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Fig. 1 Complex of healthcare institutions on Zeleni brijeg (1927)

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Institute of Epidemiology and Bacteriology on Zeleni Brijeg, Zagreb by Architect Vasily Mikhailovich Androsov

Androsov, Vasily Mikhailovich
complex of healthcare institutions on Zeleni brijeg (Green Hill) in Zagreb
Štampar, Andrija
the Rockefeller Foundation

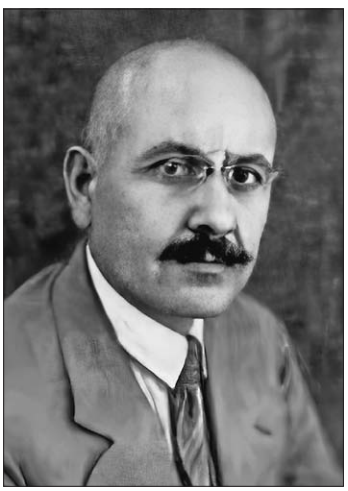
The complex of medical institutions of the 1920s on Zeleni brijeg (Green Hill) in Zagreb was built as a kind of a stronghold of the pioneering programme of new institutional forms of primary health care, as conceived by Andrija Štampar and his associates. The Institute of Epidemiology, which was originally supposed to be built according to Drago Ibler›s project (1922), but it was later rejected. The construction of the Institute began in the autumn of 1924, according to the plans by Vasily Mikhailovich Androsov, one of the Russian architects employed in the Architectural Department of the Ministry of Construction in Belgrade, probably after a closed competition, hastened by the threat that substantial funds allocated by the Ministry of Public Health, the Hygiene Section of the League of Nations, and above all the Rockefeller Foundation, would be lost. An Androsov design also replaced another avant-garde design of Croatian and Yugoslav modernism: due to direct intervention by King Alexander Karađorđević, Androsov's design for the Palace of the Main Post Office in Belgrade, in the spirit of academic mannerism, was chosen and built instead of Josip Pičman's design that had taken the first prize in the relevant competition. Hence the title of this article, which draws attention to the creator of a block of buildings of medical institutions, the interesting history of which can now be discussed on the basis of more information.

COMPLEX OF HEALTHCARE INSTITUTIONS ON ZELENI BRIJEG (GREEN HILL)

Zagreb architecture of the 1920s features an exceptionally wide range of stylistic stances. On the one hand there is the tried and tested tradition, and on the other, cosmopolitan tendencies that were mediated no longer only through the prism of the Viennese school (Viktor Kovačić, who trained under Otto Wagner, Hugo Ehrlich with Karl König, and Zlatko Neumann who studied with Adolf Loos, Antun Ulrich with Josef Hoffmann) but also through the experience that local architects had acquired all over Europe (Drago Ibler, Zdenko Strižić, Josip Pičman under Hans Poelzig in Berlin, Mladen Vidaković, Zvonimir Kavurić in Prague, Juraj Neidhardt and Ernest Weissmann at Le Corbusier's, Ivan Zemljak at Jacobus Johannes Ouda). One of the points at which it is possible to understand vividly the huge discrepancy between the frequently prescient aspirations in terms of design and programme and the realistically practical capacities of the Zagreb milieu is Zeleni brijeg above Gupčeva zvijezda, on which at that time a huge multi-functional complex of healthcare institutions was built, dominating the surrounding area to this today.

The construction was preceded by a competition for the design of the National Royal Institute of Epidemiology, the first prize being taken by a design by Drago Ibler (1922; Fig. 3), which was notoriously turned down. Concurrently in Belgrade, a building of the same purpose was being built and officially opened.

Fig. 2 Architect Vasily Mikhailovich Androsov (1873-1944)



Perhaps the nature of its stereotyped academic architecture indirectly tells us why Ibler's design could not have been accepted at that time. After the failure of the competition, a building was erected in Zagreb according to new drawings, created two years later. The architect was Vasily Mikhailovich Androsov, one of the Russian architects employed in the Architectural Department of the Ministry of Construction in Belgrade.[1]

Ibler's elliptical oval on Zeleni Brijeg, derived from a well-considered urban planning and design logic, was to be the *expressionist crown of the city*, says Željka Čorak, who adds: "The Institute of Epidemiology at last puts us in full expression. Taut's imaginary architectures, Poelzig's Salzburg Festspielhaus have calmed down in a vision of the rolling hillocks of Zagreb" (Čorak, 2000: 43-48).

After the competition design by Ibler was rejected it was decided – obviously under the pressure of time and the threat that the resources allocated would be withdrawn – that inside the architectural department of the Ministry of Construction, probably in a closed competition, a design would be made directly and then foisted on Zeleni brijeg. We can suppose that the planning guidelines for the design of the whole block were thoroughly studied. In other words, the premises of the competition for the Palace of Public Health, built to a design by Juraj Denzler and Mladen Kauzlarić, were determined pursuant to an entry they had sent to the "general Yugoslav competition" announced early in March 1925.[2]

As a rule, previous interpretations have not considered the existing building of the Institute of Epidemiology and Bacterilogy at Rockefellerova 2, which was delivered to the client at the same time as the Palace of Public

1 The authorship of the projects is revealed by the original designs that are still kept in the Croatian State Archives and not previously discussed in scholarly literature. It is my pleasant duty to thank two colleagues in Belgrade, Professors Aleksandar Kadijevic and Milenko Pekić who at the blink of an eye sent me all the relevant literature about Vasily Mikhailovic Androsov and confirmed the attribution that I have put forward here for the first time.

2 At the Technical College, as early as May 1, there was a public presentation of 15 entries that had been submitted (Kisić, 2014: 19-20; Bjažić Klarin, 2020: kat. 005). The panel of judges consisting of Andrija Štampar, Mirko Feric, Ćiril Metod Ivekovic, Emil Prašek and Marko Vidakovic did not award the first prize. The Denzler-Kauzlarić work took the second prize. Denzler and Kauzlarić were peers, both born in 1896. However, Denzler probably had a more salient role in this design. It is interesting that the beginnings of his professional career were related to the architecture of healthcare institutions. His first job after graduating from Construction College in 1915 was in the building firm belonging to E. Eisner and A. Ehrlich in which he worked until 1917, as construction technician in the building of the army hospital in Nagykanizsa (Jakšic, 2007).

