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Meštrovićev Dom umjetnosti: građenje, razgrađivanje i obnavljanje

Dom hrvatskih likovnih umjetnika sagrađen je 1938. godine u Zagrebu prema idejnoj zamisli kipara Ivana Meštrovića iz 1933. godine, uz suradnju pri projektiranju i realizaciji tada istaknutih arhitekata (Ivan Zemljak, Harold Bilinić, Lavoslav Horvat, Zvonimir Kavurić i drugi). Tijekom 1941. godine Dom je pregrađen u džamiju, tako da mu je, prema projektu Zvonimira Požgaja, preuređena unutrašnja arhitektura prekrivanjem svih zidova islamskom ornamentikom te dodavanjem armiranobetonske kupole iznad središnje dvorane i niša duž obodnih zidova, a prema projektu Stjepana Planića zgradi su dodana tri minareta i pred glavnim je ulazom formiran trg s bazenom. Nakon 1945. Dom je korišten kao Muzej partizanske borbe u Hrvatskoj tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata: tada su srušeni minareti i uklonjene su unutrašnje dekoracije džamije. Prema programu Muzeja, 1951. su u središnjoj dvorani dograđene nove galerije i stubišta od čelične konstrukcije prema projektu Vjenceslava Richtera. Sve te naslage pregradnji uništile su izvornu koncepciju i kvalitetu Doma, te su uklonjene u razdoblju 2001. – 2003. godine u organizaciji Kuratorija Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnosti (Radovan Ivančević, Robert Šimrak, Zlatan Vrkljan, Feđa Vukić), a prema projektu obnove Andrije Mutnjakovića.

Ključne riječi: Meštrović; Dom umjetnosti.

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Arts Hall by Ivan Meštrović: Construction, Deconstruction and Renewal

The Arts Hall [Dom hrvatskih likovnih umjetnika] was constructed in 1938, based on the 1933 concept design of sculptor Ivan Meštrović, collaborated with – on conception and realization – then-well-known architects (Ivan Zemljak, Harold Bilinić, Lavoslav Horvat, Zvonimir Kavurić and others). In 1941, the Arts Hall was converted into a mosque, and according to the project of Zvonimir Požgaj the internal architecture was changed through the covering of all walls with Islamic ornamentation and the addition of a reinforced-concrete dome above the central hall and a recession along the circumferential walls. Also – according to a project by Stjepan Planić – three minarets were added to the building, and in front of the main entrance a square with a pool was added. After 1945, the Arts Hall was used as a museum of partisan battles in Croatia during the Second World War: the minarets were demolished and the internal decorations were removed. According to the museum's program, in 1951 a new gallery and steel-constructed stairs were added to the central hall, based upon a project by Vjenceslav Richter. All of these layers of reconstruction served to destroy the original conception and quality of the Arts Hall, and were removed in the period from 2001 – 2003 through the organization of the curatorship of the Croatian Association of Artists, composed of Radovan Ivančević, Robert Šimrak, Zlatan Vrkljan, Feđa Vukić, and based upon a renewal project by Andrija Mutnjaković.

Keywords: Meštrović; Arts Hall.



Izgled trga prije gradnje Doma



The Square before – without the Arts Hall

Sažeo je Tin Ujević narodno poslovično iskustvo u poetsku izreku: Svaki je kamen da se kuća gradi¹, a Ljubo Babić, istražujući fenomen Meštrovićeve kreativnosti, nalazi njegovo izvorište u iskonskoj snazi kamene zavičajne biti: "Ta golema snaga kao da je bila pritisnuta stoljećima probila se tako reći izpod kore, izpod kamena, izpod onog jadtog i golog krša i tržila svoj samородni oblik. Tražila je taj oblik takovom silom, kakove se riedko gdje nalaze u poviesti umjetnosti."² Očovječivao je Meštrović taj kamen u legende narodnih junaka, u monumente Božanstva, u spomenike mislilaca i vladara, u simbolične tematike strasti i čulnosti akta, a i one kuće koje su smisao postojanja svakoga kamena.

Poopćivanje interesa Ivana Meštrovića za oblikovanje volumena (skulpture) i prostora (arhitekture) očito je već prilikom njegova školovanja na Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti u Beču (1901. – 1905.), gdje pohađa i Majstorsku školu za arhitekturu, koju uz Otta Wagnera vodi i tada glavni arhitekt Bečkog dvora Friedrich Ohmann (nama zanimljiv kao projektant Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu). Meštrović nastavlja kontakt s Wagnerom, o čemu svjedoči pohvalna posveta u publikaciji Wagnerovih skica i projekata, koju je Wagner darovao Meštroviću vjerojatno prigodom njegove bečke izložbe (1910.): "Majstoru Ivanu Meštroviću, vjernom suborcu, s iskrenim štovanjem, autor."³ Nazivak vjerni suborac podrazumijeva vremensko trajanje i usporednu aktivnost, pa su te činjenice navele Vesnu Barbić da pregnantno iskaže njihov odnos: "Njegova (Wagnerova, op. a.) nekonvencionalna i iskrena posveta samo potkrepljuje

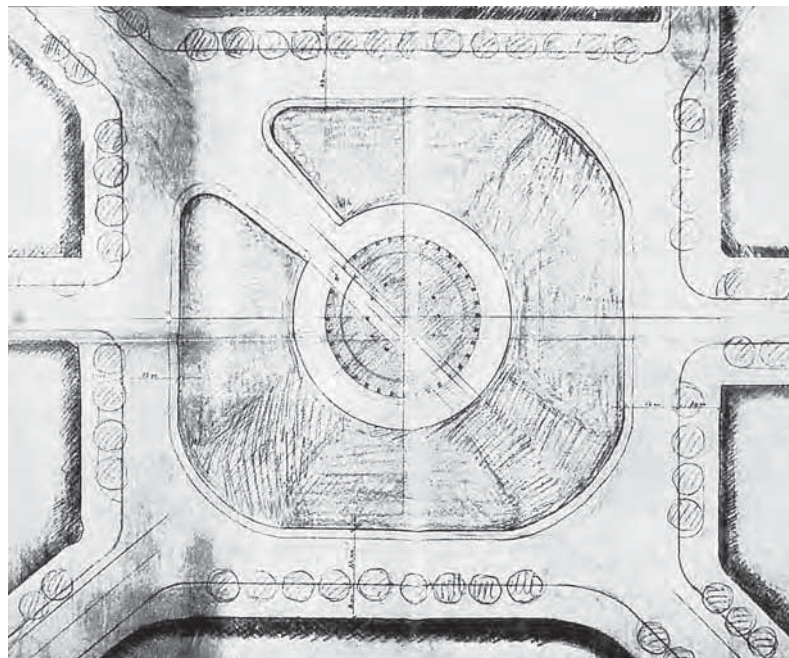
Tin Ujević summarized folk proverbial experience into one poetic statement: *Every stone can become part of a house* [Svaki je kamen da se kuća gradi],¹ and Ljubo Babić, investigating the phenomenon of Meštrović's creativity, found his source in the natural strength of stone from his native region: [That enormous strength, as if it had been pressed down for centuries, penetrated, so to speak, beneath the skin, the stone, the poor and bare karst and sought its own natural form. It sought that form with incredible force, the likes of which can rarely be found in the history of art.]² Meštrović humanized that stone into the legends of national heroes, into monuments to deities, into monuments of thinkers and leaders, into the symbolic passions and sensuality of the nude, and even into those buildings that give meaning to the existence of each stone.

The generalization of Ivan Meštrović's interest in forming bulks (sculpture) and spaces (architecture) was already obvious during his schooling at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna (1901 – 1905), where he attended a masters school for architecture, run by the then-head Viennese Court architect Friedrich Ohmann (notable to us as the designer of the Archaeology Museum [Arheološki muzej] in Split) along with Otto Wagner. Meštrović continued his contact with Wagner, attested to by a complimentary dedication in a publication of Wagner's sketches and projects, which Wagner gave to Meštrović most likely on the occasion of his Vienna exhibition (1910): [To Master Ivan Meštrović, faithful comrade-in-arms, with heartfelt respect, the Author.]³ The moniker *faithful comrade-in-arms* implies a length of time and parallel activity, for which reason Vesna Barbić meaningfully points out their relationship: [His (Wagner's, AN) unconventional and heartfelt dedication only confirms the conception that Meštrović's architecture and its decorative, plastic elements

tvrdnju da koncepcija Meštrovićeve arhitekture i njezini dekorativni plastični elementi nisu nastali pod utjecajem Otta Wagnera, već da su izraz zajedničkog duha onog vremena.”⁴ Prema sačuvanoj korespondenciji, Meštrović se od 1906. druži s već afirmiranim Wagnerovim učenikom arhitektom Jožom Plečnikom: piše mu tada da ih veže umjetnička i nacionalna srodnost, a u pismu iz 1909. godine zaneseno iznaša i svoje sanje: “Daj nam Bože sredstva, pa da ja i Plečnik i još pokoji od nas gradimo sasvim druge kuće, sasvim druge vile, crkve, stupove, tornjeve i šta ja sve znam – sve u tvrdom kamenu do oblaka. Eto takovi ja sanja imam koje su sasvijem djetinjaste ali ja bi ih uživo izvađati...”⁵ Tako započeta veza trajat će još decenijama: Plečnik je dao ideju Meštroviću da pred zgradom svoje bečke izložbe postavi velike obojene skulpture, istovremeno osmišljavaju program Akademije likovnih umjetnosti južnih Slavena, Meštrović 1911. nagovara Plečnika da načini projekt izložbenog paviljona Kraljevine Srbije u Rimu, traži njegovo mišljenje (1913.) o svom projektu Vidovdanskog hrama, nagovara ga (1924.) kao rektor Kraljevske umjetničke akademije u Zagrebu da dođe u Zagreb, animira župnika beogradske crkve sv. Antuna (1954.) da njegovu starom prijatelju Plečniku⁶ povjeri izradu projekata nove crkve. Plečnik i Meštrović nisu ipak sagradili svoje kamene tornjeve do oblaka, no iskazani afinitet ukazuje na Meštrovićev interes za arhitektonsko stvaralaštvo, a i na bliskost sa specifičnim Plečnikovim izrazom u traženju kohezije antičkih i folklor-nih atributa sa suvremenom arhitekturom.

Plečnik nije projektirao srpski paviljon u Rimu, a kako je Meštrović bio dominantna ličnost te prezentacije, to je vjerojatno točna njegova tvrdnja da je projekt paviljona zajedničko djelo s beogradskim arhitektom Petrom Bajalovićem. Bajalović je diplomirao na Visokoj tehničkoj školi u Karlsruheu, a njegovi projekti (manastirski konaci, Kolarčev narodni univerzitet i Dom Društva sv. Save u Beogradu) eklektičnog su karaktera s motivima srpske folklorne arhitekture. Nešto kasniji Meštrovićev projekt Vidovdanskog hrama svojim tlocrtom te stepenastim i reljefnim aplikacijama asocira na ovaj zajednički projekt izložbenog paviljona, što ponovo ukazuje na Meštrovićeve onovremene arhitektonske ideje, ali i na interes za osmišljanje zdanja za izlaganje umjetničkih djela.

U to vrijeme uspostavlja Meštrović vezu i sa zagrebačkim arhitektima: Viktor Kovačić i Hugo Ehrlich pozivaju ga (1912.) da zajedničkim projektom spomenika biskupu Strossmayeru sudjeluju na raspisanom natječaju

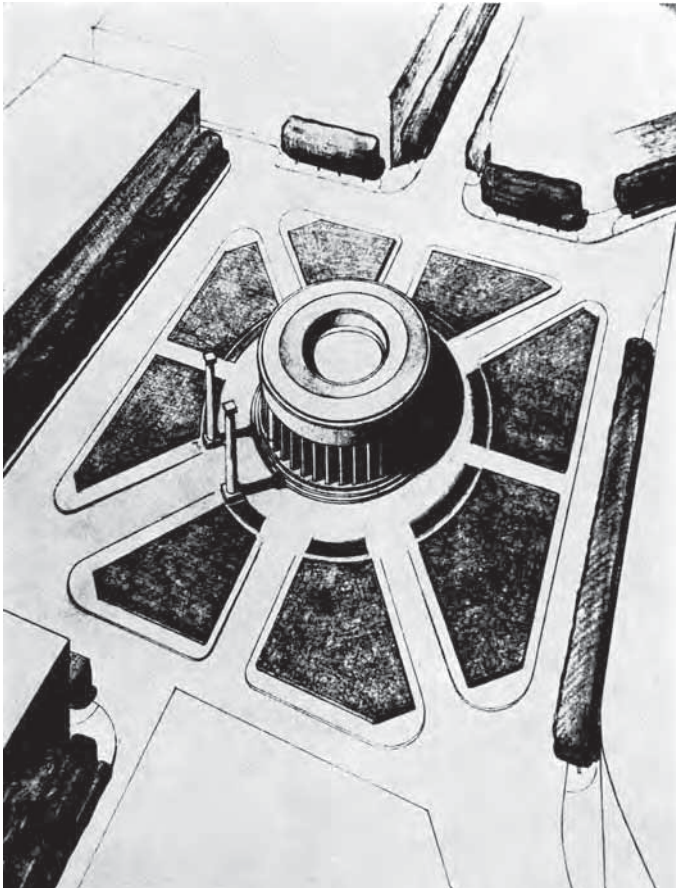


Ivan Meštrović:
prva skica lokacije Doma

Ivan Meštrović:
first sketch of the location for the Arts Hall

did not come to be under the influence of Otto Wagner, but that they are in fact an expression of the collective spirit of that time.]⁴ According to surviving correspondences, Meštrović by 1906 had already been socializing with one of Wagner’s already-established students, architect Jože Plečnik: he wrote him then that they were connected by artistic and national kinship, and in a letter from 1909, he also reveals his inspired dreams: [God give us the means for myself and Plečnik and a few others of us to build completely different buildings, completely different villas, churches, posts, towers, and whatever else – all in hard stone, to the clouds. These are the kinds of dreams I have, which are altogether childish, but which I would see carried out...]⁵

This relationship would continue for decades: Plečnik gives Meštrović the idea of placing large, painted statues in front of the building at his Viennese exhibition, simultaneously they devise the program of the Fine Arts Academy of the South Slavs [Akademije likovnih umjetnosti Južnih Slavena], Meštrović in 1911 convinces Plečnik to draw up a project for the exhibition pavilion of the Kingdom of Serbia in Rome, he seeks his thoughts (1913) on a project for the Vidovdanski temple, convinces him (1924) as the rector of the Royal Art Academy in Zagreb to come to Zagreb, he animates the bishop of the Church of St. Anthony in Belgrade (1954) to entrust his old dear friend Plečnik⁶ with the designing of a new church. Plečnik and Meštrović never did build their stone towers to the clouds, but the affinity displayed points towards Meštrović’s interest in architectural creation, and to the closeness of Plečnik’s specific expression in seeking cohesion between antique or folklore attributes and modern architecture.



Ivan Meštrović: aksonometrija prvog projekta Doma
Ivan Meštrović: the axonometry of the initial project for the Arts Hall

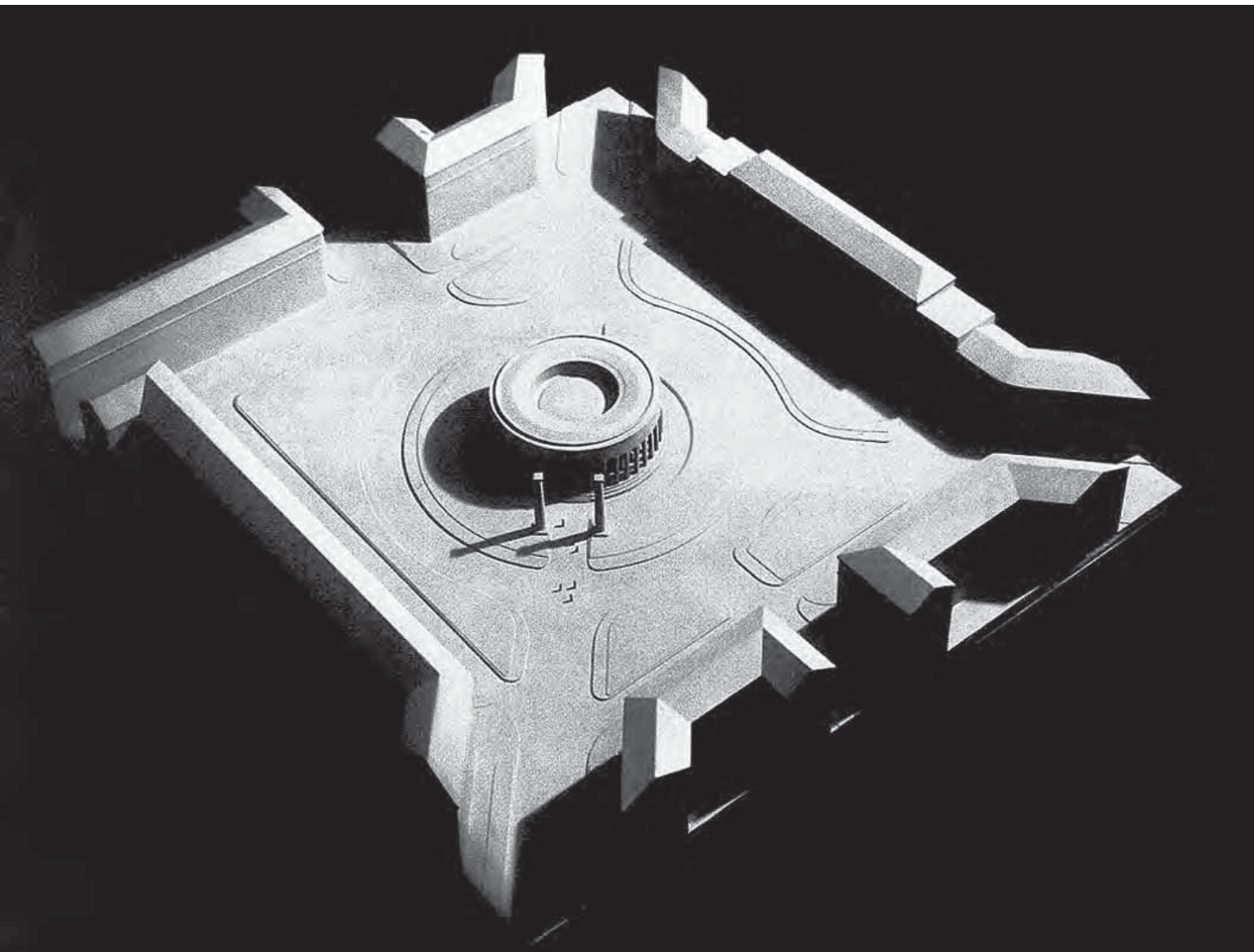
za podizanje spomenika u Zagrebu. Predlažu lokaciju na Strossmayerovu šetalištu, a Meštrović smatra da je to divno mjesto uz napomenu da je on već imao koncepciju spomenika kao pretežno arhitektonskog djela, valjda u okviru razmišljanja koja je tek 1939. formulirao: "Htio bi podvući koliko je važno za skulpturu arhitektura i koliko smo mi kipari dužni da nju imamo na umu pri stvaranju svojih djela."⁷ Suradnja se nije ostvarila, Meštrovićeve su skice nestale, no uspostavljen je kontakt najznačajnijih hrvatskih arhitekata s već europski afirmiranim kiparom. Ehrlich želi s Meštrovićem raditi krstionicu u njegovoj zagrebačkoj crkvi sv. Blaža, Meštrović poziva Kovačića da na izložbi u Parizu (1919.) predstavi svoje projekte, Kovačić projektira i gradi Meštroviću njegov zagrebački atelje u Mletačkoj ulici, a kratko vrijeme surađuju i kao profesori Umjetničke akademije u Zagrebu: koncem 1921. Viktor Kovačić izabran je za profesora Arhitektonskog odjela, a Meštrović je 1922. imenovan profesorom i godinu dana kasnije rektorom Akademije. No, Kovačić umire u listopadu 1924., pa je ta obećavajuća suradnja, nažalost, vrlo kratko trajala.

Plečnik never did design the Serbian pavilion in Rome, and seeing as Meštrović was the dominant personality at that presentation, his claim that the pavilion project was a shared work with Belgrade architect Peter Bajalović is likely true. Bajalović graduated from the Technical University in Karlsruhe, and his projects (monastery lodgings, Kolarec's national university and the House of the St. Sava Society in Belgrade) have an eclectic character with motifs from Serbian folklore architecture. Somewhat later on, Meštrović's project of the Vidovdanski temple, with its floorplan and its step-wise and relief applications alludes to their group project of the exhibition pavilion, which again points to Meštrović's architectural ideas at that time, but also to his interest in the creation of structures for the presentation of artistic works.

It was then that Meštrović established a relationship with architects in Zagreb: Viktor Kovačić and Hugo Ehrlich invited him (1912) to cooperate in a group project, a sculpture of Bishop Strossmayer, and suggested that they together enter a competition to have the statue put up in Zagreb. The suggested location was on Strossmayerovo šetalište, and Meštrović considered it to be the perfect place, bearing in mind that he had already conceived the sculpture as a mainly architectural work, most likely in the frame of musings that came to fruition in 1939: [I would like to stress how important architecture is for sculpture, and how much we sculptors must have it in mind before we create our works.]⁷ Their cooperation was never realized, Meštrović's sketches disappeared, but contact of the most influential Croatian architects with a sculptor already affirmed in Europe had been established.

Ehrlich wants to design a baptistery with Meštrović in his Church of St. Blaise [Crkva Sv. Blaža], Meštrović invites Kovačić to display his projects at an exhibition in Paris (1919), Kovačić designs and builds Meštrović his atelier in Mletačka ulica in Zagreb, and for a short time they work together as professors at the Art Academy in Zagreb: at the end of 1921, Viktor Kovačić is chosen as a professor in the Department of Architecture, and Meštrović is in 1922 named a professor, and a year later named the rector of the Academy. However, Kovačić dies in October 1924, sadly shortening their promising collaboration.

Kovačić is succeeded in 1926 by architect Drago Ibler as the director of the Department of Architecture, and supplements it by designing the doors to Meštrović's atelier. That is how a dreamer who wanted to build completely different buildings and a visionary who spoke of architecture as a life ideal⁸ came together, and their meeting rang out in that time (according to witness accounts) like some terrible bomb: the Department of Architecture at the Academy of Arts became one of the first schools of architecture in the world to completely break with tradition and introduce a lecture program of modern architecture. This theoretical and realized proposition was criticized by

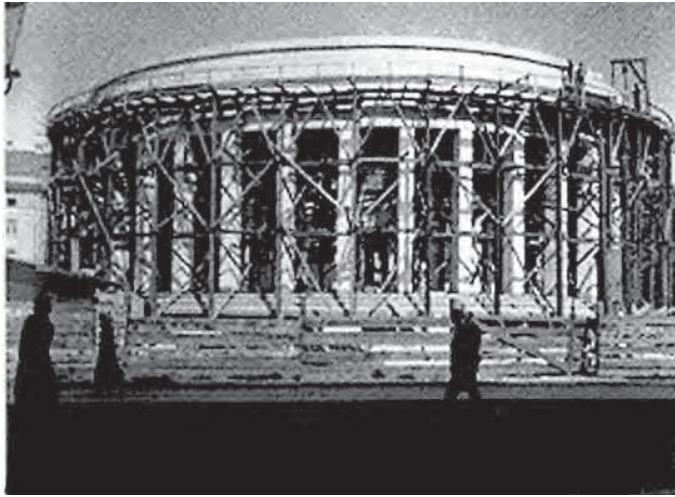


Ivan Meštrović: maketa prvog projekta Doma

Ivan Meštrović: the scale model of the initial project for the Arts Hall

Kovačića nasljeđuje 1926. arhitekt Drago Ibler kao voditelj Arhitektonskog odjela, a i dopunjava ga projektom vrata Meštrovićeva ateljea. Našli su se tako sanjar koji želi graditi sasvim druge kuće i vizionar koji govori o arhitekturi kao ideji života⁸ čija je pojava odjeknula tada (prema svjedočenju suvremenika) kao užasna bomba: Arhitektonski odjel Likovne akademije bio je među prvim arhitektonskim školama u svijetu koje su potpuno prekinule s tradicijom i uvele nastavni program moderne arhitekture. Ovu teoretsku i realiziranu postavku negirali su sami protagonisti Akademije: nakon arhitektonskog natječaja za projekt Banske palače u Splitu, Ibler i Meštrović izrađuju svoj prijedlog palače u klasičnoj stilizaciji peripterosa s jonskim stupovima što okružuju peterokatni korpus zgrade postav-

the Academy's own protagonists: after an architectural competition for the Banska Palača project in Split, Ibler and Meštrović designed their own proposition for the Palača in the classical style of a peripteros with ionic columns surrounding a five story corpus set on a two-story pedestal, while the central part of the building was made up of a rectangular garden also surrounded with ground-level porticos with ionic columns. The cleanliness of volume of that quadrilateral space with its straight roof and simple square windows and garden facade surely reveal Ibler's stylistics, which were imbued with Meštrović's ideas of classicist representativism, which was so close to all regimes of western civilization at the time. Without opening a discussion about that controversial project, it is still necessary to notice that within it arises the basic idea of the Arts Hall: the geometrical cleanliness



Dom u gradnji

Arts Hall under construction

ljen na dvokatno postolje, a središnji dio zgrade čini pravokutno dvorište također okruženo prizemnim porticima s jonskim stupovima. Volumenska čistoća tog kvadra s ravnim krovom i jednostavni kvadratni prozori postolja i dvorišnih pročelja svakako odaju Iblerov duktus u koji je ugrađena Meštrovićeva ideja klasicističke reprezentativnosti – tako bliska svim režimima tadašnje zapadne civilizacije. Bez otvaranja diskusije o tom kontroverznom projektu, ipak je nužno zapaziti da se u njemu nazire osnovna ideja Doma likovnih umjetnosti: geometrijska čistoća osnovnog volumena (kvadar je zamijenjen valjkom), formiranje unutarnjeg dvorišta (otvoreno je zamijenjeno zatvorenim), vanjsko pročelje na tragu peripterosa (jonski stupovi zamijenjeni su kvadrima), čisti u kamenu urezani prozori (dvorišni su zamijenjeni vanjskim). Stoga je razumno vjerovati da je partnerski projekt Banske palače katalizatorski djelovao u stvaranju ideje Doma na temelju vokabulara progresivne arhitekture 20. stoljeća i sintakse klasične arhitekture antičke civilizacije.

