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FIG. 1 WORKERS' RESORT ORCE NIKOLOV AT LAKE OHRID, VIEWS FROM THE 1950S:
A) LAKE VIEW; B) ENTRANCE VIEW FROM THE HILL.

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EGON STEINMANN'S ARCHITECTURAL ENGAGEMENT IN NORTH MACEDONIA IN 1946

LAKE OHRID, NORTH MACEDONIA
POST-WAR RENEWAL
PUBLIC BUILDINGS
SKOPJE, NORTH MACEDONIA
SOCIALIST PERIOD
STEINMANN, EGON

The paper offers a comprehensive overview of the dynamic and challenging post-war period that architects faced following World War II. It focuses on the specific circumstances, professional changes, and social reactions that influenced their work and career paths. The aim is to provide a comprehensive biography of architect Egon Steinmann within the context of 20th-century Croatian architecture and to promote Croatian architects working in various regions, particularly in Skopje and Ohrid. It examines two significant projects designed in the first post-war phase in North Macedonia. Steinmann was sent to

Skopje from September to December 1946 to work on the design of large public buildings as part of a solidarity initiative across former Yugoslavia aimed at aiding post-war reconstruction. He designed the Workers' Resort Orce Nikolov, situated along the lakeshore of Ohrid. The Resort currently remains abandoned and neglected, facing an uncertain future. In Skopje, he collaborated with Vlado Antolić on the design of the Ministry of Internal Affairs building, which was later converted into a university building. The building no longer exists; it was destroyed in the 1963 earthquake.

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on Egon Steinmann's brief employment at 'Probiro za Makedonija' in Skopje in 1946. This position was part of a Yugoslav-wide exchange and solidarity program aimed at post-war reconstruction. The Macedonian intermezzo represents the architect's intermediate phase, during which he designed significant buildings in Ohrid and Skopje. In Ohrid, Steinmann designed the Workers' Resort Orce Nikolov, and in Skopje, the Ministry of Internal Affairs building.¹ The 1963 earthquake destroyed the building in Skopje, and the tourist resort at Lake Ohrid remains intact despite the passage of time and decades of disuse.

The challenges he faced during the first decade after World War II have not been adequately explored. A full decade has passed since Egon Steinmann's last architectural publication (Muraj, 2015), and only published research serves as a permanent record of findings, ensuring that knowledge is disseminated and shared. This paper aims to complement the architect's biography within the context of 20th-century Croatian architecture and to promote Croatian architects working outside Croatia.

Egon Steinmann² was a former student at the Architectural Department of the High Royal Technical School in Zagreb, where he studied from 1920 to 1924. The frequent political changes and state transitions in the region

reflected the institutional transformations and had a direct impact on Steinmann's professional path (Table I).

He began his career in 1925 as an architectural intern at the Ministry of Construction in the Construction Directorate in Zagreb. In 1930, he joined the Technical Department of the Sava Banovina, which operated until 1939. That year, he was transferred to the Department for Technical Works of the Banovina of Croatia. In 1941, he moved to the Department for Public Works at the Ministry of Transport and Public Works. Before World War II, Steinmann successfully designed public and educational buildings in Zagreb. Notable projects from the 1930s and 1940s include the Institute of Physics on Marulić Square (1927-1929), the Orthopedic Clinic on Šalata, a school in Krizanićeva Street (1930), the 'Sokolana' gymnasium in Kačićeva Street (1933), a school in Kušlanova Street (1934), and Post Office II in Branimirova Street (1939).

After World War II, Steinmann contributed to the reconstruction of Macedonia. In September 1946, he was temporarily assigned to 'Probiro za Makedonija', a Design Institute under the Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of Macedonia located in Sko-

¹ PA.s; PA.t.

² Steinmann, Egon (14/12/1901, Karlovac – 20/2/1966, Zagreb).

³ PA.s.

⁴ Steinmann designed several large industrial facilities, including: The Oil and transport equipment factory in Sesevski Kraljevac (1948), the incinerator and wagon halls 'Duro Đaković' in Slavonski Brod (1949-1950), the Glass factory in Straza (1954), the Oil factory in Slovenska Bistrica (1960), the Brewery in Otočac (1961), the Oil factory Zagreb (1963), the biscuits and wafers factory 'J. Kras' in Zagreb (1961-1965), etc. (Muraj, 2004).

⁵ Unfortunately, the original architectural drawings have not been found. Only a few photographs and correspondence have been preserved in the family archive (PA).

⁶ Archival research was conducted on two occasions in 2024: in September in the Skopje Department and in November in the Ohrid Department.

⁷ For the Ministry of Internal Affairs building in Skopje, only two drafts for the sewage systems, designed by 'Projektanski biro za Makedonija', are available in the archive, dated 1948 (DARSM-S).

⁸ For the Workers' Resort Orce Nikolov in Ohrid, the archive lacks any architectural documentation. Documentation for the water supply, sewage system, and electrical installations for the adaptation of the Resort Orce Nikolov, dated 1964, is available (DARSM-O).

⁹ The building designed by architects Antolic and Steinmann is presented with a photograph and a floor plan (Tokarev, 2006).

¹⁰ Štejman (Kocevski, 2018).

¹¹ The architect's name is not mentioned.