3 Tamara Bjažić Klarin provided a sober critical assessment of the design programme itself: "In spite of their social, healthcare and educational character, their advanced

Health. Although subordinate in terms of space and architecture to the Palace, the building is an equally important element in the mirror image composition of the whole block.[3] Androsov's design, there can be no doubt, was produced at the same time the competition for the "Palace of Public Health" was announced, for the same client, and administered by the same commission, according to a single programme and, it seems, a single spatial and architectural concept. Because the Institute and Štampar's School of National Health were supposed to work closely together, the construction was planned for 1924 at the latest, the assumption being that the buildings should be next to each other on Zeleni brijeg, adjacent to the Hospital for Infectious Diseases, today's Dr Fran Mihaljević Clinic for Infectious Diseases.

The building of the Institute of Epidemiology and Bacteriology at Rockefellerova 2 was erected in the 1924-1927 period. In 1926 the two institutes were officially combined – during the course of construction, then. A bit later, on September 4, 1926, Zagreb saw the foundation of the united establishment of the Hygiene Institute and the School of Public Health, in which these two previously independent institutes were incorporated. The contractor for the buildings on Zeleni brijeg was the Construction Department in Zagreb. In parallel with the construction, a commission headed by the supervising engineer Lavoslav Sicer decided on the changes to be made to the design (Kisić, 2014).[4]

Finally, on October 3, 1927, the opening ceremony was held, with a large number of guests from both Yugoslavia and abroad, as well as huge media coverage. The Hygiene Institute moved into "the White" and the School of Public Health into "the Yellow Building" on Zeleni brijeg.

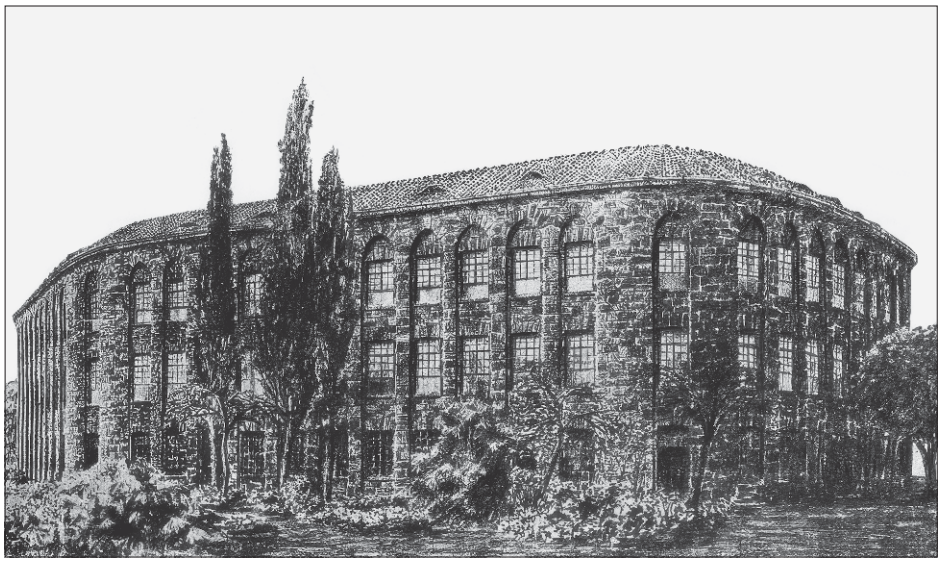


Fig. 3 Drago Ibler's design from 1922 for the facade of the Institute of Bacteriology on Zeleni brijeg

Vasily Mikhailovich Androsov – Architect of the Institute of Epidemiology in Zagreb

Born in Odessa on June 6, 1873, after the October Revolution in 1918, Androsov emigrated to Yugoslavia and died in Belgrade on September 13, 1944, little before he would have had to face the dilemma that met almost 350 Russian architects and structural engineers about where to go at the end of the war; in the event, almost two thirds of them opted for the West, leaving Yugoslavia they had previously worked in (Kadijević, 2017: 358-371; Kadijević, 2018: 308-319).

In his application to work in the Ministry of Construction in 1920, when he signed himself as Архитектор Художник or architect-artist, Androsov introduced himself: "I graduated in architecture in 1897 in the Imperial Academy of Architecture [Императорская Академия Художеств, Архитектурный отдел] in Petrograd. I have been employed as architect in our Ministry of Education fifteen years [sic!], and have for fifteen years been a member of the committee of architects of the Holy Synod." (Borovnjak, 2014). He worked, then, in the biggest design studio in the country, which with its very substantial building projects "had a direct impact on the architectural and urbanistic development of the Kingdom as a whole, from the development of central cities of the provinces *[banovine],* to smaller settlements all around the country, a special place belonging to newly arriving Russian designers" (Toševa, 1999: 171-181; Toševa, 2012, 2018).

programmes, their innovations in construction and technology, for these buildings too, built in the northern part of the city, rich in greenery, an outdated typology inappropriate to the content was proposed - freestanding buildings, with one or two internal courtyards, with monumentally designed facades, centrally located entrances, with grand staircases and so on. An essential step forward was taken with the employment of a layout consisting of only one section, so that all the rooms had cross ventilation via the corridors." (Bjažić Klarin, 2020). The author quotes Miroslav Krleža who said that "a much more appropriate pavilion typology was out of the question for the Institute of Epidemiology for financial reasons" (Krleža, 1924: 170-173).

