

Slovenian Women's Magazines and the Development of the Modern Home Concept in the Thirties

The paper presents several Slovenian women's magazines published during the thirties by different women's societies and emphasises their contribution in the dissemination of knowledge of modern home design among their female readers. By referring to articles on modern home design, written by Slovenian architects of both genders, it analyses how the concept of the modern home developed through the thirties and shows which were the major and most popular topics presented. In this way, the paper underlines similarities and differences between male and female contributors, provides insight into the social and political status of Slovenian women architects during the interwar period and draws attention to the role of women's readers in the promotion of the modern home idea.

Keywords: Slovenia, women's magazines, architects, modern, home

Historic Background

The First World War and the altered socio-political circumstances left in its wake had a direct influence on the position and role of Slovenian women in society.¹ Considering that the new Yugoslav state left the civil law uncoded and kept the existing legislation in force, the legal status of women varied and they were treated differently in various regions of the multinational state.² Generally speaking, they were excluded from political life, as they did not have the right to vote. Most of them, especially workers' and farmers' wives, had to look for employment, usually in the textile and clothing industries and in various trades and were not equal paid. On the other hand, the number of women who attained higher education increased significantly, as they were able to attend grammar schools, vocational schools and universities. For instance, the percentage of girls attending Slovenian grammar schools increased from 11.8 % in 1918–19 up to 35.3 % in 1937–38, and the percentage of female students at the University of Ljubljana grew from 3.6 % in 1919–20 up to 18.5 % in 1937–38. The literacy and thereby level of education achieved by women varied from region to region and the main mission of women remained looking after the home and family.³

The situation of women in Slovenia was not very different from that of women in other European countries. According to the lawyer Vito Kraigher the legal status of Slovenian married women was very similar to their status in Austria, Germany and Switzerland. They enjoyed legal capacity and property rights, but were restricted in the choice of their carrier.⁴ Their struggle for equal rights was also similar and it began in Slovenia at the end of the nineteenth century in the form of various women's professional, educational, patriotic and charity associations. The struggle gained

- 1 After the First World War most of the territory of today's Slovenia was included in new established multinational Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918–29), later named the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929–39). It was ruled by the Serbian dynasty of Karađorđević as a unitary state.
- 2 The new Yugoslav state left the civil law uncoded and kept the existing legislation in force. Consequently, within the Slovenian territory the old Austrian *Allgemeine Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch* remained in force until 1941.
- 3 Mateja Jeraj, *Slovenke na prehodu v socializem* (Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije v Ljubljani, 2005), 19–37; Aleš Gabrič, "Od moškega do unisex šolstva," in Aleksander Žižek (ed.), *Ženske skozi zgodovino: Zbornik referatov 32. zborovanja slovenskih zgodovinarjev* (Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2004), 218–219.
- 4 Vito Kraigher, "Žena v sedanjem rodbinskem pravu poedinih evropskih držav," *Ženski svet* 14, no. 9 (1936), 202.

impetus in the interwar period and this was reflected in the women's magazines that were issued by different associations. These periodicals began publishing numerous articles about women's issues such as voting rights and vocational training for women. Authors encouraged women to consider their unequal situation and their role in society. These magazines had content that reinforced the traditional role of women as mothers and housewives in the society as wives presented at the same time: the permanent columns featured articles which dealt with trends in fashion, various women's handicrafts and modern ways of furnishing the home.⁵

Before analysing individual articles by these architects, which are an important source for studying modern living culture from the interwar period, it is necessary to provide a rough outline of the circumstances at the time in which these few women architects were active. In the field of technical studies, 28 females (or 10% of all graduates) graduated from the department of architecture - construction at the Technical secondary school in Ljubljana.⁶ Meanwhile, ten female architects graduated from the technical faculty of the University of Ljubljana, also representing around 10% of all graduates.⁷ Very little information is available on their lives and professional activity. Only documents belonging to two of them – Dušana Šantel Kanoni and Gizela Šuklje – have been preserved in public and private collections.⁸

I have, therefore, had to construct the broader context of my article with the help of contemporary written sources. An analysis of the written material, which has been collected so far, has shown that society at the time was not favourably inclined to the professional participation of women in the technical field and that some continued to consider them with a fair amount of reservations. For example, the linguist and professor Lovro Sušnik wrote that he does not recommend technical professions for women because, he considered them unsuitable for the female psyche. In the event that they nevertheless chose a technical subject, he would recommend architecture, which he believed, was the most suitable for them out of all the possible options. He also recommended that within architecture they choose interior design or administration where they would, in his opinion, find it easier to succeed. It was also his belief that women were suitable for the profession of landscape

architect; however, there were no educational or employment possibilities in this field in Slovenia.⁹

Despite the fact that Sušnik's essays were criticised by the women's newsletter *Ženski svet* (Women's World), a few years later the journalist Davorina Bevk presented a selection of typical women's professions in a very similar way. She only mentioned the vocation of architect indirectly and actually referred to the profession with a word meaning 'craftswoman.' In her opinion, it was still a very young profession that included all types of decoration and interior architecture and was very suited to women.¹⁰ An equally clear insight into those times is offered by articles in the daily newspapers that reported on the renovation of the coffee shop *Zvezda* in the basement of the *Kazina* building in Ljubljana. This renovation was led in 1935 by the architect Dušana Šantel Kanoni. One of the journalists at the time wrote that some people could not come to terms with the fact that a woman had won the contract to renovate the café while another journalist claimed that 'emancipation and the equality of women and even their superiority were only admitted by their husbands at home when they are in slippers'. In renovating the café, the young architect had to fight a 'quiet but difficult battle against public opinion in order to win the confidence of the broader public.'¹¹

Women's Magazines in Slovenia in the 1930s and the Concept of the Modern Home

Slovenian women's magazines from the interwar period, especially the 1930s, consolidated the already very firmly rooted role of women as mothers and housewives. Along with general social and economic development, motherhood and housekeeping became increasingly demanding tasks which demanded more specific skills and experience of women - women's magazines introduced special columns and supplements which were devoted specifically to these subject matters.¹² This was also the case with current international women's magazines such as *Modern Women*, *Women*, *Home Chat* and *Woman's Weekly* in England as well as *Cordelia*, *Bellezza* and *Fili-moda* in Fascist

⁵ Jeraj, "Slovenke na prehodu," 19–37.

⁶ Among the teaching staff of the department of architecture-construction there were also modern oriented architects such as Dragotin Fatur (since 1926), Herman Hus (occasionally from 1923 until 1929), Josip Jelenec (from 1920 until 1923), Miroslav Kos (since 1929), Rado Gregar (from 1919 until 1927 and from 1929 forward), Stanislav Rohrman (from 1924 until 1926), Ivo Spinčič (from 1925 until 1926) and Vladimir Šubic (from 1922 until 1926). Similar schools with architecture-construction departments were opened at that time also in Belgrade, Sarajevo, Split and Zagreb. Beside the mentioned department, female students could enrol also in the applied and fine arts department, which encompassed traditionally female occupation such as ceramics design and embroidery. *Spominska knjiga: 1888–1938: Ob 50 letnici izdala Državna tehniška srednja šola v Ljubljani* (Ljubljana: Državna tehniška srednja šola, 1938), 139–143, 146–149, 263–265.