¹² The motivation for this paper is to supplement architectural data, that Steinmann designed the Workers' Resort at Lake Ohrid in 1946 (PA.s-t).

pje. He worked at a state-owned bureau for a period of two and a half months.³ After returning from Skopje to Zagreb, he began working at the National Design Institute in 1947 and then at the Architectural Design Institute in 1949. From 1951 to 1965, he was employed at the Architectural Design Institute for Industry PLAN, where he specialized in the design and construction of industrial buildings. He held this position until he retired in 1965.⁴

RESEARCH METHODS AND SOURCES

Historical research methods, including document analysis, archival research, and literature reviews, were employed to investigate the past. The research primarily concentrated on gathering data materials from family members' private archives. Document analysis involved examining and interpreting letters, photographs, legal records, and government reports to extract relevant information.⁵ On-site visits to Skopje and Ohrid were conducted in 2014 and 2024. Archival research entailed examining documents from the State Archives of the Republic of North Macedonia.⁶ The Skopje Department contains minimal records⁷, because the old archive building was destroyed in the 1963 earthquake, and the original documents were lost. The Ohrid Department contains no original materials. The available documentation comes from a later adaptation project.⁸ The limited archival material of original architectural documentation for buildings represented an obstacle. The lack of institutional evidence regarding Steinmann's work in Macedonia highlights the role of private archives (correspondence material) that compensate for gaps in the national archives.

The literature review explored the Macedonian architecture in English following World War II (Tomovski, Volinjec, and Popovski, 1974; Kulic, 2009; Kulic, Mrduljas, and Thaler, 2012), specifically, the architecture designed by Croatian architects (Tokarev, 2006: 81). Publications are limited in scope to individual projects of the pre-war period (Mickovski and Djokić, 2015), architects (Mahečić, 1999; Mikic, 2002; Ivanković and Obad Šćitaroci, 2011; Bjažić Klarin, 2020), specific styles (Grchev and Grcheva, 2019), broader themes of Skopje architecture (Elezi and Saliu, 2014; Marina, and Pencic, (n.d.)) and former Yugoslav architecture (Kulic, 2009; Kulic and Stierli, 2018).

The literature search focused on gathering relevant information about the buildings designed by Steinmann in Skopje and Ohrid. The Ministry of Internal Affairs building in Skopje is included in an overview of Croatian

TABLE I OVERVIEW OF STEINMANN'S EMPLOYMENT

Year	Institution/Company	Department	Place	State
1925-1929	Ministry of Construction	Construction Directorate	Zagreb	Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes
1929-1939	Ministry of Construction Royal Ban Administration of the Sava Banovina	Technical Department	Zagreb	Kingdom of Yugoslavia
1939	Ministry of Construction	Department for Technical Works	Zagreb	Banovina of Croatia
1941-1945	Ministry of Transport and Public Works	Department for Public Works	Zagreb	Independent State of Croatia
1946	Ministry of Construction	Design Institute 'Probiro za Makedonija'	Skopje	People's Republic of Macedonia
1947	Ministry of Construction	National Design Institute	Zagreb	People's Republic of Croatia
1949	Ministry of Construction	Architectural Design Institute	Zagreb	People's Republic of Croatia
1951-1965	Architectural Design Institute for Industry PLAN		Zagreb	People's Republic of Croatia

architects' works in Macedonia by Tokarev.⁹ The building later housed many faculties, so its photograph is included in the celebratory publications of individual faculties (Gjorgoski, 2016: 12). The 1963 Skopje earthquake generated numerous publications and press articles that mention the damage to the University building, but they often state the wrong architect's name¹⁰ or fail to mention the architect's name at all (Ščekić, 1963: 15; Petrovski, 2004; Gelevski, 2014: 79). The Workers' Resort in Ohrid is promoted as a tourist facility (***) (1965), a new resort (Antolic, 1949), and even criticized for its size (***) (1955)¹¹ in professional publications in the 1950s and 1960s. The recent book 'Revealing the Forgotten Tourism' (Lekovska, 2023) catalogs the Workers' Resort as one of the summer tourist-purpose buildings at Lake Ohrid in the 1950s. Possibly, due to a lack of records and the passage of time, the architect's name is unknown.¹²

CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

The end of World War II in May 1945 led to significant changes in Europe. A new order was established, and the Yugoslav Federation was formed. The post-war rebuilding of this new country was a complex process that occurred in several stages. The primary goal was to restore the war-torn nation and create a new social and political framework. In the first phase (1945-1948), the focus was on the most basic needs (food, accommodation, and key infrastructure). The period was marked by elementary reconstruction, basic infrastructure construction, and an initial industrialization. The widespread destruction created an urgent need for architects and builders to reconstruct and redesign cities,

towns, and buildings in ruins. In the construction sector, housing projects were the first to be developed, followed by schools, kindergartens, and cultural centers (** 1952; V.B., 1953). Efforts were made, wherever possible, to transition to standardized and prefabricated buildings that could be assembled quickly off-site (schools, housing, hospitals, etc.) However, to establish the new social system, the construction of representative buildings also began, drawing on the experiences of interwar modernism.¹³

In essence, the post-war period was a time of significant transition for architects. Many architects adapted their practices under the socialist regime. The shortage of qualified professionals in urban planning and architecture was addressed by promoting collaboration among specialists, organizing them into teams, adhering to established standards, and reducing individual planning efforts. Private offices were nationalized, and the profession was reorganized into state-owned architectural and urban planning offices at various administrative levels, ranging from federal to local city levels. It was the period of centrally organized professional services, in which architects were assigned posts according to bureaucratic command.¹⁴ The state structure at that time gave special significance to state design institutes, which were attached to the federal and six republican ministries of construction and gathered experienced architects (Kulic, 2009: 32-33).

CROATIAN ARCHITECTS IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

The industrialization and urbanization of post-war Macedonia required the involvement of external associates, particularly architects.¹⁵ There was uneven development among the six former republics, with Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia being the developed republics, while Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia were underdeveloped. For example, Croatia had 320 architects and engineers (Kulic, 2009: 33-34), and Macedonia had only four architects (Tomoški, Čakelja, Artemušin, and Čipan; Čipan, 1974: 22). The formal education in engineering including architecture became possible in Skopje only in 1949 when the Technical Faculty comprising the Departments of Civil Engineering and Architecture was founded and became part of the University of Skopje (now the Saints Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje).¹⁶ Lacking formally educated architects, Macedonian cities were modernized under the leadership of architects from Belgrade and Zagreb (Antolić, 1949a: 19; Cvitković and Kline, 2017: 41). Some worked from

their home republic, while others were sent to Macedonia for short or extended periods. They had various roles, contributing to the renovation and construction of all structures (Mrduljaš and Bjažić Klarin, 2014: 165-166). They worked as urban planners (architects Vladimir Antolić, Antun Ulrich, Branko Vasiljević), as designers (architects Selimir Dumenčić, Ivo Gersić, Slavko Löwy, Dragica Perak, Egon Steinmann, Ivan Vitić), and professors at the Skopje Technical faculty (architects Gjuro Ancel and Valdemar Balley, engineer Juraj Erega) (V.B., 1953; Čipan, 1974: 22).