4 The author is here mistaken in correlating the Commission Report of Members of the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Public Health (which refers to alterations to the Androsov design) with the Denzler-Kauzlarić design for the Palace of Public Health. The spirit of the many alterations to the design for the Epidemiological Institute corresponds to the statements made by Marko Vidaković, one of the panel of judges in the competition of 1924. Vidaković highlights his contribution to the improvement of the drawings of the Palace, especially the design for the main entrance. According to Marko Vidaković: *Referat o mojim životnim radovima*, Zagreb, September 1, 1971 (typescript, Library of HMA-HAZU). For more about Marko Vidaković see: Damjanović, 2013: 340-363.

FIG. 4 VASILY ANDROSOV: THE PALACE OF THE MAIN POST OFFICE IN BELGRADE

As one of the creators of the national style in interwar architecture in Serbia, he made over eighty designs for church buildings all around the Kingdom, building as many as sixty of them (Kadijević, 1994: 244-254; Kadijević, 1995: 75-79).[5]

Although it was written several times that designs "of public purpose" were exceptions in his oeuvre, in an annual assessments by his superiors it says that "together with church buildings, he also did schools, hospitals and other structures with excellent results".[6] And indeed, from 1920 to 1923, he did designs for the Real High School in Podgorica, and for the Ministry of Public Health he designed the Tropical Medicine Institute and the Malarial Diseases Hospital in Skoplje, as well as the Central Institute for the Control of Infectious Diseases in Novi Sad (Borovnjak, 2014). In 1924 he produced a design for a high school in Priština which, in terms of decorative elements of the façade (cornices, triglyphs, metopes), shows the same repertoire we meet on the facades of Zagreb's Epidemiological Institute.

In his design for the Institute of Epidemiology in Zagreb, Vasily Mikhailovich Androsov took the place left by the rejected entry of Ibler; in the same way, instead of the prize-winning Pičman design for the Palace of the Main Post Office – 1930, in Takovska ulica in Belgrade – after a closed competition in the Architecture Department of the Ministry of Construction – Androsov's design, in the spirit of dry academic mannerism, was in the end chosen and actually built (Fig. 4).[7]

BUILDING OF THE INSTITUTE OF BACTERIOLOGY AND EPIDEMIOLOGY

The edifice is placed on a plinth course formed from three courses of massive blocks of finely dressed Bizovac sandstone, with a slight battering, over a moulded base. A solid base, often in rustication, is a characteristic of many Androsov's designs for Orthodox churches and parish houses. The ground floor, to the full height of the basement storey, is made visually distinct from the upper two floors by a simply moulded cornice that runs the whole way around. It is matched by a salient roof cornice articulated with empty metopes and triglyphs.

The central part of the northern façade is highlighted with a ramp in front of the main (and only) portal. The approach is handled on a slight elevation with two symmetrical arms that curve to east and west, while in the centre, there are steps that link the landscaped grounds with the approach and the main entrance. The portal is flanked by columns that rise over stepped stone bases and conclude with simple Tuscan capitals. A balcony is placed over an ascetically formed architrave (Fig. 5).

Androsov wanted to create the effect of corner avants-corps at the two ends of the façade with bands of stylised rustication. Contributing to this effect was the form of the broad segmental arch windows. The grille of bars in the transoms was designed to interplay with the joints of stone cladding.

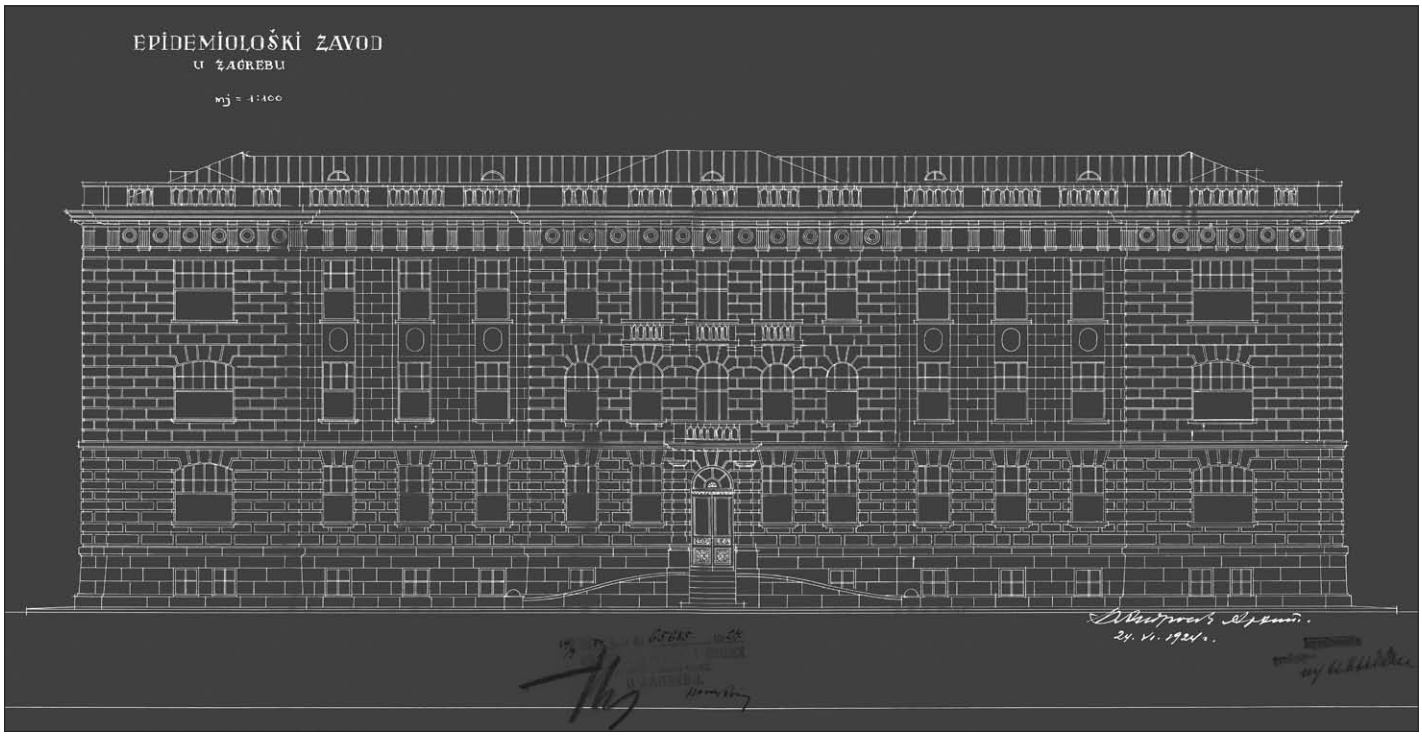
The character of the finishing cornice was meant to have been determined with a five-bar rhythm. Oculi were provided for in the metopes of the first, third and fifth bar. The triglyphs and metopes would be emphasised in the roof railing with balusters, and the low smooth metal roof would highlight them even more.

