s

experience and ideas have re-emerged and both their legacy and current events have been rediscovered: the reintroduction in Italy of sociology, the start of regulatory plans and decentralised planning, the development of industrial design, an original approach to the long-standing southern question, and much more. The introduction of democracy in the factory and the right of workers to a widespread social welfare. The topicality concerns above all the demand for community and participation, never affirmed as much as today, and that he had tried to make real and operative.

5. Ivrea nowadays. Between MaAM and UNESCO heritage

The topic of urban requalification of the city was limited, in Italy and until before the 1990s, only to the historical tissue. After those years, the redevelopment extended to the existing city, beyond the historic centre, in the areas that had grown from the nineteenth century onwards. This meant for Ivrea to consider the urban tissue that defines the modern city of Olivetti, recognising its historical value linked to modern Italian architecture. Ivrea’s master plan therefore includes the rationalist districts of the city: Via Jervis, Canton Vesco and Bellavista. In this sense, the open air museum *Museo a cielo aperto dell’Architettura Moderna di Ivrea* (MaAM) represented an important step in enhancing the legacy left by Adriano Olivetti in the field of architecture and urban planning, that is, the design workshop where the architects of the Modern Movement

experimented with new architectural and urban languages. The museum also represents a stimulus for collective awareness for the preservation of the heritage and its conservation.

Historical values are recognised in Ivrea through systematic historical surveys and through updated building and urban planning regulations. In Ivrea, a unique case in the world, there are three modern unitary districts of considerable size, built over a period of about forty years.

The Master Plan identifies building and urban planning interventions aimed at transforming the modern heritage with a view to protecting and enhancing the physical and morphological features. Moreover, the cataloguing has made it possible to identify about two hundred buildings of Olivetti's modern heritage in the territory, of which at least forty are "monuments" of the modern history of architecture. The process of reuse and adaptation offers Ivrea an innovative contribution to urban and architectural culture by continuing to bring these districts and buildings to life, protecting them but not embalming them.

Developed on a path of almost two kilometres, starting from Via Jervis, the MaAM leads to the discovery of the main achievements related to Olivetti, already the destination of several hundred visits every year. The architectural project of the MaAM consists in the construction of seven thematic information stations, located along the public pedestrian paths in such a succession as to constitute a possible route of visit and characterised by a strong integration with the urban tissue. The themes illustrated by the stations concern the events inherent in Olivetti's involvement in architecture, urban planning, industrial design and advertising graphics and the cultural contexts within which these events take place. The thematic stations are: Olivetti and Ivrea; the community and its social policies; production architecture; industrial design; territorial planning; product and image; housing. Together with the stations, an Information and Reception Centre has been set up, hosted inside the *Centro Servizi Sociali* building where visitors are led to discover the themes and contents developed during the visit.

The MaAM is a different institution from a traditional architectural museum or even from a simple system of organising itineraries to visit architectures. The museum must be considered as an institution that, among other aims, has to provide visitors with the architectural heritage of the city. In this way the heritage becomes more and more an asset shared by a public of visitors, specialised and not, as well as by the inhabitants themselves.

An important instrument of this regeneration process has been the regulations drawn up with the coordination of the *Commissione Igienico Edilizia della Città di Ivrea*. This regulation provided for different levels of intervention: from a more restrictive one aimed at the most valuable buildings and coinciding with a philological restoration, to one inspired by awareness and common sense aimed at buildings of lower value.

The museum was an opportunity to experiment with models of reorganisation of public spaces in harmony with the characteristics of the pre-existing urban environment, which could be proposed as examples that could be reproduced in other cities.

The recognition of the value of this heritage allowed in 2008, on the initiative of the *Comune di*

Ivrea and the *Fondazione Adriano Olivetti*, the candidacy of *Ivrea Città Industriale del XX secolo* as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. From that moment on, the process began, which achieved a first important result in May 2012 with the inscription of the proposal in the UNESCO Tentative List. After this date the *Comune di Ivrea*, the *Ministero dei Beni e delle attività culturali e turistiche*, together with the *Fondazione Adriano Olivetti*, the *Fondazione Guelpa* and with the active participation of the *Regione Piemonte* and the *Provincia di Torino* (then "Città Metropolitana"), worked on the preparation of the Nomination File, starting the complex work of designing the Management Plan, which identifies the fundamental objectives, as required by UNESCO, of protection, conservation and transmission to future generations of the candidate area, with the involvement of all those active in the territory.

The key words of the candidacy of "Ivrea città Industriale del XX Secolo" as a World Heritage Site are: pride, history and belonging. Words that bring the possibility to preserve and transmit an exceptional memory together with the hope of a renewal for future generations.

It was not possible to deal only with the open-air museum of the city of Ivrea and the UNESCO candidacy without telling the incredible thought that for more than fifty years Olivetti has applied to the city together with his community. It would be necessary to retrace, even in short steps, the path traced and nestled in the architecture to completely understand the great value that Ivrea holds. The industrial heritage here is not related to the single building but permeates the entire urban tissue. Through its three seasons: the birth of the industrial heritage together with the construction of a community, the disposal of the industrial heritage and the recognition of the material and immaterial heritage, and finally the last stage - the most recent - the candidacy as World Heritage Site, Ivrea gives us back an example, perhaps unique in the world, of an environmental architectural laboratory where beauty springs inevitably and unequivocally from the necessity/functionality of these buildings designed for man and his dedicated social progress.

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Adrianovo mesto: funkcionalizem izven okvirov

Povzetek

Ivrea je arhetipski primer industrijskega mesta, ki je edinstveno tako v svojih namenih kot arhitekturnih rezultatih. Članek poskuša videti zgodovino Ivree skozi tri obdobja: od Olivettijeve izkušnje industrijske krize in s tem povezanega konca proizvodnega sistema, do nedavne prijave na Unescov seznam svetovne dediščine in posledično do uvrstitve mesta na seznam. Ivrea, kot izjemen gradbeni laboratorij, ki je vključeval najbolj inovativne arhitekta tistega časa, je v svojem prvem obdobju doživel povečan občutek skupnosti – Adriano je z izrazom »Comunità« poimenoval tudi svojo revijo – in močnih povezav z okolico. Prav ta občutek pripadnosti je tisti, ki predstavlja vrednost edinstvenosti te izkušnje. Odstranitev industrijske dediščine zaradi neizogibne krize proizvodnega sistema je morala upoštevati oprijemljivo dediščino tega obdobja, metode za njeno ohranitev in izboljšanje, ohranjanje preostalih kvalitetnih elementov in zelo inovativno vsebino »nepreizkušenega eksperimentiranja«. V tem kontekstu je zasnovana izkušnja muzeja *Museo all'aperto delle architetture moderne olivettiane* (MaAM, 2001). Muzej je z oblikovanjem smernic za upravljanje transformacij nedvomno spodbudil kolektivno zavedanje o ohranitvi in varovanju te dediščine. Ta pobuda je bila v nadgrajeni obliki vključena v mestni načrt, ki sprejema vrednote muzeja, lansira njegov nadaljnji razvoj in mu podeljuje izobraževalni namen v primerih postopkov obnove industrijske dediščine. Leta 2008 so vložili kandidaturo, na podlagi katere je leta 2018 Unesco mesto razglasil za industrijsko mesto 20. stoletja, zahvaljujoč njegovim posebnostim, ki temeljijo na družbenem in proizvodnem sistemu, navdahnjenem s skupnostjo, ki združuje človeške, okoljske in arhitekturne vrednote.

Meblo, the Contemporary Design that Built the Identity of the City

Klavdija Figelj

Nova Gorica is a city that has literally grown with industry, positioned in the eastern and southeastern parts of the city. The industry's flagship horse was the Meblo furniture factory, which, like the city, grew from nothing to a modern organization with its own design institute. The factory, which was the leading furniture factory in Yugoslavia and exported to all five continents, was a bridge between the old and the modern world but not only that, with a factory that furnished the emerging city with furniture, the new inhabitants of the city were aware of the feeling of a modern space. With the industry, the identity of the city was being built. Although thousands of residents worked in the industry, today it is difficult to show any restored industrial architecture, let alone a space where industrial heritage would be presented.

In the article, I will be particularly interested in the initial period in the development of the factory, but most of all, the time of operation of the Institute between 1964 and 1972, which was crucial for the development of furniture design. My research will be based on a comprehensive book of the Meblo factory by Beno Vodopivec¹ and the professional publications and archival sources I found in the Nova Gorica Provincial Archive.²

The furniture factory was created as a project of the economic policy of the industrialization of the new state of Yugoslavia. The decision to build the factory in Nova Gorica was made at a meeting of the College of the Ministry of Forestry and Wood Industry on 30th October 1947. Initially, this state-owned timber industrial company was based in Solkan, and from June 1948 onwards in Nova Gorica. In the area of Solkan, the carpenter's craft tradition was home in the first half of the century and the carpenters' craftsmen joined the factories in the beginning. The industry in the area was poorly developed at the time of joining Yugoslavia, there were no experts (designers and technologists) for the timber industry, but there were many skilled workers trained in the Italian economic area.³

With the help of the working brigades, the factory was built in August 1948, and it was opened on 1st May 1950. They wanted to get professional staff initially from Switzerland, but the deal failed,

1 Beno VODOPIVEC, *Zgodba o Meblu*, Nova Gorica 1998.

2 Nova Gorica Provincial Archive (PANG), Meblo Nova Gorica, 415, Meblo institut, Zbor del. Skupnosti 1964–70, Statut instituta pohištvene industrije »Meblo« Nova Gorica, t. e. 389.

3 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1). pp. 18–23.

so the General Directorate for the timber industry selected the best experts from the country, who started the production process of the new factory. Its growth was almost organic, starting from nothing and climbing up to a leading furniture factory and one of the most modern companies in Yugoslavia. In the absence of experts, they first set up a school – an industrial timber school for professional staff, then school workshops, where factory workers taught. For the purpose of nutrition, they rented an agricultural estate and arranged their own food production, then a fire station, a transformer station, an ambulance, they started their own production veneer, they set up an upholstery department, where in 1950 they started making mattresses for beds, a year later sofas. When the factory gained market reputation with its products, it received a significant loan, so they modernized the technology of furniture production, built a sawmill, began to manufacture chipboards and to produce of mattresses *jogi*.⁴

With the constant development of the technology and hardware to meet new market demands, different departments were organized and reorganized. The important point came in 1963, when experts from Norway were invited to the factory to update the company, both financially, organizationally, they worked on marketing and technical improvements of the company. The factory developed rapidly until 1970, then followed the growth phase, which lasted until 1978. They increased and expanded production, and decided not to produce only living rooms and bedrooms, but all the home furnishings, and began a new program of furniture made of plastic and a new program of lamps. A new particle board factory was built and five subcontractors joined the Meblo at that time (Krn Klavže, Bovec Wood Industrial Company, Comfort Čepovan, Branik Furniture, Trnovo Joinery).⁵

In the 1980s the period of the crisis was happening. In 1989 the Law on Companies and Capital Management came into force, for the company it was a phase of renovation. Entrepreneurship finally ousted self-management, and in 1990, 14 companies owned by Meblo.⁶ The 1990s wanted to take a step forward, Meblo underwent a transformation between 1990 and 1996, Meblo Holding took a controlling and capital stake, becoming the owner of the knowledge and trademarks of Meblo and *jogi*.⁷ As of September 2019, Meblo Holding is in bankruptcy.

Development of the Institute (1964–1972)

The turning point in designing their own products was the founding of their own institute. Already in 1959, with the help of foreign experts, they set up a development department, in January 1964 they decided to establish an independent development institute - the Meblo Nova Gorica Furniture Industry Institute. They decided to develop the products and technology themselves, research the materials and organize the company. In the same year, the institute was employed

4 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), pp. 24–32.

5 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), pp. 42, 57.

6 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), p. 125.

7 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), p. 131.

by architect Ljerka Finžgar, a year later by architect Bogomir Zorman⁸ who had been the bearers of furniture design for two decades. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, immediately after studying the industrial design in Venice, designer Oskar Kogoj joined for two years. Ljerka Finžgar remembers the Institute as "a place of creativity and a shared will to do something, even though many things did not go into production."⁹ Oskar Kogoj said of the role of the institute: "Industry must have development, if it does not invest in development, there is no success, because in the industry everyone rushes forward and if you do not develop, you stay behind."¹⁰ They also underlined that they had a lot of support from the factory management, especially with the director Oleg Vrtačnik, who ran the factory with ambition and clear vision.

The Meblo Furniture Industry Institute in Nova Gorica, which was registered as an independent legal entity, was approved by the Republican Secretariat for Research and Higher Education on 11th May 1964 and entered in the Register of Scientific Institutes. How ambitious he was, we can see from the list of research assignments he has registered for: research into the proper utilization of native and exotic species of wood and their waste; functional and aesthetic design of furniture; structural typing and standardization of products; research and study of materials for binding and surface treatment of wood; research and study of basic materials (plastics and metals) that will replace wood in the furniture industry in the future; exploring new technological processes and woodworking; studying the mechanization and automatisations of technological processes; study of methodologies for market processing; studying the problems of modern scientific organization of work; informing the professional staff of the wood industry of new achievements and providing technical assistance; cooperation with related domestic and foreign scientific institutions; publication on the scientific and professional findings of colleagues; constructing prototypes and testing their properties from a technical, technological, functional, aesthetic, economic and market point of view.¹¹

The institute had its leader and thirteen employees (two architects, chemical engineer, mechanical engineer, timber engineer, modelers), seven of them worked in a prototype workshop to produce new patterns and improve existing products. They received money in the form of *tantiems* from sold products, from the sale of samples and from payments for arranging fairs. Besides the Stol factory, Meblo was the only furniture manufacturer to start creating its own products. They also started making advertising gadgets. In the sample workshop, new products had to be fully prepared for regular serial production at the lowest possible cost. Meblo was soon launching itself in the market with a number of new products, which were entirely the result of their own knowledge. At the furniture fairs in Yugoslavia, they received awards for products

8 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), p. 44.

9 Klavdija FIGELJ, Prispevek k preučevanju industrijskega oblikovanja in oblikovanja modernega sloga na Goriškem, v: *Industrijska dediščina na Goriškem* (ur. Inga Miklavčič-Brezigar), Nova Gorica 2015, p. 52.

10 FIGELJ 2015 (n. 9), p. 52.

11 PANG, Meblo Nova Gorica, 415, Meblo institut, Zbor del. Skupnosti 1964–70, Statut instituta pohištvene industrije »Meblo« Nova Gorica, t. e. 389.

and for the arrangement of the exhibition space. Through intensive marketing, he gained the role of the leading furniture manufacturer in Yugoslavia. After 1972, when they moved to the organization by work units, the institute was terminated and the activity was partly carried out within the Meblo design service, which was part of the marketing sector. Institute's prototype workshop was included in the Furniture unit, architects became an independent department.¹² The policy of the company, which transitioned to a market economy, changed when it was no longer a problem to produce but to sell.¹³

The Products

From the point of view of furniture development and design, the production of the first bedrooms started already in 1948, the first plans and designs were made in Ljubljana. In the years 1952–65, plans were already signed by experts from the Meblo School of Furniture and the Ljubljana Technical School: Anton Mihelj, Angel Susič, Julij Batistič and others. These were the bedrooms *Trstelj, Gorica* (which was one of the most popular on the market, the door had an S-shaped section), *Soča, Okroglica, Olga, Jelka, Marta, Marika, London*. Although affected for industrial production, there was still a lot of manual labor, especially carpentry, the women in the production assembled veneer and pulped with shellac. In addition to the bedrooms, they also produced bulky furniture, especially bookcases and combo cabinets, as well as radio cases.¹⁴ They made furniture also for customers from abroad, but they were making plans. Quality bedrooms for the English market have been made, double veneered, rounded in shape, made of walnut root. Also demanding was the production of office furniture for the U.S. Army in Germany. In France, they used to sell wardrobes, which were the cornerstone of the development of A-program foldable furniture.

The first living room, entirely designed by the newly established Institute and also awarded at the Belgrade Fair, was the *Cortina* Living Room (1966), designed in brownish red, contemporary designed, with clean, straight lines, sharp edges, minimal design elements armchair, combination of full (cabinets, buffet, drawers) and empty spaces (bookshelves, empty shelves). In addition to *Cortina, Alenka* and *Carmen* bedrooms were also manufactured for the domestic market. But these were bedrooms that were for sale in sets, and soon they were no longer suited to the needs and taste of the modern man, who wanted furniture adapted to the needs of the apartment. That's why in 1967 they developed a new A-program, which was the first composite program of furniture in Yugoslavia and with which they also became competitive in the European market. The basis of the program was the construction of wardrobes, which could be complemented by new products such as a bridge, a buffet, a bookcase, linen closet, bookcase, bed, men's closet or

12 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), p. 57.

13 Leon ČERNUTA, Meblo design, *Glas upravljalca, Glasilo delovne skupnosti Meblo tovarne pohištva Nova Gorica*, 12, 1 March 1973, p. 35.

14 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), pp. 24–29.

toilet with mirror. The characteristic of this program was that the user was able to assemble the furniture set according to his taste and needs, he could later purchase certain pieces of furniture and include them in the assembly, and thirdly, furniture from the A-program could be equipped with different rooms, so daily room as double or single bedroom, hotel room, etc. The A-program envisaged a number of different designs, ranging from lacquered white lacquers to oak veneer and mahogany.¹⁵

The most important creation in the field of design and furniture innovation and a big marketing success was the compliant E-program, designed by Ljerka Finžgar. E-program soon replaced the A-program. The E-program differed from the A-program; it no longer placed cabinets side by side, but directly, by joining upright and transverse elements, and offered the user even more options for assembling furniture according to their own needs. Consisting of 27 basic planar elements, three widths and heights and two depths, the base color was white. The E-program was presented at the Belgrade Furniture Fair in 1970 and was awarded a gold key, a year later it received a golden joint in Ljubljana.¹⁶ According to the factory newspaper *Glas upravljalca*, the compatible program is becoming more and more established on the Yugoslav market. The designer Ljerka Finžgar said that their goal is to produce as much individual furniture in the most industrialized way possible. The goal is to make custom-made furniture for every individual, easily for industrial production. The Meblo program was judged by an expert jury to be independent and advanced, and the only one comparable to foreign manufacturers.¹⁷

Among the most well-known Meblo products was the *jogi* mattress, which was modelled after German technology in 1961. It was the first mattress of its kind in Yugoslavia and in the following decades became synonymous for the mattress. In fact, even today it gives its name to the mattress. The first logo they used was a stylized fakir figure, and the later sign became recognizable, further stylized to pure lines and geometric shapes with the addition of the *jogi* inscription. In addition to the mattresses, *jogi* beds were also designed in Meblo, which was characterized by a double suspension (a mattress was also placed on the spring base) and the fact that they had no front cheekbones and the edges were soft and sharp.

Meblo's design also builds its recognition and quality on the seating sets or individual armchairs, recliners. The *Fjord* velvet sets and *Neptune*, a leather cube compound linked to leather straps, were designed in a modern way. The furniture and combination of leather and curved wood, called *Lahti* and *Bergen*, were also characteristic and modern in design. According to designer Ljerka Finžgar, the *Bergen* armchair is one of her favourite pieces.

A recliner that has received much attention from the Institute and has received a lot of attention among professionals are the *Gondola* recliner series, designed by designer Oscar Kogoj in

15 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), pp. 47–49.

16 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), pp. 62–63.

17 U.M., Mnenje žirije: Meblo ubira svojo, neodvisno pot kvalitete, *Glas upravljalca, Glasilo delovne skupnosti Meblo tovarne pohištva Nova Gorica*, 11, 15 November 1970, p. 3.

1970, “bravely and without prejudice.”¹⁸ The ergonomically designed resting shell was made of polyester, for which numerous material studies were carried out and placed on a single leg, which had a moving mechanism inside. Kogoj designed several versions of the *Gondola*, a whole team of experts from different fields participated in the design.

The *Gondola* series was exhibited as a design object in Ljubljana's Arcades, Zagreb, Venice, and in 1973 in Denmark. It received the highest Slovenian award in the field of culture, the Prešeren Fund Award for a series of recliners.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the *Gondola* did not go into mass production, apparently because of the complexity of the technological process and the financial conditions.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, plastics was the new topic of design and so, in the late 1960s, the Institute began to study those materials. In the prototype workshop, experiments were being made, technology was newly developed and, in 1972, a work unit was also created to design new products, made of polyester recliners of the *Gondola* series. Polyurethane made famous products from the *Jurček* system also came out, designed by Bogomir Zorman, which was a system of merging individual elements into different products; chairs, tables, bar chairs, bar tables, ashtrays, hangers.²⁰

In the early 1970s, a brand new product appeared in the Meblo program, namely plexiglass acrylic luminaires, which also became one of the most significant products of the factory, created in collaboration with the Italian company Harvey-Guzzini. The Italian partner provided the technology and production program, the Meblo spatial conditions. As many as 33 types of lamps were produced, in different colours (mainly orange, brown, green, yellow, red) and circular shapes that complemented the furniture design of the furniture.

Worth mentioning here is the Furniture Factory logo, which has remained in use throughout. After 1963, when they chose the name of the factory - Meblo, a new company logo was established. After the preliminary image of the sign, which has a carpenter's toolbox in its essence, was designed by the head of maintenance Anton Repič and after redesigned by designer Oskar Kogoj, high school student at the time.

Design to be presented at fairs, showrooms, public buildings

After founding the institute in 1964, Meblo started to appear at international furniture fairs in Milan, Paris, Cologne, later in Bari, Tripoli, Nairobi, regularly appearing at all major furniture fairs in Yugoslavia (Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, Skopje). Among the most important was the Belgrade Fair, where they first appeared in 1966 and received a diploma for the Cortina living room, which was the first product of the Furniture Institute.²¹

18 Stane BERNIK, *Plastični počivalniki*, Arkade Ljubljana, Nova Gorica 1970, p. 9.

19 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), p. 86.

20 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), pp. 85–86.

21 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), p. 44.



Fig. 1: Furniture A-program, the first composite furniture programme in Yugoslavia, design: Ljerka Finžgar (source: Beno VODOPIVEC, *Zgodba o Meblu*, Nova Gorica, 1998).



Fig. 2: Furniture A-program, the first composite furniture programme in Yugoslavia, design: Ljerka Finžgar (source: Beno VODOPIVEC, *Zgodba o Meblu*, Nova Gorica, 1998).



Fig. 3: Assembly furniture E-program, design Ljerka Finžgar (source: Beno VODOPIVEC, *Zgodba o Meblu*, Nova Gorica, 1998).



Fig. 4: Assembly furniture E-program, design Ljerka Finžgar (source: Beno VODOPIVEC, *Zgodba o Meblu*, Nova Gorica, 1998).

Meblo's products were also presented in specially designed showrooms, which featured complete production programs. In 1970, in Nova Gorica, according to the plans of architect Kamil Kolarič, the Furniture Salon was built, the year after that they opened a salon in Varaždin, Novi Beograd, in 1972 in Karlovac, 1974 in Novi Sad, by 1984 there were seventeen salons throughout Yugoslavia.

Meblo's design as a whole could also be seen in public buildings. The furniture was furnished by the Argonavti Hotel in Nova Gorica, the retirement home of Nova Gorica, with the seats of the Novi Sad Cultural Center and the Gallus Hall of the Cankarjev dom in Ljubljana, numerous hotels in Yugoslav cities (Belgrade, Zenica, Banja Luka, Portorož), sports halls and a conference hall in Gabon, fair in Lagos, Nigeria, hotel center in Yalta, 250 student rooms in Belgium, one of the largest was the equipment of the Sava Convention Center in New Belgrade in 1977.²²

The best mention of the quality of the products is the awards they received at the fairs. The Belgrade Fair was of great and prestigious importance for Yugoslav furniture manufacturers. Since its debut in 1967, Meblo has received 14 gold and 7 silver keys, the highest of all participants. A remarkable record and a record not repeated by anyone behind him occurred in 1969, when Meblo received three of four gold keys. The A-program furniture, the *Kameleon* soft foam seat and the HO furniture system were awarded. The author of all three products was Meblo's designer Ljerka Finžgar.

Meblo's design in professional publications

Probably one of the biggest achievements of Meblo's design was the publication on the cover of the special issue of magazine *Industrial design - The Science of seating*.²³ The cover published Oskar Kogoj's recliner - a drawing, the curve of his *Gondola*, and inside the journal short article titled Chair Mechanics with photos and drawings where Kogoj's recliner was compared to a recliner designed by Yrjo Kukkapura.

Reviewing Slovenian professional journalism, as Alenka Di Battista writes,²⁴ in the field of industrial design, architect Majda Dobravec mentioned in *Sinteza* magazine the participation of the Nova Gorica furniture factory in the exhibition "Modern Equipment" at the Jurček Pavilion at the Ljubljana Exhibition Hall in 1964. The event wanted to be the first in a series of permanent residential exhibitions intended to educate and inform home buyers, and the selection of works indicated possible directions for the future development of domestic commerce and industry. The furniture factory Nova Gorica presented at the exhibition a shelving wall for the living room and bunk bed for the children's room according to the plans of the Studio for Apartment and Equipment under the direction of France Ivanšek, also the organizer of the event. The

22 VODOPIVEC 1998 (n. 1), pp. 58–59.

23 *Industrial design*, 18/5, 1971.

24 Alenka DI BATTISTA, *Urbanizem in arhitektura Nove Gorice skozi oči slovenske strokovne publicistike*, *Goriški letnik*, 41, 2017, p. 53.



Fig. 5: Recliner *Gondola*, design: Oskar Kogoj (source: Stane BERNIK, *Plastični počivalniki*, Arkade Ljubljana, Nova Gorica 1970).

establishment of the development institute of the Furniture Industry Institute Meblo Nova Gorica played a decisive role in establishing cooperation. Among the key designers employed by the institute between 1969 and 1971 is Oskar Kogoj. Synthesis has repeatedly reported on his creative work, thanks in particular to magazine editor Stane Bernik. As a consultant, he participated in the development of prototypes of *Gondola* plastic recliners and described the process of their creation in word and picture. At the exhibition of Kogoj's recliners in Ljubljana and 1970, which is prepared in terms of content and design Bernik, the magazine also issued positive reviews of the exhibitions of Ješa Denegri and Želimir Koščević, as well as the photographic report by Petar Dabac. In particular, Denegri praised Kogoj's efforts by justifying new methodological approaches in the design and production of industrially designed objects and highlighted the process of scientific research that led the author to the final shape of a plastic usable object. In a similar way, Koščević emphasized that recliners reach not only utilitarian values, but also aesthetic categories characterized by design inventiveness. He also praised the efforts of Meblo to introduce new technological processes and explore new design options, which were novelty on the Yugoslav scale and indicate good business ideas and long-term business policy programming.²⁵

25 DI BATTISTA 2017 (n. 24), p. 53.



Fig. 6: Lamps *Meblo – Harvey* (source: Beno VODOPIVEC, *Zgodba o Meblu*, Nova Gorica, 1998).

The fact that the Meblo furniture factory with its products was recognized as a concept of modern design is also evidenced by the entries in the Belgrade magazine *Industrial Design and Marketing* from 1973, which in an article entitled Meblo design states that it is "one of the few companies, which uses design in propaganda messages."²⁶ To see how furniture design really works, editorial staff have even traveled to Nova Gorica. The town itself surprised the editorial staff as something new, a masterpiece of architecture, a city where young people live and where problems are solved faster and better than elsewhere in Yugoslavia. The first condition for the development of the design was attributed to this exceptional environment, ready to accept the new. The second element they saw was the development path that led to the design department itself, whose basic features were the creation, designing not only of the furniture but also of the corporate identity of Meblo.

Peter Krečič, former director of the Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana, points out the importance of the Meblo Institute. In his analysis of the state of industrial design in the Federal Republic of Slovenia, it is stated that the Meblo Institute enjoyed the greatest independence. The department had a considerable amount of free hand in setting and developing design tasks, and it was in this climate that the first original compatible programmable furniture E-program was created in 1969 by Ljerka Finžgar and Bogomir Zorman and a family of plastic recliners.²⁷

Krečič also deals with the *Gondola* resting series in the aforementioned Analysis. It ranks them

26 Vanja STANKOVIĆ, Meblo design, in: *Industrijsko oblikovanje i dizajn* (ed. Miroslav Fruht), Beograd 1973, pp. 19–21.

27 Peter KREČIČ, *Analiza stanja industrijskega oblikovanja v Socialistični republiki Sloveniji*, Ljubljana 1973, p. 29.



Fig. 7: Chair *Jurček*, design: Bogomir Zorman (source: Beno VODOPIVEC, *Zgodba o Meblu*, Nova Gorica, 1998).

right after the famous chair designer Niko Kralj. As the second pole in the design of seating furniture, he calls the Furniture Factory Meblo with its plastic recliners after the design of Oscar Kogoj. Krečič also notes that these Kogoj recliners, thought of as ergonomically appropriate shells for resting and sitting in reinforced polyester, are not the first attempt to design in this direction (Tatjana Coloni and Ignac Cedilnik conceived the polyester shell earlier and implemented IMGRAD from Ljutomer in 1969). "What matters most is that he was able to fully complete the design of the Gondola recliner as part of a completely untested polyester injection molding technology, so that after three years of development, they came into series production."²⁸ Designing seats he used anthropometric and ergonomic findings, and by working with them he emphasized not only the specific aspects

of plastic furniture design, but the whole range of issues from the role of the designer in the production process to interdisciplinarity in the design process and the concrete position of the designer in Slovenia. Krečič remarked that good form was unfortunately disqualified by the overpricing. However, Kogoj acknowledges pioneering in plastics design

The 1970 exhibition at the Arkade in Ljubljana, where they presented a series of designs of Kogoj plastic recliners *Gondola*, Krečič named as the first solo exhibition of an industrial designer in Slovenia.²⁹ Stane Bernik, however, writes that "with the theme he set out in the framework of the seat furniture - in Slovenia it is also considered as a test stone of design - he strongly indicated a more comprehensive use of anthropometric, psychophysiological and ergonomic achievements and knowledge in order to answer the problem of sitting and resting in the best possible dimensions."³⁰

The fact that the Meblo design is still present in the consciousness of users and the professional public is evidenced by the award for timeless design, which Ljerka Finžgar received two years

28 KREČIČ 1973 (n. 27), p. 33.

29 KREČIČ 1973 (n. 27), p. 10.

30 Stane BERNIK, Sodobno oblikovanje sedežnega pohištva v Sloveniji, in: Vesna Bučič, *Stol v petih tisočletjih*, Narodni muzej, Ljubljana 1973, p. 47.

ago, in 2018, 48 years after she has made a design for the furniture E-program.(1970). The award is presented by Big Institute, the Center for Creative Economy of Southeast Europe.

Finžgar received a design award that stood the test of time and proved of lasting value. In justification, they wrote that in the 1970s and 1980s, she was the driving force behind Meblo, one of the most successful and recognizable home furnishers in our country. She has signed on to the most successful programs and individual products of this iconic company and has received numerous awards and recognitions for them. Her program of furniture E from 1970 stands out in particular. With it, it broke a long tradition for the user of a fairly rigid production of furniture sets. With a seemingly simple modular system of type pages, elements and joints, it has provided numerous options for furniture assemblies, allowing each individual to create an ambience more freely suited to their wishes, options and spatial characteristics. Program-E is well-functioning system that, with its myriad of configurations and modifications, gives you a simple, elegant and unobtrusive upgrade frame that transforms your place into a home.³¹

The characteristic of Meblo's design and the identity of the city

The furniture factory and the town of Nova Gorica were created at the same time, building almost one another. Since they were created in an empty space, identities were also being created. Architecture and urbanism brought clean shapes to the city, with straight and smooth roads. The coldness of the drawing tool was felt, straightened and moved, if we recall the words of Edvard Ravnikar, the concept of a new life and housing value emerged. The city was establishing new lines of recognition and markers of space that were not present in the area and were characteristic only of these cultural space. Just like that, the furniture that used to come from the town's factory, to which three thousand inhabitants of the new town and the surrounding area went to work every morning. Furniture of straight lines, clean shapes, bright colors, furniture that is mobile and customizable. The modern style was a great turning point for the new residents of the new city, ornamentation and massive dark-coloured furniture disappeared from view, replaced by empty space, glass, concrete and greenery. The environment for the creation of a new human being has been established.

"The new political order after World War 2 interrupted the direction of development of companies. The post-war period was marked by radical changes in their ownership (nationalization), a great need for reconstruction of the newly created country, and increased migration from rural areas to cities. The socialist policy of the state demanded a new, different standard of living. Circumstances influenced several aspects of product development and thus the role of design."³² Post-war development policy supported the development of the working class, the middle class increased, which also required the development of new

31 <http://zavodbig.com/portfolio-items/program-pohistva-e-ljerka-finzgar/> (access 12 January 2020).

32 Miha KLINAR, *Oblikovanje kot dejavnik povečevanja konkurenčnosti slovenskega gospodarstva; pregled položaja oblikovanja v Sloveniji*, Ljubljana 2008, pp. 4-5.

products. The new standard of living was reflected in the rapid construction of apartments, which needed to be furnished in a new way, with furniture, no longer with large massive cabinets, but with lighter and foldable furniture that could be brought by lift. The revolution of consumer goods, home appliances, radios, phones, etc. has begun. Already at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s, as elsewhere in Europe, an era of modern trends, fashionable clothing, light furniture, contemporary architecture, everyday goods, all shaping a new lifestyle.³³

“Lifestyle is changing. People are looking for a more informal, easier and freer way of life. People would not want to be burdened with many static possessions that are only used one way. On the contrary, they want to change their environment,”³⁴ they wrote in *Industrial Design* in 1971.

The point of modernist architecture is to have a life of its own, that is, to be mobile, to adapt. As Ljerka Finžgar noted, our lives are changing so fast that it is unethical to expect us to live the same way our grandparents lived. Social policies and urban policies replace investment and new social policies. But when it came to issues of residence, Finžgar liked to turn to Scandinavia, emphasizing that Scandinavians devoted themselves deliberately to the study of man, his ways of living and his needs. Finžgar’s starting points for furniture design, as she pointed out in our conversation, were based on local conditions. “Throughout the cities at that time, homes have been crowded with extended families. From the knowledge of this situation, I designed the components that made it possible to create a sleeping, habitable place in the same room, which was certainly an idea to create a space in which a wider family can coexist.”³⁵

When designing furniture elements, especially in Scandinavian countries, anthropological measurements have been taken into account, ergonomics has become an integral part of modern industrial design. “The rigid and etiquette-prescribed lifestyle is dying and leaving the city more relaxed, unconventional. All that uncomfortable and painful (domestic work) is being replaced by technical gadgets.”³⁶

Finžgar loved the Scandinavians not only for their simplicity, minimalism and functionality, but also for the deeper emotional need of a person for a tidy and functional home. The Meblo Institute also studied the culture of the home, they studied about man and his needs. It was believed that architects had the task of examining a person’s needs and of teaching him to care where he sleep or how he live. They wondered how we would live tomorrow, with what needs, what materials we would use. Oskar Kogoj brought courageous and uncompromising exploration of new materials, innovative technologies, ergonomic designs and teamwork.

33 KLINAR 2008 (n. 32), pp. 4–5.

34 J. Roger GUILFOYLE, Chair mechanic, *Industrial design*, 8/6, 1971, pp. 26–27.

35 FIGELJ 2015 (n. 2), p. 52.

36 Ljerka FINŽGAR, Stanovanje včeraj, danes, jutri, *Glas upravljalca, Glasilo delovne skupnosti Meblo tovarne pohištva Nova Gorica*, 8, 15 August 1970, p. 3.

Finally, it can be concluded that architects and designers with their developing work in Institute, of course, with the considerable support and encouragement of the company’s management, were not only the driving force, but also the creative spirit that brought the culture of modern man into many apartments. With their active approach, they designed not only furniture, but a sense of space and quality of life, which was part of the identity of Nova Gorica and Yugoslavia as well.

Today, in Nova Gorica, where many homes are still equipped with Meblo furniture and the factory is long gone, we have neither a space nor a medium to show how the furniture factory was built in this area and with it the design that was recognizable, advanced, unique and setting new standards in the culture of being. Nova Gorica would, therefore, urgently need a space where Meblo’s top-class, as well as all Slovenian design, could be recognized as “a space of creativity and shared will,” if we use the words of Ljerka Finžgar.

Meblo, sodobno oblikovanje, ki je zgradilo identiteto mesta

Povzetek

Nova Gorica je mesto, ki je dobesedno zraslo z industrijo, postavljeno v vzhodni in jugovzhodni del mesta. Paradni konj v industriji je bila tovarna pohištva Meblo, ki je tako kot mesto prerasla iz nič v moderno organizacijo z lastnim oblikovalskim inštitutom. Tovarna, ki je bila uspešna in svoje izdelke izvažala na vseh pet celin, je bila most med starim in sodobnim svetom, a ne le to, s tovarno, ki je nastajajoče mesto opremljala tudi s pohištvom, so se novi prebivalci mesta začeli zavedati občutja modernega prostora. Z industrijo se je gradila identiteta mesta. A danes je od vse te industrije, v kateri je delalo na tisoče prebivalcev, težko pokazati kakršno koli obnovljeno industrijsko arhitekturo, kaj šele prostor, kjer bi bil predstavljen industrijski dizajn oziroma industrijska dediščina nasploh.

5 SAKRALNA ARHITEKTURA V NOVIH FUNKCIONALISTIČNIH MESTIH
RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE IN NEW FUNCTIONALIST TOWNS



Religious buildings and the Post-war Construction of a Socialist Utopia in the German Democratic Republic

Marcus van der MEULEN

Introduction

After the end of the Second World War eastern parts of war defeated Germany became the Soviet Occupied Zone (SOZ).¹ In 1949 this SOZ became the German Democratic Republic (GDR), a new socialist state. Capital of this new state became East Berlin, the Soviet occupied zone of Berlin. In the years that followed the GDR was re-constructed as a socialist Utopia. During the period of the SOZ building was restricted to retaining and renovation of, primarily, dwellings. War damaged places of worship were hastily repaired and provisional churches were built termed "Notkirchen", for congregations that had lost their place of worship during the war or for refugees from the east, mostly Roman Catholics.² In 1949 seven churches were built, six for catholic worship and one for Lutheran.³ Typically these are simple structures, barracks, erected for temporary use.

In this paper the religious buildings and the construction of a socialist urban environment in eastern Germany is discussed, the three decades from the end of the Second World War until the adoption of the *Monument Preservation Law* of 1975.⁴

The GDR and Religion

Central figure in the re-construction of the new socialist state was Walter Ulbricht, who served as the First Secretary of the ruling communist party SED⁵ from 1950 until 1971, and as Chairman of the State Council from 1960 until his death in 1973. Shaping a new Germany took place on several levels. Historic territories were abolished in 1952 and replaced by 14 "Bezirke" or districts, named after their capital cities. These district capitals and the state capital, East Berlin, were re-constructed as socialist cities reflecting the new and atheist state. Many urban



Fig. 1: First Secretary Walter Ulbricht and a model for re-construction in 1951
(© Bundesarchiv_Bild_183-12896-0003).

centres had been damaged during the war, however, re-construction is not understood as the restoration to a prior situation, rather the intended transformation of an existing urban landscape to an envisioned Utopia. This transformative re-construction had far reaching implications for religious buildings, not only in new urban developments but also in shaping of the built environment.

In 1952 the *Construction of Socialism* doctrine⁶ was declared during the second party congress of the ruling SED, initiating an offensive against religion. The GDR had been established as an atheist state. Secularisation was actively supported and although the constitution secured freedom of religion, *de facto* the exercise of religious practices was obstructed. In 1957 the State Secretary for Church Affairs was formed,⁷ following the example of the Soviet Union, further reducing the influence of the Church in society and education. The official objective of this institution was to conduct the relationship between state and Church authorities. In reality, the State Secretary for Church Affairs tried to push religion from the traditional

1 Norman NAIMARK, *Die Russen in Deutschland. Die sowjetische Besatzungszone 1945 bis 1949*, Berlin 1997.

2 Verena SCHAEDLER, *Katholischer Sakralbau in der SBZ und in der DDR*, Regensburg 2013.

3 SCHAEDLER 2013 (n. 2).

4 Denkmalschutzgesetz, *Gesetzblatt der DDR*, Part 1, Nr. 26, 19 June 1975, pp. 458-460.

5 SED: Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany).

6 *Aufbau des Sozialismus*, see: Klaus SCHROEDER, *Der SED-Staat. Geschichte und Strukturen der DDR*, München 1998.

7 Staatssekretär für Kirchenfragen, see: Armin BOYENS, *Das Staatssekretariat für Kirchenfragen, Clemens VOLLNHALS, Die Kirchenpolitik von SED und Staatssicherheit. Eine Zwischenbilanz (= Analysen und Dokumente). Wissenschaftliche Reihe der Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der Ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Berlin 1997, pp. 120-138.



