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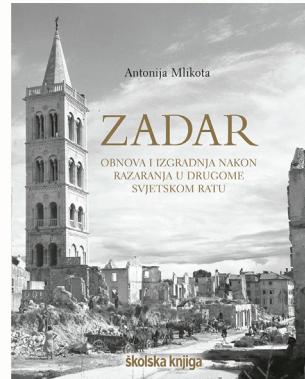
Antonija Mlikota, *Zadar – the reconstruction and construction after the Second World War destruction*

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Ova knjiga, vjerojatno poznata većini čitatelja ove recenzije, ima veliku važnost ne samo za akademsku zajednicu već i za sve koji su povezani s gradom Zadrom ili su zainteresirani za njegovu povijest. Nema svaki grad takvu čast – biti tema jednog vrlo detaljnog i opsežnog istraživanja, koje se odnosi na razdoblje između 1944. i 1967. godine, jedne vrlo posvećene i cijenjene znanstvenice. Činjenica da je autorica, izvanredna profesorica Antonija Mlikota, nagrađena godišnjom nagradom Ministarstva znanosti i obrazovanja za iznimski znanstveni doprinos 2022. godine, dodatno potvrđuje važnost njezina rada.

Knjiga je podijeljena na sedam poglavlja s tim da je zadnje poglavlje popis opsežne literature i izvora. Osobito je značajno što autorica u njoj nudi pregled svih relevantnih urbanističkih i arhitektonskih promjena koje su se dogodile u razdoblju nakon Drugog svjetskog rata u povijesnoj jezgri Zadra te opisuje relativno spor proces obnove.¹ Osim toga, zanimljiv je i aspekt koji se očituje u potpoglavlјima koja dočaravaju međuljudsku atmosferu koja je vladala tih godina na

This book, probably known to most of the readers of this review, is of great significance not only for the academic community, but also for everyone connected with Zadar or those interested in its history. Not every city has this honour – to be the subject of a very detailed and extensive research, which refers to the period between 1944 and 1967, by a very dedicated and respected scholar. The fact that the author, associate professor Antonija Mlikota, was awarded the annual prize of the Ministry of Science and Education for exceptional scientific contribution in 2022, further confirms the importance of her work.

The book is divided into seven chapters, with the last chapter being a list of extensive bibliography and sources. What is special about this monograph is that the author offers an overview of all relevant urban and architectural changes that took place in the period after the Second World War in the historical core of Zadar, as well as the relatively slow process of reconstruction.¹ In addition, there are subchapters in the book that depict the atmosphere which prevailed among the people during those years in a very destroyed city, which is another

¹ Raščišćivanje ruševina trajalo je dugih osamnaest godina, a Zadar je tek 10 godina nakon razaranja dobio status novooslobodenog grada i posebna sredstva za obnovu; Mlikota 2021: 156.

¹ The clearing of the ruins lasted eighteen long years, and Zadar only received the status of a newly liberated city and special funds for reconstruction 10 years after the destruction; Mlikota 2021: 156.

području vrlo razorenog grada. Prvo poglavlje pod naslovom „Definiranje pojma povijesna jezgra Zadra“ (str. 13–90) donosi temeljit opis povjesnog razvoja urbane jezgre Zadra koji podrazumijeva razdoblje od stvaranja antičkog rastera grada pa sve do drastičnog razaranja u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Taj povijesni presjek popraćen je vrijednim i korisnim tlocrtima te fotografijama sadašnjeg stanja različitih povijesnih građevina s pomoću kojih jasno možemo pratiti razvoj grada tijekom svih stilskih razdoblja te dobiti dobru predodžbu o arhitektonskim promjenama koje su se dogodile. Također, autorica objašnjava pojmove „povijesna jezgra“ ili „stari grad“ te ističe da su to pravilni nazivi za dio grada o kojem je riječ te da je riječ „poluotok“ zapravo pučki naziv koji se počeo upotrebljavati nakon Drugog svjetskog rata.²

Čitanjem pojedinih dijelova drugog poglavlja, naslovljenog „Oslobodenje Zadra“ (str. 91–250), može se stvoriti poprilično vjerna slika teških i izazovnih okolnosti u kojima su se ljudi tada našli te se može vidjeti kako su se nosili sa svime, kakvi su bili odnosi između talijanskog i hrvatskog stanovništva te kako su uspijevali ponovno izgraditi svoje živote, a i sam grad podići „na noge“. Svaki Zadranin, ili onaj s posebnom sklonosću prema Zadru, trebao bi ovu knjigu barem prelistati jer se već samo na temelju fotografija koje su u njoj okupljene može dobiti odličan i autentičan uvid u nevjerljivu devastaciju grada.