⁷ Archive of the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Ljubljana (AFA).

⁸ The legacy of Dušana Šantel Kanoni is a private collection, while the legacy of Gizela Šuklje is kept in the Museum of Architecture and Design in Ljubljana.

⁹ Lovro Sušnik, *Akademski poklici: Navodila za izbiro stanu* (Ljubljana: Slovensko katoliško akademsko starešinstvo, 1932), 265 and 277; Lovro Sušnik, "Ženski poklici," *Vigred: Ženski list* 14, no. 3 (1936), 112.

¹⁰ Martina Seljak [=Davorina Bevk], "Žena v različnih poklicih," in Janez Rožencvet [=Stanislav Vdovič], *Matijčkova odpravnina in drugi spisi* (Gorica: Goriška matica, 1934), 60–66.

¹¹ "Iz Ljubljane: Zvezda bo zopet oživila," *Slovenski narod*, August 10, 1935; "Zvezda bo zopet zasijala: Kavarno Zvezda bodo po načrtih arhitektke Šantlove temeljito preuredili," *Slovenski narod*, Avgust 24, 1935; "Kazini je pretila katastrofa: Kako je bila preurejena in na novo opremljena kavarna 'Zvezda'," *Slovenski narod*, December 7, 1935; "Stalna umetnostna razstava v Zvezdi," *Jutro*, December 22, 1935.

¹² Women's sections were introduced also in the contemporary daily press (e.g. *Slovenec*, *Slovenski narod* and *Jutro*), and in illustrated magazines (e.g. *Domači prijatelj*). Sabina Žnidaršič Žagar, *Ženski so pa vzrasle svetlejše dolžnosti nego kuhati in prati: Podoba in pojavnost žensk na Slovenskem: Slovenke, od sredine 19. stoletja do 2. svetovne vojne* (Ljubljana: Pedagoški inštitut, 2009), 19 and 102–103.

Italy.¹³ Directly connected to modern housekeeping were articles about various technical appliances such as modern washing machines and vacuum cleaners, gas and electric stoves, gas and electric hot water boilers and modern refrigerators as well as innovations and articles about modern home design. Home craft features were also popular and common component of Slovenian women's magazines and as Fiona Hackney pointed out in her paper they provided women with opportunities for self-expression. They contributed to create a distinctly feminine modernity within the house and rehabilitated traditionally women's work offering them also a potential source of income.¹⁴

The authors of articles published in the Slovenian interwar women's magazines are sometimes unknown but we know that most of them were initially female journalists and later modern-thinking architects as well as the first women architects. The latter developed close ties with women's associations and their representatives and regularly collaborated with them on various occasions. A good example is the cooperation of female architects with the Union of Housewives, which organised twelve housekeeping fairs between the years 1931 and 1939 as part of the Ljubljana trade fair.¹⁵ According to the journalist, Vida Lapajne, the architects provided the union with 'strong support for its work' and she was also convinced that the course of events would lead to each housewife being able to have her own expert advisor.¹⁶ Journalist Pavla Hočevár was equally enthusiastic about the cooperation of women architects and other intellectuals in preparing housekeeping fairs as in her opinion this helped give true value to the vocation of housewife which had previously been discriminated against and belittled. However, despite much enthusiasm, she also suggested that female intellectuals should use simpler and more accessible forms that simple women could understand.¹⁷

Ženski svet (Women's World, 1923–41)

The magazine called *Ženski svet* was in circulation for eighteen years. It was first published in 1923 by the Women's Charity Association in Trieste as the newsletter of women's associations in the

region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia. When in 1928 the fascist government disbanded all Slovenian cultural organisations, the editorship of the magazine was taken over by the *Ženski konzorcij* (Women's consortium) in Ljubljana. This meant that *Ženski svet* was issued in Ljubljana from 1929 up until 1941. It was aimed at a broad circle of female readers from both urban and rural environments. When, in the 1930s, contributors to the magazine began to include people with university education, the selection of subject matters expanded and thereby gained the interest of Slovenian female intellectuals. The magazine strived on the one hand to help bring about an equal position for women in politics, work and in the social domain while on the other hand reinforcing the traditional role of a woman as mother and housewife. The chief editors of the magazine were the professor and journalist Pavla Hočevár, the professor and journalist Olga Grahor and the journalist Milka Martelanc.¹⁸

From its very beginning, the magazine published articles which tried to inform women about modern housing culture as housewives were presented as being the guardians and souls of their homes. In this regard, we should mention also a special issue titled *Domu* ('To the Home'), published in December 1928, and a magazine supplement titled *Naš dom* ('Our home') from 1933 onwards. Women were called to meticulously care for the appearance and furnishings of the home and, in order to achieve this, they should nurture their tastes suitably and then put them into practice. The authors of different articles advised them to 'declare war' on all forged and false objects, which the nineteenth century had brought with the development of industry, and a love for old styles. They should follow the new style of the twentieth century which is most suitable for the time and its needs and at the same time, when fitting out their homes they should also include handmade products and modern design handicrafts. In the opinion of the magazine, the home would thereby become practical, simple, hygienic, harmonious and beautiful.¹⁹ Some articles offer detailed descriptions of how different rooms in the modern home should be arranged and provide examples of modern folding furniture, converted old furniture as well as furniture made from practical materials. What they all have in common was their emphasis on the need for a well-considered arrangement of furniture in individual rooms and making use of the available space in an optimal way. In their opinion the walls must be lightly coloured and decorated with modern patterns. On the walls should hang only a few of the best paintings and hanging up photographs was deemed inappropriate. The windows should be of the right size with simple smooth curtains on the sides and veiled in the middle with a net curtain in a more translucent material. Lighting was also supposed to be carefully chosen with homemade lampshades to create a pleasant atmosphere in the home. The

13 To delve deeper into the matter see: Fiona Hackney, "Use your Hands for Happiness': Home Craft and Make-do-and-Mend in British Women's Magazines in the 1920s and 1930s," *Journal of Design History* 19, no. 1 (2006), 23–27; Annamaria Ruggiero, "L'immagine della donna italiana nelle riviste femminili durante gli anni del Fascismo," *Officina della Storia*, March 30, 2013, http://www.officinadellastoria.info/magazine/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=350:limmagine-della-donna-italiana-nelle-riviste-femminili-durante-gli-anni-del-fascismo&catid=68:fotografia-e-storia (accessed February 2, 2016).