Fig. 2: Eisenhüttenstadt, formerly Stalinstadt. Youth preparing for "Jugendweihe", in 1955 (© Bundesarchiv_Bild_183-33308-0002).

core of social and cultural life towards the margins of society. Popular religious traditions were replaced by new customs. An example is "Jugendweihe", a coming-of-age ceremony launched by the Free German Youth (FDJ)⁸ introduced in 1954 replacing the Lutheran confirmation.⁹ Lutheran church authorities opposed this ceremony, however, the state intensified their efforts and made "Jugendweihe" obligatory in 1958. "Jugendweihe" contributed highly to the secularisation of the GDR.¹⁰ The closing of the inner German border and construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 detached Church authorities in the GDR from their partners in western Germany. This eventually resulted in the establishment of an Evangelical-Lutheran church authority in eastern Germany. In the 1970s the Lutherans promoted a Church within Socialism.¹¹ The Catholic bishops were confronted with similar problems, as they were no longer allowed to attend the Roman Catholic Conference of Bishops of (all) Germany. A Conference of Bishops of

eastern Germany, however, was never established. The Roman Catholic Church in the GDR did not cultivate a Church within Socialism yet retained the classification of dwelling in a strange house.¹²

Active repression of religion by the socialist government resulted in a sharp decline of religious affiliation. It is challenging to obtain good data about religious affiliation in the GDR, the following accounts are the most optimistic. At the end of the Second World War a vast majority of the population was affiliated to the Evangelical-Lutheran Church. In 1950 this

number was 85 %, and in 1989 this had fallen to 25 %. For Roman Catholics the numbers are 10 % of the population in 1950 and 5 % in 1989. This means Christianity collapsed from 95 % at the beginning of the GDR to 30 % when the GDR was abolished.¹³ Today eastern Germany is one of the least religious regions in the world.¹⁴

Urban planning in the GDR

The aggression against religion by the state was also felt in urban planning. Construction of an ideal built environment for the socialist society was envisioned. In urban planning, the adoption of *The Sixteen Principles of Urban Design*¹⁵ and the *Re-Building Act* are relevant.¹⁶ Although religious buildings are not specifically mentioned, their traditional importance in the urban fabric is implicitly challenged. *The Sixteen Principles* were the main guidelines for urban planning during the early years of state re-construction. Some ideas, however, continued to have significance, especially the three cited below:

Decided by the Government of the German Democratic Republic on 27 July 1950:

The urban planning and architectural design of our cities, which shall influence the construction of all of Germany, must express the social order of the German Democratic Republic, as well as the progressive traditions and great goals of our German people. They shall adhere to the following principles:

1. The city as a form of settlement did not arise by chance. The city is the richest economic and cultural form of community settlement, proven by centuries of experience. The city is in its structural and architectural design an expression of the political life and the national consciousness of the people.
6. The centre forms the veritable core of the city. The centre of the city is the political centre for its population. In the city centre are the most important political, administrative and cultural sites. On the squares in the city centre one might find political demonstrations, marches and popular celebrations held on festival days. The centre of the city shall be composed of the most important and monumental buildings, dominating the architectural composition of the city plan and determining the architectural silhouette of the city.
9. The visage of the city—that is, its individual artistic form—shall be defined by squares, main streets, and prominent buildings in the center of the city (in those largest cities containing skyscrapers). Squares and plazas shall serve as the structural basis for the planning of the city and for its overall architectural composition.¹⁷

8 Freie Deutsche Jugend.

9 Markus ANHALT, *Die Macht der Kirchen brechen. Die Mitwirkung des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit bei der Durchsetzung der Jugendweihe in der DDR*, Göttingen 2016.

10 Robert GOECKEL, Church and Society in the GDR: Historical Legacies and "Mature Socialism", *International Journal of Sociology*, 18, 1988, p. 215.

11 Peter MASER, *Glauben im Sozialismus. Kirchen und Religionsgemeinschaften in der DDR*, Berlin 1989, pp. 13-20.

12 Joachim Kardinal MEISNER, *Die Wüstenjahre der Kirche, Welt*, 23 October 2019, https://www.welt.de/welt_print/debatte/article4943940/Die-Wuestenjahre-der-Kirche.html (accessed 22 January 2020).

13 Gerhard KRAUSE, Gerhard MUELLER, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin 1993.

14 Tom W. SMITH, *Beliefs about God across Time and Countries*, Chicago 2012.

15 *Die 16 Grundsätze des Städtebaus*. Lothar BOLZ, *Von deutschem Bauen. Reden und Aufsätze*, Berlin (Ost) 1951, pp. 32-52.

16 *Aufbaugesetz*, [https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Aufbaugesetz_\(DDR\)_1950/](https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Aufbaugesetz_(DDR)_1950/) (accessed 20 January 2020).

17 See 15.

New urban development areas

The ruling socialist party SED decided to establish new steelworks and a new town to house the steelworkers at the party convention of July 1950.¹⁸ Construction started the following year. This town was named Stalinstadt in 1953 to honour the soviet leader, in 1961 the settlement was renamed Eisenhüttenstadt. The new foundation became one of the earliest examples of urban planning in the GDR. The first plans were made by Franz Ehrlich, Kurt Junghanns and Otto Geiler, however, the authorities rejected these for being too modernist.¹⁹ Eventually a masterplan by Kurt W. Leucht was executed, an urban plan in a so-called National Building Tradition.²⁰ Stalinstadt is an experiment between modernist and traditional planning ideas following the guidelines presented in *The Sixteen Principles*. The new town consist of a central square, roads for parades and manifestations, dwellings, schools, a hospital and buildings representing the socialist state.

During the inauguration of Stalinstadt First secretary Ulbricht declared on 7 May 1953: "Yes! We will have towers, for example one for the Town Hall and one for the Culture House. Other towers are not needed in the socialist city."²¹ Without mentioning churches Ulbricht implies towers not representing the socialist state are unwanted in the envisioned built environment. In the urban planning of Stalinstadt religious buildings were not included, however, among the inhabitants of the new town were Lutherans and several Catholics. Eventually building of a barrack for catholic worship was allowed on the northern outskirts of the town, near railway tracks and the factory. The Evangelical-Lutheran congregation held services in a wagon, and from 1952 onwards in a barrack.²² From 1976 onwards plans to erect an Evangelical-Lutheran community centre were made. Eventually in 1981 the authorities allowed the building of The Church of Peace on the southern edge of the town.²³ Both churches were built on the margins of Eisenhüttenstadt, away from main roads and out of sight. In the urban landscape, the simple forms and remote locations prevented the new churches to be of any significance.

Rostock was declared Re-Building Area after adoption of the *Re-Building Act* of 1950.²⁴ The

18 Jascha Philipp BRAUN, "Die erste sozialistische Stadt auf deutschem Boden" – *Architektur und Städtebau der DDR der fünfziger Jahre am Beispiel von Stalinstadt*, Magisterarbeit, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 2010.

19 BRAUN 2010 (n. 18).

20 Jörg KIRCHNER, *Architektur nationaler Tradition in der frühen DDR (1950–1955). Zwischen ideologischen Vorgaben und künstlerischer Eigenständigkeit*, Hamburg 2010.

21 "Ja! Wir werden Türme haben, zum Beispiel einen Turm fürs Rathaus, einen Turm fürs Kulturhaus. Andere Türme können wir in der sozialistischen Stadt nicht gebrauchen", audio record of the speech, RBB archive, D026648.

22 Heinz BRÄUER, *Die ersten drei Jahrzehnte der evangelischen Friedenskirchengemeinde Eisenhüttenstadt – Erinnerungen*. Eisenhüttenstadt 1991.

23 Janet NEISER, Neue Kirche für die neue Stadt, <https://www.moz.de/landkreise/oder-spree/eisenhuettenstadt/artikel0/dg/0/1/301044/> (accessed 20 January 2020).

24 SMITH 2012 (n. 14).



Fig. 3: Stalinstadt under construction, central axis with Friedrich Wolf Theatre and steelworks in the background (© Bundesarchiv_Bild_183-61967-0001).



Fig. 4: Rostock. Reutershagen I (1953–1957) (photo by author).



Fig. 5: Rostock. The Evangelical-Lutheran Church of St Andrew. Built after 1975 (photo by Schiwago).

town was developed as primary port of the new state and a show town to host foreign officials. In the historic core of Rostock the Street of National Reconstruction, a socialist promenade following the ideas of *The Sixteen Principles*, was created.²⁵ In 1953 the first stone of this rebuilding project was laid by First Secretary Ulbricht.²⁶ The existing urban fabric was secularised and no new places of worship were planned in the new developments. Between 1953 and 1957 the new development Reutershagen I was constructed, planned in a socialist-realist style.²⁷ In 1958 the new development Reutershagen II was begun, designed in a modernist style under supervision of Hartmut Colden (1915–1982).²⁸ In total 9,772 homes were constructed for about 25,000 inhabitants. These new urban developments included housing, in Reutershagen II these were “Plattenbauten”,²⁹ shops, schools and large green areas. For the religious communities, however, buildings for worship were not part of urban planning. After the war Protestants had built a temporary church in Schwanenteich park between the development Reutershagen I and the Komponistenviertel District.³⁰ This barrack was first used by the Evangelical-Lutheran congregation and from 1954 also by the Roman Catholics. The barrack used for religious services in a park was demolished by the local authorities,

25 Johannes KÖLLNER, *Magistrale. Eine Geschichte der Langen Straße in Rostock*, Bremen 1997.

26 KÖLLNER 1997 (n. 25).

27 Hartmut COLDEN, *Wohnkomplex Reutershagen II in Rostock*, Berlin 1958.

28 Hartmut COLDEN, *Diskussion über Reutershagen II*, Berlin 1959.

29 Buildings, mostly for housing developments using prefabricated concrete slabs.

30 Zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Reutershagen, <http://www.luther-st-andreas-gemeinde.de/geschichte> (accessed 20 January 2020).

pushing the presence of religion in the urban landscape to the margins. The Evangelical-Lutheran congregation were allowed to construct The Church of St. Andrew³¹ after 1975. This simple structure was not located in the localities Reutershagen I or Reutershagen II but on the northern outskirts of Rostock. The Church of St Joseph, a catholic house of worship, was built in the grounds of a garden allotment, out of sight from all main roads. Surrounded by sheds, behind garages and a housing block, the inconspicuous church remained hidden. The building is a plain, shed-like structure.)

Between 1961 and 1965 the new development Suedstadt was planned,³² a modernist urban development of nearly 8,000 homes and 20,000 inhabitants, located to the south of historic centre across the railway tracks. Suedstadt included schools, shops, “Plattenbauten” and large areas of greenery. Religious buildings were intentionally not planned, although several thousand people would have been religious. Protestants gathered in a wagon. A catholic church was constructed in 1970 south of historic Rostock near the railway tracks. The Christ Church is a modernist structure on a square plan with a concave roof in concrete. This church is often hailed as an example of sacred architecture in the GDR and, consequently, proof construction of churches was tolerated in this atheist state. However, construction of this building was granted by the authorities as a replacement for the much larger Christ Church demolished by the authorities in 1971.³³ Old Christ Church had been the largest Roman Catholic in the wider region, a neogothic edifice located in a prominent location on the western side of the historic centre.³⁴ Socialist urban planning of the city centre intentionally envisioned the removal of this church to construct a traffic junction, a plan that never materialized. The replacement of this church is not only much smaller, it is also located on the verges, close to railway tracks and out of view from major roads. New Christ Church is part of the continuous efforts by the socialist state to push sacred architecture from its traditional place at the centre of the built environment to the margins, thus reducing the appearance of religious buildings and progressively secularising the urban landscape.

In 1964 a new town was planned for the workers of Chemical plants Buna and Leuna.³⁵ Initially planned for 11,000 homes, the number was soon doubled to 22,000 homes for a population of about 70,000, making this new town one of the most populous new developments in the GDR. Halle Neustadt, as the development was later named, was from the beginning intended as a socialist counterpart for bourgeois Old Halle.³⁶ The new town became an independent

31 KÖLLNER 1997 (n. 25).

32 Kai BERDERMANN, *Planung und Bau der Südstadt in Rostock 1960–1968*, Rostock 2002.

33 *Christuskirche: Katholische Gemeinde in Rostock im Wandel der Zeit*, Schwerin 2010.

34 *Christuskirche 2010* (n. 33).

35 Peer PASTERNAK, *50 Jahre Streitfall Halle-Neustadt. Idee und Experiment. Lebensort und Provokation*, Halle (Saale) 2014.

36 Frank BETKER, *Einsicht in die Notwendigkeit. Kommunale Stadtplanung in der DDR und nach der Wende (1945–1994)*, Stuttgart 2005.



Fig. 6: Halle Neustadt. New town (1964–1969) planned for 70,000 inhabitants following the ideas of the functionalist city. A birds eye view (public Domain).

municipality with its own Bureau for Urban Planning, Richard Paulick was the leading architect. Urban centre was the Neustädter Passage with department stores, shops, a hospital, a post office and municipal buildings. Halle Neustadt is a typical modernist development following the ideas of the functionalist city, dividing work, dwelling, recreation and transportation.³⁷ Buildings for the purpose of religion, however, were not included in the urban planning. A small church in the nearby village of Passendorf served as the house of worship for the Evangelical-Lutheran congregation of Halle Neustadt. Even if religious affiliation had already dropped significantly, several thousands of people would be considered Lutherans. Apart from Passendorf village church there are no places of worship in Halle-Neustadt.

Re-constructing the historic entity

Not only were new buildings for religious functions not included in the planning of new urban developments, also the position towards existing religious buildings can be described as hostile. Allegedly, when First Secretary Walter Ulbricht saw a model of the proposed reconstruction of the city centre of Dresden in 1953 he personally seized the model of The Church of St. Sophie exclaiming: "A Socialist City does not need gothic churches."³⁸ The war damaged church was subsequently demolished in the 1960s and replaced by a modernist restaurant, the Gaststätte HO AM Zwinger.³⁹ The prominent location of this religious building and its two towers were a cause to erase the church from the built environment. Demolition of

37 KÖLLNER 1997 (n. 25).

38 "Eine sozialistische Stadt braucht keine gotischen Kirchen." See: Andreas GOLINSKI, *Dresden zum weiter erzählen. Von Kaffeefiltern, Drachenboten und verbogenen Hufeisen*, Dresden 2010, p. 16.

39 Günther GRUNER, *Gaststätte "Am Zwinger," Deutsche Architektur*, 4, 1968, pp. 218–225.

Christ Church in Rostock was not incidental, also the largest medieval church in Rostock, The Church of St. James, was demolished.⁴⁰ These destructions were part of a wider phenomenon erasing religious buildings throughout the GDR. As district capitals and other main towns were re-constructed as part of the *Re-Building Act* of 1950, buildings not representing the state ideology were removed from the built environment. New central squares, streets for manifestations and new structures dominating the urban landscape were planned, following the guidelines of *The Sixteen Principles*.

Magdeburg had been declared a re-building area in the re-building act of 1950. In 1952 Magdeburg became a district capital and was consequently re-constructed as a socialist city.⁴¹ During this transformation nearby half of the historic churches were demolished. A central space was shaped in the historic core following the guidelines formulated in *The Sixteen Principles*. Forming this central square, two medieval churches were destroyed, The Church of St. Ulrich-and-Levin and The Church of the Holy Spirit.⁴² Roughly in the location of The Church of the Holy Spirit a new building was planned, the tallest structure in Magdeburg, however, this plan never materialized.⁴³ The new central space divided the historic core of the city in a southern and northern sector. In the southern sector several historic buildings were preserved, such as the cathedral. The Church of Our Lady was reused as a concert hall. Urban planning of the northern sector followed the ideas of the functionalist city. The Church of St. Catherine, the dominant building on the main street, Breiter Weg, was first dynamited in 1964 and the remains were pulled down in 1966.⁴⁴ This medieval church was substituted by the House of the Teacher, the new dominant building in the northern section of Breiter Weg. Also The Church of St James in the northern section was destroyed,⁴⁵ leaving a void.

In Leipzig the Augustus Platz was renamed after Karl Marx and transformed as the central square of the socialist city. Religious connotations on and around Karl Marx Square were erased. The Church of St. John with its spire, located at the end of the main street leading onto the square, was destroyed in 1963,⁴⁶ leaving a void until this day. Prominent building in the square was the University or St. Paul's Church. Inaugurated in 1240 as the Dominican church, St. Paul's became part of the university in 1543. In the early 1960s the decision to replace the university buildings by a modern building was made and in 1968, on Ascension Day, the church, undamaged during

40 Arno KRAUSE, Rostock (Stadtkreis), *Schicksale deutscher Baudenkmale im zweiten Weltkrieg* (ed. Eckardt Götz), 1, 1978, pp. 59–61.

41 Eckhart W. PETERS, *Magdeburg – Architektur und Städtebau*, Halle an der Saale 2001.

42 Tobias KOEPPE, *Die Magdeburger Ulrichskirche – Geschichte. Gegenwart. Zukunft*, Petersberg 2011.

43 Thomas GROSSBOELTING, Rüdiger SCHMIDT, *Gedachte Stadt-Gebaute Stadt. Urbanität in der deutsch-deutschen Systemkonkurrenz 1945-1990*, Cologne Vienna Weimar 2015.

44 Hans-Joachim KRENZKE, *Kirchen und Klöster zu Magdeburg*, Magdeburg 2000.

45 KRENZKE 2000 (n. 44).

46 Der Johanniskirchturm in Leipzig, <http://www.johanniskirchturm.de/> (accessed 20 January 2020).



Fig. 7: Magdeburg. St Catherine's Church before demolition in 1964–1966 (photo by Berit Wallenberg / public domain).

Fig. 8: Magdeburg. St Catherine's Church replaced by the House of the Teacher (1967–1979) (photo by author).

the war, was detonated.⁴⁷ The new dominant building in the square and the urban silhouette of Leipzig became the 142 meter tall University Tower (1968–1972) by Herman Henselmann,⁴⁸ representing the new society and the place of education.

Demolition and constructing towers

The architectural silhouette of cities, as formulated in principle six of *The Sixteen Principles*, was transformed by adding a new dominant structure, City Dominants,⁴⁹ and removing towers representing the religious past. New towers, symbols for the socialist town and shaping its appearance, were related to education, culture or housing and surpassed the spires of churches, the historic dominant structures in these towns. The University Tower (1969–1972, Henselmann) in Jena is 144,5 meters tall and located on a large central square shaped in the historic core,

demolishing old blocks of houses, of this old university town.⁵⁰ *Jentower*, as the tower is called today, is domineering the skyline and shaping the appearance, the tower of the nearby St. Michael's church appears insignificant in comparison. As in Leipzig, this implies irrelevance of religion in comparison to science and education. In Frankfurt Oder a central square was shaped in the historic core of the town with a new dominant structure located on the new main road named after Karl Marx. A new dominant was constructed in this square, the 95 meter tall *Oder Tower* or *Oderturm* (1968–1976, Tulke and Eichmann).⁵¹ It was in part built by the Free German Youth and was partially used as a youth hostel for the socialist offspring. In Neubrandenburg the derelict church was juxtaposed by the modern tower of the House of Culture and Education (1965, Grund)⁵² constructed in a modernist square shaped within the core of the historic urban fabric. Jena, Frankfurt Oder and Neubrandenburg are illustrations of a widespread phenomenon.

All over the GDR churches, especially those with tall spires were demolished. The cases in Rostock, Magdeburg and Leipzig mentioned above were not incidents. The Garrison Church in Potsdam, initially renovated after war damage, was demolished in 1968. Allegedly this was related to a visit by First Secretary Ulbricht to district capital Potsdam in 1967.⁵³ Also in Potsdam, The Church of the Holy Spirit was demolished and its tower pulled down in 1974. One of the first churches that were pulled down was The Church of St. George in East Berlin.⁵⁴ The tower of this church dominated Alexanderplatz Square. Eventually this tower was replaced as the tallest structure in (East) Berlin by the *TV Tower* or *Fernsehturm*. A model by Hermann Henselmann and others for constructing the new centre of the state capital, as a stage for the GDR, was presented in 1959.⁵⁵ This model shows a tall *TV tower* in the location of the demolished City Palace and a void in the location of the Lutheran Berlin Cathedral. Eventually a devised plan was executed and the cathedral not demolished.⁵⁶ The *TV Tower*, however, was constructed and became the new landmark of the capital of the socialist state.⁵⁷ In Berlin Mitte, an unsettling number of religious buildings were erased from the built environment, including the Bethlehem Church, major parts of the New Synagogue and the Petri Church.⁵⁸

47 Chronik der Universitätskirche St. Pauli zu Leipzig, <https://unigottesdienst.org/geschichte/> (accessed 20 January 2020).

48 Thomas FLIERL, *Der Architekt, die Macht und die Baukunst. Hermann Henselmann in seiner Berliner Zeit 1949–1995*, Berlin 2018.

49 In German: Stadtdominanten.

50 Christian GRAUDENZ, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Universitätshochhauses 1968 bis 1972, Hochschule im Sozialismus. Studien zur Geschichte der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena (1945–1990)* (eds. Uwe Hoßfeld, Tobias Kaiser, Heinz Mestrup), Weimar 2007, pp. 339–376.

51 Ingrid HALBACH, Matthias RAMBOW, Horst BUETTNER, Peter RAETZEL, *Architekturführer DDR: Bezirk Frankfurt (Oder)*, Berlin, 1984.

52 Frieder SIEBER, Hans FRITSCHKE, *Bauen in der DDR*, Berlin 2006.

53 Christina EMMERICH-FOCKE, *Stadtplanung in Potsdam*, Berlin 1999, p. 160.

54 Marcus VAN DER MEULEN, *One Ideology, Two Visions. Ecclesiastical Buildings and State identity in the Socialist Capital City during the Post-War Rebuilding Decades 1945–1975, East-Berlin and Warsaw*, Warsaw 2019.

55 Hermann HENSELMANN, *Model "Forum der Nation und der Turm der Signale"*, 1959, Building Archive (Baukunstarchiv), Academy of Arts Berlin.

56 FLIERL 2018 (op. 48).

57 *Das neue Wahrzeichen der Hauptstadt der DDR*, Berlin 1969.

58 EMMERICH-FOCKE 1999 (n. 53).

CIAM

Urban planning of the GDR was inspired by the functionalist city as defined by CIAM. The Athens congress, 1933, made statements on five areas; dwellings, recreation, work, transportation and the historical parts of the city.⁵⁹ Needs for religious buildings were not specified, however, point five in the summary reads: "The functional city must bring individual and social life into harmony on a spiritual and material basis."⁶⁰ Arguably, the spiritual basis was ignored in urban planning in the GDR. At CIAM VII (1949) on the Athens Charter in practice, Opbouw Group, Rotterdam, presented "Housing Unit-Neighborhood-District"⁶¹ which included churches. The model for "Modelwijk Laken" by Renaat Braem, presented at the World Exhibition in Brussels (1958), included a church. Van den Broek en Bakema presented the plan *Kennemerland* (1957–1959)⁶² at CIAM XI (1959) including churches. The Athens Charter states the historic entity should be preserved⁶³ and only advises flattening of bad dwellings. Urban planning in the GDR, however, showed an offensive against religious buildings, not including the construction of these types of buildings in the development of new localities and even demolishing historic churches. This resulted in a secularisation of the built environment.

Conclusion

After the Second World War a new state was established in eastern parts of war defeated Germany, the German Democratic Republic, which existed from 1949 to 1989. The reconstruction as an atheist state had significant implications for religious buildings. Urban planning for new towns and developments exclude construction of churches, although initially over 90 % of the population in the GDR was affiliated to Evangelical-Lutheran and Catholic churches. A progressive aggression towards religion with the objective to reduce and eliminate religion from society was observed in urban planning. Although texts in the GDR about urban planning do not explicitly mention religious buildings, the envisioned socialist environment described implied reducing the presence of religious buildings in the urban landscape. When construction of religious buildings was allowed, these are typically simple structures located on the margins of the built environment. Re-construction of towns as socialist cities encompassed the deletion of religious buildings from the built environment. This is a secularisation of the urban landscape. Religious buildings were erased from the historic core of cities, and new tall buildings were planned further pushing religious buildings from the architectural silhouette of the city. Principle urban spaces in district capitals, intended as a stage for public celebrations and political demonstrations, were secularised.

59 Eric MUMFORD, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, Cambridge 2000.

60 Auke VAN DER WOUDE, *Het Nieuwe Bouwen Internationaal/International. CIAM Volkshuisvesting Stedebouw Housing Town Planning*, Delft 1983, p. 166.

61 VAN DER WOUDE 1983 (n. 60), p. 85.

62 VAN DER WOUDE 1983 (n. 60), p. 100.

63 VAN DER MEULEN 2019 (n. 54).

The transformations in Magdeburg, Leipzig or East Berlin are illustrations of the phenomenon. Urban planning in the GDR envisioned the construction of a built environment for an ideal atheist society, the creation of a socialist Utopia.

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Verske stavbe in povojna izgradnja socialistične utopije v Nemški Demokratični Republiki

Povzetek

Leta 1949 je bila v sovjetski okupacijski coni v Nemčiji ustanovljena Nemška Demokratična Republika (NDR). Leta 1950 so bile predstavljene smernice za urbani razvoj, t. i. Šestnajst načel urbanega načrtovanja (*Sixteen Principles of Urban Design*). Po teh načelih v urbanistično načrtovanje npr. Stalinstadta (ustanovljen 1950, danes je to Eisenhüttenstadt) niso bile vključene verske stavbe. Med otvoritvijo Stalinstadta leta 1953, je prvi sekretar NDR, Walter Ulbricht, komentiral: »da, imeli bomo stolpe, enega za mestno hišo in enega za kulturni center. Drugih stolpov socialistično mesto ne potrebuje.« Kasneje so bila nova mesta, kot npr. Halle Neustadt, načrtovana in zgrajena po načelih funkcionalističnega mesta. Stavbe za bogoslužje niso bile vključene. Ko je bila nenazadnje dovoljena gradnja cerkva, so bile to neopazne zgradbe, zgrajene na obrobju grajenega okolja. V prvih desetletjih NDR-ja, so prisotnost verskih stavb v urbanem okolju aktivno zmanjšali. Številni kraji in mesta so bili med vojno poškodovani. Rekonstrukcija teh mest, še posebej okrog glavnega mesta ("Bezirkstädte"), je predstavljala transformacijo v smeri socialističnega mesta. Poškodovane cerkve so ostale v takšnem stanju ali pa so jih porušili. Po celotni NDR so cerkvene stolpe odstranili iz urbanih silhuet, ali z rušenjem ali z razvijanjem novih vertikalnih dominant stavb, ki so zasenčile obstoječe cerkvene stolpe. Takšen primer je Jena. Glavne urbane komponente socialističnega mesta kot npr. glavni trg so bile sekularizirane na način rušenja cerkva. Leta 1968 je bila Univerzitetna cerkev na trgu Karla Marxa v Leipzigu označena in izbrisana. Urbanistično načrtovanje v vzhodni Nemčiji v prvih treh desetletjih povojne rekonstrukcije lahko označimo kot gradnjo sekulariziranega grajenega okolja za socialistično družbo, kot so si jo zamislili.



Komisija za verska vprašanja in gradnja sakralnih stavb v slovenskih povojnih modernističnih naseljih. Primer Nove Gorice

Helena SERAŽIN

V prvih letih po drugi svetovni vojni so slovenski urbanisti pri načrtovanju novih mest in naselij sledili modelu funkcionalističnega načrtovanja v obliki ločevanja delov naselja v cone, temelječemu na Atenski listini, manifestu, ki je povzel ugotovitve udeležencev četrtega kongresa CIAM-a iz leta 1932.¹ Ta načela so se ideološko komplementarno prekrivala s politično idejo o ustvarjanju nove, pravičnejše družbe v leta 1945 nastali Federativni ljudski republiki Jugoslaviji (FLRJ), katere del je bila takrat tudi Slovenija. Modernistično mesto Nova Gorica, ustanovljeno leta 1947,² je bilo tako načrtovano in delno zgrajeno po teh načelih.³ Vendar pa so slovenski urbanisti že kmalu ugotovili, da gradnja velikih, zgolj spalnih naselij v na cone ločenih mestih ni najprimernejša za ugoden razvoj socialistične družbe, zato so se pri načrtovanju novih raje naslonili na skandinavski model gradnje samozadostnih stanovanjskih sosesk, ki so bile z vso ustrezno infrastrukturo zasnovane kot mesta v malem.⁴ Čeprav so ta t. i. mesta ABC v svojih središčih poleg trgovin, šol, vrtcev, poslovnih stavb, uradov in družbenih centrov dosledno vključevala tudi sakralne objekte, je na prvi pogled nerazumljivo, zakaj teh v na novo zgrajenih soseskah slovenskih mest ni mogoče zaslediti.⁵

Prispevek bo to zelo kompleksno vprašanje skušal osvetliti predvsem z vidika vloge Komisije za verska vprašanja (KVV), ki je kot organ političnih oblasti od sredine petdesetih let 20. stoletja do osamosvojitve leta 1991 med drugim nadzorovala in odredila gradnjo in obnovo sakralnih objektov v Sloveniji. Pri tem je imela odločilno vlogo ne samo pri določanju smernic

- 1 Eli RUBIN, The Athens Charter, Themenportal Europäische Geschichte, 2009, www.europa.clio-online.de/essay/id/fdae-1486 (dostop 22. februar 2020).
- 2 Branko MARUŠIČ, O nastajanju Nove Gorice, *Umetnost na stičišču kultur. Mestna občina Nova Gorica*, Ljubljana 2019, str. 12.
- 3 Načrte za iz političnih razlogov povsem na novo zgrajeno obmejno mesto Nova Gorica je v letih 1948–1950 pripravil arhitekt Edvard Ravnikar s sodelavci. Več o tem glej Alenka DI BATTISTA, *Nova Gorica in Velenje. Čudeža socialistične gradnje v drugi Jugoslaviji*, Ljubljana 2011 (diplomska naloga); Alenka DI BATTISTA, Nova odkritja pri raziskovanju Ravnikarjeve Nove Gorice in Trenzevega Velenja, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n. v. 47, 2011, str. 322–340.
- 4 Martina MALEŠIČ, Nastanek in rast ljubljanskih stanovanjskih sosesk, *AB – Arhitektov bilten*, 45/203–204, 2015, str. 64.
- 5 MALEŠIČ 2015 (op. 4), str. 64.

za izbiro lokacij in oblike novo zgrajenih verskih stavb, temveč tudi pri zavlačevanju izvajanja upravnih postopkov, kar je bilo zaradi posebnega položaja in ideološkega pomena mesta še posebej očitno v primeru Nove Gorice.

Ker je gradivo republiške KVV, hranjeno v Arhivu Republike Slovenije,⁶ postalo javnosti prvič dostopno leta 1992, v celoti pa šele po letu 2006, je bilo raziskav na temo povojne gradnje novih cerkva, povezanih s tem upravnim organom, doslej bolj malo. Najbolj poglobljeno je to problematiko skozi primer cerkve sv. Lucije v Dražgošah raziskala Katarina Mohar,⁷ primer gradnje nove cerkve v Novi Gorici pa sta z dokumentacijo Skupščine občine Nova Gorica, hranjeno v Pokrajinskem arhivu Nova Gorica, rekonstruirala Renato Podbersič in Tanja Martelanc.⁸

KVV je bila ustanovljena leta 1959 kot naslednica Verske komisije pri Izvršnem svetu Ljudske skupščine Ljudske Republike Slovenije (LRS), ustanovljene leta 1953 po združitvi Verske komisije pri Predsedstvu Slovenskega narodnoosvobodilnega sveta (ustanovljena 1944) in posebne verske komisije pri Predsedstvu Vlade LRS. Kot samostojen upravni organ je bila pristojna za upravne zadeve, ki so se nanašale na razmerje med državo in verskimi skupnostmi: spremljala je izvajanje in uporabo zakonov in predpisov, vezanih na verske skupnosti ter pripravljala osnutke predpisov Izvršnega sveta, s katerimi so se reševala razmerja med državo in verskimi skupnostmi, spremljala pa je tudi zakonitost predpisov območnih ljudskih odborov. Z reorganizacijami republiške uprave se je v nadaljnjih letih večkrat preimenovala, nazadnje v Komisijo Republike Slovenije za odnose z verskimi skupnostmi, ki je s svojim delom prenehala leta 1991.⁹

Gradnja v Sloveniji se je v prvih letih po drugi svetovni vojni tako kot drugod po Evropi osredinila predvsem na reševanje stanovanjske problematike, oživitve gospodarstva z gradnjo novih industrijskih območij in objektov ter prometne in druge infrastrukture.¹⁰ Pri tem se je slovenska arhitektura skladno z državno politiko pod vplivom Sovjetske zveze sprva naslonila na socrealizem in kljub razkolu z njo leta 1948 v tej smeri nadaljevala vse do ponovne otoplitve odnosov med državama leta 1955. V tem obdobju so se v Sloveniji po sovjetskem vzoru, ki je temeljil na izhodiščih coninga Atenske listine, na novo gradila industrijska območja s

- 6 Arhiv Republike Slovenije (ARS), AS 1211 Komisija Republike Slovenije za odnose z verskimi skupnostmi, 1953–1991.
- 7 Katarina MOHAR, Gradnja cerkva na Slovenskem v prvih desetletjih po drugi svetovni vojni. Primer cerkve sv. Lucije v Dražgošah, *Profano v sakralnem. Študije o vizualizaciji posvetnih teženj in motivov v sakralni umetnosti*, Ljubljana 2019, str. 283–313.
- 8 Renato PODBERSIČ, Cerkev in meja na Goriškem po drugi svetovni vojni, *Goriški letnik*, 41, 2017, str. 89–104; Tanja MARTELANC, V mestu brez zvonikov - Nekaj paberkov o novogoriškem župnijskem središču, *Izvestje Raziskovalne postaje ZRC SAZU v Novi Gorici*, 13, 2016, str. 26–33.
- 9 Tatjana ŠENK, Arhivsko gradivo Komisije za odnose z verskimi skupnostmi pri Skupščini mesta Ljubljana, *Arhivi*, 15/1–2, 1992, str. 63–65.
- 10 Martin KAVČIČ, *Bogoslužne stavbe na Slovenskem po drugi svetovni vojni. Metodologija in kriteriji vrednotenja*, Ljubljana 2015 (doktorska disertacija), str. 92.

stanovanjskimi naselji kot so Novo Velenje (1946–1955), ljubljansko naselje Litostroj (1947–1951), Kidričevo (1947–1953) in Nova Gorica (1948–1950),¹¹ v katerih za sakralne objekte že iz ideoloških razlogov ni bilo predvidenega prostora. Po leta 1946 sprejeti ustavi FLRJ so namreč verske skupnosti, v Sloveniji predvsem Rimokatoliška cerkev, postale ločene od države,¹² Cerkev pa zaradi protikomunistične usmerjenosti, medvojnega sodelovanja z okupatorjem in povezave z Vatikanom še posebej označena za nevarno in reakcionarno.¹³ Ker se je vsa gradnja večjih objektov izvajala preko velikih državnih gradbenih podjetij in pod strogim državnim nadzorom, sta bila obnova ali gradnja novih sakralnih objektov tako praktično onemogočena.¹⁴ Pravni položaj Cerkve se je spremenil šele s sprejetjem *Temeljnega zakona o pravni ureditvi položaja verskih skupnosti* leta 1953,¹⁵ vendar so odnosi med oblastjo in Cerkvijo še dolgo ostali napeti.¹⁶

Vprašanje obnove in gradnje cerkva je tako postalo aktualno šele sredi petdestih let 20. stoletja, ko je KVV leta 1956 s pomočjo območnih ljudskih odborov po vsej Sloveniji izvedla poizvedbo o številu in stanju sakralnih objektov.¹⁷ Na podlagi tako pridobljenih podatkov so po letu 1958 najprej stekla obnovitvena dela na med vojno poškodovanih cerkvenih objektih, načelno pa se je začela dopuščati tudi nadomestna gradnja povsem požganih ali porušeni cerkva,¹⁸ saj je v skladu s 13. členom *Temeljnega zakona o pravni ureditvi položaja verskih skupnosti* državna oblast pravno omogočila svobodno opravljanje verskih obredov "v cerkvah, hramih in v drugih javnih prostorih, ki jih je verska skupnost določila za opravljanje verskih obredov [...]".¹⁹ Prve neformalne smernice za gradnjo novih sakralnih objektov so člani komisije dobili jeseni leta 1960 od predsednika Izvršnega sveta Ljudske skupščine LRS Borisa Kraigherja (1914–1967) v

11 DI BATTISTA 2011 (op. 3).

12 *Ustav Federativne narodne republike Jugoslavije*, Beograd 1946, str. 10, čl. 25, http://www.arhivyu.gov.rs/active/sr-latin/home/glavna_navigacija/leksikon_jugoslavije/konstitutivni_akti_jugoslavije/ustav_fnrj.html (dostop 23. februar 2020).

13 Aleš GABRIČ, Rimskokatoliška cerkev in nova oblast, *Slovenska novejša zgodovina. Od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije 1848–1992*, Ljubljana 2005, str. 852; France Martin DOLINAR, Katoliška Cerkev v Sloveniji po drugi svetovni vojni, *Temna stran meseca. Kratka zgodovina totalitarizma v Sloveniji 1945–1990* (ur. Drago Jančar), Ljubljana 1998, str. 222.

14 V prvih povojnih letih sta bili zgrajeni le kapela Marijinega srca v Martinjah v Prekmurju po načrtih arhitektke Majde Neřima (1916–2001) in kapela Fatimske Matere bořje v Grušovcu, v obeh primerih pa gre za manjši stavbi, ki so ju zgradili vaščani sami (KAVČIČ 2015 (op. 10), str. 92). Prvi večji prenovljen sakralni objekt je bila v letih 1951–1958 po načrtih Jožeta Plečnika obnovljena med vojno požgana cerkev na Ponikvah (Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Plečnikova sakralna umetnost*, Koper 1999, str. 233–237).

15 Zakon je s številnimi kasnejšimi dopolnitvami, ki so se tikale predvsem financ in siceršnjega delovanja verskih skupnosti v osnovi ostal bolj ali manj nespremenjen (Temeljni zakon o pravnem položaju verskih skupnosti, *Ur. l. FLRJ*, št. 22-151/1953 z dne 27. 5. 1953, <https://www.iusinfo.si/Login?ReturnUrl=%2Fzakonodaja%2Ffj-22-151-1953> (dostop 14. februar 2020).

16 MOHAR 2019 (op. 7), str. 288.

17 ARS, AS 1211, t. e. 116, mapa 157/56.

18 MOHAR 2019 (op. 7), str. 289.

19 Temeljni zakon o pravnem položaju verskih skupnosti (op. 15).



Slika 1: Ivan Bergant, ž. c. sv. Družine v Mostah v Ljubljani, pogled s Partizanske ulice (foto: Helena Seražin; © ZRC SAZU, UIFS).



Slika 2: Ivan Bergant, ž. c. sv. Družine v Mostah v Ljubljani, pogled z dvoriščne strani (foto: Helena Seražin; © ZRC SAZU, UIFS).

zvezi s problemom gradnje nove cerkve v Dražgošah.²⁰ Na tem srečanju je bil sprejet dogovor, naj se cerkvenim predstojnikom povsod, kjer je to le mogoče, raje kot novogradnja predlaga preureditev ali širitev obstoječih podružničnih cerkva. V primerih, ko bi bila novogradnja župnijskih cerkva neizogibna, pa naj izberejo lokacije, ki niso na "vidnejših" mestih v naselju, pri zasnovi zunanjščine stavbe naj se opusti klasične [tradicionalne] oblike, še posebej zvonik, stavba pa naj po višini in velikosti ne presega dejanskih prostorskih potreb. Te smernice so ostale v veljavi ves čas delovanja KVV, saj zakonskih določil, ki bi vsebovala konkretna navodila zgolj v zvezi z gradnjo cerkva, nikoli niso pripravili, ampak so se raje odločali od konkretnega primera do primera.²¹ Kot primer dolgotrajnega vztrajanja pri teh navodilih lahko služi po načrtih Ivana Berganta zgrajena župnijska cerkev sv. Družine v ljubljanskih Mostah (1979–1981).²² Objekt, ki je bil zgrajen na mestu starejše lesene cerkve, je z ulične vizure praktično neopazen, na drugi strani pa vkleščen med garaže in v zgodnjih petdesetih letih zgrajene stanovanjske bloke ter hkrati prostorsko ne presega dimenzij starejšega objekta.

Omenjene smernice pa niso veljale le v primeru gradenj novih cerkva v starejših, že obstoječih naseljih temveč tudi za novogradnje cerkva na krajih, kjer jih dotlej ni bilo – v povsem na novo zgrajenih mestih in mestnih stanovanjskih soseskah. S tem problemom se je KVV prvič soočila leta 1959, ko je apostolski administrator jugoslovanskega dela goriške nadškofije dr. Mihael Toroš (1884–1963), najverjetneje na podlagi leto prej sprejetega republiškega *Zakona o urbanističnih projektih*, ki je mdr. urejal zemljišča za družbene namene in družbeno organizacijo naselij,²³ vložil prvo prošnjo za določitev lokacije nove cerkve v Novi Gorici, ki pa je

20 ARS, AS 1211, t. e. 116, mapa 3/65, Informacija o novogradnji cerkva, 1. 7. 1964. Za podrobnejše informacije glede gradnje nove cerkve v Dražgošah glej MOHAR 2019 (op. 7).

21 Prva, z gradnjo sakralnih stavb kakorkoli povezana določila, vsebuje šele 26. člen Zakona o verski svobodi iz leta 2007 (Zakon o verski svobodi (ZVS), *Ur. l. RS*, št. 14/07, 46/10 – odl. US, 40/12 – ZUJF in 100/13).

22 KAVČIČ 2015 (op. 10), str. 193.

23 Milan NAPRUDNIK, Regionalno prostorsko planiranje v Sloveniji. 1. del, *Urbani izziv*, 15/2, 2004, str. 79.

bila zavrnjena z utemeljitvijo, da v urbanistični ureditvi Nove Gorice lokacija za gradnjo škofijske cerkve z župniščem ni bila predvidena.²⁴ Dejstvo namreč je, da arhitekt Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993) v svojih urbanističnih načrtih za Novo Gorico iz leta 1948, skladnih z načeli Atenske listine in tedanjimi političnimi zahtevami slovenskega političnega vrha, tovrstnega objekta dejansko ni predvidel kakor tudi ne kasnejši prostorski načrti, ki jih je potrdila občinska skupščina.²⁵ Cerkev kot civilnopravna oseba tudi ni bila upravičena do zemljišč za družbene namene, ki so sicer z vidika prostorskega načrtovanja Nove Gorice predstavljala skoraj celotno mestno središče. Te težave ni povsem odpravil niti *Zakon o graditvi investicijskih objektov* iz leta 1961, saj je določal, da mora investitor za izdajo gradbenega dovoljenja predložiti potrdilo, da je nameravana gradnja v skladu z urbanističnim načrtom,²⁶ priložiti je moral tudi investicijsko tehnično dokumentacijo in potrdilo o zagotovljenih zadostnih finančnih sredstvih za dokončanje stavbe.