Vizualni materijal i sam sadržaj knjige rijetko koga mogu ostaviti ravnodušnim, stoga vjerujem da će svatko nakon čitanja razviti dublje poštovanje i divljenje prema gradu. Posebno bih, u tom kontekstu, istaknula potpoglavlja: *Sobe kao scene halucinantne* (str. 93–104), *Sloboda u ruševinama* (str. 105–116), *Problem s odvozom i raščišćavanjem ruševina u povijesnoj jezgri* (str. 149–158) te *Rad arheologa i konzervatora „u sjeni zidina uvijek prkosnog grada“* (str. 179–240). Prva tri spomenuta potpoglavlja donose realan i zapanjujući pogled i na stanje razorenog grada i na duševno stanje njegovih stanovnika neposredno nakon bombardiranja. Također, iz njih čitatelj može saznati mnoge detalje u vezi sa svakodnevnim izazovima života u takvom gradu i prvim akcijama raščišćivanja ruševina. Potpoglavlje *Rad arheologa i konzervatora „u sjeni zidina uvijek prkosnog grada“* vrlo je značajno i zanimljivo, pogotovo s povijesnoumjetničkog aspekta, jer daje iscrpan uvid u prve konzervatorske korake

interesting aspect of this work. The first chapter, entitled “Defining the term the historical core of Zadar” (pp. 13–90) provides a thorough description of the historical development of the urban core of Zadar, which includes the period from the creation of the ancient grid of the city until the drastic destruction in the Second World War. This historical overview is accompanied by valuable and useful floor plans and pictures of the current state of various historical buildings, with which we can clearly follow the development of the city through all stylistic periods, and get a good idea of the architectural changes that occurred in certain periods. Also, the author explains the phrases “historic core” or “old town” and points out that these are the correct names for the part of the city in question, and that the word “peninsula” is actually a popular name that began to be used after the Second World War.²

By reading certain parts of the second chapter, entitled “The Liberation of Zadar” (pp. 91–250), one can get a fairly good impression of the difficult and challenging circumstances in which people found themselves at that time, and learn how they coped with everything, what were the relations between the Italian and the Croatian population, and in what ways they managed to rebuild their lives and get the city back on its feet. Every resident of Zadar, or one with a special affinity for Zadar, should at least flip through this book, because one can get an excellent and authentic insight into the terrible devastation of the city simply from the photos collected here in one place.

The visual material, but of course the content of the book, will scarcely leave anyone indifferent, and because of this, I believe that everyone will develop a deeper respect and admiration for the city after reading it. In this context, I would especially highlight the subchapters: *Rooms as hallucinatory scenes* (pp. 93–104), *Freedom in the ruins* (pp. 105–116), *The problem with the removal and clearing of ruins in the historical core* (pp. 149–158) and *The work of archaeologists and conservators “in the shadow of the ramparts of an ever-defiant city”* (pp. 179–240). The first three mentioned subchapters provide a realistic and astonishing view of both the state of the destroyed city, and the state of mind of its inhabitants immediately after the bombing. Also, in these chapters the reader can learn many details about the daily challenges of life in such a city, and the first actions of clearing the ruins. Subchapter *The work of archaeologists and conservators*

² Mlikota 2021: 23.

² Mlikota 2021: 23.

