



PAULIUS TAUTVYDAS LAURINAITIS

**FORMATION OF
NATIONAL SCHOOL OF
URBAN PLANNING IN
THE FIRST REPUBLIC
OF LITHUANIA
(1918–1940)**

SUMMARY OF DOCTORAL
DISSERTATION

HUMANITIES, HISTORY AND
THEORY OF ARTS (H 003)

Kaunas
2020

KAUNAS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

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This doctoral dissertation was prepared at Kaunas University of Technology, Institute of Architecture and Construction during the period of 2014–2019. The studies were supported by Research Council of Lithuania.

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Editor: Brigita Brasienė (Publishing house “Technologija”)

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The official defence of the dissertation will be held at 2 p.m. on 25th of September, 2020 at the public meeting of Dissertation Defence Board of History and Theory of Arts Science Field in Dissertation defence hall at Kaunas University of Technology.

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Summary of doctoral dissertation was sent on 25th of August, 2020.

The doctoral dissertation is available on the internet <http://ktu.edu> and at the library of Kaunas University of Technology (K. Donelaičio St. 20, 44239 Kaunas, Lithuania).

KAUNO TECHNOLOGIJOS UNIVERSITETAS

PAULIUS TAUTVYDAS LAURINAITIS

**NACIONALINĖS MODERNIOSIOS URBANISTIKOS
MOKYKLOS FORMAVIMASIS PIRMOJOJE LIETUVOS
RESPUBLIKOJE (1918-1940 m.)**

Daktaro disertacijos santrauka
Humanitariniai mokslai, menotyra (H 003)

2020, Kaunas

Disertacija rengta 2014-2019 metais Kauno technologijos universiteto Architektūros ir statybos institute. Mokslinius tyrimus rėmė Lietuvos mokslo taryba.

Mokslinis vadovas:

Doc. dr. Vaidas PETRULIS (Kauno technologijos universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, menotyra, H 003).

Redagavo:

Brigita Brasienė (Publishing house “Technologija”) (anglų kalba)
Danguolė Žalionienė (lietuvių kalba)

Menotyros mokslo krypties disertacijos gynimo taryba:

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Disertacija bus ginama viešame menotyros mokslo krypties disertacijos gynimo tarybos posėdyje 2020 m. rugsėjo 25 d. 14 val. Kauno technologijos universiteto Disertacijų gynimo salėje.

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Disertacijos santrauka išsiųsta 2020 m. rugpjūčio 25 d.

Su disertacija galima susipažinti internetinėje svetainėje <http://ktu.edu> ir Kauno technologijos universiteto bibliotekoje (K. Donelaičio g. 20, 44239 Kaunas).

SUMMARY

Relevance and main issues

The First Lithuanian Republic (1918–1940) has been evaluated from various different historiographical themes and approaches, widening the spectrum of understanding of the period. Both the researchers and the public is increasingly getting interested in the topics that are marked with strong visual and symbolical emphasis: for example, in the last ten years, the architectural tradition of the period became one of the most systemically reviewed phenomenon, which is as well becoming an important part of the current national identity. Meanwhile, it is worth noticing that many themes are still under-researched or waiting for wider research. The aim of this study is to fill one of these gaps: to research the evolution of the field of urban planning during the period of the First Republic. In other words, the need to develop cities or towns systematically is the theme that is reviewed in this dissertation. While there have already been conducted some studies on urban planning issues of the stated time that touches on individual nuances of the topic, for example, development of specific areas or studies that include the research period in the general overview of urban planning history in the country, there is still a lack of full studies on this phenomenon.

Perhaps, the small amount of research compared to some other topics was due to the low public interest: today, in contemporary Lithuania, the urban planning culture is still lagging behind the latest trends, and it is noticeable that society often treats systematic urban development as a mere bureaucratic process. Public involvement and interest are still taking their first steps. This is, perhaps, programmed into the specifics of the discipline, although every resident of urban areas faces with the results of urban planning (or lack of it) on a daily basis, it is much more difficult to notice than, for example, individual architectural works or other phenomena with a higher visual or symbolic charge. This leads to the fact that the specificity of urban fabric that was the result of earlier solutions or deficiencies is often accepted as a kind of a given thing, while imperfect or even flawed processes are accepted as normal practice, especially when alternative examples do not exist in the country.

Some phenomena that negatively affect the current cities and the state of urban planning, in the opinion of the author, are partly in line with those that took place during the period of the First Republic. The lack of coherent planning strategies, chaotically expanding suburbs, regulatory shortcomings or infrastructure development problems are the challenges that the cities of the modern Lithuania face and that partly corresponds to the problems encountered in the First Republic. This is just one of the reasons why it is important to know the historical processes as fully as possible. Perhaps, in order to avoid repeating past mistakes, even some experiences of that time can be used.