Ovo praćenje formiranja Meštrovićeve arhitektonske svijesti u nizu Ohmann – Wagner – Plečnik – Kovačić – Erlich – Ibler svakako valja nadopuniti razmatranjem četrdesetogodišnje suradnje Meštrovića s arhitektom Haroldom Bilinićem. Naime, Meštrović je u mladenačkoj dobi, nakon igrarija rezbarenja pastirskim nožem, prvu klesarsku poduku dobio u poznatoj splitskoj klesarskoj radionici Pavla Bilinića, Heraldova oca. Herald je studij arhitekture završio na Akademiji lijepih umjetnosti u Firenci, pa je to njegovo vrhunsko obrazovanje ostavilo dragocjene tvorevine u obnovi naše spomeničke baštine i u suradnji s Meštrovićevim arhitektonskim zamislima. Meštrović i

of the basic volume (the quadrilateral is replaced with a cylinder), the form of the internal garden (open as opposed to closed), the exterior face in the style of a peripteros (ionic columns instead of blocks), clean windows cut into stone (garden windows replaced with outside ones). It is therefore reasonable to believe that the partner project of Banska Palača was the catalyst for the creative ideas of the Arts Hall as a foundation in the vocabulary of progressive architecture in the 20th century using the syntax of the classical architecture of ancient civilization.

This following of the formation of Meštrović's architectural awareness in the series Ohmann – Wagner – Plečnik – Kovačić – Erlich – Ibler must be complemented with an observation of his forty-year collaboration with architect Harold Bilinić. Namely, Meštrović in his youth, after playing around carving with a shepherd's knife, received his first lessons in stoneworking in the well known Split workshop of Pavel Bilinić, Harold's father. Harold completed his architectural studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence, and his valuable education resulted in many valuable creations in the revival of our cultural heritage and in cooperation in Meštrović's architectural conceptions. Meštrović and Bilinić were peers whose collaboration began with the above-mentioned furnishing of Meštrović's Zagreb atelier, continued with the conception of the ambient and construction of Strossmayer's monument, and comprised of collaboration in the conception, design and realization of all of Meštrović's structures: Račić's mausoleum in Cavtat, Meštrović's mausoleum in Otavice, Church of Christ the King [crkva Krista Kralja] in Zagreb (unbuilt), the monument-church in Crkvine, Monument to the Unknown Hero [spomenik Neznanom junaku] in Avala, Meštrović's villa in Meje in Split, Kaštelet in Split, Njegoš's mausoleum in Lovćen. Also included is the Arts Hall in Zagreb. That creative and personal association between Meštrović and Bilinić from childhood to the grave gave birth to a specific and valuable opus of Croatian modern architecture based on functional postulates, traditional sources and regional stone materials. In that way did Meštrović, as a high-bred sculptor, come to know architecture from the protagonists of the 20th century architecture: from Ohmann, understanding of classicism; from Wagner, the freeing ideas of Art Nouveau poured into rationalism; from Plečnik, a renewed interpretation of tradition; from Kovačić, the modern expressivism of space under the dome; from Ehrlich, functional shaping concepts; from Bilinić, perfection in stoneworking. Through his understanding of parity, he alone was best able to formulate the polemics around his suggestions for additions to the Zemun bridge (1934) with equestrian figures: [They do not know that the most beautiful examples of architecture are those made by sculptors, and that the purely artistic side of architecture is so closely tied to form, for which a sculptor must have the most subtle feel. It is just as difficult to imagine modern construction without the engineer as it is to imagine that an engineer might create something beautiful without an architect or other artist with a feel for form.]⁹ These very postulates by Meštrović and the other mentioned architects were synthesized in the idea of the



Recentna fotografija Doma

Recent photograph of the Arts Hall

Bilinić bili su vršnjaci, suradnja je započeta spomenutim uređenjem Meštrovićeva zagrebačkog ateljea, nastavljena je kod koncipiranja ambijenata i izrade Strossmayerova spomenika te je obuhvatila suradnju na osmišljanju, projektiranju i realizaciji sviju Meštrovićevih zdanja: Račićeva mauzoleja u Cavtatu, Meštrovićeva mauzoleja u Otavicama, crkve Krista Kralja u Zagrebu (neizgrađena), spomen-crkve u Crkvinama, spomenika Neznamom junaku na Avali, Meštrovićeve vile na Mejama u Splitu, Kašteleta u Splitu, Njegoševa mauzoleja na Lovčenu. Obuhvatila je i Dom likovnih umjetnika u Zagrebu. To stvaralačko i osobno druženje Meštrovića i Bilinića od djetinjstva do smrti urodilo je specifičnim i vrijednim opusom hrvatske moderne arhitekture temeljenim na funkcionalnim postulatima, tradicionalnim izvorištima i regionalnom kamenom materijalu. Tako je Meštrović kao rasni kipar spoznao arhitekturu od protagonista arhitekture 20. stoljeća: od Ohmanna razumijevanje klasicizma, od Wagnera oslobađajuće ideje secesije pretočene u racionalizam, od Plečnika obnovljenu reinterpretaciju tradicije, od Kovačića suvremenu izražajnost potkupalastog prostora, od Ehrlicha funkcionalna oblikovna poimanja, od Iblera zahtijevanje znakovitosti arhitekture, od Bilinića savršenstvo obrade kamena. Svoje razumijevanje pariteta najbolje je sam formulirao u polemici oko svojega prijedloga dopune Zemunskog mosta (1934.) konjaničkim likovima: "... oni kanda ne znaju da su baš najljepši primjeri u arhitekturi izrađeni od skulptora i da je čista umjetnička

function, construction and technology of the Arts Hall in Zagreb in a remarkable way.

At the beginning of the 1930's, pressure for the construction of a representative fine arts pavilion were mounting. The initiative was taken by Croatian Arts Society "Josip Juraj Strossmayer" [Hrvatsko društvo umjetnosti "Josip Juraj Strossmayer"], which invited architects Juraj Denzler, Lavoslav Horvat, Drago Ibler and Mladen Kauzlaric to create, for a nominal fee, their vision of the Arts Hall at an undefined location. The judging panel consisted of Lav Kalda, Ivan Meštrović and Ivan Zemljak. That attempt failed as there was no money for building, but the initiative continued along with Meštrović's cooperation: Meštrović was already an established and preferred artist at the King's court in Belgrade, he had previously (1906) portrayed Serbian King Petar I and had been engaged in a program aimed at erecting a monument to King Petar on a newly-created square in Zagreb called Trg Kralja Petra (today: Trg žrtava fašizma). Meštrović excellently directed this program, as attested by an explanation published in the periodical *Svijet*: [The city council had for a few years been in doubt as to how to solve the problem of the foundation of the poorly-designed Trg Kralja Petra. The committee for the erection of a monument to King Petar worked for a few years on the collection of monies for a monument of King Petar in Zagreb. The Croatian Arts Society "Strossmayer" again collected funds for the construction of a new arts pavilion in Zagreb, because the current one had become unusable. Seeing as how Trg Kralja Petra was not suitable for the erection of a monument in the intersection of the axes, because that intersection does not exist, and seeing

strana u arhitekturi tako usko vezana uz plastičnost za koju baš skulptor mora imati najistančaniji osjećaj. Koliko je teško zamisliti modernu konstrukciju bez inženjera, tako je teško zamisliti da jedan inženjer saždao nešto lijepo bez arhitekta ili drugog umjetnika s plastičnim osjećajima.”⁹ Upravo su se navedeni postulati Meštrovića i apostrofiranih arhitekata na čudestan način sintetizirali u ideji, funkciji, konstrukciji i tehnologiji Doma likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu.

Početak tridesetih godina pojačale su se akcije za gradnju reprezentativnog Doma umjetnosti. Inicijativu je preuzelo Hrvatsko društvo umjetnosti “Josip Juraj Strossmayer” i pozvalo arhitekta Jurja Denzlera, Lavoslava Horvata, Dragu Iblera i Mladena Kauzlarića da uz skroman počasn timer honorar načine svoje vizije Doma na nedefiniranoj lokaciji. Ocjenjivački sud sačinjavali su Lav Kalda, Ivan Meštrović i Ivan Zemljak. Novca za gradnju nije bilo, pa je taj pokušaj propao. No akcija se nastavlja uz Meštrovićevo sudioništvo: Meštrović je etablirani i protežirani umjetnik beogradskog kraljevskog dvora, portretirao je već davno (1906.) srpskog kralja Petra I. i angažiran je oko programa podizanja spomenika kralju Petru na novoformiranom zagrebačkom trgu nazvanom Trg kralja Petra (danas: Trg žrtava fašizma), a tu akciju Meštrović izvanredno korisno usmjerava, o čemu je najbolje pročitati ondašnje tumačenje objavljeno u reviji *Svijet*: “Gradska je općina već nekoliko godina bila u sumnji, kako da riješi pitanje iz temelja loše osnovanog Trga Kralja Petra. Odbor je za podizanje spomenika Kralju Petru radio nekoliko godina na prikupljanju prinosa za spomenik Kralju Petru u Zagrebu. Hrvatsko Društvo Umjetnosti “Strossmayer” prikupljalo je opet sredstva za podizanje novog umjetničkog paviljona u Zagrebu, jer je sadašnji postao tako reći neupotrebljivim. Kako Trg Kralja Petra nije prikladan za postavljanje spomenika u sjecištu osi, jer toga sjecišta i nema, a kako je spomenik trebao svakako doći na Trg Kralja Petra, došlo se na ideju, da se to pitanje riješi jednom monumentalnom građevinom javnog značenja, posvećenom uspomeni Kralja Petra. Ideja je bila tim opravdanija, što se na ovaj način moglo riješiti još i jedne treće pitanje Umjetničkog paviljona i njegovog smještaja. I odbor za podizanje spomenika Kralju Petru u Zagrebu i Hrvatsko Društvo Umjetnosti “Strossmayer” i gradska općina složili su se u tom, da se sve tri akcije slože u jednu. Tako je došlo do zaklade za gradnju Doma likovnih umjetnika Kralja Petra na Trgu Kralja Petra.”¹⁰

as how the monument had to be placed on Trg Kralja Petra, the suggested solution was to build a monumental structure of public import dedicated to King Petar. The idea was even more justified since it would also solve the separate, third question of the arts pavilion and its location. The committee for erecting a monument to King Petar, Croatian Arts Society “Strossmayer” and the city council all agreed that those three projects be joined into one. Thus an Endowment was formed for the construction of the Arts Hall of King Petar [Dom likovnih umjetnika Kralja Petra] on Trg Kralja Petra.]¹⁰

The Endowment was founded on December 15, 1933 under the name House of Fine Arts of King Petar the Great Emancipator [Dom likovne umjetnosti Kralja Petra Velikog Oslobodioca], and the founders were: Municipality of the Free and Royal Capital City of Zagreb [Općine slobodnog i kraljevskog glavnoga grada Zagreb], The committee for erecting a monument to King Petar the Emancipator [Odbor za podignuće spomenika kralju Petru Oslobodiocu] from Zagreb, and Croatian Arts Society “Strossmayer”. The goal of the Endowment was to build and maintain a representative building that would serve as a temple of fine arts in general, but of our national fine arts especially.¹¹ The Endowment was managed by a three-member curatorship named by the signers of the Endowment charter. The charter further confirmed that the property and the Arts Hall would remain in the ownership of the Endowment, and that the city of Zagreb would bear the maintenance costs. Thus was established the basic document which would make the construction of the Arts Hall possible.

The foundation of the Endowment was preceded by an agreement among the signers that the monument to King Petar would not be erected in the form of a statue, but in the form of a House of Fine Arts, and as Meštrović was the one who was supposed to design the monumental sculpture, the design of conceptual sketches for the monument-building, which the artist completed for free, was entrusted to him from the highest levels. The detailed plans were elaborated on by Bilinić and Horvat based upon a conceptual sketch by Meštrović.¹² This arrangement incited the class-reaction of the Zagreb chapter of the Yugoslavian Society of Engineers and Architects [Udruženja jugoslavenskih inžinira i arhitekata] (Jutarnji list, May 13, 1934), who sought that Meštrović’s project be thrown out and that a public architectural tender be issued for the development of the Arts Hall project. However, city representatives in April 1934 decided that the Arts Hall would be built according to Meštrović’s plan anyway, as long as the technical documentation was to be developed by the Department of New Building of the City Building Office [Odsjek za novogradnje Gradskog građevnog ureda]. The head of the office while the Arts Hall was being built was architect Ivan Zemljak, and so another of Croatia’s most influential architects (known for his functional per-

Zaklada je osnovana 15. prosinca 1933. pod imenom Dom likovne umjetnosti Kralja Petra Velikog Oslobođioca, a osnivači su: Općine slobodnog i kraljevskog glavnoga grada Zagreba, Odbor za podignuće spomenika kralju Petru Oslobođiocu iz Zagreba i Hrvatsko društvo umjetnosti "Strossmayer" u Zagrebu. Svrha je Zaklade da se u Zagrebu "podigne i uzdržava reprezentativna zgrada, koja će služiti kao hram likovne umjetnosti uopće a naše nacionalne napose".¹¹ Zakladom upravlja kuratorij od tri člana koje imenuju potpisnici Zakladnice. Zakladnicom se nadalje utvrđuje da će zemljište i zgrada Doma biti vlasništvo Zaklade te da će troškove uzdržavanja Zakladnog doma snositi Grad Zagreb. Time je ustrojen temeljni dokument koji će omogućiti gradnju Doma.

Osnivanju Zaklade prethodio je sporazum potpisnika da se spomenik kralju Petru ne podigne u obliku skulpture već u obliku doma likovnih umjetnosti, a kako je spomeničku skulpturu trebao načiniti Meštrović, to je "... po želji s najvišeg mjesta njemu povjerena izradba idejne skice Spomen-Doma, koju je umjetnik izradio besplatno. Detaljne su planove izveli po idejnoj skici Meštrovićevoj arhitekti Bilinić i Horvat."¹² Ovaj sporazum izazvao je stalešku reakciju zagrebačke sekcije Udruženja jugoslavenskih inženjera i arhitekata (Jutarnji list, 13. svibnja 1934.), kojom se traži odbacivanje Meštrovićeva projekta i raspisivanje javnog arhitektonskog natječaja za izradu projekta Doma. No, gradsko zastupstvo u travnju 1934. ipak zaključuje da se Dom gradi po Meštrovićevoj ideji, s time da tehničku dokumentaciju izrađuje Odsjek za novogradnje Gradskog građevnog ureda. Šef ureda cijelo vrijeme gradnje Doma bio je arhitekt Ivan Zemljak, pa je tako još jedan od najznačajnijih hrvatskih arhitekata (prepoznatljiv po funkcionalnoj perfekciji, plasticitetu gabarita i čistoći oblika) bio uključen u usmjeravanje i građenje Doma. Lavoslav Horvat, nakon što je sudjelovao u izradi idejnog projekta Doma, samo je kratko vrijeme radio na njegovoj realizaciji: Kuratorij mu već krajem 1935. otkazuje suradnju. Suradnja s Haroldom Bilinićem nastavit će se do kraja građenja Doma, pa se njegovu kamenarskom znanju, osjećaju za ljepotu kamena, i profesionalnoj savjesti duguje sva perfekcija i skladnost ostvarenog Doma.

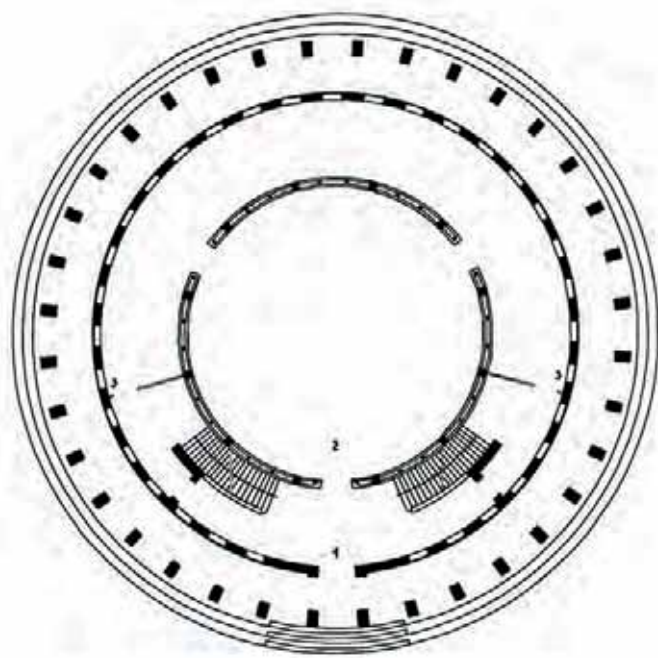
Kako je Dom imao prije svega spomeničku namjenu, Meštrović je želio središnjim položajem Doma na izduženom četverokutnom (138 x 150 m) trgu izraziti njegovu monumentalnost. Nesimetričan prilaz okolnih ulica bio je razlog

fection, plasticity of external measure and cleanliness of form) was involved in the direction and construction of the Arts Hall. Lavoslav Horvat, after collaborating on the project design for the Arts Hall, only worked on its realization for a short time: by the end of 1935 the Curatorship had already ended their collaboration with him. Collaboration with Harold Bilinić would continue to the end of construction of the Arts Hall, and so the perfection and harmony of the finished Arts Hall are a result of his stoneworking knowledge, feel for the beauty of stone and his professional conscience.

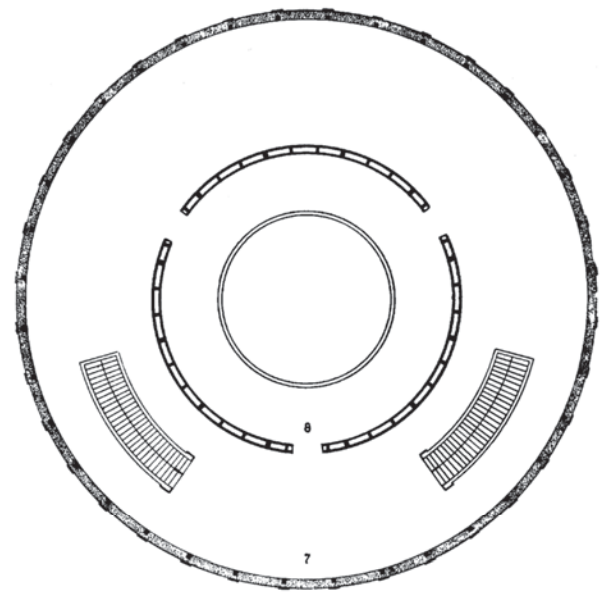
Since the Arts Hall's foremost purpose was as a monument, Meštrović wanted to emphasize its monumentality by placing it centrally on the lengthened, quadrilateral (138 x 150m) square. Asymmetric access to surrounding streets was the reason for the aforementioned opinion (probably Meštrović's) that the square was poorly conceived, and Meštrović paid a great deal of attention to the optimal location of the Arts Hall, especially to the view from the dominant approach road from the city center (Ulica Račkoga) and a newly-forming city avenue to the east (Zvonimirova ulica), in order to ensure the central position of the Arts Hall. Having found this position, Meštrović explains himself in a letter to Bilinić: [From Račkoga ulica one cannot see that the space at the opposite side is wider, and from Zvonimirova ulica it cannot be seen that the space at the opposite side is narrower. Only from the sidewalk in front of the Academy building (Studentski dom, AN) and from the opposite side, but compared to being noticed from the street from a greater distance it is the lesser of two evils. As far as the regulation of the square goes, it can be prevented by planting trees at an equal distance from the central object.]¹³ Such a measured location made the Arts Hall one of the most important symbols of urban Zagreb. The urban solution of the square with the position of the Arts Hall was described in the previously quoted text from Svijet, and the original drawings have been preserved. Along with the bird's-eye perspective of the square with the Arts Hall, a perspective drawing was presented of the Arts Hall from Račkoga ulica, from which its complete architectural concept of visible along with another important urbanistic accent: Meštrović realized that a rotunda that is equally neutral from all sides must have a marked entrance, which he accented with two tall round posts as flagposts. The posts fulfilled their purpose, but their pretentiousness detracted from the dignity and crystal clear idea of the Arts Hall as an interpretation of the classical *tholos*, and they were luckily never realized.