14 Hackney, "Use your Hands," 23–38.

15 The most significant housekeeping fairs were: *Novodobno gospodinjstvo* (Modern housekeeping in 1931), *Domače ognjišče* (Home hearth in 1932), *Žena in obrt* (Women and the applied arts in 1935), *Sodobna gospodinja* (Modern housewife in 1936) in *Vzorno stanovanje* (Ideal house in 1937).

16 Vida Lapajne, "Domače ognjišče' II: Gospodinska razstava: Zveza gospodinj," *Gospodinja* 1, no. 5–6 (1932), 35–37.

17 Pavla Hočevár, "Vtisti in misli pri 'Domačem ognjišču,'" *Ženski svet* 10, no. 10 (1932), 298–302.

18 Katja Mihurko Poniž, "Odkar dobivam Ženski svet ne poznam več malodušnosti," *Vse za zgodovino* 16, no. 22 (2009), 118–132.

19 D. D-ova, "Iščimo lepoto tudi doma," *Ženski svet* 1, no. 2 (1923), 38–40; Milica Schaupova, "Moderna soba," *Ženski svet* 8, no. 8 (1930), 245–249.

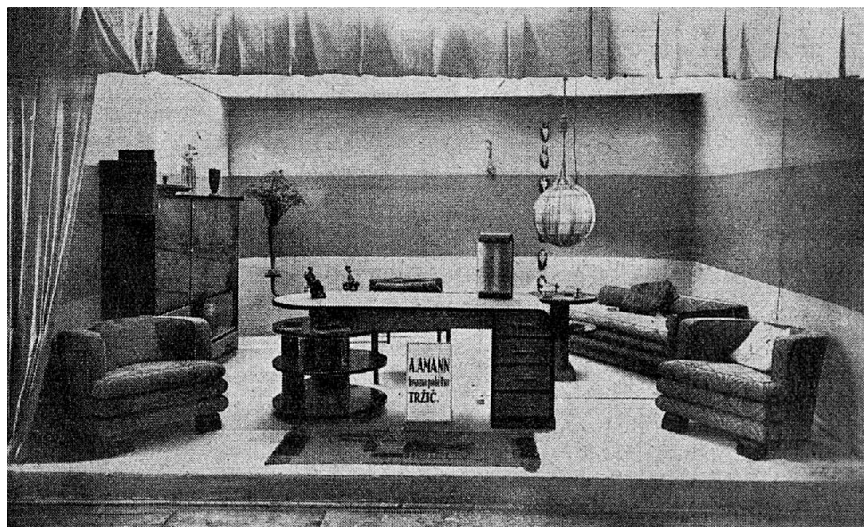


Fig.1. Furniture of the gentleman's room designed by Herman Hus and made by the Alfred Amann furniture factory from Tržič at the Ljubljana fair exhibition. Published in *Ženski svet* 8, no. 12 (1930), 397.

modern working woman was supposed to furnish her one-bedroom flat (which she is increasingly striving to obtain on her path to independence) according to the same principles.²⁰

In the 1930 and 1931 editions of *Ženski svet* we come across the usual articles but also articles by the modern architect Herman Hus entitled The gentleman's room and Middle-class home design.²¹ The first one was published in the thematic issue of *Ženski svet možu* ('Women's world to the husband'), which contained various texts and personal stories which spoke about the relationship between men and women and the differences between the male and female worlds. Herman Hus carefully explained to readers the man's need for a special private room in the house, the so-called gentleman's room. It was intended for him to be able to work there without being disturbed. He therefore recommended that the room be somewhat removed from the main living quarters and especially the kitchen and children's room. It should also be airy and well-lit. Its furnishings would be different depending on the needs or profession of the gentleman, however, he considers the table and chair to be essential and indispensable. He placed great emphasis on how the walls were painted, how the room was lit and small decorative objects such as paintings, statues, handicraft products and plants. For a better understanding, the article was accompanied with his sketches of modern items of furniture (writing tables, bookcases, smoking tables with armchairs, ottomans) and a photo from the Ljubljana fair with a presentation of the furniture of the gentleman's room made by the Alfred Amann furniture factory from Tržič (Fig. 1).²² In the second article, Hus wrote about the middle-class apartment which, at the time, usually encompassed three rooms. It was divided

into the sleeping part (the children's bedroom and the parents' bedroom) and the daytime part (the living-room whose function was both a dining room and drawing room). It was furnished with simple furniture which Hus described in detail and presented clearly with the help of photographs of a modern glass cupboard made to his own design with a smoking table and two pouffes, as well as photos of an extendable square table with three chairs.²³

The first female architecture graduates began working with the magazine after 1932. Dušana Šantel Kanoni first published a report in the magazine on an exhibition at the Ljubljana fair entitled 'The Woman in Slovenian Art' in which she presented the life of the painter Ivana Kobilica in the permanent column entitled 'Faces and Souls', and she designed the magazine cover in 1933.²⁴ Her colleague Marjanca Kanc Čuček prepared a critical review of the art exhibition entitled 'Slovenian Madonnas'.²⁵ In 1935, the two architects tackled some more demanding architectural subjects. In the same year they were joined by architect Gizela Šuklje.²⁶ Compared with Hus' articles, which acquainted readers with the modern furnishings of a middle-class apartment, these two architects tried to broaden the horizons of readers by discussing the furnishings of a working class flat and the layout of a village settlement. They devoted most attention to the rural house as architects had not even touched upon this theme until then²⁷ drawing attention to various deficiencies of contemporary rural houses which did not meet modern social and hygiene standards. Dušana Šantel Kanoni prepared a special feature on making inns in rural houses for the needs of rural tourism, in response to the implementation of a law from 1930 to support the restoration of villages²⁸ which set a whole list of conditions for the working of architects in villages. This law was supported by

23 Herman Hus, "Ureditev meščanskega stanovanja," *Ženski svet* 9, no. 4 (1931), 117–119.

24 Dušana Šantel Kanoni (1908–1988) graduated in 1932 with Ivan Vurnik at the Technical Faculty of the University of Ljubljana. Thanks to a French fellowship she could study at the *École Nationale Supérieure des Arts Décoratifs* in Paris between 1933 and 1934. After her return home, she intensively collaborated with various contemporary Women's magazines and used to work as interior designer. Igor Longyka and Herta Žagar, *Umetniška družina Šantel s predniki in potomci* (Slovenska Bistrica: Zavod za kulturo, 2012), 25. For more information about the mentioned article see: Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Žena v slovenski umetnosti," *Ženski svet* 10, no. 10 (1932), 293–296.

25 Marjanca Kanc Čuček (1909–?) graduated in 1933 with Jože Plečnik at the Technical Faculty of the University of Ljubljana. She intensively collaborated with various contemporary Women's magazines and used to work, as far as we know, as an independent architect. *Spominski almanah*, 291. For more information about the mentioned article see: Marjanca Kanc Čuček, "Velesojemska razstava 'Slovenske madone'," *Ženski svet* 11, no. 10 (1933), 226–228.