There was meant to be particular interest in the rhythmical articulation of the lateral facades with the powerful upward thrust on the strong base of the whole building, the importance of which was heightened by the batter. The original drawings show that Androsov paid particular attention to the various kinds

5 Đurđija Borovnjak is preparing a monograph about Androsov that will present and assess the whole of his huge oeuvre of architecture.

6 Thus the architect Petar Popović, mentioning a hospital in his report of 1924 was almost certainly thinking of Zagreb's Institute of Epidemiology.

7 Just before the closing of the competition at the end of 1930, "the plans were submitted to the Late Blessed Knight King Alexander I the Unifier for examination, and on that occasion his definitive instructions were received with respect to the architectural handling of the façade, for the whole of the square around the National Assembly to acquire a certain harmonization. (*Politika*, Belgrade, March 17, 1935 – after: Mutnjaković, 1997: 46). In the Ministry of Construction it was determined that afterwards a closed competition for the making of new plans for all facades should be held while Pičman's approach to the ground plan was to be retained. See Mihajlov–Mišić (2008): 239-264; Drljević (2009): 277-296.

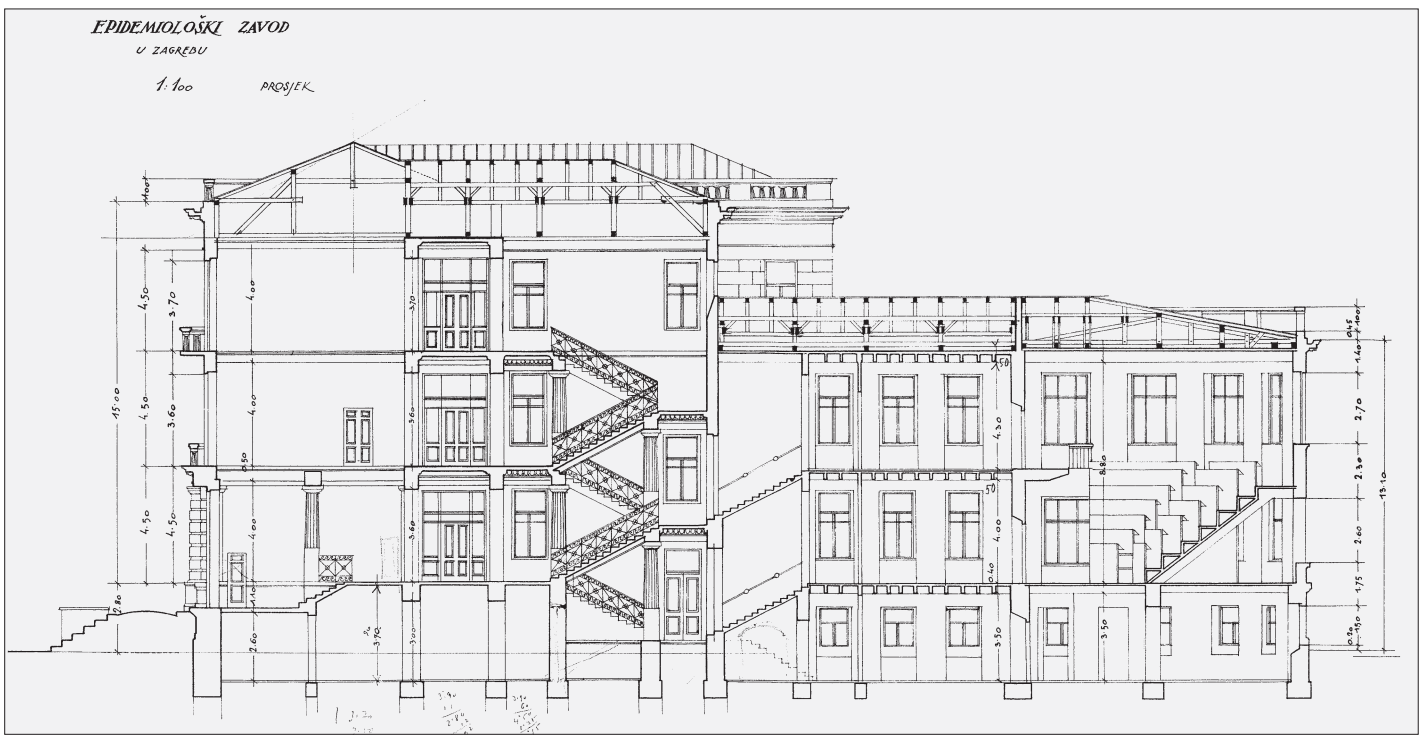


of masonry bonds, characteristic of a number of his designs (particularly in the Main Post Office Palace in Belgrade).

The design follows the layout usual for hospitals of the time. Still, although this is a building with a U-shaped plan, with two short wings at the side, in this particular case, in the axis of the central portal the approach to which is by the main staircase, it is actually an E-shaped ground plan that is formed, with a wide semicircular auditorium at the end of the central crossbar (Fig. 7).