Cerkveni organi so tako končno lahko sprožili redni upravni postopek za pridobitev vseh ustreznih dovoljenj za novogradnjo, saj gradnje novih cerkva v primerih, ko ji ni bila naklonjena, KVV ni mogla več pravno preprečiti; postopek je lahko ob sodelovanju občinskih upravnih organov le še administrativno zavlačevala.

Ker upravni lokalni organi pri reševanju konkretnih zaprosil ubirajo zelo različna pota za preprečitev predvidene novogradnje, ki pogosto niso v skladu s pozitivnimi predpisi ali vsaj niso odklonilna stališča objektivno dovolj prepričljiva, predlagamo pri nakazani pojačani težnji za izgradnjo novih cerkva, da se glede tega vprašanja zavzame principiarno stališče za primere, ko bi skladno s predpisi in politično oceno takega ukrepa v največji meri zagurali vzdržnost odločitev lokalnih upravnih organov.²⁷

V ta namen je Sekretariat Izvršnega sveta za urbanizem, stanovanjsko izgradnjo in komunalne zadeve KVV leta 1962 posredoval *Pogoje za gradnjo objektov civilnih pravnih oseb*, med katere spadajo tudi cerkveni objekti, in v njih še posebej izpostavil, da bo prvemu pogoju investitor zelo težko zadostil. "Ker urbanistični programi naših naselij nimajo rezerviranih prostorov za gradnjo cerkvenih objektov, bi bilo treba v določenih primerih še nadrobneje razčleniti omenjene pogoje in jih konkretizirati za nadrobna navodila občinskim urbanističnim organom."²⁸ Pri določanju ožje lokacije cerkvenih objektov je bilo tako treba upoštevati še vidik morebitnega oviranja javnega cestnega prometa s tem, da stavba ne bi stala na glavni komunikaciji, zagotavljanje ustreznega dostopa z motornimi vozili in zagotavljanje parkirišč ter požarno varnost in zaklonišča.

Republiški zakon o urbanističnih projektih, *Ur. l. LRS*, 22/58 je opredelil vrsto urbanističnih dokumentov ter postopke in vloge sodelujočih pri nastajanju, v razpravah in sprejemanju urbanističnih dokumentov. Za sestavo t. i. urbanističnega projekta [urbanistični program in ureditveni načrt] je bil zadolžen občinski ljudski odbor in z njim določil smernice za razvoj naselja v določenem časovnem obdobju, predvsem za smotno izkoriščanje zemljišč za družbene namene in družbeno organizacijo naselja.

24 PODBERSIČ 2017 (op. 8), str. 95.

25 DI BATTISTA 2011 (op. 3).

26 NAPRUDNIK 2004 (op. 23), str. 79.

27 ARS, AS 1211, t. e. 116, mapa 12/67, dopis z dne 31. 3. 1962.

28 ARS, AS 1211, t. e. 116, mapa 61/62, dopis z dne 27. 3. 1962.

Z arhitekturnega vidika pa je zanimivo priporočilo, da naj bi bil cerkveni objekt oblikovno "prilagojen naši sodobni ureditvi, ki naj bi prišla do izraza v arhitektonski razčlenjenosti objekta v mnogo večji meri kakor v preživelih stilih takih gradenj," saj vsebinsko še vedno sledi načelom Atenske listine v delu, ki se nanaša na zgodovinsko dediščino v mestih.²⁹

Zakonsko in administrativno ustvarjeni gordijski vozeli s pridobivanjem gradbenega dovoljenja, skladnega z urbanističnim načrtom, ki gradnje sakralnih objektov sploh ni predvidel, je bilo tako praktično skoraj nemogoče presekat brez potrebne politične volje republiških najvišjih političnih organov in občinskih ljudskih odborov, ki bi pristali na ustrezne spremembe urbanističnega načrta. Vendar so se zadeve kljub zavlačevanju pri izdaji dovoljenj za novogradnjo ali popolno obnovo cerkva v prid prosilcem okoli leta 1965 počasi začele spreminjati. V zapisniku sestanka KVV z dne 27. 7. 1965, označenim s strogo zaupno, člani komisije ugotavljajo, da je v zadnjih letih Cerkev sprožila trinajst postopkov, vendar

samo v treh primerih se zaprosila nanašajo na novogradnjo cerkva v novonastalih naseljih.

Iz tega izhaja, da smo uspeli in še uspevamo zadrževati novogradnjo v večini primerov in da smo samo v nakazanih treh primerih prišli v položaj, ko je odlašanje praktično zelo težko in bo zlasti z ozirom na že cit. določilo pogodbe med Vatikanom in SFRJ.³⁰

V pričakovanju sporazuma med Jugoslavijo in Vatikanom, podpisanega leta 1966, ter na podlagi pozitivnega mnenja kabineta sekretarja Centralnega komiteja Zveze komunistov Slovenije Mihe Marinka (1900–1983) so gradnjo zgoraj omenjenih novih cerkva na Teznem v Mariboru,³¹ v Novi Gorici³² in na Zlatem polju pri Lukovici zelo neradi odobrili.³³ Kljub temu se je postopek

29 V 70. členu Atenske listine je zapisano: "The practice of using styles of the past on aesthetic pretexts for new structures erected in historic areas has harmful consequences. Neither the continuation of such practices nor the introduction of such initiatives will be tolerated in any form." CIAM's "The Athens Charter" (1933), *Modernist Architecture. A Database of Modernist Architectural Theory*, <https://modernistarchitecture.wordpress.com/2010/11/03/ciam%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%9Cthe-athens-charter%E2%80%9D-1933/> (dostop 22. februar 2020).

30 ARS, AS 1211, t. e. 116, mapa 3/65, Lokacija in gradnja cerkva (splošno).

31 Ibid., dopis z dne 28. 6. 1965. Iz tega je razvidno, da je mariborski škof Maksimilijan Držečnik (1903–1978) vlogo za gradnjo nove cerkve na Teznem vložil že proti koncu leta 1963 in je bila sprva odklonjena, češ da je za to območje predvidena le stanovanjska gradnja. Ordinariat je v pritožbi navedel, da ima Rimskokatoliška cerkev do gradnje te cerkve potrebne pravice in da urbanistični program, ki v novem naselju ne predvideva lokacije za tak objekt, ni popoln.

32 Ibid. Škof Janez Jenko je leta 1964 vložil prošnjo za določitev lokacije in izdajo gradbenega dovoljenja za gradnjo cerkve v Novi Gorici. "Občinska skupščina v Novi Gorici je vse doslej z raznimi izgovori in prehodno prepričljivimi upravnimi rešitvami odlagala dokončno rešitev, sedaj pa je zadeva v fazi, ko bo najkasneje v razdobju 6 mesecev sprejet urbanistični načrt še nezazidanega predela Nove Gorice in bo ob tej priliki nujno rešiti tudi vprašanje ali se pri tem določi tudi lokacija za novo cerkev oz. bi bilo treba navesti razloge, zakaj cerkve ni mogoče graditi. Urbanistični načrt predvideva Novo Gorico za 30,000 prebivalcev, ki pa sedaj nimajo odgovarjajoče župne cerkve." Pozitivno mnenje so utemeljili z bližino meje [ugled države v zahodnoevropskih državah] in dejstvom, da v novonastalem mestu sploh ni cerkvenega objekta.

33 Ibid., dopis z dne 29. 7. 1965. "Za dokončno zavrnitev izdaje zaprosene lokacije in gradbenega dovoljenja pri obeh cerkvah [Tezno in Nova Gorica] ni zakonitih možnosti, edino bi se moglo še nekaj mesecev administrativno zavlačevati izdajo zaprosenih rešitev."

v primeru Nove Gorice še kar naprej vlekel, saj je občinska komisija za usmerjanje nadaljnje graditve mesta Nova Gorica gradnji cerkve ves čas vztrajno nasprotovala.³⁴ KVV je tako na posvetu o novogradnji in obnovi kulturnih objektov 18. 1. 1967, katerega namen je bil določitev čim enotnejših kriterijev za reševanje prošenj za lokacije cerkvenih novogradenj in za vzpostavitev enotnejše prakse v ravnanju občinskih upravnih organov, med drugim ponovno obravnavala problem vnašanja sakralnih objektov v urbanistične načrte, saj je bilo to zakonsko predvideno le za družbene objekte, kar pa cerkveni objekti niso; izraženi so bili pomisleki o pravilnosti dosledne izbire lokacije sakralnih objektov izven mestnih naselij, saj je to preprečevalo boljšo asimilacijo vernikov z okoljem; pri prošnjah cerkvenih pravnih oseb bi bilo treba postopati na enak način in po enakih zakonskih določilih kot pri drugih interesentih, saj je bilo objektivnih težav pri vsakem postopku že tako več kot dovolj, zato določenih zavlačevanj v postopku tudi pri Cerkvi ne bi mogli ocenjevati kot šikaniranje; našli so tudi nov način oteževanja financiranja cerkvenih novogradenj s tem, da bi ljudi z davčnimi prispevki obremenili do te mere, da bi jim za financiranje drugih stvari ne ostalo dovolj sredstev; Zavod za spomeniško varstvo pa bi bilo treba opozoriti, naj pri presoji kulturne vrednosti sakralnih objektov ne pretirava in naj ne izvaja pritiska na upravne organe glede finančne pomoči za posamezne objekte.³⁵

V tem procesu nenehnega iskanja načinov KVV, kako po zakoniti poti čim bolj učinkovito preprečiti cerkvene novogradnje, predstavlja mariborska cerkev na Teznem pomemben precedens, saj je cerkvenim oblastem uspelo po povsem običajni poti do leta 1969 pridobiti vsa ustrezna dovoljenja za gradnjo cerkve, čeprav locirane izven na novo zgrajene stanovanjske soseske; modernistično zasnovana cerkev sv. Cirila in Metoda je bila po načrtih arhitekta Cirila Zazule (1924–1995) zgrajena v letih 1970–1971 kot eden prvih primerov večnamenskega bogoslužnega kompleksa na Slovenskem.³⁶ Le-ti so v primerih gradnje novih cerkva ob novih mestnih stanovanjskih soseskah ali mestih predvsem v osemdesetih letih postali stalnica, saj je Cerkev, kot je razvidno iz dopisa koprškega škofa Janeza Jenka (1910–1994) v zvezi z gradnjo cerkve v Novi Gorici leta 1970, v novonastalih naseljih že zgodaj zaznala potrebo ljudi, priseljenih iz različnih koncev Slovenije in Jugoslavije, po prostoru za medsebojno druženje in s tem krepitvi nove krajevne pripadnosti.³⁷ Na pomanjkanje t. i. družbenih centrov v novih

34 ARS AS 1211, t. e. 116, mapa 47/66, dopis z dne 5. 3. 1966. Svoje nasprotovanje so člani občinske komisije argumentirali z vprašanji kot so: ali so gradnjo novogoriške cerkve zahtevali verniki iz mesta ali zgolj cerkveni veljaki; razmišljali so o političnem ozadju med Vatikanom in državo v povezavi z mejo; ugotovili so, da je za potrebe meščanov v bližnji okolici mesta več kot dovolj verskih objektov (Solkan, Kromberk, Kostanjevica, Šempeter in Sveta Gora); nekateri so razmišljali celo o razpisu referendumu. Pravi odnos se razkrije šele na koncu dopisa: "Kakor izgleda je namen cerkvene herarhije, če bi bila cerkev v Novi Gorici, prirejati škofovske ceremonije za vso Goriško, za vernike iz cele Slovenije in za zamejstvo. To bi bila res »poplava črnih duš« proti katerim bi prav gotovo Novogoričani zapirali okna lepih zgradb novo nastajajočega mesta, posejanega v zelenju in rožami".

35 ARS, AS 1211, t. e. 116, mapa 12/67.

36 KAVČIČ 2015 (op. 10), str. 200.

37 ARS, AS 1211, t. e. 116, mapa 61/1969-3; 19/1970-2, dopis škofa Janeza Jenka predsedniku SFRJ Josipu Brozu Titu (1892–1980) z dne 24. 2. 1970.



Slika 3: Ciril Zazula, ž. c. sv. Cirila in Metoda na Teznem v Mariboru (foto: Helena Seražin; © ZRC SAZU, UIFS).

stanovanjskih soseskah slovenskih mest, ki bi po skandinavskih zgledih vsebovali prostore družbenih organizacij in društev, klubske prostore, dvorane za kulturne dogodke, prostore izobraževalnih organizacij za odrasle, knjižnice in delavnice za ročne spretnosti, je že leta 1964 opozoril Vladimir Mušič v svoji raziskavi "Družbeni center kot urbanistični element".³⁸ Kot za ljubljanske stanovanjske soseske ugotavlja Martina Malešič, je krivdo za to treba iskati predvsem v dejstvu, da so bile zaradi načina financiranja te le redko realizirane v celoti, zgolj s stanovanjskimi poslopji in najnujnejšimi servisi, kot so šole, vrtci in trgovine, medtem ko so družbeni centri ostali le na papirju. Skandinavski model stanovanjskih sosesk (t. i. mesta ABC) so slovenski urbanisti namreč obravnavali predvsem kot oporo urbanistični organizaciji mesta in kot bolj organiziran način stanovanjske gradnje, zato izgradnja popolnih družbenih centrov, ki bi vključevali zdravstvene, izobraževalne in kolektivne storitve ob veliki bližini mestnega središča ni bila bistvenega pomena.³⁹ Z gradnjo bogoslužnih kompleksov, ki so v skladu z na začetku omenjenimi smernicami KVV stali v oblikovno prikriti obliki ob robu stanovanjskih sosesk ali mestnih središč je Cerkev tako v določeni meri uspela zapolniti vrzel slovenskega pojavnega urbanističnega načrtovanja modernističnih naselij.

Lepa primera tovrstne gradnje sta župnijska cerkev Božje Matere Marije v ljubljanskih Kosezah, zgrajena v letih 1969–1973 po načrtih Antona Bitenca (1920–1977),⁴⁰ in župnijska

38 Vladimir MUŠIČ, *Urbanizem – bajke in resničnost. Zapisi na robu dvajsetletnega razvoja našege prostorskega načrtovanja*, Ljubljana 1980, str. 282–287. Simptomatično za ta čas je, da avtor v program družbenih centrov sakralnih objektov ni vključil.

39 MALEŠIČ 2015 (op. 4), str. 66.

40 Helena SERAŽIN, Bitenc, Anton (1920–1977), Slovenska biografija. Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2013, <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi1018480/#novi-slovenski-biografski-leksikon> (dostop 23. april 2020). Izvirna objava v: *Novi Slovenski biografski leksikon*: 2. zv. B-Bla. (ur. Barbara Šterbenc Svetina et al.), Ljubljana 2017. Prošnja za dovoljenje cerkvene novogradnje v Kosezah je bila na ljubljanski odbor za urbanizem naslovljena že leta 1964



Slika 4: Na levi Anton Bitenc, ž. c. Božje Matere Marije, na desni p. c. Presvetege Odrešenika v Kosezah v Ljubljani (foto: Helena Seražin; © ZRC SAZU, UIFS).

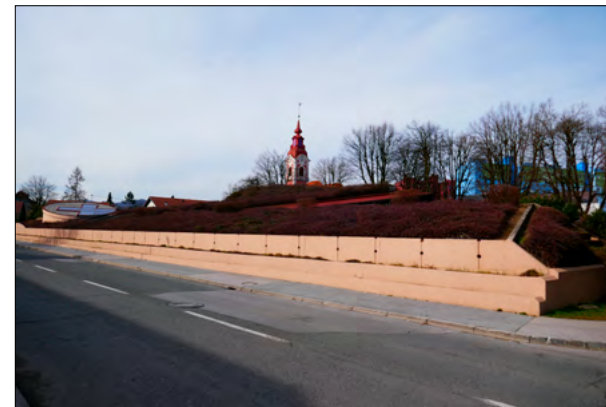


Slika 5: V ospredju južna stranica ž. c. Božje Matere Marije v Kosezah v Ljubljani (foto: Helena Seražin; © ZRC SAZU, UIFS).

cerkev Kristusovega učlovečenja v ljubljanskih Dravljah, zgrajena v letih 1982–1985 po načrtih Marka Mušiča (r. 1941);⁴¹ obe, postavljeni nedaleč stran od večjih novozgrajenih stanovanjskih sosesk, dokaj neopazno delata družbo manjšima starejšima, nekoč vaškima cerkvama. Če prva s svojo zunanjo podobo od daleč še najbolj spominja na industrijski objekt, potem je druga z glavne cestne strani zaradi vkopanosti pod zemljo za okolico praktično nevidna, s tem pa vsaka na svoj način oblikovno spoštljivo nagovarjata sosednja starejša sakralna objekta.

in ugodena na sestanku Mestnega sveta tri leta kasneje. Navodila KVV so bila, da je pri načrtu treba upoštevati preprosto gradnjo kvadrature 10 x 20 m, ustrezno usklajeno s sedanjo cerkvico. Ugotovljeno je bilo tudi, da je gradnja nove sakralne stavbe potrebna tako za vernike župnije Koseze kot za prebivalce nove bližnje soseske, za katero je bila cerkvena novogradnja zavrnjena (ARS, AS 1211, t. e.116, mapa 12/67, zapisnik sestanka Mestnega sveta Ljubljana 23. 3. 1967).

41 KAVČIČ 2015 (op. 10), str. 189.



Slika 6: Marko Mušič, ž. c. Kristusovega učlovečenja v Dravljah v Ljubljani, pogled s Korenčanove ulice (foto: Helena Seražin; © ZRC SAZU, UIFS).



Slika 7: Na levi p. c. sv. Roka, na desni Marko Mušič, ž. c. Kristusovega učlovečenja v Kosezah v Ljubljani (foto: Helena Seražin; © ZRC SAZU, UIFS).

Ob rob mestnega središča oziroma središča stanovanjske soseske sta umeščeni župnijska cerkev Kristusa odrešenika v Novi Gorici, po dolgi odisejdi iskanja primerne lokacije zgrajena leta 1982 po načrtih Franceta Kvaternika (1933–2018),⁴² in župnijska cerkev Vstalega Jezusa, zgrajena v letih 1985–1988 po načrtih Jureta Jakliča na ljubljanskih Fužinah; prva se kljub oblikovno opaznemu zvoniku sramežljivo skriva za okoliškim rastjem, druga pa se zaradi uporabe enakih gradbenih materialov neopazno zlije z okoliško stanovanjsko arhitekturo. V bližino velike stanovanjske soseske BS 3 ter med industrijske in storitvene objekte je umeščena župnijska cerkev sv. Duha v ljubljanskih Stožicah, zgrajena po načrtih Milana Miheliča (r. 1925) v letih 1992–1994, torej v času, ko političnega pritiska KVV ni bilo več, zato stavba kljub svoji

42 KAVČIČ 2015 (op. 10), str. 201. Glede nadaljnjih zapletov pridobivanja lokacijskega in grabenega dovoljenja za gradnjo novogoriške cerkve, med katerimi je njena gradnja postala celo meddržavni problem med Italijo in Jugoslavijo glej PODBERSIČ 2017 (op. 8), str. 98–102.



Slika 8: France Kvaternik, ž. c. Kristusa Odrešenika, Nova Gorica (foto: Andrej Furlan; © ZRC SAZU, UIFS).

lokaciji ponosno razkazuje vse attribute sakralne arhitekture. Nobena od naštetih cerkva prvotno ni bila vključena v urbanistični načrt naselja ob njegovem nastanku, ampak so bile iz potrebe v skladu s smernicami KVV v bližino že dograjenih naselij vključene naknadno.

Nekatere ljubljanske stanovanjske soseske sakralnih objektov nikoli niso dobile, saj vloge cerkvenih organov za določitev lokacije novih cerkva niso bile odobrene; leta 1966 so na podlagi preteklih težavnih izkušenj s pridobivanjem gradbenega dovoljenja samo v Ljubljani vložili prošnje za kar 19 lokacij novih cerkva z namenom, da bi jih upoštevali v pripravljajočih se občinskih urbanističnih načrtih in se s tem izognili negativnim odločbam v prihodnje.⁴³ Kako uspešni so bili v svojih prizadevanjih, kažejo odločitve ljubljanskega Mestnega sveta v zvezi z vlogami za gradnjo novih cerkva v predvideni soseski na Brodu v Vižmarjah, ki je bila odklonjena z izgovorom, da naj bi bili domačini že vezani na cerkev v Šentvidu, gradnja cerkve za Savsko naselje se jim kljub prostorsko premajhni pokopališki cerkvi sv. Križa na Žalah ni zdela potrebna, za stanovanjsko sosesko v Novih Jaršah, kjer je župnik iskal lokacijo na območju današnjega BTC, pa se je izkazalo, da je zazidalno območje projektno že zaključeno in za sakralni objekt ni več razpoložljivih prostih površin.⁴⁴

43 ARS, AS 1211, t. e.116, mapa 209/66, dopis z dne 21. 12. 1966.

44 ARS, AS 1211, t. e. 116, mapa 12/67, Zapisnik Mestnega sveta 23. 3. 1967.



Slika 9: V ospredju Jure Jaklič, ž. c. Vstalega Jezusa na Fužinah v Ljubljani (foto: Helena Seražin; © ZRC SAZU, UIFS).



Slika 10: Milan Mihelič, ž. c. sv. Duha v Stožicah v Ljubljani (foto: Helena Seražin; © ZRC SAZU, UIFS).

Vsled vsemu opisanemu dogajanju in vlogi KVV pri preprečevanju oziroma zavlačevanju gradnje cerkva v novonastalih naseljih zato ne čudi, da trenutno veljavni *Zakon o verski svobodi*, sprejet 2. 2. 2007, vsebuje na prvi pogled nenavaden člen o svobodi gradnje in uporabe prostorov in stavb za verske namene. 26. člen tako pravi:

(1) *Cerkve in druge verske skupnosti imajo pravico graditi in vzdrževati prostore in stavbe za bogoslužje, druge verske obrede ter za druga zbiranja in imajo pravico do prostega dostopa do njih.*

(2) *V novih urbanističnih predelih, zlasti v predelih, namenjenih za stanovanja in prebivanje, se pri pripravi prostorskega akta glede predvidene prostorske ureditve pridobijo in sporazumno uskladijo tudi potrebe, priporočila in interesi cerkva ter drugih verskih skupnosti ob upoštevanju številčnosti pripadnikov cerkva in drugih verskih skupnosti. Pripravljalec prostorskega akta mora v predlogu oceniti potrebo po verskih objektih.*

(3) *Prostorske akte iz prejšnjega odstavka, ki so bili v veljavi ob uveljavitvi tega zakona, je treba v razumnem roku ustrezno dopolniti ali popraviti, če obstajata za to interes in potreba tam navzočih cerkva in drugih verskih skupnosti na območjih, na katere se ti prostorski akti nanašajo.*⁴⁵

S tem pa je gradnja novih sakralnih objektov končno bila zakonsko vključena tudi v pripravo urbanističnih načrtov novih stanovanjskih sosesk mest Republike Slovenije.⁴⁶

Commission for Religious Affairs and Building of Religious Buildings in Slovenian Post-war Modernist Settlements. The Case of Nova Gorica

Summary

The purpose of this paper is to find out why in the post-Second World War Slovene newly built residential neighborhoods and cities, despite abandoning the principles of the Athens Charter and planning settlements with coning in favor of the Scandinavian model of residential neighborhoods with social centers (the so-called ABC towns), no religious buildings were planned or built.

This paper will try to highlight this very complex issue, especially in view of the role of the Commission for Religious Affairs (KVV), which, as a body of political authorities from the mid-1950s until the independence of Slovenia in 1991, supervised and ordered the construction and renovation of religious buildings in Slovenia. In doing so, it played a decisive role not only in determining the guidelines for the selection of locations and the form of newly constructed religious buildings, but also in delaying the implementation of administrative procedures. This was especially evident in the case of Nova Gorica because of the ideological significance of the new modernist town along the border: it served as a showcase of the socialist Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY).

After the 1946 FPRY constitution was adopted, through which religious communities, especially the Roman Catholic Church became separate from the state. They stayed until 1953, when the *Basic Law on the Legal Regulation of the Religious Communities* was passed, due to the anti-communist orientation, inter-war cooperation with the occupier and links with the Vatican.

The authorities only allowed the reconstruction of the churches in the mid-1950s, and opposed the construction of new ones. The KVV received its first informal guidance regarding religious buildings in the fall of 1960. The main instructions were to suggest to church leaders, rather than building new parish churches, to rebuild or expand existing branch churches as a substitute for the demolished parish churches, wherever possible. In cases where new construction of parish churches would be unavoidable, select locations that are not in "prominent" places in the settlement, while designing the exterior of the building the classic [traditional] forms, especially the bell tower, should be abandoned. The height and size of the building should not exceed actual spatial needs. These guidelines remained in force throughout the KVV's operation and were also applicable to new church construction in places where they had not previously existed – in completely newly built cities and urban residential neighborhoods. Since in later social centers were never fully implemented for

45 Zakon o verski svobodi (op. 21).

46 Članek je nastal v okviru aplikativnega raziskovalnega projekta *Mapiranje urbanih prostorov slovenskih mest v zgodovinskem okviru. Modernistična Nova Gorica in njeni konteksti* (L6-8262), ki ga financirajo Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (75%), Mestna občina Nova Gorica (12%) in Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti (13%).

various reasons, the Church, by constructing sacral buildings as multifunctional complexes, which in accordance with the aforementioned KVV guidelines stood in a formally concealed form along the edge of residential neighborhoods or urban centers, to some extent managed to close the gap of post-war urban planning of modernist settlements in Slovenia.





6 **SPOMENIKI V JAVNEM PROSTORU FUNKCIONALISTIČNIH MEST**
MONUMENTS IN THE PUBLIC SPACE OF FUNCTIONALIST CITY

Artistic Heritage of the 1970–1980s in the Architectur of Lviv: Problems of Assesment and Preservation

Svitlana LINDA, Anna FEDAK

The historic Ukrainian city of Lviv has a significant architectural heritage of the Soviet Union period, especially in the area of mass housing construction. During the period of intensive deployment of mass construction (from the 1970s to 1991) about 1 million 19 thousand m² of living space were built. The historic core of Lviv is surrounded by a ring of typical five- and nine-storey buildings with poorly expressed and monotonous facades.

The key issue of amplification of diversity of the architectural appearance of residential quarters was solved especially: on the one hand – aesthetically, and on the other – ideologically. In order to enhance the artistic expressiveness of newly built residential districts by typical projects, the common practice has been to incorporate artistic compositions, especially mosaics, into the architecture of the facades. In the period from 1965 to 1991, there were 55 mosaics created in Lviv. Mostly mosaics had ideological messages, and their themes were aimed at emphasizing visually the dominance of communist ideology. Mosaics were extremely varied in their size, content and, eventually, at artistic value. However, some of them have become real favoured symbols of their neighbourhoods. As of 2018, 48 mosaics have been preserved in Lviv. By now, soviet mosaics are in various conditions: some of them are in relatively good conditions, while others are slowly being destroyed or have been deliberately destroyed.

These days, researchers have already drawn attention to the value of soviet monumental art heritage in Ukraine and in Lviv too. For example, an online website Soviet mosaics in Ukraine¹ covers up-to-date information about monumental and decorative art of Ukraine of the Soviet period. Yevgen Nikiforov published in his book *Decommunized: Ukrainian Soviet Mosaics*² photos of a considerable number of survived (as of 2017) mosaics of 1950–1980s. A significant contribution to the study of the mosaics heritage of the 1970s–1980s was made

1 <https://sovietmosaicsinukraine.org/?fbclid=IwAR1a7ZjKamK9-wqLBUUnrp3jXF7xg25rtSHQEhJ0-qzJ2ColGzVf4xt9qk5U> (accessed 5 December 2019).

2 Yevgen NIKIFOROV, Olga BALASHOVA, Lizaveta GERMAN, *Decommunized: Ukrainian Soviet Mosaics*, Berlin-Kyiv 2017.

by Nataliya Piddubna, who thoroughly examined the mosaics in Lviv from the late 19th to the early 20th century³.

The aim of the research is to characterize the current state of Lviv mosaics created during the Soviet period and draw attention to their value as an artistic legacy of the era of “developed socialism”.

Mosaics in Lviv architecture of the Soviet Union period.

At the beginning of the 1960s, a weak building base in Lviv significantly slowed down the development of construction, especially residential one. However, in 1962 a large-panel house-building plant was put into operation in Lviv (in Zelena street), which capacity was 30 thousand m² per year. This was the beginning of massive large-panel construction. The first microdistricts with typical multi-storey buildings were the blocks in Pasichna street, built in the 1950s; in Uhors'ka street; in 1 Travnya street (today Horodots'ka). The main compositional technique was the placement of four-, five-storey houses on the periphery of the neighbourhoods or in a row with the orientation of the ends towards the roadway.

Based on the main provisions of the master plan in Lviv branch of Dipromisto, in the early 1960s, the development of microdistricts started in the system of planning districts on the outskirts of the city. The first of them appeared on the southern outskirts, between Stryys'ka street, railway and Lyubins'ka street. The principle of groups of microdistricts designed for 10-12 thousands inhabitants underlined the urban planning of the city district.⁴

This scenario of the spatial development of Lviv was extended in the next master plan of the city, developed in 1962 by Dipromisto Institute. Unprecedented in its scope construction program unfolded in Lviv: the South planning district, Sriblyasty district, East residential district, Sykhiv district etc were intensively built up. Initially, only two types of five-storey 1–464 series apartment buildings were used while building new neighborhoods. Multisectional large-panel five- and nine-storey apartment buildings of a typical series 1–464 and five-story brick apartment buildings of a typical series 1–438 were used in the development of microdistricts of the South planning district. Greater expressiveness of the development in the design of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth microdistricts of the South planning district was achieved due to the refinement of the 1–464 typical series. The nomenclature of five-storey and nine-storey houses has expanded. In particular, it is seen in the draft of typical series 1–464D–102, which was finalized in Moscow and put into effect in 1967.⁵ Even then, architects recognized that the

3 Nataliya PIDDUBNA, *Kompozytsiyni pryntsyipy zastosuvannya mozayichnykh tvoriv v arkhitekturi Lvova kintsya 19 – pochatku 21 stolittya* (doctoral dissertation), Lviv 2018).

4 Oksana MORKLYANYK, *Formuvannya arkhitektury zhytla v umovakh sotsial'nykh transformatsiy (na prykladi zhytlovoi arkhitektury Lvova radyans'koho i postradyans'koho periodiv)* (doctoral dissertation), Lviv 2006), pp. 84–86.

5 MORKLYANYK 2006 (n. 4), p. 100–101.

limited nomenclature caused the monotony and inexpressiveness of the architectural image of the microdistricts. Architects tried to expand the range of standard projects using various types of typical series of large-panel and brick apartment buildings of 5, 9 and 12 floors. Subsequently, the houses of so-called "third generation" appeared, which, for example, had already been built in Sykhiv residential district. The main elements of its development were groups of elongated and polygonal in the plans, large-panel nine-storey apartment buildings of 84 typical series, which were designed by *TsNIEP zhilishcha* in Moscow.⁶

Thus, despite the efforts of the architects, it became clear that it would not be possible to overcome the depressing monotony of residential district only by the means of architecture. Therefore, they had to resort to the means of decorative and monumental art. In 1974, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the governing Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Leonid Brezhnev delivered a speech on improving the quality and diversity of buildings. This contributed to the fact that architects started to use more different artistic means to design more aesthetically appealing buildings.⁷

The most important type of monumental art became mosaic - the most durable way to decorate the facade. In fact, the mosaic was almost the only tool for decorating the new building. At the same time, the Soviet mosaic became a form of visual ideological propaganda, and the epicness of the artistic scope was consistent with the scale of the ideas. Most often masters depicted portraits of leaders, compositions with Soviet symbolism and narrative allegorical compositions which reminded of important events in the Soviet history (for example, the theme of the "reunification" of Ukraine and Russia, etc.). However, often mosaics demonstrated the heroism of the daily routine of workers and collective farmers, peace, space. Sometimes there were mosaics, generally devoid of the ideological message.

Since the 1970s the synthesis of art and architecture, which was peculiar for unique designers buildings, actively spread in the design of clubs, schools, public service institutions, etc.⁸ Lviv was not an exception: the facades of Lviv's buildings of that period were also decorated with mosaics. The mosaics were made to the government order, and their sketches had to be approved by the Artistic Council and the Chief artist of the city of Lviv, which ensured that the composition was fulfilled in line with the ideological policy of the state.⁹

The development of Lviv was following the general tendency of introducing diversity into the urban environment, and the mass building of schools or public service establishments acquired the author's interpretation, which was expressed in the exterior decoration. At first,

6 ЦНИИЭП жилища - Центральный научно-исследовательский институт экспериментального проектирования жилища/Central Scientific Research Institute for Prototype and Experimental Designing of Housing.

7 Feliks NOVIKOV, *V poiskakh arkhitekturnogo obraza*, Moskva 1979, p. 3.

8 Mykola KOLOMIYETS', *Problemy formuvannya suchasnoyi arkhitektury Ukrayins'koyi RSR*, Kyiv 1973, p. 95.

9 Natalya KOVPANENKO, *Problemy vysvitlennya mystets'koyi spadshchyny u "Zvodi pam'yatok istoriyi ta kul'tury Ukrayiny"*, Kyiv 2011, p. 36.



Fig. 1: Mosaic on the side façade of building at 4 Volodymyra velykoho Street; January 2020 (photo by authors).

only important public objects were decorated with mosaics, but later they spread to the facades of apartment buildings. Mosaic panels in Lviv of that period were often painted not only by professional artists but also by students of the Institute of Decorative and Applied Arts, who often designed mosaics on the facades of buildings as their diploma works.¹⁰

The artists experimented with techniques and materials. The mosaics were made of smalt, natural stone, ceramics, glass, broken ceramics, and floor tiles, which were often applied to bas-reliefs.

Yevgen Nikiforov divided Soviet mosaics by the topic of compositions: labor and industrialization; history and ideology; sport and leisure; science and space; folklore and national motifs; small architectural forms; mosaic ensembles. According to this classification, the majority of Lviv mosaics belong to the category folklore and national motifs. Among them there is a mosaic at 16 Stefanyka street, created before the 150th anniversary of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko.

Also, a significant number of Lviv mosaics describe the subjects of industrialization and daily life of people: work, sports and leisure. The theme of Lviv development is reflected in mosaics

10 Nataliya PIDDUBNA, The typology of mosaic compositions application in Lviv architecture of the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 21st centuries/Typologia stosowania kompozycji mozaikowych w architekturze Lwowa końca 19 – początku 21 wieku, *Przestrzeń i Forma/Space&Form*, 31, 2017, p. 165.

at 8 Kalicha Gora street; at 52 Volodymyra Velykoho street. The theme of the labor is covered in a mosaic on the side facade of the house at 55 Lychakivs'ka street etc. Mosaics at 17 Pymonenka street, 4 Volodymyra Velykoho street etc have a scientific theme.

Mosaics in Lviv architecture today: state of preservation

So, the Soviet period has left an interesting artistic heritage, which very often has a real artistic value. What has happened to the Soviet mosaics today?

Unfortunately, the biggest issue is that this value is not realized either by the professionals or at the level of consciousness of the average citizen. The tendency to interpret everything that was done in the Soviet era as uniquely "disgrace", "propaganda" and "less valuable" remains dominant in the outlook of city dwellers. Some of the mosaics are damaged or destroyed.

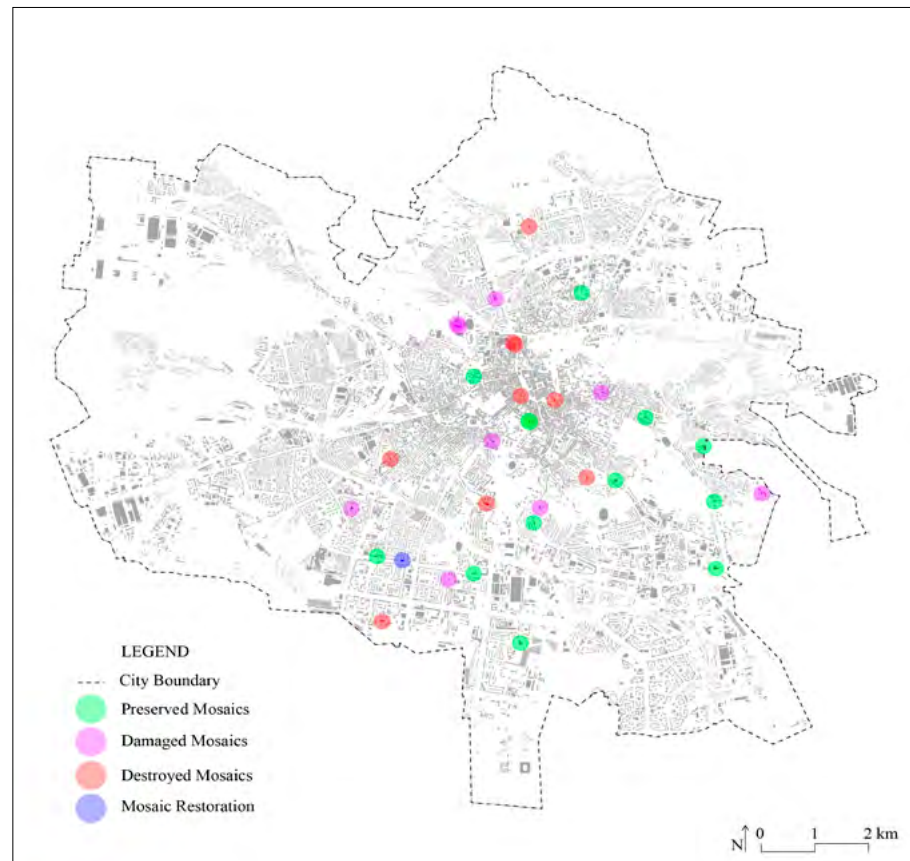


Fig. 2: Current state of Soviet façade-mosaics created between 1970–1980's in Lviv (map by authors).

Thus, currently, there is a building boom in Lviv, and there are more buildings built here in a year than in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv. Apartment building and infrastructure are being built not only on new territories; sometimes, Soviet buildings, which are not architectural monuments and are not protected, are also destroyed for this.

Over the last decade, due to the active development of the city of Lviv, there has been a tendency to completely or partially demolish Soviet-era buildings that are not architectural monuments. This is due to the increase in the population of the city, and the desire of developers to build more modern in terms of functional content and appearance public and residential complexes. In addition, certain facades with mosaics or bas-reliefs that embody ideological symbols of the USSR are under the threat of destruction, as a result of the process of decommunization of Ukraine. As can be seen from Figure 1, some of the Soviet mosaics of the 1970s–1980s were damaged or destroyed.

In this context, the fate of the mosaic *Fish*, which was on the facade of the store Ocean is typical. The one-storey building was built in 1982, designed by architects Vasyl Kamenshchuk and Yaroslav Mastylo.¹¹ A distinctive feature of this store was that it was designed as a store exclusively for fish products and included kitchens where this fish was prepared. Throughout the years of its existence the functional content of the store has not changed (only the assortment expanded somewhat compared to the one that was in the first years of its opening). The facade of the building was decorated with a characteristic visor in the form of wave-triangles, which resembled the waves of the ocean. There was a large volumetric mosaic composition of stylized fish on the wall, made according to the sketches of the famous Lviv artist Volodymyr Patyk. The performers of the mosaic were Volodymyr Patyk, Bohdan Soroka, Grigoriy Oleksyuk, Mykola Andrushchenko. The mosaic was made of pieces of smalt and stones, measuring approximately 85 square meters,¹² on the main and side facades of the building, which contributed to a better perception of it in the city space. The mosaic was the brightest spot in the monotonous residential district along the former Artema street, which today is called Volodymyra Velykoho street. One of its peculiarities was that it was completely devoid of any ideological connotations, and was a separate completed work of monumental art.

On 15th February, 2019, the Executive Committee of Lviv City Council approved the reconstruction project of the store.¹³ The project envisaged the completion of additional floors of the building and alteration of the facades. According to the visualizations provided by the architectural

11 Ihor MEL'NYK, *L'vivs'kyi Novyy Svit ta pividenni okolytsi Korolivs'koho stolychnoho mista Halychyny vid Svyatoho Yura do Navariyi*, Lviv 2014, p. 234.

12 PIDDUBNA 2018 (n. 3), p. 319.

13 [https://www8.city-adm.lviv.ua/pool/info/docImr_1.nsf/\(SearchForWeb\)/4121348FE4B207D-6C22583A2003BB539?OpenDocument](https://www8.city-adm.lviv.ua/pool/info/docImr_1.nsf/(SearchForWeb)/4121348FE4B207D-6C22583A2003BB539?OpenDocument) (accessed 20 December 2019).



Fig. 3: *Fish* mosaic on the facade of the Ocean store; 7th December, 2017 (photo by authors).

company and the developer, the mosaic and the visor were to be preserved.¹⁴ However, in July 2019, the mosaic was destroyed during the construction process.

Like all Soviet buildings, the Ocean store and the mosaic on its facade had no architectural heritage status and therefore were not protected. However, they were a kind of symbol of the area, which stood out from the surrounding buildings as a landmark and gave an identity to the district. Destruction of the mosaic caused the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of the city. Due to the appeals of concerned citizens and a wide resonance in the media, the developer had to begin work on the mosaic reconstruction.

The Volodymyr Patyk's son, the artist Ostap Patyk, takes part in the restoration work. Mosaic restoration works are performed in three stages: wall restoration, relief application, which is performed according to the 3D model,¹⁵ and the actual application of the mosaic itself. Residents hope to see a mosaic back, but unfortunately, this will no longer be an authentic masterpiece of art.