The idea of a round structure (tholos) very successfully presented the sense of the Arts Hall as a monument in an imperfect urban setting: the identical appearance of the brim of the building created an equal appearance from all streets and thus gave each street equal significance, as well as giving the Arts Hall equal

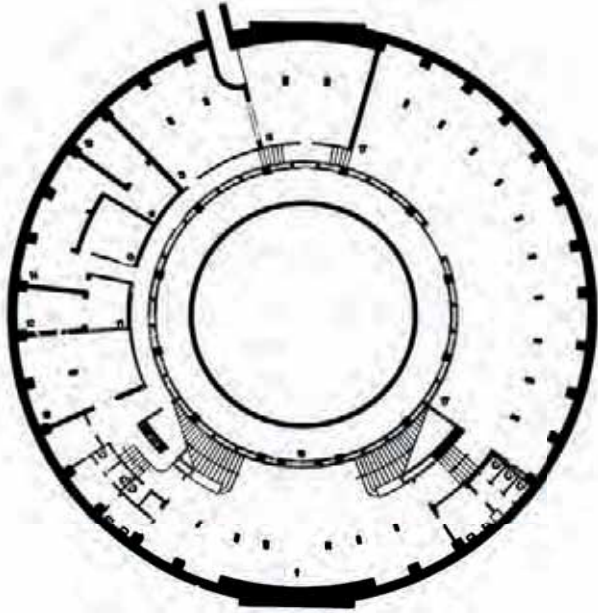
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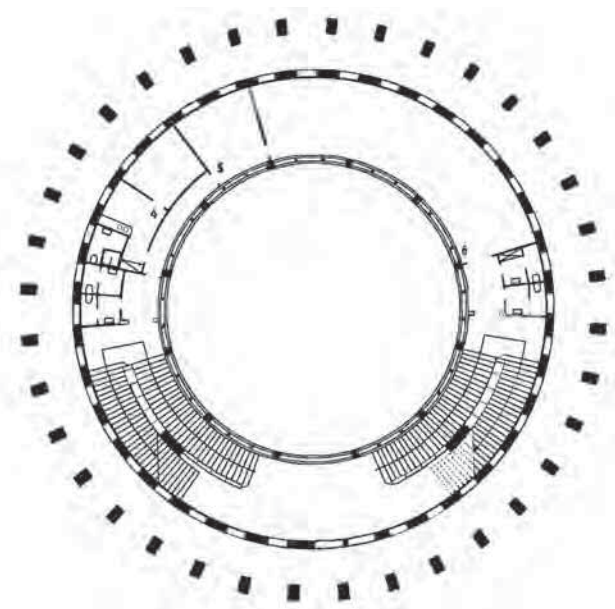
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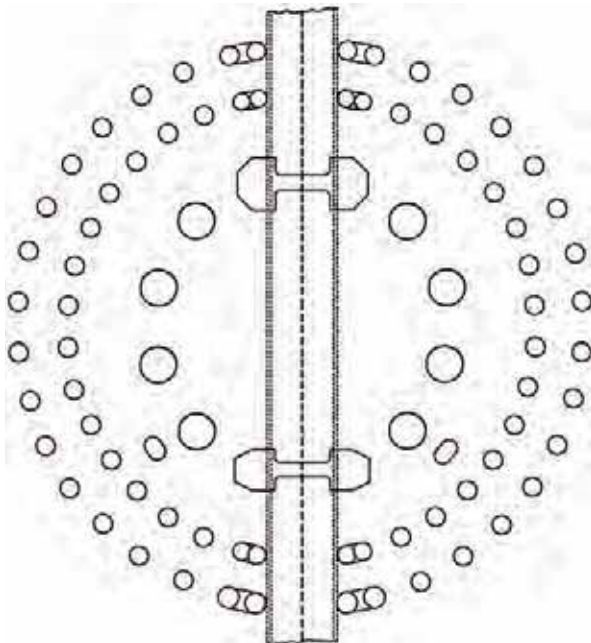
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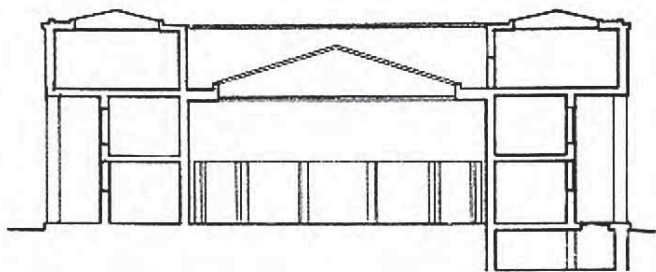


Ostvareni projekt:

1. Tlocrt temelja, 1:500
2. Tlocrt podruma, 1:500
3. Tlocrt prizemlja, 1:500
4. Tlocrt polukata, 1:500
5. Tlocrt kata, 1:500

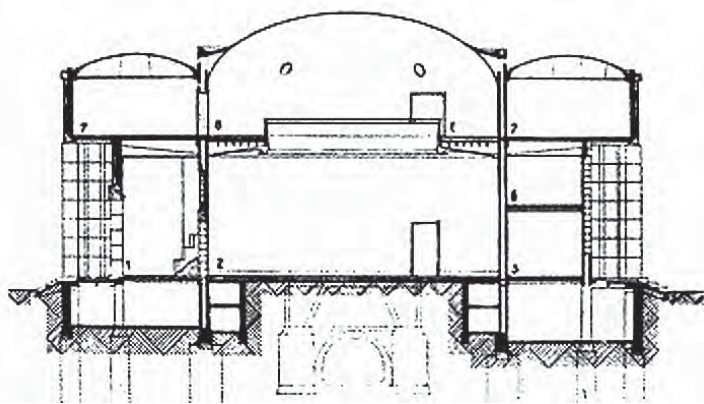
The realised project:

- Foundations, layout. 1:500
- Basement, layout. 1:500
- Ground floor, layout. 1:500
- Mezzanine, layout. 1:500
- First floor, layout. 1:500



Prvi projekt, presjek, 1:500

The initial project, the cross-section view. 1:500



Ostvareni projekt, 1:500

The realised project. 1:500

onom navedenom mišljenju (vjerojatno Meštrovićevu) o lošoj osnovi trga, pa je Meštrović posvetio veliku pažnju optimalnoj lokaciji Doma, i to ponajprije vizuri iz dominantne prilazne ulice iz gradskog centra (Ulica Račkoga) i nove istočne gradske avenije koja se upravo formirala (Zvonimirova ulica), s time da se osigura središnja pozicija Doma. Našavši tu poziciju, Meštrović je obrazlaže u pismu Biliniću: "Iz Račkoga ulice neće se primjetiti da je prostor s protivne strane širi, iz Zvonimirove ulice neće se primjetiti da je prostor s druge strane uži. Jedino sa trotoara Akademijine zgrade (Studentskog doma, op. a.) i sa suprotne strane, no to je manje zlo nego iz ulice sa veće udaljenosti. Kod reguliranja trga dade se tome doskočiti ako se nasade sa stablima postave na jednakoj udaljenosti od centralnog objekta."¹³ Ovako odmjerena lokacija stvorila je od Doma jedan od najznačajnijih znakova zagrebačkog urbaniteta.

Urbanističko rješenje trga s pozicijom Doma prikazano je već u sastavu prethodno citiranog teksta iz *Svijeta*, a sačuvani su i originalni crteži. Uz ptičju perspektivu trga s Domom priložen je perspektivni crtež Doma iz Ulice

significance from the perspective of each street. That very clear and simple solution has the same famous genius as Columbus' Egg or the Gordian Knot, and so it must be viewed with due respect. There was one more difficulty in situating the Arts Hall: the main city sewer canal passed through the center of the square from Račkoga ulica, and as the terrain from the northwest to the southwest corner of the square slopes downward by nearly a meter (from 117.86m to 116.90m above sea level), the top of the canal was at the south part of the square only thirty centimeters below the surface. The sloped surface of the square and shallow canal, along with the functional requirement for service content of the Arts Hall to be located in the basement, required that the ground floor be risen three and a half meters above the top of the canal (to 120.17m), or rather the leveling of the terrain around the building by almost a meter. This construction condition was in no way an odious one to Meštrović, seeing as how this allowed him to raise the Arts Hall above the niveau of all access streets and the surrounding buildings on the square, which significantly increased the Arts Hall's sought-after sense of monumentality.

This urbanistically founded columnar monument proved to be an unusually functional gallery space programmed for three basic kinds of exposition: sculptures, paintings and graphics / photography. For each form a special space was designed, while all spaces were connected into a polyvalent whole, which is best explained by the leader of design and construction, architect Zemljak: [Entering from the north-west side, from the direction of Račkoga ulica, we first enter a vestibule 7.70 meters high, which has direct access to each individual space in the Arts Hall. Facing the entrance, a door leads into the central rotunda. Above the entrance, there is a relief of King Petar I by Ivan Meštrović. The hall is in the shape of a 19.0m cylinder with an elliptical dome. The height of the hall is 16.75m. A balcony circles the entire rim at the height of 7.70m. This rotunda is circled in the ground floor by a round hall 5.05 m wide which acts as a couloir, connected with the central hall by a door and directly accessible from the vestibule at two sides. A meeting hall, reading room, office, caretaker's apartment and toilets are also located in the mezzanine, which also circles the rotunda. Continuing to climb up the stairs we reach the first floor, into the ring-shaped central hall. Three doors lead from it onto a balcony 3.75m wide that juts into the central hall and runs along its entire rim. In the basement we find the garderobe, toilets, equipment room, boilers and fuel, transformer station and warehouse.]¹⁴ This organization of space also defines the content of the halls: the high central hall is intended for sculpture, the ring-shaped hall with a balcony in the central hall is intended for painting, and the ground-floor round hall is intended for graphics, photography and applied arts.

Račkoga s kojega je vidljiva cjelovita arhitektonska zamisao Doma, ali i važan urbanistički akcent: Meštrović je shvatio da sa svih strana jednako neutralna rotonda ipak mora imati označen ulaz, pa ga naglašava s dva visoka kružna stupa kao nosačima zastava. Stupovi su ispunjavali svoju funkciju, ali su ipak svojom pretencioznošću remetili dostojanstvenu i kristalno čistu ideju Doma kao interpretacije klasičnog *tholosa*, i stoga je sreća da nisu realizirani.

Ta ideja kružne građevine (*tholosa*) vrlo je uspješno prezentirala smisao Doma kao monumenta u nepovoljnom urbanom okruženju: potpuno isti izgled oboda zgrade ostvario je jednaku vizuru iz svih ulica i tako svakoj ulici dao jednaku važnost, a time i jednaku važnost Domu iz perspektive svake ulice. Ovo tako jasno i jednostavno rješenje ima famoznu genijalnost Kolumbova jajeta ili Aleksandrova čvora, te ga treba shvatiti s dužnim poštovanjem.

Nametnula se još jedna poteškoća u situiranju Doma: sredinom trga prolazi iz Ulice Račkoga glavni kanal gradske kanalizacije, a kako teren od sjeverozapadnog do jugozapadnog ugla trga pada za gotovo jedan metar (od kote 117,86 na kotu 116,90), to je sljeme kanala bilo na južnom dijelu samo tridesetak centimetara ispod tla. Nagnuta površina trga i plitko položen kanal te funkcionalna potreba da se servisni sadržaji Doma smjeste u podrumu, uvjetovali su uzdizanje prizemlja za tri i pol metra iznad sljemeni kanala (na kotu 120,17), odnosno niveliranje terena oko zgrade na oko metar nižoj koti. Ta građevinska uvjetovanost nije bila mrska Meštroviću s obzirom na to da mu je uvjetovala i omogućila uzdizanje Doma iznad nivelete svih pristupnih ulica i obodnih zgrada trga, a time se znatno ojačao traženi dojam njene monumentalnosti.

Tako urbano zasnovan valjkasti monument pokazao se i kao neobično funkcionalan galerijski prostor programiran za tri osnovne vrste eksponata: skulpture, slike i grafike, odnosno fotografije. Za svaku vrstu projektiran je zaseban prostor, s time da su svi prostori povezani u polivalentnu cjelinu, a objašnjenje te cjeline najbolje je prepustiti samom voditelju projektiranja i gradnje, arhitektu Zemljaku: "Ulazeći sa sjevero-zapadne strane, iz smjera ulice Račkoga stupamo najprije u vestibil visok 7,70 m iz kojega vodi izravan pristup u svaku prostornu jedinicu Doma. Sučelice ulazu vode vrata u centralnu okruglu dvoranu. Nad ulazom nalazi se reljef Kralja Petra I. izrađen od Ivana Meštrovića. Oblik je ove dvorane cilindar s promjerom od 19,0 m i kupolom elipsastog profila. Visina dvorane iznosi 16,75 m.

The Arts Hall, built in such a way, is somewhat different from Meštrović's original project: the original bird's-eye perspective of the Arts Hall and the cross-section of the Arts Hall (from 1936) show that the central hall reached only from the ground floor to the first floor, and that it did not even have a balcony; the ground-floor round hall was opened towards the central hall; the central hall and ring-shaped hall on the first floor were covered with an angled glass roof. It is apparent that through the intervention of the architects, a much higher-quality spatial and functional solution was reached, and that intervention spread even to the creation of the excellent constructive structure of the Arts Hall and the invention of a perfect fixture infrastructure for the building.

The frame of the Arts Hall was conceived as a reinforced-concrete skeleton composed of pylons that transfer weight to a load-bearing layer of gravel at a depth of about 5 meters. The wall of the central hall was constructed with 12 basic reinforced concrete posts, between each of which were placed two support posts. This construction scheme was also implemented on the exterior wall. These posts support the ceiling of the central hall, which is an elliptical, reinforced-concrete dome 19 meters across and the roof of the round hall in the form of a ring-shaped arch 8 meters across. Round glass tiles 57mm thick and 125mm across were built into the dome and the arch, which enabled flawless daytime lighting of the exhibit halls, and the round hall was additionally given a roof of opal-colored glass which scattered the reflections from the glass tiles.

The most sensational part of this project were the perforated surfaces of the dome and the arch, which were designed, calculated and realized as reinforced concrete shells at an unbelievable thickness of just 57mm. Zemljak was surely correct when he proudly pointed out: [As far as we know, this glass-reinforced concrete dome represents the largest completed construction of this kind yet carried out in Europe.]¹⁵ The calculations and plan of the dome were carried out by architect Zvonimir Kavurić, who was known for his basis in bold concrete and steel construction, and whose fate was succinctly described by Zvonimir Vrkljan in his autobiography: [A platoon of Ustaša, in retaliation for an assassination that had been carried out a few days earlier, hung a group of Partisan hostages on a row of Linden trees in front of the Station building. Engineer Zvonimir Kavurić was killed in the same way – he was hung as a hostage in Zaprešić.]¹⁶

The fittings in the building were creatively and perfectly functionally conceived: technological equipment (boilers, climate control, transformers, basic water and sewage hookups) was placed in the basement. All horizontal fittings lead through a service passageway (placed in the basement along the wall of the central hall), to a point where they pass into a vertical junction

U visini od 7,70 m, uz cijeli obod nalazi se balkon. Ovu dvoranu opasuje u prizemlju, kao kuloar, kružna dvorana široka 5,05 m vezana sa središnjom dvoranom vratima i izravno pristupna iz vestibula sa dva kraja. U mezaninu koji također opasuje srednju dvoranu nalazi se dvorana za sjednice ujedno čitaonica, ured, stan pazikuće i zahodi. Nastavivši uspon stepenicama dolazimo u prvi kat, u prstenastu centralnu dvoranu. Iz nje vode troja vrata na balkon širok 3,75 m koji strši u srednju dvoranu i ide duž cijeloga njezinog oboda. U podrumu nalaze se garderobe, zahodi, prostorije za aparaturu, kotlove i gorivo, transformatorska stanica i skladišta¹⁴. Ovom prostornom organizacijom definirani su i sadržaji dvorana: visoka centralna dvorana namijenjena je skulpturi, prstenasta dvorana s balkonom u centralnoj dvorani namijenjena je slikarstvu, a prizemna kružna dvorana grafici, fotografiji i primijenjenoj umjetnosti.

Tako sagrađen Dom unekoliko se razlikuje od prvotnog Meštrovićeva projekta: navedena ptičja perspektiva Doma i sačuvani nacrt presjeka Doma (iz 1936.) pokazuju da je centralna dvorana imala visinu samo do poda prvog kata, pa nije imala ni balkon; prizemna kružna dvorana bila je rastvorena prema centralnoj dvorani; centralna dvorana i prstenasta dvorana na katu bile su prekrivene zakošenim ostakljenim krovom. Očito se intervencijom arhitekata došlo do znatno kvalitetnijeg prostornog i svrshodnog rješenja, a ta intervencija proširila se i na stvaranje izvanredne konstruktivne strukture Doma te na osmišljanje perfektne instalacijske infrastrukture zgrade.

Konstrukcija Doma projektirana je kao armiranobetonski skelet temeljen na pilonima kojima se prenaša teret na nosivi šljunčani sloj u dubini od oko 5 m. Obodni zid centralne dvorane izgrađen je s 12 osnovnih armiranobetonskih stupova između kojih su umetnuta po dva međustupa, a ta je konstruktivna shema prenesena i na vanjski zid. Ti stupovi pridržavaju pokrov centralne dvorane u obliku eliptične armiranobetonske kupole raspona 19 m i pokrov kružne dvorane u obliku prstenastog svoda raspona 8 m. U kupolu i svod ugrađene su kružne staklene ploče debljine 57 mm promjera 125 mm koje omogućuju besprijekornu dnevnu rasvjetu izložbenih dvorana, s time da je kružnoj dvorani dodan i strop od opalnog stakla koji raspršuje odbljeske staklenih ploča. Senzacija su toga projekta tako izbušene plohe kupole i svoda, a koje su projektirane, proračunane i realizirane kao armiranobetonske ljske nevjerojatne debljine od samo 57 mm. Stoga ima pravo Zemljak kada ponosno ističe: "Po našem znanju ova staklo-armirano

which supplies each floor, all the way to the base of the dome. The vertical fixtures are placed in hollow spaces about 25cm wide formed by closing off the spaces between the load-bearing posts of the rim of the central hall with a wall made of vertically placed bricks, bearing in mind that the ring girders are made of separated beams. The fitting system was conceived in such a way as to be hidden and easily accessible in the central part of the building, which enabled optimal energy supply along the entire height of the central hall on one side and to all ring-shaped halls and office space on the other.

Such a functional, constructive, and flawlessly outfitted gallery space deserves to be compared with the design of gallery buildings known and favored as world-class achievements in gallery architecture. First and foremost, comparison with the spatial conception of the Guggenheim Museum in New York is apparent, through which its architect Frank Lloyd Wright conceived and affirmed circular gallery space in 20th century architecture. Wright constructed the exhibit space of the museum (1946-1956) in the shape of a cylinder covered with a glass dome completed with a cantilevered gallery. Meštrović also conceived the central exhibit space in the shape of a cylinder covered with a glass dome completed with a cantilevered gallery. That conceptual identity led Radovan Ivančević to a meaningful conclusion: [It is truly unbelievable that that ideal gallery space, that round exhibition space, came to be ten years before Wright's famous cylindrical Guggenheim in New York, which has become a symbol of modern architecture.]¹⁷ It is essential to keep this fact in mind when we think about the fate of the Arts Hall. Meštrović and his team of architects significantly improved on Wright's one-room gallery by wrapping a spacious ring-shaped hall around the central, cylindrical hall, creating a significant spatial organism with polyvalent functionality. This concept invokes comparison with one more cult museum-gallery building: architectural firm Ortner & Ortner (Laurids and Manfred Ortner) created (1990-2001) the Leopold Museum pavilion, within the frame of the MuseumsQuartier project in Vienna, intended for a permanent painting and sculpture collection. This multi-floor pavilion is shaped as a quadrilateral with a central space as tall as all floors covered with a glass roof. That central space is added to from all four sides with halls in the shape of parallelograms, and the wall between the central and external halls was designed with hollow spaces between the support columns which carry all the fixtures for the central and external halls. Ignoring the cylindrical or quadrilateral shape, it is possible to conclude that the Leopold Museum repeats the functional scheme conceived and realized over 60 years earlier with the Arts Hall project. Even though it was conceived much earlier, the Arts Hall was better designed in the context of event space: at the Arts Hall the exterior ring-shaped halls are spatially connected with the central hall, while at the Leopold Museum there is only indirect visual contact; the

betonska kupola predstavlja najveću dosad izvedenu konstrukciju ove vrste u Evropi.”¹⁵ Proračun i nacrt kupole načinio je arhitekt Zvonimir Kavurić, poznat po svojim osnovama smionih betonskih i čeličnih konstrukcija, a njegovu sudbinu jezgrovitog je opisao Zvonimir Vrkljan u svojoj autobiografiji: “Vod ustaša – kao odmazdu za neki atentat koji je neki dan ranije bio učinjen – upravo je vješao grupu talaca partizana na drvored lipa ispred kolodvorske zgrade. Tako je poginuo i ing. Zvonimir Kavurić. Kao talac bio je obješen u Zaprešiću.”¹⁶

Instalacija Doma duhovito je i perfektno funkcionalno koncipirana: tehnološka baza (kotlovnica, klimakomora, trafostanica, temeljni razvodi vodovoda i kanalizacije) smještena je u podrum; sve horizontalne instalacije vode se kroz prohodni kanal (smješten u podrum uz obodni zid centralne dvorane) do pozicija gdje prelaze u vertikalni razvod koji opskrbljuje katove sve do podnožja kupole; vertikalne instalacije postavljene su u šupljine širine oko 25 cm oformljene obostranim zatvaranjem, zidom od sjekomično položene opeke, prostora između nosivih stupova oboda centralne dvorane, s time da su i serklaži katnih konstrukcija načinjeni od razdvojenih greda. Tako je sazdan skriven i lako dostupan instalacijski sustav smješten u središnji dio zgrade, što omogućava, s jedne strane, optimalnu opskrbu energijama po cijeloj visini centralne dvorane, a s druge strane svih prstenastih dvorana i uredskih prostora.

Ovako funkcionalno, konstruktivno i instalacijski besprijekorno osmišljen galerijski prostor zavređuje da se usporedi s koncepcijom galerijskih zgrada isticanih i protežiranih kao vrhunskih dometa galerijske arhitekture. Prije svega nameće se komparacija s prostornom koncepcijom zgrade Guggenheimova muzeja u New Yorku, kojom je njen arhitekt Frank Lloyd Wright osmislio i afirmirao kružni galerijski prostor u arhitekturi 20. stoljeća. Wright je izložbeni prostor muzeja sagradio (1946. – 1956.) u obliku valjka prekrivenog ostakljenim kupolastim krovom i upotpunjenog konzolno istaknutim galerijama. Meštrović je također osmislio središnji izložbeni prostor u obliku valjka prekrivenog ostakljenom kupolom i upotpunjenog konzolno istaknutom galerijom. Ovaj konceptualni identitet s pravom je naveo Radovana Ivančevića na pregnantan sud: “Upravo je nevjerojatno da je taj idealni galerijski prostor, kružni izložbeni objekt nastao desetak godina prije glasovitog valjkastog Wrightova muzeja Guggenheim u New Yorku, simbola moderne arhitekture.”¹⁷ Nužno je ovu činjenicu ugraditi u svijest pri svakom razmišljanju o sudbini Doma.

ring-shaped halls encircle the central hall uninterrupted, while at the Leopold Museum the external halls are separated into four separate segments by staircases, which greatly limits the freedom of spatial organization and presentation of exhibits. This spatial-structure congruence of conception surely points to the Arts Hall’s exceptional quality, both at the time of its construction and after its renovation.

The architectural shaping of the Arts Hall belongs to a stylistic period that historians call “classical modern”, shaped by the antique rhythm of columns with more or less reduced definition that form either an open facade or the shape of the facade itself. This architecture was not foreign to any country, any regime, nor was it foreign to the protagonists of architecture at the time. With this in mind, it is acceptable to compare the architecture of the Arts Hall with the simultaneously-constructed (1937) architecture of the Museum of Modern Art in Paris, the collegial work of a group of architects (Jean-Claude Dondel, André Aubert, Paul Viard, Marcel Dastuge). The symmetrical wings of the Paris museum connect the portico with unproportionally lithe columns, which hold up the thin plate of the roof. It is that very imbalance between support and supported that emphasizes the spuriousness of that constructive system and its decorative arrogance. Opposed to that monumentality of symmetry and decorative form, the architecture of the Arts Hall with its complete plunge into the concentrated depths of its own cylindrical corpus, the equality of all of its elements, the crystal cleanliness of the circular drum and square columns and the harmonically restrained proportional relationship between support and supported, margin and interior, horizontal and vertical, creates an almost idealized form of classical beauty presented using the vocabulary and syntax of 20th century architecture. Therefore, one must know how to value the phenomenal architecture of the Arts Hall.

So creatively designed and constructed with commendable care, the Arts Hall celebrated its opening on December 1, 1938, along with a consecration by Zagreb’s Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac and a speech by Count Miroslav Kulmer, who turned the Arts Hall over into the care of Zagreb county president Teodor Pečić. Eighteen days later, the first retrospective exhibit of Croatian art was opened, with the cooperation of 180 painters, graphic artists, sculptors and architects. The exhibition was opened by Vladko Maček with the programmatic message: [Art strives for something more exalted than the material world. It attempts to transform raw material into spirituality.]¹⁸ Ivan Meštrović commented on the exhibition with a message that still rings true today: [Art is not only created by artists, but by the entire nation, by its desire for culture and its love and will to construct it. Love and will are the strength, which also find the ability.]¹⁹ After the closing

Meštrović je s pridruženim arhitektima znatno unaprijedio Wrightovu jednodimenzionalnu galeriju okruženjem centralne valjkaste dvorane s prostranim prstenastim dvoranama i time ostvario sadržajni prostorni organizam polivalentne funkcionalnosti. Ova koncepcija izaziva usporedbu s još jednim kulturnim muzejsko-galerijskim zdanjem: arhitektonska firma Ortner & Ortner (Laurids i Manfred Ortner) ostvarila je (1990. – 2001.) u okviru fascinantnog projekta kompleksa *MuseumsQuartier* u Beču i paviljon *Leopold Museum* namijenjen stalnoj izložbi slikarsko-kiparskih kolekcija. Višekatni paviljon oblikovan je kao kvadar sa središnjim prostorom visokim kao sve etaže i prekriven je ostakljenim pokrovom. Taj središnji prostor sa sve četiri strane nadopunjen je pačetvorinastim dvoranama, a pregradni zid između središnje i bočnih dvorana načinjen je sa šupljinama između konstruktivnih stupova kroz koje prolaze sve instalacije središnje i bočnih dvorana. Uz zanemarivanje oblikovanja kružnom ili kvadratnom formom, moguće je konstatirati da *Leopold Museum* ponavlja funkcionalnu shemu osmišljenu i realiziranu gotovo šezdeset godina ranije projektom Doma. Dapače, iako znatno raniji, Dom je projektiran kao bitno savršeniji izložbeni sklop: kod Doma su bočne prstenaste dvorane prostorno povezane sa središnjom dvoranom, a kod *Leopold Museuma* ostvaren je među njima samo posredan vizualni kontakt; kod Doma prstenaste dvorane kontinuirano opkoljuju središnju dvoranu, a kod *Leopold Museuma* bočne dvorane odijeljene su stubištima u četiri zasebna segmenta, što umnogome onemogućava slobodu prostorne organizacije i prezentacije eksponata. Svakako da ova prostorno-instalacijska podudarnost koncepcija ukazuje na izuzetnu kvalitetu Doma, aktualnu i u sadašnjoj obnovi.