Fig. 5 Vasily Androsov: Institute of Epidemiology and Bacteriology, plan of the main facade, 1924

Fig. 6 Vasily Androsov: Institute of Epidemiology and Bacteriology, cross section, 1924



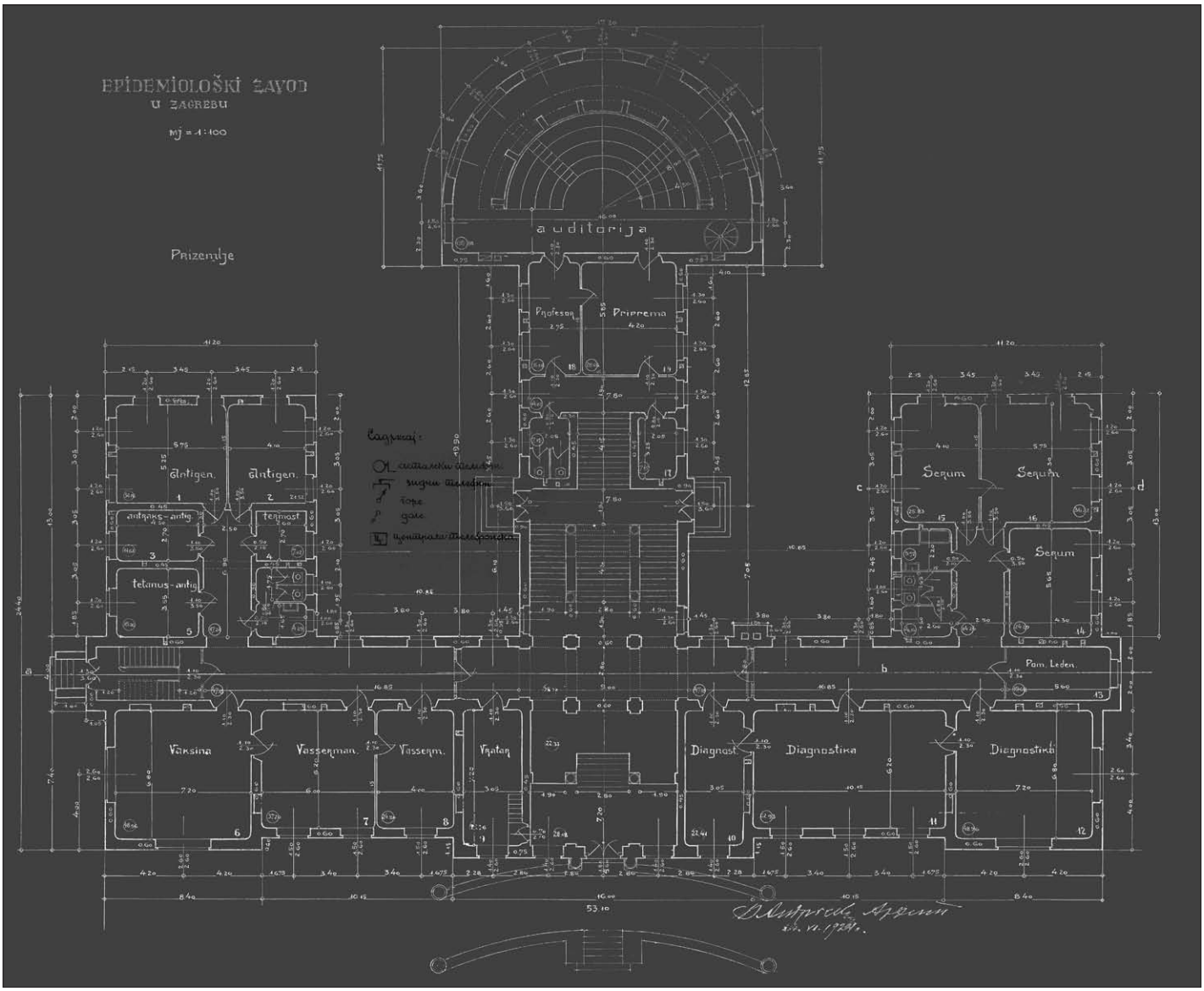


FIG. 7 VASILY ANDROSOV: THE BACTERIOLOGICAL AND THE EPIDEMIOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, GROUND FLOOR PLAN, 1924

As with several other designs for the public institutions of the twenties and thirties, the dominant element in the core of the building is the showpiece staircase, picked out plastically, here designed as if it were a distinct unit, in a separate elongated wing. With the intricacy of the flights and landings with which the staircase ascends at comfortable height or descends to the corridors, or that lead to the smaller rooms at the sides at several different levels, the staircase seems practically oversized (Fig. 6). We can interpret it as a variant – in a somewhat lowered stylistic register – of the equally plastically emphasised monumental triple-flight staircase in the adjacent building of the Hygiene Institute, built according to the design of Juraj Denzler and Mladen Kauzlarić, which was

8 For facts and figure about the competition for the construction of the School of Public Health, see Bjažic Klarin (2020): cat. 005. There is a somewhat different chronology in Kisić, 2014: 19-20, but that the competition was conducted as early as 1924 is stated by Marko Vidaković (n. 9), who says that 24 plans were received.

9 Named after the German microbiologist who, together with dermatologist Albert Neisser, developed the serological text showing antibodies in the blood of patients infected with bacterium *Treponema pallidum*. The battle against syphilis, active or endemic, was at the top of Štampar's list of priorities. In Bosnia, endemic syphilis was rooted out as late as at the end of WWII. This is syphilis transmitted by non-sexual contact among people or via objects, such as crockery and cutlery. Most often the affected are children living in unhygienic conditions.

10 In an assessment of Vidakovic's role one should perhaps take into consideration the incidental remark of Tamara Bjazic Klarin who mentions the dispute that broke out when it was suggested that Vidakovic, who was a member of panel of judges, should be contractor for the school "although this was nevertheless abandoned" (Bjazic Klarin, 2020: 66/n. 23).

also deployed in the axis of the main entrance to the building.[8]

In contrast with the neo-Historicist façades and with the inner nucleus with its grand staircase, the interior is conceived very functionally. In all the floors of the main section of the building (basement, raised ground floor, first and second storey) spaces are distributed in a similar way along a long corridor that stretches all along the interior.