Central figures in the Macedonian context were prominent architects Anton Ulrich and Vladimir Antolić, who made significant contributions to shaping Macedonia's built environment. Anton Ulrich¹⁷ designed the resort in Oteševo, located on Lake Prespa, in collaboration with Dragica Perak in 1948. It marked the beginning of the development of tourist activities on Macedonia's lakeshores.¹⁸ In 1949, Ulrich relocated to Skopje, where he taught at the newly established Department of Architecture at the Technical Faculty until

¹³ Numerous European countries undertook extensive reconstruction and modernization projects, which, particularly in the context of devastated cities, often led to a shift toward modernist architectural development and urban planning.

¹⁴ The posts in other republics would not have been possible without the organization at the state institutional level. The Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY) was officially established in 1945. The Ministry of Construction, based in Zagreb, was responsible for overseeing all institutions involved in construction work and operated under the Government of the People's Republic of Croatia. The higher level was the Government of the FPRY, along with the Ministry of Construction of the FPRY, located in Belgrade.

¹⁵ Macedonia's interwar architecture featured early modernism, shaped mainly by architects from Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. An interwar modernity gradually emerged in Skopje, introducing a synthesis of the heritage remaining in the aftermath of the centuries of Ottoman rule and the modernist architecture of Western Europe (Babić, 2018).

¹⁶ Opportunities to study architecture were not equal. In 1919, the High Technical School was established in Zagreb. In the same year, the Technical Faculty of the University of Ljubljana, was established. The oldest school is the Engineering School at the Lyceum in Belgrade, founded in 1846 (Ladinski, 2023: 99, 101).

¹⁷ Ulrich, Anton (24/12/1902, Zagreb – 27/3/1998, Zagreb), studied in Vienna from 1923-1927 at the Academy of Arts (Kunstgewerbeschule) that later became the High school of applied arts (Hochschule für angewandte Kunst).

¹⁸ It is the first official tourist facility built in Socialist Macedonia and represented an early example of the typical pavilion typology (Mikić, 2002: 204-207; Lekovska, 2023: 18, 113-162).

¹⁹ Antolić, Vlado (4/6/1903, Dezanovac, Daruvar – 13/5/1981, Zagreb), graduated in 1927 from the Technical High School in Vienna (today TU Wien).

²⁰ Steinmann was questioned on 5th and 18th June 1945 (PA.a).

his return to Zagreb in 1953 (Mikić, 2002: 12). Vladimir Antolić¹⁹ was involved in the urban planning practice of Macedonian cities. He created a Regulation Plan for Bitola, Prilep, and Ohrid (Antolić, 1949b-d), as well as the coastal area of Lake Ohrid (Antolić, Apptulah, 1949). He suggested interventions that were sensitive to specific local contexts and situations (Antolić, 1949a: 21-23). The design practices of Antolić and Ulrich were greatly influenced by regional architecture, including its traditional elements and materials.

ARCHITECTURAL CASE STUDY: EGON STEINMANN IN NORTH MACEDONIA

Understanding the life experiences of architects in the post-war period requires detailing all relevant circumstances. This paper examines the challenges individuals were faced with while searching for employment after war. Steinmann was arrested in Zagreb on June 13, 1945²⁰, detained for 14 days in Maksimir, and released without sentence or further investigation on June 30, 1945.²¹ At the end of July, he secured a position as an architectural

²¹ PA.b.

²² At the beginning of July, he contacted the Ministry of Construction in search of a job.

²³ From civil service were dismissed: Vlado Švob, Ivo Bartolić, Juraj Bertol, Mijo Bertak, Zvonimir Crnokrak, Mirko Kovač, Kornel Klemencić, Pero Mastnak-Car, Egon Steinmann, Olga Lovincić, Josip Prebeg, Josip Knezević, Hinko Vichra, Zicrija Ovcina, Dujo Budak, Milivoj Szazunić, Branko Vasilic (PA.c).

²⁴ PA.d.

²⁵ At the end of World War II, Steinmann faced a personal tragedy when his family's house at 35 Jakiceva Street was demolished in an air raid on Zagreb on February 22, 1944 (Muraj, 2004: 171).

²⁶ PA.e.

²⁷ PA.f.

²⁸ Steinmann was entitled to reimbursement for expenses related to his relocation (travel and moving expenses). After completing the work, he should return to the Ministry of Construction in Zagreb (PA.g).

²⁹ Regarding the summer tourism, summer holidays were taking place alongside the shores of Macedonia's three natural lakes – Ohrid, Prespa, and Dojran Lake. Lake Ohrid, one of the oldest and deepest natural lakes in Europe, has a rich natural and cultural heritage. The lake is located at a height of 695 meters above sea level. It is 30 kilometers long, about 14 kilometers wide, and has a maximum depth of 285 meters. Ohrid and Lake Ohrid were accepted as Cultural and Natural World Heritage Cities by UNESCO in 1979 and 1980 (Lekovska, 2023: 111, Petrevska and Collins-Kreiner, 2018).

³⁰ Limited tourist activity existed before the mid-20th century.

³¹ This is one of the busiest beaches, always tidy and clean.