Arhitektonsko oblikovanje Doma pripada stilskoj fazi koju povjesničari rado nazivaju "klasična moderna", a odlikuje se antičkim ritmom stupova s više ili manje reduciranim profilacijama, koje tvore otvorena pretpročelja ili plastiku samog pročelja. Ta arhitektura nije bila strana nijednoj zemlji, nijednom režimu, a ni protagonistima tadašnje arhitekture. Upravo stoga valja postaviti u odnos arhitekturu Doma s arhitekturom istovremeno sagrađenoga (1937.) reprezentativnoga Muzeja moderne umjetnosti u Parizu, kolegijalnog djela grupe arhitekata (Jean-Claude Dondel, André Aubert, Paul Viard, Marcel Dastuge). Simetrična krila pariškog muzeja povezuju portici s neproporcionalno vitkim stupovima što nose tanku ploču pokrova, pa ta neodmjerenost nosača i nošenog izražava lažnost ovog konstruktivnog sustava i njegovu dekoratersku drskost. Nasuprot ovoj monumentalnosti simetrije i dekorativne forme, arhitektura

of the exhibition, the Curatorship that led the construction of the Arts Hall entrusted it in an administrative, financial and artistic sense to the Croatian Arts Society [Hrvatsko društvo umjetnosti] in Zagreb, with this remark: [This Hall must serve the arts generally, and Croatian art especially. It will serve this purpose through art exhibits of domestic and foreign artists, performances and lectures.]²⁰

However, the Arts Hall served that purpose for only two years: Zagreb mayor Ivan Werner on October 12, 1941 ordered the Croatian Arts Society to turn the keys to the Arts Hall over to the city and immediately vacate the premises. Two days later, a meeting of the Curatorship was held, at which (according to preserved records) Assistant Dean Dinter remarked that it was well known to everyone present, based upon a newspaper report, that a mosque was to be placed in the building of the Arts Hall. To this end, the keys were taken by order of the city authorities and the Croatian Arts Society was given a deadline of 3 days to vacate the Arts Hall.²¹ The same document also marks a gentle warning and request: [Kljaković Jozo points out that the Arts Hall is the work of sculptor Ivan Meštrović. That in the process of remodeling it into a mosque its external appearance will be changed. He asks those present that the artist be informed of any alterations to the external form and that those alterations be carried out with his approval if possible, since tact and consideration towards that great artist are required.]²² Meštrović was at that time in Split, and when he discovered from the newspapers of the plan to convert the Arts Hall into a mosque, he wrote a protest letter to then-Minister of Religious Affairs Mile Budak, from which the core message should be quoted: [And when I tell you, I will tell you openly. It seems to me that through this decision, on the one hand we would display Christian compassion and Croatian generosity towards our less numerous brothers of different faith, but on the other hand we would show that we are entering into undertakings that the world has entitled Balkanocity, against which we Croats have always fought. Bringing forth such decisions would trample the law by dissolving the legally founded Endowment and confiscating property without question or approval; it would be an insult to the authors' rights law, because it would change the form of an original architectural work without the author's knowledge or permission; it would disempower a Croatian cultural institution that has the same goals, if different means, as you do; it would make impossible, or completely disparage the work of a Croatian cultural institution and society whose task is to spiritually strengthen our people and through them one part of a European whole;... it would defeat the initial intent to, through these institutions, capture and nurture cultural relationships with other nations, which is currently of extreme necessity and will certainly continue to be so tomorrow... The fact that the Arts Hall was constructed and designed for the purpose of exhibiting the works of fine artists, and not

Doma cjelovitim poniranjem u koncentriranu dubinu svog valjkastog korpusa, jednakošću svih elemenata, kristalnom čistoćom kružnog tambura i kvadra stupova te harmonično odmjerenim odnosom proporcija nosivog i nošenog, rubnog i upuštenog, horizontale i vertikala ostvaruje gotovo idealiziranu formu klasične ljepote predočenu vokabularom i sintaksom arhitekture 20. stoljeća. Stoga treba znati cijeniti fenomenalnu arhitektoniku Doma.

Ovako kreativno zasnovan i s hvalevrijednom pažnjom izgrađen Dom svečano je otvoren 1. prosinca 1938., uz posvećenje koje je obavio zagrebački nadbiskup Alojzije Stepinac i govor grofa Miroslava Kulmera kojim je Dom predao na čuvanje predsjedniku Zagrebačke općine Teodoru Peičiću. Osamnaest dana kasnije otvorena je i prva antologijska izložba hrvatske umjetnosti uz sudjelovanje 180 slikara, grafičara, kipara i arhitekata. Izložbu je otvorio Vladko Maček s programskom porukom: "Umjetnost je težnja za nečim više uzvišenijim nego što je materijalni svijet. Ona nastoji u duhovnost pretvoriti grubu materiju."¹⁸ Izložbu je komentirao i Ivan Meštrović i danas aktualnom porukom: "Umjetnost ne stvaraju samo umjetnici, nego i čitav narod, njegova čežnja za kulturom i njegova ljubav i volja da je izgradi. Ljubav i volja su snaga, koja nadje i mogućnost."¹⁹ Nakon zatvaranja izložbe Kuratorij koji je vodio gradnju Doma povjerava 27. veljače 1939. upravu Doma u administrativnom, financijskom i umjetničkom pogledu Hrvatskom društvu umjetnosti u Zagrebu uz naznaku: "Ovaj Dom imade da služi umjetnosti uopće, a hrvatskoj napose. Služit će toj svrsi umjetničkim izložbama domaćih i stranih umjetnika, priredbama i predavanjima."²⁰

No, Dom je služio toj svrsi samo dvije godine: gradonačelnik Zagreba Ivan Werner naređuje 12. kolovoza 1941. Hrvatskom društvu umjetnosti da Gradu preda ključeve Doma i da se odmah iseli. Dva dana kasnije održana je sjednica Kuratorija, na kojoj (prema sačuvanom zapisniku) donaćelnik Dinter izjavljuje da je zacijelo već svima prisutnima poznato, s obzirom na novinski izvještaj, da će u zgradi Doma biti smještena džamija. U tu su svrhu naredbom gradskog načelnika preuzeti ključevi i Hrvatskom društvu umjetnosti dan je kratak rok od tri dana da se iseli iz Doma.²¹

U istom je zapisniku zabilježeno i blago upozorenje i zamolba: "Kljaković Jozo ističe, da je Dom djelo kipara Ivana Meštrovića. Kod preuređivanja Doma za Džamiju da će se po svojoj prilici mijenjati vanjska forma Doma. Moli prisutne da se o preinaci vanjske forme Doma sasluša i obavijesti

worship, would be ignored. Meštrović then, after a few additional arguments and appeals, sarcastically and bravely concludes his letter: Finally, if the Independent State of Croatia requires that the "Arts Hall" disappear, along with Grgur, Berislavić, Marulić, even the head of the one who made them, let it be so, if only so that she might be happy — and truly great and independent. At least the "Lost Son's" bones will rejoice.²³ Meštrović's head remained on his shoulders, but ended up in prison.

The drive to build a mosque in Zagreb had its beginnings in the 18th century, when the Austrian Ministry of War expressed its intent to build one because of the presence of Bosnian Muslim soldiers. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Society of Brothers of the Croatian Dragon [Družba Braća hrvatskoga zmaja] prompted its construction, and the council for the construction of a mosque was founded in 1920 by Ivo Pilar, one of the prime movers of Croatian modern art and an opponent of state ties with Serbia. However, not until 1938 did the Muslim Faith Community [Muslimanska vjeroispovjedna općina] create a Foundation for the construction of a mosque, which was designed in Zelengaj by architect Zvonimir Požgaj. The request that a mosque be built in Zagreb was explained by Head of State Ante Pavelić: [To us, the Croatian state government, to Croatia, and to me, the question of the Muslim faith does not exist, because it is a question of Croatia. There is no question of the Muslim faith because it is Croatian in the Croatian homeland, in the Independent State of Croatia... You are a whole, as are members of the Catholic faith in the Croatian nation, not just a component of the nation, a whole of life and a whole of communal existence in our shared homeland.]²⁴

Through this state sponsorship, the mosque was finished and opened on July 18, 1944, and in a publication in honor of the opening, Ismet Muftić, Muslim Theologist and Zagreb's mufti, expressed his satisfaction with the results of the Arts Hall's adaptation into a mosque: [The Head of State's mosque on Trg Kulina bana is among the most beautiful mosques in the world, and as an architectural monument presents great value.]²⁵ The internal remodeling was entrusted to Zvonimir Požgaj on the basis of the previously mentioned mosque project. He satisfied the request for enlarging worship space by joining parts of the ring-shaped hall with the central hall, as he himself describes: [Zagreb's mosque is limited to the existing round floorplan, which I attempted to change by opening the left and right naves. In that way, I significantly increased the size of the mosque, as well as gaining direct light through the stained glass windows in the left and right naves.]²⁶ The remainder of Požgaj's architectural intervention was aimed at solving two problems: [The thin reinforced-concrete shell of the dome did not offer insulation, and the smooth surface of the walls and the dome created an intense



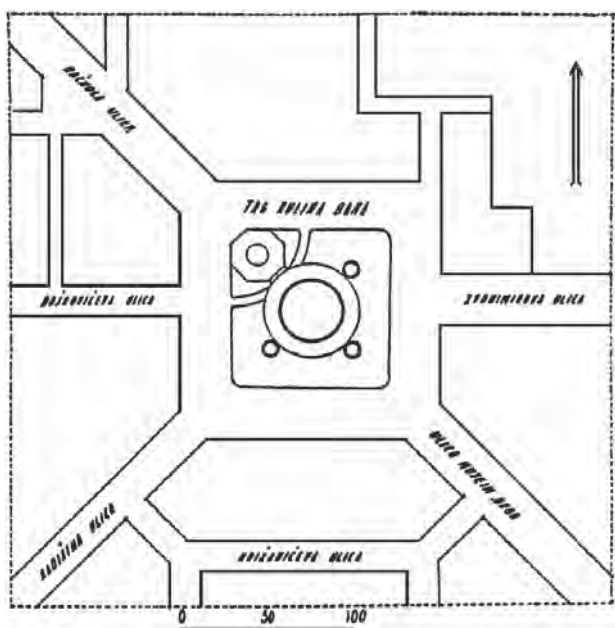
Stjepan Planić: dograđeni minareti i fontana

Stjepan Planić: subsequently added minarets and fountain

svakako umjetnik i eventualne preinake izvrše s njegovim prihvatom, jer to iziskuje takt i uviđavnost spram tog velikog umjetnika.”²² Meštrović je tada bio u Splitu, pa kada je iz novina saznao za namjeru pretvaranja Doma u džamiju napisao je protestno pismo tadašnjem ministru bogoštovlja i nastave Mili Budaku, iz kojega valja citirati osnovne poruke: “A kad Vam govorim, govoriti ću otvoreno. Meni se čini, da bi se donošenjem takove odluke s jedne strane pokazalo kršćansku uvidjavnost i hrvatsku širokogrudnost prema manje brojnoj braći druge vjere, a s druge bi se opet pokazalo da se upuštamo u postupke, koje je kulturni svijet krstio balkanštinom, protiv koje smo se mi Hrvati uvijek borili. Donošenjem takve odluke pogazi bi se zakon ukidajući pravovaljanu Zakladu i oduzimajući tuđu imovinu bez pitanja i pristanka; povrijedio bi se zakon o autorskom pravu, jer bi se bez znanja i privole autora izobličilo njegovo arhitektonsko djelo; oduzela bi se vlasnost jednoj hrvatskoj kulturnoj ustanovi, koja je radila i išla, i ako drugim sredstvima, za istim ciljem kao i Vi; onemogućio bi se, ili do kraja omalovažao, rad jedne hrvatske kulturne usta-

echo. Požgaj explained his solution: Experiments have shown that the acoustic and thermal question is solved in such a way as the voice of the muezzin is heard from the mahfil equally well without even the slightest amplification in all parts of the mosque. To accomplish this, I divided the existing round floorplan of the main hall into thirty six fields, and under the dome with luxfer-prisms I designed a new ribbed iron-concrete dome with a calm diffused belt of lights. The air layer between the new and old dome serves as a layer of isolation against heat and cold.]²⁷

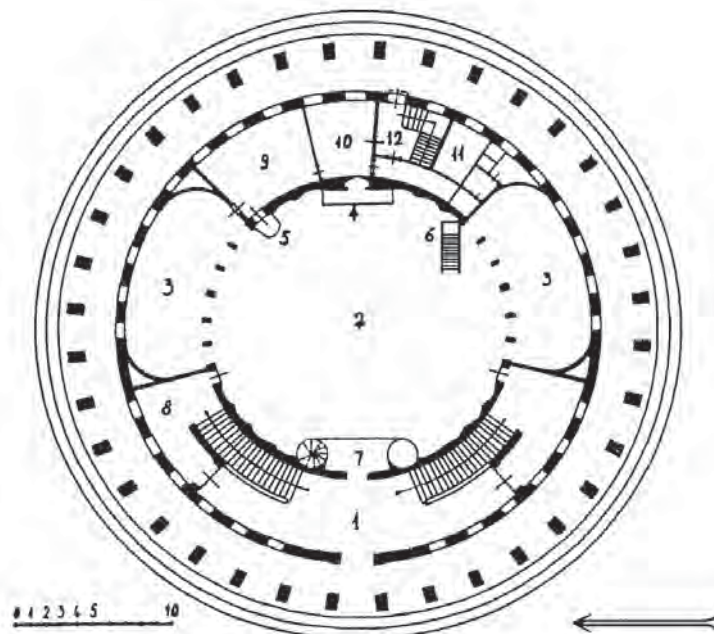
Along with these spatial conversions, Požgaj outfitted all the walls of the mosque with plaster tiles with painted reliefs in accordance with the traditional ornamentation of mosques and bearing in mind that the decorative motifs reflect regional differences, as he himself wrote: [In solving the interior of the Zagreb mosque, I attempted to create a feeling of arabesque as the most significant element of the mosque’s architecture using Držislav’s chessboard, the Split baptistery, Branimir’s stone and other stone monuments of our past.]²⁸ The adaptation of the interior also required the replacement of the pure white mortar walls with a richly ornamented wooden balustrade with quotations from the



Situacija Doma s minaretima i fontanom
Arts Hall with the minarets and the fountain

nove i društva čija je zadaća duhovno jačanje svoga naroda i preko njega jednog sektora europske cjeline; ... Osujetila bi se prvobitna namjera, da se preko te ustanove uhvate i gaje kulturne veze sa drugim narodima, što je i sada, a pogotovo će postati sutra, prijeka nužda. ... Ignorirala bi se činjenica, da je ovaj Dom gradjen i udešavan za svrhu izložaba likovnih umjetnika, a ne jedne bogomolje." Nakon još nekoliko dodatnih argumenata i apela Meštrović sarkastično i hrabro završava svoju poslanicu: "U ostalom, ako je Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj nužda da nestane "Doma hrvatskih likovnih umjetnika", da nestane Grgura, Berislavića, Marulića, pa i glave onoga ko ih je pravio, neka bude, samo da bi ona bila sretna - i u istinu velika i nezavisna. "Izgubljenom sinu" bi se bar kosti radovale."²³ Meštrovićeva glava ostala je na ramenu i završila u zatvoru.

Akcija gradnje džamije u Zagrebu započeta je već u 18. stoljeću, kada je namjerava podići austrijsko ratno ministarstvo zbog prisutne bojne muslimanskih Bosanaca. Početkom 20. stoljeća Družba Braća hrvatskoga zmaja potiče gradnju, a odbor za gradnju džamije osniva 1920. godine Ivo Pilar, jedan od pokretača hrvatske likovne moderne i protivnik državne veze sa Srbijom. No, tek 1938. Muslimanska vjeroispovjedna općina osniva Zakladu za gradnju džamije, koju u Zelengaju projektira arhitekt Zvonimir Požgaj. Zahtjev da se u Zagrebu izgradi džamija



Zvonimir Požgaj: tlocrt prizemlja Doma pregrađenog u džamiju, 1:500
Zvonimir Požgaj: the ground-floor layout of the Arts Hall converted into a mosque. 1:500

Kuran, the removal of lighting and the mounting of an enormous wrought-iron chandelier, as well as the addition of a choir above the main entrance. Požgaj paid special attention to the mihrab, as the most important element of the mosque, which remained intact and hidden behind a wall until the most recent renovation, when it was removed intact and stored.

Through these construction and decorative works, which were logical in the framework of the given program, the integrity of the Arts Hall as a gallery space was significantly diminished. Connecting the halls in the ground floor reduced wall space of the central hall, thus endangering its dominant function. The blocking of sound waves with thirty six segments was carried out by shaping niches into the hollow spaces in the interior wall between the central and ring-shaped hall, which made the gallery space unusable for presenting exhibits. The demolishing of the interior wall between the central and ring-shaped hall and the creation of niches in the central hall destroyed the entire system of heating and ventilation, and so heating was accomplished using radiators which made exhibits impossible because of the direct exposure of the walls to warm air. The additional dome was supported by reinforced concrete columns which reached to the floor of the gallery and which were anchored to the existing columns, and the space in between them was also shaped as a half-round niche. The dome itself was made of reinforced concrete ribs, and the space in between them was again carried out in the form of niches. The addition of niches to the walls and the dome in the central hall certainly were helpful in removing echo, and

obrazložio je poglavnik Ante Pavelić tezom: "Za nas, hrvatsku državnu vladu, za hrvatsku državu, i za mene, ne postoji muslimansko vjersko pitanje jer je to hrvatsko pitanje. Ne postoji pitanje muslimanske vjere jer je ona hrvatska u hrvatskoj domovini, u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj... Vi ste cjelina, kao što su pripadnici katoličke vjere u hrvatskom narodu cjelina, ne samo sastavni dio naroda, cjelina života i cjelina zajedničkog bivstvovanja u zajedničkoj nam domovini."²⁴ Na temelju ovog državnog pokroviteljstva džamija je dovršena i otvorena 18. srpnja 1944., a u publikaciji u spomen otvorenja muslimanski teolog i zagrebački muftija Ismet Muftić izražava svoje zadovoljstvo rezultatom adaptacije Doma u džamiju: "Poglavnikova džamija na trgu Kulina bana spada među najljepše džamije svijeta, te kao arhitektonski spomenik predstavlja veliku vrijednost."²⁵

Unutarnje uređenje povjereno je Zvonimiru Požgaju na temelju prethodnog spomenutog projekta džamije. Njegova intervencija u prostor Doma obuhvaćala je građevinske preinake i dekoriranje zidova. Postavljenom zahtjevu za povećanjem molitvenog prostora Požgaj je udovoljio spajanjem dijelova prizemne prstenaste dvorane sa središnjom dvoranom, kako sam opisuje: "Zagrebačka džamija uvjetovana je postojećim kružnim tlocrtom, koji sam nastojao razbiti otvaranjem lijeve i desne lađe. Na taj način sam prostor džamije znatno povećao, a ujedno sam dobio izravno svjetlo, koje dolazi kroz prozore od bojadisanog stakla u lijevoj i desnoj lađi."²⁶ Daljnji Požgajev građevinski zahvat nastojao je riješiti dva problema: tanka armiranobetonska ljuska kupole nije pružala toplinsku zaštitu, a glatke površine zidova i kupole stvarale su intenzivnu jeku. Način rješenja obrazložio je Požgaj: "Pokusima je ustanovljeno, da je akustičko i termičko pitanje riješeno tako, da se glas mujezina sa mahfila čuje jednako dobro bez i najmanjeg pazvuka u svakom dielu džamije. Da bi se to postiglo, razdijelio sam postojeći kružni tlocrt glavne dvorane na trideset i šest segmentnih polja, a ispod svoda sa luxfer-prizmama izveo sam novi rebrasti željezno-betonski svod s mirnim difuznim pojasom svjetla. Zračni sloj između novog i starog svoda u debljini od dva metra služi kao izolacioni sloj protiv vrućine i studeni."²⁷ Uz ove prostorne preinake Požgaj je sve zidove džamije obložio gipsanim pločama s bojenim reljefima prema uobičajenom ornamentalnom ukrašavanju džamija i na osnovi saznanja da se motiv ukrasa prilagođava regionalnim osebnostima, kako sam piše: "Rješavajući unutrašnjost zagrebačke džamije nastojao sam, da stvorim dojam arabeske kao najznačajnijeg elementa arhitekture džamija, i to pomoću pletera sa Držislavove ploče, splitske

polju u ista, ili barem tanjira, a vi ako to uradite
 i podignete neprocjenljivu vrijednost, uistinu ćete
 pokazati da su vanjski javni kraljevi.

U ostalom, ako je Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj
 nužda da nestane Dom Hrvatskih Katolika, najvažnije
 da nestane Grgura, Biserilavica, Karamunic, pa i njihov
 onoga koji je pravio. Neka bude, samo da bi ona
 bila srećna - i uistinu velika i nezavisna.

"Stjepanov sinu" bi se kao kraljevi radovali.

Neka nas Bog obdaru čovječnost i pravdu i
 neka sačuva i neubije dušu našu, a zemlju
 nam biti dobra!

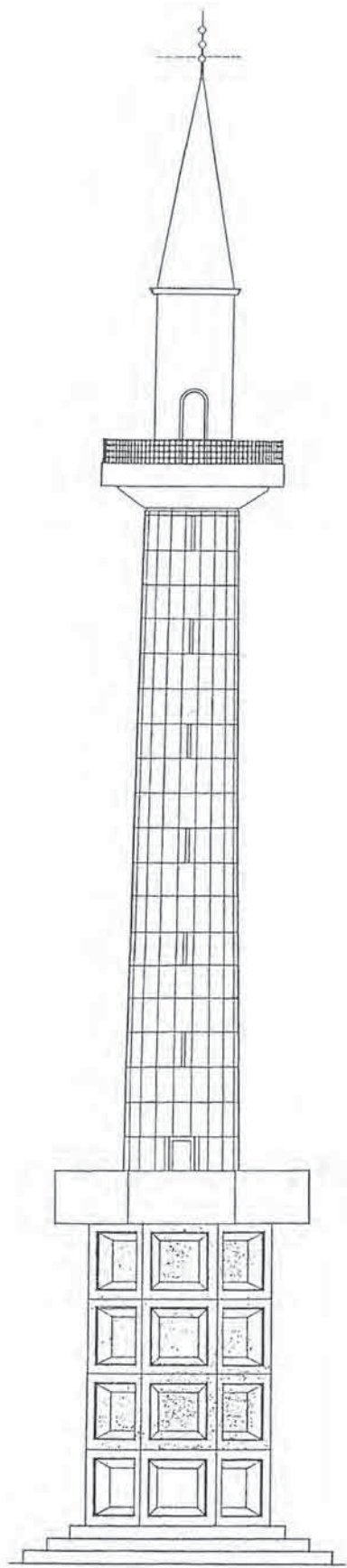
18. srpnja 1944. godine
 I. Meštrović

Spljib 20. VIII. 44

Završetak pisma Ivana Meštrovića ministru Mili Budaku
 The ending of the letter from Ivan Meštrović to Minister Mile Budak

their association with stylistic elements of Islamic architecture is notable, however they completely disabled the gallery function of the space and destroyed all constructive expressiveness of the volume under the dome and the technological inventiveness of the fixture system. The work of architect Zvonimir Požgaj created a very high-quality and impressive space for a mosque, but with it the Arts Hall lost its original function, and the exceptional quality of the original crystal clean interior space (adequate to the untouched exterior) was destroyed through completely incoherent applications.