14 <https://lviv.com/novyny/na-vul-volodymyra-velykoho-rekonstruiiut-mahazyn-okean-zatsiny-proekt/> (accessed 20 December 2019).

15 <https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/mosaic-the-fishes-in-lviv-ukraine-a016f4700bcb4abd92669082c36db2eb?fbclid=IwAR050Cv5mi3Fjx9f20NbdZTUHPurtrtpYhBZJCZuE9Mvpn02Av9Ygr6cOU> (accessed 21 December 2019).



Fig. 4: Destroyed *Fish* mosaic; 18th October, 2019. Text on the banner reads "Mosaic is coming back soon!" (photo by authors).



Fig. 5: Fragments of restored *Fish* mosaic; 18th October, 2019 (photo by authors).



Fig. 6: Mosaic on the façade of the Softserve office building (the former building of Lviv Design Institute); 18th October, 2019 (photo by authors).



Fig. 7: Mosaic on the fence of Kineskop factory before destruction; August 2019 (source: <https://wz.lviv.ua/news/396480-mozaiku-zavodu-kineskop-u-muzei-terytorii-teroru>; accessed 21 December 2019).

Near to the Ocean store, there is a building with another mosaic by Volodymyr Patyk. The office building of SoftServe (the former building of Lviv Design Institute) was built in 1958, and the mosaic itself was created in 1983–1985. The mosaic area is approximately 83.3 square meters,¹⁶ and it is located on the main facade above the entrance to the building. The same as the mosaic composition of the Ocean store, this mosaic reflects the functional purpose of the building to which it belongs. Designed as the facade decoration for the building of Lviv Design Institute, it depicts the silhouette of the city of Lviv, which is made in a geometric style. This mosaic is preserved, although it has suffered partial damage as a result of the visor installation above the entrance.

In August 2019, another mosaic of authorship by Volodymyr Patyk was destroyed. This mosaics, created in 1967 on the fence of the territory of the former Kineskop factory, reflected technological progress: it depicted a girl who was holding a light bulb in her hands.

This event, although it went almost unnoticed by the dwells of the city, was coordinated by art critics in time. Due to this, while dismantling the fence (it was located on the area where the construction of a new public facility has been performed), a part of the fence, that had not been destroyed yet, was neatly dismantled and transferred to the Territory of Terror Memorial Museum of Totalitarian Regimes.¹⁷

Sometimes the destruction of the artistic heritage of 1970–1980s goes completely unnoticed by the city residents. Thus, in 2015, another mosaic by Volodymyr Patyk was destroyed during the reconstruction of the Furshet store in Sakharova street. Mosaic composition depicted an abstract pattern, made of various geometric elements - circles, triangles, squares and waves.¹⁸ Presumably, the composition could have been preserved and can be covered by the metal panels that are now lined with the facade of the store, however, there is no way to verify the truth of this statement.

Unfortunately, this is not the only case. For example, approximately in 2017–2018, the mosaic, located above the entrance on the main facade of Lviv Professional College of Hotel and Tourism and Restaurant Service was destroyed during the construction of the additional third floor and installing the external wall insulation. It depicted representatives of various occupations (education, sports, etc.).¹⁹

The dismantling of certain elements from mosaic compositions that contain the ideological symbols of the USSR, is not very typical for Lviv mosaics of the 1970–1980s, since most of them have more abstract images. Though, there are isolated cases where mosaics are dismantled as a part of the decommunization process. Thus, mosaics in the territory of the SKA sports

16 PIDDUBNA 2018 (n. 3), p. 321.

17 <http://territoryterror.org.ua/uk/museum/news/details/?newsid=945> (accessed 11 January 2019).

18 <https://photo-lviv.in.ua/vtracheni-ale-nezabuti-5-radyanskyh-mozajik-u-lvovi-yaki-vzhe-ne-pobachyty/> (accessed 10 January 2019).

19 <https://sovietmosaicinukraine.org/en/mosaic/604> (accessed 21 December 2019).



Fig. 8: Fragments of mosaic on the side facade of apartment building at 38 Vitovsky Street; 29th January, 2020 (photo by authors).

facade of the apartment building at 38 Vitovsky street, which depicts a guy and a girl, was partially hidden under the external wall insulation.

There is no comprehensive program to preserve the heritage of the second half of the 20th century in Ukraine, although this problem is extremely urgent. Today, there is a threat of the complete loss of the monumental works of art that adorn facades of soviet buildings. The resonant event for Lviv, the destruction of the mosaic of the Ocean Store, has somewhat changed the public attitude to such objects. On 2nd August 2019, The Executive Committee of Lviv City Council made a resolution "About the preservation of mosaics on the territory of Lviv."²¹ This decision envisages an inventory of all the mosaics in Lviv, for further consideration of this information, when issuing town planning permits for the construction or reconstruction of buildings and structures. This decision by Lviv City Council sets the stage for future improvement and dissemination of information about those objects. In addition, it is anticipated that the Department of Historic Preservation of Lviv will provide a list of mosaic

complex at the 39/A Kleparivs'ka street were partially painted over, because they, in addition to athletes, also contained Soviet symbols.²⁰ A mosaic, depicting the act of "reunification" and located at the side facade of a historic building in the city center in Doroshenka street, is covered with billboards.

Some of the soviet mosaics, although not destroyed, were damaged and hidden due to the installation of the external wall insulation - this is the most common reason for the disappearance of mosaics from the facades of apartment buildings. For example, this way was completely lost a mosaic from the side facade of an apartment building at 118 Tarnavs'koho street, which was 100% covered with external wall insulation. The mosaic, on the side

artefacts that need urgent reconstruction.

In spite of this, fundamental changes in the issues of heritage preservation of the 1970s and 1980s have not taken place yet, and those mosaics that are truly damaged and in need of urgent restoration continue to be in a state of disrepair. On the plus side, the mosaic from the façade of the Ocean Store is still being restored, though it is difficult to judge the quality of the work. Also, thanks to the resonance of this case, it was possible to preserve a part of the mosaic from the fence of Kineskop factory. All this would not happen if the residents of the city did not make such a large-scale publicity about the "death of the *Fish*". However, the absence of sanctions for the destruction of the Soviet buildings does not protect them from the intervention of developers, residents or users of the building.

Conclusions

1. Mosaics created in Soviet period that adorn the facades of Lviv buildings are an important integral part of the architectural image of a city of "advanced socialism", and are a material testimony of its era. In this regard, they have both a separate artistic value, and value, as components of a holistic architectural and artistic ensemble. Most of these mosaics were created by famous Lviv artists based on individual sketches, so they are unique not only in the context of Lviv, but of the whole Ukraine.
2. The belief that all mosaics visualize exclusively ideological messages of the Soviet era is not true. The themes of most Lviv mosaics are unrelated to political or ideological motives. For the most part their compositions were based on topics of peace, work or on abstract, phytomorphic or zoomorphic motifs.
3. Created in due time as elements of aestheticization of the urban environment, mosaics today need to be preserved and restored. The lack of legislation does not allow the state protection of objects on which mosaics are placed. Single acts, taken by the city authorities under public pressure, can not yet ensure the preservation of all mosaics. Therefore, today mosaics are being destroyed (often together with buildings), closed under new facade systems or under external wall insulation. That mosaics that are still scattered on the facades are in poor technical conditions and require restoration.

In general, the difficult situation with mosaics reflects a long-overdue problem in the field of architectural heritage preservation - a revision of positions and an objective assessment of the architectural and artistic heritage of Soviet modernism.

²⁰ <https://sovietmosaicinukraine.org/en/mosaic/576> (accessed 11 January 2019).

²¹ [https://www8.city-adm.lviv.ua/pool/info/doc/mr_1.nsf\(SearchForWeb\)/7178512D030F-5874C2258497003ED1D0?OpenDocument](https://www8.city-adm.lviv.ua/pool/info/doc/mr_1.nsf(SearchForWeb)/7178512D030F-5874C2258497003ED1D0?OpenDocument) (accessed 12 January 2019).

Umetniška dediščina 1970-ih in 1980-ih v arhitekturi Lviva: problemi ovrednotenja in ohranitve

Povzetek

Smer, ki jo je prevzela Sovjetska zveza konec 60. let 20. stoletja in cilj katere je bila nadaljnja industrializacija in masivna gradnja bivališč, je zahtevala novo strategijo urbanističnega načrtovanja za številna ukrajinska mesta, tudi za Lviv kot eno izmed največjih regionalnih mest. V tem pogledu se je masivna gradnja bivališč odvijala v Lvivu vse od poznih 70. let 20. stoletja. Ena izmed najpomembnejših nalog urbanističnega razvoja je bilo nadaljnje načrtovanje mikro-okrožij južnega stanovanjskega naselja, razvoj katerega je bil že precej raznolik. Da bi povečali umetniško izraznost novozgrajenih stanovanjskih naselij na projektu, je bila ustaljena praksa, da so vključevali umetniške kompozicije v fasade arhitektur. Primer tega je trgovina Ocean, zgrajena 1982 v skladu s projektom Vasyla Kamenshchuka in Yaroslava Mastyla. Fasada zgradbe je bila okrašena z značilnimi senčniki v obliki valovitih trikotnikov, pod katerimi je bila velika volumetrična mozaična kompozicija stiliziranih rib, ki je bila narejena v skladu s skicami znanega umetnika iz Lviva, Volodymyra Patyka. Med obnovo zgradbe leta 2019 so bili značilni senčniki in mozaik na fasadi uničeni. Glede na vizualno predstavitev, ki jo je priskrbelo oblikovalsko podjetje, bi morala prenovljena zgradba ohraniti tako mozaike kot val senčnikov. Zgradba trgovine Ocean in mozaik na njeni fasadi nista imela statusa arhitekturnega spomenika in nista bila zaščitena (to pomeni, da je težko uveljavljati administrativno odgovornost za dejanja). Ne glede na to, so mozaiki postali nekakšen simbol območja, dajali so mu identiteto. Zato se je v povezavi z ogorčenostjo meščanov in masivnim pozivom mestnemu svetu gradbeni investitor odločil restavrirati mozaik. Kljub temu restavriran mozaik ne bo povrnil avtentičnega videza stavbe in ulice in za prebivalce ne bo predstavljal takšnega kulturnega simbola kot original. Tega leta je bil uničen še en modernistični mozaik avtorja Volodymyra Patyka na steni blizu nekdanje tovarne Kineskop v Lvivu. Na žalost je ostal ta dogodek skoraj popolnoma spregledan.

Tako se danes soočamo s problemom ocenjevanja in varovanja objektov nedavne preteklosti – zadnjih štiridesetih ali petdesetih let, ki žal niso prepoznani kot arhitekturni spomeniki, vendar imajo pomemben simbolni pomen za prebivalce naših mest.



Začetek Kluba starih goriških študentov sega v čas srečanj nekdanjih maturantov goriške gimnazije in ostalih goriških srednjih šol, ki so jih obiskovali pred letom 1915. Na srednjih šolah v Gorici so se srečevali dijaki iz dežele Goriške in Gradiščanske in preko družabnih stikov tudi v kasnejšem poklicnem obdobju združevali to ozemlje v celoto. V Gorici je delovala tudi edina slovenska državna gimnazija. Goriškim Slovencem in njihovim narodnim buditeljem je uspelo to kar ostalim Slovencem ni uspelo. 3. avgusta 1913 je bilo s cesarskim odlokom določeno, da se z novim šolskim letom v Gorici iz tedanje nemške državne gimnazije ustanovijo tri srednje šole: popolna humanistična gimnazija s slovenskim učnim jezikom, realna gimnazija z italijanskim učnim jezikom in realna gimnazija z nemškim učnim jezikom.¹ Nekdanje maturante je družilo šolanje v mestu, kjer so Slovenci vselej znova morali dokazovati, da so tudi oni eden od narodov živečih v mestu Gorica in da je to tudi njihovo mesto. Po maturi so se razkropili: eni so odšli študirat, drugi so se zaposlili. Preživeli so prvo svetovno vojno. Tisti, ki so ostali na Primorskem so občutili raznarodovalno fašistično obdobje, ločevala jih je rapalska meja, preživeli so še eno vojno klanje in bili so priča novi meji, ki je bila potrjena na pariški mirovni konferenci. Goriške pokrajine iz njihove mladosti ni bilo več. Tok zgodovinskih dogodkov je šel svojo pot, prepustili so se mu in med njegovimi bregovi in brzicami uspeli izpolniti kulturno poslanstvo za katerega so se čutili odgovorni.

Nekdanji maturanti goriških srednjih šol, ki so maturirali pred letom 1915, so gojili medsebojne prijateljske stike, čeprav so jih življenjske poti in politične razmere odpeljale vsakega na svoj konec. Pripadnost rodni zemlji se ni pretrgala. Srečevali so se v Kromberku, Solkanu, včasih srečanje zaključili s krajšim izletom. Marsikdo se je vsako leto znova spraševal, kdaj se bodo spet srečali. Tako kot je svoje vprašanje spesnil nekdanji maturant France Kompara:

Pod Čavnom visokim prebivam,
in s čisto vodico se umivam,
gledam dolinco prekrasno,
in vidim Vipavco počasno.

1 Andrej GABRŠČEK, *Goriški Slovenci: narodne, kulturne, politične in gospodarske črtice II.*, Ljubljana 1934, str. 427.

Večkrat mi šine
starcu z' doline
misel v višine:
Bo ali ne bo?²

Prelomno je bilo srečanje 42 še živečih slovenskih maturantov goriških srednjih šol, ki so maturo opravili do leta 1915, 22. septembra 1963 v gostilni Komel v Kromberku. To ni bilo samo navadno obujanje spominov na pred desetletji opravljeni zrelostni izpit, ampak je preraslo svoj prvotni namen. Med starimi goriškimi maturanti na srečanju v Kromberku so bili tudi taki, ki so si ustvarili zavidljive poklicne kariere: dr. Mihael Toroš, apostolski administrator jugoslovanskega dela goriške nadškofije, bivši poslanec v rimskem parlamentu dr. Engelbert Besednjak, Franc Trdan, nekdanji župnik v Podgori in kasneje minister za verske zadeve v hrvaški republiški vladi. Ob obujanju spominov in razglabljanju o problemih se je rodila ideja, da Andreju Gabrščku in dr. Antonu Gregorčiču v Kobaridu in na Vrsnem postavijo spominski plošči in se jima tako obdolžijo za njuno delo, ki sta ga vložila v razvoj slovenskega časnikarstva in slovenskega šolstva na Goriškem. Izvolili so odbor za postavitev spominskih plošč. Predsednik je postal France Gorkič, tajnik Ludvik Zorzut, člani pa dr. Josip Gerbic, ing. Josip Rustja in Valentin Poberaj. Akcija jim je sijajno uspela in ploščo obema zaslužnima možema so postavili leta 1965. Večino denarja so za svojo prvo akcijo zbrali sami. Ob tej uspeli akciji se jim je odprlo široko polje kulturnega dela, ki ga morajo še opraviti. Odbor se je preimenoval v Klub starih goriških študentov, ki mu je do svoje smrti leta 1977 predsedoval France Gorkič. Šele leta 1968, že po nekaj letih uspešnega dela, je bil Klub registriran kot društvo.

»Ta peščica starejših mladincev tam okoli sedemdesetih, osemdesetih križev si je zadala lepo nalogo postavljati spominske plošče našim zaslužnim ljudem,« je o sebi in ostalih članih zapisal Venče Žnidarčič.³ Poleg predsednika Franceta Gorkiča so delo Kluba usmerjali in bili njegovi najbolj dejavni člani še dolgoletni tajnik Ludvik Zorzut, Kazimir Saunig, Jožko Žigon, Venče Žnidarčič, Anton Gerbec, Zvonimir Luznik. Posebno vzdušje sta dajala prireditvam Zorzut in Gorkič. Zorzut je s svojimi prigodnicami dal vsaki prireditvi pridih domačnosti in neposrednosti. Njegova pesem, včasih vnesena, drugič hudomušna in nagajiva, je naredila prireditev drugačno kot je bilo tedaj običajno.

France Gorkič je bil tudi tisti, ki je vodil vsa odkritja spominskih plošč in spomenikov ter vse prireditve, ki jih je organiziral Klub.⁴ Ob vsaki priložnosti je Gorkič med drugim dodal tudi svoje

2 Pokrajinski arhiv v Novi Gorici (PANG), Klub starih goriških študentov (KSGŠ), 429, dopisnica Franca Kompare Ludviku Zorzutu 24. 7. 1961, t. e. 2, a. e. 14.

3 ANG, KSGŠ, 429, t. e. 3, a. e. 27.

4 France Gorkič se je rodil v Vrtojbi 19. februarja 1888. Osnovno šolo je obiskoval v rodni Vrtojbi, gimnazijo v Gorici, vstopil je v goriško bogoslovje, a je že po nekaj mesecih izstopil. Leto dni je služil vojsko, nato pa služboval pri goriškem deželnem odboru in urejal list *Samouprava*. Z začetkom bojev na soški fronti se je Gorkič skupaj z deželnim odborom umaknil na Dunaj in pomagal slovenskim beguncem. Poslan je bil na različne fronte. Po prvi vojni se je posvetil delu pri obnovi Goriške. Deloval je kot urednik različnih glasil. Po nastopu fašizma je bil leta 1923 upokojen.

spomine. V svoji visoki starosti (rojen je bil leta 1888) je bil še živa priča ljudi in dogodkov, ki so jim bila odkritja in slovesnosti namenjena. Vrednost teh spominov je v tem, da so to drobci iz življenja ljudi na Goriškem, ki pa niso nič manj pomembni kot »veliki« zgodovinski dogodki. Njegovi spomini so dragoceni, ker so spomini enega izmed množice ljudi. Ni bil osebnost, ki bi na visokem položaju ustvarjala zgodovino. Bil je posameznik, kot kamenček v mozaiku, ki je droben, v celoti neopazen, a če manjka deluje zasnovana celota moteno. Zato so Gorkičevi spomini o izkazovanju slovenske pripadnosti v mestnem okolju Gorice droben kamenček v svetovnem zgodovinskem procesu narodnega osveščanja.

Kot otrok sem opazil, da so dekleta in mlade žene v Vrtojbi kar naenkrat začele nositi ob nedeljah predpasnike v slovenskih barvah. Seveda nosile so jih tudi, ko so šle v Gorico, v veliko jezo Italijanov. A slovenska trobojnica, četudi v obliki predpasnika, se je le smela pokazati v Gorici ... Drugi primer: Vrtojbenci so se pripravljali na nabor in tudi na borbo z goriškimi policaji. Kako jih prepetnajstiti? Vrtojbenci so imeli v svoji sredi dobrega pekovskega pomočnika. In ta jo pogrunta. Na precej veliko desko narišejo velikega dvoglavega avstrijskega orla, avstrijski državni grb. In pekovski pomočnik Angel Mozetič je zalil z zmesjo sladkorja in moke, vendar tako, da je bila zgornja tretjina bele barve, srednja tretjina modre barve in spodnja tretjina rdeče barve, torej prava slovenska trobojnica. In s tem orlom so vrtojbenski naborniki hodili po Gorici in policija jih je pustila pri miru. S takimi ukanami so goriški okoličani prodirali v Gorico.⁵

Ob stoletnici slovenske čitalnice v Vrtojbi 1969 je s svojimi spomini segel daleč v njene začetke delovanja. »Prvič sem prišel z njo v stik kot štiri ali petleten otrok krog leta 1892 ali 93. Drugič se spominjam, da je čitalnica priredila na prostem veselico na kateri so nastopali goriški Sokoli. Bilo je leto 1896. Prepovedali so nam v šoli, da bi se šolarji udeležili te prireditve. A ni bilo sile, ki bi nas zadržala. Vsi otroci iz Dolenje Vrtojbe smo se na eden ali drugi način vthotapili na veselični prostor.«⁶

Ob odkritju doprsnega kipa Henriku Tumi zopet ni skoparil z zanimivimi podrobnostmi:

Pozneje je Tuma opustil sodno službo in se posvetil odvetništvu in se kot odvetnik nastanil v Gorici. A ko je prišel do lastne hiše v Gorici, v takratni ulici Treh kraljev je pustil vklesati v kamen nad vhodnimi vrati geslo: 'Svoja hišica - svoja voljica.' To je bilo v tistih časih v Gorici pogumno delo. Študentje smo hodili gledat ta vklesani napis kakor kakšno čudo. A tudi kmetje iz bližnje goriške okolice so opazili ta slovenski napis in ga kazali svojim otrokom. Priprosta, a jako učinkovita propaganda za dvig narodnega osveščanja in narodne zavesti.⁷

Da se je izognil zaporu je pobegnul v Jugoslavijo. Do začetka druge svetovne vojne je delala na upravi Dravske banovine v Ljubljani. Bil je mobiliziran, zajeli so ga Nemci, a ga oprostili, nato je bil nekaj časa zaprt v okupirani Ljubljani (Marijan BRECELJ, Gorkič Franc, v: *Primorski slovenski biografski leksikon*, Gorica 1974, str. 454).

5 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, govor Franceta Gorkiča ob odkritju spomenika Andreju Gabrščku 30. 10. 1974, t. e. 4, a. e. 38.

6 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, govor Franceta Gorkiča ob odkritju spominske plošče ob stoletnici čitalnice v Vrtojbi, t. e. 3, a. e. 25.

7 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, govor Franceta Gorkiča ob odkritju spomenika Henriku Tumi 21. 9. 1975 v Novi Gorici, t. e. 4, a. e. 40.

Dokaj skromen začetek delovanja Kluba je prerasel v ambiciozno združenje, ki je zajelo vse ustvarjanje in delovanje med goriškimi Slovenci v preteklosti. Osvetlili so spomin na pesnike, pisatelje, časnikarje, politike, borce za narodne in politične pravice Slovencev, glasbenike in jezikoslovce. Poskušali so v svojo kulturno akcijo zaobjeti vse tiste posameznike, ki so delovali na Goriškem in so prispevali k razvoju pokrajine. S postavljenimi spominskimi ploščami in spomeniki so ustvarili zanimiv prerez dogajanja na Goriškem. Tako je nastala dokaj popolna slika najpomembnejših dosežkov Goriških Slovencev. V dobrih dvajsetih letih delovanja so vklesali v kamen in vlili v bron spomin na številne posameznike. Poseben pečat so dali novemu, mlademu mestu Novi Gorici. Od leta 1972 do 1984 so vzdolž Erjavčeve ceste postavili spomenike enajstim zaslužnim goriškim možem: spomenik Franu Erjavcu, 1972; spomenik Simonu Gregorčiču, 1973; spomenik Andreju Gabrščku, 1974; spomenik dr. Henriku Tumi, 1975; spomenik dr. Antonu Gregorčiču, 1976; spomenik Lojzetu Bratužu, 1978; spomenik dr. Alojzu Gradniku, 1978; spomenik dr. Josipu Vilfanu, 1979; spomenik Ivanu Trinku, 1979; spomenik Andeju Budalu, 1980 in spomenik dr. Engelbertu Besednjaku, 1984.

Klub starih goriških študentov je vodil spontane akcije postavljanja spominskih plošč in spomenikov po Goriški. Bil je glasnik kulturne zavesti in samozavesti v tedanjem času. Oživel je prekinjeno kulturno delovanje te vrste na Goriškem. S koncem prve svetovne vojne in začetkom fašizma so bile vse te akcije iz časa v začetku stoletja prekinjene. Fašizem ni dovoljeval nikakršnega izražanja narodne identitete. Zato je marsikatero obeležje oskrnil ali uničil. Tako se je zgodilo s spomenikom Miroslavu Vilharju v Postojni, Hrabroslavu Volariču v Kobaridu, spomenik vojaku Andreju Čehovinu v Dolancih so vaščani zakopali, da bi ga tako obvarovali pred popolnim uničenjem.⁸ Goriška je ob koncu stoletja imela številne ljudi, ki so pripomogli k napredku in rasti narodne zavesti in so si s svojim delom prislužili trajen spomin. Vendar je obstajala nevarnost, da bi ostali pozabljeni v evforiji novih časov po drugi svetovni vojni.

Kot pietetno obdolžitev so člani Kluba starih goriških študentov na svojo pobudo in z lastnimi zbranimi sredstvi postavili spominske plošče širom po Primorski in uredili grobove goriških pomembnih mož. Njihovo delo pa se je nato osredotočilo tudi na novonastalo mesto po drugi svetovni vojni, Novo Gorico. Spomeniki, ki so jih postavili goriškim narodnim buditeljem, so imeli pietetno in mestotvorno funkcijo. Srednjeveško mesto Gorica se je razvilo kot upravno, gospodarsko in kulturno središče Goriške. Gorico so imeli za svoje mesto tako Italijani, Furlani, Avstrijci in Slovenci. To se je še posebno kazalo v šolskih ustanovah, ki so delovale v mestu. V času Avstro-Ogrske je tu delovala edina popolnoma slovenska državna gimnazija. Meja, postavljena na pariški mirovni konferenci, je razdelila ne samo Goriško, pač pa je tudi del ozemlja, ki je bil priključen Jugoslaviji pustila brez dotedanega zgodovinskega središča - mesta Gorica. Kljub zahtevam jugoslovanske delegacije in pripravljenosti večine delegacij v mirovnih pogajanjih v Parizu, da bi Gorica pripadala Jugoslaviji, je sovjetski zunanji

8 Tudi spomenik madžarskemu huzarju Rostasu Palnaku, padlemu v bojih med Avstrijo in Napoleonovo umikajočo se vojsko, v Logu pri Vipavi, so uničili.

minister Molotov na seji zunanjih ministrov 3. julija 1946 nepričakovano pristal na francoski razmejitveni predlog, ki je Gorico prepuščal Italiji.⁹ S podpisom mirovne pogodbe 10. 2. 1947 je bila Gorica za Jugoslavijo dokončno izgubljeno mesto. Ljudje, ki so živeli v njenem vzhodnem zaledju, so ostali brez svojega večstoletnega središča. Vendarle je skozi stoletja mesto Gorica globoko razpredlo korenine v samo bistvo identitete okoliškega prebivalstva in obratno. Kajti mesto in podeželje sta v zgodovini hodila kot večna tesno prepletajoča si elementa. Živita v tesni simbiozi in eden brez drugega ne preživita, vsaj ne na daljšo dobo. Odvisna sta drug od drugega in sta v stalni interakciji. Enkrat je podeželje pred mestom, drugič je mesto tisto, ki ustvari podeželje. »Podeželje in mesto ubogata obojestransko perspektiv: jaz ustvarim tebe, ti ustvariš mene, jaz obvladam tebe, ti obvladaš mene; jaz izkoriščam tebe, ti izkoriščaš mene, in tako naprej po večnih zakonih skupnega bivanja.«¹⁰ Samo tokovi prehajanja kapitala in ljudi so se v posameznih zgodovinskih obdobjih večkrat obrnili. Enkrat so tekli iz vasi v mesto, drugič obratno, odvisno od družbene situacije.¹¹ Podeželje vzhodno od Gorice je ostalo brez mestnega središča. Ekonomski in družbeni tokovi med mestom in vasjo so bili prekinjeni. Med obstoječim mestom in podeželjem je nastala umetna ločnica, ki je bila v začetku skorajda nepropustna in neprehodna.¹² Razdružila je oba elementa, ki sta bila vselej v zgodovini tesno povezana. Pretok, ki se je oblikoval v stoletjih in ga je ustvarila medsebojna odvisnost preživetja, je bil prekinjen. »Naravna logika« oziroma zgodovinska logika je vodila v ustvarjanje novega mestnega naselja. Pustili bomo ob strani nedvomno prisotno politično iniciativo in sledili zakonitostim, ki so že tisočletja ustvarjali mesta. Povsem naravno je bilo, da je bil tok prehajanja kapitala in ljudi ob nastajanju Nove Gorice obrnjen iz vasi v novo mestno naselbino. Mesta pa ne definira samo ekonomska determinanta, pač pa predvsem organizacija njenega družbenega življenja in lastnega zavedanja. Mesto je prostor kjer se kopiči znanje in zavedanje o sebi, sodobnikih, prednikih in prihodnjih rodovih in ne samo skupek številnih zgradb. V svojem večstoletnem razvoju je mesto s svojo duhovno energijo in zmožnostjo materializacije pridobilo vlogo povezovalnega elementa med preteklostjo, sedanostjo in prihodnostjo. Vas vse te sposobnosti nima, oziroma je ne materializira v tolikšni meri in na takšni stopnji kot je to zmožno mesto. Vas je uspela ohranjati spomin na jezikovni ravni preko ustnega izročila. Mesto pa je spomin materializiralo, ga ohranjalo in prenašalo na prihodne rodove s tem, ko je že zelo zgodaj postavljalo na najbolj vidna mesta kipe in spomenike, zgradilo knjižnice in arhive. Slikovita je Mumfordova prisposodba mesta kot posode, »ki ne le da je držalo skupaj več ljudi in ustanov kot katerakoli druga vrsta skupnosti, temveč je hkrati tudi ohranilo in

9 Jurij ROSA, *Zgradili bomo Novo Gorico, Razstava dokumentov o pripravah in začetnih delih izgradnje Nove Gorice v letih 1947 in 1948*, Pokrajinski arhiv v Novi Gorici, Nova Gorica 1988.

10 Fernand BAUDEL, *Strukture vsakdanjega življenja: mogoče in nemogoče*, Ljubljana 1988, str. 288.

11 Začetek 17. stol. je prinesel selitev kapitala na podeželje. Meščani številnih evropskih mest so si kupovali posesti in gradili podeželske vile. Pri nas poznamo primer Sežane, kjer so od 18. stol. dalje nastajale številne hiše tržaških meščanov.

12 Več o načinu in tegobah življenja ob novi meji gl. Andrej MALNIČ, *Topografija spomina na novo mejo, Acta Histriae*, 6/6, 1998, str. 331–346.

izročilo potomcem večji del njihovih življenj, kakor bi to mogli storiti posamezniki, po spominu z govorjeno besedo.«¹³ Goriško podeželje je potrebovalo to »posodo«, ki bi uskladiščila prihodnjim rodovom ne samo vse materialne dobrine, pač pa predvsem vsa duhovna bogastva. Že od srednjega veka je to podeželje dihlo in utripalo z mestom Gorica in je ob izgubi le-tega razpolagalo z »možnostmi in pripravljenostjo za družbeno življenje«.¹⁴

Mestu Nova Gorica je združba Kluba starih goriških študentov pomagala uresničevati glavno funkcijo, ki jo mesto ima: »spreminjati moč v obliko, energijo v kulturo, mrtvo snov v žive simbole umetnosti in biološko presnavljanje v družbeno ustvarjalnost«.¹⁵ Če le delno drži, da mesto »živi le od spominjanja«¹⁶ potem je Klub veliko pripomogel k življenju tega mesta. Saj je človek kot nobeno drugo bitje odprt v čas. »Človek živi v sedanosti iz preteklosti za prihodnost.«¹⁷ V njegovi zavesti se srečujejo tri med seboj prepletene časovne dimenzije: preteklost na katero ohranja spomin, ker se v njej zrcali identiteta posameznika in naroda, njegova ustvarjalna energija se realizira v sedanosti in prihodnost mu je imaginarno polje na katero usmerja svoje delo in obstoj. Nova Gorica je postala »posoda«, ki je uskladiščila spomin goriških Slovencev, ki je bil vezan na to in ono stran meje. Ker pa spomin ne priznava meja in umetnih, na silo narejenih ločnic, je Nova Gorica vsrkala vso tisto simbolno in materialno preteklost, ki je bila v zavesti slovenskega prebivalstva vezana na Gorico in celotno deželo Goriško. Dejavnost Kluba starih goriških študentov je pomagala ustvarjati mesto Nova Gorica na njegovi duhovno-simbolni ravni.

Predlog o postavitvi parka zaslužnih mož v Novi Gorici je že v začetku šestdesetih let podal Branko Marušič. Erjavčeva cesta naj bi postala aleja velikanov. Leta 1972 je bil na pobudo Kluba starih goriških študentov in v njegovi organizaciji na Erjavčevi cesti postavljen doprni kip Franu Erjavcu, ki so mu v naslednjih letih sledili še številni drugi. Erjavčeva cesta, ki je postala nekakšen Panteon Goriške, je bila nekdanja Gabrijelova cesta. Vodila je iz Gorice na staro goriško pokopališče in je postala cesta spominov tudi v novo rastočem mestu. Z novo mejo je bila slepa ulica (mejni prehod na Erjavčevi cesti je bil odprt šele 23. februarja 1980) in je na drugi strani tvorila cestni križ z novo magistralo. Klub starih goriških študentov je v praksi udeležil idejo spominskega parka v Novi Gorici. Nova Gorica je s spominskim parkom na Erjavčevi cesti dobila simbolno ovrednotenje mestnega značaja in dežele iz katere je rasla.

Neomajno prepričanje v svoje delo in poslanstvo jih je peljalo v zavzeto zbiranje sredstev za spominska obeležja posameznim osebnostim. Imeli so svojstven način zbiranja sredstev. V začetni fazi je bilo njihovo delo omejeno na sredstva pridobljena s prostovoljnimi prispevki. Akcijo so izvajali mesec ali dva preko svojih znancev, prijateljev in vseh tistih za katere so

13 Lewis MUMFORD, *Mesto v zgodovini*, Ljubljana 1969, str. 140.

14 MUMFORD 1969 (op. 13), str. 11.

15 MUMFORD 1969 (op. 13), str. 797.

16 MUMFORD 1969 (op. 13), str. 140.

17 Anton TRSTENJAK, *Človek simbolično bitje*, Maribor 1994, str. 109.

vedeli, da podpirajo njihovo delo. Številna pisma, predvsem predsednika Gorkiča, pričajo o njihovi vnemi:

Dragi Berce,

Pošiljam ti ta poziv v znanje in uvaževanje. Poštna položnica je priložena. Če smatraš za umestno, priobči kratko vest o naši nameri tudi v Gospodarstvu. Vsaka pomoč nam bo dobrodošla. Moramo hiteti, da izvedemo svojo zamisel, ker naše vrste se hitro redčijo. Oba moža pa res zaslužita, da jima postavimo skromen spomenik prav mi, ki smo poznali njihovo uspešno delo in deloma sodelovali z njima v tistih junaških časih Goriških Slovencev. Veselilo me bo, če mi sporočiš, če imaš ti kakšno svojo misel za uspešno izvedbo naše zamisli.¹⁸

In nato v naslednjem pismu:

Dragi Boris,

Hvala lepa za odgovor in pozdrave. Hvaležen sem ti tudi, da si poskrbel, da je dr. Svetek dobil naš poziv. Na tvojo željo pošiljam tudi tebi vabilo s pošno položnico. Zahvaljujem se ti za tvojo pripravljenost, da prispevaš za izvedbo naše zamisli. Prav imaš. Tvoj oče bi brez dvoma dal tudi svoj prispevek za naš namen. Ne zabi oglasiti se v Vrtojbi, če boš romal tod okrog. Vedno boš dobrodošel.¹⁹

Skupaj so se šolali in potem delovali širom po Goriški, Sloveniji, tedanji Jugoslaviji in Italiji. Njihov način dela je bil zgleden primer dobrega obmejnega sodelovanja. Zanje je meja obstajala samo fiktivno. Sami je niso čutili kot pregrajo, kot mejo dveh različnih nespravljivih političnih sistemov. Njihovo delo, misli in delovanje je prehajalo preko te umetno ustvarjene ločnice. Za njih, ki so bili »vedrega duha, polnega goriške toplote in tolminske trdote«,²⁰ so bili problemi te vrste le vzgib in vzpodbuda za delo in vztrajnost. Ne bomo pretiravali, če rečemo, da so bili zgled dobrega medsosedskega sodelovanja. V odboru Kluba so imeli tudi predstavnika preko meje. Dolga leta, do svoje smrti, je bil to Rado Bednarik, potem pa ga je nasledil dr. Dorče Sardoč. Stari goriški študentje, ki so živeli v Italiji, so se redno udeleževali prireditve Kluba. Rado Bednarik je na vsaki slovesnosti sodeloval s krajšim nagovorom. Kakšno povezanost so čutili med seboj, s svojim ozemljem in z zgodovino ter njenimi osebnostmi pričajo naslednje besede Rada Bednarika: »Tu imate sedaj Gregorčičev spomenik, na Katarinijevem trgu, nekoč Goriščeku, pa raste mogočna cedra, ki smo jo goriški Slovenci vsadili na mestu, kjer je nekoč stala Gregorčičeva hiša.«²¹

Sčasoma je postalo njihovo delo vse bolj odmevno in pridobili so si tudi predstavnike tedanje oblasti. Gorkič je na odkritju spominske plošče Stanislavu Škrabcu poudaril:

18 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, pismo Franceta Gorkiča dr. Lojzetu Bercetu 29. 6. 1964, t. e. 3, a. e. 19.

19 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, pismo Franceta Gorkiča inž. Borisu Cijanju v Zemun, 24. 7. 1964, t. e. 3, a. e. 19.

20 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, pismo z dne 28. 9. 1958, t. e. 2, a. e. 14.

21 Nagovor Rada Bednarika ob odkritju doprsnega kipa Simonu Gregorčiču v Novi Gorici 24. 6. 1973, B. Spomenik Gregorčiču, *Družina*, 22, 1. 7. 1973, str. 4.

Smatram za svojo dolžnost, da se tudi pri tej priliki zahvalim vsem, ki ste nas podprli, ne da bi navajal imena svojih prijateljev, ki jih ni malo. Moram pa poudariti, da smo v zadnjem času deležni podpor tudi od naših javnih ustanov. Z zahvalo naj navedem, da nas je podprla občinska skupščina Nova Gorica, občinska skupščina Tolmin, Zveza kulturno prosvetnih organizacij Nova Gorica, Slovenska Matica Ljubljana...²²

Z njimi so sodelovali v pripravi na postavitve ali kot slavnostni govorniki umetniki, znanstveniki in tudi takratni politiki (France Bevk, Anton Slodnjak, Saša Vuga, Joža Vilfan ...).

Moramo opozoriti še na eno dejstvo, ki smo ga dolžni priznati tem gospodom. Nikoli se niso obremenjevali z dnevno politiko niti niso preteklih političnih sporov prenašali v svoje delo. S svojo modrostjo so znali ločiti zrno od plev. Zavedali so se, da je ustvarjalno delo, ki prispeva k narodni samobitnosti, samostojnosti in samozavesti nesmrtno in neuničljivo, ne glede na to kdo ima v rokah oblast. Oblast propade, delo pa ostane za prihodnje rodove. Zato jih tudi ni zanimala Gabrščkova in Gregorčičeva politična dejavnost, pač pa samo tisto, kar je prispevalo k narodni osveščenosti Slovencev na Goriškem. Svojo usmeritev so ohranili ves čas delovanja, čeprav se nekateri z njimi niso strinjali. Ko so ob odkritju spomenika Antonu Gregorčiču predlagali, da bi bil slavnostni govornik Ivo Juvančič, je to odklonil, češ da se takšnih manifestacij ne udeležuje in med drugim tudi zapisal: »Zlasti pa bi ne mogel govoriti o dr. Antonu Gregorčiču, niti diskutirati o njegovi vlogi, ki mi je za dobo, ko je postal 'starostrujar' odbijajoča.«²³ Seveda pa tudi takratnim oblastem ni bila vselej po godu njihova odločitev in način izvedbe posamezne slovesnosti. Pri pripravi za postavitve spomenika pesniku Alojzu Gradniku je Venče Žnidarčič pisal: »Ker pa se nam kaže večja borba za dovoljenje, posebno s strani politike in gotovih neobdiganost, nam je potrebno več izjav moč, ki bi izpodbivale trditve, da je sodil tako kot bi po njihovem ne smel ...«²⁴ Nič pravijo nimajo proti njemu, drugega pa ne vejo ...«²⁵ Razširjene neresnice in klevetanja so zelo trdožive in marsikdaj je potrebno veliko dokazov, da se jih utiša. Zato so člani iskali dokaze in pravo rešitev pri številnih osebah in ustanovah, ki so pesnika poznale in s katerimi je sodeloval. Neomajnost v iskanju resnice se jim je obrestovala. Po štirih letih truda so leta 1978 vendarle odkrili spomenik Alojzu Gradniku v Novi Gorici. Kadarkoli so krenili izven takrat politično sprejemljivega načina delovanja so trčili ob oviro. To se je zgodilo tudi ob predvidenem kulturnem sporedu pri odkritju plošče Stanku Premrlu v Podnanosu. Semeniški pevski zbor naj bi zapel dve Premrlovi pesmi: Zdravljico in nabožno Bodi pozdravljena, ki pa za nekatere ni bila primerna. Predsednik Gorkič je pomiril

22 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, govor Franceta Gorkiča ob odkritju plošče Stanislavu Škrabcu 28. 5. 1970, t. e. 3, a. e. 28.

23 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, pismo Iva Juvančiča Francetu Gorkiču, 27. 5. 1976, t. e. 4, a. e. 41.

24 Gradnik je bil v letih 1929–1930 sodnik državnega sodišča za zaščito države v Beogradu. Njegovo osebnost in pesniško besedo so izrabile tudi italijanske okupacijske oblasti leta 1941, ko so poudarjale besede Umberta Urbanija, ki ga je že pred vojno imenoval »pesnik s slovensko-italijansko dušo«, za kar pa se Gradnik sam ni nikoli opredelil (gl. Bojan GODEŠA, Priključitev Ljubljanske pokrajine h Kraljevini Italiji, *Slovenska kronika XX. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1996, str. 14).

25 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, pismo Venčeta Žnidarčiča Sergeju Gradniku, 11. 5. 1977, t. e. 4, a. e. 45.

zaskrbljenega duhovnika in pevovodjo Toneta Požarja: »Naš Klub je vložil na občinsko skupščino v Ajdovščini posebno vlogo za dovoljenje vzidanja Premrlove spominske plošče, a do danes nismo dobili nikakega odgovora. Ne glede na to, pa bomo slovesnost odkritja izvršili v nedeljo dne 4. junija 1972 ob 16. uri. Vabimo tudi vas, da nastopite s svojim zborom. Gre pač za počastitev spomina zaslužnega slovenskega moža in nič drugega.«²⁶ In spomin na zaslužnega slovenskega moža je bil obujen v slogu, ki je bil lasten starim goriškim študentom, manjkala ni niti sporna nabožna pesem.

