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THE COMPARISON OF CONSECUTIVE ARCHITECTURAL LEGISLATIONS IN CROATIAN LANDS FROM THE HABSBURG EMPIRE UNTIL THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA

Keywords: architectural legislative jurisdiction, Austrian Empire, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Banovina of Croatia, Independent State of Croatia, engineering chamber, licensed architect

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Abstract

Architectural legislative jurisdictions in Croatian lands were established in 1861 in Istria, in 1864 in Dalmatia and in 1877 in Croatia-Slavonia. Temporary decrees regarding licensed professionals and engineering chambers were promulgated in 1924 by the first Yugoslav state. The Banovina of Croatia, approved on August 26, 1939, acquired autonomy in architecture, construction and engineering administration, education and legislation jurisdiction. The Zagreb and Split engineering chambers were united, and licensing exams were subsequently returned to Zagreb. The fascist Independent State of Croatia, proclaimed on April 10, 1941, seized existent professional bodies, legislation, education and construction administration. Professional and public officials were forced to take an oath to Poglavnik Ante Pavelić. Architects who graduated from Academies of Fine Arts were formally converted to Licensed Architects. Existing architectural and engineering administration infrastructure was suspended in 1946.

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INTRODUCTION

The article tackles an important period of Croatian architectural history,¹ namely architectural legislative jurisdiction during World War II (1939–1945).² The imminent outbreak of war in August 1939 forced British diplomacy to initiate the federalization of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia through creation of the Banovina³ of Croatia, a semi-independent entity similar to that of Transleithania during the late Habsburg Monarchy. The territory of the Banovina of Croatia consisted of the former Savska (capital Zagreb) and

¹ I want to cordially thank Professor Dragan Damjanović for inviting me to the conference. Further I want to thank the reviewers of this article for improving it and making it more pleasant to read. Finally I want to express my gratitude to the State Archives in Zagreb and the National and University Library in Zagreb, where I was provided with all possible help in researching the topic.

² A compendium of professionalism in architecture and construction engineering comparing the United Kingdom with historical development from guilds in Florence to United States of America, Germany and France was recently published as an upshot of Grenfell tragedy. Simon Foxell, *Professionalism for the Built Environment* (London: Routledge, 2019). The seminal French law on duties and responsibilities of licensed architects, *Le Code Guader* (1895), is translated into English on pages 322–325, to emphasize its importance to the English-speaking audience.

³ Banovina, Banat, trans. Dominion with devolved legislation, possessive from Ban, Croatian for the ‘Viceroy’, originally from the Avarian Bayan, itself being either from proto-Turkic root baj- (rich, wealth, prince etc.) or proto-Iranian baga- (god, lord). English Wikipedia, Ban (title), accessed March 15, 2023, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ban_\(title\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ban_(title)).

Primorska (capital Split) Banovinas, enlarged by regions with a Croatian majority from other Banovinas. Compared to the Habsburg Empire, the Banovina of Croatia contained Transleithanian Croatian (the whole of Croatia-Slavonia including its Military Frontier, but excluding the ethnically Serb parts of Sirmium and Dvor na Uni),⁴ Bosnian Herzegovinian (ethnically Croatian parts of Posavina and Herzegovina), Cisleithanian (small parts of Carniola, and most of Dalmatia) and Transleithanian (Međimurje) territories. The territorial gains of the Independent State of Croatia regarding Banovina of Croatia in 1941 were Sirmium (under Croatian jurisdiction until 1919) and the remainder of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Territorial losses to the Kingdom of Italy in 1941 (Sušak, Ravní Kotari, Šibenik and Split) were returned to Croatia by Adolf Hitler after Italy's capitulation to the Allies in 1943, yet he left Istria, Rijeka, Zadar, and the islands of Cres, Lošinj and Lastovo to the Repubblica di Salò, against Pavelić's request. Međimurje was lost in 1941 to Hungary until the end of World War II. During the period of World War II the territories included in the Banovina and, later, in the Independent State of Croatia predominantly included three previous architectural legislation systems: Austro-Croatian (1850–1919), Austro-Dalmatian (1850–1919), and Bosnian-Herzegovinian (1863–1919), as well as the Royal Yugoslav system (1919–1939), which was the centralized successor of the former three.