³² Orce Nikolov refers to a prominent national hero and communist activist. The name is given to several institutions (academic institutions – high school, kindergarten, etc.) and streets.

engineer in the Department for Technical Works in Kutina.²² However, on the same day, Steinmann, among many others, was dismissed from civil service at the Ministry.²³ He tried to find a job, persistently wrote applications for re-employment, but had no success.²⁴ From May 9, 1945, to April 9, 1946, he was unemployed and went through tough times.²⁵ It was not until April 1946 that he was employed as an engineer in the Technical Department of the Central Office for Workers' Insurance, where he worked as a planner for four months.²⁶ Finally, in August 1946, Steinmann was at the disposal of the Ministry of Macedonia, by the decision of the National Ministry of Labor.²⁷ He was temporarily assigned to work at the Ministry of Construction in Skopje. Immediately in September 1946, Steinmann accepted the job and traveled to Skopje.²⁸ He was employed at 'Probiro za Makedonija', focusing on design challenges related to large public buildings. He designed the Workers' Resort at Lake Ohrid (later the Orce Nikolov hotel) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs building in Skopje (later the University building, home to the Faculty of Philosophy), where he collaborated with Vlado Antolić (Fig. 2).

THE WORKERS' RESORT AT LAKE OHRID

In the post-war period, Ohrid developed as an important summer tourist center. Both the city and the lake hold great natural and cultural value for the entire region.²⁹ Tourism in Macedonia was developed mostly for local citizens and workers. Domestic tourism development was characterized by a system of social tourism, represented by tourist facilities that included an extensive network of resorts (for workers, children, and youth), as well as camping sites, among others. The funding related to domestic tourism was minimal, resulting in modest building construction. The facilities were reserved for the members of a particular trade union, state administrative unit, youth organization, or a socialized company (the Yugoslav National Army, the Red Cross, etc). In this period, tourist construction activity happened along the shore of Lake Ohrid.³⁰ Modern accommodation facilities (hotels, resorts, etc.) were built around Lake Ohrid.

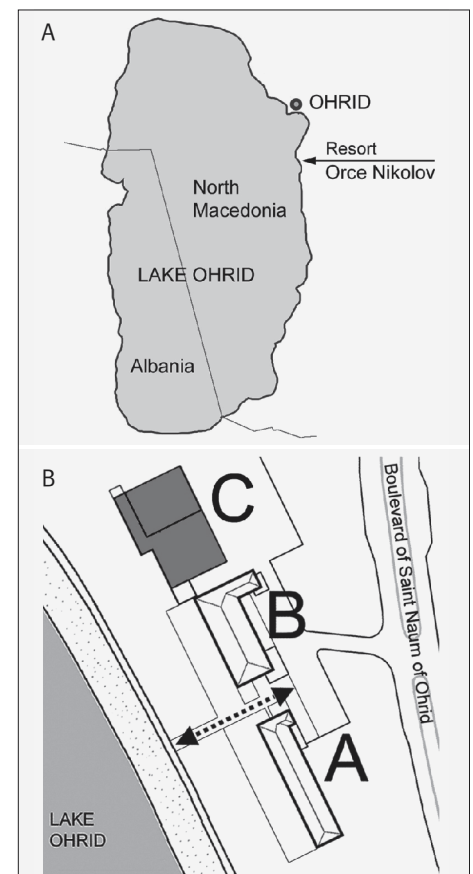
The Workers' Resort is located in the St. Stefan settlement, a beachside place along Lake Ohrid, located around 5 kilometers south of the city of Ohrid (Fig. 3a).³¹ It was named 'Orce Nikolov'.³²

The tourist complex was constructed in 1949 within the planned area designated for workers' resorts.³³ At that time, along the lake-



FIG. 2 LOCATIONS OF SKOPJE AND OHRID ON THE MAP OF NORTH MACEDONIA. SKOPJE IS THE CAPITAL AND LARGEST CITY OF NORTH MACEDONIA, LOCATED IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY. LAKE OHRID FORMS PART OF THE BORDER BETWEEN SOUTHWESTERN NORTH MACEDONIA AND EASTERN ALBANIA.

FIG. 3 A) THE MAP OF LAKE OHRID WITH THE LOCATION OF THE HOTEL ORCE NIKOLOV; B) THE CURRENT SCHEMATIC LAYOUT OF BUILDINGS: HOTEL ORCE NIKOLOV WITH ACCOMMODATION BUILDING (A) AND RESTAURANT (B), AND SLAVIA BEACH RESORT (C).