The external remodeling of the mosque intended to mark the Arts Hall building with elements typical to mosques – minarets and a fountain. These projects were conceived by architect Stjepan Planić, and his refined culture was reflected in a commendably decisive decision: [Do not touch the main building.]²⁹ This allayed Kljaković's fears, and Planić gave the ambient of a mosque by marking its presence (and not the building) with three minarets and a fountain. There is no need to analyze the form of the long-demolished minarets, however it is still interesting to note Planić's understanding of Meštrović's previously mentioned concept of tall columns next to the main entrance to stabilize a neutrally shaped building on a neutral square. He explains his thoughts in the following way: [I placed the weight of the problem against the desire for as harmonious a unification as is possible of the building with the surrounding space and surrounding buildings. I wanted to calm the rotational cylindrical shape of the building and fix it within the described quadrilateral shape of the floorplan, whose three corners are three minarets,



Stjepan Planić, nacrt minareta
Stjepan Planić: minaret, layout

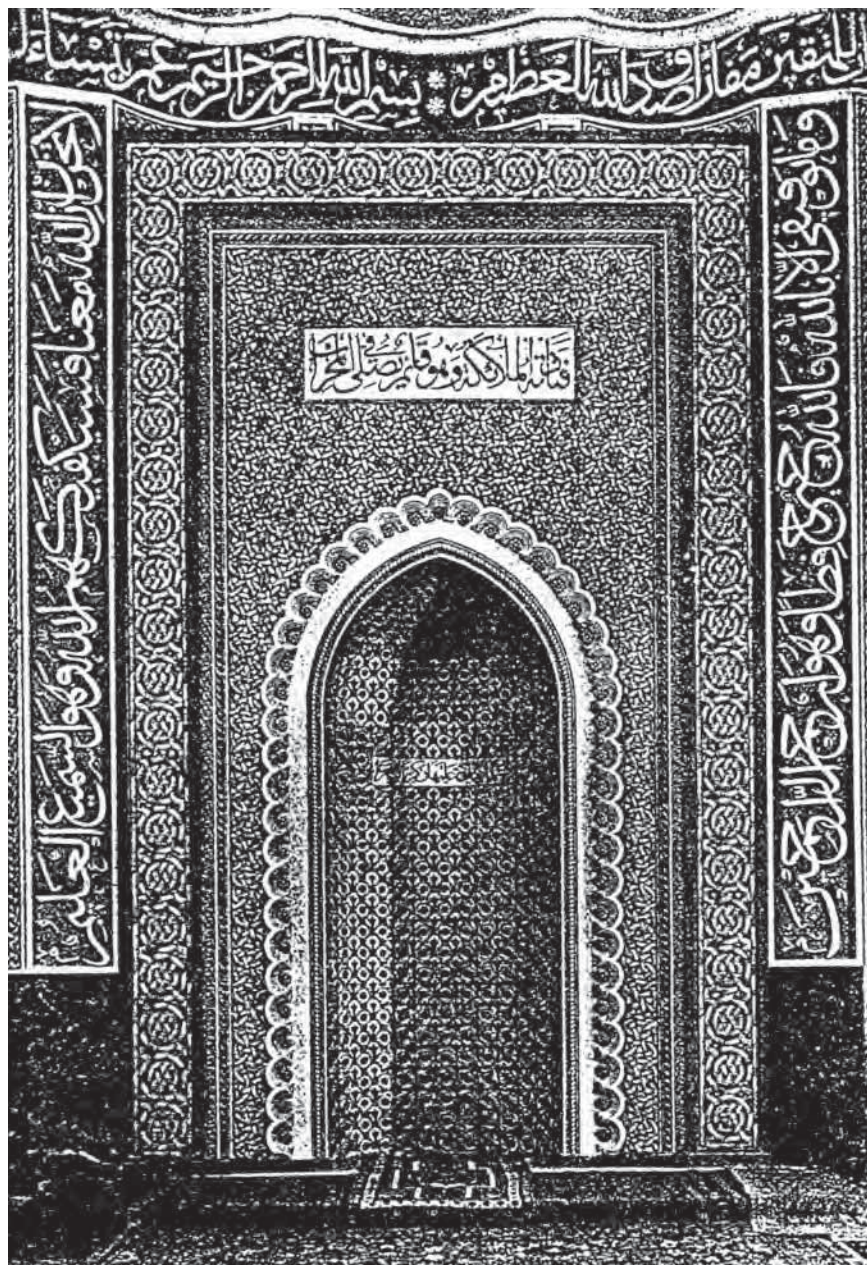
and whose fourth is a formal (octagonal) entrance space with steps, benches, and a fountain. The fountain at the entrance is the invisible, decorative fourth vertical.]³⁰ That fourth vertical (which plunges into the depths of the water) and the accompanying octagonal square rimmed with benches, creatively solved Meštrović's dilemma and truly created a fitting urban space as an accent to the entrance. Planić's addition was analyzed in depth by Radovan Ivančević, and so it is appropriate to quote him: [While Meštrović, as we have seen, a typical sculptor, wanted to mark the entrance to the Pavilion with a sign, architect Planić formed the access space with motion towards the object and stopping before it with steps which led to a raised terrace with a fountain in the center and stone benches surrounding... That small square inside a larger one... solved the contact of the passerby with the architecture and architecture with the city organism, and in and of itself became a wide and light space for time spent alongside water and a fountain with a view of the nearby Arts Hall and the faraway Cathedral.]³¹ Planić's inspirationally conceived and finely realized square grew together with the Arts Hall into an organic whole, and so that relic and memento of the mosque meaningfully enriched both the Arts Hall and Zagreb's key ambient.

The Zagreb mosque was, like the Arts Hall, short-lived – it existed only until 1945. By autumn of 1945 its fate was already being discussed, and a letter from Yugoslavian Minister of Forestry and Wood Industry Sulejman Filipović to the President of the Croatian government Vladimir Bakarić reveals the content of this discussion. Filipović was a high homeland defence officer, and when he joined the Partisans (1943) he became a member of the Presidency of ZAVNOH, the highest political organ in Croatia. Filipović wrote that a large Muslim conference was held on September 21st and 22nd in Sarajevo, at which his position was received with acclaim: [...in my speech, I mentioned the Zagreb mosque and stated that it was stolen from one of Croatia's important institutions... and that we Muslims would have nothing against the mosque being returned to the cultural organization for which it was intended... Besides this, I emphasized that, if Zagreb's muslims need a mosque, that they will build it themselves, and that I am convinced that our brother Croatians will not have anything against that.]³² The administrative measures of the atheist government delayed the realization of this until 1987, when, based on a project by Mirza Gološ and Džemal Čelić, an impressive mosque with an Islamic faith center was built in Zagreb. Ivo Maroević succinctly interpreted the content of its architectural concept: [The mosque and Islamic faith center establishes new standards of architectural quality... The mosque is a building in which spatial content embodies all of the fullness of modern architectural form, and which simultaneously leans on traditional architecture.]³³ This is how the

krstionice, Branimirova kamena i drugih kamenih spomenika naše prošlosti.”²⁸ Uređenje interijera obuhvatilo je i zamjenu čiste bijele žbukane ograde galerije drvenom bogato ornamentiranom ogradom s citatima iz Kurana, uklanjanje rasvjete i postavljanje golema lusterata od kovanog željeza te dogradnju pjevališta iznad glavnog ulaza. Posebnu pažnju Požgaj je posvetio mihrabu, kao najvažnijem elementu džamije, koji je ostao intaktan i skriven iza zida sve do sadašnje obnove, kada je cjelovito uklonjen i pohranjen.

Ovim građevinskim i dekoraterskim radovima, logičnim u okviru zadanog programa, bitno je narušen integritet Doma kao galerijskog prostora. Povezivanje dvorana u prizemlju smanjilo je zidnu površinu središnje dvorane i time ugrozilo njezinu dominantnu funkciju. Razbijanje zvučnih valova s trideset šest segmentnih polja izvedeno je oblikovanjem niša u šupljini međuzida između centralne i prstenastih dvorana, pa je time izložbena površina postala nepodesna za postavljanje eksponata. Probijanjem međuzida između središnje i prstenaste dvorane i izvedbom niša u centralnoj dvorani uništen je cijeli sustav zračnog grijanja i ventilacije, pa je grijanje riješeno radijatorima koji onemogućavaju postavljanje eksponata zbog direktnog oplahivanja zidova toplim zrakom. Dograđena kupola oslonjena je na armiranobetonske stupove postavljene do poda galerije i sidrene na postojeće stupove, a prostor između njih također je oblikovan kao polukružna niša. Sama kupola izvedena je od armiranobetonskih rebara, a prostor između njih opet je izveden u obliku niša. Ovako nišama razgrađeni zidovi i kupola središnje dvorane svakako su pogodovali otklanjanju jeke, a nije bila zanemariva ni njihova asocijacija na stilske elemente islamske arhitekture, no oni su potpuno onemogućili izložbenu funkciju i uništili svu konstruktivnu izražajnost potkupolnog volumena i svu tehnološku inventivnost instalacijskog sustava. Tako je djelom arhitekta Zvonimira Požgaja ostvaren vrlo kvalitetan i dojmljiv prostor džamije, ali je time Dom izgubio svoju funkciju, a izuzetna kvaliteta izvornog kristalno čistog unutrašnjeg prostora (adekvatna sačuvanoj vanjštini) uništena je potpuno nekoherentnim aplikacijama.

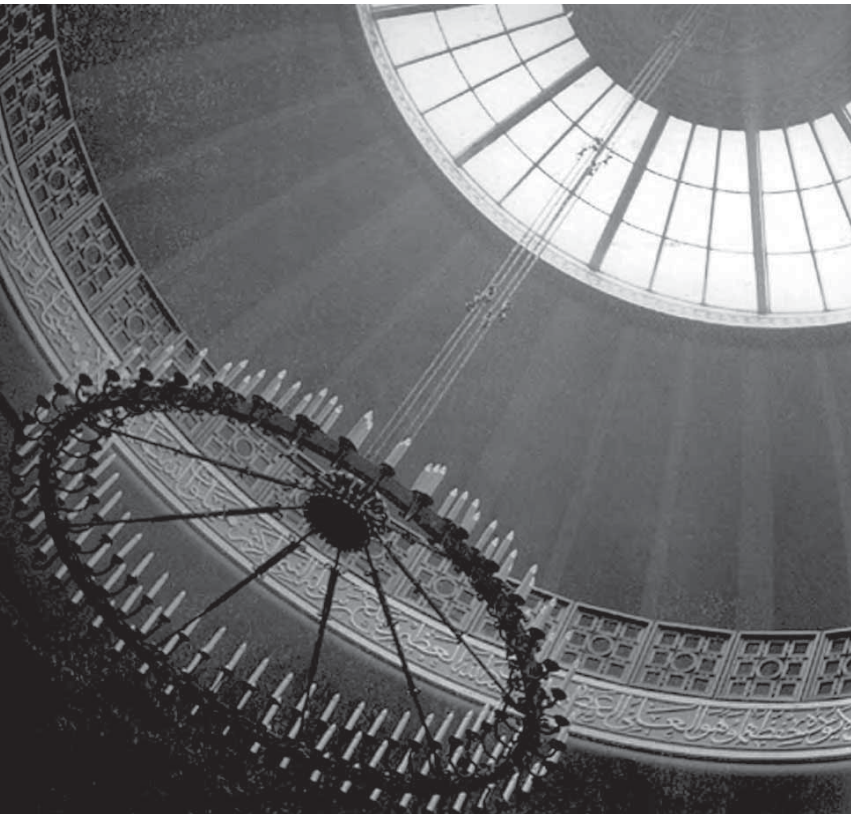
Vanjsko uređenje džamije nastalo je s namjerom da se tipskim elementima džamije – minaretima i fontanom – obilježi zgrada Doma. Projekte je izradio arhitekt Stjepan Planić, a njegova istančana kultura izrazila se u hvalevrijednom odlučnom stavu: “Nikako ne dirati glavnu zgradu.”²⁹ Time je otklonjena ona Kljakovićevo bojazan, a Planić je s tri minareta i fontanom lociranim podalje od



Zvonimir Požgaj i suradnici: unutarne uređenje džamije
Zvonimir Požgaj and associates: the interior of the mosque

abandonment of an ungainly adapted monument encouraged ambitions and realized a level of quality deserved by the religious community and Zagreb’s milieu.

The Arts Hall was then briefly given to fine artists to use, and on November 21st, 1948 an exhibit by the Association of Croatian Fine Artists was held in the Arts Hall, then called the Round Pavilion [Okrugli paviljon] on Trg žrtava fašizma.³⁴ However, in autumn of the following year the National Liberation Museum [Muzej narodnog oslobođenja] was moved into the Arts Hall (later renamed Museum of the Croatian Peoples’ Revolution



Zvonimir Požgaj: unutrašnje uređenje džamije
Zvonimir Požgaj: the interior of the mosque

zgrade dao ambijentu (a ne zgradi) obilježje prisutnosti džamije. Bez potrebe da se analizira oblikovanje već davno srušenih minareta, ipak je interesantno Planićevo razumijevanje prethodno naznačene Meštrovićeve zamisli da se visokim stupovima ispred glavnog ulaza stabilizira zgrada neutralnog oblikovanja na neutralnom trgu, pa on ovako obrazlaže svoja razmišljanja: "Težište problema postavio sam na želju za što skladnijim spajanjem zgrade s trgov i okolnim zgradama. Rotacioni valjkasti oblik zgrade htio sam položajno smiriti i fiksirati unutar opisane tlocrtne kvadratne forme, kojoj su tri ugla tri minareta, a četvrti je ulazni svečani predprostor (osmerokutni) sa stepenicama, klupama, i vodoskokom. Vodoskok na ulazu je dekorativna prozirna četvrta vertikalna."³⁰ Ta četvrta vertikalna (što ponire u dubinu vode), s pratećim oktogonalm trgov oivičenim klupama, riješila je kreativno Meštrovićevo dilemu i doista ostvarila dostojanstven urbani pretprostor kao akcent ulaza. Ovu Planićevo dopunu detaljno je analizirao Radovan Ivančević, pa ga valja citirati: "Dok je Meštrović, vidjeli smo, tipično za kipara, htio znakom obilježiti pristup paviljonu, arhitekt Planić oblikovao je pristupni prostor za kretanje prema objektu i zaustavljanje pred objektom stepenasto riješenim povišenom terasom s fontanom u

[Muzej revolucije naroda Hrvatske]) with the intent of presenting events and documents from battles fought by Partisan units and individuals during the Second World War. The minarets were then demolished, the mosque inventory was removed, and shortly thereafter preparation work for the remodeling of the Arts Hall into a museum space began. Documents from October and November 1951 show that all additions were demolished and all decorations linked to the mosque were removed,³⁵ as reported by architect Zdravko Bregovac at a meeting intended to rate the adaptation project that was held on November 24, 1951.

The project was designed by architect Vjenceslav Richter. Based on the remaining drawings, meeting minutes and thoughts of those involved in the debate, it is possible to reconstruct the basic thesis of Richter's project. Richter was a party to critics of the round conception of the Arts Hall as unsuitable for exhibitions, and so his project was one of paralyzing rotation,³⁶ (as he claims) in two ways: he maintained the extension of the central hall into the ring-shaped hall that was carried out for the needs of the mosque, and in the central hall he added a new gallery and reshaped the existing gallery in straight contours, by which he claimed that the ground floor became a dominant extended space which negated the rotunda, and that the two free linearly limited floors were enough to negate the space under the dome in the central hall. Further, Richter claimed that small museum documents (pieces of office paper, photographs, etc.) were not suitable to the height of the central hall and that it was necessary to lower the roof of the hall, and so he added an extra floor at the level of the mezzanine of the ring-shaped hall, further connecting the flanking and central space. As the museum officials had asked that the floor space of the Arts Hall be increased, Richter succeeded in fulfilling their wishes by creating an extra floor and expanding the gallery. Richter emphasized the importance of continued movement through the museum as his most important thesis (in place of the existing situation where one entered at one point into the central hall as well as into the upper ring-shaped hall and through it into the gallery of the central hall), and so in the central hall he installed two staircases that connected all three floors and reached the ring-shaped hall at the first floor, which after circling the round hall led down by a flight of stairs to the entry hall. Along with these functional premises an actual, social premise is also unavoidable: the revolution negated and demolished everything (rotten, backwards, monarchistic) old, and so its museum probably had to negate the architecture of an "outdated" world view.

These adaptations to the Arts Hall were almost completely realized without building permits, which caused the Zagreb city services to place a ban on construction and call the aforementioned meeting to rate the adaptation of the N.O.H. Museum from an architectural perspective³⁷, which was held on November

sredini i kamenom klupom uokolo. ... Taj mali trg unutar velikog trga ... riješio je kontakt prolaznika s arhitekturom i arhitekture s gradskim organizmom, a sam po sebi postao je široki i svijetli prostor za boravak uz vodu i vodoskok zdenca s pogledom na blizi Dom i daleku katedralu.”³¹ Tako inspirativno osmišljen i kvalitetno izveden, Planićev trg srastao je s Domom u organsku cjelinu, pa je taj relikv i memento džamije bitno oplemenio kako Dom, tako i ovaj ključni zagrebački ambijent.

Zagrebačka džamija bila je, kao i Dom, kratka vijeka – opstojala je samo do 1945. godine. Već ujesen 1945. raspravljalo se o njevoj sudbini, a pismo jugoslavenskog ministra šumarstva i drvne industrije Sulejmana Filipovića predsjedniku hrvatske Vlade Vladimiru Bakariću otkriva sadržaj. Filipović je bio visoki domobranski časnik, a prelaskom u partizane (1943.) postaje član Predsjedništva ZAVNOH-a, kao vrhovnog organa vlasti u Hrvatskoj. Filipović piše da je 21. i 22. rujna održana u Sarajevu velika muslimanska konferencija, na kojoj je aklamacijom prihvaćen njegov stav: "... ja sam u svom govoru spomenuo Zagrebačku džamiju i naveo da je oteta od jedne značajne hrvatske ustanove...i da mi muslimani nemamo ništa protiv toga da se džamija vrati kulturnoj ustanovi za koju je namijenjena... Osim toga naglasio sam, ako bude zagrebačkim muslimanima potrebna džamija, da će je oni sami podizati i da sam uvjeren da braća Hrvati neće imati ništa protiv toga.”³² Administrativne mjere ateističke vlasti odgodile su tu realizaciju sve do 1987. godine, kada je po projektima Mirze Gološa i Džemala Čelića sagrađena impresivna zagrebačka džamija s Islamskim vjerskim centrom, a njenu vrhunsku suvremenu arhitektonsku misao sadržajno je interpretirao Ivo Maroević: "Džamija je s islamskim vjerskim centrom uspostavila jednu novu arhitektonsku kvalitetu. ... Džamija je zgrada u kojoj je prostorni sadržaj ponio svu puninu suvremenog arhitektonskog oblika, koji se istovremeno oslanja na tradicijsku arhitekturu.”³³ Tako je napuštanje nezgrapno adaptirane spomeničke zgrade potaknulo ambicije i ostvarilo kvalitetu dostojnu vjerske zajednice i zagrebačkog miljea.

Zgrada Doma kratko je zatim dana na korištenje likovnim umjetnicima, pa je 21. studenog 1948. održana izložba Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske u Domu, tada nazivanom Okrugli paviljon na Trgu žrtava fašizma.³⁴ No, već ujesen sljedeće godine u Dom se useljava Muzej narodnog oslobođenja (kasnije nazivan Muzej revolucije naroda Hrvatske) radi prezentacije događanja i dokume-

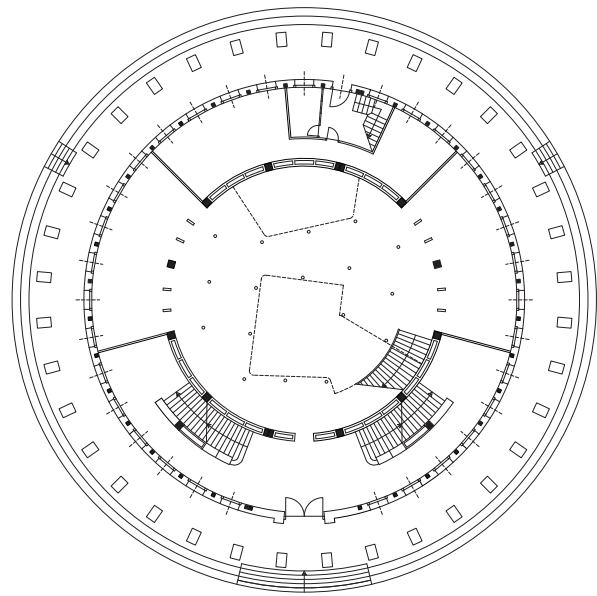


Zvonimir Požgaj i suradnici: unutrašnje uređenje džamije
Zvonimir Požgaj and associates: the interior of the mosque

nata iz borbe partizanskih jedinica i pojedinaca tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata. Ruše se tada minareti, raznosi se inventar džamije i uskoro započinju pripremni radovi na preuređenju Doma u muzejski prostor. Iz dokumenta iz listopada i studenog 1951. godine vidljivo je da se ruše sve prigradnje, a i da su skinute sve dekoracije koje su podsjećale na džamiju,³⁵ izvještava arhitekt Zdravko Bregovac na sastanku održanom 24. studenog 1951. u svrhu ocjene projekta adaptacije.

Projekt je izradio arhitekt Vjenceslav Richter. Na osnovi sačuvanih nacрта, zapisnika sa sastanaka i mišljenja sudionika u raspravi moguće je rekonstruirati osnovne Richterove teze projekta. Richter se pridružuje kritičarima kružne koncepcije Doma kao nepovoljne za izlaganje, pa je njegov projekt paraliziranje rotacije³⁶ (kako izjavljuje), i to na dva načina: zadržava proširenja središnje dvorane u prstenastu dvoranu načinjenu za potrebe džamije, a u središnjoj dvorani dodaje novu galeriju i preoblikuje postojeću galeriju u ravnim konturama, pa time, smatra, u prizemlju postiže dominantan izduženi prostor koji negira rotundu, a s dvije slobodno pravolinijski ograničene etaže dovoljno negira i potkupolasti prostor središnje dvorane. Nadalje, Richter obrazlaže da malim muzejskim dokumentima (listovi uredskog papira, fotografija i slično) nikako ne odgovara visina središnje dvorane, te da je nužno dvoranu sniziti, stoga umeće novu etažu čiji je pod u ravnini s podom međukata prstenastih dvorana, a time se još čvršće povezuju bočni i središnji prostori. Kako su muzealci tražili da se poveća podna površina Doma, to je Richter umetanjem etaže i proširenjem galerije ispunio i njihove želje. A kao najvažniju tezu Richter je postavio potrebu kontinuiranog kretanja kroz muzej (umjesto postojeće situacije gdje se zasebno ulazilo u prizemlje središnje dvorane, a zasebno u gornju prstenastu dvoranu i kroz nju na galeriju središnje dvorane), stoga u središnju dvoranu umeće dva stubišta kojima se povezuju sve tri etaže i dolazi se do prstenaste dvorane na katu, te se nakon kružnog obilaska dvorane spušta njenim stubištem do ulaznog vestibila. Uz navedene funkcionalističke premise nezaobilazna je i aktualna društvena premisa: revolucija je negirala i srušila sve (trulo, nazadno, monarhističko) staro, pa je valjda i njen muzej morao negirati arhitekturu "zastarjelog" svjetonazora.