The Enlightenment influenced the discipline of architecture in the second half of 18th century through three seminal publications: the scientific monograph *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten* (Remarks on the Architecture of the Ancients) by Johann Joachim Winckelmann in 1762; the article/book *Architecture et parties qui en dépendent* (Architecture and Related Subjects) in Diderot and d'Alembert's Encyclopedia in 1778; and, finally, *Allgemeines Magazin für die Bürgerliche Baukunst* (General Magazine for Civil Architecture), the first architectural periodical by Johann Gottfried Huth, issued irregularly from 1789 until 1796. Yet the wider circulation of architectural knowledge had to await the invention of the steam-powered printing press, achieved in 1812 in London by German-born Friedrich Koenig. The architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel, a high official of Prussian state, studied industrial architecture in United Kingdom in 1820s, which helped him in the design and construction of the *Bauakademie* between 1832–1836. A seminal architectural professional society was founded in Berlin in 1824, followed by similar associations in other sovereign German states (1833 in Munich, 1842 in Stuttgart, 1846 in Dresden, 1851 in Hanover). The Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) was founded in 1834, der Schweizerische Ingenieur- und Architektenverein (the Swiss Architects and Engineers Association; SIA) in 1837, and the predecessor of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in 1857 in New York City. The architectural and

⁴ Dragan Damjanović skillfully narrated the history of Military Frontier architectural legal jurisdiction in "Building the Frontier of the Habsburg Empire: Viennese Authorities and the Architecture of Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier Towns, 1780–1881", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, no. 2 (2019): 187–207.

engineering associations of Austrian Empire were both founded in 1848 in the wake of the Revolution. Soon after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867, Magyar Mérnök Egylet (the Hungarian Association of Engineers) was founded. Since the Croatian-Slavonian Dominion retained autonomy in internal affairs in Transleithania, Klub inžinirah i arhitektah (the Society of Engineers and Architects) was founded in Zagreb in 1878, while, outside of the Empire, Udruženje srpskih inžinjera i arhitekata (the Association of Serbian Engineers and Architects) was founded in Belgrade in 1890. All of these associations issued regular periodicals, which became seminal architectural journals in their corresponding society or state.

The Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy recognized *professionali civili* (civil professionals) in construction service as aides and counselors to government officials in three branches:⁵ *periti agrimensori* (Land Surveyors), *architetti civili* (Civil Architects) and *ingegneri civili* (Civil Engineers, also competent for hydraulic engineering). In united Italy after the Risorgimento, similar competences were reintroduced only in 1923. In the Austrian Empire the *Vorschrift über die Aufnahme von Bau-Eleven und die Einführung von Staatsprüfungen für den Baudienst* (the Decree on Construction Cadets and the Introduction of State Examinations for the Construction Service) was passed in 1850, prescribing the state exam for future state officials in the construction service of the Empire. The *Decree of Organization of the Construction Civil Service* was promulgated in 1860, reintroducing the former Lombardo-Venetian *professionali civili* as the *Civil Techniker* (Civil Professionals) in Cisleithania only, because the imperial civil legislation was invalid in future Transleithania after the fall of Neo-Absolutism. The Hungarian Engineering Society was established in 1870, but the regulation of professionals in the construction service was only finally amended in 1923, after the end of the Empire.⁶ Regarding Cisleithanian crownlands, civil professionals were approved in Bohemia in December 1860; in Moravia, Silesia, Trieste, Littoral, Tirol, Vorarlberg and Lower Austria in 1861; in Upper Austria in 1862; and finally in Dalmatia in 1864. Since it retained full autonomy in internal affairs based on the amended Hungarian-Croatian Settlement in 1868, the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia enacted the Cisleithanian system of *Civil Technikers* in 1877. Croatian civil professionals were graduates of Cisleithanian Institutes of Technology, and therefore examined for licenses per the 1850 *Decree on Construction Cadets*. The schedule of fees of the Austrian Association of Engineers and Architects was also prescribed in Croatia-Slavonia. Comparatively, Illinois was as the first US state to regulate the architectural profession in 1897, while Italy and Hungary did so in 1923, the

5 For a short history of civil professionals in Lombardy-Veneto, compare DeWiki.de, *Ziviltechniker*, accessed October 11, 2020, https://dewiki.de/Lexikon/Ziviltechniker#google_vignette.

6 Ibid. Further claims that the “Gesetz vom 2. Jänner 1913, betreffend die Errichtung von Ingenieur-kammern” [The Law from January 2, 1913, regarding the Establishment of Engineering Chambers] enforced civil professionals in whole Habsburg Monarchy, i.e. in Cisleithania and Transleithania together. Due to the nature of Compromise from 1867 that was not possible.