The programme was functionally elaborated with great precision. The layout of the interior spaces clearly shows the intention of Štampar's programme. The School of Public Health with the Institute of Epidemiology, an important component of it, was founded primarily for studying and teaching the people, improving poor hygienic habits (resulting in tuberculosis, malaria, diphtheria, trachoma, endemic syphilis) and the adoption of a modern understanding of sickness and health.

The Institute originally had a bacteriological/epidemiological, a chemical and a parasitological department, with units for biological products, the production of vaccinations against smallpox, for social medicine, sanitation technology, promotion of good hygiene and Pasteur Institute.

In the basement, together with the usual infrastructural items, there were quarters for healthy and infected animals. Particularly interestingly, in the basement of the auditorium there was supposed to have been a museum, accessed by a spiral staircase from the ground floor of the auditorium (Fig. 8).

In the rooms of the main section in the ground floor, right next to the entrance and the small porter's lodge, there were two rooms dedicated to the Wassermann reaction, a complement fixation test used in the diagnosis of syphilis.[9] The left-hand eastern side wing was reserved for departments for anthrax and tetanus, and the right or western wing for a department for serum production,

The eastern side wing on the first floor was meant for the holding of "courses", the western one for the department that dealt with sera. The central place of the main section of the second floor was occupied by a library. On the left, there were chemistry and physics labs, in the side wing "a room for bacteriological and hygienic practical exercises". Off to the right rooms of the bacteriology department, with a serology laboratory, were located.

Although the outside of the building has nothing to suggest the complexity of the functions for which it was built, inside – if we ignore the not particularly elegant staircase however grand it might be – there is a genuinely modern healthcare institution. This holds good above all for the corridors. The lateral wings are separated by double doors in light partitions of trellised wooden frames, with glass going up to the ceiling, through which percolates a fine diffuse light. All the rooms – laboratories, production rooms, surgeries – reflect awareness of the importance of sunlight, the necessity of hygiene and a sterile environment.

The historical context in which the institution of today's Immunology Institute was created is revealed to us more by the forms of the furniture designed in the spirit of the discreet, just nascent, Art Deco than by the exterior of the architecture itself and the conspicuous monumentality of the central staircase. In some places the furniture is used across the partition walls of adjacent rooms, which tells that it was really made for the particular needs of the laboratory, and not as a mere standard element (Fig. 9).

If we rely on the Vidaković's handwritten texts, we can assume he had an important role in changes of interior design, particularly concerning the elaboration of details and artisanal works of interior furnishing, with lovely partitions of wood and glass, with handsome functional furniture, all produced by Vidaković Brothers Factory ("the First Yugoslav Factory of Shutters, Roller Blinds, Wooden and Steel Covers").[10]

Androsov's design for the building of the Institute of Epidemiology underwent thoroughgoing preliminaries. Drawings are dated June 24, 1924. The construction contract was signed on September 19, 1924. Works started without delay, in order not to lose the funding from the Ministry of Public Health, the Hygiene Section of the League of Nations and, above all, of the Rockefeller Foundation.

An important role must have been played in the programming of the whole complex by Berislav Borčić, a hygienist and specialist in social medicine, the first director of the Institute and later, like Štampar, an official in the World Health Organisation, whose signature is on a number of documents related to the construction.

Alterations, particularly in the framework of the tempo of building that had been enjoined, tended in the direction of the economy of the building. The most important package of changes was adopted on March 9, 1925, when the works were already in full swing. The changes affected all aspects of the original design. All the expressive elements of the design for the façade were cut. For example, the cladding of the upper parts of the façade in stone, a *forte* of the Androsov design, was dispensed with; the moulding of the roof cornices was simplified; the balustrade meant to run along the roof line was abandoned; instead of in stone, the triglyphs

Fig. 8 The auditorium, actual state

Fig. 9 Furniture in the laboratories between the two world wars and in 2022

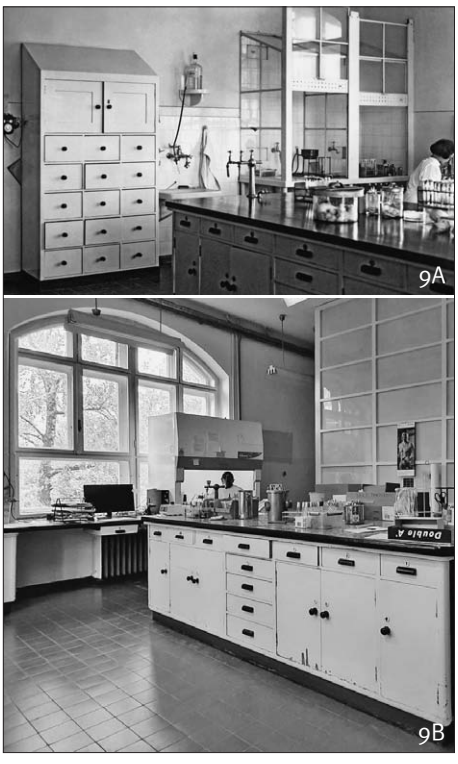


FIG. 10 VIEW OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE CROATIAN INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC HEALTH AT ROCKEFELLEROVA 2 AND 4

and metopes on the frieze beneath the main cornice were at the end rendered in stucco; instead of in stone, the steps had to be made of reinforced concrete "clad in artificial stone [e.g. as on all the buildings of the medicine faculty]"as well as the "columns in the staircase" and so on.

Since the architect is no longer mentioned in a single one of the many extant documents, it would seem that he was divorced from the works. That was also the case with the Palace of Public Health (Fig. 10). It was then common for those who administered competitions to look for ideas, pay royalties to the designer, and then work out the detailed design themselves. The practice is tellingly illustrated by the scandal caused in the competition for the State Trades School and the City Extension School in Zagreb by Josip Seissel and Josip Pičman (the latter having learned his lesson from the Main Post Office in Belgrade), when they submitted an entry outside the competition with a letter of protest which said, among other things: "the Vice-Royal Government and the City Authority with this announcement look to the entrants just for ideas, i.e., for intellectual work, and exclude a priori the entrants from any chance that he who created them will be the person to implement them... Should this plan by reason of its quality be destined for building, we reserve all the author's rights, for the implementation of this plan out of principle [relinquishing any financial reimbursment]". (Mutnjaković, 1997: 52)

Although from a stylistic point of view it is more conservative than the design of the leaders of Croatian Modernism, Denzler and Kauzlarić, this somewhat anachronistic work of Vasily Androsov for the Palace of Public Health, distinctive for its practically uncommon "high mannerist academicism", did make a certain impact on Croatian Modernism.