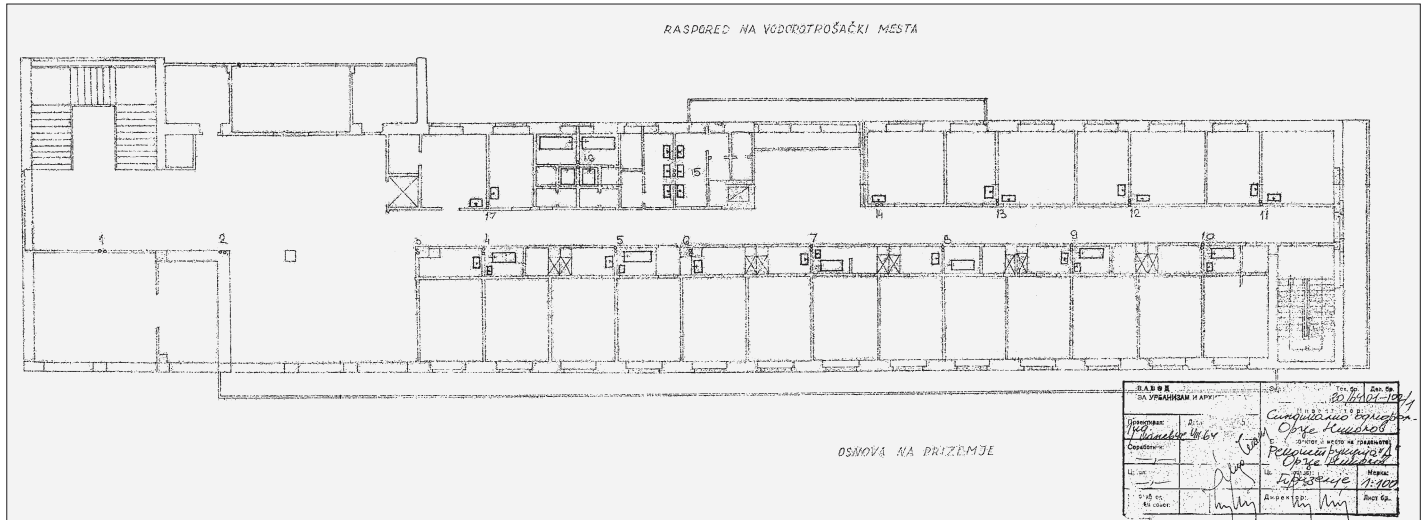


FIG. 4 WORKERS' RESORT ORCE NIKOLOV, ACCOMMODATION BUILDING (A), DRAFTS FOR THE WATER SUPPLY, GROUND FLOOR PLAN, RECONSTRUCTION, 1964

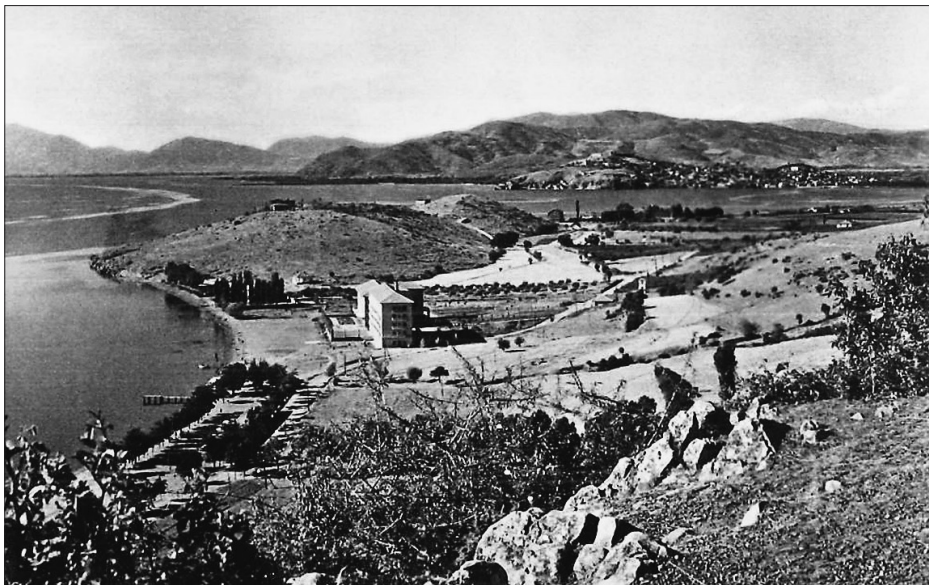
shore, there was limited tourist architecture activity (Fig. 5).

Afforestation was planned for the bare landscape. The resort is situated in an ideal location.³⁴ The resort complex consists of two buildings along the very shore of the lake, each serving a different purpose: the southern, higher and narrower one for accommodation units (A) and the northern and wider L-shaped one for community areas (B) containing restaurant and outer terrace (Fig. 3b). The access road, parking space, and raised covered entrance are from the top (east). The buildings are not connected. A pedestrian walkway between the buildings leads down to the lakeshore promenade and beach. The main entrance features a reception area, hall, lobby, and a main three-flight staircase, while the ac-

commodation units are located on the ground floor and the four floors above (Fig. 4).³⁵

The linear block features a simple architectural layout, with rooms arranged along a central corridor and staircases at both ends. Rooms facing west, which include bathrooms, offer a view of the lake. Some of these rooms also have balconies on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd floors, as well as on the south gable side. In contrast, the smaller rooms facing east only include a sink. The façades of the building are uniform, featuring a regular rhythm of openings. Still, they also include a variety of opening sizes (windows, French doors, balcony doors), and eaves, along with balconies and loggias. From the lake perspective, large-scale structures with pitched roofs increasingly dominate the landscape (Fig. 1).³⁶ The

FIG. 5 WORKER'S RESORT ALONG THE LAKEFRONT OF OHRID AND THE SURROUNDING NATURAL AND UNBUILT CONTEXT. IN THE BACKGROUND IS THE CITY OF OHRID.



33 The Regulation Plan of Lake Ohrid defines the lakeshore with several areas and centers. Ohrid, as the main tourist center, has representative hotels along the bay, and zones of temporary and permanent beach hotels for many people along the beach. From Ohrid towards the south, there is a family and mixed tourism area, a zone of smaller tourist centers, and individual smaller health resorts. The St. Stefan zone is planned as a tourist zone for a recovery facility for many people (specifically, for workers' resorts). Further south, health resorts for many people (sanatoriums) are planned (Antolic, 1949: 40, 44).

34 The resort is situated in a stunning natural landscape (lake coast, long beach, and near mountains), providing a setting for relaxation and recreation. It is close to the main road.

35 Drafts for the water supply, sewage system, and electrical installations for the adaptation (expansion and reconstruction) of the Resort Orce Nikolov (Buildings A and B), dated August 1964 (DARSM-O).