United Kingdom in 1931, and France in 1940 during the Vichy regime. There was no licensed professional architectural regulation in Germany until the fall of the Weimar Republic in 1933.

ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSIONALS ON THE TERRITORY THAT BECAME THE BANOVINA OF CROATIA AND THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA BEFORE 1919

According to an Imperial Government Decree from July 4, 1863, upon the Introduction of Civil Professionals in Dalmatia (fig. 1) on January 12, 1864,⁷ the Lieutenancy (*Statthalterei*) of Dalmatia prescribed three classes of professionals, namely a) *Civil-Ingenieure* (Civil Engineers) for all construction subjects, b) *Architekten* (Architects) and c) *Geometer* (Surveyors). Persons applying for the position of civil professional had to be at least 24 years old, citizens of Cisleithania of good moral standing and fluent in the native language of the corresponding region (e.g. Italian in Zadar, Croatian in Sinj). Candidates to become civil engineers had to possess a corresponding university degree obtained at an Austrian Institute of Technology or at a foreign institute with ministerial prescription, have five years of experience obtained either at the Construction Civil Service or another civil engineering firm, and had to pass the strict theoretical and practical exam (*Rigoros*) according to the 1850 Decree on construction cadets. Candidates to become architects were additionally obliged to enroll and pass the higher course of architecture given at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. Candidates to become surveyors were required to have three years of experience. Every civil professional had to organize an office in their place of residence and promptly submit a numbered list of all prior projects. He was legally liable to the local government, and if convicted of misdoing his civil position was revoked. According to the prescribed provisional tariff, an architect's working day of 6 hours in Dalmatia cost 4 Austrian standard florins in 1864. From additional tariffs one can deduce that, for example, the engagement of an architect from Zadar on the island Silba was expensive, and consequently the majority of population designed and built edifices for themselves. Civil architects designed and prepared drawings for building permits for community, state, transportation and military edifices.

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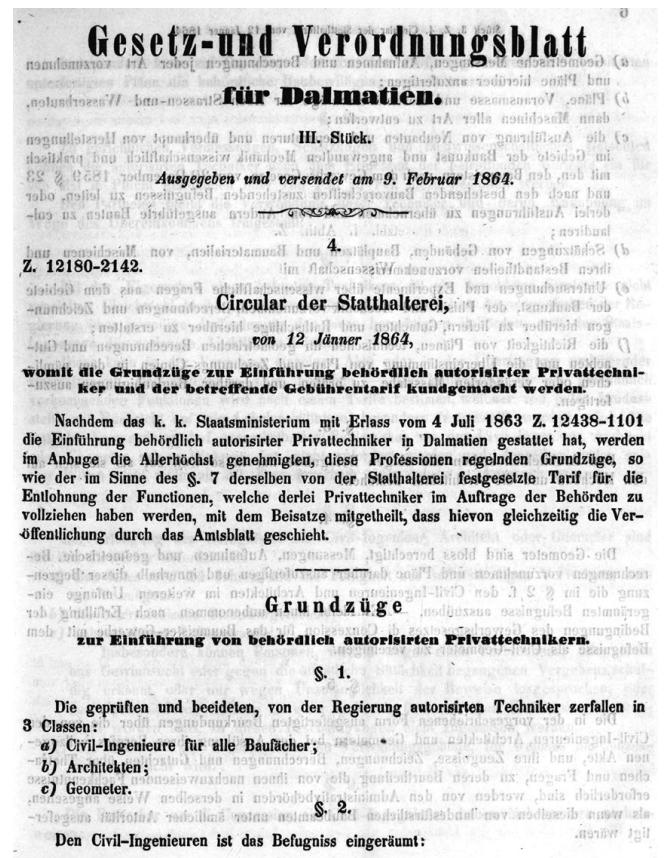


Fig. 1. "Die Grundzüge zu Einführung behördlich autorisierten Privattechniker" (The Basics of Introducing Officially Authorized Private Technicians), in: *Gesetz und Verordnungsblatt für Dalmatien*, February 9, 1864, available at ALEX. Historische Rechts- und Gesetzestexte Online, accessed October 11, 2020, <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=lda&datum=1864&page=15&size=45>.

⁷ "Die Grundzüge zu Einführung behördlich autorisierten Privattechniker" [The Basics of introducing officially authorized Private Technicians], *Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für Dalmatien*, February 9, 1864, available at ALEX. Historische Rechts- und Gesetzestexte Online, accessed October 11, 2020, <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=lda&datum=1864&page=15&size=45>.