26 Gizela Šuklje (1909–1994) graduated in 1932 with Jože Plečnik at the Technical Faculty of the University of Ljubljana. Thanks to a French fellowship she could study at the *Institut d'Art et Archéologie* of Paris-Sorbonne University and worked in the studio of August Perret. After her return home, she became a devoted assistant and collaborator of her prof. Jože Plečnik. Bogo Zupančič, "Predstavitev zapuščine arhitektke Gizele Šuklje (1909–1994)," Zavod za prostorsko kulturo Trajekt, <http://trajekt.org/arhiv/?tid=1&id=1197> (accessed February 2, 2016).

27 Gizela Šuklje, "Stanujmo v stanovanjih," *Ženski svet* 13, no. 12 (1935), 268–269; Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Delavsko stanovanje," *Ženski svet* 13, no. 12 (1935), 275–276. The statement of women's architects is not accurate. In 1934, an architecture exhibition of modern rural farm houses and buildings as well as plans of village settlements at Ljubljana fair was organized.

28 For more detailed information, see the official gazette of the Drava Banat *Službeni list Kraljevske banske uprave Dravske banovine* (Ljubljana: Kraljevska banska uprava Dravske banovine, 1930), 677–679.

20 Vida P., "Vsaj lastno sobo," *Ženski svet* 6, no. 12 (1928), 363–367.

21 Herman Hus (1896–1960) graduated in 1927 with Ivan Vurnik at the Technical Faculty of the University of Ljubljana. He led an architectural office at Gregorčičeva street no. 19 in Ljubljana. *Spominski almanah slovenskih strokovnih pisateljev, publicistov in projektantov* (Ljubljana: Delniška tiskarna, 1940), 288; *Adresar mesta Ljubljane in okolice* (Ljubljana: Tiskarna grafika, 1933), 505.

22 Herman Hus, "Soba za gospoda," *Ženski svet* 8, no. 12 (1930), 394–397.

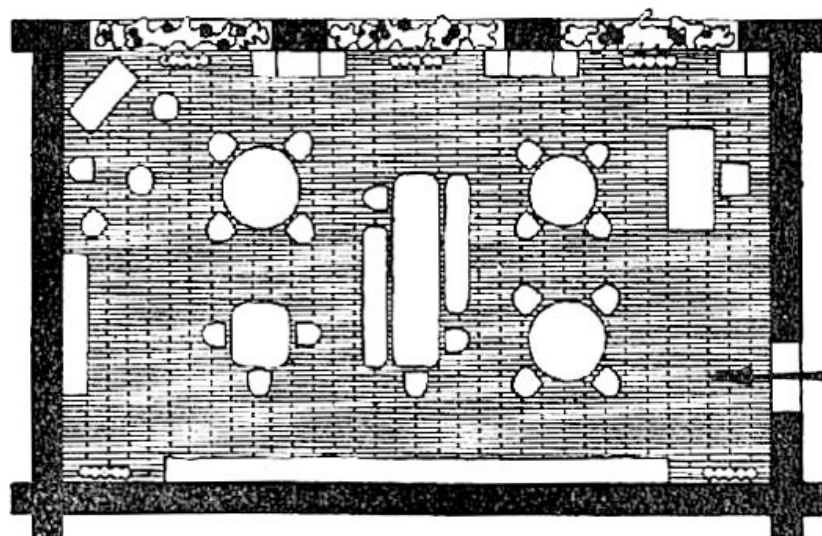


Fig.2. Gizela Šuklje, Design of a 'Happy hearth' (activity centers for children with small libraries and reading rooms where they could be freely creative).
Published in *Ženski svet* 13, no. 2 (1935), 41.

various efforts by the Drava Banovina, municipalities, farming associations, professional clubs and cooperatives for the regulation of villages. Šantel concluded her article by saying that she has made readers aware of the need for prudence regarding the construction of new farmhouses in existing villages and the need to protect and preserve the 'aesthetic values of our villages' and to achieve 'harmony between the building and the landscape' with typical farmhouses that were made to suit each particular region.²⁹ Gizela Šuklje supplemented Dušana's articles with a detailed analysis of the existing problems of rural homes and she recommended the farmhouse the use of locally available material and a construction that is as solid as possible for the successful renovation based on a certain building type. In her opinion, farmers would benefit from the advice of experts and recommended that practical studies of farming houses be included in the training of technicians and architects.³⁰

The article entitled "Metal furniture" by Dušana Šantel Kanoni is also directly connected with the theme of modern home design. She outlined the different advantages of metal furniture while drawing attention to the fact that in Slovenia the industrial production of such furniture is lagging behind but that this should not have a negative effect on its being purchased by cafes, pubs, hotels and businesses.³¹ Somewhat outside the context of modern living culture, but directly connected with the motherly role of the woman in society, is the article by Gizela Šuklje entitled 'Veselo ognjišče' ('Happy hearth') in which she presented the activities of the *Enfance et Jeunesse* – a French organization which set up activity centres for children with small libraries and reading rooms where they freely could be creative. The author also offered readers a plan for such institutions and

29 Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Naša vas in arhitekt," *Ženski svet* 13, no. 7/8 (1935), 168–170.

30 Gizela Šuklje, "O izboljšanju naše kmetijske hiše," *Ženski svet* 13, no. 12 (1935), 276–278.

31 Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Kovinstvo pohištvo," *Ženski svet* 13, no. 12 (1935), 278–279.

expressed the wish that soon 'happy hearths' would also come alive in Slovenian towns (Fig. 2).³²

The collaboration of the above mentioned architects with the magazine *Ženski svet* continued until 1939. Despite a promising beginning, their contributions no longer had anything to do with architectural content but were limited to reviews of contemporary art-historical and ethnographic books, evaluations of art exhibitions and presentations of some Slovenian female artists.³³

Žena in dom (Women and Home, 1930–41)

The monthly *Žena in dom*, which was published in Ljubljana between 1930 and 1941, was to some extent a rival for the magazine *Ženski svet*. Its editors were Erna Podgornik, Rija Podkrajšek and Tončka Lipoglavšek. Despite the fact that it tried to be a monthly for women of all social levels, its varied content mainly appealed to middle-class women. It brought readers educational and entertaining articles on the theme of housekeeping, raising children, health, hygiene, handicrafts, fashion and modern living culture. The graphic appearance of the magazine was very different from that of *Ženski svet* as the cover usually sported lively colours in combination with large format photographs, while the magazine's interior featured many photographs and images that illustrated different articles or were part of numerous advertisements for products and services by local and foreign brands.³⁴

From the outset, the theme of modern living culture was present in the magazine and in comparison with *Ženski svet*, it focused on slightly different and more varied presentations of interior design. Whole-page photographs of furniture, which thereby became an advertisement for the woodworking company that produced it, were sometimes featured on the front cover (October 1930, June 1931, September 1932 and September 1933) or as part of advertisements for local master carpenters from Ljubljana and its surroundings in the magazine (Fig. 3). Advertisements were usually a combination of photographs of furniture and catchy slogans. These encouraged readers to buy attractive, modern, practical and solid furniture of all kinds with which buyers could comfortably and tastefully furnish their home.