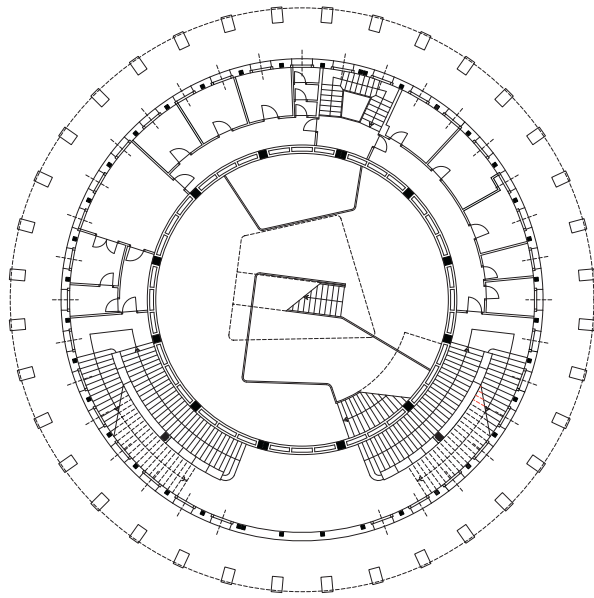
Ovako koncipirana adaptacija Doma gotovo je potpuno realizirana bez građevinske dozvole, zbog čega su mjerodavne službe Grada Zagreba zabranile rad i održavanje spomenutog sastanka u svrhu ocjene projekta o adaptaciji Muzeja N.O.H.-e s arhitektonskog gledišta,³⁷ održanog 24. studenog 1951. uz sudjelovanje predstav-



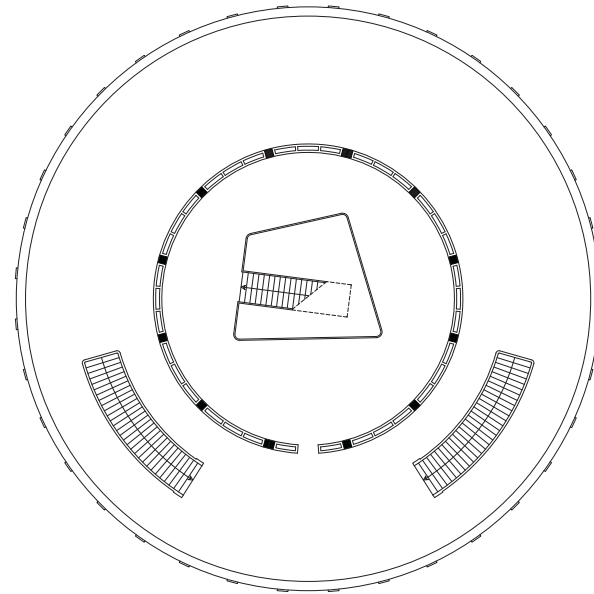
Vjenceslav Richter: tlocrt prizemlja Muzeja revolucije, 1:500
Vjenceslav Richter: the ground-floor layout of the Museum of the Revolution. 1:500

24, 1951 and attended by representatives of the republic, city, museum, Yugoslavian Academy of Sciences and Arts [Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti], Croatian Fine Artists Association [Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske], Academy of Fine Arts, Technical Faculty, Architects Society, well known architects who were specially invited, and the project leaders, who were joined by Zdravko Bregovac. The conclusion that the attendees explain themselves in writing evoked some interesting answers, whose basic concepts should be quoted: Tomislav Krizman (then president of the Croatian Fine Artists Association): [Meštrović's round pavilion is a peaceful, solid and distinguished building and we should be happy to have it – regardless of which serious purpose it serves. I maintain that an error was made in not asking for his opinion for such a cardinal replacement of the interior and destruction of its calm, beautiful and distinguished proportions and shape, which are in complete harmony with the exterior of the pavilion.]³⁸

Krsto Hegedušić (in the name of the Department of Fine Arts and Music of the Yugoslavian Academy of Sciences and Arts): [The designer has inserted new elements of completely foreign and intentionally contradictory shapes (a new gallery, stairs, etc.) into a strongly accented, clear and simple spatial form. The materials used are in obvious disaccord with those far more suitable ones already used. Based on the manner with which problems are solved and materials used, the entire new interior setup smacks of a stop-gap solution, or rather has the



Vjenceslav Richter: tlocrt međukata Muzeja revolucije, 1:500
 Vjenceslav Richter: the mezzanine layout of the Museum of the Revolution. 1:500



Vjenceslav Richter: tlocrt međukata Muzeja revolucije, 1:500
 Vjenceslav Richter: the mezzanine layout of the Museum of the Revolution. 1:500

nika Republike, Grada, Muzeja, Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske, Likovne akademije, Tehničkog fakulteta, Društva arhitekata, viđenih arhitekata posebno pozvanih te projektanta, kojemu se pridružio Zdravko Bregovac. Na osnovi zaključaka da se sudionici pismeno izjasne dobiveno je nekoliko interesantnih odgovora, čije osnovne misli valja citirati:

Tomislav Krizman (tada predsjednik Udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske): "Meštrovićev okrugli paviljon je mirna, solidna i dostojanstvena zgrada i moramo biti sretni što je imamo – ma kojoj ona ozbiljnoj svrsi služila. Držim, da je učinjen propust, da se nije upitalo za njegovo mišljenje za takovu kardinalnu izmjenu unutrašnjice i upropaštavanje mirnih, lijepih i dostojanstvenih proporcija i oblika, koji su u potpunoj harmoniji sa vanjštinom paviljona."³⁸

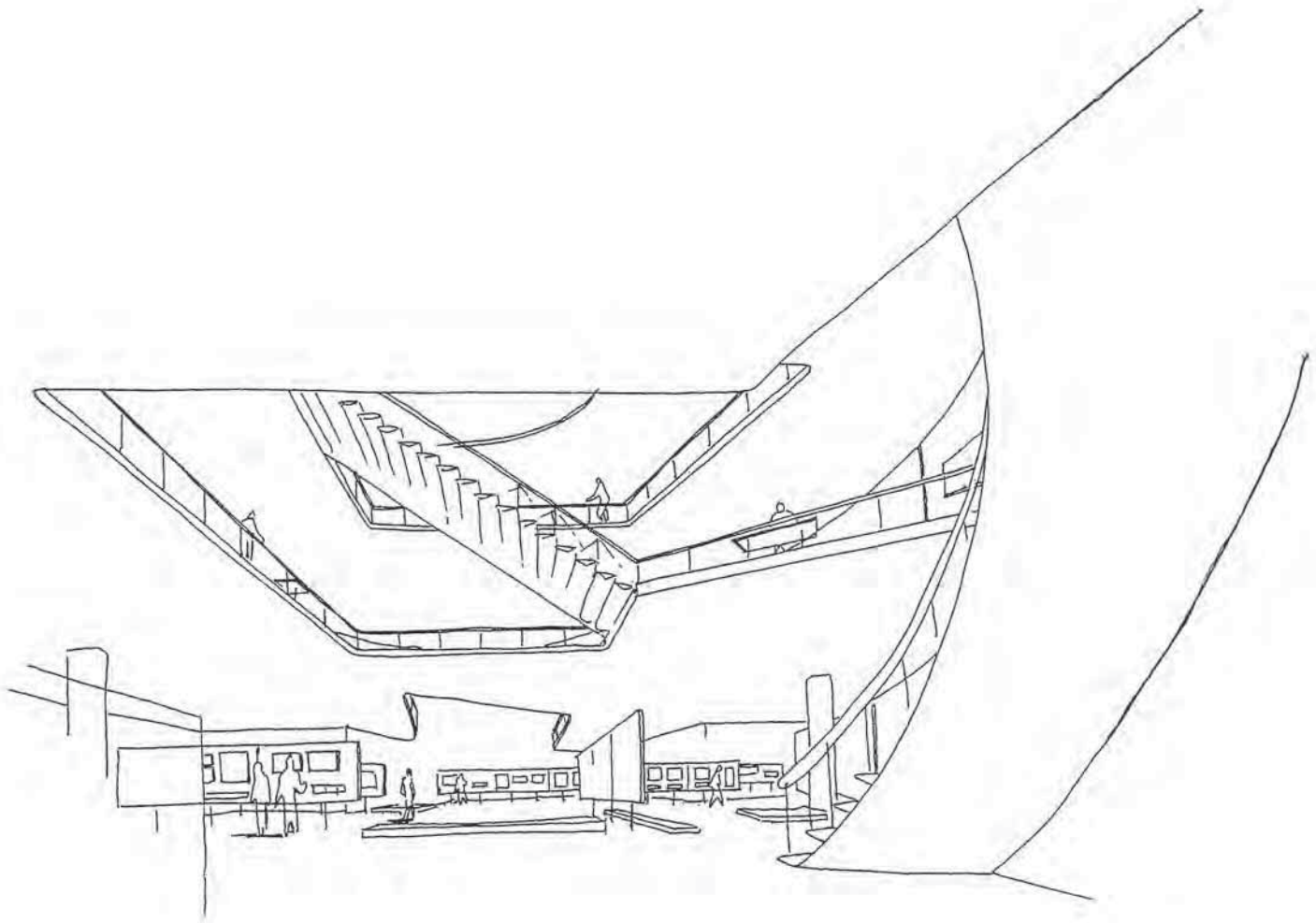
Krsto Hegedušić (u ime Odjela za likovne umjetnosti i muziku Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti): "Projektant je u jako naglašene, jasne i jednostavne prostorne forme unio nove elemente potpuno stranih i namjerno oprečnih oblika (nova galerija, stepenice i dr.). Upotrijebljeni materijali u očitom su neskladu sa već postojećim, daleko vrednijim. Po načinu rješavanja problema i upotrijebljenom materijalu čitavi novi unutarnji uređaj ima biljeg provizorija odnosno izgled povremenih

appearance of a temporary trade fair. For the reasons above, the adapted spaces will be unharmonious and without architectural and aesthetic value, because of which they will not be appropriate as museum space, let alone as space for the N.O.B. Museum.]³⁹

Kazimir Ostrogović: [There exist accepted principles that the project and already completed adaptation do not respect, and those are: (1) Between the external shape of the building and the internal space there must exist a logical and harmonious relationship. (2) The adaptation of internal spaces must present a logical and harmonious relationship between the existing space and newly created shapes or parts of space.]⁴⁰

Mladen Kaularić: (in the name of the Yugoslavian Academy of Sciences and Arts): [The insertion of new floor space of individualized shapes without reference to the existing spatial forms, even in opposition to them, does not give a unified and harmonious spatial atmosphere... The question is, of course, whether it is necessary for a completed structure intended for a specific purpose to undergo significant changes.]⁴¹

Miroslav Marasović: ["The fight against rotation" has been taken too literally... it is a battle between two kinds of architecture. The latter, which operates with cautionless crossing of straight lines and with a lexicon inappropriate for this serious an intent, has pulled that conflict into the foreground.]⁴²



Vjenceslav Richter: skica prostora Muzeja revolucije, 1:500

Vjenceslav Richter: a sketch of the interior of the Museum of the Revolution. 1:500

trgovačkih izložba. Iz navedenih razloga bit će adaptirani prostori neharmonični bez arhitektonske i estetske vrijednosti, te zbog toga ne će odgovarati za muzejske prostorije, a najmanje kao prostorije za Muzej N.O.B.”³⁹

Kazimir Ostrogović: "Postoje opće priznate postavke, koje projekt i već provedena adaptacija nepoštuju, a to su (1) Između vanjskih oblika zgrada i unutrašnjih prostora mora postojati logičan i skladan odnos. (2) Adaptacije unutrašnjih prostora moraju imati logičan i skladan odnos između postojećih prostora i novo stvorenih oblika, ili dijevoja prostora.”⁴⁰

Mladen Kauzlarić: (u ime Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti): "Unašanjem novih podnih površina individualiziranih oblika bez oslonca na postojeće prostorne oblike, čak i u suprotnosti s njima, nije se dobio jedin-

Josip Seissel, Zoja Dumendžić, Vladimir Potočnjak, Franjo Bahovac, Marijan Haberle (in the name of the Croatian Architects Association): [New elements such as new floors, light stairs and the irregular floor shapes of the gallery and the mezzanine, with filigree balustrades, did not succeed in canceling out the strongly accented central space, but only broke it apart, which gives an uncomfortable impression. The new elements emphasize themselves through disharmony with the entire existing structure and spaces in which they have been placed.]⁴³

Vladimir Potočnjak, Vlado Galić, Božidar Tušek (in the name of the Zagreb city commission): [The insertion of a wooden floor, the completely irregular shapes of freely placed staircases, a large number of thin iron posts and the reshaping of the ring-shaped hall from round into an irregular quadrilateral shape all create an uncomfortable disharmony with the regular and classical round shape of this space, covered by a dome.]⁴⁴



Vjenceslav Richter: dvije fotografije prostora Muzeja revolucije, 1:500
 Vjenceslav Richter: two photographs of the interior of the Museum of the Revolution. 1:500

stven i skladan prostorni ugođaj. ... Svakako je pitanje, da li je potrebno, da se jedan gotovi objekt namjenjen jednoj naročitoj svrsi podvrgne znatnim promjenama."⁴¹

Miroslav Marasović: "Borba protiv rotacije shvaćena je odveć bukvalno ... to je sukob dviju arhitektura. Ova potonja, koja operira sa tako raspojasanim križanjem ravnih linija, sa rječnikom nespojivim sa ovako serioznom namjenom, postavila je taj sukob u prvi plan."⁴²

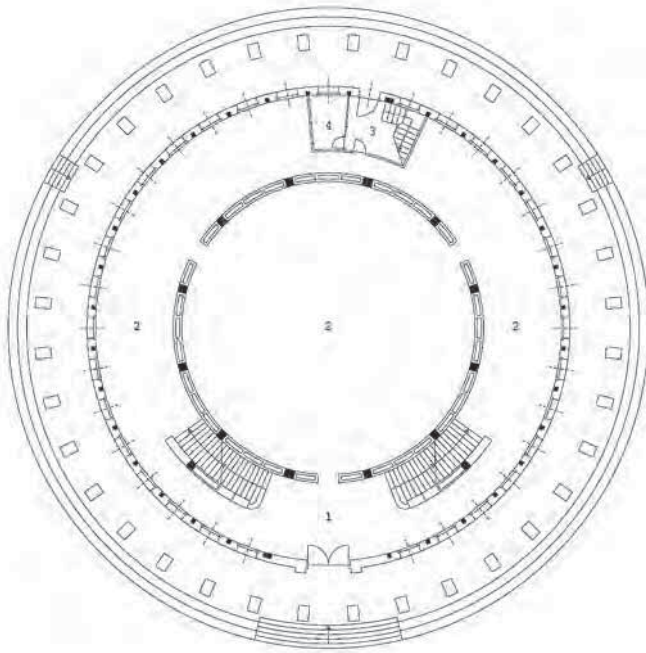
Josip Seissel, Zoja Dumendžić, Vladimir Potočnjak, Franjo Bahovac, Marijan Haberle (u ime Društva arhitekata Hrvatske): "Novim elementima, kao što su nove etaže, lagane stepenice i nepravilni tlocrtni oblici galerije i međukata, s filigranskim ogradama, nisu uspjeli zaniijekati jako naglašeni centralni prostor već su ga samo razbili što se neugodno doimlje. Novi elementi se ističu disharmonijom s cijelim postojećim objektom i prostorima u kojima su postavljeni."⁴³

Vladimir Potočnjak, Vlado Galić, Božidar Tušek (u ime Komisije Grada Zagreba): "Umetanjem drvenog međustropa, posve nepravilnih oblika slobodno umetnutih stubišta,

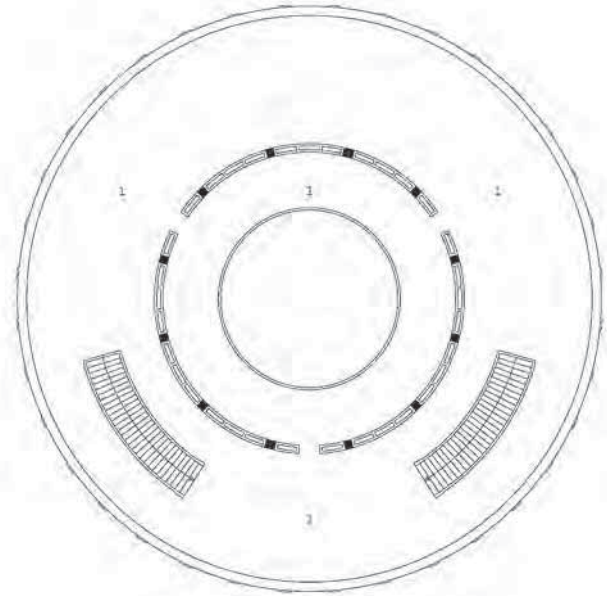
Numerous other participants warned about the problem of the numerous iron pipes that supported the newly-installed floor, and Richter solved this objection easily: on the perspective sketch of the interior he did not draw them. The participants also warned that the light from the dome would no longer light the lower space below the gallery, to which Miro Marasović ironically responded: [This leads to the thought of completely removing daylight, which would certainly improve a space designed in this way, but also illustrates the irregularity of the solution in a building such as this one with a glass dome.]⁴⁵ However, because the protective layer of asphalt emulsion used for waterproofing the dome and arch had not been maintained, humidity was allowed to enter, which presented an opportunity for new waterproofing, and the dome and arch were covered in a layer of bitumen, which truly did completely block daylight and ensure uniform lighting of all spaces, but also destroyed one of the Arts Hall's crucial qualities.

The negative rating of institutions, individuals and political bodies still did not stop the project from being finished: under the pressure of political arrogance, the Economic Council of the Government of the National Republic of Croatia demanded (September 30, 1952) the issuing of permits for adaptation,

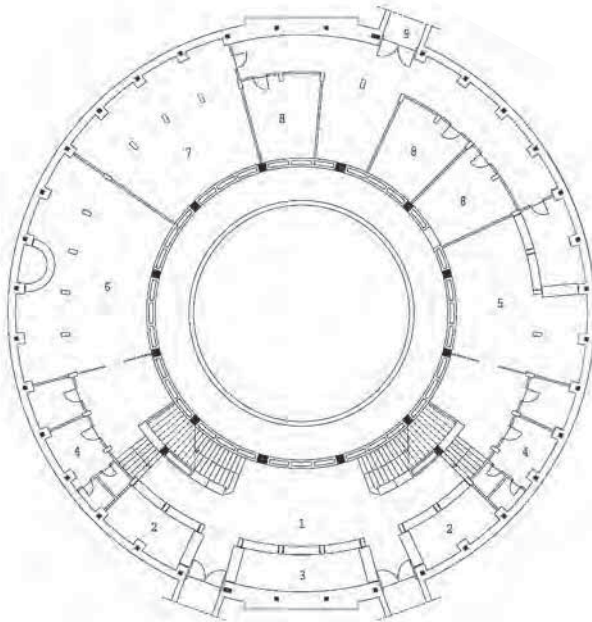
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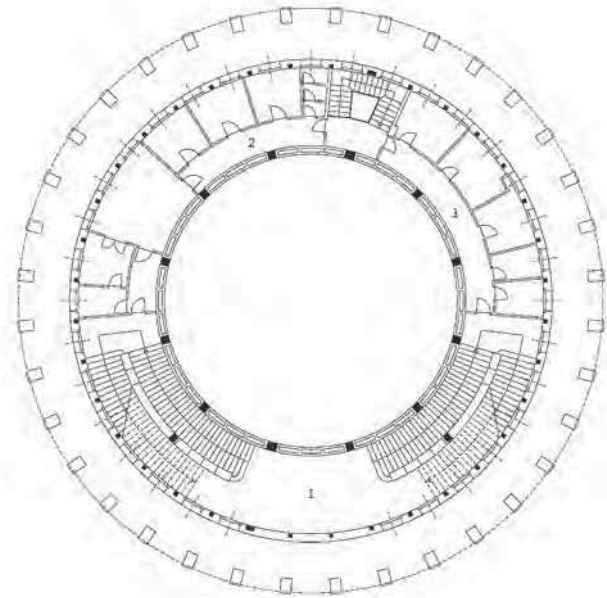
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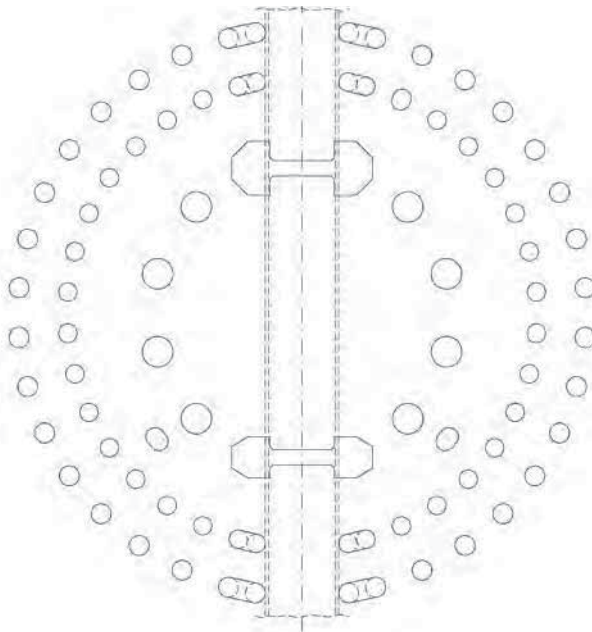
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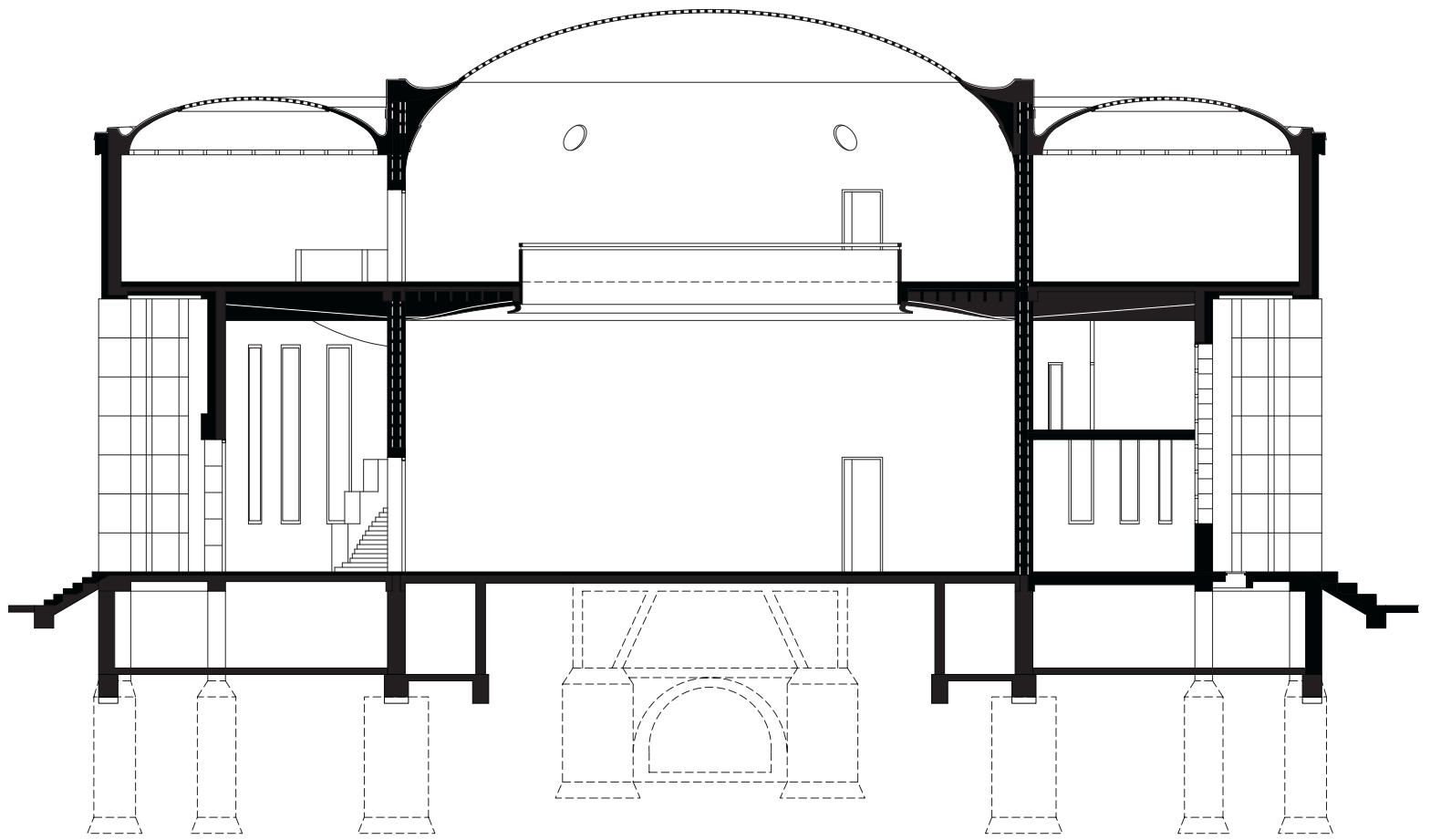