Njihova dejavnost je pripomogla tudi k temu, da je slovenska javnost spoznala delo za Goriško zelo pomembnih posameznikov. Goriška je tako pridobivala svoj prostor v slovenski zgodovini. »Ta teden so imeli sejo tajništva v Društvu novinarjev in so dodelili 30.000 dinarjev za ploščo Gabrščku... Na seji so kot sem nekaj slišal, precej debatirali koliko naj bi dali, ker niso vedeli koliko stane takšna plošča. Imam jih pa močno na sumu, da niso vedeli kdo je bil dr. Anton Gregorčič, ker mi je nekako tajnica po telefonu omenila, naj bi se za Antona Gregorčiča pobrigalo Društvo pisateljev. So pač zamenjali te nesrečne Gregorčiče med seboj in je naša krivda, da smo jim imputirali večje znanje preteklosti. Tako pa se iz tistih preskopih podatkov vloge res niso mogli znajti«, komentira Albert Rejec.²⁷ Veliko duhovne in fizične energije so potrebovali za izvajanje svojega dela. Že sama prometna sredstva so jim predstavljala problem. Konec šestdesetih in v začetku sedemdesetih let je bilo avtomobilov malo. In kasneje, ko je družbeni in osebni standard rasel, je njih omejevala visoka starost. Pa vendar so uspeli navezati stike, priti v najbolj odročne kraje, svojim leto navkljub. Tam, kjer se je cesta končala, je bilo treba tudi peš (do domačije Iva Šorlija »Pod robmi« nad Podmelcem je peljala samo steza). A prišli so in izpeljali svojo akcijo.

Niso pa postavljali samo novih spomenikov in spominskih plošč, pač pa so poskrbeli tudi za kulturno dediščino, ki je že obstajala, a je bila zanemarjena. Tudi grobovi pomembnih ljudi potrjujejo nacionalno kulturo in bi moral osveščen narod zanje skrbeti. Člani Kluba starih goriških študentov so imeli v sebi toliko pietete, da so kljub visokim letom oskrbeli lepo število grobov pomembnim osebnostim. Njihova stalna skrb je bil grob Simona Gregorčiča pri sv. Lovrencu na Libušnjem. Po prvi ureditvi groba je Gorkič zapisal:

S prijatelji smo si grob ogledali dne 9. septembra 1967. Slišal sem namreč, da je hudo zanemarjen. Govorice so bile utemeljene. Zob časa je pač opravil svoje. A nikdo 'ne mož ne mladenič, noben se ne gane.' Pepca Gregorčičeva, pesnikova pranečakinja in sedaj tudi oskrbnica Gregorčičevega muzeja na Vrsnem, mi je ogorčeno pisala, da se že nad deset let trudi pri odgovornih činiteljih, ki imajo sredstva, da bi obnovili pesnikov nagrobnik, ali zamen. Hudovali so se nad to zanikrnostjo posebno naši izseljenci, ki vsako leto pridejo na obisk v staro domovino in redno obišečejo tudi Gregorčičev grob. Letos so bile tri take skupine, ki niso skrivale svojega ogorčenja radi zapuščenosti pesnikovega groba. Zdaj bo tega konec. Zdaj je

26 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, pismo Franceta Gorkiča 25. 5. 1972, t. e. 4, a. e. 33.

27 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, pismo Alberta Rejca Francetu Gorkiču 10. 10. 1964, t. e. 3, a. e. 19.

grob in nagrobnik obnovljen in narejen kakor se spodobi. Stroški za obnovo znašajo 77.000 starih dinarjev. Upam, da bomo zbrali v kratkem toliko prispevkov, da bomo tudi te stroške pošteno poravnali.²⁸

V tej akciji so očistili grob, oprali nagrobnik, obnovili napise in na novo prepleskali ograjo. Leta 1970 so zopet izvedli akcijo na njegovem grobu in namestili kažipote, ki so jih leta 1977 znova očistili in obnovili napise na njih. Fašizem ni prizanesel niti slovenskim nagrobnikom. Poskušal je uničiti vse domoljubne napise, do umrlih je ohranil samo toliko pietete, da je pustil njihova imena in priimke. Nekateri grobovi zaslužnih Goričanov so po novi meji med Italijo in Jugoslavijo ostali na italijanski strani. Klub starih goriških študentov se je lotil obnove tudi teh nagrobnikov. Obnovili so prvoten napis na nagrobniku Frana Erjavca in Karla Lavriča, za slednjega so tudi dosegli, da se zanj trideset let ne plačuje pristojbine. Čutili so veliko odgovornost do tistih ljudi, ki so v svojem življenju uspeli opraviti delo, ki bo ostalo za večno. Zato so se trudili, da bi tudi njihova zadnja počivališča bila dostojna vez s prihodnjimi rodovi. Klub starih goriških študentov ni bil samo društvo, ki je imelo svojo kulturno nalogo, pač pa je članstvo skrbelo tudi za medsebojne socialne stike. Vezala jih je kulturna dejavnost in prijetno druženje:

Tvojemu vabilu na odkritje spominska plošče Stanku Premrlu sem se odzval, vendar samo za kake pol ure (do Berlotovega govora), ker se mi je jako mudilo v Ljubljano. Saunig me je z odra dol videl in sva se pozdravila. Z drugimi pa nisem utegnil govoriti. Toliko ti sporočam, da ti dokažem disciplino nas starih 'kerlcev', kakor si se v svojem govoru izrazil. Lepe pozdrave! Kaj bo pa s tistim teranom na Krasu, kamor nas je lansko leto v Kromberku povabil neki kolega Kraševce (kako se piše ne vem),

je bil radoveden stari goriški študent.²⁹ Klub je zrasel iz srečanja maturantov goriških srednjih šol z nalogo kulturnega udejstvovanja, ob tem pa njegovi člani niso pozabili na človeško plat medsebojnih odnosov. Niso pozabili na rojstne dneve ali na besede sožalja ob smrti, ki je postala vedno pogostejša obiskovalka njihovih vrst. Delovali so kot neke vrste kulturniški ceh. Njihove kulturne akcije in njihovo vsakdanje življenje sta se tesno prepletala in se marsikdaj poistovetila. Tako je bilo darilo Jožka Žigona predsedniku Gorkiču za rojstni dan denarni prispevek za ureditev groba Alojziju Resu.

Gorkič in Zorzut sta bila oba zelo močni osebnosti. Gorkič je bil operativen človek, ki je želel čimprej rezultat svojega dela. Zorzut je bil esteta in je stvari želel imeti dodelane in perfektno izpeljane. Za verze, ki jih je sestavljal za napisne plošče je želel iz dna svoje duše izvleči čim globljo in čim izvirnejšo misel. Misel, ki bo označila človeka, ki mu je namenjena. Na drugi strani se je zavedal daljnosežnosti dela, ki ga opravljajo in da mora zato biti dobro opravljeno. Zato si je vzel čas za globoki premislek. V pismu je Gorkiču zapisal: »Ne smeš si pa predstavljati, da misli in verzi pritečejo kar sproti kot bi orehe trl.«³⁰

28 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, pismo Franceta Gorkiča Andreju Budalu v Trst 27. 11. 1967, t. e. 5, a. e. 55.

29 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, dopisnica Avgusta Pretota Francetu Gorkiču 8. 6. 1972, t. e. 4, a. e. 33.

30 PANG, KSGŠ, 429, Pismo Ludvika Zorzuta predsedniku Francetu Gorkiču, 7. 2. 1969, t. e. 3, a. e. 26.

Konec sedemdesetih let je je Klub izgubil svoje najstarejše člane. Ljudi, ki so bili od vsega začetka tvorci in duhovni vodje te samosvoje združbe (Gorkič, Zorzut in kmalu za njima Žnidarčič). Vendar delovanje ni zamrlo, pred seboj so videli še veliko nedokončanega dela. Vstopili so »mlajši« stari študentje, ki so zastavljeno pot nadaljevali. Klub je bil dejaven do svoje ukinitve. V zadnjih letih si je pridobil sodelavce, ljudi, ki so že po službeni dolžnosti delali v kulturi in prosveti. Kulturni program je pomagala sestavljati tajnica kulturne skupnosti Alenka Saksida, med svoje sodelavce je Klub pritegnil še kustosa Goriškega muzeja Tomaža Pavšiča in profesorja Marjana Urbančiča. Vendar jedro so še vedno ostali stari študentje. V letu 1987 so prenehali z delovanjem. Ne zaradi lastne nedejavnosti ali nespravljivih idej, pač pa zaradi naravnega procesa, ki se mu nobeno živo bitje ne more izogniti. Starost in smrt sta razredčila njihove vrste. Nalogo, ki so si jo zadali so izpolnili. Veliko želja in idej pa je zaradi neizprosnega toka časa ostalo samo v njihovih mislih in so jih odnesli s seboj.



Slika 1: Od leve proti desni v prvi vrsti: A. Černic, Kazimir Saunig, Joško Žigon; v drugi vrsti: Kristjan Bavdaž, Ludvik Zorzut, Josip Gerbec; v tretji vrsti: Rado Bednarik, France Gorkič, Vencelj Žnidarčič; 15. 03. 1974. (vir: PANG 429, Klub starih goriških študentov, t.e. 7, št. fotografije 1; foto: Foto Mario, Šempeter pri Gorici).



Slika 2: Sestanek Kluba na vrtu hotela Sabotin v Solkanu, 1969 ali 1971. (vir: PANG 429, Klub starih goriških študentov, t.e. 7, št. fotografije 66).



Slika 3: France Gorkič, dolgoletni predsednik Kluba. (vir: PANG 429, Klub starih goriških študentov, t.e. 7, št. fotografije 51).



Slika 5: Pogled na Erjavčevo ulico gledano z zahoda proti središču mesta. Na desni strani ceste še ni postavljenih spomenikov. (vir: PANG 583, Zbirka fotografij, serija 009, št. fotografije 82).



Slika 4: Otvoritev spomenika Franu Erjavcu, 15.10.1972. (vir: PANG 429, Klub starih goriških študentov, t.e. 7, št. fotografije 201).



Slika 6: Nova Gorica danes in spomeniki ob cesti (foto: Ernesta Drole).

Activities of the Old Gorizia Students Club in Nova Gorica

Summary

The article discusses the Old Gorizia Students Club's role in the development of Nova Gorica. The beginning of the Old Gorizia Students Club dates back to before 1915, when former high school graduates and other high school students from Gorizia would arrange meetings. At the secondary schools in Gorizia, students from the Gorizia and Gradiščanska regions met and united this area into a whole through social contacts in their later professional lives. Gorizia also had the only Slovenian national high school. Gorizian Slovenes and their national activists succeeded where other Slovenes had failed. On 3rd August, 1913, an imperial decree decided that with the start of the new school year in Gorizia, three secondary schools would be created out of the then German state grammar school: a complete humanities gymnasium with Slovene as the educational language, a realistic gymnasium with Italian as the educational language, and a realistic gymnasium with German as the educational language. Former high school graduates from high schools in Gorizia, who had graduated before 1915, cultivated friendly relations with each other, although their lives and political circumstances led them off in different directions. Their feeling of belonging to their native land never faltered. They would meet in Kromberk, Solkan, sometimes concluding their meeting with a short trip.

The meeting of forty-two still-living Slovene high school graduates from Gorizia high schools, who had graduated before 1915, on 22th September, 1963 at the Komel Inn in Kromberk, was groundbreaking. It was there that the idea was born to set up commemorative plaques for Andrej Gabršček and dr. Anton Gregorčič They in Kobarid and Vrsno, thus repaying them for the work they invested in the development of the Slovenian newspaper and Slovene education in Gorizia. With this successful campaign, a wide field of cultural work opened up for them to complete. The committee was renamed the Old Gorizian Students Club, and it was chaired by France Gorkic until his death in 1977. It was not until 1968, after several years of successful work, that the Club was registered as a society.

The society left its mark on the town of Nova Gorica. Monuments were erected for eleven meritorious men of Gorizia along Erjavec Road: Fran Erjavec, Simon Gregorčič, Andrej Gabršček, dr. Henrik Tuma, dr. Anton Gregorcic, Lojze Bratuž, dr. Alojz Gradnik, dr. Josip Vilfan, Ivan Trink, Andej Budal, and dr. Engelbert Besednjak. Their work and the spontaneous erection of monuments are the building blocks in the development of the city's consciousness. By erecting monuments, they connected the history of Gorizia and linked it to the emerging urban settlement of Nova Gorica.

Spomeniki so večplastni in večpomenski materialni ter nematerialni pomniki ter odsev razvoja družbe. Najprej moramo določiti, kaj pomeni termin spomenik in slovenske besede okoli njega, saj nam slovarji, kadar pojem monumentalen opredeljujejo kot »objekte, ki imajo velike razsežnosti in lep videz, ne zadoščajo.«¹ Naš zakon za področje varovanja kulturne dediščine natančno določa, kaj je kulturna dediščina:

Dediščina so dobrine, podedovane iz preteklosti, ki jih Slovenke in Slovenci, pripadnice in pripadniki italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti in romske skupnosti, ter drugi državljanke in državljani Republike Slovenije opredeljujejo kot odsev in izraz svojih vrednot, identitet, etnične pripadnosti, verskih in drugih prepričanj, znanj in tradicij. Dediščina vključuje vidike okolja, ki izhajajo iz medsebojnega vplivanja med ljudmi in prostorom skozi čas.²

Kot krovni termin za izbrano, v posebnem postopku razglašeno kulturno dediščino na lokalnem ali državnem nivoju, zakonodaja in stroka uporabljata izraz kulturni spomenik (spomenik) za nepremično in premično dediščino: »'kulturni spomenik' (v nadaljnjem besedilu: spomenik) je dediščina, ki je razglašena za spomenik ali ki je vpisana v inventarno knjigo pooblaščenega muzeja.«³ Termin iz slovenske zakonodaje ustreza angleškemu pomenu besede »monument« ali nemški besedi »Denkmal«.

Del nepremične kulturne dediščine so tudi javni spomeniki, to so v prostor postavljeni spominski objekti iz trajnega materiala. Lahko so kipi kakršnekoli oblike, znamenja, arhitekturne forme ali namensko urejeni, zasajeni naravni elementi, kakor so posamezna spominska drevesa (npr. spominska lipa) in parkovne ureditve (*Pot spominov in tovarištva*). Primarno so namenjeni spominjanju. Simbolne ureditve pa včasih presegajo ozko obravnavane javne spomenike, ker obsegajo nove četrti mest ali celo nova mesta, kakršni sta Brasilia, zlasti njena federalna četrt ali avstralska Canberra. Značilnost obeh mest, podobno jedra Washingtona D.C. v ZDA je, da izhajajo iz nacionalnih simbolov ali ključnih arhitektur (vladna poslopja, parlament, Kapitol, Lincolnov in Washingtonov spomenik). Nova Gorica pa ima prazno jedro pred občino, ob kateri geometrizirana mreža cest usmerja poglede proti Sveti gori ali Kapeli – Frančiškanskemu

1 Fran, <https://fran.si/iskanje?FilteredDictionary> (dostop 5. november 2019).

2 Zakon o varstvu kulture dediščine (ZVKD-1), Ur. l. RS, št. 16/08, 1. člen.

3 Zakon o varstvu kulture dediščine (ZVKD-1), Ur. l. RS, št. 16/08, 3. člen.

samostanu ali proti železniški postaji.

Oblike posameznega spominskega objekta lahko segajo do spominskih plošč in nagrobnikov. Običajno pa nagrobnikov⁴ na pokopališčih in v cerkvah ter plošč znotraj objektov ne štejemo med javne spomenike, ker ne spominjajo vedno na pomembne osebnosti, niso vedno namenjeni vsej javnosti in niso vedno dostopni. Pri spominskih ploščah natančne delitve ni, ker so te lahko le skromne informativne table brez likovnih prvin ali pa večje ureditve z dodanimi reliefi, mozaiki in drugimi okrasi. Javni spomeniki imajo raznoliko materialno obliko. Ta ima skoraj vedno neke likovne elemente in dodatno simbolno nematerialnost spominjanja. Spominjanje je običajno dvoplastno, ker je odmev na nek zgodovinski dogodek ali osebo in pogosto prezrt odsev časa nastanka, neredko prepleten s političnimi cilji.

Delna zadrega pa obstaja, ker v slovenščini ni posebnega izraza za vse raznolike materializirane spominske oblike, ki jih angleščina povzame v terminu »memorial«.⁵ Zato se v laičnih obravnavah pogosto kar vsi spominski objekti, od spominskih plošč, znamenj do likovno izjemnih javnih spomenikov napačno tolmačijo kot kulturni spomeniki. Konservatorji morajo znova in znova pojasnjevati, da so kulturna dediščina zgolj posebej ovrednoteni in izbrani javni spomeniki, kadar spominjajo na pomemben zgodovinski dogodek ali dogajanje, na pomembno osebo in imajo dodatno prepoznavnost v javnem prostoru, v idealnem primeru tudi likovno ali drugo vrednost, ki je prepoznana kot družbeni pomen:

»Družbeni pomen« je vrednost, ki jo ima dediščina za skupnost in posameznice in posameznike (v nadaljnjem besedilu: posamezniki) zaradi svojega kulturnega, vzgojnega, razvojnega, verskega, simbolnega in identifikacijskega potenciala ali za preučevanje strok, kot so antropologija, arheologija, arhitektura, etnologija, umetnostna zgodovina in zgodovina.⁶

Družbeni pomen enot dediščine s strokovnimi analizami⁷ razberejo konservatorji. Izbrane objekte kot kulturno dediščino predlagajo za vpis v register kulturne dediščine. Če izjemnost ovrednotene dediščine sprejme in potrdi lokalna skupnost ali država, postanejo te enote skozi poseben postopek razglašanja objekti s statusom kulturnega spomenika lokalnega ali državnega pomena. V Sloveniji imamo razglašanih 334 kulturnih spomenikov državnega pomena; kar 65 je spominskih objektov in krajev. Med njimi so tudi Prešernova spominska hiša v Vrbi, Partizanska bolnišnica Franja ter poslovični objekti na Žalah v Ljubljani ter spominska cerkva Javorca. Najvišje ovrednoteni javni spomeniki v Sloveniji so Taborišče Podljubelj skupaj s spomenikom, Dražgoški spomenik z grobnico, Plečnikova spomenika v Dolenji

4 Nagrobni spomeniki imajo pieteten spomin, najprej namenjen ožji družini in niso vedno namenjeni vsej javnosti; pokopališča so posebni simbolni prostori.

5 Povzeto po različnih slovarjih in angleški Wikipediji: *Memorial*, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Memorial> (dostop 27. februar 2020).

6 Zakon o varstvu kulture dediščine (ZVKD-1), Ur. l. RS, št. 16/08, 3. člen.

7 Vrednotenja javnih spomenikov znotraj svojih strokovnih raziskav delajo umetnostni zgodovinarji, zgodovinarji, etnologi, sociologi, likovni kritiki in drugi. Pogosto so ti objekti tudi predmet političnih vrednotenj in zlorab.

vasi in v Črni na Koroškem ter raznoliki spomeniki istega arhitekta v Ljubljani (od Ilirskega stebra do skladateljev ob Vegovi ulici). Enak status imajo spomenik Pohorskemu bataljonu pri Osankarici, spomenik žrtvam povojnih pobojev v Spominskem parku Teharje in drugi.⁸

Javni spomeniki, razen izjemnih, ki jih omenjamo zgoraj, so v Sloveniji pogosto spregledan del javnega prostora in urbanistične zgodovine, čeprav živimo z njimi in ob njih. Ostajajo likovna dekoracija, neredko konservativna. Simbolni, nematerialni pomen pa je prezrt ali pozabljen. Neredko se zanje, po slovesni postavitvi, spomnijo zgolj ob obletnicah in proslavah ali zaradi različnih vandalizmov. Skrb zanje naj bi bila naloga lastnikov. Običajno pa je odrinjena komunalnim službam, Zavodu za varstvo kulturne dediščine in posameznim društvom ali podobnim civilnim iniciativam.

Po prvi svetovni vojni, ko se je začel v prostoru sedanje Slovenije postopoma uveljavljati arhitekturni modernizem, v ožjem prostoru sedanje Nove Gorice ni bilo javnih spomenikov. Prostor v predmestju starega mesta, z opekarno in starim pokopališčem za železniško postajo, ni imel zgodovinskega pomena. V širši okolici Gorice, kjer je nekaj let prej bila frontna črta ob Soči, pa je Kraljevina Italija začela načrtno graditi ali urejati objekte, ki imajo značaj javnih spomenikov, celo spominskih območij. Pretežno gre za prostore preurejenih ali novo zasnovanih grobišč »Velike vojne«. Za politične potrebe nove oblasti, ki je celo leta začela šteti na novo, so jih monumentalizirali z vso fašistično patetiko in simboli. Med večje ureditve z značilnostmi arhitekture modernizma Giannina Castiglioni in Giovannija Greppija sodita Redipuglia/Sredpolje in kostnica na griču sv. Antona v Kobaridu, urejena leta 1938. Nekaj drugih, manjših spomenikov v okolici Gorice so podrli po drugi svetovni vojni.

Veliko bolj patetične ureditve trgov s spomeniki, mest ali posameznih četrti so v obdobju med obema vojnama znane na vseh straneh Evrope. Italija ima v glavnem mestu Rimu široko cesto Via della Conciliazione. Ta samozavestno usmerja poglede in promet proti Berninijevim kolonadam in Michelangelovi kupoli bazilike sv. Petra. Značilno cesto med nizoma novih palač je zasnoval Marcello Piacentini s sodelavci leta 1936.⁹ Še bolj patetična je bila zasnova novega mesta EUR (»Esposizione Universale Roma«), kjer je isti arhitekt med 1932 in 1942 na južni strani Rima zasnoval novo četrt z modernističnimi/antikizirajočimi stavbami in širokimi avenijami z značilno geometrično mrežo poti ter s simbolnimi poudarki fašističnega časa. Podobne urbanistične podvige bi našli v Parizu, Washingtonu ali Moskvi.

Gorica je v zgodnjem obdobju modernizma, znova dobila monumentalne poudarke, ki se nam zdijo samoumevni in večnostni, vseprisotni simboli prostora. V širšem prostoru Soške fronte so bile podrte ali vsaj poškodovane vse izpostavljene cerkve. Minirani in uničeni so bili zvoniki,

8 Register nepremične kulturne dediščine, <https://gisportal.gov.si/portal/apps/webappviewer/index.html> (dostop 27. februar 2020).

9 Benito Mussolini je ob rekonstrukciji *Are Pacis* in gradnji ceste cesarskih forumov izjavil: »Rim mora v petih letih postati čudovit za vse ljudi sveta, razsežen, urejen, močan, kakor je bil v obdobju prvega cesarja Avgusta«. Marco ZAGNI, Alla ricerca della Tirrenide perduta, *Esoterismo e Fascismo: storia, interpretazioni, documenti*, Roma 2006. str. 281.

stoletja orientacijske in simbolne točke prostora naselij in izpostavljenih gričev. Nadomestne sakralne gradnje, postavljene po letu 1920, so zaradi konservativnih arhitekturnih oblik pri likovnih izborih prezrte, ker ne gre za kakovostno arhitekturo. Simbolno vlogo zvonikov in cerkva, ki sega na področje urbanističnih izhodišč in javnih spomenikov, pa bi morali celostno ovrednotiti. Najbolj izstopajoč, dominanten kulturni spomenik Gorice in posledično prostora Nove Gorice je od leta 1928 naprej triladijska bazilika Kraljice svetogorske ali Bazilika Marijinega vnebovzvetja na Sveti gori. Za rekonstrukcijo cerkve in samostana sta zaslužna arhitekta Maks Fabiani (1919–1928) in vodja ter glavni načrtovalec nove zunanosti, Silvan Barič/Baresi (1924–1928).¹⁰ Zrasla je monumentalna dominantna. Že skoraj sto let je ta cerkev eno od izhodišč tudi za urbanistično načrtovanje.

Veduta Gorice je bila jeseni 1938 dodatno zaznamovana s spominskim stolpom. Arhitekt Ghino Venturi je na Oslavju načrtoval veliko kostnico, imenovano *Sacrario militare di Oslavia*. Avtor je povzel renesančni trdnjavski tloris, dodal monumentalno stopnišče in dal zasaditi značilne linije cipres.

Podrejeni in zatirani Slovenci niso mogli niti smeli obdobju vse do osvoboditve izpod fašizma in nacizma postaviti nobenega javnega spomenika. Po vzponu fašizma so na pokopališčih Primorske in Furlanije znani in neznani podirali nagrobnike s slovenskimi napisi. Vandalizmi podobnih ekstremnih skupin se nadaljujejo v našem tisočletju. Strah in kasnejša avtocenzura sta uspeli na pokopališčih prekriti spomine na generacije prednikov s slovenskimi imeni. Redek nagrobnik z napisom v treh jezikih (italijansko, nemško in slovensko) je bil v tem času postavljen v spomin matere Maksa Fabianija na pokopališču pri Sv. Gregorju nad Kobdiljem.

Bazovske štiri žrtve na Primorskem tedaj niso mogle dobiti spomenika. Slovenci so jih leta 1931 lahko počastili s prvim javnim spomenikom žrtvam fašizma v Evropi zgolj v Kranju. Pesnika Simona Gregorčiča je leta 1937 s spomenikom v Ljubljani počastil Jože Plečnik.¹¹ Pesnikovo poprsje je dodal kipar iz primorske begunske družine, Zdenko Kalin. Redke starejše obstoječe spomenike slovenskim kulturnikom so predhodniki neofašistov vandalsko podirali, kakor se je zgodilo s spomenikom skladatelju Hrabroslavu Volariču v Kobaridu. Zavedni domačini so kakšnega od starejših spomenikov celo sami odstranili s podstavka in skrili, kar se je zgodilo s kamnito figuro barona Andreja Čehovina leta 1926.¹²

Veličastna slavja ob velikih spomenikih, z Mussolinijem v glavni vlogi, so bila v prvem desetletju po osvoboditvi v novi državi Jugoslaviji pozabljena. Izjemen zbor na Okroglici leta

10 Na izbor nosilcev projekta je verjetno vplivala tudi politična oblast. Branko MARUŠIČ, Marginalije k političnemu opredeljevanju arhitekta Maksa Fabianija, *Razpotja* 27, <http://old.razpotja.si/marginalije-k-politickemu-opredeljevanju-arhitekta-maksa-fabianija/> (dostop 8. februar 2020).

11 V Novi Gorici je pesnik Gregorčič dobil spomenik šele leta 1973. Kipar poprsja je isti, kakor v Ljubljani, Zdenko Kalin.

12 Kip je zakopan preživel drugo svetovno vojno in začetno obdobje socializma. Po letu 1987 znova stoji v naselju Dolanci pod Štanjelom. Sonja ŽITKO DURJAVA, *Po sledeh časa. Spomeniki v Sloveniji 1800–1914*, Ljubljana 1996, str. 32.

1953 je bil politično spodbučen in je slavil vladarja države in ne žrtve ali slavne kulturnike ali nov spomenik. V desetletju po vojni so pretežno postavljali manjše, anonimne nagrobne in podobna znamenja. Nastala sta dva večja javna spomenika, ki nimata političnih izhodišč. Na izbrani legi na robu Trente je bila leta 1953 nameščena bronasta figura gornika Juliusa Kugyja, delo Jakoba Savinška. Popularni pesnik Soške doline Simon Gregorčič je dobil svoj bronasti lik šele leta 1959, ko so sredi Kobarida postavili izvrstno bronasto skulpturo Jakoba Savinška.¹³

Ob novo uveljavljajoči se meji med Republiko Italijo in Socialistično federativno republiko Jugoslavijo pa je med tem postopoma raslo novo mesto, skromen odmev vehementnosti svetovnih zgledov in arhitekturnih teorij.¹⁴ Začetek del brigadirjev so 13. junija 1948 označili s spominsko ploščo. Skupaj z Edvardom Ravnikarjem so želeli: »Zgraditi nekaj velikega, lepega in ponosnega, kar bi sijalo preko meje.«¹⁵ Gradili so mesto, ki bi postalo upravno in gospodarsko središče, stanovanjsko jedro s šolami in spomenik.

Nova Gorica je sama vsaj simbolno tudi javni spomenik svojega časa in nekdanjih idej. Nova Gorica je urbanistični podvig, največji tovrstni dosežek pretekle države v Sloveniji.¹⁶ Kritične misli novega tisočletja in le delno izpolnjene obljube politike in strokovnjakov tega ne morejo zanikati. Zato ima uresničeni projekt, skupaj z načrtovalcem Edvardom Ravnikarjem, v ožjem jedru naselja od leta 1998 svoj bronast spomenik. Verjetno bo prišel čas, ko bomo dodatno razmišljali, ali je vse grajeno jedro mesta kulturni spomenik državnega pomena, če ga ne bo pred tem uničila stihijska gradnja igralnic in poslovnih stavb.

Zgodovinarji so natančno raziskali dokumente o prvih idejah in datumih začetka gradnje. Kaj pa je o Novi Gorici po 35. letih mislil avtor nove ureditve? Zapisal je:

Nove družbene razmere leta 1945 so prinesle spremembe tudi v urbanizem. Nekaj let prej je bila utečena praksa še v celoti togo in zastarelo administrativna, z zelo redkimi prebliski že znane, širše misli in za usmerjenega mladega strokovnjaka ni bilo niti mesta niti razumevanja. Z novimi generacijami arhitektov in z njihovimi spoznanji pa je razdelitev kompetenc naenkrat postala drugačna; vse od širine novega urbanističnega mišljenja do sistema odločanja in poslovanja je bilo popolnoma novo. (...) Obenem pa danes vidimo, kako smo tudi mnogo preskočili, mnogo zamudili in kako so nam velike in bistvene reči popolnoma ušle iz rok. Pogled nase pa nas je le opozarjal, da smo napravili določen predvojni razvoj, povezan z navdušenjem takrat še mladih arhitektov, ki so že začeli spoznavati napetost med neuporabnostjo starih mest in eksplozivnimi odkritji novih nazorov, povezanih z novimi

13 Na otvoritvi v Kobaridu ni bilo visokih državnih politikov tedanje Jugoslavije. Govornik je bil lokalni politik in uveljavljen pisatelj France Bevk. Gojko ZUPAN, Kobariska kostnica in dva spomenika Simonu Gregorčiču: Castiglioni, Savinšek, Vuković, *Kras*, št. 118/119, 2012. str. 62–66.

14 Gojko ZUPAN, *Arhitektura 20. stoletja, 20. stoletje: arhitektura od moderne do sodobne. Vodnik po arhitekturi*, Ljubljana 2001, str. 5–10.

15 Ravnikarjev stavek je povzet z napisa na spomeniku v Novi Gorici.

16 Podobni so bili posegi v Velenju, v Strnišču (Kidričevo), v Ljubljani na območju Litostroja in drugje. Gotovo pa je Nova Gorica simbolno ključno mesto na zahodnem robu nekdanje države.

tehnikami. Te so šele omogočale globlje in resne analize obstoječega kot tudi vizije možnosti, povezanih z modreno tehnologijo in revolucionarnim oblikovanjem. Največji del tega je z zgledom in besedo pokazal arhitekt Le Corbusier.¹⁷

Za naše novo mesto ob italijanski meji, kljub prevladi urbanističnih zgledov, povzetih po Le Corbusieru in predvsem po optimističnih usmeritvah kongresov CIAM (»Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne«),¹⁸ politika ni zmogla ali znala uveljaviti vseh svojih želja. Vsej vehementnosti socialističnih konceptov navkljub je očitno, da je Nova Gorica orientirana proti Sveti gori. Napis »NAŠ TITO« na pobočju Sabotina je bolj karikatura preteklega obdobja kakor načrtna oznaka.¹⁹

Niti Velenje niti Nova Gorica se po velikosti ne moreta meriti z Novim Zagrebom ali z Novim Beogradom, ki sta nastala v isti državi v istem obdobju. Opazni odmevi časa so predvsem pri geometrizirani mreži in širinah prometnic ter delno pri razmeščanju namembnosti določenih palač ob glavnem trgu. Na osrednji, še vedno travnati površini novega mesta v Sloveniji ni nobenega grozljivega heroja ali kipa svobode ali tatlinovskega stolpa. Brdarjev kip drevesa pri knjižnici te zadrege ne preseže.²⁰

Med gradnjo novega mesta so bili novi javni spomeniki na obrobju razmišljanja. Enako velja za kulturno dediščino, saj v jedru novega mesta razen ostanka opekarne, Frnaže, praktično ni starejšega objekta. Postopen razvoj Nove Gorice je preskočil spomeniške, kiparske okrase v odmevu socialističnega realizma. Nekaj politično všečnih starejših kipov na stavbi občine v Novi Gorici le spominja na sovjetske vzore.²¹ Najboljša poznavalka povojnih javnih spomenikov, dr. Špelca Čopič,²² bi jih gotovo razvrstila že v skupino socialnega realizma.

Umetniško ustvarjanje Sovjetske zveze in velikega dela vzhodne Evrope v desetletjih tik pred in po drugi svetovni vojni posplošeno imenujemo socialistični realizem.²³ Pred desetletji, ko je bila

17 Edvard RAVNIKAR, *Nova Gorica po 35-ih letih, Umetnost in arhitektura. Zbornik esejev* (ur. Aleš Vodopivec), Slovenska matica, Ljubljana 2007, str. 131.

18 Organizacija CIAM je na enajstih evropskih mednarodnih kongresih od Sarraza v Švici leta 1928 do zadnjega v Otterloju na Nizozemskem leta 1959 skrbela za izmenjavo idej o urbanizmu, arhitekturi, krajinski arhitekturi. Na kongresih so sodelovali številni uveljavljeni arhitekti in znanstveniki. Za Novo Gorico je bil pomemben predzadnji kongres v Dubrovniku leta 1956.

19 Na jugu je Nova Gorica zamejena z gričem s frančiškanskim samostanom ter Panovcem in na zahodu z linijo meje vzdolž železnice in avstro-ogrske železniške postaje, kar sta bili danosti že pred začetkom gradnje naselja. Na vzhodni strani jedra mesta se strnjena shema zaključuje s parkom »Borov gozdiček«, ki ni dovolj določen kot eno možnih in dragocenih jeder mestnega življenja. Vojkova cesta pa ga vizualno in funkcionalno odreže od zaledja.

20 Ker so bile v Novi Gorici kulturne palače (gledališče, knjižnica) postavljene pozno in z drugačnimi zunanjimi formami, je osnovni koncept orientacije geometrijske prostorske mreže mesta nekoliko zabrisan.

21 Avtor štirih simbolnih kipov (ujetnik, upornik, partizan, kmet) nad vhodom v občino (arhitekt Vinko Glanz) je bil Boris Kalin. Alenka DI BATTISTA, Katarina MOHAR, *Občinska stavba v Novi Gorici*, Umetnine v žepu 17, Ljubljana 2019, str. 31–36.

22 Špelca ČOPIČ, *Javni spomeniki v slovenskem kiparstvu prve polovice 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana 2000.

23 V Sovjetski zvezi značilnosti socialističnega realizma zasledimo že sredi tridesetih let 20. stoletja. Podobna patetična izhodišča z nekoliko drugačno ikonografijo so razvijali v Nemčiji, Franciji, Italiji.

v Berlinu organizirana mednarodna konferenca z naslovom *Bildersturm*, so Rusi, Poljaki, Madžari in drugi razpravljali o problemih, kam z velikanskimi kipi herojev in ideologov, Marxa, Engelsa in predvsem Lenina. Slovenci podobnih težav nismo imeli,²⁴ saj v Sloveniji predimenzioniranih kipov ni bilo, vse do postavitve pretirano povečanega Augustinčičevega Josipa Broza 25. junija 1977 v Velenju. Nova Gorica ni nikoli naredila takšne napake.

Pri javnih spomenikih socialistične Jugoslavije je vsaj do sredine petdesetih let, ponekod do gospodarske krize okoli leta 1965, izraz socialistični realizem pogojno ustrezen. Večinoma so nove politične usmeritve že v petdesetih letih dovoljevale, celo podpirale postopen razvoj novih iskanj in oddaljevanje od sovjetskih vzorcev. Dr. Čopičeva je tovrstne bronaste figure poimenovala socialni realizem.

Pozno ali po-modernistične oblike so korak za korakom prerasle v likovno samosvoje, izjemne postavitve abstraktnih objektov sredine šestdesetih in sedemdesetih let, ko je kiparska ustvarjalnost dosegla enega od vrhuncev.²⁵ Med izstopajočimi so spomeniki v Podgariću, Jasenovcu, Kamenskem (razstreljen po osamosvojitvi Hrvaške), na Petrovi gori, v Kragujevcu, na Tjentištu in Kozari. Vehementno oblikovane betonske ali kovinske konstrukcije so bile običajno postavljene v preurejeno krajino, do njih so peljale nove ceste, ob njih so rasli muzeji ali hoteli. Spomeniški kompleksi so do osemdesetih let postali zgled premišljene inventivnosti, monumentalnosti in velikih krajinskih posegov.²⁶ Po razpadu Jugoslavije nobena samostojna država še ni dosegla niti podobne likovne kakovosti. Figuralni spomeniki, kakor so spomeniki Franju Tuđmanu v Zagrebu, Draži Mihajloviću v Bileći, Aleksandru Velikemu v Skopju ali Billu Clintonu v Prištini so bolj karikatura stanja kakor kakovosten spomin na nove čase.

Nadaljevanje akademske, ponekod patetične figuralike Meštrovičeve šole in Augustinčiča je krajši čas, le desetletje in pol opazno v Sloveniji. Najbližji patetičnemu realizmu je bil Lojze Dolinar z zapozneno okrasitvijo trga v Kranju. Dolinar je bil enako patetičen že pri oblikovanju nagrobnika Janezu Evangelistu Kreku na Žalah leta 1920, pri spomeniku kralju Petru I. pred Magistratom (odkrit 1931; podrt 1941) in pri konjeniku v bronu, Aleksandru I. na Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani (odkrit 1940; podrt 1941). »Socialistični« so bili pet ali deset let kasneje po Sloveniji zgolj simbolni dodatki: zvezde, oblačila, orodje ali orožje, napisi. Nekaj deset bombašev, borcev s puškami (npr. Kočevje, Senožče, Cerknica) in podobnih kipov so hitro presegle pretehtane postavitve v prostor in zazelenitve ter bolj nežne, pogosto gole, intimistične figure.

Če primerjamo javne spomenike, nastale v desetletju pred drugo svetovno vojno in po njej s spomeniki vzhodnega in zahodnega dela Evrope ter ZDA, v Sloveniji ne znamo ali ne želimo postavljati takšnih velikih, monumentalnih figur. Meštrovičeva *Indijanca* v Chicagu, postavljena

24 Gojko ZUPAN, Les monuments et l'espace public Slove de 1945 à 1991, *Bildersturm in Osteuropa Bildersturm in Osteuropa: die Denkmäler der kommunistischen Ära im Umbruch*, München 1994.

25 Zoran KRŽIŠNIK et al., XXXIX Biennale di Venezia - Jugoslavia - Bogdanovic - Dzamonja - Tihec - Živkovic, katalog, Ljubljana 1980.

26 Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980, Museum of Modern art, New York 2018.

1926-27 ali Augustinčičev *Mir*, postavljen 1954 v New Yorku, težko razvrstimo v socialistični realizem. Nedvomno gre za patetične, ekspresivne figure na razsežnih podstavkih. Podobno velja za spomenike žrtvam in herojem druge svetovne vojne po Evropi. Primerljivi kipi grobišč v Normandiji so večji in bolj patetični kakor karkoli, kar stoji v Sloveniji.

Monumentalnih spomenikov, če ne vključujemo izjemnih krajinskih ureditev v Dragi, na Ljubelju, na Urhu, v Sloveniji vse do Dražgoš ni bilo. Celo spomenik, ki je neposreden odvod sovjetskih zasnov, Arončikov spomenik osvoboditeljem v Murski Soboti, odkrit avgusta 1945, je prilagojen grajskemu drevoredu in dopolnjen z dvema sorazmerno majhnima kipoma statičnih vojakov brez izrazitih čustev. Avtorja kipov sta bila brata Boris in Zdenko Kalin.²⁷ Večina drugih spomenikov, od plošč do arhitektur, je v prvih povojnih letih bolj ali manj uspešno posnemala Plečnikova dela in oblike njegove arhitekturne šole z v antiki izvirajočimi stebri, vazami, triglavimi zaključki, fontanami.²⁸

Za Slovenijo je poimenovanje socialistični realizem za večino javnih spomenikov manj primerno. Poznamo nekaj izjem, postavljenih v prvi ali drugi povojni petletki. Posamezni trendi drugih držav in republik z iz konteksta iztrganimi postavitvami pa niso in ne morejo biti utemeljeni z berljivimi esejističnimi razlagami.²⁹ Vprašljive so razprave, kjer opisovalci trendov najprej postavijo tezo in za tem brez terenskih preverjanj na osnovi enega ali dveh izbranih primerov podkrepijo izhodišča z usmerjenimi fotografijami, kjer izstopa neobstoječi monumentalizem. Generaliziranje izjem na splošno pojavnost postavljanja spominskih znamenj žrtvam vojn bo v bodoče potrebno premisliti in korigirati.