36 In the future, the scale of buildings should be adapted to the environment (Antolic, 1949: 40, 44).

37 Comparing the resort in St. Stefan to the one in Otesevo reveals the following: Both resorts are designed for workers and situated in a natural landscape along the lakes. They were designed by Croatian archi-



FIG. 6 WORKERS' RESORT ORCE NIKOLOV AT LAKE OHRID, RECENT VIEWS: A) LAKE VIEW IN 2014; B) ENTRANCE VIEW IN 2024

strong geometries characteristic of the modernist style, evident in the design and construction of early tourist structures, are juxtaposed with the organic forms of the surrounding natural landscape.³⁷

With the increase in tourist activity along the Ohrid lakeshore, many of the modest structures started to be replaced with hotels and hotel complexes to attract international visitors as well.³⁸

Today, the hotel has two objects, Slavija and Orce Nikolov. The Slavija hotel was reconstructed in 2013 and is open to guests.³⁹ The hotel Orce Nikolov has been closed for more than a decade (Fig. 6). Over time, this state of physical decay makes the building irreparable and contributes to the overall decline of its surrounding neighborhood. The present-day abandoned building, along with further physical deterioration due to weathering and a lack of maintenance, negatively impacts its future.

THE MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN SKOPJE

The building was situated on the southern bank of the River Vardar in the city center

ected and built during the same period. However, the size of the locations, facilities, and typologies is not comparable. The architectural composition in Oteševo consists of simple linear pavilions independently placed on the sloping terrain, creating a rhythmical composition with the surrounding context.

³⁸ The construction activity along the Ohrid's lakeshore in St. Stefan continued in 1956, where the architect Pantelej Mitkov designed Hotel Crvena Zastava (today Hotel Aqualina; Lekovska, 2023: 124).

³⁹ The Sahara Group, an Indian company, purchased and reconstructed the building in 2013. Hotel Slavija Beach Resort is a high B-category hotel.

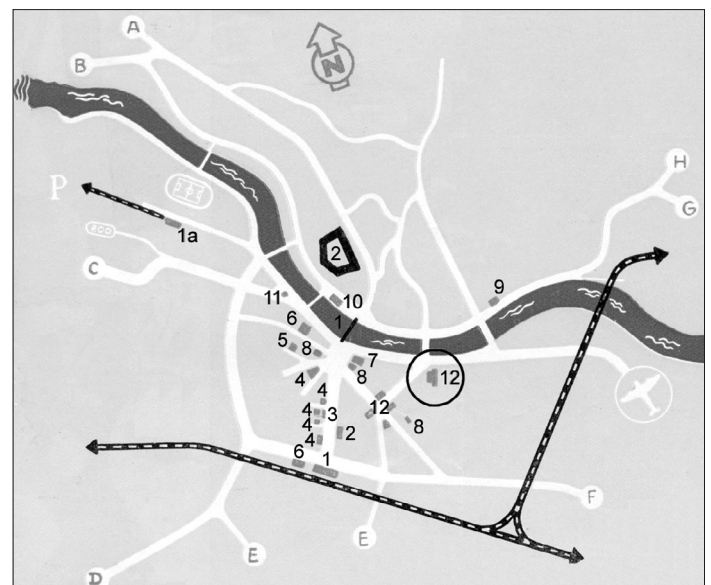
⁴⁰ The building was marked as an administrative building on the tourist map of the city.

(Fig. 7) and was oriented towards the main street (today Stiv Naumov Street), leading to the bridge (today Phillip II of Macedon Bridge) and across the river to the other bank (Fig. 9).

The large, symmetrical courtyard building, with two additional elongated wings, was a city landmark.⁴⁰ The core element of the building was an open courtyard around which the surrounding structures were grouped. The central, highest structure, with its long main porch, provided a welcoming, covered transition from the outdoors and flanked the main façade. The building had two secondary outer staircases and covered side entrances offering multiple points of access. The building had a basement, 4 (5) floors, and a pitched roof. A unified, rhythmic façade em-

FIG. 7 TOURIST MAP OF SKOPJE WITH THE LOCATION OF THE BUILDING (MARKED WITH A BLACK CIRCLE). LEGEND: A. ROAD TO KAČANIK, B. ROAD TO SARAJ-MATKA, C. ROAD TO NEREZI, D. ROAD TO VODNO (NEREŽI), E. ROAD TO VODNO, F. ROAD TO DRAČEVO, G. ROAD TO TITO'S VELES-GEVGELIJA, H. ROAD TO KUMANOVO;

1. RAILWAY STATION,
- 1A. LILLIPUT RAILWAY (SARAJ-MATKA),
2. FORTRESS,
3. STONE BRIDGE,
4. HOTEL,
5. HOTEL ARAB HOUSE,
6. POST OFFICE,
7. NATIONAL BANK,
8. MUSEUM,
9. NATIONAL LIBRARY,
10. NATIONAL THEATRE,
11. MONUMENT TO THE LIBERATORS OF SKOPJE,
12. ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDING.