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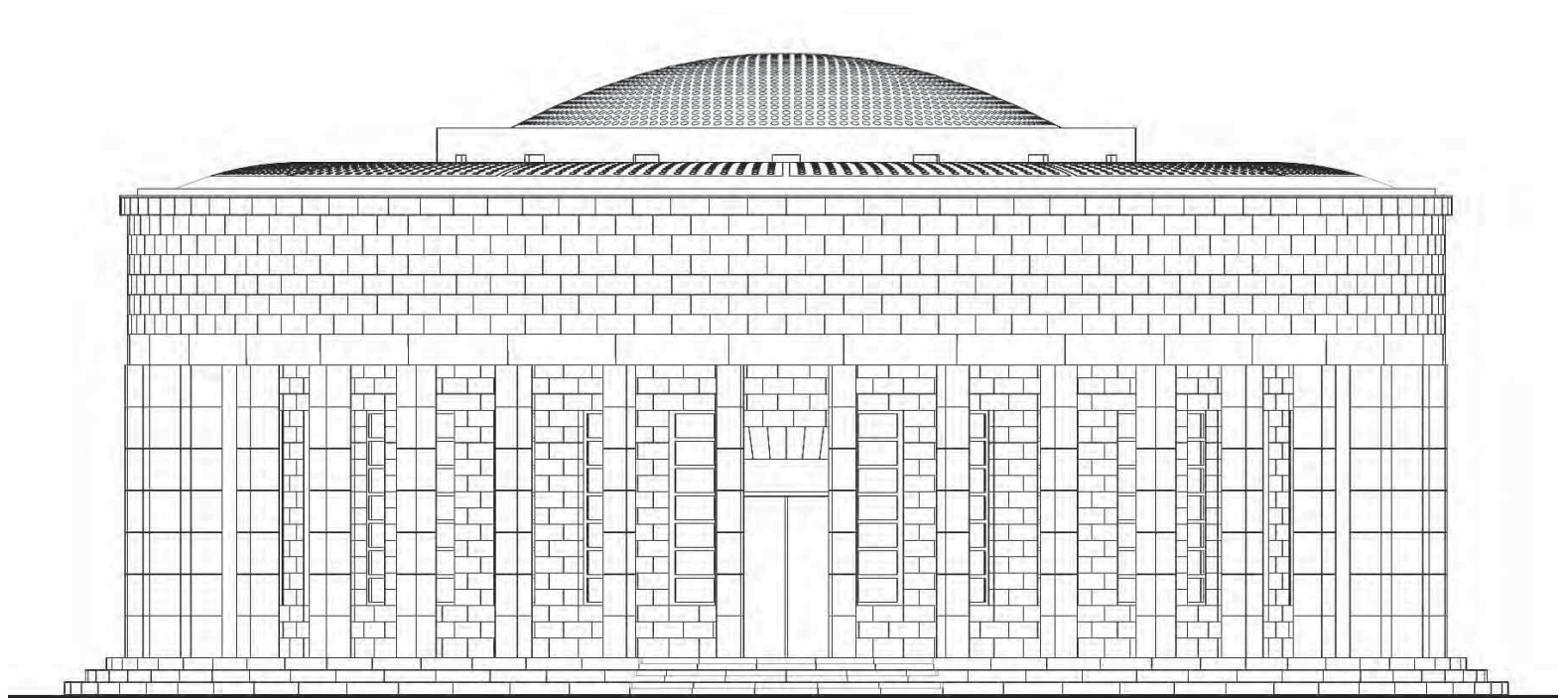
Andrija Mutnjaković,
Program uređenja Doma:
1. Tlocrt temelja, 1:500
2. Tlocrt podruma, 1:500
3. Tlocrt prizemlja, 1:500
4. Tlocrt međukata, 1:500
5. Tlocrt kata, 1:500

Andrija Mutnjaković,
Arts Hall plan:
Foundations, layout. 1:500
Basement, layout. 1:500
Ground floor, layout. 1:500
Mezzanine, layout. 1:500
First floor, layout. 1:500



Presjek Doma, 1:200

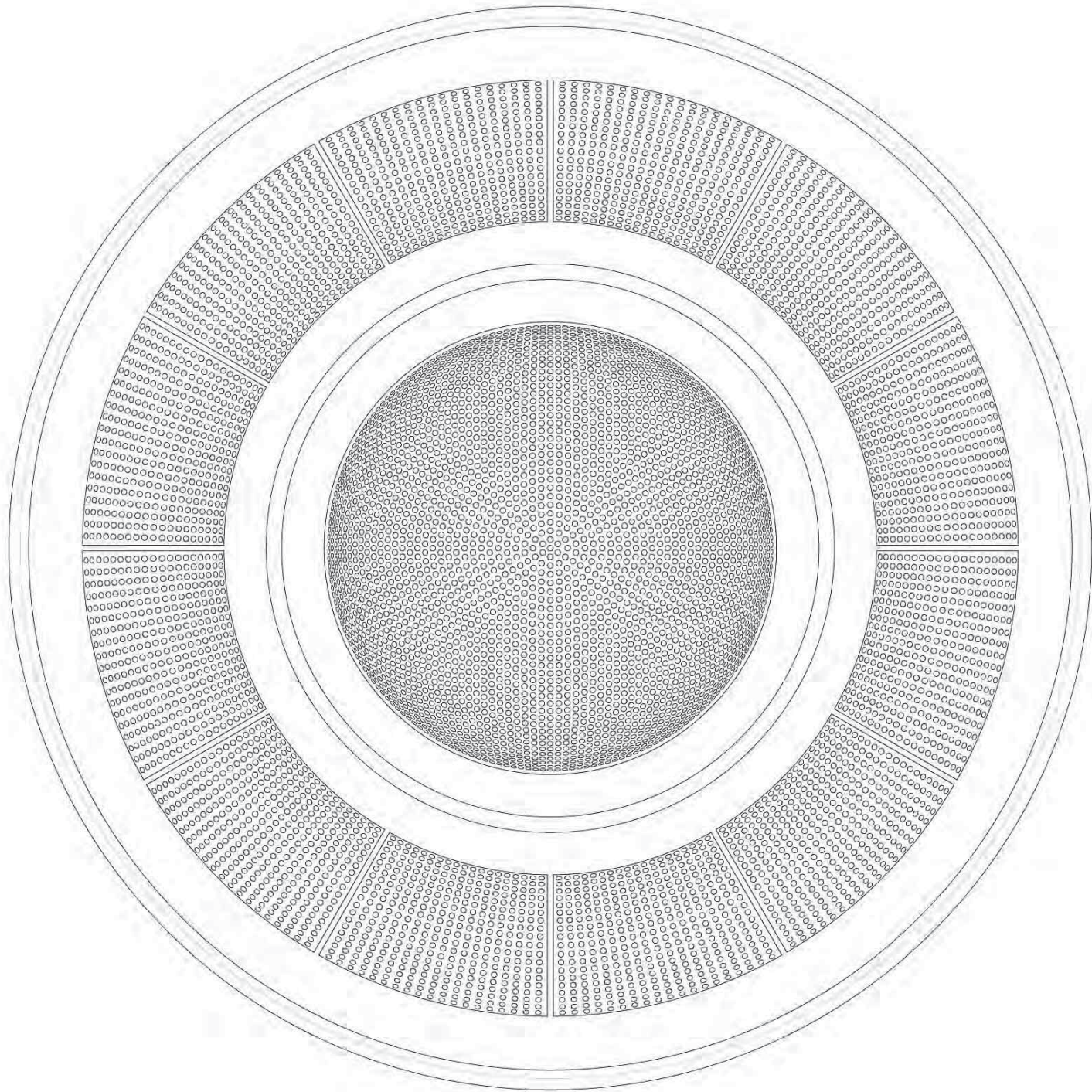
Arts Hall, the cross-section view. 1:200



Pročelje Doma, 1:200

Arts Hall, the front. 1:200

Krovna površina Doma, 1:200



Arts Hall, the roof space. 1:200



Kupola Doma

Arts Hall, the dome

većeg broja tankih željeznih stupića i preoblikovanjem prstenaste galerije sa okrugloga u nepravilni četverokutni oblik, stvorena je neugodna disharmonija sa pravilnim i klasičnim kružnim oblikom ovoga prostora, prekrivenog kupolom."⁴⁴

Na problem brojnih čeličnih cijevi što podržavaju novu umetnutu etažu upozorilo je još nekoliko sudionika, a Richter je tu zamjerku jednostavno riješio: na perspektivnoj skici interijera nije te stupove nacrtao. Sudionici su upozoravali i na to da svjetlo kupole neće više osvjetljavati donje prostore ispod galerija, na što Miro Marasović daje ironični savjet: "To navodi na pomisao potpunog odstranjivanja

with the explanation that doing so would allow the timely opening of an exhibition of documents and items from the National Liberation War and in connection with the VI Congress of the Yugoslavian Communist Party.⁴⁶ The exhibition and congress were held in November of the same year, and after the exhibition the designing of a permanent museum exhibition followed, and the Museum of the Croatian Peoples' Revolution was officially opened on April 15, 1955. During the building process, the planned use of parts of the ground-level hall joined with the central hall was given up on, and the wall around the central hall was closed. However, the remaining niches from the mosque in the walls of the central hall were left untouched, as well as the entire construction of the added dome, as parasitic remnants of the previous adaptation. The permit for adaptation was issued (October

dnevnog svjetla, čime bi se sigurno poboljšao ovako oblikovani prostor, ali ujedno i ilustrirala neispravnost rješenja u jednom ovakvom objektu sa staklenom kupolom.”⁴⁵ Međutim, uslijed neodržavanja glazure, kao zaštitnog sloja asfaltne emulzije kojom je izrađena hidroizolacija kupole i svoda, došlo je do prodiranja atmosfere vlage, pa je to bio dobar povod da se načini nova hidroizolacija, to jest da se kupola i svod premažu slojem bitumena. Time je doista potpuno odstranjeno dnevno svjetlo i osigurana jednolična umjetna rasvjeta svih prostora, ali i uništena krucijalna kvaliteta Doma.

Negativne ocjene institucija, pojedinaca i organa vlasti ipak nisu onemogućile dovršenje projekta: pod pritiskom političke bahatosti Privredni savjet Vlade Narodne Republike Hrvatske zahtijeva (30. rujna 1952.) izdavanje dozvole za adaptaciju uz obrazloženje da se omogući pravodobno otvorenje izložbe dokumenata i predmeta Narodno-oslobodilačke borbe, a u vezi sa VI. kongresom Komunističke partije Jugoslavije.⁴⁶ Izložba i kongres održani su u studenom iste godine, a nakon izložbe prišlo se izradi stalnog postava Muzeja, pa je Muzej revolucije naroda Hrvatske svečano otvoren 15. travnja 1955. Tijekom realizacije ipak se odustalo od programiranog korištenja dijelova prizemne dvorane pripojenih središnjoj dvorani, te je zatvoren obodni zid središnje dvorane. No, ostale su nedirnete niše džamije u zidovima središnje dvorane, a i cjelovita konstrukcija pridodane kupole, kao parazitski ostaci prethodne adaptacije.

Dozvola za adaptaciju izdana je (6. listopada 1952.) kao privremena, tj. do opoziva, uz uvažavanje mišljenja Vjenceslava Richtera, iskazanog još na sastanku 24. studenog 1951.: ”Konstrukcija je prikazana na postojeću zgradu, pa se može demontirati bez posljedica. Meštrovićev paviljon nije niti dirnut, sve postavljene konstrukcije mogu se odstraniti i staviti paviljon u prvobitni karakter.”⁴⁷ Dozvolu je potpisao načelnik Odjela za građevinarstvo i komunalne poslove Grada Zagreba arhitekt Milan Perc, uz karakterističnu ogradu: ”Odjel ostaje kod već izraženog mišljenja i stava gledom na arhitektonsku koncepciju i na ostale zahvate, izvršene na ovom objektu.”⁴⁸

Ova privremeno pridodana konstrukcija na zgradi Doma ostala je nedirnuta pola stoljeća. U međuvremenu je bitumenski namaz iznad kupole i svoda degradirao, te je osamdesetih godina načinjena nova izolacija s dvostrukim slojem varene ljepenke prekrivene protusunčanim aluminij-



Galerija na prvome katu

Gallery on the first floor

6, 1952) as temporary – that is to say until rescindment – along with the justification of Vjenceslav Richter’s thoughts, pointed out first at the meeting on November 24, 1951: [The construction is attached to the existing building, and it can be disassembled without consequences. Meštrović’s pavilion has not been touched, all current constructions can be removed and the pavilion can be returned to its original character.]⁴⁷ The permit was signed by the head of the Zagreb Department for Building and Community Works Milan Perc, along with a characteristic reservation: [The Department stands by the already expressed thoughts and opinions about the architectural conception and other modifications to this structure.]⁴⁸

This temporarily added construction to the Arts Hall remained untouched for nearly half a century. In the meantime the layer of bitumen on the dome and arch had degraded, and in the Eighties new waterproofing was executed using a dual layer of boiled boards covered with an anti-solar aluminum coating, which even more drastically closed off the natural lighting of the central hall of the Arts Hall. This roof “protection” had very negative side-effects: either during the first hot coating or the boiling of boards across the glass tiles of the dome and arch

skim premazom, pa je tako još drastičnije zatvoreno prirodno osvjetljenje dvorana Doma. Te “zaštite” pokrova Doma prozrokovale su vrlo neugodnu posljedicu: je li kod prvotnog vrućeg premaza ili kod varenja ljepenke preko staklenih ploča kupole i svoda – a vjerojatno i oba puta – došlo je uslijed intenzivne topline do prskanja površinskog sloja stakla, a i do pucanja cjelovitih staklenih ploča ugrađenih u kupolu i svod. Prilikom navedenog “renoviranja” Doma načinjena je još jedna kardinalna nesmotrenost, koju je pregnantno opisala Ana Deanović: “Jedinstvena masa tambura na prvom katu izrađena je od grublje obrađenih klesanaca, pa zrnatost površine, uočljiva za kosih rasvjeta, daje osobitu napetost forme izražene kamenom. Kameni blokovi stupova obrađeni su najfinije a unutrašnji plašt valjka izveden je malo grublje, ali ipak finije nego tambur. Godine 1986., prilikom čišćenja fasade električnom brusilicom, nepoštujući Meštrovićeve zamisli izjednačene su sve površine klesanaca.”⁴⁹ Nakon prethodnih grubih zahvata u nutrini Doma očito nitko nije mario za fine nijanse strukture epiderme i ljepote skulpturalne arhitekture.

Poruku da se Muzej revolucije naroda Hrvatske treba iseliti iz Doma poslao je Muzejski savjet Hrvatske 1980. godine prijedlogom da se za Muzej izgradi nova zgrada. Odlučno zalaganje za vraćanje Doma u izvorni oblik zaključak je eseja (napisanog 1988.) Radovana Ivančevića o arhitektonskim kvalitetama Doma: “Budući da smo kao suvremenici odgovorni za njegovu degradaciju, dužnost nam je da ponovno uspostavimo prvobitnu prostornu organizaciju i namjenu, izvorno dostojanstvo i sklad toga umjetničkog paviljona, što ga je Meštrović zamislio, a ekipa visokokvalitetnih i izrazito kreativnih zagrebačkih arhitekata realizirala.”⁵⁰ Inicijativa je došla od Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika Zagreba u prosincu 1989. zaključkom o prikupljanju dokumentacije o gradnji, dogradnjama i vlasništvu Doma, a što je pedantno obavio Tomislav Hruškovec. Na temelju obrađenih dokumenata, Predsjedništvo Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika Zagreb tijekom 1990. u programu smjernica za dugoročni period “Nova vizija Društva do 2000. godine” definira i svoj odnos prema Domu: pokrenuti postupak za vraćanje današnjeg prostora Muzeja revolucije naroda Hrvatske njegovoj prvobitnoj namjeni. Program govori samo o povratku vlasništva, a ne spominje njegovu obnovu, dapače nalazi i riječi pohvale za postojeće stanje tvrdnjom da je Dom suvremeno koncipiran i da je u suradnji s Muzejom već organizirao nekoliko bitnih izložbi.⁵¹

Stvarnu akciju rekonstrukcije Doma pokreće Predsjedništvo Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika uz financijsku



Galerija na prvome katu

Gallery on the first floor

— and likely both times — as a result of intense heat the top layer of glass cracked, and some tiles built into the dome and arch shattered completely. During this “renovation” to the Arts Hall, another cardinal blunder was made, succinctly described by Ana Deanović: [The unified mass of the tambour on the first floor was worked from roughly hewn stone, and the graininess of the surface, noticeable under angular light, gave a particular tension to the forms expressed in stone. The stone blocks of the columns were worked most finely while the internal screen of the cylinder was worked more roughly, but still more finely than the tambour. In 1986, during cleaning of the facade with an electric sander, all of the worked stone surfaces were polished to equal grain, contrary to Meštrović’s conception.]⁴⁹ After the previous rough interventions in the interior of the Arts Hall, apparently no one cared for the fine nuances of the structural epidermis and the beauty of the sculptural architecture.

The message that the Museum of the Croatian Peoples’ Revolution needed to vacate the Arts Hall was sent by the Museum Council of Croatia [Muzejski savjet Hrvatske] in 1980 at the recommendation that the Museum have a new building built for it. Decisive

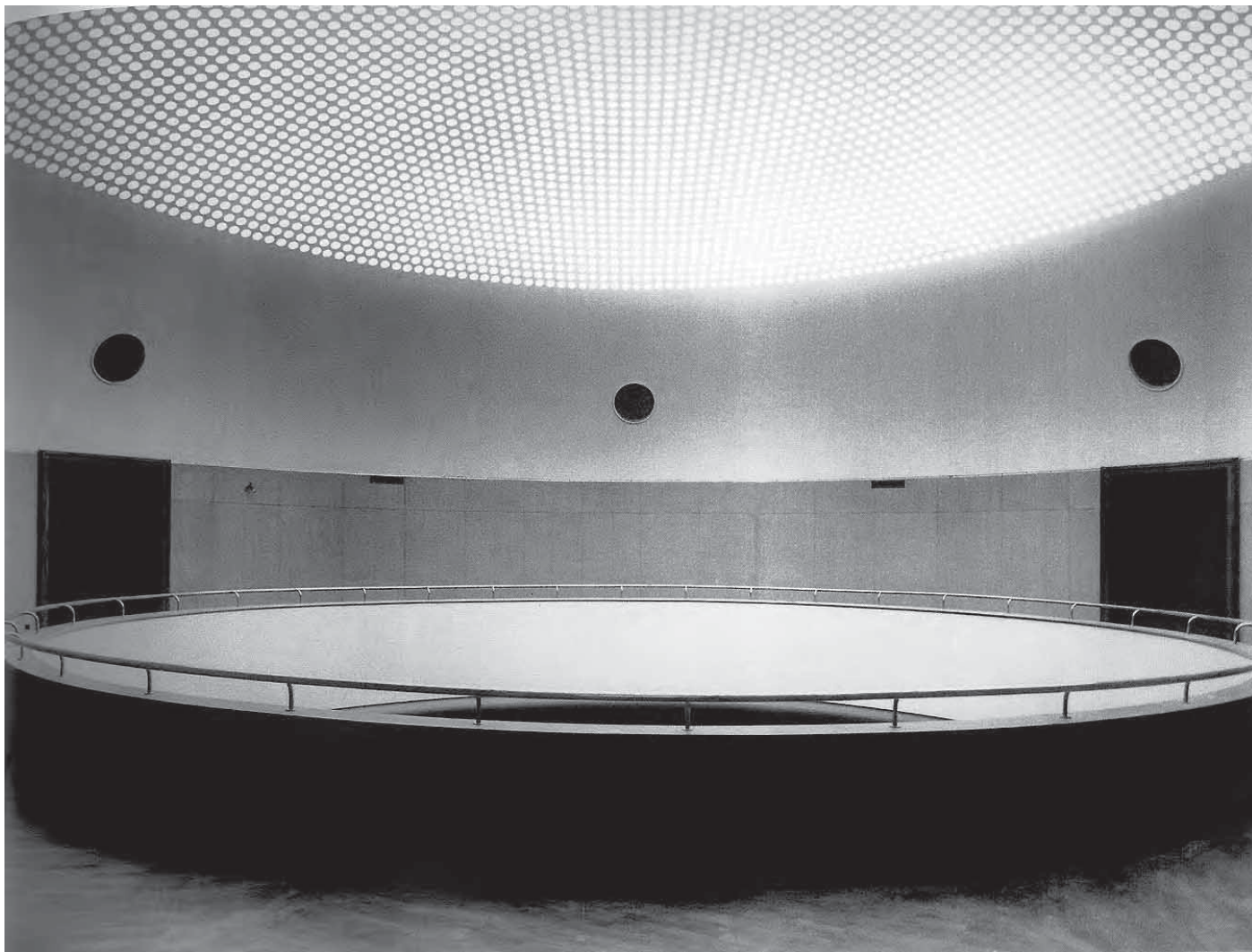
podršku Ministarstva kulture i Grada Zagreba tijekom 1991. godine: po uzoru na naziv odbora koji je vodio gradnju Doma formiran je Kuratorij u sastavu Radovan Ivančević, predsjednik, Robert Šimrak, Zlatan Vrkljan i Feđa Vukić, koji preuzima brigu oko osiguravanja financija i organizacije radova na obnovi Doma. Rezultat je vidljiv već u 1991. godini: demontirana je konstrukcija umetnute etaže i dvaju stubišta u središnjoj dvorani, uz suglasnost Vjenceslava Richtera, koji potvrđuje svoj stav iz vremena gradnje da je adaptacija rađena za potrebe izložbe, pa se može i treba odstraniti. Nakon završetka ove prve faze uklanjanja dogradnji Muzeja Kuratorij je početkom 2002. pokrenuo akciju i za uklanjanje prigradnji nastalih prilikom adaptacije u džamiju te za skidanje svih naslaga na kupoli i svodu kako bi se ostvarilo izvorno osvjetljenje autentičnog prostora Doma. Na osnovi procjene iskustva i već 1990. izrađenog elaborata na temelju kojeg bi se Dom vratio u originalno stanje angažiran je arhitekt Andrija Mutnjaković kao savjetnik Kuratorija i stručni voditelj programiranja, projektiranja i usmjeravanja radova adaptacije.

Prije svega bilo je potrebno istražiti kakve je posljedice imalo dodavanje vrlo teške armiranobetonske konstrukcije nove kupole džamije s pripadajućim stupovima na izvornu konstrukciju Doma, a s time u vezi i kakve posljedice na stabilnost zgrade mogu nastati nakon uklanjanja ostataka konstrukcije džamije. Također je bilo nužno istražiti stabilnost zgrade prema seizmičkim propisima, s obzirom na to da u vrijeme gradnje takvi proračuni nisu postojali. Istraživanje je proveo Institut građevinarstva Hrvatske, te je u elaboratu "Utvrđivanje mehaničke otpornosti i stabilnosti izvorne građevine" voditeljica istraživanja Mihaela Zamolo ustanovila da je konstrukcija zgrade u dobrom stanju s obzirom na to da nisu uočene deformacije, pukotine ili oštećenja na nosivim elementima konstrukcije. Također zaključuje da su učinci adaptacije pozitivni jer se mijenja ukupno djelovanje na temeljnu konstrukciju, a što se tiče stabilnosti na učinke potresnog djelovanja zaključuje da je konstrukcija u cjelini dovoljno stabilna, ... a da je krutost, iako relativno mala, prihvatljiva i zadovoljavajuća u odnosu na propise.⁵²

Na osnovi prethodnog mišljenja o poboljšanju stabilnosti zgrade nakon uklanjanja prigradenih konstrukcija džamije, Institut građevinarstva Hrvatske izradio je pod rukovodstvom Mihaele Zamalo "Projekt rušenja unutarnje kupole i betonskog zidnog plašta u centralnoj dvorani", koji je sadržavao statički račun uklanjanja i demontaže kupole i zidnog plašta te proračun skele. Rušenje je obuhvaćalo

advocacy for returning the Arts Hall to its original form can be found in the conclusion of an essay (written in 1988) by Radovan Ivančević about the architectural qualities of the Arts Hall: Seeing as how we, as contemporaries, are responsible for its degradation, it is our task to reestablish the original spatial organization and intent, the original distinguishedness and harmony of that art pavilion, as Meštrović conceived it and a team of high-quality and especially creative Zagreb architects realized it.⁵⁰ The initiative was put into motion by the Croatian Association of Artists in Zagreb in December 1989 with its conclusion on the collection of documentation about the building, additions and ownership of the Arts Hall, which was scrupulously carried out by Tomislav Hruškovec. On the basis of the documents collected, the Presidency of the Croatian Association of Artists defined its relationship to the Arts Hall in 1990 through its long-term direction program "Nova vizija Društva do 2000. godine" [A New Vision of the Association by the year 2000]: Initiative and process started for returning the current space of the Museum of the Croatian Peoples' Revolution to its original purpose. The program speaks only about the returning of ownership, and does not mention its renovation – in fact it even finds words of praise for the Arts Hall's existing status in the conclusion that it has been conceived in a modern fashion, and that a number of important exhibits had already been organized in cooperation with the Museum.⁵¹

A true drive to remodel the Arts Hall was started by the Presidency of the Croatian Association of Artists with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture and the city of Zagreb in 1991: patterned after the name of the council that led construction of the Arts Hall, a Curatorship was formed, consisting of Radovan Ivančević, president, Robert Šimrak, Zlatan Vrkljan and Feđa Vukić, who took over responsibility for financing and organizing works on the Arts Hall's remodeling. Results were already visible in 1991: the added floors and staircases in the central halls were disassembled, with the approval of Vjenceslav Richter, who confirmed his opinion at the time of construction that the adaptation was made for the needs of the exhibition and that it could and should be removed. After the first phase of removal of additions to the Museum, the Curatorship in the beginning of 2002 started a drive to remove additions that came about during adaptation for use as a mosque, and for the removal of all layers on the dome and arch to return the original lighting of the authentic space of the Arts Hall. Based upon estimations, experience and a report made in 1990 which planned out the returning of the Arts Hall into its original state, architect Andrija Mutnjaković was involved as an advisor to the Curatorship and professional leader of programming, design and direction of adaptation works.



