

cities' populations (including large numbers of refugees from elsewhere) homeless and local economies shattered. This trauma encompassed the partial or entire destruction of most of the built heritage of these cities, in which collective as well as individual memory resided. In his introduction, Demshuk argues that the "simplified architectural narratives" generated by redemptive reconstruction "illustrate how larger questions of democracy, civic activism and identity, and memory politics took shape at the local level in ways that confirmed, confronted, and transcended state ideology in the shadow of Hitler" (4).

One of the most exciting aspects of *Cities after Hitler* is Demshuk's patient reconstruction of the debates that took place among officials, architects, and other residents. In particular, he is able to reconstruct a surprising amount of what could be termed public opinion in Communist-ruled Leipzig and Wrocław, even if this opinion seldom had any more impact than in Frankfurt, where, he argues, a democratically elected government was little more responsive to the desires of its citizens. In all three cases, officials and architects, who were often government employees, generally preferred new construction to conserving or re-creating buildings erected before the onset of the war. The most striking exception—not entirely surprisingly, if one thinks of the reconstruction of Warsaw—was in Wrocław. Here the greatest illusion at least of continuity can be found, whether with the city's medieval past, whose ties to an earlier Poland the new regime usefully exaggerated, or with its distinguished twentieth-century modernism, only some of which Demshuk references. Re-creating at least a semblance of a historical city may have been profoundly reassuring to Wrocław's new residents, almost all of them displaced from somewhere else, even if most had no prewar memories of their new home.

Demshuk is a profoundly conservative scholar. I do not mean this in the normal sense of a political view, although his labeling of Frankfurt's elected Social Democrats as "dictatorial" might suggest that. Instead, his stance, conveyed throughout what is nonetheless a rigorously researched work, is resolutely that the architecture that was destroyed as a result of the war was better than anything

that could possibly follow afterward, unless, that is, it was already modern, in which case the less said about it the better. Frankfurt, the West German financial hub, an independent city until it was invaded by Prussia in 1866; the historically Saxon trading center of Leipzig, the location of East Germany's largest trade fair; and the Polish city of Wrocław, seized by Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, from the Austrians in the eighteenth century—all had very different histories before 1945. All had grown rapidly in the century before the war began; much of the historic architecture whose demise Demshuk regrets was not as old—and thus just as out of fashion—in the 1940s as the postwar buildings that replaced them are now. More could have been done to disentangle and thus distinguish among the varied threads out of which the rich prewar fabric of these cities was woven. In addition, the meticulous specificity of this book is at times also its greatest weakness, as Demshuk pays less attention than most architectural historians would to the larger forces at play during this period that transformed so many cities around the world, even cities that did not face invasion. These forces, such as the increased prevalence of the automobile and the real estate pressures on city centers that eventually transformed Frankfurt into "Mainhattan," ensured that London would demolish more buildings in the postwar decades than it had lost to the Blitz. And yet that specificity does not always extend in this book to teasing out the difference, particularly to a late 1940s or early 1950s audience, between a Wilhelmine apartment block or department store and an older structure already revered as a landmark. The dynamic changes that the prewar cities had experienced are glossed over somewhat quickly.

But those wanting these stories have plenty of other scholarship available to them. The fine-grained detail Demshuk provides as he compares and contrasts the processes as well as the products of postwar rebuilding in these three cities is exemplary, so that even those who have a more dispassionate (or, oppositely, a passionate) point of view would be hard-pressed to find a better place to turn to for help in understanding any of these cities, or even postwar reconstruction in Central Europe more generally. Nor is there a better place to turn to in

order to understand the historical context out of which emerged so powerfully, in the Federal Republic of Germany following unification in 1990, the urge to construct facsimiles of long-gone landmarks as a badge of democratic participation. The grassroots movement that resulted in the reemergence of Dresden's Frauenkirche on that city's skyline, if not necessarily as convoluted as the process that generated the Humboldt Forum in Berlin, becomes the sign of the fully participatory democracy that Demshuk believes will almost certainly generate a reverence for historicist and premodern historic architecture. He is astute about the multiple ways in which structures such as Goethe's reconstructed birthplace in Frankfurt are significant, not because they are authentic, but because they contribute to a sense of specificity of place. These structures thus assist in constructing community identity that has nothing to do with where people come from and everything to do with where they are when they stand in front of or inside such buildings.

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Veronica E. Aplenc

**Imagining Slovene Socialist
Modernity: The Urban Redesign
of Ljubljana's Beloved Trnovo
Neighborhood, 1951–1989**

West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University
Press, 2023, 250 pp., 60 b/w illus. \$99.99
(cloth), ISBN 9781612498126; \$54.99 (paper),
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With this concise study, Veronica E. Aplenc manages to provide a fresh take on a now well-established topic: city planning in state socialism. Whereas most scholars working in this area have argued for the centrality of the cities they study—whether because they are capitals, industrial centers, or paradigmatic cases of socialist modernity—Aplenc is not interested in Trnovo for its centrality. Trnovo was a small town that gradually became incorporated into the suburbs of Ljubljana, itself a city that was not particularly urbanized at the beginning of the 1950s. Yet Aplenc convincingly argues that we can learn a lot about socialist modernity and planning practices by looking at places like Trnovo.