Undoubtedly, the lack of urban planning research of this time extends to the other aspects as well. First of all, it is understandable that the agricultural sector, which was the most important economic engine of the state at that time, resulted in the fact that the state's development priorities often turned to the issues that were specifically related to rural areas. Romanticist notions, where the village was perceived as the nucleus of the nation, may have contributed to the slow state of development of the urban areas of that time. Such factors may have passed to the later models of historical perception of the First Republic, where the question of the city often faded. Another important factor is the myth of the birth of the modern Lithuanian urban planning tradition in the post-war period, which came from the Soviet era, which in turn led to the fact that specialists who created and wrote before the occupation and their corresponding works were often ignored.

“The city of dreadful night”, as brilliantly Peter Hall names the quickly expanding 19th century city of the industrial era¹ p. 26, was not the problem that Lithuania faced when it got free from the Imperial Russia. Although the industrial backwardness of Tsarist Russia meant that most of the problems caused by industrialization were avoided, the era was as well marked by the poor situation of the urban development and a weak tradition of the administrative apparatus. Yet, Lithuania realized the aspiration for full autonomy at the time when the conditions that were determined by the quick industrialisation and urbanisation in the Western world had been inspiring the emergence of a new scientific field of urban planning for the past several decades. This still young discipline was interpreted in different ways, gradually synthesizing individual ideas, forming the later universally accepted canons.

It is important to take into account the context prevailing at that time. At least a few decades before World War I, Germanic part of Europe was perceived as a leading example in the urban management and “city construction”² p. 8. These Germanic principles were formed from three sources: the works of engineer Reinhard Baumeister and architect Josef Stübben, who drew trajectories for the technical concepts, and Camillo Sitte's ideas, where *city building* became the *art of city building* with the added artistic approach.

The ideas of Sitte gained weight among the urban developers largely due to the fact that the aspirations for the atmosphere of the past times and qualities of smaller settlements in the urban planning coincided with the prevailing German Romantic Movement that was against the ever-expanding large metropolises. The “anti-urban” sentiments that expanded in the second half of the 19th century were much stronger in conservative circles than, for example, in the neighbouring France³. One of the most striking pioneers of such ideology was Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl who voiced the already prevailing attitudes and made a significant impact on the subsequent discourse of the concept of cities. In this view, as a result of industrial development and rapid growth of metropolitan

areas, it meant the loss of national character, social and political instability and moral decay⁴. Following the unification of German states into a single empire and the intensification of industrialization, such sentiments became very widespread and began to take new forms³.

Garden-city concept, as envisioned by Ebenezer Howard, in a short time became popular as an English response to industrialization. Still, part of the original idea soon synthesized with the other experiences, creating new models for urban development. As Hall notes, the British inherited urban extensions, zoning and the ideals of organic urban development from the Germans, while the Germans in turn used the British housing experience and appropriated garden-city ideas. The French, meanwhile, took over certain garden-city provisions from the British and borrowed the German zoning experience⁵. Over the time, especially after the First World War, urban planning was expanding into new territories, such as comprehensive, survey based approach, integration of urban planning into the regional context and more heavily emphasized the housing question.

Such phenomenon symbolized still-experimental field of urban planning at that time, which surrounded the First Republic of Lithuania. This study seeks to answer the question on how urban planning was perceived and implemented in the Lithuanian state and analyse the formation of this field as a systematic institutional doctrine, discipline and an object of separate discourse.

Methodology, aim and objectives

The **object** of the study is the development of the field of urban planning in the independent Republic of Lithuania (1918–1940).

The **aim** of the research is to reveal and analyse the development of Lithuanian urban planning from a historical perspective as a systematic phenomenon during the First Republic of Lithuania in three sections: institutional, discourse and physical. The **methods** that have been used are chronological descriptive analysis, historical comparative analysis and problem analysis.

The main **objectives** in order to achieve this aim are as follows:

- 1) To determine the functioning regulatory and institutional framework for urban planning, the phenomena that have influenced it and its main evolutionary stages;
- 2) To study and reveal the urban planning ideas and ideals prevailing in the public and at the institutional level: their diffusion, paradigmatic field, the concept of the city and its change, possible trajectories of influence;

- 3) To reveal the physical representation of two levels, i.e., institutional and idea discourse sections: traits of the prepared plans of the cities, their transformations and extensions and their relation to the real physical situation in the cities;
- 4) To determine the development of the issue of systematic housing development in Lithuania at that time and to review its most important phenomena;
- 5) To summarize and evaluate the interaction between all three sections and to draw a general picture of the formation of urban planning in the country, determining the essential features whether there was a phenomenon that can be described as a local current or school of urban planning.

Coverage

The chronological boundaries of the work are defined in the period of existence of the First Independent Republic of Lithuania, i.e., between 1918 and 1940, but some deviations from this segment are necessary, especially when looking at the period that led to independence and some of the aspects of continuation during the Second World War. The studied territory coincides with the borders of the country with the exceptions of Vilnius and Klaipeda regions.

In this work, the Lithuanian term “*urbanistika*” is generally perceived as defined by its narrower concept, but because the definitions of various terms regarding urban planning were still not concrete at the time both at the international and local levels, this is further defined in the introduction of the study. Infrastructure development, social aspects or local plans, such as the smaller scale redevelopment of green areas or small sections of towns, are not considered among the studied subjects.