In the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia *civilni tehnići* (civil professionals) were established per *Naredba kraljevske hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinske zemaljske vlade* (the Dominion Government Decree) on February 26, 1877,⁸ and divided into four classes, namely a) *civilni inžiniri* (Civil Engineers) for all construction subjects including surveying; b) *arhitekti* (Architects); c) *gradjevni mјernici* (Construction Measurers) and d) *mјernici i zemljomjeri* (Measurers and Surveyors). The overrepresentation of surveyors was due to the historical practices of land surveying in Croatia-Slavonia, where the fourth class was comprised of professionals without academic degree. The particular requirements were either slightly looser or tighter than in Dalmatia – in particular, the prescribed institutes of technology for degrees in civil engineering were Vienna, Prague and Graz, while foreign polytechnic institutes were equal to Cisleithanian ones without official approval. Architects were obliged to have degree in architecture from either a polytechnic institute or an academy of fine arts. The strict exam according to 1850 *Decree on Construction Cadets* was prescribed only for professionals without academic degree, while civil servants could become civil professionals without taking the exam. Obligatory age, citizenship and experience were not prescribed until 1911. To conclude, the Croatian decree from 1877 was a slightly simplified version of the Cisleithanian (or Dalmatian) one, with a higher price for an architect's working day of 6 hours in the amount of 6 Austrian standard florins (forints in Transleithania). It was a translated architects' schedule of fees for the Austrian Association of Engineers and Architects, with a division into five classes according to the complexity of given edifice, ranging from barns to pulpits inside churches.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, which the Habsburg Empire occupied in 1878, the imperial authorities reconfirmed the Ottoman Bosnian Law on Houses and Streets from 1863 in 1879, and further issued a Building Code for capital Sarajevo and other prescribed important cities in 1880. An improved Building Code was prescribed in 1893 for Sarajevo only. After formal annexation in 1908, Bosnia-Herzegovina became a common Austro-Hungarian dominion, subject to common Department of Finance. Virtually all architectural design and construction of public and military edifices was made and overseen by the Provincial Construction Office, established in 1891 and staffed by architects from throughout the Empire, including Croatian architect Josip Vančaš. Consequently, civil professionals were unnecessary except of surveyors, whose activities were prescribed as *autorisirter Civil-geometer* (Authorized Civil Surveyors) in 1906. However, in 1910 an allowance was given to *fachkundige öffentliche Funktionäre* (Professional Public Servants) to perform their private

⁸ “Naredba kraljevske hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinske zemaljske vlade” [The Dominion Government Decree], *Snopnik zakonah i naredabah, valjanih za kraljevinu Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, October 27, 1877, available at ALEX. Historische Rechts- und Gesetzestexte Online, accessed October 11, 2020, <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=lks&datum=1877&page=715&size=45>.

civil profession without legal conflict of interest,⁹ outside of official hours and public offices, without aides and with written permission given by the provincial government. In this manner architects who were public officials could design private houses and buildings in Sarajevo, as well as in other major cities because Bosnia-Herzegovina was well connected by a narrow-gauge railway network, built by Austria-Hungary between 1879 and 1914.

Just before World War I (fig. 2) it became necessary to organize civil professional activities throughout Cisleithania, while Croatia-Slavonia, due to its internal sovereignty, improved its regulation of civil professionals. *Naredba Bana kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije* (The Viceroy's Decree) of March 31, 1911¹⁰ strictly regulated professional competences and procedures for their authorization. They were divided in four classes, namely Civil Engineers, Civil Architects, Civil Mechanical Engineers including Electrical Engineers and Civil Surveyors. A minimal age of 24, Transleithanian citizenship, moral virtue excluding people legally sentenced to jail time of more than 6 months, and, further, proficiency in spoken and written Croatian were strictly prescribed. All candidates had to possess appropriate academic degrees from approved Austro-Hungarian Institutes of Technology. The Croatian government reserved the right to acknowledge academic degrees from foreign polytechnic institutes. Three years of experience for surveyors and five years of experience for other professionals were also prescribed. A detailed exam for civil engineers, architects and mechanical or electrical engineers was established and held in Zagreb until 1925. Unsuccessful candidates had the right to repeat the exam only once in a period between six and twelve months. The daily salary of an architect was set at 24 Austro-Hungarian crowns, about 12 former Florins/Forint. From 1911 onwards Croatian architectural legislative jurisdiction corresponded to the Cisleithanian jurisdiction, although the prescription of proficiency in Croatian was adopted to exclude candidates fluent in Hungarian but deficient in Croatian from civil service in Croatia. However, the requirement of Transleithanian citizenship had the unintentional consequence of excluding Cisleithanian civil professionals of Croatian ethnicity. *Das Gesetz vom 2 Jänner 1913, betreffend die Errichtung von Ingenieurkammern* (Law on the Establishment of Engineering Chambers) in Cisleithania was passed and enacted on January 2, 1913, but it was never enforced in Dalmatia and other parts of Cisleithania due to the permanent crisis in Habsburg Monarchy which was forcibly resolved in World War I.