nakon bombardiranja. Autorica opisuje prve pokušaje saniranja štete na dandanas najznačajnijim povijesnim građevinama kao što su: crkva sv. Stošije, samostan i crkva sv. Frane, Gradska loža, kompleks sv. Krševana i crkva sv. Donata. Uz to, autorica u radu ističe važnost svojih prethodnika bez kojih bi njezin rad bio vrlo otežan ili čak nemoguć: „U kontekstu rada arheologa i konzervatora u Zadru osobito važnu ulogu imali su tekstovi Ivo Petricolija, Grge Gamulina, Cvite Fiskovića, Grge Oštarića, Ksenije Radulić, Pavuše Vežića, Mate Suića, Šime Batovića i Borisa Ilakovca.“³ Tim riječima autorica ohrabruje ostale znanstvenike i potvrđuje da dobro napisani radovi imaju smisla i čine razliku. Možda se ta razlika ne može uočiti odmah ili ne djeluje oplijivo, ali ova je knjiga dokaz da su sustavna istraživanja i kvalitetni tekstovi itekako važni za bilo kakav napredak. Osim spomenutih znanstvenika, vrlo značajnu ulogu u obnovi povijesne jezgre Zadra imao je književnik Miroslav Krleža. On je svojim zalaganjem privukao pozornost i akademске i stručne zajednice i političke elite te pogurao obnovu Zadra u boljem smjeru. U svojem dnevniku o posjetu Zadru iz 1948. detaljnim opisima slikovito je dočarao razočaravajuće stanje grada, a organiziranjem izložbe „Zlato i srebro Zadra“ (1951. u Zagrebu) te nevjerojatno elokventnim i pametnim predgovorom uspio je nešto što u šest godina nije nitko.⁴

U trećem poglavlju pod naslovom „Regulacijski plan Zadra iz 1945/1945. godine“ (str. 251–368) detaljnije saznajemo sve okolnosti nastanka i realizacije spomenutog regulacijskog plana. Ovo poglavlje bit će posebno korisno arhitektima, ali i konzervatorima jer govori o prvim većim koracima koji su poduzeti u vezi s obnovom grada. Naime, misao je vodilja bila da bi trebalo izgraditi „novi Zadar“, odnosno trebalo bi obnoviti samo povijesne spomenike kojima bi se nova arhitektura trebala volumenom prilagoditi i ne bi ih trebala stilski oponašati. Također, novogradnje oko spomenika trebale bi biti prizemnice ili jednokatnice da bi spomenuti spomenici postali središnje točke u urbanističkom tkivu grada. Upravo su se u tom razdoblju obnovile zgrade Liceja sv. Dimitrija – današnje Sveučilište u Zadru.

U četvrtom poglavlju riječ je o natječaju za regulacijsku osnovu Zadra iz 1953. godine (str. 369–478). Ono

“in the shadow of the ramparts of an ever-defiant city” is very significant and interesting, especially from a historical and artistic aspect, because it provides a detailed insight into the first conservation steps after the bombing. The author describes the first attempts to repair the damage done to today's most significant historical buildings, such as: the church of St. Anastasia, the church and monastery of St. Francis, the City Lodge, the complex of St. Chrysogonus, and the church of St. Donatus. In addition, the author emphasizes the importance of her predecessors, without whom her work would be very difficult or even impossible: “In the context of the work of archaeologists and conservators in Zadar, the texts of Ivo Petricoli, Grgo Gamulin, Cvito Fisković, Grga Oštarić, Ksenija Radulić, Pavuša Vežić, Mate Suić, Šime Batović, and Boris Ilakovac played a particularly important role.”³ With these words, the author encourages other scholars, and confirms that well-written papers make sense and make a difference. Perhaps this difference cannot be seen immediately or it does not seem tangible, but this book is proof that systematic research and quality texts are of great importance for any progress. In addition to the mentioned scientists, the writer Miroslav Krleža played a very significant role in the restoration of the historical centre of Zadar. He made successful efforts in attracting the attention of the academic and professional community as well as the political elite, and he pushed the reconstruction of Zadar in a better direction. In his diary about his visit to Zadar in 1948, he vividly depicted the disappointing state of the city with detailed descriptions, and by organizing the exhibition Gold and Silver of Zadar (1951 in Zagreb), and with an incredibly eloquent and clever foreword, he achieved something that no one has managed to do in six years.⁴

In the third chapter of the book entitled “Regulation Plan of Zadar from 1945/1945” (pp. 251–368) we learn in more detail about all the circumstances surrounding the creation and implementation of the aforementioned regulation plan. This chapter will be especially useful for architects and conservators, as it presents the first major steps taken in the reconstruction of the city. Namely, the leading thought was that a “new Zadar” should be built, that is, only historical monuments should be restored, and the new architecture should adapt to the monuments in terms of volume and should not imitate them

³ Mlikota 2021: 179.

⁴ Miroslav Krleža inicirao je izradu projekta adaptacije Samostana Sv. Marije; Mlikota 2021: 199.

³ Mlikota 2021: 179.