Nadaljevalci Plečnikove prostorske prefinjenosti so se uveljavili s krajinskimi ureditvami. Med vplivnimi so bili arhitekti Edvard Ravnikar, Boris Kobe, Vinko Glanz in Marko Župančič.³⁰

Prvi svobodni prvi maj je leta 1946 v Sloveniji in Tivoliju označil goli *Pastirček* Zdenka Kalina. Kipar je nadaljeval na podoben način s *Spomenikom pionirjem* leta 1962 in *Fontano življenja* na grobišču talcev na Žalah leta 1965. Nedaleč je *Gramozna jama*, kjer najdemo znano simboliko: temna jama in svetel obelisk. Ureditev je 1955-1957 podpisal Vinko Glanz. Antikizirajočega, golega umirajočega talca je oblikoval Boris Kalin leta 1955, nameščen je bil dve leti kasneje. Ikonografije socialističnega realizma pri figuri in ureditvi ni. Niti na nekaj korakov oddaljenih Žalah je ne najdemo (arhitekt Fedja Košir, kipar Janez Boljka, 1965). Boljša celota je bila postavljena v Brdih, kjer nad Gonjačami dominira vitek razgledni stolp arhitekta Marka Šlajmerja, pod njim pa je reliefni spomin kiparja Boljke. Verjetno gre za najboljšo spomeniško

27 Višina spomenika vizualno ne presega dimenzij *Ilirskega stebra* v Ljubljani. Spomenik v Murski Soboti, skupaj s podstavkom, meri 17,5 m, ljubljanski spomenik pa nima poudarjenega postavka in je 13 m visok.

28 *Spomenik ustanovitvi Osvobodilne fronte*, Ljubljana, 1951; *Spomenik žrtvam 1. in 2. svetovne vojne*, Črna na Koroškem, 1952; Spominska kapelica v Dolenji vasi v Selški dolini, 1950.

29 Simona VIDMAR (ur.), *Heroes we love, Ideology, Identity and Socialist Art in the New Europe*, Maribor 2017.

30 E. Ravnikar: Nova vas na Blokah, 1951; Draga, 1953; Kapor na Rabu, 1954. B. Kobe: Podlublje, 1954; Urh 1955. Glanz: Ulaka, 1953; *Gramozna jama* 1955. Praktično povsod so arhitekti vključili tudi kipe tedaj uveljavljenih slovenskih kiparjev.

celoto šestdesetih let v bližini Nove Gorice.

Celo pri političnih veljakh, kakršen je bil Boris Kidrič, so v Ljubljani celopostavno figuro pritrdili na nizko ploščad in s tem omilili agresivno držo govornika. Delo Zdenka Kalina iz leta 1960,³¹ je ostalo na evropsko primerljivi kakovostni ravni, če jo postavimo ob bok dve desetletji mlajšemu spomeniku Georgesu Pompidouju (kipar Louis Derbré, 1984).

Osrednji slovenski spomenik, postavljen v zgodnjem povojnem času, je bila *Grobница narodnih herojev*. To je na podstavek dvignjena replika antičnega sarkofaga, okrašena z dvema, le 60 cm visokima reliefoma (Boris Kalin) in prefinjenimi verzi Otona Župančiča. Prvotna postavitev je skušala celo omiliti os dostopne poti z okroglimi kamni tlaka. Arhitekt je sarkofag herojev poudaril s postavitvijo v senco drevesa. Takšna zasnova Eda Mihevca bi bila izven Slovenije razumljena kot preskromna, pri nas pa je bila nadgradnja znamenj s triglavimi zaključki in posnemanji predvojnih zgledov arhitektov, kiparjev ter kamnosekov. Raznolika znamenja so postala značilnost včasih preveč številnih povojnih spomenikov po Sloveniji. Izhodišča Eda Mihevca pri *Grobnicah narodnih herojev* in Eda Ravnika pri pokopališču v Dragi pa je najbolje razumel arhitekt Branko Kocmut.

Simbolno in konceptualno nadgradnjo zasnove, kjer se naravno okolje staplja s kamnom in bronom spomenika, sta odlično nadgradila Branko Kocmut in Slavko Tihec na Pohorju leta 1959. Njuna granitna plošča žrtvenika, na katerem ležita bronasti žrtvi, stoji med označevalnimi kamni in vitkimi smrekami. Tihec je svoj razvoj več kot desetletje za tem v kompleksnem urbanem okolju nadgradil s spomenikom žrtvam vojne v Mariboru (1975) in s spomenikom Ivanu Cankarju v Ljubljani (1982).

V ključnem obdobju razvoja kiparstva v javnem prostoru so se v Sloveniji likovni eksperimenti in nova iskanja že preselili v odprte prostore *forme vive*,³² kjer političnih diktatov ni bilo več. Kiparjev z vsega sveta v Sloveniji ni zanimalo politično okvirjanje ali pomeni spomenikov. Ohranjanje spomina na dogodke v preteklosti, ki so bili politično poudarjeni, so prevzeli arhitekti.

Nekatere njihove postavitve so z razvojem in dodano funkcijo prerasle osnovno označevanje in z dodanimi ureditvami postale izjemen krajinski spomenik. Pot ob žici s pili arhitekta Vlasta Kopača je dopolnil arhitekt Mitja Omersa s peščeno sprehajalno potjo in drevoredi v *Pot spomina in tovarištva*. Oblikovanje kašipotov je z neokonstruktivističnimi oblikami uredil Janez Koželj. Primat oblikovanja novih spomenikov, zlasti največjih, so arhitekti nadaljevali po osamosvojitvi države. Spomenik žrtvam vojne za Slovenijo je načrtoval arhitekt Marko Mušič leta 1991. Na natečaju je isti arhitekt dobil izvedbo za spomenik žrtvam povojnih pobojev v Spominskem parku Teharje. Spomenik, brez dodatno načrtovane kapele in miniaturnega muzeja, je bil končan leta 2004. *Spomenik žrtvam vseh vojn* ob Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani

31 Več kot dve desetletji kasneje postavljen spomenik istega avtorja v Novi Gorici je likovno bistveno slabši.

32 Kostanjevica in Seča 1961, za tem Ravne, Maribor in drugje.

je načrtovala skupina arhitektov leta 2016 (Rok Žnidaršič, Mojca Gabrič, Samo Mlakar, Žiga Ravnika s sodelavci). Večina drugih spominskih označb, zlasti piramidastih znamenj in spominskih dreves, ostaja v državi Sloveniji daleč od novih avtorskih likovnih rešitev.

Javni spomeniki Nove Gorice so, znotraj razvoja v slovenskem prostoru, nekoliko samosvoji. Jedro novega mesta ni imelo rojstnih hiš, ni bilo prostor pomembnega dogajanja vse do začetka gradnje naselja. Po Sloveniji se je večina materializiranih spominjanj iz figur in Plečnikovskih oblik spreminjala v abstraktne forme in postopoma vračalo v figuraliko. V novem mestu je na prvem in ključnem prostoru naselja likovno odlična abstraktna oblika spomenika Edvardu Rusjanu. Delo Janeza Lenassija ostaja likovno nepreseženo, kljub novi, preveliki novi stolpnici v bližini. Spomenik prvemu slovenskemu pilotu so slovesno odkrili 11. septembra leta 1960. Le tri leta kasneje so postavili dekorativno figuro *Petnajstletna* pred gimnazijo.

Spominu na Rusjana so postopoma sledili politiki, znanstveniki in druge osebnosti, povezane z Novo Gorico. Ustvarjanje in ohranjanje zgodovinskega spomina na pomembne osebnosti v posameznem kraju z javnimi spomeniki ni izvirna ideja Nove Gorice. V Ljubljani je že Plečnik zasnoval manjšo alejo, Vegovo ulico, ob kateri stojijo portretne glave skladateljev, poprsja slavistov in na začetku osi spomenik Simonu Gregorčiču. Manj posrečeno se podobni spomeniki nadaljujejo v parku pred ljubljansko univerzo s portreti zaslužnih profesorjev.³³

V Novi Gorici samo Ljubka Šorli dela družbo več kot dvajsetim možem, če pogledamo kipe ob Erjavčevi in Kidričevi ulici. Velika večina doprsij na podstavkih v Novi Gorici je likovno konservativna. Okvirna stilna oznaka zanje bi bila akademska figuralika. Prvo osebo, Karla Lavriča, je, je s portretom počastil kipar Boris Kalin leta 1968;³⁴ trenutno zadnjega v vrsti, Stanislava Škrabca, je oblikoval Mirko Bratuša leta 2011. Večino postavljenih portretov je oblikoval Negovan Nemeč, nekatere Boris ali Zdenko Kalin.³⁵ Del drugih kiparjev je v spominski aleji malo.³⁶ Kritičnost do tovrstnih spominjanj je s svojo bronasto kompozicijo izrazil Mirko Bratuša leta 1999, ko je nastal spomenik Novi Gorici (*Spomenik N.G.*), kompozicijo z množico anonimnih glav. Dobro desetletje za tem je tudi Bratuša zašel v standardno poprsje na podstavku s spomenikom Stanislavu Škrabcu. Podobno izhodišče ima, na lokaciji za gledališčem, Begičev portret režiserja J. Babiča, postavljen 2018.

Likovni strokovnjaki niso vedno navdušeni nad izhodiščem: kamnit podstavek in bronast

33 Podobno dober namen imajo serija portretov kulturnikov v Žirovnici, *Park kulturnikov* v Ribnici in doprsja v Gornji Radgoni. Na aleji zaslužnih v Škofji Loki so dvanajstim možem 23. januarja 2020 dodali prvo žensko. Žužemberk ima park z reliefnimi podobami osebnosti.

34 Nelida SILIČ NEMEC, *Javni spomeniki na Primorskem 1945–1978*, Koper 1982, str. 140.

35 Ob Erjavčevi in Kidričevi stoji pretežno bronasta poprsja, posvečena: Alešu Beblerju, Engelbertu Besednjaku, Lojzu Bratužu, Andreju Budalu, Rastislavu Delpinu, Franu Erjavcu, Andreju Gabrščku, Alojzu Gradniku, Antonu Gregorčiču, Simonu Gregorčiču, Martinu Greifu, Borisu Kidriču, Milku Kosu, Karlu Lavriču, Jožefu Lemutu, Sergeju Mašeri, Radu Simonitiju, Jožu Srebrničju, Stanislavu Škrabcu, Miletu Špacapanu, Ivanu Trinku-Zamejskemu, Antonu Veluščku-Matevžu, Josipu Vilfanu in Ljubki Šorli.

36 Vsi trije kiparji z največ naročili so bili doma blizu Nove Gorice. Brata Kalin sta bila iz Solkana, N. Nemeč iz Bilj.

portret na njem. Smelo za svoj čas so ravnali naročniki za spomenik Francetu Bevku leta 1974. Figura pisatelja pa še vedno spominja na starejše vzore.³⁷ Slikar Rafael Nemec in arhitekt Vasilij Željko sta s sidrom in simboličnim premcem ladje razrahljala monotonost, ko sta leta 1973 sestavljala spomenik Sergeju Mašeri. Drugačne likovne oblike pa imajo: spomenik brigadirjem, kiparja Zmaga Posege in kipi, ki niso več spomeniki: *Bor ob obali*, ovidovska prisposoda raja Jakova Brdarja; parkovna plastika Matjaža Počivavška in *Brodar duš* Mirsada Begića. Iskanje likovne kakovosti novih okrasov v mestnem prostoru ne nadgrajuje osnovne zasnove jedra Nove Gorice, ki je samo zase že spomeniško območje. Serijsko materializiranje zgodovinskih oseb ni več nujno. Mesto pod kulturno konstanto - Sveto goro, v uveljavljeni mreži Ravnikarjeve zasnove, bo iskalo nove koncepte, nove arhitekture in častilo nove heroje.

Monuments of Nova Gorica and Slovenia in the Time of Modernism and Today

Summary

Nova Gorica is a new city that exhibits its identity through remembrance. This includes a memorial plaque erected on June 13, 1948, at the beginning of the brigadiers' work lasting at least until September 6, 2008, when they received their public monument in the city.

Monuments are multifaceted material and immaterial reminders of development for individuals and societies. The word monument ("spomenik") in Slovenian is multifaceted. Therefore, in the introduction, the terms cultural monument ("kulturni spomenik") and public monument/memorial ("javni spomenik") are explained on the basis of the heritage protection law. Public monuments are a materialised memory of an important person or event. They can take the form of memorial plaques, sculptural or architectural forms, or memorial sites. The register of immovable cultural heritage records the number of memorial objects in Slovenia that hold the status of a monument of national importance.

Diverse public monuments almost always have material visual elements and non-material memories. The memory has at least two layers; the reflection of the time of occurrence is too often ignored at during the time of the event or person; it is often intertwined with political goals. Memorials or memorial sites range from the largest, such as new cities or city centres: Brasilia, Canberra, and Washington DC, to figurative memorials to victims of the Rotterdam bombing or to Anne Frank.

Public monuments in Slovenia created during the period of the birth and growth of Nova Gorica differ from most of the monuments that were erected in the other republics of Yugoslavia after a short period of adopting Soviet models. Descriptions stating that these are monuments in the style of socialist realism are unfounded. The development of monuments in the first half of the 20th Century was researched by dr. Špelca Čopič. She coined the term social realism for artistic pursuits of that time. This transformed into abstract figural art and completely abstract forms. The newly formed monumental units throughout Yugoslavia gained international esteem in the 1980s, when presented at the Venice Biennale by Zoran Kržišnik. The quality of the failed state's monuments was rediscovered by critics at the exhibition of Yugoslav architecture in New York in 2018. However, in the mid-1970s, Slovenia took a step back in public monuments and their artistic forms; more modern forms were being moved to *Forma viva* sites since 1961.

The cultural monuments in the wider Nova Gorica area have more than a symbolic influence on the image and constants of the town between Sveta Gora and the Kostanjevica monastery. The city itself is also, at least symbolically, a public monument of a certain time and its ideas. It is an urban development, the greatest achievement of this kind in the Slovenia's past. The

37 *Spomenik Francetu Prešernu* v Ljubljani, znani Augustinčičev lik Josipa Broza in figura Toneta Tomšiča v Ljubljani, ki je kot *Spomenik Francetu Bevku* delo Borisa Kalina.

critical thought of the new millennium and the partially fulfilled promises of politics and experts cannot deny this. That is why the realised project, together with planner Edvard Ravnikar, has had a bronze monument at the heart of the settlement since 1998. Dozens of other public monuments in the city hold a similar significance, creating a historical identity for the area and its inhabitants, regardless of their artistic quality.



Arhitekturna utopija na odprti meji. Primer novogoriškega hotela Argonavti (arhitekt Niko Lehrman in skupina OHO)¹

Nadja ZGONIK

Uvod

V besedilu postavljam novogoriški hotel Argonavti, 1976–1985,² visokomodernistično arhitekturno ruševino, v kontekst konceptov, ki jih iz preteklosti mesta, v katerem je stala, lahko razbiramo kot identitetne momente. Z njimi se je uglasil formalni in funkcionalni vokabularij arhitekture zato, da se je uskladil z načeli, s katerimi se je želela potrjevati tedanja jugoslovanska družba. Govorim o tistih umetniških konceptih, ki naj bi skladno s prepričanjem modernističnih avantgard, prispevali k celoviti družbeni preobrazbi. To so koncepti svobode (osvobajanje posameznika, družbenih skupnosti, etničnih skupin, razredov, v umetnosti pa osvobajanje od diktata norm in preživelih umetnostnih obrazcev ...), medkulturnega dialoga, prostega prehajanja meje (v najširšem smislu, tudi metaforično, npr. v umetnosti vse do rušenja avtoritete) in kulture kakovostnega preživljanja prostega časa. Na krilih revolucionarnega leta '68 so se v začetku sedemdesetih let vse družbene utopije zdele uresničljive. Iz takega razpoloženja je leta 1970 začel nastajati projekt Argonavti, ki se verjetno ne bi mogel zgoditi nikjer drugje kot le v »mladem mestu na odprti meji«.

Novi koncepti

Avgusta leta 1972 se je v Novi Gorici začela gradnja sodobnega hotelsko-gostinskega kompleksa Argonavti, zabavišnega centra, ki naj bi vključeval tudi kulturni in rekreativni program.³ Zlato

- 1 Prispevek je rezultat raziskovalnega programa *Gledališke in medumetnostne raziskave* (P6-0376), ki ga je sofinancirala Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije iz državnega proračuna.
- 2 Stavba je bila leta 1985 s predelavo značilne belo-rumene strehe preobrazena do te mere, da se je izgubila njena izvorna arhitekturna misel. Že takoj na začetku naj opozorim, da je rekonstruiranje zgodovinskih podatkov o izvorni arhitekturi nepričakovano zahtevno delo, kljub temu da gre za nedavno zgodovino mesta. V Pokrajinskem arhivu Nova Gorica je shranjena gradbena dokumentacija iz let 1970–1980 (Pokrajinski arhiv Nova Gorica (PANG), Skupščina občine Nova Gorica, 104, t. e. . 2075–2085; gradivo ni arhivsko obdelano), ki so jo pridobili od Upravne enote Nova Gorica šele po mojem prvem poizvedovanju leta 2017. (Prevzem je bil izveden 23. 1. 2018. Zapisnik o izročitvi in prevzemu arhivskega gradiva, št. 2/2-30/2017. Za podatek se najlepše zahvaljujem Eleni Makorič.) Zaradi menjave lastnikov stavbe o drugi dokumentaciji ni sledi, arhivsko gradivo podjetja HIT, ki je aktualni lastnik predelane stavbe, pa tudi še ni uradno dostopno.
- 3 Pričeli so graditi hotel »Argonavti« sodobni zabaviščni center v Novi Gorici, *Primorski dnevnik* (Trst), 193 (8286), 17. 8. 1972, str. 3.

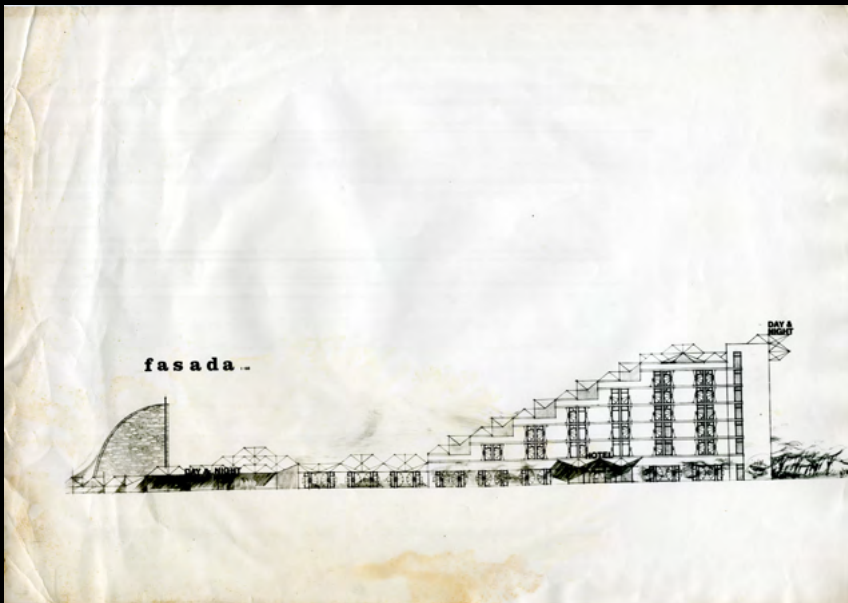
Šindič, direktor Sindikalno-turističnega podjetja Alpe-Adria, ki je bilo investitor, se je odločil brez javnega natečaja, na podlagi uspešnega sodelovanja pri prejšnjem projektu, pivnici Alpe-Adria v Ljubljani,⁴ k sodelovanju pritegniti mladega arhitekta Nika Lehrmana, ki je deloval v ljubljanskem projektivnem biroju Agens.⁵

Niko Lehrman⁶ je bil rojen v Ljubljani leta 1939.⁷ Obiskoval je gimnazijo v Kranju in se leta 1957/58 vpisal na študij arhitekture pri prof. Edu Mihevcu. Postal je vodja seminarja, dobil eno izmed nagrad na natečaju Društva arhitektov za urbanistično ureditev centra Ljubljane in kot tehnični urednik, pisec satir ter risar v letih 1959/1960 sodeloval s študentskim listom *Tribuna*. Leta 1965 je diplomiral pri profesorju Edu Mihevcu z odlično oceno z nalogo *Regionalni načrt severo-zapadne Istre, sinteza, 1:25.000*.⁸ Po končanem študiju se je najprej ukvarjal s propagandnim dizajnom pri ČGP Delo, potem pa je bil med ustanovitelji projektivnega biroja, ambiciozno imenovanega Agens (gonilo, vzvod).⁹ V času, ko je prevzel naročilo za Argonavte, je bil še član uredniškega odbora *Problemov*.

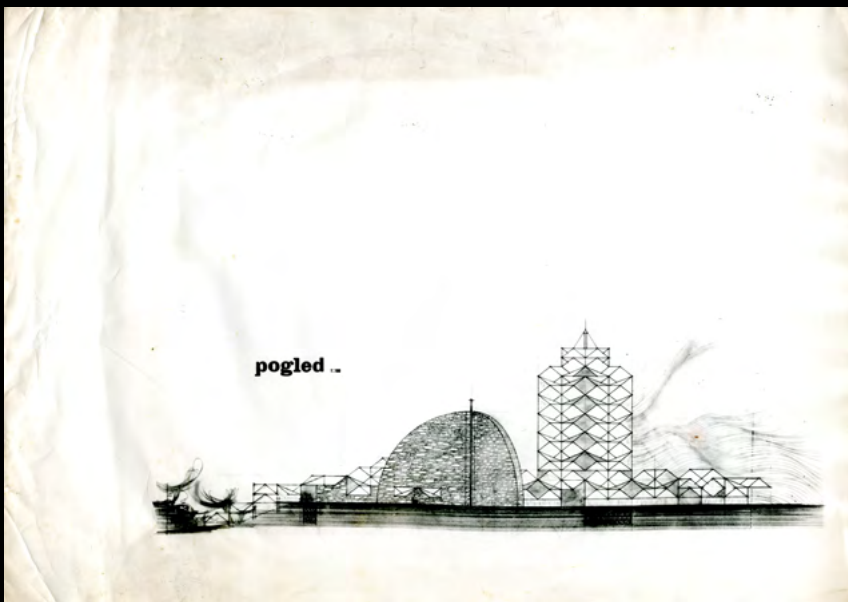


Slika 1: Fotografija hotela Argonavti z naslovnice knjige *Občina Nova Gorica 1947–1977, Nova Gorica 1977*.

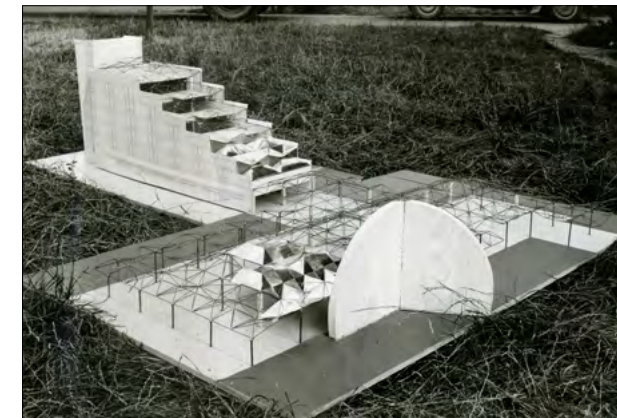
- 4 Pivnica (stavba ne stoji več) je stala na vogalu Resljeve in Masarykove ceste nasproti ljubljanske železniške postaje.
- 5 Zaradi pomanjkanja arhivskih dokumentov je mogoče zgodovino biroja le približno rekonstruirati. Ustanovljen je bil v Ljubljani ob koncu šestdesetih let. Med ustanovnimi člani so bili poleg Nika Lehrmana, Fedor Žigon, ki je bil v začetnem obdobju projekta Argonavti leta 1970 tudi direktor, leta 1971 je to postal Sašo Pöschl, Sonja Završnik Podlesek, Marjan Loboda, Jure Apih ... Pri zbiranju podatkov sta mi pomagali arhitektka Marinka Pogačnik Arnič in oblikovalka Sonja Završnik Podlesek, ki je oblikovala znak za Argonavte, za kar se jima najlepše zahvaljujem. Pri projektu Argonavti so z Lehrmanom sodelovali arhitekti: Aleš Guček, Andrej Goršič, Marinka Arnič Pogačnik in Breda Dobovišek (mdr. *Sončna skulptura*), vrtove je risal Ognjen Bavdek. PANG, Skupščina občine Nova Gorica, 104, t. e. . 2075–2085.
- 6 Arhitekt je svoj priimek v projektni dokumentaciji za hotel Argonavti zapisoval z dvema n, a je potem to obliko opustil. Gl. PANG, Skupščina občine Nova Gorica, 104, t. e. . 2075 in drugje.
- 7 Edini objavljen zapis o arhitektu je nekrolog, ki ga je v poetičnem jeziku napisal njegov prijatelj in sodelavec Fedor Žigon. Fedor ŽIGON, Niko Lehrman. 1939–1998. Sporočilo, *Srp*, 7/29–30, 1999, str. 56–61.
- 8 Vpisna knjiga diplomskih del, Arhiv Fakultete za arhitekturo Univerze v Ljubljani.
- 9 Biro je bil ustanovljen kot podjetje g. g. (*grupa građana*, tedaj uveljavljen model podjetniškega organiziranja, ko je določeno število posameznikov skupaj v enakih deležih zbralo ustanovni kapital).



Slika 2: Niko Lehrman, *Hotel Argonavti* (fasada), 1970, arhitekturna risba, 29,6 x 42 cm, papir (vir: Moderna galerija, Ljubljana).



Slika 3: Niko Lehrman, *Hotel Argonavti* (pogled), 1970, arhitekturna risba, 29,6 x 42 cm, papir (vir: Moderna galerija, Ljubljana).



Slika 4: Niko Lehrman, *Maketa hotela Argonavti*, 1970, črno-bela fotografija, 30,2 x 40 cm (vir: Moderna galerija, Ljubljana).

Ambicija po tem, da bo projekt nekaj prelomnega in novega se je kazala že iz inovativne multifunkcionalne zasnove stavbe, namenjene tako udobnemu preživljanju prostega časa mestnih prebivalcev kot industriji zabave, ki naj bi prinašala dobičke. V resnici drzna in nekonvencionalna pa je bila arhitektova odločitev, da bo že na samem začetku k sodelovanju pritegnil konceptualistično skupino OHO.¹⁰ To ni bilo klasično sodelovanje, ko arhitekt povabi vizualnega umetnika, da prispeva arhitekturno plastiko ali stensko slikarijo, naredi barvno študijo ali drugače interpretira kakšen del arhitekturne celote, temveč prava združitev ustvarjalnih sil. Praksa delovanja skupine OHO, ki jo Marko Pogačnik imenuje »peti član«, je pomenila, da je skupina ob svojih štirih stalnih članih: Marku Pogačniku, Davidu Nezu, Milenku Matanoviću in Andražu Šalamunu, kot s petim sodelovala vedno z nekom drugim, glede na skupni projekt, v tem primeru na področju arhitekture z Nikom Lehrmanom.¹¹ Ohojevska umetniška izhodišča v pozni fazi delovanja skupine so se vse bolj usmerjala k celostni zaznavi izkušnje bivanja in k transcendenci. Vpis v prostor je bil v ospredju pri *Poletnih projektih*, ki jih je skupina izvajala leta 1969 v Zarici, na Sorškem polju in v Čezsoči. V primeru arhitekturne naloge, ki je sledila, je pomenil preizkusiti možnost, na kakšen način delo v velikem merilu omogoči celostno preobrazbo družbe, za kar je arhitekturni projekt, ki povezuje fizični prostor in njegov spomin z umetniškimi oblikami in človeškimi odnosi, ki jih sproža, idealna naloga. Nova arhitektura naj bi bila sežetek vsega, kar je bilo v globalni kulturni preteklosti dobrega ustvarjeno. Velikopotezna zasnova naj bi obujala spomin na pretekle civilizacije, od kamene dobe, starozavezne pripovedi o začetku človeštva z Adamom in Evo, do majevskih piramid. Marko Pogačnik je projekt pozneje opisal takole:

¹⁰ Pogovor z Markom in Mariko POGAČNIK, Šempas, 19. januar 2020.

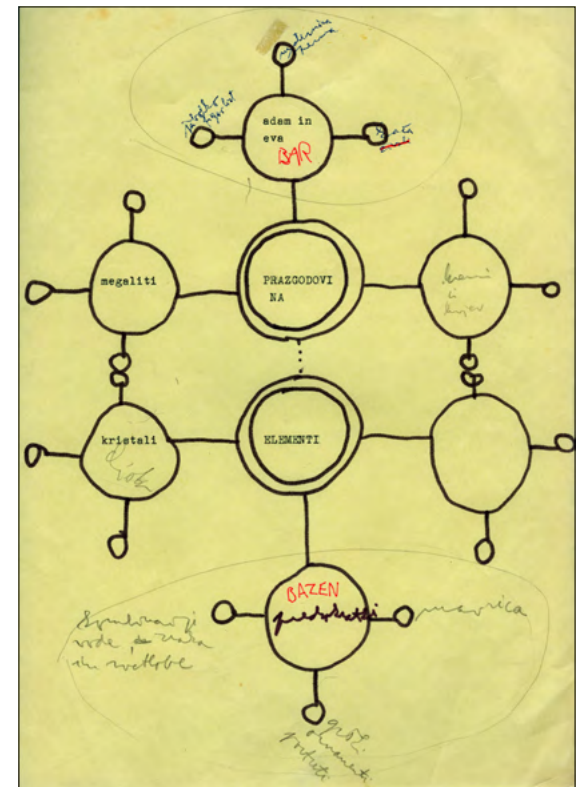
¹¹ Marko POGAČNIK, Nazaj k umetnosti - naprej umetnost, *Marko Pogačnik. Umetnost življenja – življenje umetnosti / The Art of Life - The Life of Art*, Moderna galerija / Museum of Modern Art, Ljubljana 2012, str. 38.

Ohojevski projekt »Argonavtovi« predvideva, da je sodobna, visoko razvita civilizacija zaključna faza tega, kar so s svojo potjo utemeljili stari Argonavti. Zato se je v tem času spet potrebno podati na pot velikega iskanja in utemeljevanja evlucijskega ciklusa, ki je pred nami. Stavbni kompleks, ki ga zdaj naseljuje Iskra Delta, naj bi kot znamenje te ponovne poti iskanja vseboval prvine najvišjih dosežkov človekovega snovanja iz dob, ki so za nami. Od tega je na primer ohranjen hotelski del, oblikovan kot stopničasta piramida, kakršne poznamo iz kulture Majev. Po sredini piramide teče neprekinjeno stopnišče od tal do vrha. Os stopnišča je usmerjena proti Sveti Gori, ki se, kronana s samostanskim kompleksom, dviga nad dolino Soče. Ime gore daje slutiti, da gre za »magnetni center« krajine, kjer se križajo med seboj akupunkturne linije Zemlje. Ob isti osi stojijo Sončna skulptura, ki povzema izročilo megalitskih sončnih svetišč, kakršno je Stonehenge na Angleškem. Je nedvomno ena od najrazsežnejših skulptur na Slovenskem, visoka 15 metrov. S projektom Sončne skulpture in Argonavtovi je skupina OHO predstavljala jugoslovansko umetnost na Bienalu mladih v Parizu leta 1971.¹²

Že ime zanj, Argonavti, se je navezovalo na mitizirano izročilo prostora, saj naj bi Jazonovi vojščaki prenesli ladjo Argo po kopnem čez današnje slovensko ozemlje od Ljubljane do Jadranskega morja. To naj bi se zdaj v obliki – Marko Pogačnik jo imenuje »časovna posoda«¹³ – uresničilo v prostoru, ki bi udejanil radikalno nov ambient za novo družbo. O utopičnosti projekta govorimo zdaj, s časovne distance, leta 1970 pa je bilo upanje, da se uresniči družba socialne pravičnosti, spolne enakosti in svetovne harmonije v povezanosti z naravo, dosegljivo, v zraku, ki so ga dihali vsi, od vizionarskih umetnikov do socialističnih politikov in podjetnikov. Zato so na začetku vsi navdušeno podprli tak projekt. Na žalost se je kmalu izkazalo, da arhitekt brez izkušenj pri velikih projektih in z napačno presojo o uporabnosti materiala, poliesterskih piramidastih kupol, ki jih je izbral za strešno kritje, ni bil kos nalogi. Skupina OHO se je umaknila še pred začetkom gradnje, aprila 1971, ko se je začelo novo poglavje njihovega delovanja, Družina v Šempasu. Argonavti so bili namesto leta 1974, kot je bilo načrtovano, dokončani z dveletno zamudo leta 1976.¹⁴ Projekt je presegel predvidena finančna sredstva, zato se je opremljanje zavleklo,¹⁵ poliesterska streha, vir vseh težav, pa je že od vsega začetka puščala.¹⁶ Prve zamisli o predelavi hotela z gradnjo dodatnega trakta segajo že v leto 1980.¹⁷ Leta 1983 je prišlo do usodne poplave v Novi Gorici, ko je voda zalila podzemne prostore hotela. To je bil konec kratke zgodbe Argonavtovi. Leta 1984 je hotel šel v stečaj. V upravljanje sta ga

12 Marko POGAČNIK, *Sončna skulptura/Sunčeva skulptura/The Solar Sculpture/Scultura solare/Sonnensculptur*, s. l. 1987.
 13 POGAČNIK 2020 (op. 10).
 14 Pričeli so 1972 (op. 3).
 15 B. P., Pokrivanje izgub v gospodarstvu, *Dogovori*, 5/7, 1977.
 16 ŽIGON 1999 (op. 7), str. 58.
 17 *Hotel »Argonavti« Nova Gorica. Direktivni program* (izvajalec Institut za turizem, Zagreb, avtorji Ante CAREVIĆ, Krešimir TADEJ and Aleksandar VLAHOVIĆ; naročnik LIZ - inženiring, Ljubljana), Zagreb 1980.

Slika 5: Marko Pogačnik, *Koncept hotela Argonavti*, 1970, 29,3 x 21 cm, flomaster, tipkopis in kemični svinčnik na papirju (vir: Moderna galerija, Ljubljana).



prevzela Park hotel in računalniško podjetje Iskra Delta,¹⁸ ki je leta 1985 ustanovilo izobraževalni center Iskra Delta Argonavti.¹⁹ Odstranjena je bila značilna belo-rumena poliesterska streha in zamenjana z novo, ravno, s čimer je bil videz hotela radikalno predrugačen; izgubljena je bila prvotna arhitekturna koncepcija. Leta 1993 je podjetje Iskra Delta delež prodalo in iz Argonavtovi je nastal hotel Perla. Zadnja sled za hotelom Argonavti je bila zabrisana, ko je podjetje HIT leta 1999 ob preobrazbi objekta v hotel Perla dalo odstraniti *Sončno skulpturo* skupine OHO, eno najmarkantnejših kiparskih del v Sloveniji. Od leta 2001, zadnje celovite prenove, živi hotel Perla, »največji igralniški kompleks v Evropi«²⁰ kot *terra incognita* sredi Nove Gorice.

Zgodovina mladega mesta

Tolikokrat ponovljene besede Edvarda Ravnikarja, prvega urbanista Nove Gorice, novega mesta, ki naj bi zrastle ob jugoslovansko-italijanski državni meji, se zdijo s časovne distance, kot bi bile vpisane v genetski kod tega mesta. Postale so nekaj, čemur bi lahko rekli mit o stvarjenju mesta: »Zgradili naj bi nekaj velikega, lepega, in ponosnega, nekaj kar bi sijalo preko meje, je bilo rečeno. Vsi, od kmeta do najvišjih političnih mest smo se te misli navdušeno

18 Jure RAMŠAK, Casino v socialističnem mestu: začetki igralniške industrije in socialnoekonomska preobrazba Nove Gorice, *Annales*, 27/2, 2017, str. 363–378.
 19 Izobraževalni center Delta, SloRaDe, https://jurem.github.io/SloRaDe/zgodovina/izob_center_delta/ (dostop 22. januar 2020).
 20 Perla, Casinò & Hotel, https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perla_Casino%27_%26_Hotel (dostop 22. januar 2020).

oprijeli. Moderni urbanizem je tako za nas postal tudi orožje v nacionalnem in političnem boju.«²¹ Ko ga je Boštjan Vuga v intervjuju, zadnjem v Ravnikarjevem življenju, nagovoril, da se je vnovič spomnil svoje izkušnje z mestom v nastajanju, je besede podobno ponovil, takrat na še bolj slikovit način:

Z njo (Novo Gorico, op. a.) je povezano vse, kar smo Slovenci mislili in čutili za ta del Slovenije in posebej čutili za Gorico, ki še danes ne more skriti svojega slovenstva. V naši zavesti se je takrat, ob začetku premišljevanj o kaki Novi Gorici, rojevala ideja o združenem mestu ob Soči. Razen spominov na Goriško se je v nas prebudilo vse, kar smo starejši preživeli od velikih soških bitk do Titovih obljub, da bi vse nekdaj povrnili z nečim, da sija preko granice, kar pa se ni zgodilo.²²

Iz Ravnikarjevih besed lahko razberemo, da je bila Nova Gorica mesto v nastajanju, kjer je bila arhitektura oblikovalka prostora, zato da bi bila instrumentalizirana za drugo, družbeno-politično funkcijo. To je arhitektura, ki naj »sije čez mejo« in je »orožje v političnem in nacionalnem boju«. Zato moramo tudi Argonavte postaviti v družbeno-politični kontekst, saj so iz njega nastali. Ne glede na to, da gre za visokomodernistični projekt, za katere velja izločitev iz konteksta, je dekontekstualizacija lahko usmerjena v vzpostavljanje nove, moderne identitete. Argonavti so delovali kot ladja, ki je pristala, se zasedrila in nasedla v prostoru. Bili so visokomodernistični in hkrati tudi poznosocialistični projekt – usoda te arhitekture se v marsičem prekriva s procesi tranzicije. Nenavsezadnje je zadnja sled te arhitekture bila zabrisana v interesu čim večjega kapitalskega donosa prostora. Končna preobrazba hotela Argonavti v igralniški hotel Perla podjetja HIT je idealna metafora družbenopolitičnih sprememb, tranzicije sistemov iz socializma v kapitalizem, ko se je prostor pluralnih dejavnosti, od rekreacije do kulture in pristočasnega druženja, namenjen hkrati meščanom, čezmejnim obiskovalcem in turistični industriji, preobrazil v prizorišče najdobičkonosnejše turistične dejavnosti, igralništva, namenjeno skoraj izključno tujcem.²³

Ko se je s petintridesetletne distance Ravnikar postavil kot člen v verigi kolektivne identitete, kot izvrševalec skupinske volje, izgraditi novo mesto, ki bi povezala vse, »od kmeta do najvišjih političnih mest«, katere izvorni namen je bil, postati socialistični svetilnik, s svojimi besedami seveda ni razmišljal o gigantističnem projektu v maniri socialističnega klasicizma. Koncept modernega mesta, ki bi lahko postalo v dosledni realizaciji izvorne Ravnikarjeve urbanistične

21 Edvard RAVNIKAR, Nova Gorica po 35 letih, *Arhitektov bilten*, 8/68–69, 1983, str. 46.

22 Boštjan VUGA, Intervju. Edvard Ravnikar: »Mogoče ste za to premladi ...«, *Razgledi*, 17 (1000), 17. 9. 1993, str. 10.

23 Več o tem RAMŠAK (op. 18) 2017, str. 363–378. V besedilu uporabljena oznaka Argonavtov kot postmodernistične arhitekture je problematična. Argonavti črpajo iz vplivov poparta (navdušenje nad novimi sintetičnimi materiali, poliestrom, in uporaba barve), uporaba vidnega betona in eksperimentiranje z razkritimi strukturami (paličevje) pa je značilno za obdobje postbrutalistične arhitekture, res pa je, da s konceptom minimesta (mesta v malem) napovedujejo rekontekstualizacijo, ki jo je sprožilo postmodernistično gibanje v arhitekturi.

ideje, ki se je naslonila na Le Corbusierova načela, mesto sredozemskega tipa z dominantno longitudinalno osjo, magistralo S-J kot nosilko centra, ki bi nadomeščala trg, ob različnih krakih pa bi se razporedili rekreacijski, stanovanjski in industrijski del. Magistrala, dopolnjena z drevoredi, bi postala povezovalna os in presečišče dejavnosti hkrati.²⁴ A da bi se tako mesto lahko uresničilo na nepozidani čistini, iz nič, bi bila potrebna zaslomba centralističnega planiranja ob stabilnem dotoku finančnih sredstev. V projekt izgradnje Nove Gorice pa je že pol leta po pričetku gradnje zasekala radikalna politična sprememba. Gradbeni zanos, s katerim se je začela decembra 1947 gradnja novega mesta s tisočimi prostovoljcev v mladinskih delovnih brigadah, je usodno zaustavil spor z informburojem in prekinitve odnosov s Sovjetsko zvezo in ostalimi članicami Vzhodnega bloka. Po 28. juniju 1948, ko je bila sprejeta resolucija informburoja, kritična do jugoslovanske poti v socializem, ki se je oddaljila od marksizma-leninizma, ni bilo več tako pomembno »svetiti« proti Zahodu, kot utrditi meje proti Vzhodu in se z vlaganjem v vojsko ubraniti potencialne vojaške nevarnosti, ki bi lahko prišla od tam.²⁵ Težišče pozornosti se je premaknilo, projekt je postajal vse manj ambiciozen in se je z zvezne ravni najprej preselil na republiško, po razhodu z Ravnikarjem leta 1949 pa na lokalno raven. Arhitekt Edvard Ravnikar je večkrat izrazil razočaranje, da se njegova urbanistična zamisel o gradnji novega mesta ni uresničila.²⁶ Morda mesto ni postalo monument nove družbene ureditve, ideološki »svetilnik«, ki bi oznanjal gradnjo nove utopične družbe, nedvomno pa je v več kot sedemdesetletni zgodovini s sledmi, ki so jih v njem puščali urejevalci prostora in oblikovalci novih zgradb obstalo kot živahen prostor izmenjave estetskih in družbenih konceptov. Če ne kot svetilnik, se je v preteklih sedemdesetih letih uveljavljalo kot izložbeno okno posebne jugoslovanske poti v socializem. V njem se je v vsakem od desetletij zasvetil kakšen nov artikel,²⁷ arhitekturna inovacija, ki se je skladno z razvojem socialistične družbe in njenimi prioritetami, prilagajala ciljem, tako široko zastavljenim, kot si jih je zastavljala za današnji pogled utopična socialistična družba. Že Ravnikar je opozoril na dvojnost cilja, da bo moderno mesto »orožje« tako v nacionalnem kot v političnem boju. Prioritete so se v razvoju mesta v različnih obdobjih spreminjale; marketing socialistične ideologije je zamenjala nacionalna ideologija, že v naslednjem koraku pa so prioritete lahko postale težnje po regionalističnem uveljavljanju. Mesto na meji je svojo identiteto razvijalo iz svoje mejne pozicije, črte preloma, ki je pomenila trk dveh političnih sistemov, dveh različnih kulturnih identitet in dveh nacionalnih zgodovin, ki sta se konfrontirali tudi zaradi dogodkov iz obdobja fašistične dominacije iz nedavne zgodovine. Svojo robno pozicijo pa je mesto na meji vseskozi razumelo kot koncept odprte meje, ki je odprta v obe smeri in prav ta prepustnost za eksperimentalne, političnorobne ali estetskoradikalne odločitve je utemeljevala njegovo identiteto.