⁹ "Verordnung ... betreffend die Betätigung fachkundiger öffentlicher Funktionäre auf dem Gebiete des privaten Bauwesens in Bosnien und der Hercegovina" [Ordinance ... Concerning the Activity of Competent Public Officials in the Field of Private Construction in Bosnia and Herzegovina] available at ALEX. Historische Rechts- und Gesetzestexte Online, accessed October 11, 2020, <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=lbh&datum=1910&size=45&page=41>.

10 "Naredba bana kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije: od 31. ožujka 1911. broj IL. C. 1070., kojom se uredjuje djelokrug civilnih tehnika i postupak glede njihovoga ovlašćivanja," [The Viceroy's Decree of March 31, 1911], available at ALEX. Historische Rechts- und Gesetzesexte Online, accessed October 11, 2020, <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=lks&datum=1911&page=397&sje=45>.

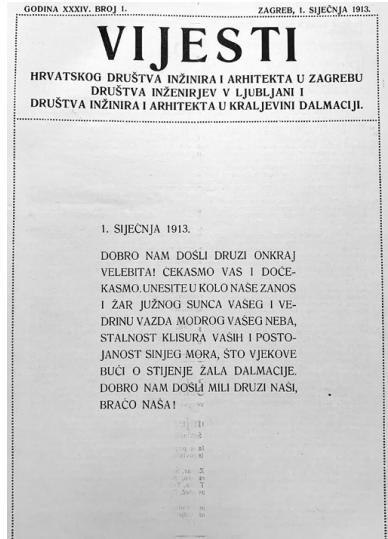


Fig. 2. The front page of *Vijesti* (The News), the first joint semiofficial journal of the Croatian, Slovenian and Dalmatian Societies of Engineers and Architects, January 1, 1913, Darko Kahle collection, Essen.

ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSIONALS AND LEGISLATIVE JURISDICTIONS OF THE FIRST YUGOSLAV STATE, 1919–1939

After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in November 1918, the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed on December 1, 1918, as a pseudo-federal monarchy (fig. 3). Roughly seven historical entities around the cities of Belgrade, Zagreb, Split, Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Cetinje and Novi Sad continued to maintain their former architectural jurisdictions until the proclamation of the Vidovdan Constitution on June 28, 1921. The new kingdom established a *Ministarstvo gradjevina* (Department of Construction) in 1919, which was divided into eight Ministerial Directorates; those in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Split and Sarajevo retained some of the duties of the former Habsburg provinces. A new type of State Exam was prescribed, much lighter and easier than the Croatian exam from 1911. Because Carniola, Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia possessed inherited legal systems for civil professionals, while Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vojvodina, Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro did not, it was necessary to regulate civil professionals throughout the whole territory of the new kingdom. In 1924 two regulations were proclaimed: the *Privremena uredba o ovlašćenim inžinjerima i arhitektima u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (the Temporary Decree regarding Licensed Engineers and Architects in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), prescribed in Article 119 of the Financial Law for [fiscal] Year 1924/25, and the *Privremena uredba o osnivanju inžinjerskih komora u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (the Temporary Decree regarding the Establishment of Engineering Chambers in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), prescribed in the same article of the same law.¹¹ These regulations basically repeated the Cisleithanian civil service system, supplemented with the state exam from 1919 and without fines for misrepresenting the title Architect. Nevertheless, they enabled the constitution of Engineering Chambers in residences of the Ministerial Directorates in Zagreb, Split, Ljubljana, Sarajevo etc., with the Headquarters of Engineering Chambers in the capital of Belgrade (fig. 4). In 1933, the Zagreb Engineering Chamber started their own gazette, *Službeni vjesnik* (Official Gazette), containing laws, proceedings



Fig. 3. The front page of *Tehnički list* (Technical Gazette), the first semiofficial journal of the Society of Engineers and Architects of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, August 1, 1919, Darko Kahle collection, Essen.

¹¹ The decrees were proclaimed in *Službene Novine* [The Official Gazette of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes], October 25, 1924.