⁴ Miroslav Krleža initiated the development of the adaptation project for St. Mary's monastery; Mlikota 2021: 199.

donosi pogled na razne faze kroz koje je proces obnove povjesne jezgre Zadra prolazio. Naime, konzervator Grga Oštrić svojim je glasnim, ali i opravdanim kritikama uspio suspendirati provođenje regulacijskog plana iz 1946. godine jer je, kako sam kaže, bio pun manjkavosti i pogrešaka.⁵ Razdoblje između dva plana obilježeno je novim shvaćanjem da obnovi toliko razorenog grada treba pristupiti stručno i cijelovito te da treba izbjegći da se obnavlja dio po dio. Bio je dug i zamoran proces, prepun različitih faza, ali bio je važan jer je omogućio kretanje obnove u znatno boljem pravcu. U ovom poglavlju može se pronaći detaljan opis smjernica natječaja te cijeli proces selekcije rada. Također, ovdje su na jednom mjestu okupljeni svi natječajni radovi te ih se može usporediti i zamisliti kako je sve Zadar mogao izgledati.

„Idejna urbanistička i arhitektonska rekonstrukcija Zadra Brune Milića“ naslov je petog poglavlja (str. 479–638), a riječ je o regulacijskom planu Zadra koji je osmislio arhitekt Bruno Milić 1955. godine. Iz tekstova i priloženih skica vidljivo je da je arhitekt B. Milić odlučio staviti naglasak na antičku urbanističku matricu. Njegov pristup unošenju novih sadržaja u povjesnu jezgru bio je vrlo oprezan i pun poštovanja, smatrao je da treba paziti da ne bi došlo do sukoba između starog i novog. Osim toga, bio je zainteresiran za mišljenja građana pa su zbog toga organizirana razna predavanja na kojima je pokušao približiti i objasniti svoj plan, a bio je otvoren i za sugestije te je smatrao da nijedno rješenje ne mora biti konačno. Naravno, idejni plan arhitekta Milića ostao je upravo to – idejni. Od ideje do realizacije mnogo se toga izgubilo jer nisu svi imali isti stav. Posebno je razočaravajuća činjenica da je metoda rušenja pa ponovnog građenja za vrijeme obnove grada bila zapravo legalna i provodila se bez pretjeranog razmišljanja o posljedicama što je dovelo do toga da je veliki dio izvorne arhitektonске građe bio uništen ili otuđen – svatko tko bi se u tom trenutku našao u gradu i odlučio iskoristiti priliku za „besplatan“ građevni materijal, mogao je to učiniti. Također, u ovom su poglavlju analizirane adaptacije i pregradnje koje su se provodile bez natječaja, kao na primjer regulacija takozvanog bloka „Krševan“ i bloka uz gradski bedem.

⁵ Iako je plan suspendiran, do 1953. godine bespravno je izgrađeno šesnaest zgrada na području povjesne jezgre; Mlikota 2021: 299–300.

stylistically. Also, new buildings around the monuments should be ground level or one-story buildings, so that the mentioned monuments become central points in the urban fabric of the city. It was during this period that the buildings of the Lyceum of St. Demetrius – which are today's University of Zadar – were rebuilt.

The fourth chapter is entitled “Tender for the regulatory basis of Zadar from 1953” (pp. 369–478). This chapter provides an overview of the various stages of the restoration process of the historic centre of Zadar. Namely, the conservator Grga Oštrić managed to suspend the implementation of the regulation plan from 1946 with his loud but justified criticisms because, according to him, it was full of shortcomings and errors.⁵ The period between the two plans was marked by a new understanding that the reconstruction of such a destroyed city should be approached professionally and comprehensively, and that part-by-part rebuilding should be avoided. It was a long and tiresome process, full of different stages, but it was important because it enabled the reconstruction to move in a much better direction. In this chapter, you can find a detailed description of tender guidelines, as well as the entire selection process. Also, all the tenders are collected here in a single place, so they can be compared, and it can be imagined what Zadar might have looked like.