Of the vast majority of articles dealing with contemporary housekeeping, their authors remain

32 Gizela Šuklje, "Veselo Ognjišče," *Ženski svet* 13, no. 2 (1935), 41–42.

33 Gizela Šuklje, "Dr. France Stele: Umetnost Zapadne Evrope," *Ženski svet* 14, no. 9 (1936), 206–207; Gizela Šuklje, "Jože Karlovšek," *Ženski svet* 14, no. 12 (1936), 273–274; Gizela Šuklje, "Jože Karlovšek: Slovenski ornament, ljudski in obrtniški izdelki," *Ženski svet* 15, no. 7/8 (1937), 182–183; Marjanca Kanc Čuček, "Jože Karlovšek: Umetnostna obrt," *Ženski svet* 16, no. 7/8 (1938), 180–181; Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Slikarica Henrika Šantel," *Ženski svet* 18, no. 4 (1940), 73–77; Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Razstava likovnih umetnic v Ljubljani," *Ženski svet* 18, no. 1 (1940), 20–21.

34 Mateja Ratej, "(Ma)Rija Podkrajšek - urednica mesečnika Žena in dom v letih 1930–1941," *Kronika: Časopis za krajevno zgodovino* 50, no. 1 (2014), 133–114.

unknown. Usually the articles consisted of short explanatory texts and sketches or photographs of the interiors or individual items of furniture. There were particularly interesting articles in which male readers were given practical advice in words and pictures about how they can renovate old or used furniture and, in a very simple way, give it new modern shapes or adapt it for new uses (Fig. 4).³⁵ In a similar way, they also presented articles about local handicraft products (e.g. modern designs for carpets, lampshades, pillows, curtains) that women could make themselves with the help of examples and instructions (Fig. 5).³⁶ There are also interesting articles from 1939 and 1940 which introduced relatively new themes for readers about the necessity of arranging the garden around the house with comfortable outdoor furniture for enjoying nature, about procedures for buying and building so-called weekend houses in order to spend time away from the city and about the characteristics of furnishings for modern wooden houses.³⁷

Modern housing culture was dealt with in word and image by architects Janko Omahen,³⁸ an unknown architect M. and another unknown academic architect I. Žak. Janko Omahen was the first to begin working for the magazine. The particularity of his articles lay in the fact that they were not aimed solely at female readers but also tried to reach a male readership. In his first article from 1930 he presented the problems of modern interior design with architects belonging to one of two possible groups either in a 'technically meaningful arrangement



Fig. 3. Front cover of the women magazine *Žena in dom* (Women and home). Published in *Žena in dom* 4, no. 9 (1933).



Fig. 5. 'Practical handwork' (modern designs for carpets). Published in *Žena in dom* 5, no. 1 (1934), 37.

Fig. 4. 'For Men's hands' (practical advice on how can a man make modern furniture on his own). Published in *Žena in dom* 4, no. 5 (1933), 193.

of the home' or an 'artistically-comfortable' solution. In the opinion of the author, the correct approach was the unification of both which was gradually supposed to bring about the 'harmony of a new style'.³⁹ An article from 1931 dealt with the importance of the correct selection and

fitting of lighting in the home which should not be overlooked if people wished to create a 'true home'.⁴⁰ His last article from 1932 was a kind of justification of modern housing culture. Omahen tried to refute the main objection given by the large population that rejected the introduction of a modern style and proceeded to describe its advantages and attractiveness.⁴¹ In 1933, the architect M. presented housewives with a detailed presentation of a practically and meaningfully arranged kitchen which had to include a modern kitchen table that was also depicted in sketches (Fig. 6). In 1937, an article was published by I. Žak in which he described different ways of sitting and the importance of comfort and suitable furniture.⁴²

Female journalists only published a few articles on the subject of modern living culture. Two articles that are worth mentioning are by editor Rija Podkrajšek. She wrote about the incursion of modern style resulting in the tasteless construction of rural farmhouses and her appeal to her 'compatriots

35 "Iz starega pohištva nove oblike," *Žena in dom* 1, no. 9 (1930), 306–307; "Za moške roke," *Žena in dom* 4, no. 1 (1933), 19–20; "Za moške roke," *Žena in dom* 4, no. 5 (1933), 193; "Za moške roke," *Žena in dom* 5, no. 5 (1934), 194–195; "Prenovite si opravo," *Žena in dom* 7, no. 12 (1936), 428–430; "Iz starega novo," *Žena in dom* 8, no. 6 (1937), 248. The topic of "Make-do-and-Mend" is analysed also by Fiona Hackney in the already cited article: Hackney, "Use your Hands," 23–38.

36 E.g. "Moderno okno," *Žena in dom* 1, no. 4 (1930), 132–133; "Posteljno perilo," *Žena in dom* 5, no. 1 (1934), 35, and "Praktično ročno delo," *Žena in dom* 5, no. 1 (1934), 37; "Takale preproga napravi sobo toplo in domačo," *Žena in dom* 6, no. 6 (1935), 234.

37 "Kako si uredimo vrt?," *Žena in dom* 10, no. 3 (1939), 102–104; "Krog in krog je vrt v cvetju," *Žena in dom* 10, no. 6 (1939), 234–236; "Za letovanje: lastno hišico," *Žena in dom* 10, no. 5 (1939), 194–196, and "Med lesenimi stenami, pod lesenimi stropi," *Žena in dom* 11, no. 2 (1940), 70–71.

38 Janko Omahen (1898–1980) graduated in 1927 with Ivan Vurnik at the Technical Faculty of the University of Ljubljana. Between 1925 and 1929 he led, together with architect Domicijan Serajnik, the graphic department of the Delniška tiskarna printing house in Ljubljana. In 1929, the two architects jointly established an architectural studio and mainly dedicated their work to interior design. France Stele, "Omahen, Janko (1898–1980)," in *Slovenska biografija*, <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi395254/> (accessed July 21, 2015).

39 Janko Omahen, "Problemi moderne ureditve prostora," *Žena in dom* 1, no. 10 (1930), 361.

40 Janko Omahen, "O lučih," *Žena in dom* 2, no. 6 (1931), 220.

41 Janko Omahen, "Sodobna stanovanjska kultura," *Žena in dom* 3, no. 9 (1932), 318–319.

42 M., "Kuhinjska miza," *Žena in dom* 4, no. 9 (1933), 330; I. Žak, "Kako sedimo," *Žena in dom* 8, no. 5 (1937), 196–197.