Fig. 4. "Privremena uredba o osnivanju inžinjerskih komora u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca" (The Interim Decree on the Establishment of Chambers of Engineers in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), in: *Technički list*, December 15, 1924, 323–324, Darko Kahle collection, Essen.

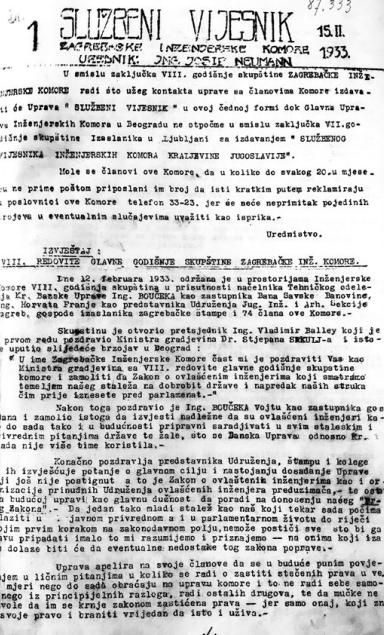


Fig. 5. The seminal front page of *Službeni vjesnik* (Official Gazette), the official journal of the Zagreb Engineering Chamber, February 15, 1933, National and University Library, Zagreb.

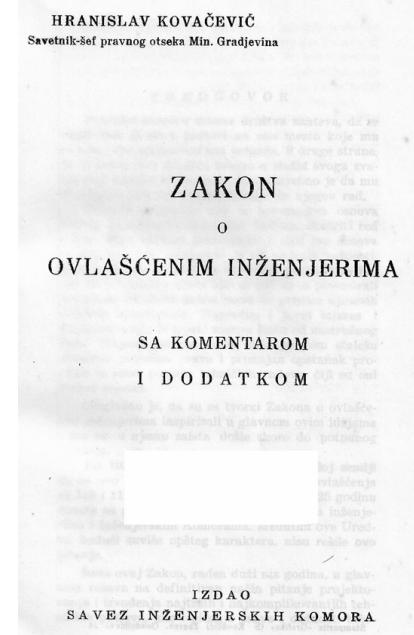


Fig. 6. "Zakon o ovlašćenim inženjerima" (The Law on Certified Engineers), with commentaries by Hranišlav Kovačević, Belgrade, 1937, Darko Kahle collection, Essen.

and members' correspondence (fig. 5). Engineering chambers succeeded in preparing and amending the *Zakon o ovlašćenim inženjerima od 30. augusta 1937.* (Law regarding Licensing Engineers from August 30, 1937), which became valid on October 13, 1937 (fig. 6). The law was composed according to western influence and passed in Yugoslav parliament in spite of Prime Minister Milan Stojadinović's dictatorship, and was regarded as progressive at the time.

ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSIONALS AND LEGISLATIVE JURISDICTIONS ON THE TERRITORY OF THE BANOVINA OF CROATIA AND THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA (1939–1945)

The Cvetković-Maček Agreement, ratified on August 26, 1939, federalized the Kingdom of Yugoslavia by creating a financially independent entity called the Banovina of Croatia, comprised of eleven Banovina Departments, which was empowered in internal affairs and obliged to reimburse common expenditures. Architecture, construction and engineering administration, education and legislation became exclusively Banovina affairs. On September 23, architect Zvonimir Pavešić was appointed as Banovina Head of the Department for Technology (*tehnički radovi*). The Zagreb and Split Engineering Chambers were retained, with an Inter-Chambers Committee in charge for common affairs, similar to common affairs in the Habsburg Empire after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. The Zagreb Engineering Chamber's

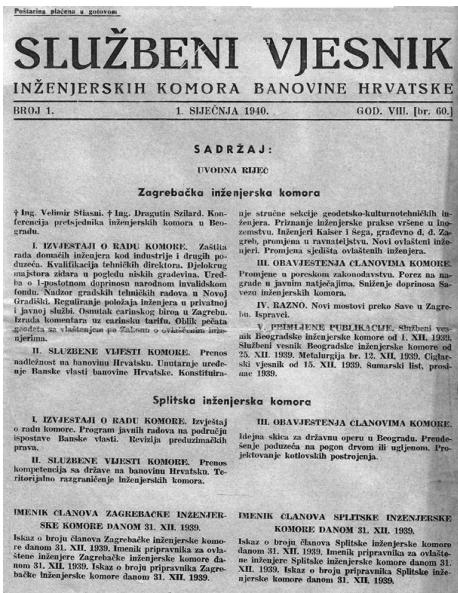


Fig. 7. The front page of *Službeni vjesnik* (Official Gazette), the official journal of the Croatian Engineering Chambers, February 1, 1940, Darko Kahle collection, Essen.