Aplenc is a folklorist by training, and for that reason, she is interested in looking at how socialist authorities treated places that did not fit with their ideas of modernity and, in turn, how locals and other actors articulated and advanced their own views of these places and tried to shape their futures. While planners and architects are key actors in the story of Trnovo, so are preservationists and informal home builders. Importantly, Aplenc positions these actors not as antimodern or antisocialist, but as active participants in shaping Slovene socialist modernity.

The monograph begins by exploring how Slovene planners went about defining specifically Slovene socialist planning practices, informed by the broader Yugoslav vision of the good life, characterized by stylish modern living. In particular, Aplenc notes the appeal of Scandinavian design to Slovene planners, architects, and designers. Slovene planners adapted the concept of the *mikrorayon* (microdistrict) to the Slovene context, calling it the *soseka*. This ethos shaped Ljubljana's first master plan in 1966, which was to govern Trnovo's modernization through the development of a new neighborhood of high-rises as well as some single-family housing.

As Aplenc notes, although not an important place, Trnovo had some significance in the Slovene national imagination, immortalized in literature as a picturesque pastoral landscape of vegetable gardens. Moreover, the famous architect Jože Plečnik had left his mark on the local landscape, designing a bridge and the river embankments. None of these elements featured in the socialist planners' vision for the future of the district. Instead, Trnovo became the site of a model single-family home development, Murgle, designed by France and Marta Ivanšek. Aplenc argues that in contrast to the high-density housing prevalent in places like Belgrade, this low-rise housing development came to epitomize socialist modernity in Slovenia.

Yet socialist modernity in Trnovo was also a story of unsanctioned, informal housing development in the neighborhood known as Rakova Jelša. Here, Aplenc argues, far from representing a premodern impulse or expressing an oppositional stance to the socialist authorities, the unsanctioned construction of housing represented an effort to take part in the

socialist project. In taking a close look at how these rogue builders made their claims, she highlights their efforts to align their discourse with the official discourse, asserting that this signaled their genuine buy-in to the promises of socialism.

One of the insights of the book is the way that disciplinary boundaries rendered contemporary vernacular architecture invisible—whereas architects were interested only in a future-oriented built environment, ethnologists relegated vernacular architecture to the past. Aplenc also provides valuable insight into the regulatory mechanisms governing periurban land that facilitated (or failed to prevent) unsanctioned construction. Echoing my earlier work in *Designing Tito's Capital*, she notes the authorities' inability to prevent the flourishing of unsanctioned building or to come to some kind of agreement with builders after the fact.¹

In the final chapter, she traces the evolving preservationist discourse on Trnovo, from a valorization of its medieval heritage in the 1950s to a growing appreciation for Plečnik's interventions later. Particularly intriguing is the shift in narrative in which the urban area of Krakovo came to be seen as a rural settlement. To Aplenc, this signals a discursive alignment of preservationists in the 1960s who accepted the idea of urbanity as socialist and modern. Finally, she discusses the gradual embrace of Plečnik, who initially fit uncomfortably in the socialist canon of modernism and therefore was marginalized. Ironically, his legacy was secured in part as a result of backroom dealings between the construction company charged with updating the plan for Trnovo and the architect Stanko Kristl, whose design included more housing because it was more profitable. Yet, by the 1980s, Plečnik had come back into fashion, and his architecture became the defining heritage of the district.

With this study, Aplenc opens up several avenues for further inquiry. She invites us to think about the ways in which the history of more peripheral urban spaces in state socialism differs from that of major cities as well as the reason we need to read about such places to get a complete picture of socialist planning. She also challenges facile ideas about what is modern and what is not. Her focus on how experts in different disciplines (urbanists, architects, preservationists,

and ethnologists) framed places spatially and temporally in dynamic interaction with one another makes an original contribution to the scholarship.

Aplenc writes with a deep appreciation for, and knowledge of, the local history of Trnovo and the wider Slovene context, and this lends a richness to the discussion. By staying so focused on the local and national scale, however, she misses the opportunity to compare her findings with the broader historiography on Yugoslav cities and socialist urbanity more generally. Such comparisons would enable us to better evaluate her claims about the specificity of the Slovenian approach to architecture and urban planning, for example. How distinctive, really, was Trnovo in its planning approach, in relation to Belgrade, Zagreb, and other localities? By comparing unsanctioned building in Trnovo to the same phenomenon in Belgrade, for instance, Aplenc could have allowed us to consider to what extent this was a Yugoslav-wide phenomenon, and whether it exhibited place-specific idiosyncrasies. Moreover, some may find that her broader argument sometimes gets lost in the detailed discussion of archival documentation. Yet scholars of urban planning who are willing to immerse themselves in this case study of a beloved periurban neighborhood on the edge of Ljubljana will find much food for thought.

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Note

1. Brigitte Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014).

William Carruthers

Flooded Pasts: UNESCO, Nubia, and the Recolonization of Archaeology

Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2022, 336 pp., 2 maps, 29 b/w illus. \$59.95 (cloth), ISBN 9781501766442

I read William Carruthers's *Flooded Pasts* as a Nubian woman. Consequently, I do not claim a neutral position, nor do I seek one. As I read, the ghosts of my ancestral flooded land loom large in my consciousness. I appreciate learning from the archival investigations that appear throughout