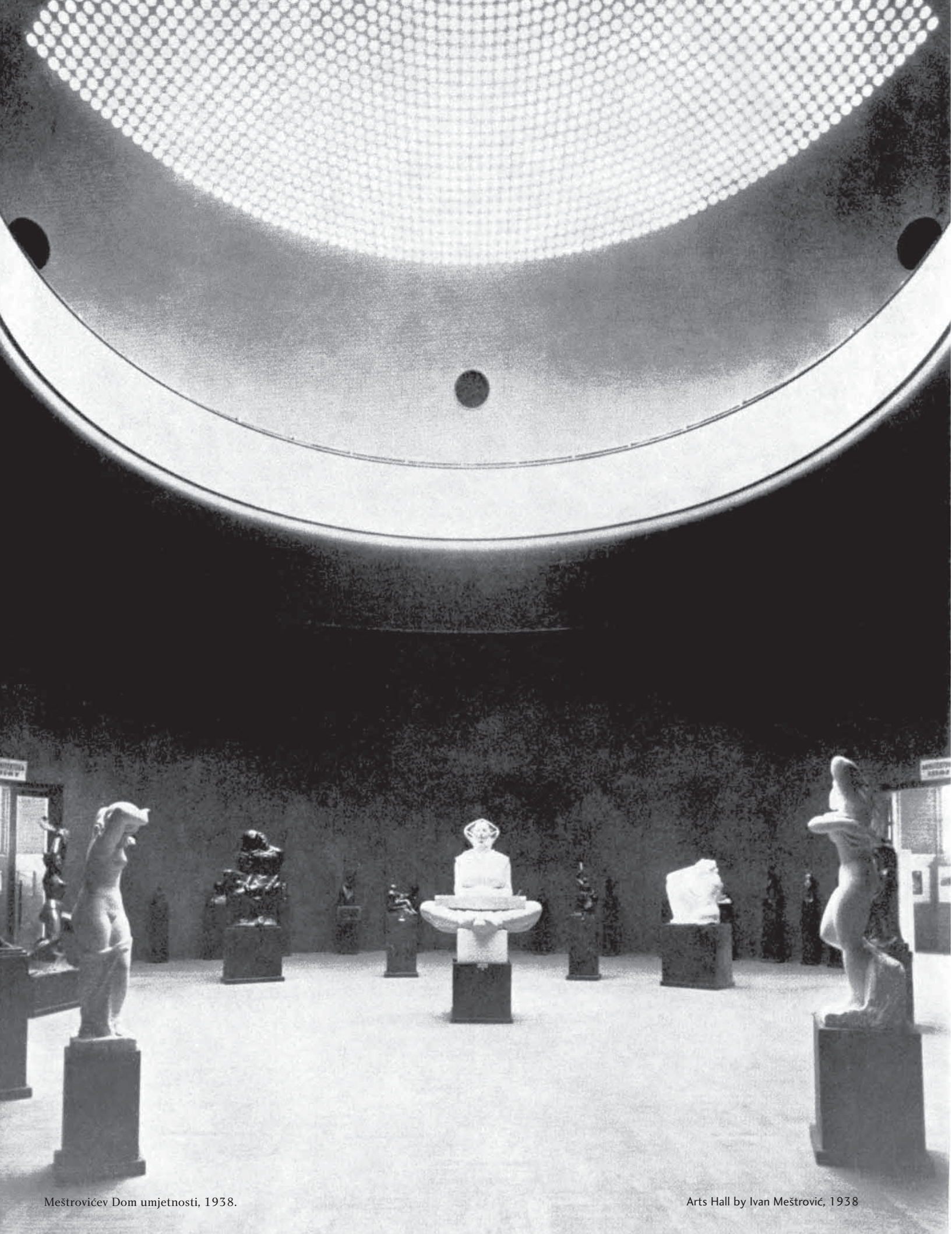
Galerija na prvome katu, izvorni izgled

Gallery on the first floor, originally

uklanjanje armiranobetonske konstrukcije sastavljene od 12 osnovnih rebara promjenjiva presjeka 25/17-60 cm, 24 međurebra presjeka 10-25/17-27 cm, armiranobetonske konveksne ljuske između rebara te zidni plašt s konveksnim nišama debljine 35-63 cm. Rušenje je obavljeno rezanjem konstrukcije u segmente prema projektu, spuštanjem segmenta u prizemlje, odvozom i smještajem u nasipe novog mosta preko Save. Tom prilikom uklonjene su i dogradnje poda galerije načinjene kod adaptacije Doma u muzej, te je galerija ponovno poprimila svoju izvornu kružnu formu. Radovi su obavljani tijekom ljeta 2002. godine.

Istovremeno se prišlo uklanjanju svih slojeva izolacija iznad kupole i svoda Doma radi uspostavljanja projektiranog osvjetljenja Doma s dnevnim svjetlom. Skidanje naknadno nanosene hidroizolacije izvedeno je mehaničkim

First and foremost, it was necessary to determine what kind of consequences the addition of the extremely heavy reinforced concrete dome of the mosque with its accompanying columns had on the original construction of the Arts Hall, and also what the consequences to the stability of the building could come about after removing the remnants of the mosque additions. It was also necessary to investigate the stability of the building in accordance with seismic regulations, seeing as how such regulations did not exist at the time it was built. Research was carried out by the Civil Engineering Institute of Croatia [Institut građevinarstva Hrvatske], and in its report "Confirming mechanical resistance and stability of the original construction" [Utvrdivanje mehaničke otpornosti i stabilnosti izvorne građevine] research leader Mihaela Zamolo concluded that the building was in good shape, considering that deformations, cracks or damage to load-bearing elements of the construction were not visible. She also concluded that the



Meštrovićev Dom umjetnosti, 1938.

Arts Hall by Ivan Meštrović, 1938



Meštrovićev Dom umjetnosti

Arts Hall by Ivan Meštrović

struganjem, a kako je izvorna izolacija penetrirala u beton, uklanjanje se obavljalo otucavanjem i ispuhivanjem komprimiranim zrakom. Budući da je površinski sloj betona bio oštećen, sanacija se obavila nanošenjem neutralizacijsko-penetracijskog namaza te ugradnjom vodoodbojne i elastificirane cementno-polimerne posteljice radi stabilizacije betonske podloge između staklenih ploča i stvaranja sekundarnog hidrobrtvenog sloja. Nakon tih sanacijskih radova, preko betonskih i staklenih površina izvedena je neprekinuta svjetlopropusna hidrobrtvena membrana odgovarajućim primerom i transparentnim kitovima na polikarbonatnoj osnovi, te je preko te membrane izveden završni sloj od višekomponentnog hidrobrtvenog elastomera koji preuzima sva opterećenja (agresivne kisele kiše, eroziju vjetra,

adaptations were positive, since they changed the general effect on the foundation construction, and as far as stability against earthquakes is concerned she concluded that the construction is altogether stable enough... ..and that inflexibility, although slight, is acceptable and satisfies regulations.⁵²

Based upon the previous opinions on improving the stability of the building after the removal of the added construction of the mosque, Civil Engineering Institute of Croatia conceived under the leadership of Mihaela Zamalo the “Demolition project of the internal dome and concrete wall mantle in the central hall” [Projekt rušenja unutarnje kupole i betonskog zidnog plašta u centralnoj dvorani], which contained statics for the removal and deconstruction of the dome and wall mantle as well as calculations for scaffolding. Demolishing consisted of the removal of a reinforced concrete construction composed of 12 main ribs of



Trijem Doma

Arts Hall, the colonnade

energiju sunca i sve vrste atmosferilija). Opisano je realizirala tvrtka Conel iz Zagreba na osnovi sirovinskih komponenata tvrtke Bayer AG, Leverkusen i svojeg iskustva u sanaciji svjetlopropusnih armiranobetonskih kupola i svodova.

Instalacije rasvjete bile su uništene tijekom prethodnih adaptacija, te je projektirana nova rasvjeta središnje i prstenaste dvorane, koja se temelji na izvornom rješenju rasvjete, kako je to detaljno opisano u tekstu arhitekta Ivana Zemljaka te kako je uočljivo iz onovremenih fotografija i sagledivo iz ostataka građevinskih elemenata, s time da su primijenjene tehnološke inovacije rasvjetnih tijela. Prizemlje središnje dvorane bilo je osvijetljeno žaruljama smještenim u žlijebu ispod ograde galerije, pa je izveden isto takav žlijeb u tehnološki osuvremenjenoj izradi s cijevnom rasvjetom te tračnicom kao kontinuiranom utičnicom za postavu reflektora. Osvjetljenje galerije središnje dvorane bilo je izvedeno indirektnom rasvjetom pomoću žarulja ugrađenih na pomične čelične cijevi postavljene na ogradu balkona, a kako fotografije ne dokumentiraju taj nespretni

variable thickness 27/17-60 cm, 24 support ribs 10-25/17-27 cm thick, a reinforced concrete convex shell between the ribs and a wall mantle with convex niches 35-63 cm thick. Demolition was carried out by cutting the construction into segments according to the project, lowering the segments to the floor, removing them and placing them in the embankments of a new bridge across the Sava. At this point, the additions to the floor of the gallery that were made during the adaptation of the Arts Hall into a museum were also removed, and the gallery retained its original round form. Works were carried out during the summer of 2002.

Removal of all layers of isolation above the dome and arch of the Arts Hall were simultaneously carried out in order to reestablish the designed lighting of the Arts Hall using daylight. Removing the added waterproofing was carried out with mechanical scraping, and as the original isolation had penetrated the concrete, removal was carried out using compressed air. As the surface layer of concrete was damaged, repairs were carried out with the application of a neutralizing-penetrating coating and the addition of a waterproof and elasticized cement-polymer base in order to stabilize the concrete frame between the glass tiles and create a secondary waterproof layer. After these repairs, an unbroken transparent waterproof membrane was applied across the concrete and glass surface using appropriate primer and transparent putty on a polycarbonate base, and across that membrane a final layer of multi-component water-resistant elastomer was placed which protects from any strain (acid rain, wind erosion, sunlight and all kinds of atmospheric effects). The described project was realized by the firm Conel from Zagreb using raw components from the firm Bayer AG, Leverkusen and their experience in repairs of transparent reinforced concrete domes and arches.

The lighting installations were destroyed during previous adaptations, and so a new lighting system was designed for the central and ring-shaped hall, which was based on the original lighting solution as described in detail in the text of architect Ivan Zemljak, as well as is apparent from old photographs and remnants of construction elements, bearing in mind that technological innovations in lighting were applied. The ground floor of the central hall was lit with lightbulbs placed in a groove underneath the railing of the gallery, and so the same kind of groove was made in a modernized version, with pipe lighting and a track as a continuous plug for the placing of reflectors. The original lighting of the gallery in the central hall was carried out using indirect lighting with the help of lightbulbs built into movable steel pipes placed on the railing of the balcony. Seeing as how photographs do not document this clumsy lighting system, a new project for an intensive dome lighting system was created, using wide-angle reflectors placed behind half-round masks on ventilation duct openings. The project of lighting the ring-shaped hall completely restored the original light-

sustav rasvjete, to je projektom nove rasvjete zadržan sustav intenzivnog osvjetljenja kupole, s time da je to osmišljeno širokokutnim reflektorima postavljenim iza polukružne maske na otvorima ventilacije. Projektom osvjetljenja prstenaste dvorane potpuno se restaurira sustav izvorne rasvjete: obnavlja se spuštenu strop od opalnog sigurnosnog stakla kao neutralizatora bljeskova staklenih ploča svoda i kao zaslona tri kontinuirana niza rasvjetnih tijela smještenih između svoda i spuštenu stropa. Radi omogućavanja kontinuiranih priključaka eksponata ili rasvjetnih tijela na instalacije jake i slabe struje, podnožjem svih zidova središnje i prstenaste dvorane postavljene su tračnice s kablovima i utičnicama, koje ujedno služe i kao kutne letvice poda. Rasvjeta vestibila i stubišta programirana je obnavljanjem izvornih rasvjetnih tijela.

Realizacijom navedenih radova obnovljen je prostor središnje dvorane u izvornom obliku, čime je omogućeno njeno funkcioniranje kao izložbenog prostora i ostvareno prezentiranje fascinantnog originalnog izgleda središnje dvorane Doma s njenom majestoznom kupolom. Ovako djelomično restaurirano Meštrovićevo remek-djelo svečano je predstavljeno javnosti i stavljeno u funkciju 26. ožujka 2003., uz popratne riječi predsjednika Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika Roberta Šimraka: "Nadam se da smo našim projektom obnove Doma dokazali da zaslužujemo vrijednost dara našeg poznatog i u cijelom svijetu priznatog hrvatskog kipara Ivana Meštrovića i da ćemo znati očuvati taj hram umjetnosti u izvornom obliku prenoseći to na naraštaje iza nas."⁵³ Neumorni ideator i fanatični pobornik obnove Doma Radovan Ivančević tom prilikom, sebi svojstvenom retorikom, nazdravio je otvorenju Doma: "U hrvatskoj pa i europskoj povijesti umjetnosti teško je naći spomenik arhitekture s tako bujnom poviješću kakvu je sudbina dodijelila Domu hrvatskih likovnih umjetnika, koji danas otvaramo po drugi put. ... Zaključimo zdravicom Domu likovnih umjetnika Ivan Meštrović kojom mu želimo dugo i neometano trajanje ... barem tijekom ovog milenija. Nadam se da se nitko neće začuditi toj tisućljetnoj perspektivi, jer su kameni stilobat, megalitsko stupovlje i zide Doma građeni tehnikom koja je primijenjena i na Dioklecijanovoj palači i Mauzoleju pa nema razloga da traje manje od njih. Time se Meštrović upisao u hrvatsku povijest umjetnosti kao posljednji majstor koji se ugledao u tradiciju renesansne srednjodalmatinske graditeljske škole s načelima isključive gradnje kamenom i preuzimanja iskustva antike, koju je utemeljio Juraj Dalmatinac Šibenskom katedralom, a nastavili Nikola Firentinac i Andrija Aleši."⁵⁴



Trijem Doma

Arts Hall, the colonnade

ing system: the lowered opal safety-glass ceiling was refurbished to neutralize the reflections of the glass tiles in the arch and three continuous rows of lights were placed in between the arch and the lowered ceiling as a screen. In the aim of enabling continuous connection of exhibits or lights to high- and low-voltage current, the bases of all walls in the central and ring-shaped hall are outfitted with tracks with cables and electrical sockets, which also serve as wainscotting. Lighting in the vestibule and staircase is planned through reconstruction of the original lighting units.

Through the realization of the aforementioned works, the space of the central hall was returned to its original form, which once again enabled its function as a display space and returned its

No, time nisu dovršeni svi radovi na obnovi izvorne funkcije Doma niti su obuhvaćeni svi prostori Doma. Tako je izvedena sanacija samo kupole središnje dvorane, a nije realizirana sanacija svoda prstenaste dvorane. Rasvjeta je također samo djelomično realizirana. Nije obnovljena klimatizacija dvorane, već je zadržano improvizirano grijanje radijatorima i cijevima smještenim na zidovima ispod eksponata. U cilju cjelovite obnove potrebno je ukloniti naknadno sagrađene zidove uredskih prostorija u prizemnoj prstenastoj dvorani, pa tako privesti i ovu dvoranu izvornoj svrsi, te je povezati sa središnjom dvoranom vratima, kako je to bilo projektirano. Nakon uklanjanja građevnih prigradnji džamije ponovno je nastao problem akustike središnje dvorane, te je nužno umetanjem apsorpcijske žbuke na pogodnim mjestima otkloniti efekt jeke i pajeke. Potrebno je sanirati podrumске prostorije za popratne servisne funkcije Doma (dvorane, depoi, radionice) i standardne usluge posjetiteljima (garderoba, sanitarije, osvježenje). Moguće je razmotriti i proširenje prostora i sadržaja Doma (po uzoru na pariški *Louvre*) gradnjom podzemnih etaža ispod hortikulture površine uokrug Doma. Uz istaknute prostorne dopune nužno je obnoviti sve instalacije Doma te ponovo realizirati klimatizaciju Doma, kako je to bilo izvorno načinjeno i kako je nužno potrebno ako se želi u Domu postaviti izložba koja zahtijeva kondicionirani zrak prema normalnim standardima galerijskog prostora. Potrebno je nadalje hortikulture obnoviti ili preprojektirati površinu parka oko Doma prema prvotnom Meštrovićevu projektu. Također je nužno obnoviti i zaštititi kamen stilobata i rubnog prstena od daljnjeg propadanja. Pobrojani radovi ne iscrpljuju sve potrebne zahvate, već samo ukazuju na osnovne zadatke koje treba načiniti da bi Dom ponovno postao ponos hrvatske arhitektonike.

Gradio se tako i razgrađivao Dom likovnih umjetnosti tijekom nešto više od šest desetljeća. Za postojanje neke zgrade to nije mnogo, ali za proživljene degradacije to je jako puno. Jer, čovjek gradi kuću, a kuća ima sudbinu kao i čovjek: znatiželju rasteinja, radost postojanja, dramu nesporazuma, tragediju razgradnje, uspomenu bivstvovanja. Dom i njegovi stvaraoci proživjeli su sve te perturbacije povijesnog usuda kao simbol neuništivosti kreativne energije.

Potica i domet te energije lijepo je naznačila Ana Deanović: "U pripremanju i izgradnji Doma likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu, Meštrović je okupio suradnike, najistaknutije arhitekta svoje i mlade generacije: Kalda, Bilinić,

original fascinating look with its majestic dome. This partially restored work of Meštrović's was officially presented to the public and put into use on March 26, 2003, with a speech by Croatian Association of Artists president Robert Šimrak: [I hope that we have proven through our renovation of the Arts Hall that we deserve the value of this gift from our well-known and world-renowned sculptor Ivan Meštrović and that we will know how to guard that temple of art in its original form, carrying it on to the generations ahead of us.]⁵³ Radovan Ivančević, tireless idealist and fighter for the renovation of the Arts Hall, hailed the opening of the Arts Hall with his unique rhetoric: [It is difficult to find, either in Croatian or in European art history, a monument of architecture with such a vibrant past as fate gave to the Arts Hall, which we are today opening for the second time... We conclude with a toast to the Arts Hall by artist Ivan Meštrović, to which we wish a long and uninterrupted existence... at least throughout this millennium. I hope that no one will be shocked by that millennial perspective, since the stone stylobate, megalithic columns and walls of the Arts Hall were constructed using the same techniques used on Diocletian's palace and Mausoleum, and so there is no reason that it should not last as long as they have. Meštrović wrote himself with this construction into Croatian art history as the last master who paid heed to the tradition of the Renaissance Central Dalmatian school of building, which was founded by Juraj Dalmatinac with the Šibenik Cathedral and continued by Nikola Firentinac and Andrija Alešić, with its principles of building exclusively with stone and paying heed to the experience of the ancients.]⁵⁴

However, not all works on renewing the original function of the Arts Hall have been completed, nor are all spaces in the Arts Hall yet involved. Repairs to the dome on the central hall have been completed, but repairs to the arch on the ring-shaped hall have not yet been completed. The lighting has also been only partially completed. The climate control of the hall has not been renovated, but is currently carried out by improvised heating through radiators and pipes placed on the walls below the exhibits. Due to the complete renovation, it will be necessary to remove additionally constructed walls in the office space in the ground floor of the ring-shaped hall, and so return this hall to its original function and connect it with the central hall by a door, as was originally designed. After the removal of construction elements from the mosque, the problem of acoustics in the central hall returned, and so the addition of absorptive canals in appropriate places is necessary to remove the echo. It will also be necessary to repair the basement spaces for the additional service functions of the Arts Hall (halls, depots, workshops) and standard services to visitors (checkroom, toilets, refreshment). It is even possible to consider the expansion of space and content of the Arts Hall (by the example of the Louvre in Paris) by constructing an underground floor under the horticultural surface around the Arts Hall. Along

Marasović, Ibler, Horvat, Zemljak, Molnar, Z. Kavurić tehničkim su iskustvima i smionošću invencije omogućili da se ostvari ovo lijepo, zajedničko djelo, po mnogočemu izuzetno djelo u razvoju novijeg hrvatskog graditeljstva.”⁵⁵ Suglasno s ovom ocjenom valja citirati i mišljenje Radovana Ivančevića: “Dom hrvatskih likovnih umjetnika (1938.) simbol je domišljenosti i superiorne kulturne razine tadašnjeg Zagreba. ... To je prvi okrugli izložbeni prostor u svijetu (10 godina prije Guggenheima u New Yorku), jedinstveni spomenik moderne arhitekture, projekt zagrebačkih arhitekata.”⁵⁶

Taj jedinstveni spomenik hrvatske arhitekture doista je utjelovljenje one energije, one goleme snage što se probudila ispod kore, ispod kamena, ispod onog jadnog i golog krša i našla svoj samorodni oblik. Oblik arhetipa kojemu je svaki kamen da se kuća gradi.

with these spatial additions, it is also necessary to refurbish all of the fixtures in the Arts Hall, and place the climate control back into function as was initially planned and as is necessary if exhibits that demand air conditioning by normal standards of gallery space are to be presented there. Further, it is necessary to horticulturally renew or redesign the park surface around the Arts Hall according to Meštrović’s initial project. It will also be necessary to renew and protect the stone stylobate and ring from further damage. The mentioned works do not make up for all necessary projects, they only point to the basic tasks that must be undertaken for the Arts Hall to again become the pride of Croatian architecture.

And so was the Arts Hall across a period of more than six decades built and rebuilt. For the existence of some buildings that is not much, but for the degradations survived it is quite a lot – for a man builds a building, and a building has a fate like a man: the curiosity of growth, the joy of existence, the drama of conflict, the tragedy of deconstruction, the memory of living. The Arts Hall and its creators experienced all these perturbations of historical fate as a symbol of the indestructibility of creative energy. The influence and source of that energy was well pointed out by Ana Deanović: [In preparations for and construction of the Arts Hall in Zagreb, Meštrović gathered collaborators, the most influential architects of his young generation: Kalda, Bilinić, Marasović, Ibler, Horvat, Zemljak, Molnar, Z. Kavurić with their technical experience and boldness of invention made possible the creation of this beautiful, collective work, in many regards an exceptional work in the development of newer Croatian construction.]⁵⁵ In concert with this appraisal, it is worthwhile to also quote the thoughts of Radovan Ivančević: [The Arts Hall (1938) is a symbol of the ingeniousness and superior cultural level of Zagreb at that time... It was the first round exhibition space in the world (ten years before the Guggenheim in New York), a unique monument of modern architecture, a project by Zagreb architects.]⁵⁶

That unique monument of Croatian architecture truly is the embodiment of that energy, that enormous strength that awoke beneath the surface, beneath the stone, beneath the poor and bare karst and found its initial form – a form the archetype of which is *every stone can become part of a house*.

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