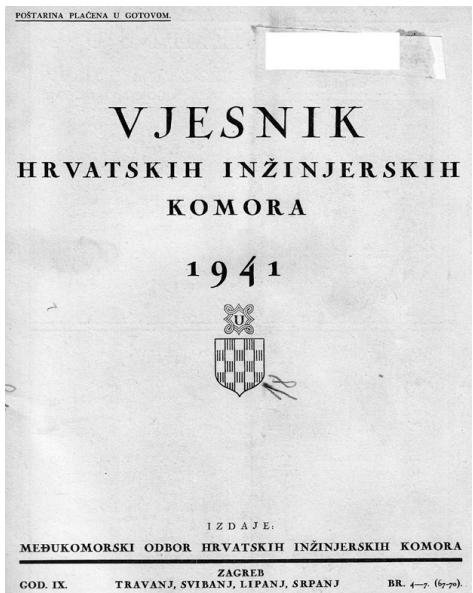


Fig. 8. The front page of *Vjesnik Hrvatskih Inžinjerskih Komora*, (The Official Gazette of the Inter-Chamber Committee of Croatian Engineering Chambers), Zagreb, 1941, Darko Kahle collection, Essen.

official gazette became the “Official News of the Engineering Chambers of the Banovina Croatia” (**fig. 7**). The Association of Yugoslav Engineering Chambers was abolished and a very loose connection in the form of the Conference of Presidents of Engineering Chambers on Yugoslav Territory was established. On November 18, 1939, jurisdiction over civil engineering and construction was transferred from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to the Banovina of Croatia. Licensing exams were moved back from Belgrade to Zagreb effectively from January 5, 1940. The Ordinance on prices control was issued in March 1940, while the Regulation on recognizing the program of study of the Department of Architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts was amended but not yet enacted. Jovan Korka decided to leave the Banovina of Croatia and subsequently moved to the Belgrade Directorate, while Marijan Ivacić did the opposite and went to Zagreb, and, finally, Nikola Dobrović chose to stay in Dubrovnik under the auspices of the Banovina of Croatia. Fearing for their lives, a certain number of architects and other professionals Croatized their surnames to hide their Jewish origin, for example engineer Josip Neumann became Josip Najman, while architect Dr. Pavao Deutsch became Pavao Duić.

The German Reich endorsed proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia on April 10, 1941, as an additional device to achieve swift victory immediately after its attack on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The new puppet entity took over all of the administrative infrastructure of the Banovina Hrvatska, including architectural professional bodies, legislature, education and construction administration. *The Official News* soon implemented emblems of new state (**fig. 8**) and prescribed the predominance of “*ijekavski*”, later the “*iekavski*” (both Croatian) over “*ekavski*” (Serbian). Basic laws from 1931

and 1937 remained valid, however every licensed professional and public official was forced to take an oath to the Chief of State, Poglavnik Ante Pavelić. Croatian surnames were officially reverted into their original forms and licensed professionals were forced to admit their “racial” affiliation under the threat of losing their licenses. The government appointed architect Vladimir Potočnjak as the commissioner of Zagreb’s Engineering Chamber. The territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina outside of the former Banovina boundaries was organized on the basis of the Sarajevo subsidiary of the Zagreb Chamber. In Autumn 1941, the *Official News* issued the Law on enhanced competences of court-martial and drumhead court-martial, with a broad list of offences being eligible for court-martial. Former *Jugoslovenske norme* (Yugoslav Standards) were replaced with *Hrvatske norme* (Croatian Standards), mostly containing applied *Deutsche Industrie-Normen* (DIN; German Industrial Standards). On August 12, 1941, Antun Ulrich, a graduate of Ibler’s School and Bachelor of the Architecture Department of the Academy of Applied Arts in Vienna, became the first licensed architect in Croatia who was not an engineer, at least since Vjekoslav Bastl, who had achieved this before the law’s amendment in 1912. Soon other “academy architects” followed, such as Muršec, Planić, Kauzlarić, Freudenreich, Horvat, the Galić brothers and others. However, Professor Dr. Neven Šegvić was omitted as a member of Yugoslavia on this, he said: “I became a Yugoslav partisan to atone for sins of my relative Fra Kerubin.”¹² Architects who participated in the anti-fascist resistance movement often paid with their lives, as in 1944, while Milovan Kovačević miraculously avoided execution by the Germans in the architectural and engineering administration in Šibenik. The Engineering Chamber in Split was formally suspended in 1946 by the Government of the Republic of Croatia (fig. 9).