The basic traits of the design are defined by the harmonious composition of the functional division of interior spaces and the calm axio-symmetrical articulation of the façade with which the ambition was to achieve a monumental effect, just as with the grand interior staircase. A similar ground plan conception, "strictly central and academic", with communications in the axis of the centreline of the building, to which circulation is channelled directly and linearly from the very entrance is to be seen in Denzler's designs for the Council Chamber at Sušak (1928) and in the building of Municipal Enterprises of 1932/33. This kind of an approach, in Denzler's version, but also as a consequence of the premise of organising the internal space of the Institute of Epidemiology, - it can be assumed – might have had an effect on the articulation of the floor plan of Vrkljan's Veterinary Faculty (1937), also based on the idea of a central entrance axis, along which were strung the main building, atrium spaces and the complex of theoretical and experimental institutes, with an anatomy lecture hall shaped like an amphitheatre in the eastern annexe right at the end of the axis (Barišić Marenić, 2004: 167-178).[11]

11 N. Jakšić (2007: 201) senses the influence of Denzler's floor plan on the Palace of Public Health and in Ostrogović's new Zagreb Town Hall of 1956.

12 An excellent introduction to the width and global scale of the Rockefeller Foundation programme is given by Dugac, 2005. The foundation got involved with important financial donations as well as direct programming of a number of projects, firstly in Prague, 1921; then London 1922; Warsaw, 1923; Zagreb and Belgrade, 1924; Budapest and Toronto, 1925; Rome 1930; and Tokyo 1933. More: Prausnitz, 1933: 121-140, 169; Chen, 1989; Dugac, 2010: 193-232.

13 At the invitation of the Rockefeller Foundation, he continued his career abroad. Usually mentioned is his contribution to the advancement of public health in China (he had three long stays there from 1932 to 1936, but it seems that his influence in that country should be considered together with the remarks of Macfayden (2014). Štampar's experiences were also used in the organization of the Greek health system. He taught at a number of universities in the USA.

14 Perhaps it should be added that Štampar's views in the 1920s coincided with the philosophy of the Rockefeller Foundation, which was in essence guided by the then very vociferous objectives of eugenics, a new and popular science about the improvement of the race. Štampar, who in the 1920s was the head of the Department for Public, Racial and Social Hygiene in the Ministry of Public Health in Belgrade, in this respect held a position opposite to that of a number of influential Croatian medical people. He proposed for example that "no one may marry unless they bring a certificate from a state physician that they are healthy and capable of marriage", that "marriage may not be contracted by a person who is mentally retarded, mentally sick, epileptic or is sick of open tuberculosis", that "a person with a sexually transmitted disease may not marry until they bring a certificate from two registered physicians that they have recovered and that the disease is not hereditary", etc. Some of his foreign friends mentioned, like the German eugenicist and hygienist Grotjahn, had

The Context of the Construction of the Block of Healthcare Institutions on Zeleni Brijeg

The parts of the Institute of Epidemiology with ancillary structures around it were gradually handed over during February 1927. Finally, on October 3, 1927, the opening ceremony of the Palace of Public Health was held. Present at the opening were prominent world hygienists like Professor Selskar M. Gunn, trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation for Europe, as well as Thorvald Madsen, Alfred Grotjahn and Léon Bernard, all close friends of Štampar. The complex was opened by Stjepan Radić, a celebrated Croatian politician (then in opposition but until February that year minister of education), who several times and in glowing terms referred to Štampar's principles in the rehabilitation of the countryside.

At that time Croatia, like a major part of prewar Yugoslavia, was a country that lived by rudimentary agriculture, as appallingly revealed by the book *How People Live* (1936, 1939) by Rudolf Bicanić. Štampar had launched what was probably the most important modernisation project of the twentieth century in Croatia, and Yugoslavia, a vision set off by contemporary world views about what was preventive medicine.

The construction of the complex on Zeleni brijeg in Zagreb was the first fruit of the vigorous collaboration with the Rockefeller Foundation that was started in the year 1924.[12] As historian of the Croatian medical heritage and of public health Željko Dugac states that that was the time when all over Europe, the USA, South America and Asia the Rockefeller Foundation was putting up healthcare establishments in which physicians were acquiring advanced insights into medicine. It built centres for medical research, laboratories and other institutions necessary for the amelioration of conditions in health and hygiene, for the dissemination of preventive medicine and health education.

The Foundation set aside huge resources for the building of the School of Public Health in Zagreb (Fig. 11) as well as for a network of institutions such as healthcare stations, establishments for the protection of infants and little children, school polyclinics, dispensaries for TB, outpatient departments for STDs, institutes and stations for malaria, surgeries for trachoma, institutes for social medicine, epidemiology institutes, bacteriology laboratories and so on. In an almost inconceivably short time, about 250 public health facilities were built in the country.