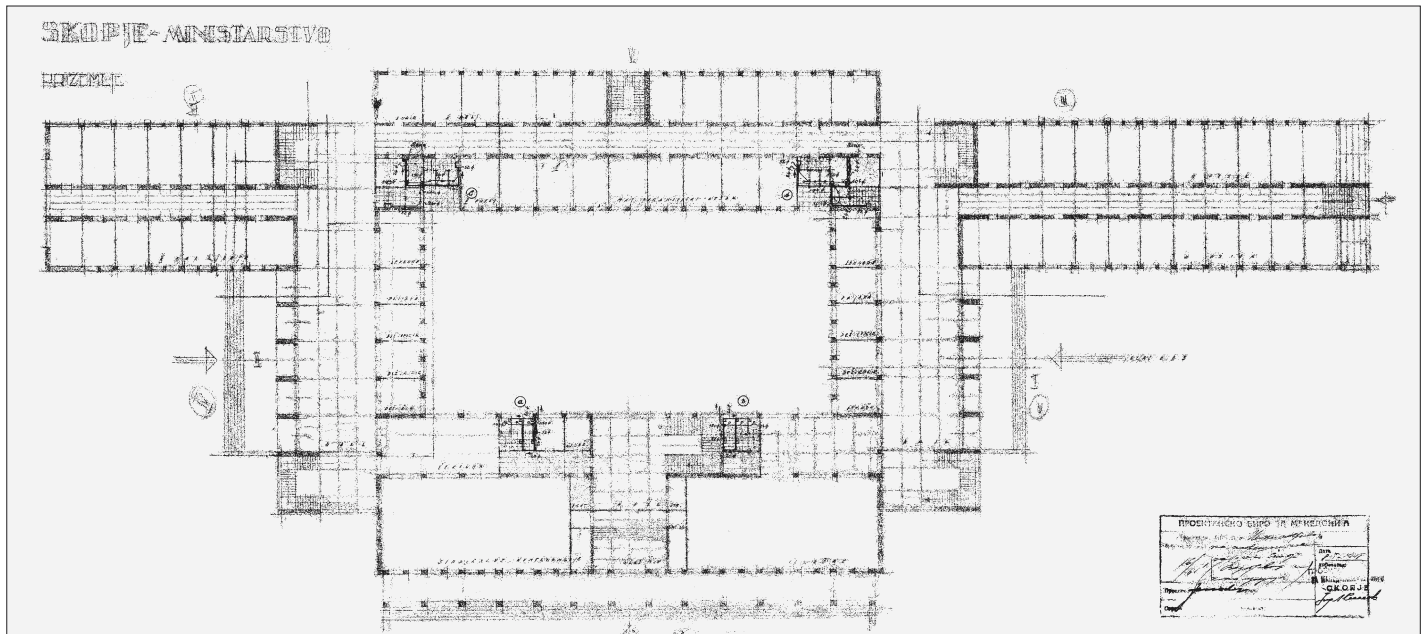


FIG. 8 SKOPJE – MINISTRY, DRAFT FOR THE SEWAGE SYSTEM, GROUND FLOOR PLAN, 1948

ployed a form of mass-based design, where different sections of the building were given distinct heights and rooflines. The repeating windows and cornice served to unify the overall composition and create a sense of order. It was a common architectural layout where six wings housed offices connected by a central corridor for access and facilitated movement between floors via shared seven stairwells (Fig. 8).⁴¹

ARCHITECT'S OBSERVATIONS ABOUT WORK

Steinmann was satisfied working in Skopje and had a positive experience with the design assignments:⁴²

I've never been so satisfied with perfectly completed architectural work, and I probably never will be again.

In addition to a profound appreciation for architectural work, he also mentioned the speed of work, which impacted deadlines and project completion.

I quickly finished some large plans, and we already carried copies in our briefcases.

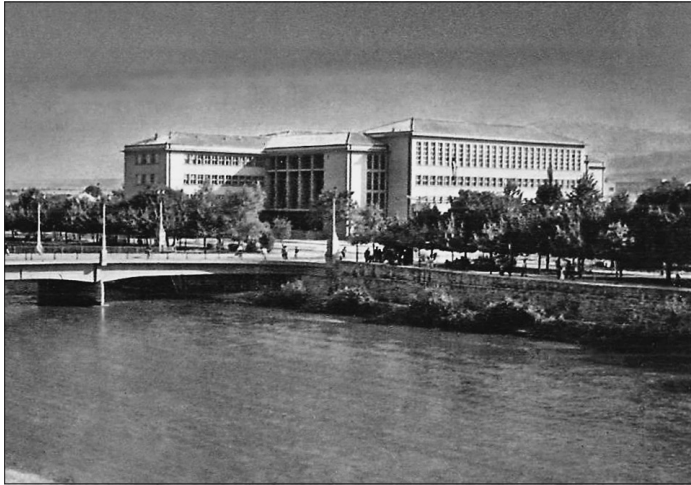
Politicians as investors were interested in the project's progress. Two situations can be selected regarding the pressure to finish the job quickly. The first incident involved the Macedonian Prime Minister Koliševski visiting the office to review the plans for the workers' resort. The second incident occurred outside the office, in a café, in the presence of the Minister, when the security intelligence service requested that the Ministry's design must be prioritized.⁴³ Steinmann described

the office environment as both cheerful and international, suggesting a positive and inclusive atmosphere with a diverse workforce. There were colleagues from various cultural backgrounds and architects from around the world – including those from Slovenia, Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia, and Germany. Steinmann was in contact with architect Vladimir Antolić, who was based in Ohrid at that time.

Steinmann also traveled across the country, visiting regional towns and natural beauties. In September, he reported from Bitola – a visit to Prilep, the Stobi archaeological site, and Lake Prespa.⁴⁴ In his words:

*We're leaving on a tour early tomorrow morning. We won't be far from Thessaloniki and the sea! We're moving along the roads of Hellenic travelers.*⁴⁵

After two months in Skopje, Steinmann felt a desire to depart. He hoped to continue the business cooperation after returning to Zagreb in December 1946.⁴⁶ He received written confirmation acknowledging his good work in Macedonia.⁴⁷ Communication during project development continued and was complemented by letters.⁴⁸ The writing from March 1948 reported that the building was being constructed according to the submitted plans. The detailed drawings for timber windows and doors had been completed. It was up to Steinmann to develop details for the façades, minister's office interior, vestibules, staircases, and halls.⁴⁹ In October 1949, due to the urgency of completing the Ministry 'palace', Captain Majekovski arrived in Zagreb to discuss all necessary technical details.⁵⁰ The building was initially designed for



41 Two drafts for the sewage system (ground floor and IV-V floor plan) are available in the archive, dated 1948 (DARSM-S).

42 Based on the private letters to his family (PA.o).

43 PA.n.

44 PA.m.

45 The phrase encapsulates a sense of exploration and historical connection with the legacy of Hellenic civilization (PA.l).

46 He hoped that no one would interfere with his plans (PA.n).

47 The confirmation is from the 'Probiro' manager (PA.i).

48 To finish the work he had started, regular updates were important. The attachment of the letter of December 19, 1946, contained a conceptual project and sketches that were sent for opinion and corrections; however, unfortunately, the drafts are not preserved (PA.h).