¹² Oral communication with Professor Šegvić after the lecture “Architecture of the Peoples of Yugoslavia” in Spring 1987. He referred to his uncle Fra Kerubin Šegvić, who was connected with Independent State of Croatia regime and executed in 1945.

CONCLUSION

The comparison of five consecutive architectural legislations in Croatian lands – the Austro-Hungarian jurisdictions, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia jurisdiction, the Banovina of Croatia jurisdiction, the Independent State of Croatia jurisdiction and, finally, shared jurisdiction in Socialist Yugoslavia/Croatia – in the period from the early 1920s until the late 1950s reveals a gradual but constant shift away from liberal practices to state and party corporativism. During the 1920s and early 1930s the position of architects within the professional construction community, and more generally within the *laissez-faire* economy, was insecure and often subject to disrespect from architectural competitions up to positions in public service. This resulted in architects' collaboration and even admiration during the process of issuing the *Law on Licensed Engineers and Architects* in 1937. The law was specific to the Banovina of Croatia, while the regulatory bodies in Zagreb and Split were exempt from the rest of Yugoslav legislation and loosely connected through the Croatian Inter-Chambers Committee. Architects started to lose their independent position because they were jurisprudentially more dependent than other professionals, such as structural or mechanical engineers. The economy of the Banovina of Croatia began to corporatize due to the growing administrative demands caused by war conditions throughout Europe and advocated by some contemporary economists. Legislation tolerated changing the surnames of certain prominent professionals of Jewish origins, who tried to hide themselves from National Socialism. Although the Independent State of Croatia reversed this and forced licensed professionals to state their "racial" affiliation, some licensed architects and professionals of Jewish and Serbian origin were not victims of pogroms, though their licences were suspended and their professional lives effectively came to an end. The Independent State of Croatia declared itself as an anticapitalistic society in enforcing totalitarianism in every corner of its economy, thus unequivocally binding itself to the fate of Third Reich.

Comparative analysis of architectural jurisdictions in Croatia during World War II, juxtaposed to the period between the World Wars and before, during the final decades of Habsburg rule, reveals a gradual increase of state influence on the architectural profession. Architects and civil engineers in the Austrian Empire, later Austria-Hungary, were regulated by the government instead of establishing liberal associations such as those in United Kingdom or United States of America. The enactment of Croatian architectural jurisdiction in 1877 on the *Cisleithanian* model emphasized the political struggle for Croatian autonomy within *Transleithania*, and was assured by the introduction of professional licensing exams in 1911 and higher architectural education in 1918. Enthusiasm for South Slav unification resulted in the amalgamation of constituent architectural jurisdictions into the centralist Association of

Yugoslav Engineers and Architects, which struggled to protect the titles of “architect” and “engineer” inside a national economy driven by *laissez-faire* principles, while its members could only lobby politicians to enact legislation regarding architectural matters. Important professional problems in the interwar period included disobeying the law and corruption, visible in the construction of whole estates and public buildings without building permits or in disrespecting regulated titles and correspondent responsibilities. Temporary ordinances on regulating the architectural and engineering professions, passed in 1924, centralized licensing exams while lowering the criteria for passing them. In 1931, the Association lobbied for the *Law on Building*, while in 1937 the *Law on Licensed Engineers and Architects* was composed on the basis of western, predominantly German models. As a reaction to the nonintervention of the state in construction sector, the Banovina of Croatia gradually corporatized its reestablished architectural jurisdiction after August 26, 1939.

Strict control of architects, engineers and contractors was intensified after April 10, 1941, when the fascist Independent State of Croatia absorbed architectural jurisdictions in its territory. Professionals were forced to proclaim allegiance to the new regime, while those who refused to do so were racially segregated. Disobedient architects were court-martialed and even executed. Unlike the Third Reich, a ban on the design of edifices with flat roofs was never promulgated. Furthermore, academic architectural degrees were converted to engineering degrees for architects who desired this option. Certain resident and deceased members of a disputed “racial” background were listed in encyclopedias as domestic architects. Generally, the fascist regime attempted to synthesize a Croatian architectural identity based on all tolerated styles and peoples, which forced some professionals either to abstain from work or to collaborate unwillingly with the regime.