24 RAVNIKAR 1983 (op. 21), str. 46.

25 Več v Tomaž VUGA, *Projekt: Nova Gorica*, Ljubljana 2018, str. 100.

26 RAVNIKAR 1983 (op. 21); VUGA B. 1993 (op. 22).

27 Tu namenoma uporabljam pojem, ki ga je Marko Pogačnik (OHO) uvedel v svojo umetniško prakso za označevanje uporabnih predmetov, ki jim moramo nameniti novo pozornost.

Tretja pot v socializem

Zavest o tem, kako pomembno je ne le prezentirati novonastalo državo in njen revolucionarni politični sistem, torej ne le sijati prek Zahodne meje, temveč tudi prikazovati, da je samostojna politična pot, ki si jo je izbrala Federativna ljudska republika Jugoslavija, tista, ki bo po socialistični poti pripeljala v družbo blaginje, je postalo po sporu s Sovjetsko zvezo leta 1948 zelo pomembno. Nova država je bila prisiljena začeti sprejemati ameriško gospodarsko pomoč in se trgovinsko povezovati z Zahodom. Navzven je bilo treba mehčati podobo socializma, tudi s sprejemanjem in dopuščanjem širjenja ameriških vplivov in konzumerizma. Sprožil se je nezadržen proces amerikanizacije, ki se je širila predvsem prek popularne kulture. Zgovoren je podatek, da je v začetku 50. let film *Ples na vodi* v Beogradu videlo 333.000 ljudi, kar je neverjetna številka za polmilijonsko mesto, ob tem pa v zgodnjih petdesetih letih do leta 1954 jugoslovanski kinematografi niso uvozili niti enega sovjetskega filma.²⁸ Amerikanizacije, ki jo Radina Vučetić opredeli kot ključni dejavnik izgradnje posebnega statusa SFRJ v hladnovojni delitvi sveta, ni bilo več mogoče zajezi.

Da bi ustvarili državo blaginje, pokazali, da je mogoče uresničiti »socializem s človeškim obrazom« je bila dopuščena tudi tiha podpora konzumerizma kot zakrito spodbujanje porabništva in omejeno pristajanje na tržne zakonitosti. Industrijsko delo je moralo dobiti komplement v kulturi kakovostnega preživljanja prostega časa in na počitnicah, namenjenih delavcu, kot prikaz, da ni več izkoriščen. Na področju turističnega gospodarstva se je zgodil premik od razvijanja socialnega turizma v petdesetih letih v komercialni turizem v šestdesetih letih, v sedemdesetih pa sta si postala enakovredna socialni in komercialni turizem.³⁰ Sedemdeseta so bila čas, ko je proces v razvoju turistične propagande prešel fazo oglaševanja Jugoslavije kot progresivne socialistične dežele s progresivno nacionalno in delavsko politiko in bil žrtvovan za podobo sredozemske priobalne destinacije.³¹

Positivnih učinkov medsebojnega poznavanja se je jugoslovanska politika zavedla že takoj po Informbiroju. Avgusta 1949 je Jugoslavijo obiskal francoski intelektualec Jean Cassou, ki je pozneje v svoji knjigi *Une vie pour la liberté* pisal o tem, kako ga je Marko Ristić, jugoslovanski ambasador v Parizu, leta 1949 povabil, da preživi poletne počitnice skupaj z ženo in hčerko v Jugoslaviji, kjer je takoj videl, da so Stalinove obtožbe Tita krivične in izmišljene. Francoska diplomacija je ocenila obisk kot izjemno pomemben, francoski ambasador v Beogradu Jean

28 Tvrdo JAKOVINA, Povijesni uspjeh šizofrene države: modernizacija u Jugoslaviji 1945–1974, *Socializam i modernost: umjetnost, kultura, politika 1950.–1974.*, Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, Zagreb 2012, str. 29.

29 Radina VUČETIĆ, *Koka-kola socijalizam. Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka*, Beograd 2012.

30 Karin TAYLOR, Hannes GRANDITS, *Tourism and the Making of Socialist Yugoslavia. An Introduction, Yugoslavia's Sunny Side. A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s–1980s)* (eds. Hannes Grandits in Karin Taylor), Budapest-New York, 2010, str. 3.

31 Igor TSCHOUKARINE, *The Yugoslav Road to International Tourism. Opening, Decentralisation, and Propaganda in the Early 1950s, Yugoslavia's Sunny Side. A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s–1980s)* (eds. Hannes Grandits in Karin Taylor), Budapest-New York 2010, str. 132.

Payart pa je obisk komentiral kot prvi uspeh jugoslovanske Komunistične partije, da bi mnenje komunističnega in naprednega sveta obrnila proti Kominformu in SZ.³² Na 3. plenumu CK KPJ leta 1949 je Edvard Kardelj, ki je bil tedaj zunanji minister, poudaril pomen tujih obiskov v Jugoslaviji, ker tako postaja jugoslovanski boj širše poznan v tujini.³³ Ideologija odprtosti je ostala ključna v prihodnjem jugoslovanskem razvoju, tudi v poznejšem kontekstu gibanja neuvrščenih.

Odprta meja

Leta 1969 je Mako Sajko posnel kratki film z naslovom *Kje je železna zavesa?* Ideološko postavljeno vprašanje v naslovu enajstminutnega filma se v pričakovanju odgovora spremeni v dinamičen tok prehajanja množice sproščenih državljanov, ki državno mejo na italijansko-jugoslovanskem mejnem prehodu v Rožni dolini prečkajo, kot bi šle na nedeljski sprehod, se zabavajo v lokalih, uživajo v restavracijah. Dinamična menjava poteka v obeh smereh. Če Novogoričani v Gorico hodijo nakupovat proizvode kapitalističnega blišča, italijanski prebivalci prihajajo na slovensko stran po bencin, kakovostne agrarne produkte, največ po meso, pa tudi v gostilne in restavracije. Šestdeseta in sedemdeseta leta so bila »zlata leta« jugoslovanskega ideala blaginje in konzumerizma. Proces vesternizacije se je odvijal na način, ki se je komaj še razlikoval od ostalih evropskih ameriško vplivanih kultur, predvsem v primerjavi s skandinavskimi bi komaj še našli razliko.

Zahodna jugoslovanska meja je že kmalu postala prostor posebnega režima prehajanja, ki je bil vzpostavljen z videmskim sporazumom iz leta 1955. Maloobmejni promet je z uvedbo posebnih prepustnic za lokalno prebivalstvo omogočil enostavnejše prehajanje meje in brezcarinski prenos manjših količin blaga čez mejo. Šestdeseta leta so k temu doprinesla še nove meddržavne dogovore, ki so utrjevali gospodarsko in kulturno sodelovanje. Obseg storitvenih dejavnosti, trgovine, turizma, prometa in drugih, se je predvsem po zaslugi čezmejne blagovne menjave v Novi Gorici od začetka šestdesetih do začetka sedemdesetih let kar podvanajsteril.³⁴ Jugoslovansko-italijanski odnosi so kulminirali v sklenitvi osimskih sporazumov leta 1975, ki naj bi obsegali vse do izgradnje vodne poti med severnim Jadranom in Donavo (pot Argonavtov!) ter oblikovanje proste carinske cone, kar je ostalo neuresničeni del sporazumov.

Zamisli o tem, da bo ta prostor postal prelomnica v razvoju turističnega gospodarstva, je bila navdahnjena z možnostmi, ki jih je omogočal z lego na meji, klimatskimi in naravnimi pogoji (lovski turizem) in geografskim položajem »nekje na polovici poti med Beogradom, Dunajem in zapadnimi italijanskimi mesti«, ³⁵ Goriška se je zdela prava socialistična Arkadija.

32 TCHOUKARINE 2010 (op. 31), str. 114–115.

33 TCHOUKARINE 2010 (op. 31), str. 116.

34 Več v RAMŠAK 2017 (op. 18), str. 367.

35 Pričeli so 1972 (op. 3).



Slika 6: OHO
(Marko Pogačnik),
Sončna skulptura ob hotelu
Argonavti, 1971–1972,
črno-bela fotografija
(vir: Moderna galerija,
Ljubljana).

Tako je bila opisana izbira lokacije v članku v *Primorskem dnevniku*, ki je navdušeno poročal o začetku gradnje novega hotelsko-turističnega kompleksa.³⁶ Zamisel za gradnjo hotela z 256 ležišči, 2100 restavracijskimi sedeži v pokritih prostorih in na vrtu, v njem naj bi bilo 15 različnih ambientov kot je bar, pivnica, bazen, kegljišče, diskoklub, restavracija, 6 specializiranih boutiqueov, razstavnih prostori, ekspozitura Jugobanke, agencija Alpe-Adria ipd., so predstavili na tiskovni konferenci v Novi Gorici par dni pred začetkom gradnje 15. avgusta 1972.³⁷ Izgradnja je bila projekt sindikalno-turističnega podjetja Alpe-Adria,³⁸ saj naj bi za izlete, za katere so se specializirali, na tem prostoru potrebovali objekt, ki bo nudil gostu »tudi vse ostalo, po čemer povprašuje«. Turistična organizacija naj bi bila tudi »tesno povezana z vzhodnimi državami«, pri organiziranju izletov in počitnic pa »sodeluje tudi z italijanskimi organizacijami«.³⁹

O začetku gradnje novega hotela so poročali časopisi, ki so objavili natančno poročilo z velikopotezne tiskovne konference, ki so se je udeležili predsednik občinske skupščine Rudi Šimac, direktor agencije Alpe-Adria Zlatko Šindič, predstavnik njene projektantske organizacije, glavni direktor podružnice Jugobanke, direktor gradbenega podjetja Obnova in drugi. Dogodku so pozornost namenili tudi slovenski časopisi onstran državnih meja (npr. *Primorski dnevnik* v Trstu, *Slovenski vestnik* v Celovcu). Napovedovali so prelomnico v konceptu turizma tega novega mesta, ki mu bo objekt dal nov videz. »Objekt je mini mesto, sodoben zabaviški Babilon, pod skupno streho in enotnim pametnim vodstvom – pravi glavni projektant ing. Lehrmann,

36 Pričeli so 1972 (op. 3).

37 Pričeli so 1972 (op. 3).

38 Pozneje delovalo v sestavi SOZD SAP Viator, preimenovan v Integral. RAMŠAK 2017 (18), str. 371.

39 Pričeli so 1972 (op. 3).

kateremu je pomagalo 52 sodelavcev.«⁴⁰ Pomenil bo »pravo turistično atrakcijo« in bo »nudil razvedrilo gostom vseh ravni in slojev, skratka tu se bo lahko zabaval vsak od petičneža do navadnega zemljana«.⁴¹ »Strokovnjaki, ki so pri načrtovanju imeli glavno besedo, so menja, da bo hotel, ki je delo najmlajše generacije slovenskih arhitektov, v povprečju – kar se tiče sodobne arhitekture – daleč nad evropskim nivojem,« je še bilo mogoče prebrati v celovškem *Slovenskem tedniku*.⁴²

Že sama zamisel, združiti rekreacijo s kulturo, torej aktivnosti za socialističnega delavca, ki si jih je zaradi pravice do prostega časa in letnega dopusta lahko privoščil, z mehanizmi delovanja tržnega turističnega gospodarstva je bila inovativna. A, kot sem že omenila, turizem ni bil samo gospodarska panoga, temveč je v privabljanju tujcev v deželo videl priložnost za širjenje novih konceptov jugoslovanskega socializma po svetu. V učbeniku za turizem iz tistega časa lahko preberemo, da je bila Jugoslavija ena do prvih dežel, ki je razglašala načelo »turizem, propustnica za mir« in ga »dosledno izvajala tako, da je svoje meje puščala široko odprte vsem dobromislim ljudem.«⁴³ Turizem kot pogon družbene preobrazbe je imel hitre propagandne učinke, predvsem pa je deloval kot miroljubni in prostočasni topilec razrednih in nacionalnih razlik. Za izvajanje ideologije »bratstva in enotnosti«, ki naj bi ustvarila enotno socialistično nacijo, ni bilo primernejšega prostora, kot je plaža jadranske obale, zapišeta Karin Taylor in Hannes Grandits.⁴⁴

Arhitekturni projekt in njegova kritika

Arhitekturo hotelsko-gostinskega kompleksa Argonavti bi lahko imenovali arhitekturo onstran arhitekture, saj se je izmaknila diktatu dominantnega estetskega standarda v arhitekturi in bila sistemsko revolucionarna, včasih v neprilagodljivosti funkciji celo ekshibicionistična, kar je arhitekturna kritika težko sprejemala. Ko je Edvard Ravnikar v sintetičnem preletu v enem stavku zajel zgodovino Nove Gorice, so si Argonavti zaslužili oznako anarhične subjektivnosti: »V vedno hitrejšem tempu se je prvotna želja po nečem, 'kar bi sijalo čez mejo' umikala domišljavemu in nevednemu pragmatizmu, ki ga je končno popolnoma prekosila anarhična subjektivnost ('Argonavti' ipd.)«.⁴⁵

Še bolj natančno so se kritike lotili v *Arhitektovem biltenu*. Sistematično so oblikovali kriterije za ocenjevanje elementov: družbeni učinki, samo delo, orodje in rezultat. Zaradi nekonvencionalnosti projekta so se v marsikateri opredelitvi naslonili kar na avtorjevo stališče. Tako izvemo za Lehrmanovo ugotovitev, »da je njegova lastna predstava v stalnem konfliktu

40 Pričeli so 1972 (op. 3).

41 V Novi Gorici gradijo nov hotel Argonavti, *Slovenski vestnik* (Celovec), 24/34 (1571), 25. 8. 1972, str. 2.

42 V Novi Gorici 1972 (op. 41).

43 Stevan M. STANKOVIČ, *Turizam u Jugoslaviji*. Beograd 1990, str. 173.

44 TAYLOR, GRANDITS 2010 (op. 30), str. 4.

45 RAVNIKAR 1983 (op. 21), str. 43.



Slika 7: Hotel Argonavti, ok. 1980, črno-bela fotografija (vir: Arhiv fotoateljeja Pavšič Zavadlav).



Slika 8: Vhod v hotel Argonavti, ok. 1980, črno-bela fotografija (vir: Arhiv fotoateljeja Pavšič Zavadlav).

z investitorjevo, celo do te mere, da bi bil avtor edini, ki bi znal upravljati z objektom«, da je »objekt zasnovan za človeka, ki je razpet med telesnost in duhovnost, tja do kozmičnosti«, prostor je primerjal z »amebo, v kateri so si fizične meje in človek enakovredni.« »Po besedah projektanta je objekt več kot koncipirana arhitektura; je konceptualna umetnost,« je stavba stilno opredeljena. Pod kritiko podpisani ocenjevalci Matjaž Garzarolli, Jurij Kobe in Janez Koželj so se ustavili ob samovoljnem projektiranju, ki je izpostavljalo predvsem osebnost projektanta, investitorjevo željo po atraktivni pojavnosti objekta pa je reševalo predvsem s plejado najrazličnejših efektov. Arhitektu so očitali navidezno avantgardnost in tehnološko nerazumevanje uporabljenih sodobnih vrst konstrukcij, konstrukcijskih detajlov in materialov, nesmotrno uporabo dragih materialov z nerazumno tehnologijo in vprašljivo uporabnost objekta. Spraševali so se o razliki med izvirnostjo in nenavadnostjo detajlov. Ko so ocenjevali stavbo kot znak, so ji priznali, da kot objekt v prostoru sicer predvsem s svojo nenavadnostjo uspeva doseči določeno mero čitljivosti in zapornljivosti.⁴⁶

Hotel Argonavti so bili primer radikalne arhitekture, ki ni le pri nas temveč tudi po svetu zbuja glasne polemike in je programski primer uresničene modernosti z uporabo novih konstrukcij, novih poliesterskih materialov in trendovskih barv. Princip nezakrite strukture gradnje, oblikovane iz zapletenega paličevja, ki je bilo na notranji strani dobro vidno, spominja na arhitekturo Centra Georges Pompidou v Parizu arhitektov Richarda Rogersa in Renza Piana, ki je nastajala prav v istem času (1970–1977). Oba projekta povezuje tudi zamisel za stopnice, ki stečejo po celotni longitudinalni osi arhitekturnega objekta, pri pariški so to tekoče stopnice, postavljene v cevi ob stavbnem boku, pri novogoriški pa so to v centralno os postavljene stopnice, ki so peljale po terasasti strukturi pod stropom pod šotorastimi poliestrskimi kupolicami in odpirale skozi okna pogled na Sveto goro. Fantomska arhitektura Argonavtov je prisotna v spominu in ohranjena v arhitekturnih ter konceptnih študijah iz osebnega arhiva Marka Pogačnika, ki jih je podaril Moderni galeriji Ljubljana, gradbena dokumentacija od leta 1970 do 1976 z dopolnitvijo iz leta 1980 pa je od leta 2018 dostopna v Pokrajinskem arhivu Nova Gorica.

Zaključek

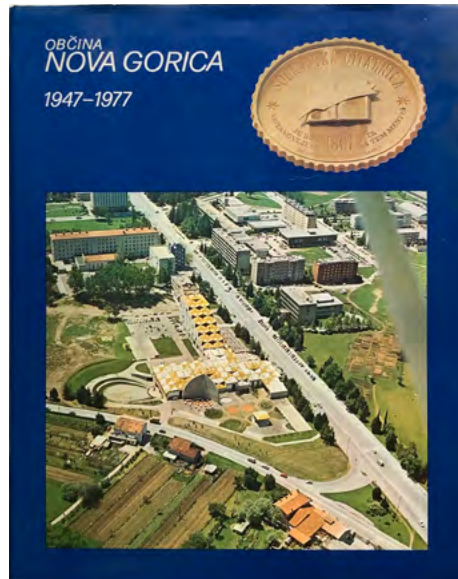
Kako hitro so bili Argonavti izbrisani iz mestne vedute (in spomina) nam pokaže primerjava dveh edinih doslej natisnjenih reprezentančnih monografij o mestu z barvnimi reprodukcijami. Leta 1977 so bili na naslovnici monografije o Novi Gorici, v knjigi deset let za tem, leta 1988, pa jih ni več na nobeni od fotografij v knjigi.

Projekt Argonavti je za skupino OHO pomenil konec in hkrati začetek neke poti. Konceptualistična umetniška skupina, ki je v času svojega delovanja dinamično prehodila različne faze razvoja, se neprestano spreminjala, tako po sestavi kot po oblikah in načinu dela, je s

⁴⁶ Matjaž GARZAROLLI, Jurij KOBE, Janez KOŽELJ, Arhitekturna kritika. Hotel Argonavti, Nova Gorica, *Arhitektov bilten*, 28, 1976, str. 7–8.

tem projektom želela uresničiti zadnjo umetniško utopijo in dati prostoru časovno dimenzijo, tik preden so izvedli premik iz sveta umetnosti v celostno življenje kot umetnost in oblikovali Družino v Šempasu.

Arhitektura Argonavtov je uresničila nekaj, kar je popolnoma nepričakovano, to je da se lahko arhitekturna misel umesti hkrati kot futuristična in kamenodobna, bila je produkt družbene revolucije šestdesetih let, ki je zajela vse sfere bivanja, od umetnosti, množične kulture in družbenih obrazcev, in se je kot utopija tudi končala. Zgodba o Argonavtih je emblematična kot zglede pred časom, kako se bodo v osemdesetih letih raztreščili vsi družbeni ideali in zamisli o novi družbi. So metafora za preobrazbo otrok cvetja v polikane administratorje (tako kot se je Cvetlična pivnica⁴⁷ preobrazila v lasvegaški kazino). Argonavti so po dolgotrajni gradnji od leta 1970 do leta 1976 in kratkem življenju do leta 1985 danes fantomska arhitektura celo do te mere, da se je za njimi, čeprav so skoraj še umetnost našega časa, ohranila komaj kakšna sled. Le še v stopničasti strukturi glavnega trakta lahko razberemo izvorno misel projektanta. So arhitekturni privid in hkrati arhitektura, ki je pustila najbolj neizbrisljiv pečat v mestu, predvsem v družbeni zavesti tistih, ki smo jo doživeli.



Slika 9: Naslovnica knjige *Občina Nova Gorica 1947-1977*, Nova Gorica 1977.

Architectural Utopia on the Open Border. An Example of the Argonavti Hotel in Nova Gorica (Architect Niko Lehrman and OHO Group)

Summary

In 1972, the construction of the modern hotel and restaurant complex Argonavti, an entertainment center that was also supposed to include a cultural and recreational program, began in Nova Gorica. Nova Gorica, a young city on the open border, the true opposite of the Iron Curtain between two political blocs in the Cold War partition of the world, rather, it was the Yugoslav window to the West. Here, socialism demonstrated its achievements, as well as its concern for the worker and the quality of his leisure time, simultaneously developing a profit-driven entertainment industry, it focused on a market economy. An ambitious project in which architect Niko Lehrman partnered with the OHO conceptualist group grew out of pop culture, the social movements of the 1960s, and the revolutionary year of '68, when social utopias still seemed feasible in the early 1970s. OHO was attracted to the architectural task of connecting physical space and its memory to art forms and human relationships through opening an opportunity for art to create the spatial conditions for the development of a new society. Architecture should be a culmination of all things good that have been created in the global cultural past. The building was given the appearance of an elongated, stepped structure that resembled the Mayan pyramids. The top floor could be reached by a staircase along the central axis of the pyramidal segment just below the roof, the building was complemented by a monumental solar sculpture that replicated the idea of megalithic solar shrines. This was the last OHO group project (representing Yugoslav art at the 1971 Biennale of Young Artists in Paris) before they retreated from the art world in 1971 to a commune, the Family in Šempas. The Argonavti Hotel was completed in 1976, but its roof, made of polyester pyramid domes, which had been leaking from the start, were an insurmountable problem. Therefore, in 1985, two years after the 1983 flood, it was replaced with a flat roof that changed its appearance. The last memory of the Argonavts, the Solar Sculpture, was removed in 1999. Argonavti was both a high-modernist and late-socialist project, which today is emblematic as an example of how all social ideals and ideas of a new society would be shattered in the 1980s. The final transformation of the Argonavti Hotel, the Cvetlična Pivnica as it was first called, into the HIT Perla casino hotel is an ideal metaphor for sociopolitical change, the transition of systems from socialism to capitalism, when the space of plural activities, from recreation to culture and leisure, intended both for the locals, visitors and the tourism industry, was transformed into the most profitable tourist activity, a casino intended almost exclusively for foreign visitors.

47 VUGA T. 2018 (op. 25), str. 191. Ime najdemo tudi v projektni dokumentaciji iz leta 1970. PANG, Skupščina občine Nova Gorica, 104, t. e. 2077.



7 **MAPIRANJE IN VIZUALIZACIJA MESTNEGA PROSTORA**
MAPPING AND VISUALIZATION OF A TOWN

Mapping Berlin: The Space of Monuments and the Perception of Visitors

Eirene CAMPAGNA

In 1933 the Athens' Charter was promoted, where the "functional city" had a central rule. To understand the importance of the functional city, it is possible to quote Le Corbusier, the most important member of CIAM, who said: "The city must materially ensure individual freedom and at the same time the common benefit."¹ Indeed, the architectural anthropology elaborated by Le Corbusier revived in his buildings; even if his project of a "radiant city" remained only a theory, the concept of "human measurement" has materialized in a biophysical anthropology: the "modulor", which becomes the unifying criterion of the housing unit.

So, the architecture has to satisfy biological needs, but also has to interpret historical changes, therefore it should follow both the biological and the social factors. Cities, thanks to modernist architects, start changing and they assume more and more the aspect they have today: from a concept of city intended as an organism to a new concept of urban space, understood as "continuous space." In brief, we are facing a dynamic city ready for complex relationships, a city that develops geographical, economic, social and cultural relationships with the surrounding area. But the modern city organized following the concept of order, cleanliness, equality, has been handed over to past history and transformed into something very different that we struggle to represent, to describe, to tell.

The rupture or discontinuity with the modern era represents the beginning of a new one and unprecedented phase, a "second modernity" or a "postmodernity", a term that indicates a real transition from one era to another. The first theorist, in the early eighties, of postmodernity is the French philosopher, Jean-François Lyotard, for whom this term: "Designates the state of culture after the transformations undergone by the rules of science, literature and the arts since the end of the 19th century."² When Charles Jencks first uses the term "postmodern" in relation to architecture, he wants to indicate above all the overcoming of rationalist architecture.³ In the same way, the postmodern city that arises in the crisis of certainties requires an afterthought: on the one hand everything changes quickly, on the other it seems that the void of certainties

1 Teresa GIURA, *La città senza cuore: dalla fisiologia alla fenomenologia urbana*, Napoli 1974, p. 25.

2 Jean-François LYOTARD, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Paris 1979, p. 5.

3 Charles JENCKS, *The Language of Post-modern Architecture*, London 1977.

is immediately filled by the homogeneity of lifestyles. The "postmodern city" has also been called the "contemporary city", but if we were to choose the adjective contemporary, even only in its strict temporal meaning, we would be faced with a quality that is meaningless. With the contemporary term we merely indicate a city that is no longer modern, but, in the same times, contemporary becomes synonymous with postmodern in the meanings of Lyotard and Jencks.

Historians, sociologists, anthropologists, artists, architects, urban planners, engineers, are today called to confront themselves in contemporary cities on the theme of the development of cities in Europe, according to a multidisciplinary and multipolar approach to collect and amalgamate all the changing and complex aspects of cities and society, which are constantly evolving. Architectural functionalism is contrasted with "conceptual formalism": the needs of living are taken seriously, so much so that we go from architecture at the service of "glory" to architecture of "dignity." But the city also becomes "narrative text", his work on memory is in fact reconstructive. In this reconstructive work on memory the care for the past and the welcoming of the new go together: curiosity about the new enhances the past. We can talk about parallelism between architecture and narrative, in which architecture would be for the space what the story is for the time, that is, an analogy is established between building, which means building in space, and telling, which means weaving a story with time. Indeed, the history of the city can be read in the "configuration" of the city itself, through its urban space organized in a representative way. Monumentality takes on its main etymological meaning, so monument is synonymous with document. Narrative and architecture follow similar historical courses. And, together with building places can be read and re-read by our way of living: the strength of the model of reading is precisely living.

Thus, receptive and active living implies a careful reinterpretation of the urban environment. Monuments and buildings become traces of the past. The "places of memory", which I intend to deal with, become a reasoned and reflective composition of space and time. Our cities tell the ruins of mid-century Europe: we see not only monuments destroyed and lost lives, but there is something of inextricable. Our cities alternate glory and humiliation, life and death, the most violent founding events and the sweetness of living, our cities lead us to do a memory work, but not a duty, they give us a plural reading of past eras.

All these cultural and social processes, the urban change which is also a human change, the upheaval of the city which is also a complication in human life, is what happened to the city of Berlin. After the Athens Charter and starting from 1943, also Germany realized examples of urban fragments inspired by the ideas of functional cities. In fact, the adoption of this model on German soil is assimilated to the import of the many cultural products from the winning powers, in particular the United States and Great Britain. Yet, probably due to the administrative division of the city in 1949, before the construction of the wall in 1961, the idea of the functional city in Berlin finds particularly significant fields of application. In the Soviet-controlled area during the 1950s, the Stalinallee (Stalin Avenue), the monumental axis

leading from Alexanderplatz (Alexander Square) to the east “gate” of Frankfurter Tor (Frankfurt Gate) in the direction of the Polish border, was built. The scheme of the great axis is based on the return to the “compact” city, with a continuous road curtain, and on architectural forms inspired by the Prussian neoclassicism of Schinkel (1781–1841).⁴ The competition between the western and eastern sectors of the divided city work as support of an alternative model, that of the functional city, even more marked by the technicians and administrators of West Berlin. On the model of London, a collective led by the German architect Hans Scharoun (1893–1972) presented a plan for the city in 1946, still covering the entire urban territory: even the surviving monuments, which had escaped the Allied bombardments, would have to be demolished in order to build an orthogonal mesh oriented according to the course of the river and organized by the zoning criterion, a separation of functional zones. The plan would never be adopted but, even by reaction, would have lasting effects on Berlin and German town planning in the following decade.

From the Athens Charter also derives the classification of the sectors of intervention as housing, work, leisure and movement, just as the idea of thinning coincides of the Charter itself that “the population is too dense.”⁵ Also derived from the Charter, the principles of the traffic system are affirmed, articulated according to a hierarchy, with axes of traffic, secondary roads and pedestrian routes, and the separation of the road from schools and residences through green spaces. This urban model finds its most explicit expression in Berlin in the Hansaviertel (Hansa district), built for the Interbau exhibition (International Building Exhibition) in 1957.⁶

However, the post-war reconstruction of Berlin is proceeding in a chaotic and disorderly manner, not only because of the clear difference between planning strategies in the east and west, but also because of the difficulty of following clear and unambiguous lines in the same western sector. In more than one case, the competitions organized follow an anomalous and contradictory procedure, while during the 1950s there is a progressive bureaucratic paralysis that marks the failure of urban planning practice, even more relevant when compared to the rich disciplinary debate. With the beginning of the 1960s, the political situation radically changed, the “cold war” became even worse and the construction of the wall decisively changed the space within which Westerners moved in the former capital. The functionalist city model increasingly shows its limits, and international urban planning culture questions the validity

4 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, was an exponent of the architectural style that most influenced the German capital: neoclassicism. The dominant aesthetic of the 19th century aspired to detach itself from the heavy florilegies of the Baroque, rather seeking elements characteristic of classical antiquity, such as columns, domes and pediments without frills. It is no coincidence that the splendid front colonnade of the Altes Museum (Old Museum) is considered one of Schinkel's masterpieces and perhaps the most mature and complete expression of his art.

5 Teresa GIURA, *La città senza cuore: dalla fisiologia alla fenomenologia urbana*, Napoli 1974, p. 26.

6 The *Interbau 57* (International Building Exhibition) was a major architectural exhibition held in West Berlin in 1957. The following works were created for the occasion: Hansa Quarter in Berlin-Tiergarten, Kongresshalle in Berlin-Tiergarten (today Haus der Kulturen der Welt), Unité d'Habitation in Berlin-Charlottenburg.

of principles applied too often in an abstract way. In Berlin in particular, the enclave of the Western sector can no longer serve as an exemplary case, while architects and urban planners themselves often refuse to ignore the Eastern part when drafting urban planning instruments.

Ultimately, the visitor who travels today through the streets of former West Berlin will not fail to recognize some of the characters largely related to the idea of the functional city: a low population density, to the point of having to increase it in the central areas after the fall of the wall; a relative equivalence of the different districts in terms of importance and attractiveness, also due to the original multi-centrism of the city; a not too uneven endowment of recreational and leisure facilities within the urban territory; the presence of greenery; the distinction between urban highways, expressways and secondary roads, even if the former are not always at an adequate distance from homes. Ultimately, even if Berlin is not “the” functionalist city that emerged from the post-Second World War debate on the basis of the principles of the Athens Charter, it can be said to be a good example of a functional city, able to find its identity in the liveability and human dimension of the metropolis as the “sum of villages”. Since the 1990s, Berlin becomes also the public space for a lot of monuments and memorials to commemorate the extermination of the Jews.

In 1993 James Young wrote:

The best German memorial to the Fascist era and its victims may not be the only memorial, rather the debate without solution about which memory to preserve, how to do it, in name of whom and with what objective [...] Indeed, it is strange for a nation to remember the victims of crime committed by itself.⁷

In fact, what has been happening in Germany since 1988 is quite unique: the German journalist Lea Rosh publicly denounces the absence in Berlin of a memorial for the murdered Jews of Europe; the following year, with the support of the historian Eberhard Jäckel, she founds the Perspektive Berlin committee and gathers 10,000 members among citizens, politicians, exponents of the world of culture. In the aftermath of the fall of the wall in November 1989, Chancellor Helmut Kohl spoke out in favour of a memorial to remember all the victims of the war. The question immediately arises whether it is right to dedicate a memorial to the six million Jews or whether it is more right to include all the victims of Nazism. The history of the competition, which was subsequently called, is long and troubled and only found its actual realization in the distant 2005, but it is important to remember that the winner and creator of the memorial, architect Peter Eisenman (1932), chooses to dedicate the monument exclusively to the Jews. The memorial, which we see in Berlin, is the admirable outcome of the collaboration between a deconstructionist architect, Peter Eisenman, and a post-minimalist artist, Richard Serra (1938), although the latter then decided to leave the project. In fact, on 3 June 1998 Serra decided not to continue the work, which since then, with the modifications

7 James E. YOUNG, *At Memory's Edge. After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, New Haven-London 2000, p. 191.

requested by Kohl, will be carried on by Eisenman alone, until its inauguration on 10 May 2005.

Although the desire to give the perception of the memorial a strong sense of instability is attributable solely to Eisenman, Serra seems to have been the true creator of the memorial, and this is demonstrated by the desire to put the user in the foreground: the work would not have needed images or information, but only the direct experience of the visitor, without which the memorial would remain an expanse of inert and inexpressive fragments in the heart of the reunified city.

The Berlin memorial is therefore neither a talking monument, realistically or symbolically representing the tragedy, nor a container of objects and images documenting it. It doesn't look to the past, but to the present, the grid, the usual element of precision, is transformed, in Eisenman's project, into a labile, insecure and highly disorienting structure. Another disorienting aspect is that the memorial is dedicated to the Jews, but is not erected for them, who probably would not need memorials to remember what happened.

The real addressee is undoubtedly the German people and it is the architectural choice of the memorial that represents a change of the way in which the Germans, especially those of today, those of the third and fourth generation, can integrate the memory of the past into the construction of a new national identity. Indeed, since the 1950s, the German people have felt the need to create memorials, install memorial tablets in many places, promote information centres and places of remembrance. Thus many former concentration camps were turned into museums and opened to the public as places through which to remember the history of that terrible regime. From this moment on, the monument is also interpreted as an architectural object with which to evoke a new aesthetic form of art: the memorials in fact interact with the urban space, changing its appearance and becoming spokesmen of the past. The architectural result that appears to our eyes, in addition to reflecting the nature of contemporary museum devices, creates a particular but compelling contrast with the history that they convey, as happens for the Jewish Museum of Berlin.

This museum by the Polish-American Jewish architect Daniel Libeskind (1946) was designed between 1989 and 1999. After completion of the work, the building was left without interior fittings for two years, although it was open to the public. It was then inaugurated on 11 September 2001. The architect, in this case, developed an itinerary in relation to the *Shoah* based on the concept of "emptiness", promoting a reading of absence through the physical crossing of a space deliberately devoid of solid volumes, empty precisely, which was able to declare the lack of memory and induce the user to experience first-hand the feeling of oblivion, of de-memorialization. The museum visit today is still largely an itinerary made up of desolate spaces that create a particular emotional effect for the visitor. Along the way, the strange overlap that is determined between real time and remembered time, between present and past, creates a circuit that cancels the space-time boundaries, projecting the user into an unnatural space, from which he would like to get out, suffocated by a conscious sense of constraint and oppression.

Moreover, in Berlin it is clear that the aim is to commemorate a history that is composite and in conflict, built on the stones and ruins of a country that remembers its victims: in the centre of the capital and just a stone's throw from the Brandenburg Gate, 2,700 concrete blocks stand out in the urban fabric and make the memory of the murdered Jews vibrant: this is the *Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas* (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe). At this point we cannot but recall the words of Lewis Mumford, who, when Europe was on the brink of the Second World War, wrote: "The idea of a modern monument is a contradiction in terms. If it is a monument, it cannot be modern; if it is modern, it cannot be a monument."⁸ The monument is therefore for Mumford synonymous with death because in a certain sense it walls life. Even if he expressed himself before the Second World War, currently more than seventy years after the end of the conflict, we should still ask ourselves whether monuments/memorials can play an "atoning" role and what the relationship they have with the places where they raise. It is therefore clear why a Jewish Holocaust Memorial monument of 19,000 m² has been built in Berlin, certainly, the enormity of the project immediately presented problems regarding both the physical quality of the approximately 400 stelae and the possible deterioration over time, also taking into account possible acts of vandalism. And as if this were not enough, the visitors, inside the building which, as has already been said, presents a structure similar to a labyrinth, are almost naturally induced to play hide and seek, run, climb, jump and snap the famous selfie, even if all this is officially forbidden. In addition, it should also be said that since the summer of 2006 numerous fast-food restaurants have sprung up on the edge of the monument, allowing tourists to "enter" the monument while enjoying their burgers, without perhaps even knowing the nature of the Jewish Holocaust Memorial.

It is important to emphasize that in Germany the theme of Holocaust remembrance does not only touch the aspect of collective remembrance, but inevitably gives rise to intense feelings of co-responsibility, shame and guilt, as well as the awareness of not having reacted to something that was psychologically skilfully introduced, first in small steps and then advanced to implement what the German Nazi regime called "Endlösung" (Final Solution). It was probably the progressive alienation of human, moral and ethical values that caused there to be no real resistance in that place. In the same way, this ability, in other forms, is also recognized on the side of the deportees.

In this regard, the testimony of Shlomo Venezia is significant, who in his book *Sonderkommando* writes: "The Germans were clever to group us by families: when you are alone, in fact, the idea of escaping is more intense. But how can one accept to abandon one's parents or children?"⁹

Moreover, German Nazism could count on a series of industrial and institutional aids: it became a normal thing, for example, the work of "Deutsche Reichsbahn" (German Reichsbahn), which organized the mass transport of the victims towards their extermination. Right in

8 Lewis MUMFORD, *The culture of cities*, New York 1938, p. 438.

9 Shlomo VENEZIA, *Sonderkommando Auschwitz*, Milano 2007, p. 26.

the centre of Grödenwald, a quiet district of Berlin, one of the largest railway deportation centres was found. Today, in the same place stands a memorial commemorating each of the past functions of Platform 17 Memorial. An invitation-only competition was held for the construction of the memorial. The members of the jury included Ignatz Bubis, President of the Jewish Central Council of Germany, Heinz Dürr, Director of the Management Council of the "Deutsche Bahn", Jerzy Kanal, Head of the Jewish Community of Berlin, and architect Salomon Korn. The winners were architects Hirsch and Lorch und Wandel. The central core of the monument consists of 186 steel grids, arranged chronologically and immersed in gravel along the edge of the railway platform. In each one you can read about each individual trip, the number of deportees, the date of departure and the destination. The vegetation that has formed spontaneously on Platform 17 over the years has been deliberately left uncultivated, as if to say that no train can ever leave that track again. Not far from the track, and connected to it is Karol Broniatkowski's sculpture, commissioned by the Federal State of Berlin, which points the way to the deportation ramp.

The reverse of memory exasperation can be read in *Yolocaust*, a photographic project (2017) of Israeli artist Shahak Shapira's denunciation: a website that has collected photos taken from social networks such as Facebook and Instagram.¹⁰ These photos were taken in the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* in Berlin, and the artist has transformed them into gifs: first the original shot appears where smiling tourists pose in the memorial and then you see the same photo shopped image, where images of concentration camps have been replaced in the background of the monument. The word *Yolocaust* is a fusion of the word Holocaust and the acronym YOLO, which stands for "you only live once", often used as a hashtag in photos of people "having fun" inside the memorial. However, Shapira has given the possibility, to the people protagonists of the shots, to request that they be removed, by writing to an email address with a particularly evocative name undouche.me@yolocaust.de. Given the enormous resonance of the project, in the end all the people involved became aware of it and asked to be removed. Following this, the artist explained that the project was concluded because "it reached all twelve people who had taken the selfie," adding that the site had been viewed by two and a half million visitors.

10 *Yolocaust*, <http://yolocaust.de/> (accessed 28 February 2020).