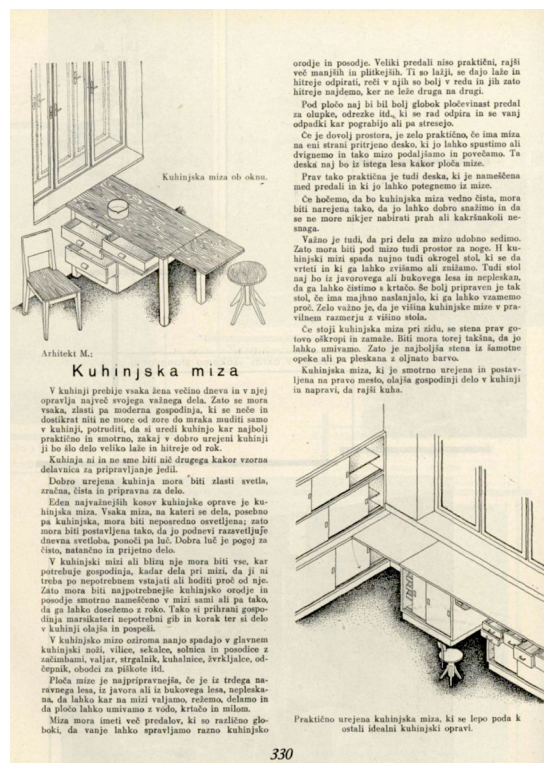


Fig. 6. Architect M., Design of a kitchen table. Published in *Žena in dom* 4, no. 9 (1933), 330.

on farms' and Slovenian rural housewives to build and equip their farmhouses in the autochthonous, Slovenian style.⁴³ After a few years, an article by an unknown female author was published about contemporary furniture along with many photographs.⁴⁴ Another article, also by an anonymous author, used words and pictures to present an attractive layout for an attic room.⁴⁵

Women architects did not contribute articles to *Žena in dom*, but Dušana Šantel Kanoni collaborated with the magazine in a slightly different way. From 1933 onwards, she prepared stylish samples for various handicrafts for the supplement *Za pridne roke* ('For hardworking hands'), and in 1939 she wrote a handbook published by the magazine entitled *Kako opremim stanovanje* (How to furnish the home) (Fig. 7). The book came about following the initiative of magazine readers above all with the purpose of becoming a 'practical manual and sincere guide to all who would like to have an orderly and attractive home.' It was aimed, particularly, at those people who could not afford to equip their homes in a luxurious way, such as clerks, workers and farmers. In the introduction, Šantel Kanoni presented the characteristics of homes in past times, criticised old-fashioned furnishing styles and openly campaigned for modern styles. Further on, she described the main characteristics of a modern style and described different items of furniture. She paid particular attention to the layout and placing of furniture. Then there were two chapters devoted to the children's corner and holiday rooms in the countryside in Slovenian traditional style. The last part of the manual is devoted to explaining the role of the architect in fitting out the home and provides practical advice for moving. In compiling the book, Šantel Kanoni largely made use of Slovenian pictures. She featured drawings and photographs that had already been published by *Žena in dom*, as well as unpublished images of contemporary furniture which had been made according to plans drawn up by the workshop of Janez Omahen

and Domicijan Serajnik, and architects Ciril Tavčar and Dušana. Frequent references to foreign sources⁴⁶ in her text showed her worldliness and capability of adapting foreign ideas to the Slovenian context.⁴⁷

Gospodinja (Housewife, 1932–42)

The Union of Housewives was founded in 1931 as a special department of the General Women's Association in Ljubljana. In 1935 the Union became an independent association. As the Union wanted to train women to carry out the 'strenuous and responsible' work of housewives, it organised numerous educational courses, factory visits, lectures, the already mentioned housekeeping exhibition at Ljubljana's fair and published a monthly housekeeping review called *Gospodinja*. Its first editor was Albina Travnova who was succeeded later by Anica Kropivnik. It was meant for middle-class housewives as well as farming and working-class women. The main goals of the review were to obtain recognition for the life and vocation of housewives and to develop it and improve it.⁴⁸

The graphic appearance of the magazine was simple but the same for all issues. It partly changed with the introduction of a new cover for the third issue in 1937 and this form was then kept until the end of 1941. Advertising was limited solely to the first and last pages of each issue and was less obtrusive than that in *Žena in dom*. There were permanent columns in *Gospodinja*. Novelties about modern living culture were brought by the column entitled 'Home' whose name was changed to 'Homeliness and comfort' after 1936. In comparison with the two magazines mentioned above, the



Fig. 7. Cover of the book *Kako opremim stanovanje* (How to furnish the home) by Dušana Šantel Kanoni.

46 She often mentioned architect Carl Burckhard and his book *Gutes und Böses in der Wohnung* (Leipzig: Verlag Otto Beyer, 1933), architect André Lurcat and his book *Architecture* (Paris: Au Sans Pareil, 1929), prof. Adolf G. Schneck and his books *Die Konstruktion des Möbels* (Stuttgart: Julius Hoffmann Verlag, 1932) and *Die Möbel als Gebrauchsgegenstandt* (Stuttgart: Julius Hoffmann Verlag, 1929), prof. Ernest Neufert and his book *Bauentwurfslehre* (Berlin: Bauwelt Verlag, 1936), architect Bruno Taut and his book *Die neue Wohnun: Die Frau als Schöpferin* (Leipzig: Verlag von Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1924).

47 Dušana Šantel Kanoni, *Kako opremim stanovanje* (Ljubljana: Žena in dom, 1939), and "Inž. arh. Dušana Šantel Kanoni: Kako opremimo stanovanje," *Slovenec*, May 11, 1939, Kulturni obzornik.

48 Minka Kastelčeva, "Organizacija gospodinj drugod in pri nas," *Gospodinja* 1, no. 3 (1932), 17–18, and "10 let strokovnega gospodinjskega lista," *Jutro*, February 17, 1941.

articles on this subject in *Gospodinja* were more numerous and varied in content. Most of them were written by university educated authors: up until 1934 there were contributions by architect Dragotin Fatur⁴⁹ and after 1935 by the architects Dušana Šantel Kanoni, Gizela Šuklje, Katarina Grasselli⁵⁰ and Marjanca Kanc Čuček as well as the university educated gardener Ružica Barle. Developments in contemporary housekeeping were followed by the column 'Technology' which brought housewives various news about ground-breaking technical innovations in the field of housekeeping such as modern washing machines and vacuum cleaners, gas and electric stoves and gas and electric hot water boilers. There are also some interesting articles in the Economics and Healthcare sections, which discussed the problem of working class and rural housing in Ljubljana and its nearby surroundings.