“Conceptual urban and architectural reconstruction of Zadar by Bruno Milić” is the title of the fifth chapter (pp. 479–638), and it is about the regulation plan of Zadar designed by the architect Bruno Milić in 1955. From the texts, but also from the attached sketches, it is evident that the architect B. Milić decided to emphasize the ancient urban matrix. His approach to introducing new content into the historical core was very cautious and respectful, and he believed that careful steps should be taken so that no conflicts occur between the old and the new. In addition, he was interested in citizens' opinions, which is why various lectures were organized where he tried to describe and explain his plan, and he was also open to suggestions and believed that no solution had to be final. Of course, the conceptual plan of architect Milić remained just that – a conceptual plan. A lot was lost in the process from an idea to realization, because not everyone had the same opinion. Particularly disappointing is the fact that the method of demolishing and rebuilding during the reconstruction of the city was

⁵ Although the plan was suspended, by 1953 sixteen buildings were illegally built in the historic core; Mlikota 2021: 299–300.

Šesto, ujedno i zadnje poglavlje „Između zamisli i provedbe“ (str. 639–762) počinje odbacivanjem plana Brune Milića. Naime, u svibnju 1958. godine održan je sastanak Savjeta za urbanizam i građevinarstvo pri Narodnom odboru općine Zadar na kojem se raspravljalo o provedbi plana Brune Milića, ali na sastanak nije bio pozvan sam arhitekt. Plan je odbačen uz objašnjenje da svojom koncepcijom ne rješava problem obnove na najvišem nivou, stoga su raspisani novi natječaji – natječaj za regulaciju užeg gradskog središta, urbanistički natječaj za prostor oko povijesnih spomenika i dio obale ispod njih te arhitektonski natječaj za dio regulacije Široke ulice (Kalelarge). Tako je umjesto regulacijskog i idejnog plana jednog arhitekta obnova pojedinih dijelova grada pripala različitim arhitektima ili se provodila bez natječaja i ovisno o željama lokalne vlasti i investitora. Iz spomenutoga je bilo očito da će ideja o stručnoj i cjelovitoj obnovi grada ipak čekati neka bolja vremena. Također, u ovom poglavlju detaljno su opisane građevine čija je gradnja započela u razdoblju od 1959. do 1967. godine, opisano je zatečeno stanje te adaptacije koje su se dogodile u tom razdoblju. Autorica u zaključku naglašava da su adaptacije zapravo podrazumijevale rušenje do temelja i ponovno zidanje, a posebno je zanimljiv primjer blok zgrada u Zagrebačkoj ulici (danasa Ulica don Ive Prodana). Iako taj blok zgrada nije izravno stradao u bombardiranju, bio je u vrlo do trajalom i ruševnom stanju zbog zanemarivanja, no stanari su bili izrazito protiv toga da se blok ruši pa je često dolazilo do fizičkih sukoba između stanara i radnika. Bez obzira na to, blok je srušen, a zajedno s njim nestalo je renesansno stubište, pročelja dviju građevina koja su imala romaničke elemente u prizemlju te pročelja s gotičko-renaissance prozorima.

Za kraj, vrijedi naglasiti da iako je bilo mnogo propusta i neodlučnosti u obnovi povijesne jezgre grada Zadra od 1944. do 1967. godine, obnova je ipak djełomično pratila idejno rješenje arhitekta B. Milića. Osim toga, razgovori o prvim i pravim smjernicama za sustavno obnavljanje i zaštitu povijesnih cjelina tek se događaju tih godina i na području cijele Europe. Na primjer, tek se nakon Haške konvencije 1954. godine uopće uvodi pojam „skupine zgrada koje se štite“ u konzervatorsku praksu, a tri godine kasnije održan je Prvi međunarodni kongres o urbanističkom rješavanju povijesnih ambijenata u Milatu. Također, tek je nakon poznate Venecijanske povelje 1964. godine

actually legal, and it was done without much regard for consequences, leading to much of the original architecture being destroyed or stolen by whoever happened to be there and decided to use the opportunity for “free” building material. Also, this chapter analyses the adaptations and reconstructions that were carried out without tenders, such as the regulation of the so-called “Krševan (Chrysogonus)” block and the block next to the city rampart.