49 Twenty drafts were sent to Steinmann's private address from the 'Probiro', signed by the director Simov. He reported two significant changes. First, related to the timber roof structure covered with asbestos plates. Due to the large spans and the need to achieve the required height, the detail of the cornices was modified. Secondly, in block no. 1 (main entrance) on the 3rd floor, the mezzanine structure was inserted, and the 4th floor was created towards the courtyard (PA.i).

50 It was up to Steinmann to finish the necessary plans for completing the building, especially the façade (PA.k).

51 Geologists consider the Skopje valley the most active seismic region in former Yugoslavia. Throughout history, until the year 1962, 58 strong earthquakes were recorded, among them the earthquake in 518, which destroyed the historical city of Skupi, and the one in 1553, which completely wrecked Skopje. On the MCS scale, the earthquake's intensity was estimated to range from 8 to 9 (Steinmann, 1964: 1).

52 With over 3,000 injured and 150,000 left homeless (B., 1963; Ščekić, 1963; Gelevski, 2014).

53 Steinmann wrote a postcard to his family (PA.p).

54 Steinmann, Viktor (21/9/1917, Zagreb – 7/2/1995, Zagreb), graduated in 1942 from the Civil Engineering Department of the Technical Faculty in Zagreb. After the Skopje earthquake, he focused his work on masonry buildings in earthquake-prone areas.

55 PA.r.

the Ministry of Internal Affairs but was later repurposed as a university building. The building contained the Rectorate and the Faculties of Law, Economics, and Philosophy (Gjorgoski, 2016: 12), and operated for 14 years until the 1963 earthquake.

1963 SKOPJE EARTHQUAKE

Skopje has a history of devastating seismic activity. On July 26th, 1963, a strong earthquake struck Skopje.⁵¹ Roughly 75% of the city was destroyed, and 1,070 people were killed.⁵² Steinmann was deeply affected by the destruction in Skopje. He wrote:

*For the second day now, every night I have been watching on TV the demolition and rescue details. My Hotel Macedonia and my Faculty of Philosophy are gone. Those buildings were built with brick frames. Only the concrete skeleton construction remained.*⁵³

More than 67.4% of the dwelling houses, or 75.1% of the dwelling area, were unusable immediately after the earthquake. Public buildings, schools, and hospitals also suffered heavy damage. All University buildings were damaged; some of them so heavily that they had to be demolished later (Petrovski, 2004: 4). Viktor Steinmann⁵⁴ visited Skopje on business in August 1963 and sent a message to his older brother confirming that one part of the building's wing had collapsed.⁵⁵ The earthquake caused significant damage to the University building (Fig. 10), necessitating extensive reconstruction efforts and, consequently, the construction of new buildings at a new location.

DISCUSSION

The two Steinmann buildings offer broader significance in the post-war Macedonian context and reveal the priorities of post-war ar-

FIG. 9 POSTCARD WITH THE BUILDING ACROSS THE VARDAR RIVER

FIG. 10 COLLAPSED WING OF THE UNIVERSITY BUILDING AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE IN 1963

chitecture reconstruction. In general, they confirm the influence of the new state. The state, as an employer, established design institutes and formed international teams with recognized and trained professionals, selecting external experts as leaders. Thus, they enabled collaboration between external and local expertise on the site. The state, as an investor, except for priority buildings, also built representative ministry buildings. The Ministry building in the capital city featured monumental architecture to project stability and authority (institutional symbolism). A variety of programmatic choices is evident in the decision to invest in a resort for workers at the lakeshore of Ohrid (social component), but anticipated modest building construction. The state determined budgeting and programming, with higher amounts and larger areas for the ministry building, and minimal funding and square meters for the mass

resort structure. The state prioritized efficiency and speed with a planned construction deadline, and easily assembled buildings in terms of design and construction.

On a personal level, the two buildings exemplify Steinmann's role, as he was among the first foreign architects to participate in post-war reconstruction in 1946. The concepts of buildings were designed in a very short period. Later project developments and potential collaboration (as opposed to individual work) are not feasible to address. He certainly experienced deep satisfaction and a sense of purpose from the work itself, beyond just getting the job done (professional fulfillment). In reference to his biography within the context of 20th-century Croatian architecture, these are important buildings. They represent a continuation of his earlier pre-war work (with the same employer), a continuation of his design practice focused on public buildings (involving the same tasks), and a continuation of purely designed examples of modernist architecture (demonstrating the same architectural expression).

CONCLUSION

Finally, a detailed examination of the architectural interactions between Croatia and Macedonia during the post-war period represents a valuable area for future research. Identifying the relevant institutions in both countries is essential, particularly the Croatian institutions from which architects originated as well as the design institutes in Macedonia where they were employed. The comparison could provide useful insights into institutionally organized exchanges.

For similar research, it would be useful to focus on securing all required documentation. The research process limitation arose from a language barrier. In future work, researchers should consider relevant Macedonian scholarly resources that are not available in English.

The number of architectural projects designed by Egon Steinmann in Macedonia remains an open question, with no definitive answer readily available. In letters to his family, in October 1946, Steinmann mentioned the design for a gymnasium in Štip and a hotel in Bitola.⁵⁶ Of the two built buildings, one no longer exists; it was destroyed in the Skopje 1963 earthquake, while the future of the other at Lake Ohrid remains uncertain. The limited architectural documentation has given the author an additional challenge; to convey a coherent narrative about Steinmann's post-war architectural projects in North Macedonia.

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- ILLUSTRATION SOURCES
- FIG. 1 Unknown author of the photographs. Private archive.
 - FIGS. 2, 3 Drawn by the author, according to Google Maps
 - FIG. 4 DARSM-O
 - FIG. 5 Postcard. Private archive.
 - FIG. 6 Author
 - FIG. 7 Reproduced by the author based on a tourist map from the 1960s
 - FIG. 8 DARSM-S
 - FIG. 9 Private archive
 - FIG. 10 DARSM-S, via Picryl.com