Contributions by architect Dragotin Fatur can be divided into two content groups. The first group contains articles of a more theoretical nature in which the author has tried to address housewives directly by inviting them to consider new findings about modern living culture.⁵¹ The other group features articles that are more of a practical nature, in which he tells readers how to furnish individual rooms in middle-class houses (family or living rooms, bedrooms, bathrooms and separate toilets and laundry rooms). He offered advice on how to build one's own home, explained the beneficent effects of moving, described what new materials were available on the market (such as rubber flooring and wallpaper), showed possibilities for furnishing the modern apartment, for example through wall paper and wall panelling, and spoke about the importance of a good home and garden design.⁵² The articles also reflect Fatur's special relationship with housewives. He believed that the housewife is the centre of the family and that she must not assume the traditionally subordinate role but a leading one. She should play a decisive role in preparations for the construction of the family home. She should cooperate closely with the architect and let him or her know her needs and wishes, which, however, should not surpass the family's financial capacities.⁵³

The rich selection of articles by Slovenian women architects in *Gospodinja* can be divided into different themes. The first, articles in which women architects publish modern home design with detailed descriptions of the layout of individual rooms (the anteroom, dining room, living room/lounge, bathroom, bedroom).⁵⁴ The structure and content of these articles was similar to those by Fatur. Besides the usual description of the function of a particular room, its position, equipment, recommended interior design of walls, ceiling and floor, and possible artistic or handmade objects, architects often included in their texts a short historical overview of the development of an individual room with details about the contemporary situation in Slovenia. There was a special chapter on the layout and equipment of a modern kitchen, which Gizela Šuklje and Dušana Šantel Kanoni both dealt with in depth.⁵⁵ Although their two articles were similar in many ways, Šantel Kanoni's article offered an even deeper analysis and included technical details about minimal measurements of existing typologies of kitchen and about the latest acquisitions and innovations in this field. Both texts showed that their authors had broad horizons and were aware of contemporary developments in other countries. Šuklje's article was also accompanied by an illustrated supplement from the book called *Stanovanje* (Apartment)⁵⁶ which showed the layout of the so-called Frankfurt Kitchen (1926, designed by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky) and the two-part kitchen sink. A special group of articles in *Gospodinja* dealt with Slovenian handicrafts and arts, which in the architects' opinion, gained in value and in price after the war (Fig. 8). Their use in the modern apartment was completely justified as long as they were used with moderation and with feeling. They gave the home the very necessary warmth and an original touch.⁵⁷ The use of fresh flowers was also very appropriate for decoration as was fresh greenery, which Katarina Grasselli wrote about. Gizela Šuklje delved into the meticulous arrangement of the small garden characterised by simple and clear lines in which plants are left to grow freely, while Ružica Barle explained the characteristics of rockeries

49 Dragotin Fatur (1895–1973) graduated in 1924 with Jože Plečnik at the Technical Faculty of the University of Ljubljana. In the interwar period, he established an architectural studio and worked as a professor in the technical secondary school in Ljubljana. He was the main editor of the first Yugoslav architectural magazine *Arhitektura* (1931–34).

50 Katarina Grasselli (1910–1990) graduated in 1934 with Jože Plečnik at the Technical Faculty of the University of Ljubljana (AFA). Her interwar work is still mostly unknown.

51 Dragotin Fatur, "Stanovanjska kultura," *Gospodinja* 1, no. 3 (1932), 18–19; Dragotin Fatur, "Stanovanje in oprema," *Gospodinja* 2, no. 10 (1933), 75–76; Dragotin Fatur, "Udobno stanovanje," *Gospodinja* 2, no. 9 (1933), 70–71; Dragotin Fatur, "O pohištvu," *Gospodinja* 3, no. 3 (1934), 27–28.

52 Dragotin Fatur, "Družinska soba," *Gospodinja* 2, no. 1 (1933), 2–4; Dragotin Fatur, "Spalnica," *Gospodinja* 2, no. 2 (1933), 10–11; Dragotin Fatur, "Kopalnica, umivalnica, stranišče," *Gospodinja* 3, no. 9 (1934), 98 and *Gospodinja* 3, no. 10 (1934), 110; Dragotin Fatur, "Pralnica," *Gospodinja* 4, no. 6 (1934), 63–64; Dragotin Fatur, "Pogoji za gradnjo lastnega doma," *Gospodinja* 2, no. 6 (1933); Dragotin Fatur, "Selitev," *Gospodinja* 3, no. 2 (1934), 16–17, 43–45; Dragotin Fatur, "Kavčuk," *Gospodinja* 3, no. 8 (1934), 88–89; Dragotin Fatur, "Stene stanovanja: Tapete," *Gospodinja* 3, no. 1 (1934), 2–3; Dragotin Fatur, "Opločevanje sten," *Gospodinja* 3, no. 4 (1934), 39–40, and Dragotin Fatur, "Hiša, stanovanje, vrt in človek," *Gospodinja* 3, no. 5 (1934), 50.

53 Dragotin Fatur, "Arhitekt in gospodinja," *Gospodinja* 1, no. 2 (1932), 10–11.

54 Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "K smotrenemu urejevanju stanovanja," *Gospodinja* 4, no. 4 (1935), 38–39; Gizela Šuklje, "Domače ognjišče," *Gospodinja* 5, no. 8 (1936), 88; Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Predsoba," *Gospodinja* 4, no. 7 (1935), 74–75; Gizela Šuklje, "Vestibul: Vhod v domačijo," *Gospodinja* 5, no. 10 (1936), 110–111; Gizela Šuklje, "Jedilnica," *Gospodinja* 6, no. 2 (1937), 14; Gizela Šuklje, "Hala, salon, dnevna soba: Stanovanjski in družabni prostor," *Gospodinja* 6, no. 1 (1937), 2–3; Gizela Šuklje, "Kopalnica," *Gospodinja* 6, no. 3 (1937), 26–27, and Marjana Kanc Čuček, "Spalnica," *Gospodinja* 6, no. 6 (1937), 62–63.

55 Gizela Šuklje, "Nekaj misli o oblikovanju kuhinjskega prostora," *Gospodinja* 4, no. 8 (1935), 86–87, and Gizela Šuklje, "Nekaj misli o oblikovanju kuhinjskega prostora," *Gospodinja* 4, no. 9 (1935), 98–99; Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Kuhinja," *Gospodinja* 8, no. 4 (1939), 38; Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Kuhinja," *Gospodinja* 8, no. 5 (1939), 51, and Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Kuhinja," *Gospodinja* 8, no. 6 (1939), 63–64.