Mapiranje Berlina: Prostor spomenikov in percepcija obiskovalcev

Povzetek

Leta 1933 je bila popularna Atenska listina, v kateri je »funkcionalno mesto« imelo osrednjo vlogo. Arhitektura je morala poskrbeti za biološke potrebe, ob tem pa tudi interpretirati historične spremembe, tako da je morala slediti tako biološkim kot družbenim faktorjem. Zahvaljujoč modernističnim arhitektom, se mesta začinjajo spreminjati in vedno bolj prevzemajo današnji videz: od koncepta mesta kot organizma do koncepta urbanega prostora, ki ga je mogoče razumeti kot »kontinuiran prostor«. Ta prelom ali diskontinuiteta z moderno dobo predstavlja začetek nove in edinstvene faze, »drugo moderno« ali »postmoderno«, termin, ki nakazuje na resnično tranzicijo iz enega obdobja v drugo. V zgodnjih 80-tih letih 20. stoletja, je bil prvi teoretik postmoderne francoski filozof Jean-François Lyotard. Nemčija je po Atenski listini in začeni s letom 1943 ustvarila primere urbanih fragmentov, ki so jih navdihnile ideje funkcionalnih mest. Sprejetje tega modela na nemških tleh je pravzaprav prilagojeno uvozu številnih kulturnih izdelkov zmagovalnih držav, še posebej Združenih držav in Velike Britanije. Navsezadnje lahko rečemo, da tudi če Berlin ni funkcionalistično mesto, ki je nastalo iz razprav po drugi svetovni vojni in na podlagi načel Atenske listine, predstavlja dober primer funkcionalističnega mesta, ki je zmožno najti svojo identiteto v metropoli kot »vsoti vasi«, v kateri je mogoče živeti in ki ima človeško razsežnost. Od 90-tih let 20. stoletja je Berlin tudi javni prostor številnih spomenikov in obeležij, ki spominjajo na iztrebljanje Judov. Kar se je dogajalo v Nemčiji od leta 1988 naprej je pravzaprav edinstveno: nemška novinarka Lea Rosh je javno opozorila na to, da v Berlinu ni spomenika v spomin evropskim Judom. Zgodovina tekmovanja, kot so jo kasneje poimenovali, je dolga in težavna in je bila realizirana šele daljnjega leta 2005. Kljub temu si je potrebno zapomniti, da se je zmagovalec in avtor spomenika, arhitekt Peter Eisenman (1932), odločil posvetiti spomenik izključno Judom. Spomenik, ki ga je mogoče videti v Berlinu, je občudovanja vreden rezultat sodelovanja med dekonstruktivističnim arhitektom Petrom Eisenmanom in post-minimalističnim umetnikom Richardom Serro (1938), kljub temu da se je slednji nato odločil, da ne bo sodeloval pri projektu. Berlinski spomenik je tako govoreči spomenik, ki realistično ali simbolično predstavlja tragedijo, ni samo kontejner objektov in podob, ki to dokumentirajo. Ne obrača se v preteklost, temveč v sedanost. Mreža, ki je navadno element natančnosti, je v Eisenmanovem projektu spremenjena v labilno, negotovo in močno dezorientirano strukturo. Vse od 50-tih let 20. stoletja so Nemci čutili potrebo po tem, da ustvarjajo spomenike, na številnih mestih postavljajo spominske plošče, promovirajo informacijske centre in spominske kraje. Tako so bila številna koncentracijska taborišča spremenjena v muzeje in odprta za javnost kot kraji, skozi katere se je mogoče spominjati zgodovine tega groznega režima. Od tega trenutka naprej je spomenik interpretiran

tudi kot arhitekturni objekt, s katerim je mogoče vzbuditi novo estetsko obliko umetnosti: spominska obeležja pravzaprav komunicirajo z urbanim prostorom, spreminjajo njegovo podobo in postajajo predstavniki zgodovine. Arhitekturni rezultat, ki se pojavi pred našimi očmi, odraža ne samo naravo sodobnih muzejskih naprav, temveč tudi ustvarja določeno, privlačno nasprotje z zgodovino, ki jo predstavljajo, kot je to vidno pri Judovskem muzeju v Berlinu. Ta muzej, ki je delo poljsko-ameriškega arhitekta Daniela Libeskinda (1946), je bil zasnovan med 1989 in 1999. Po končanem delu je bila zgradba dve leti brez notranje opreme, kljub temu da je bila odprta za javnost. Nato je bila 11. septembra 2001 uradno odprta. V Berlinu je tako jasno, da je cilj pokloniti se zgodovini, ki je sestavljena in konfliktna, zgrajena na kamnih in ruševinah države, ki se spominja svojih žrtev. Nasprotje ogorčenemu spominu predstavlja *Yolocaust*, fotografski projekt (2017) izraelskega umetnika Shahak Shapira, ki izraža njegovo obsojanje. Gre za spletno stran, ki je zbirala fotografije, vzete iz družbenih omrežij kot sta Facebook in Instagram.



Arhivski dokumenti prostorskega planiranja mesta Nove Gorice in goriške regije v Pokrajinskem arhivu v Novi Gorici. Predstavitev nedavno prevzetega arhivskega gradiva bivše občine Nova Gorica

Tanja MARTELANC

Uvod

Ob 70. obletnici začetka gradnje Nove Gorice se je zanimanje za arhivsko gradivo, bogato s podatki o tej pomembni prelomnici v goriški zgodovini, skokovito povečalo. Izjemen interes so poklicni in ljubiteljski raziskovalci ter novinarji pokazali predvsem za spisovno in fotografsko gradivo ter arhitekturne načrte in risbe, ki jih hranimo v Pokrajinskem arhivu v Novi Gorici v fondih: Zbirka gradiva o gradnji Nove Gorice, 0061; Okrajni ljudski odbor Gorica, 0080; Skupščina občine Nova Gorica, 0104; Zbirka fotografij, 0583; Zbirka razglednic krajev, 0667; Splošno gradbeno podjetje Gorica, 05941 in Oblastni ljudski odbor za goriško oblast 0677.

V letu 2020 pa se je arhivsko gradivo, ki razkriva potek gradnje Nove Gorice, povečalo za okrog 50 arhivskih škatel.¹ Mestna občina Nova Gorica se je odločila prepustiti v hrambo pokrajinskemu arhivu urbanistično dokumentacijo nekdanje »velike občine«. Med njo po obsegu prednjačijo zazidalni načrti celotnega področja skupščine občine, danes Upravne enote Nova Gorica, ter urbanistični načrti novonastalega mesta in prostorski plani goriške regije. Raziskovalci lahko sedaj na enem mestu najdejo skorajda celotno zgodovino prostorskega planiranja goriškega prostora od 50-ih pa tja do 90-ih let prejšnjega stoletja.

Pričujoči članek nima namena detaljne predstavitve celotne urbanistične dejavnosti na Goriškem od leta 1947 do leta 1995, ampak želi v prvi vrsti, poleg dokumentov, ki se hranijo v depojih Pokrajinskega arhiva v Novi Gorici in so raziskovalcem tega področja že dobro poznani, opozoriti predvsem na nedavno prevzeto arhivsko gradivo. Podrobnejša obravnava gradiva bo raziskovalcem odstrla marsikatero tančico skrivnosti o urbanističnem načrtovanju mladega

¹ V času priprave članka je bil v hrambo Pokrajinskega arhiva v Novi Gorici prevzet večji del arhivskega gradiva, ki zadeva urbanistično planiranje bivše občine Nova Gorica. Nekaj gradiva je ostalo še nepopisanega in se trenutno hrani v stalni zbirki Mestne občine Nova Gorica, zato bo končni seznam prevzetega gradiva daljši od predstavljenega. V pričujočem članku iz istih razlogov tudi ni natančnejših podatkov o lokaciji hrambe gradiva. Le-ta bo določena naknadno. Gradivo je detaljno popisal arhitekt Jelko Valenčak, dolgoletni sodelavec novogoriške občine, ki mi je razkril marsikatero skrivnost priprave predstavljenih dokumentov, za kar sem mu na tem mestu iskreno hvaležna.

mesta.² Ker pa razumevanje in interpretacija arhivskih virov zahtevata tudi podrobnejšo obrazložitev vzvodov in konteksta nastanka nekega dokumenta, je v nadaljevanju poleg naštevanja prevzetega arhivskega gradiva na kratko povzeta tudi zakonodaja, ki je od leta 1945 do leta 1995 krojila urejanje prostora na občinski ravni.³

Obdobje med leti 1945 in 1957

Za povojni čas ni bilo značilno prostorsko planiranje celotnega občinskega teritorija, ampak je bilo urbanistično načrtovanje usmerjeno v njegove dele, t. j. gradbene okoliše. Najprej so se izdelovali urbanistični regulacijski načrti, ki pa so nastajali zgolj na podlagi strokovne in politične presoje Ministrstva za gradnje in kasneje tudi Ministrstva za komunalne zadeve v sklopu t. i. centralnega planiranja. V tem obdobju se je porodila zamisel o izgradnji novega središča na Goriškem. Tako je med leti 1947 in 1950 arhitekt Edvard Ravnikar izdelal več osnutkov načrta novega mesta in generalni urbanistični načrt za Novo Gorico,⁴ ki je nastal na podlagi *Temeljne uredbe o generalnem urbanističnem planu* iz leta 1949 (Ur. l. FLRJ, št. 78/49). Temeljna uredba je uzakonila izdelavo urbanističnih planov za okraje, kraje in mesta; večja pooblastila je dala tudi lokalni oblasti.

Odločanje o prostorskem planiranju se je z državne ravni preneslo na ljudske odbore. Tako je leta 1953 izšla *Uredba o uporabi zemljišč za gradbene namene* (Ur. l. LRS, št. 44/53), ki je želela zavarovati splošne družbene koristi tako, da je ljudskim odborom okrajev, mest in mestnih občin odredila, da morajo z odloki določiti zemljišča, ki se smejo pod posebnimi pogoji uporabljati za gradbene namene, ki ne pridejo v poštev za gradnjo, in tista zemljišča, ki so zavarovana in se na njih ne sme graditi.⁵

Leta 1954 je arhitekt Božidar Gvardjančič na predlog OLO Gorica izdelal generalni urbanistični

² V okvir mesta Nova Gorica so nekdanj spadali tudi Solkan, Rožna dolina, Pristava in Kromberk. Navedeni kraji se danes smatrajo kot samostojne urbanistične celote oz. kot primestna naselja Nove Gorice, zato pričujoči članek ne predstavlja na novo pridobljene urbanistične dokumentacije omenjenih naselij, ampak se v tem smislu osredotoča le na ožje pojmovanje mesta Nove Gorice.

³ Pri pripravi pregleda urbanistične zakonodaje je bilo poleg v članku citiranih uradnih listov LRS, SRS in FLRJ uporabljeno tudi naslednje gradivo: Jože DEKLEVA, Pregled in komentar normativne ureditve prostorskega planiranja skozi čas ter instrumenti prostorske regulacije v svetu, *Urejanje prostora na občinski ravni* (ur. Luka Štravs), Ljubljana 2011, str. 27–38; Tim MAVRIČ, *Oris razvoja sistema urbanističnega in prostorskega planiranja med letoma 1945 in 1990 s posebnim ozirom na primer Nove Gorice* (diplomsko delo), Koper 2016; Tim MAVRIČ, *Zgodovinski pregled razvoja urbanističnih ustanov in zakonodaje v Sloveniji med letoma 1945 in 1990, Urbani izziv. Posebna izdaja*, 7, 2017, str. 132–142.

⁴ Idejne skice in generalni urbanistični načrt mesta Nova Gorica se hranijo v Muzeju arhitekture in oblikovanja v Ljubljani, v arhivu Fakultete za arhitekturo Univerze v Ljubljani in v Arhivu republike Slovenije (glej: Alenka DI BATTISTA, *Nova Gorica in Velenje. Čudeža socialistične gradnje v drugi Jugoslaviji* (diplomsko delo), Ljubljana 2011, str. 46–47).

⁵ Pri tem je poudarila, da se za gradbene namene ne smejo uporabljati zemljišča, ki bi se jih dalo koristneje uporabiti za potrebe poljedelstva, gospodarstva, zdravstva ali narodne obrambe, ter taka zemljišča, kjer so naravni ali drugi pogoji potencialno škodljivi zdravju.

načrt za Novo Gorico,⁶ leto poprej pa še nekaj zazidalnih oz. regulacijskih načrtov za ožja območja mesta, med njimi za območje med Erjavčevo, Delpinovo in Kosovelovo ulico⁷ ter zazidalni načrt za Grčno.⁸

Tri leta kasneje je bil sprejet *Zakon o uporabi zemljišč za gradbene namene* (Ur. l. LRS, št. 13/56), ki določa, da okrajni ljudski odbori na predlog občinskih ljudskih odborov z odloki opredelijo zemljišča, ki se bodisi uporabljajo za gradbene namene, t. j. gradbeni okoliši, ali pa ne. Odloki se lahko nanašajo na celotno območje občine ali pa le na posamezne dele občine. Okrajnim ljudskim odborom je bilo tudi naloženo, da morajo odloke izdati najpozneje do konca leta 1956 za predvidene gradbene potrebe naslednjih dveh let.

Obdobje med leti 1958 in 1964

Ker tak način zakonske regulacije prostorskega planiranja ni bil zadovoljiv, saj gradnja ni bila usmerjena, je leta 1958 izšel nov *Zakon o urbanističnih projektih* (Ur. l. LRS, št. 22/58), ki je prvi zakonsko opredelil potrebno dokumentacijo za prostorsko načrtovanje, ki naj bi v gradbenih okoliših zagotovila smotrnejšo graditev. Urbanistični projekt naj bi opredelil podlago in začrtal pot razvoja naselja tako, da bi poleg gradbenega okoliša predvidel tudi vplive širšega območja. Sestavljen je moral biti iz urbanističnega programa (t. j. program za razvoj in urbanistično ureditev vplivnega območja) in ureditvenega načrta (načrt za urbanistično ureditev naselja oz. gradbenega območja), njune rešitve pa so morale biti tudi ekonomsko utemeljene. Načeloma se ureditvenega načrta ni izdelovalo brez predhodne izdelave in potrditve urbanističnega programa. Za izdelavo urbanističnega programa je bila potrebna natančna ocena obstoječega stanja (geografske, klimatske, hidrografske, gospodarske, prometne, demografske, stanovanjske, kulturno-prosvetne, spomeniško varstvene, socialne, zdravstvene, komunalne, turistične ipd. razmere) in načrt nadaljnega urbanističnega razvoja za obdobje najmanj naslednjih 30 let, in sicer po 10-letnih etapah. Na podlagi analize se je nato izdelalo napoved prostorskega urejanja naselja in vplivnega območja na področju prometne, vodnogospodarske in komunalne ureditve ter namenske uporabe posameznih predelov (t. i. coningi). Ureditveni načrt pa so sestavljali načrt obstoječega stanja s potrebnimi višinskimi terenskimi podatki, načrt namenske izrabe površin z osnovno prometno mrežo in lokacijo družbeno pomembnih objektov, načrt načelnih rešitev vodnogospodarskih ureditev in komunalnih naprav, tehnično poročilo z obrazložitvijo in z opisom etapne graditve, pravilnik za izvajanje ureditvenega načrta in zazidalni načrt za predele, ki so bili namenjeni gradnji.

6 Za skico generalnega urbanističnega načrta Nove Gorice iz leta 1954, delo arhitekta Božidarja Gvardjančiča, gl.: PANG, Okrajni ljudski odbor Gorica (OLO Gorica), 0080, Odobritev mikrolokacije za Goriške strojne tovarne in livarno v Novi Gorici, t. e. 316, a. e. 134.

7 Za zazidalni načrt Nove Gorice sektorja med Gabrijelovo cesto, cesto št. 5 in 6 ter potoka Korena, delo arhitekta Božidarja Gvardjančiča iz leta 1953, gl.: PANG, OLO Gorica, 0080, Bivalnica v Novi Gorici: investicijski elaborat, t. e. 473/2, a. e. 2707/4.

8 Več o tem v: MAVRIČ 2016 (op. 3), str. 68–70; DI BATTISTA 2011 (op. 4), str. 67–68.

Projektivni atelje iz Ljubljane je že leta 1957, preden je bilo to dejansko uzakonjeno, izdelal urbanistični program za Novo Gorico, katerega II. in III. del hranimo v pokrajinskem arhivu. V njem najdemo tudi leto kasneje pripravljen generalni urbanistični načrt mesta, delo arhitekta Viljema Strmeckega in sodelavcev.⁹ Leta 1959 je arhitekt Strmecki skupaj s sodelavci pripravil še *Zazidalni načrt centra Nova Gorica*.¹⁰ Slednjega smo leta 2020 prevzeli v hrambo v arhiv.

V 60-ih letih 20. stoletja se v Novi Gorici začne načrtna priprava več zazidalnih načrtov, ki do sredine 90-ih let v urbanističnem smislu obravnavajo celotno področje novonastalega mesta. Med prvimi je bil izdelan *Zazidalni načrt ob severni diagonali v Novi Gorici*, delo Projektivnega ateljeja iz Ljubljane iz leta 1962. Temu načrtu je sledila vrsta ureditvenih in zazidalnih načrtov za razne predele mesta ter urbanistični program za Novo Gorico.¹¹

Obdobje med leti 1965 in 1973

Med letoma 1965 in 1973 je bilo obdobje uvajanja tržnih mehanizmov. Leta 1967 so želeli z *Zakonom o regionalnem prostorskem planiranju* in *Zakonom o urbanističnem planiranju* zakonsko smotrneje urediti prostorsko planiranje celotnega območja neke regije (Ur. l. SRS, št. 16/67). Po prvo omenjenem zakonu naj bi se sprejemali regionalni prostorski plani v soglasju s celotnim družbenim planiranjem, pri čemer je pomembno družbeno-ekonomsko sprejemljivo gospodarjenje s prostorom, urejanje prostora, varovanje pokrajine, načrtovanje prometne, energetske in vodnogospodarske ureditve prostora, določitev namembnosti površin ter družbeno-ekonomska utemeljitev plana. Celotna urbanistična dokumentacija je morala biti v skladu z regionalnimi prostorskimi plani. Dejansko pa ideja o regionalnem planiranju ni zaživila.

Predhodne zametke izvajanja določb tega zakona lahko zasledimo v naslednjih dokumentih, ki smo jih letos prevzeli v arhiv, in sicer v dokumentu, ki ga je leta 1964 izdelal Urbanistični inštitut SRS z naslovom *Vplivna območja občin Nova Gorica, Ajdovščina, Idrija, Tolmin in dela občine Sežana: grafični prikaz k analitskem delu*. V njem najdemo karte, ki nam na tak ali drugačen način opredeljujejo geografske značilnosti, demografsko analizo, vplivna območja in gradbene okoliše navedenih občin. Drugi sklop dokumentacije pa nosi naslov *Prva faza regionalnega plana razvoja občin Nova Gorica, Ajdovščina, Idrija, Tolmin in dela občine Sežana*, znotraj katerega je Urbanistični inštitut SRS med leti 1964 in 1965 izdelal prvi del elaborata

9 PANG, Skupščina občine Nova Gorica (SONG) 0104, Nova Gorica: urbanistični program, II. in III. del, 1957, t. e. 519.

10 PANG, SONG, 0104, Urbanizem, Urbanistična dokumentacija – poročila, 24. 1. 1967, št. zadeve: 350-3/67-7, t. e. 217; MAVRIČ 2016 (op. 3), str. 72–74.

11 PANG, SONG, 0104, Urbanizem, Pomoč pri urbanističnem načrtovanju Nove Gorice, 5. 9. 1962, št. zadeve: 350-8/62-3, t. e. 71; PANG, SONG, 0104, Urbanizem, Podatki o urbanistični dokumentaciji, 27. 2. 1963, št. zadeve: 350-2/63, t. e. 71; PANG, SONG, 0104, Urbanizem, Organizacija urbanistične službe in stanje urbanistične dokumentacije – anketa, 25. 5. 1964, št. zadeve: 350-3/64, t. e. 71; PANG, SONG, 0104, Urbanizem, Urbanistična dokumentacija – poročila, 24. 1. 1967, št. zadeve: 350-3/67-7, t. e. 217.

z naslovom *Vplivna območja*, delo geografa Lojzeta Gosarja, dva zvezka z analitičnim delom plana ter grafične prikaze k analitičnemu delu.

Zakon o urbanističnem planiranju je predvideval pripravo urbanističnih programov, urbanističnih načrtov, zazidalnih načrtov in urbanističnih redov, ki jih je bilo potrebno novelirati vsakih pet let. Urbanistični program naj bi se v tistem času izdelal za celotno področje neke občine in ne le zgolj za vplivna območja in gradbeni okoliš. Urbanistični program, ki je osnova za pripravo drugih prostorskih aktov, je moral po zakonu vsebovati dokumentacijo o družbenem in ekonomskem razvoju mest in naselij v občini, funkcijo in zmogljivost mest in naselij ter grafično dokumentacijo, ki je obsegala vodnogospodarsko ureditev, prometno in energetsko omrežje ter namensko porazdelitev površin skupaj s prikazom zavarovanih območij. V samem urbanističnem programu pa se morajo določiti tudi mesta, naselja ali druga območja, za katera se izdelajo urbanistični in zazidalni načrti ter urbanistični redi. Urbanistične načrte se po zakonu izdelata za območja, ki so v neposredni povezavi z ureditvenim območjem, kjer je predvidena intenzivna gradnja, zazidalni načrti pa se izdelajo zgolj za območja, kjer je predvidena gradnja, ter za območja, ki so določena za posebne namene, medtem ko se ostala območja v občini ureja z urbanističnimi redi. Občinska skupščina določi, katera območja občine bo obravnavala v dotičnem prostorskem aktu.

Odlok o izdelavi urbanistične dokumentacije v občini Nova Gorica (Ur. glasilo občin Ajdovščina, Nova Gorica in Tolmin, št. 11/67) je zapovedoval, da mora biti urbanistični program izdelan do konca leta 1968, urbanistični načrti pa naj se izdelajo za območje mesta Nova Gorica z naslednjimi naselji: Ajševica, Stara gora, Šempeter in Vrtojba, in sicer do konca leta 1969. Na podlagi tega odloka je bil pripravljen *Urbanistični program občine Nova Gorica*, tako analitski kot tudi planski del, ki ga je leta 1969 izdelal Zavod za urbanizem Nova Gorica pod taktirko arhitekta Tomaža Vuge. Gradivo se od letošnjega leta hrani v arhivu.

Urbanistični načrt je bil podlaga za izdelavo zazidalnega načrta. Vsebovati je moral geodetski načrt obstoječega stanja, načrt namenske rabe površin z lokacijo družbeno pomembnejših objektov ter s prikazom zavarovanih območij in kulturnih spomenikov, območja, za katera se izdelajo zazidalni načrti, načrt osnovnega prometnega omrežja, načrt osnovnega omrežja komunalnih objektov in naprav, načrt osnovnih rešitev vodnogospodarskih ureditev, zbirno karto za načrte, urbanistične ureditvene in oblikovalne zasnove z opredelitvijo območij, ki predstavljajo arhitektonsko celoto in upoštevajo posebni red za spomeniško varstvo, ekonomsko-tehnično poročilo z obrazložitvijo in opisom etapne realizacije za komunalne ureditve ter pravilnik za izvajanje urbanističnega načrta.

Urbanistični zavod – Projektivni atelje iz Ljubljane je leta 1967 pripravil dokumentacijo k novelaciji urbanističnega načrta Nove Gorice, in sicer okvirni coning s cestno mrežo, delo arhitekta Vilijema Strmeckega, ki smo ga od mestne občine prejeli v hrambo. Prav tako smo v letošnjem letu prejeli tudi *Urbanistični načrt mesta Nove Gorice: cestno omrežje*, ki ga je leta 1971 izdelal Zavod za urbanizem Nova Gorica.

Zazidalni načrti se po zgoraj omenjenem zakonu morajo izdelati za zaokrožena zazidalna območja kot so mestno jedro, soseske, kareji, pa tudi športne in rekreacijske površine, pokopališča idr., vendar največ za 10-letno obdobje. Ti zazidalni načrti tako postanejo glavni določevalci lokacij gradbenih objektov, prometnic, komunalnih naprav, zelenic, pomembni pa so tudi zaradi arhitektonske ureditve pripadajočega zemljiškega kompleksa. Zazidalni načrti so tudi nujno potrebni pri izdelavi lokacijske dokumentacije in izdaje lokacijskih dovoljenj. Sestavljeni so iz programskega in tehničnega dela. V prvem delu so podrobneje opredeljene urbane funkcije naselja ali dela naselja, dodane so jim tudi podlage za ureditev in izrabo zemljišč ter graditev, manjkati pa ne sme niti predračun komunalne ureditve. Tehnični del dokumentacije sestavljajo arhitektonska dokumentacija, dokumentacija za izvedbo zazidalne zasnove, načrt parcelacije zemljišč, načrti komunalnih naprav, pravilnik za izvajanje zazidalnega načrta in ekonomsko-tehnično poročilo.

Za mesto Nova Gorica oz. njegovo okolico je bilo po letu 1965 izdelanih več kot 40 zazidalnih načrtov, ki so jih kronološko številčili. Področje ožjega mesta Nove Gorice so pokrivali:

- 2. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica za predel med Erjavčevo, Kosovelovo cesto in potokom Kornom, sprejet z odlokom leta 1966, ki pa ga žal ne hranimo v arhivu.
- Sledil mu je 3. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica za predel med Leninovo cesto, severno diagonalo, Vojkovo in Prvomajsko cesto, ter njegove spremembe in dopolnitve, ki so od letos del arhivskega fonda Skupščine občine Nova Gorica.
- Za njim je bil pripravljen 4. delni zazidalni načrt trgovskega centra Nova Gorica, ki obsega predel med Severno diagonalo, Erjavčevo in Kidričevo cesto ter del Trga revolucije in naslednje leto še 5. delni zazidalni načrt za Novo Gorico, ki obsega vzhodno pobočje Vetrišča.
- Leta 1968 je bil narejen 9. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega predel obrtniške cone ob Prvomajski ulici, istega leta še 10. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje Grčne, naslednje leto so pripravili 12. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega predel med Kromberško cesto, Ulico 25. junija in dijaškim domom.
- V letu 1970 sta bila izdelana 14. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega stanovanjsko naselje ob Cankarjevi ulici »Kare 4«, ter istočasno sprejeti 15. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje športnega parka v Novi Gorici, ki pa ga nismo našli med predanim gradivom.
- Leta 1972 sta sledila 20. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje ob Gregorčičevi ulici in ulici Tolminskih puntarjev in 22. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje Trgovskega centra – severni del, naslednje leto pa še 25. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje KARE V ob Cankarjevi ulici in 26. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje med Marušičevo, Prvomajsko, Bazoviško in Bidovičevo ulico.

Leta 1966 je bil pripravljen tudi *Ureditveni predlog za industrijsko cono v Novi Gorici*, ki pa leta 1967 še ni bil predložen Skupščini občine Nova Gorica v potrditev.¹² V letošnjem letu je dokument od Mestne občine Nova Gorica prevzel v hrambo pokrajinski arhiv.

Z urbanističnim redom občinska skupščina določi način urejanja in sanacije naselij, namensko uporabo zemljišč, komunalno opremljenost zemljišč, pogoje, ki morajo biti izpolnjeni za graditev objektov, velikost stavbnih zemljišč idr. Urbanistični redi so tudi bili predmet predstavljenega prevzema arhivskega gradiva v letu 2020, vendar se ne dotikajo prostorskega planiranja ožjega dela mesta Nove Gorice, zato na tem mestu ne bodo taksativno naštet.

Obdobje po letu 1974 do formiranja novih občin leta 1995

Od leta 1974 do leta 1990 je za področje Jugoslavije karakteristično samoupravno družbeno planiranje. Na podlagi tega načela so izšli *Zakon o urejanju prostora* in *Zakon o urejanju naselij in drugih posegov v prostor* ter *Zakon o stavbnih zemljiščih*, vsi trije leta 1984 (Ur. l. SRS, št. 18/84). Prva dva kot odločevalca v prostorskem planiranju postavita delavce, delovne ljudi in občane v samoupravnih organizacijah in skupnostih ter družbenopolitičnih skupnostih. Le-ti morajo pri prostorskem planiranju upoštevati več vidikov urejanja prostora, tako ekonomskega, socialnega, kulturnega itd. Tako so občine po *Zakonu o urejanju prostora* začele pripravljati dolgoročne in srednjeročne družbene plane. Prvi so bili podlaga za pripravo drugih, saj so opredeljevali dobrine splošnega pomena (npr. kmetijska zemljišča, gozdove, nahajališča rud, območja vodnih virov itd.), omrežje naselij in njihovih območij, organizacijo dejavnosti in izhodišča za pripravo dokumentov o namenski rabi prostora ter infrastrukturo omrežja. Pri pripravi družbenih planov so si pisci aktov lahko pomagali tudi s strokovnimi podlagami, t. j. analizami, raziskavami, študijami, ki so bile o dotični temi pripravljene. Poleg tekstovnega dela je moral dolgoročni plan vsebovati tudi grafični del.

Srednjeročni družbeni plani, ki se morajo pripraviti za obdobje petih let, so vsebinsko podobni prostorskim planom, saj morajo vsebovati podlago in cilje glede stanovanjske gradnje, gradnje objektov družbenega standarda, proizvodnih objektov ter infrastrukturnih objektov in naprav, pridobivanja in urejanja stavbnih zemljišč, urejanja kmetijskih zemljišč, varovanja in razvoja naravnih in z delom pridobljenih vrednot, varovanja in izboljševanja bivalnega in delovnega okolja ter urejanja prostora za splošno ljudsko obrambo in družbeno samozaščito.

S srednjeročnimi plani se določijo tudi območja intenzivne gradnje, prenove ali širitve naselja, za katera se mora kasneje izdelati prostorske izvedbene akte, ki so opredeljeni v *Zakonu o urejanju naselij in drugih posegov v prostor*. Prostorski izvedbeni akt je sestavljen iz prostorskih ureditvenih pogojev, na kratko PUP (urbanistični, oblikovalski in družbeni pogoji za posege v prostorsko in funkcionalno zaokroženo območje), in prostorskega izvedbenega načrta, na kratko PIN. Prvi se lahko pripravi tudi za tista območja občine, za katera ni predvidena izdelava prostorskih izvedbenih načrtov, oz. ti načrti ne bodo sprejeti v tekočem planskem obdobju, prostorski izvedbeni načrt pa ureja območja, kjer je predvidena graditev, širitev, prenova

naselij ali drugi posegi v prostor. Med prostorske izvedbene načrte štejemo zazidalne načrte za nova naselja ali za posamezna območja, ureditvene načrte za prenavo, dopolnilno gradnjo in komunalno sanacijo, za urejanje zelenih in rekreacijskih površin ter za urejanje drugih posegov v prostor, ki niso graditev, ter lokacijske načrte za posamezne infrastrukturne objekte in naprave. Na podlagi prostorskega izvedbenega načrta se izdaja lokacijska dovoljenja ter parcelira zemljišča. Pri pripravi navedenih aktov se upoštevajo naravne danosti, obstoječa in predvidena raba prostora, že pripravljene strokovne podlage, predvidijo se možni vplivi na okolje, določijo se urbanistični, oblikovalski, gradbeno tehnični in drugi pogoji, predvidi se prometna, energetska, komunalna infrastruktura ipd. Prostorski izvedbeni akti vsebujejo tudi grafični del, kjer je na reambuliranih temeljnih topografskih načrtih prikazano obstoječe stanje, dopolnjeno s katastrskimi podatki o parcelah.

Arhiv je od letos bogat za *Strokovne osnove prostorskega dela družbenega plana občine Nova Gorica*, ki jih je leta 1979 pripravila Fakulteta za arhitekturo, gradbeništvo in geodezijo Univerze v Ljubljani in *Prostorski plan občine Nova Gorica: delovno gradivo za pripravo družbenega dogovora o temeljih prostorskega plana*, ki ga je leta 1979 in leta 1980 pripravil Projekt Nova Gorica. Poleg zgoraj omenjenega dokumenta je ohranjenih še enajst zvezkov z naslovi:

- *Analiza potreb po stanovanjski gradnji v občini Nova Gorica za potrebe prostorskega plana,*
- *Šolstvo in otroško varstvo v novogoriški občini,*
- *Obrt v občini Nova Gorica,*
- *Gradbeništvo v občini Nova Gorica,*
- *Delovna mesta,*
- *Socialne dejavnosti mestne službe in sorodne dejavnosti,*
- *Ocena družbenoekonomskih prednosti gradnje avtoceste Razdrto-Nova Gorica (TEZE) + izvršene analize,*
- *Površine za industrijo,*
- *Ocena potreb po prostoru za trgovine v občini Nova Gorica,*
- *Shranjevanje odpadkov na območju občine Nova Gorica,*
- *Analiza rezultatov anket o elementih TOZD, SIS in KS za sklepanje dogovora o temeljih prostorskega dela družbenega plana občine Nova Gorica.*

Rezultat navedenih raziskav je bil za tisto obdobje izredno pomemben *Družbeni plan občine Nova Gorica: 1981-1985*, ki ga prav tako hranimo v arhivu.

V sklop priprav na sprejetje družbenih planov in večjega udejstvovanja občanov pri odločanju o pomembnih urbanističnih nalogah spadata tudi zanimiva dokumenta, ki sta nastala v Centru za raziskovanje lokalnih skupnosti in delovnih organizacij. Prvi nosi naslov *Prostorska*

organizacija in razvojne težnje v mestu Nova Gorica, drugi je raziskovalna naloga z naslovom *Družbeni in urbanistični problemi razvoja mesta Nova Gorica: dokumentarne priloge k poročilu*. Oba dokumenta je pripravil dr. Zdravko Mlinar s sodelavci leta 1981. *Dolgoročni plan občine Nova Gorica: dolgoročna prostorska alokacija industrije*, delo Projekta Nova Gorica, pa je nastalo leta 1982. Sem lahko prištevamo tudi dokumente Zavoda za družbeno planiranje občine Nova Gorica, ki jih je izdelal med leti 1982 in 1985:

- *Razvoj kmetijstva in živinoreje, upošteva celotno regijo in povezanost s prehransko ter kemijsko industrijo (1. in 2. del),*
- *Solkanska industrija apna (SIA): stanje in razvojna izhodišča,*
- *Dolgoročna opredelitev nekonvencionalnih razvojnih smeri z nujnim upoštevanjem regije (2. del),*
- *Energetske možnosti in omejitve za nadaljnji razvoj s poudarkom na centralni toplotni oskrbi,*
- *Analiza zazidljivih površin v občini Nova Gorica po spremembi srednjeročnega družbenega plana za obdobje 1981-1985,*
- *Analiza razvojnih možnosti občine Nova Gorica do leta 2000,*
- *Razvojne možnosti strojegradnje, elektronike, kemije in gradbene industrije širšega območja v luči razvojnih kriterijev iz temeljev plana 1981- 1985 ter*
- *Analiza razvojnih možnosti občine Nova Gorica do leta 2000.*

Leta 1991 je bil pripravljen tudi *Osnutek sprememb in dopolnitev prostorskih sestavin srednjeročnega in dolgoročnega plana občine Nova Gorica za obdobje 1986-1990 in 1986-2000: kartografska dokumentacija*, ki je bil poleg zgoraj naštetih tudi predmet prevzema v letu 2020.

Priprava zazidalnih načrtov, ki je zaživela v 60-ih letih, in v prvi polovici 70-ih se je nadaljevala do 90-ih letih preteklega stoletja, saj je bil:

- leta 1974 pripravljen *28. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje KARE VII na Ledinah,*
- leta 1976 mu je sledil *30. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica za območje KARE VI,*
- dve leti kasneje še *31. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje »Gasilski dom« in*
- *33. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje Šolski center jug in dom srednješolskih centrov v Novi Gorici ter*
- *34. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje »Vetrišče-sever«.*
- Leta 1979 je bil izdelan *35. delni zazidalni načrt mesta Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje »KARE VIII« in*

- *36. delni zazidalni načrt za mesto Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje ob Lavričevi ulici,*
- leta 1983 pa je bil sprejet še *39. delni zazidalni načrt za mesto Nova Gorica, ki obsega območje »Pavšičevega naselja«.*
- Ureditveni načrt je bil pripravljen tudi za stanovanjsko-poslovno cono »Ob nebotičniku in stari Komunalni« v Novi Gorici, in sicer leta 1987,
- leta 1989 za oskrbovalno središče ob Gregorčičevi ulici v Novi Gorici
- leta 1993 mu je sledil ureditveni načrt za Trgovski center v Novi Gorici,
- leto kasneje pa še za Kulturni center v Novi Gorici.

Med leti 1978 in 1981 je sledilo nadaljevanje priprave urbanističnega načrta mesta Nove Gorice pod taktirko projektivnega biroja Projekt Nova Gorica. V arhivu od letos hranimo deset zvezkov omenjenega načrta, ki obsegajo delovni program (skupaj s predlogom), oceno razvoja delovnih mest, komunalne infrastrukture, šolstva in otroškega varstva (1. in 2. del), lokacijsko osnovo za kotlarne v Novi Gorici, načrt športnih in rekreacijskih površin, prodajaln različnih trgovskih organizacij, generalni urbanistični načrt širšega mestnega območja Nove Gorice in zaključno poročilo o izdelavi dokumentacije.

Leta 1989 je bila izdelana analiza obstoječega stanja urbanistične zasnove mesta Nova Gorica, vendar le kot delovno gradivo. Avtor analize je bil arhitekt Emil Bratina, sodelavec Projekta Nova Gorica. Istega leta je bil pod taktirko dr. Andreja Pogačnika pripravljen še *Osnutek urbanistične zasnove mesta Nova Gorica*. Navedena dokumenta se od letošnjega leta hranita v depojih pokrajinskega arhiva.

Obdobje po letu 1990 je bilo v znamenju tržnega gospodarstva in parlamentarne demokracije, še vedno pa je bila v veljavi zgoraj predstavljena zakonodaja iz leta 1984, šele leta 2003 jo je zamenjal Zakon o urejanju prostora (Ur. l. RS, št. 110/02, 8/03 – popr., 58/03). Iz tega obdobja naj omenil le še prevzeto *Urbanistično zasnovo mesta Nova Gorica: zasnova skladno povezanega prometnega sistema Nove Gorice in Gorice*, delo Studia AxA iz Nove Gorice iz leta 1993.

Zaključek

Kot je bilo uvodoma povedano, predstavljena arhivska dokumentacija ni bila prevzeta v celoti, zato se v pokrajinskem arhivu nadejamo še dodatnih arhivskih dokumentov, ki bodo v veliko pomoč urbanistom in raziskovalcem pri proučevanju prostorskega planiranja Nove Gorice. Hkrati je potrebno tudi poudariti, da se veliko arhivskih dokumentov, ki pričajo o urbanistični dejavnosti Goriške še vedno hrani v stalni zbirki Upravne enote Nova Gorica, ki postopoma odbira gradivo bivše Skupščine občine Nova Gorica in ga predaja v hrambo pokrajinskemu arhivu. Zato verjamemo, da bomo v prihodnjih letih dopolnili na tem mestu še nedokončan mozaik dokumentov, ki pripovedujejo zgodbo o urbanistični zasnovi enega najmlajših

Archival Documents on Spatial Planning for Nova Gorica and Gorizia Region, held in the Provincial Archives in Nova Gorica. Presentation of Recently Acquired Archives from the Former Nova Gorica Municipality

Summary

The article presents a large acquisition of archival material submitted to the archive by the Municipality of Nova Gorica in 2020. The records include zoning plans for the entire area of the municipality, today the Administrative Unit of Nova Gorica, urban plans for the newly created city and the spatial plans of the Gorizia region, as well as other records revealing the history of the spatial planning of the Gorizia area from the 1950s to the 1990s. This paper, through a brief summary of the legislation that governed planning at the municipal level from 1945 to 1995, presents the relevant records that were the subject of the recent accession. The most important acquisitions of the Provincial Archive are:

- a 1959 zoning plan of the centre of Nova Gorica, the work of architect Vilijem Strmecki and colleagues;
- a 1964 record entitled *Vplivna območja občin Nova Gorica, Ajdovščina, Idrija, Tolmin in dela občine Sežana: grafični prikaz k analitskem delu* [The Impactful Areas of the Municipalities of Nova Gorica, Ajdovščina, Idrija, Tolmin and Parts of the Municipality of Sežana: a graphic representation of the analytical work] prepared by the SRS Urban Institute and a record bearing the title;
- the first phase of the regional development plan of the municipalities of Nova Gorica, Ajdovščina, Idrija, Tolmin and part of the municipality of Sežana, as well as the work of the SRS Urban Institute;
- the urban plan of the municipality of Nova Gorica, created by the Institute for Urban Planning Nova Gorica from 1969;
- a revision of the city's urban plan entitled *Nova Gorica - a Framework Zoning with a Road Network*, the work of architect Vilijem Strmecki from 1967;
- the *Urban Plan of the City of Nova Gorica: the Road Network*, created by the Institute for Urban Planning Nova Gorica in 1971;
- the expert basis of the spatial part of the social plan of the municipality of Nova Gorica, prepared in 1979 by the Faculty of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy, University of Ljubljana;
- spatial plan of the municipality of Nova Gorica: working materials for the preparation of a

social agreement on the basics of the spatial plan prepared by Project Nova Gorica [the Nova Gorica Project] between 1979 and 1980;

- interesting records entitled *Prostorska organizacija in razvojne težnje v mestu Nova Gorica ter Družbeni in urbanistični problemi razvoja mesta Nova Gorica: dokumentarne priloge k poročilu* [Spatial organization and development tendencies in Nova Gorica, and social and urban problems of Nova Gorica development: documentary attachments to the report]; both documents were prepared by dr. Zdravko Mlinar and colleagues in 1981;
- the municipality of Nova Gorica's long-term plan: long-term spatial allocation of industry, created by the 1982 Nova Gorica Project;
- ten volumes on the preparation of the urban plan of the city of Nova Gorica, the work of the project bureau of the Nova Gorica Project, which were created between 1978 and 1981;
- an analysis of the existing state of the urban design of the town of Nova Gorica from 1989, by architect Emil Bratina;
- a draft of the urban plan of Nova Gorica, by dr. Andrej Pogačnik from 1989 and
- the urban design of the city of Nova Gorica: design of a coherently connected transport system in Nova Gorica and Gorizia, the work of Studio AxA from Nova Gorica from 1993.
- Since 1965, more than 20 zoning plans have been made for the narrower area of Nova Gorica, which have been numbered chronologically. Almost all of them, with the exception of two zoning plans, were handed over to the provincial archives.



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