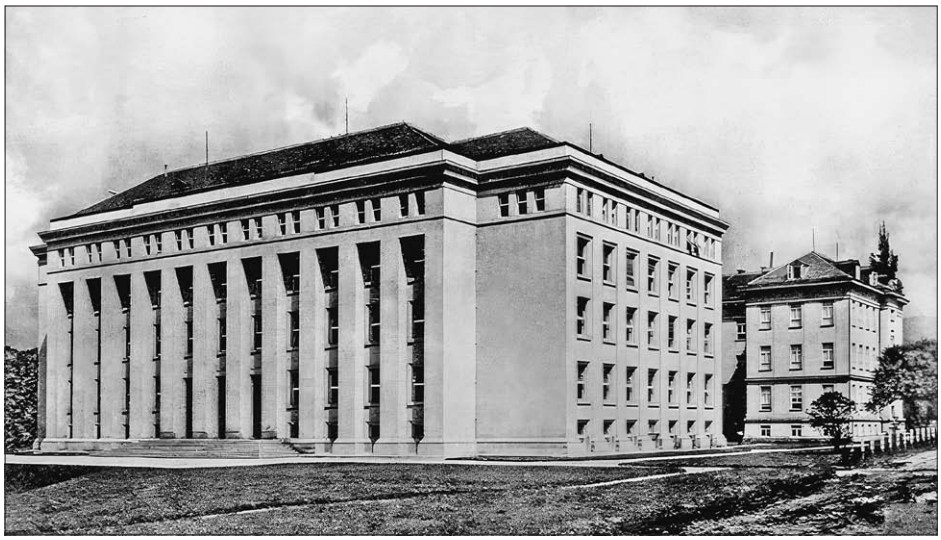


Fig. 11 Juraj Denzler and Mladen Kauzlarić: The Andrija Štampar School of Public Health in Zagreb, 1924-1927

Štampar was able to undertake all this as head of the Ministry of Public Health (appointed in 1919), conducting a thoroughgoing reform of health care, premising his work on social medical principles of the organisation of the healthcare services, thinking up a completely new institutional form of primary care, appropriate to the needs of the given milieu. In parallel, there was the training of professional medical personnel; students and young physicians, nurses and sanitary technicians were given scholarships, many of them for personal and professional development abroad.

It is particularly important to point out that the Rockefeller Foundation enabled Štampar's socialist understanding of health care and employees of the School of Public Health in general to distance themselves from the influence of political parties, that is, of the regime of the time, which was very significant during the dictatorship of King Alexander. It is not surprising that in 1931 Štampar was forced into retirement, "incapable of his office", after he had refused to join the cabinet.[13]

Experts of the health organisation of the League of Nations, as well as those from the Rockefeller Foundation, says Dugac, praised the innovative work between the two world wars. The case of a rural and undeveloped country that had managed to improve its public health significantly in a short span of time became a general model in peer countries.[14] Systematic courses for rural people

very broadly worked out ideas about national regeneration, with projects that the philanthropic Rockefeller Foundation was amply financing up to 1940. Štampar's eugenic episode, however should be understood in the context of the eugenics of the time, especially against the background of his gradual detachment from such viewpoints, and calibrated, as has been astutely done in Kuhar (2015). Incidentally, it may be mentioned that in the last few years there has been a broad critical discussion of the role of several American philanthropic foundations in the eugenics project. See for example Weintraub, 2012; Page, 2002: 265-287. The Rockefeller Foundation has recently launched an internal investigation (The Anti-Eugenics Project *Dismantling Eugenics*) to uncover more details about its involvement in the movement. https://www.devex.com/news/devex-newswire-ford-rockefeller-and-a-history-of-eugenics-101763

obtained a special and original status among schools and hygiene institutes in Europe. The auditorium of the building at Rockefeller 2 was constantly at work.

CONCLUSION

One of the propositions of this article is that Androsov's design was created at the same time the competition for the Palace of Public Health was announced – for the same client and probably according to the same programme. The Epidemiological Institute and the School of Public Health were meant to work closely together and the construction was planned – by 1924 at the latest – on the premise that the buildings should be side by side, in a mirror-image composition of the block as a whole (together with the Infectious Diseases Hospital). It can be supposed then that during the designing of the edifice of the Institute of Epidemiology the planning guidelines for the formation of the whole block were studied attentively, that is, the premises of the competition by which the approach for the Public Health building was supposed to be acquired. The design of Juraj Denzler and Mladen Kauzlarić for the construction of the Palace, however superior to the mannerist academicism of Androsov's drawings for the Institute, follows the harmonious composition of functional division of interior spaces in its own way, with communications in the axis of the centreline of the building, with an overblown grand staircase, influencing, however, similar approaches in Denzler's oeuvre, as well as the articulation of the ground plan of Vrkljan's Veterinary Faculty complex (1937), or perhaps the new Zagreb City Hall of Ostrogović (1956). In this sense, the architectural design of Vasily Mikhailovich Androsov, Serbian architect of Russian origins, has an importance of its own for the understanding of Croatian Modernism.

[Translated by Graham McMaster]

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Archive sources

1. Higijenski zavod sa školom narodnog zdravlja [Hygiene Institute and School of Public Health] (HR-HDA-517) with a total of three boxes of documents, among which are documents from 1927 about the construction of the Epidemiological Institute in Zagreb. Box 2.
2. HR-HDA-135. Inspektorat Ministarstva narodnog zdravlja kraljevine SHS u Zagrebu [Ministry of Construction of the Kingdom of the SCS, Construction Department in Zagreb] (1920-1929); in box (documents 19218/24 and 20086/24), box 24 (6581/25), box 32 (21043/25), box 46 (2285/25), box 71 (25557/26), box 84 (5238/27) and 88 (6979/27).
3. HR-HDA-130. Ministarstvo građevina Kraljevine SHS. Građevinska direkcija u Zagrebu [Ministry of Construction of the Kingdom of the SCS, Construction Directorate in Zagreb] (1920-1929); in box 53 there is documentation about the building of the Epidemiological Institute (1924-1927) with drawings for the construction and other pertinent documentation (bills of quantities, bids from building firm, contracts with contractors) and material related to the building of the byre of the Epidemiological Institute in Zagreb (box 54).
4. HR HDA 517. Higijenski zavod sa Školom narodnog zdravlja [Hygiene Institute and School of Public Health].*

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Illustration sources

Fig. 1, 5-7, 9a, 11	Hrvatski državni arhiv (Croatian State Archives), Marulić square 21, Zagreb
Fig. 2	Author's archive
Fig. 3	Zagreb, Museum of Arts and Crafts -020610/1
Fig. 4	Post *Museum*, Belgrade
Fig. 8, 9b, 10	Photo: P. Mofardin, Institute of Art History

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