56 Jože Mesar and Ivo Spinčič, *Stanovanje* (Ljubljana: Jugoslovanska knjigarna, 1931).

57 Gizela Šuklje, "Zavesa," *Gospodinja* 4, no. 1 (1935), 2–3; Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Ročno delo v sodobnem stanovanju," *Gospodinja* 4, no. 2 (1935), 14–15; Gizela Šuklje, "Tkanine," *Gospodinja* 5, no. 1 (1936), 3, and Gizela Šuklje, "Tkanine v nošnji in stanovanju," *Gospodinja* 5, no. 2 (1936), 15–16; Gizela Šuklje, "Mali okraski stanovanjske opreme," *Gospodinja* 5, no. 5 (1936), 52–53;

and common mistakes made when creating them.⁵⁸ The new thematic group consisted of articles in which the architects Dušana Šantel Kanoni and Marjetka Kanc Čuček dealt with the question of how to create a more child-friendly home where each family arranged a children's room or small children's corner in the parents' bedroom, or if this was not possible, that readers should at least buy appropriate children's equipment (bed, table with chairs and children's cupboard) made of a light material and of a clean and simple form. According to the architect, the permanent corner and personally scaled equipment would make children feel greater attachment to the home and would also teach them independence and a sense of orderliness (Fig. 9).⁵⁹ In their articles the architects dealt with a broad spectrum of homes from middle-class apartments, small working-class flats in the form of workers' colonies, terraced houses and apartment blocks in suburbs, to plans and studies of rural houses and health buildings which Yugoslavia exhibited at the *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* in Paris in 1937. They also dealt with a new kind of single person's flat ('bedsit'), plans and equipment for small gardens or summer houses in the countryside and offered readers practical instructions for preparing pleasant, homey rooms for tourists.⁶⁰



Fig. 8. Dušana Šantel Kanoni's design for pillows, around 1935. Courtesy of Dušana Šantel Kanoni private collection (EG0007370), (published also in *Gospodinja* 4, no. 2 (1935), 15).



Fig. 9. Play kitchen designed by Dušana Šantel Kanoni, Second Housekeeping exhibition at Ljubljana's fair (1932). Courtesy of Dušana Šantel Kanoni private collection (EG0007387).

Conclusion

The presentation and analysis of the above mentioned women's magazines, *Ženski svet*, *Žena in dom* and *Gospodinja*, has shown that during the interwar period these magazines played an important role in spreading ideas about modern housing culture amongst the female population. Each one had its own approach, but what they shared in depth was their approach to living culture. They did not limit themselves solely to presenting the traditional middle-class home but reacted well to the needs of society, which was advancing carefully along the path of general modernisation and progress. Slovenian women architects played an impor-

tant role with their articles regarding the modern solution for farmhouses and working-class housing, the correct use of contemporary handicrafts and artistic decorations and flowers in the modern home, making suitable children's furniture, and the principles of modern gardening. The architects showed a worldly and sophisticated approach to their subjects and knew much more than just what was related to interior design and home decoration. This can be seen especially clearly through a comparison with current popular articles written by women journalists focused above all on underscoring women's skills and taste within their home. Unfortunately, the advanced ideas of Slovenian women architects only reached the small number of women who read these magazines as they did not publish their articles in the daily newspapers and other specialised press, which was very common at that time in other countries, for instance in Italy.⁶¹ One of the best examples of their practice, in the field of modern living culture were the items of kitchen and children's furniture by Dušana Šantel Kanoni which were on display at the housekeeping exhibition at Ljubljana's fair in 1932 (Fig. 10) and other examples of Šantel Kanoni's furniture design published in the manual entitled *How to equip your home* in 1939. Katarina Grasselli designed the garden layout of the former Villa Bahovec on Erjavčeva street 11 in Ljubljana after 1935, which was demolished in 1982 due to the construction of Cultural and Congress Centre Cankarjev dom. Marjanca Kanc Čuček planned the collective housing building on Tržaška

58 Katarina Grasselli, "Cvetlice v stanovanju," *Gospodinja* 5, no. 3 (1936), 27–28, and Katarina Grasselli, "Vrtič v stanovanju," *Gospodinja* 5, no. 4 (1936), 42–43; Gizela Šuklje, "Arhitektura malega vrta," *Gospodinja* 4, no. 5 (1935), 50–51, and Ružica Barlè, "Skalniki in alpini," *Gospodinja* 6, no. 10 (1937), 103–104; Ružica Barlè, "Skalniki in alpini," *Gospodinja* 6, no. 11 (1937), 115–116; Ružica Barlè, "Skalniki in alpini," *Gospodinja* 6, no. 12 (1937), 126, and Ružica Barlè, "Skalniki in alpini," *Gospodinja* 7, no. 1 (1938), 2–3.

59 Dušana Šantel Kanoni, "Otroško pohištvo," *Gospodinja* 4, no. 10 (1935), 110–111; Marjana Kanc Čuček, "Otrok in dom," *Gospodinja* 6, no. 9 (1937), 91–92.

60 Marjana Kanc Čuček, "Malo stanovanje," *Gospodinja* 6, no. 4 (1937), 42–43 and Marjana Kanc Čuček, "Malo stanovanje," *Gospodinja* 6, no. 5 (1937), 54–55; Gizela Šuklje, "Nekaj besedi o našem pohištvi," *Gospodinja* 6, no. 10 (1937), 103; Marjana Kanc Čuček, "Garsonjera," *Gospodinja* 7, no. 12 (1938), 127; Gizela Šuklje, "Poletna hišica," *Gospodinja* 5, no. 6 (1936), 64, and Gizela Šuklje, "Soba za letovišcarje," *Gospodinja* 4, no. 6 (1935), 62.

61 Katrin Cosseta, *Ragione e sentimento dell'abitare: La casa e l'architettura nel pensiero femminile tra le due guerre* (Milano: Tipomona, 2000), 15.



Fig. 10. Kitchen furniture designed by Dušana Šantel Kanoni and made by Andrej Fajfar furniture factory from Bistrica-Podbrežje, Second Housekeeping exhibition at Ljubljana's fair (1932). Courtesy of Dušana Šantel Kanoni private collection (EG0007376).

street 11 in Ljubljana in front of the Tobacco factory for the sisters Karla Kanc and Štrekelj Mara around 1938.⁶² Despite the fact that much remain unknown and that it will be necessary to carry out much more research, the content of these magazines points to the fact that the road to modernisation of living culture in Slovenia began already at the end of the twenties and that it was on a high level despite the artisanal form of production and marketed to both male and female audiences by male and female experts. However, the trends that were begun could only come alive fully after the Second World War in the context of the new socialist state and with the help of mass industrial production.

⁶² For more information about Katarina Grasselli see: Bogo Zupančič, *Usode Ljubljanskih stavb in ljudi: 1–24* (Ljubljana: KUD Polis, 2009), 86–93. In regards to Marjanca Kanc Čuček see: "Iz Ljubljane: Sgraffiti Prof. S. Šantla," *Jutro*, September 11, 1938, and "Ljubljana: Zanimiva hiša na Tržaški cesti," *Slovenec*, September 15, 1938.

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