The sixth chapter, which is the last chapter, “Between the idea and implementation” (pp. 639–762), begins with the rejection of Bruno Milić’s plan. Namely, in May 1958, a meeting of the Council for Urban Planning and Construction was held at the People’s Committee of Zadar Municipality, where the implementation of Bruno Milić’s plan was discussed, but the architect himself was not invited to the meeting. The plan was rejected on the grounds that its concept did not solve the problem of renovation at the highest level, therefore new tenders were announced – a tender for the regulation of the inner-city centre, an urban tender for the area around the historical monuments and part of the coast below them, and an architectural tender for part of the regulation of Široka ulica (Kalelarga). Thus, instead of the regulatory and conceptual plan of a single architect, the renovation of certain parts of the city fell to different architects or was carried out without a tender, depending on the wishes of the local government and investors. From the above, it is obvious that the idea of a professional and complete reconstruction of the city would wait for better times. Also, this chapter describes in detail the buildings started from 1959 to 1967, and also the state and the adaptations that took place during that period. In her conclusion, the author emphasizes that adaptations actually meant demolition to the ground and rebuilding, and a particularly interesting example is the block of buildings in Zagrebačka ulica (today’s Ulica don Ive Prodana). Although that block of buildings was not directly damaged by the bombing, it was in a very dilapidated and derelict state due to neglect, but the tenants were strongly against the block being demolished, so there were often physical conflicts between the tenants and the workers. Regardless, the block was demolished, and together with the block, the Renaissance staircase, the facades of two buildings that had Romanesque elements on the ground floor, as well as the facades with Gothic-Renaissance windows, were lost.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing that although there were many omissions and indecisiveness in the reconstruction

počela sustavna zaštita, obnova i oživljavanje povijesnih cjelina.⁶ Dakle, obnova povijesne jezgre Zadra primjer je dobre prakse jer su stručnjaci cijelo vrijeme težili pronalasku ravnoteže između obnove povijesnih i gradnje novih građevina koje su trebale izgledati skladno u prostoru.

Knjiga izv. prof. Mlikote *Zadar – obnova i izgradnja nakon razaranja u Drugome svjetskom ratu* važno je i nezaobilazno štivo za sve koji se bave problemima zaštite i obnove spomenika te urbanizmom – i za stručnjake i studente te za ostalu zainteresiranu javnost. Isto tako, pojedini tekstovi u knjizi pružaju dublje razumijevanje povijesnih i društvenih promjena koje su oblikovale grad Zadar jer je dodatna pažnja usmjerena i na atmosferu među ljudima tog vremena te na političku situaciju u tom razorenom gradu. Očigledno je da autorica pristupa temi s velikom pažnjom i dubinskom analizom, a samim time olakšava drugim znanstvenicima daljnje istraživanje zbog čega je neupitan njezin znanstveni doprinos. Osim toga, stil kojim je knjiga pisana je konkretn, jasan i nepretenciozan, što znači da će u njoj moći uživati i neakademska publika. Na taj način knjiga značajno doprinosi popularizaciji znanosti, a to je svakako još jedna njezina dobra strana.

of the historical core of the city of Zadar from 1944 to 1967, the reconstruction partially followed the conceptual solution of the architect B. Milić. In addition, discussions about the first and true guidelines for the systematic restoration and protection of historical objects were just starting to take place throughout Europe in those years. For example, it was only after the Hague Convention in 1954 that the term “group of buildings to be protected” was introduced into conservation practice, and three years later the First International Congress on Urban Management of Historic Environments was held in Milan. Likewise, only with the well-known Venice Charter from 1964 did the systematic protection, restoration and revival of historical entities begin.⁶ Thus, the restoration of the historic core of Zadar is an example of good practice, as the experts have strived the whole time to find a balance between the restoration of historic buildings and the construction of new buildings that would look harmonious in shared space.

Book by associate professor Mlikote, *Zadar – the reconstruction and construction after the Second World War destruction*, is an important and essential reading for all those who deal with the problems of protection and restoration of monuments and urbanism, both for experts and students, and other interested members of the public. Likewise, some texts in the book provide a deeper understanding of the historical and social changes that shaped the city of Zadar, as additional attention is focused on the atmosphere among the people of that time as well as on the political situation in the devastated city. It is obvious that the author approaches the topic with great attention and in-depth analysis, thus facilitating further research for other scientists, which is why her scientific contribution is unquestionable. In addition, the style in which the book is written is concrete, clear and unpretentious, which means that non-academic audiences will also be able to enjoy it. In this way, the book significantly contributes to the popularization of science, which is certainly another good side of this work.

⁶ Mlikota 2021: 759.

⁶ Mlikota 2021: 759.

Bibliografija / *Bibliography*

Popis literature / *Literature*

Mlikota 2021 – Antonija Mlikota, *Zadar – obnova i izgradnja nakon razaranja u Drugome svjetskom ratu*, Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2021.