Novelty of the study

Although larger-scale studies that are focused exclusively on interwar urban planning as unified, organized phenomenon or its development have not been conducted yet, many authors have touched on many aspects of the topic individually or by incorporating general features into broader, chronologically wise, general research. An extensive research on the history of Lithuanian urban planning by Algimantas Miškinis is considered one of the most important works. For example, Miškinis has published a publication⁶ summarizing the urban development of the country, in which he has outlined the planning system of the First Republic and the specifics of the plans. Nevertheless, the most valuable of his studies are series of encyclopedic monographs⁷⁻¹¹, which provide detailed research on the development of the country’s settlements, presenting such factors as their demographic and economic development. For this dissertation, the most important elements of these books are the available city plans that were prepared during the period of the First Republic. The longevity of this researcher’s work has led to the possibility to avoid work that would probably not be possible in such a relatively short time, i.e., to review the existing city planning documents

in the archives. Although the author of the dissertation tried to use as many primary sources as possible, the material that was collected by Miškinis allowed forming a much broader picture of the former situation on the results of planning. However, in some cases, even when the need arose, the analysis of primary sources was not possible, because the archives of the former Urban Planning Department of the KTU Institute of Architecture and Construction have disappeared due to the unclear circumstances. It should be noted that often, the only known copies of certain documents were in this institution, and the fact that the illustrations provided by the author are often small in their scale do not make the situation easier. Gendrikas Likas¹² and Morta Baužienė¹³ have prepared articles on the evolution of construction laws and main institutions, while Evaldas Ramanauskas explored the land-use aspects¹⁴

Architectural historians Marija Drėmaitė and Vaidas Petrusis have prepared a lot of material on certain urban phenomena of the First Republic. M. Drėmaitė's "Progreso meteoras"¹⁵ examines not only one of the most important preconditions of urbanization, i.e., industrial development, but from this perspective, it reviews certain phenomena related to the urban fabric: unsystematic industrial suburbs, criticism of these processes and attempt to find solutions to the problems by functional zoning. Another contribution of the above-mentioned monograph to historiography is related to the issue of housing, examining the development of the so-called workers' colonies.

Vaidas Petrusis, who wrote about national style from the perspective of political attitudes, as well touched on Getneris's question of "national urbanism"¹⁶. Another topic researched by Petrusis is the shift of modernization to urban planning aspects through the social dimension of this field; the topics of housing construction issues and the criticism of large scale apartment building construction were researched as well¹⁷. Dangiras Mačiulis has as well hinted at the "national urbanism" assumptions of J. Getneris¹⁸, whereas the beginnings of Algirdas Mošinskis and Jurgis Getneris research on urban planning heritage protection have been reviewed in the research of Robertas Motuzas¹⁹ and Karolina Gailiūtė's Master thesis²⁰.

A comprehensive article on the history of the planning development of the Provisionary Capital has been prepared by Mindaugas Balkus²¹, who as well wrote studies on the development of the street infrastructure of this period²² and the colonies of cheap housing of the city municipality²³. The development of individual parts of the city was studied in Eugenijus Rūkas study about the district of Freda²⁴ and in the dissertation author's article on the architectural and urban development of the Western part of Žaliakalnis²⁵. The author of the dissertation has prepared publications on Kaunas city planning in general approach²⁶, development of part of Žaliakalnis district²⁵ and on the public spaces of the city²⁷. N. Lukšionytė has briefly described the plans of the period of the First Republic as well²⁸. The professor describes M. Frandsen's plan and the

nuances of its implementation, where the partially completed part of the project is attributed to having traits of lines of E. Howard's garden city principles. It as well reviews the main nuances of urban management and development trajectories. This was further explored in the historical research part of the protection regulation documentation of this part of the district²⁹.

In the same year, when this study had to be originally released, a comparative doctoral dissertation of Regina Lakačauskaitė-Kaminskienė³⁰ was published. It examines the modernization of housing in Kaunas and Vilnius in the First Republic and Soviet Lithuania. The role of the state and their institutions "involved in modernization processes" are discussed as well as German influence, and it is as well noteworthy that this work discusses the evolution of construction laws. This author as well discusses institutional attempts to develop low-cost housing systems and the aspects of communal infrastructure.

Sources

The work focuses on the analysis of archival documents and periodicals of that time. The main archival collections that have served in the course of the investigation are those of the Ministry of the Interior, the Construction and Road Inspectorate, the Department of Municipalities and the Cabinet of Ministers that are kept in the Central State Archive of Lithuania (LCVA). Some other documentation from several municipalities, i.e., the Union of Cities, the Ministry of National Defence and several others, are considered valuable as well. The collections of the City Municipality and its Construction Department were researched in Kaunas Regional State Archive (KRVA). While it is important to state the fact that some other archival collections were used during the preparation of this work, it should be noted that one of the biggest problems was the different degree of preservation of documents of different institutions. In the analysis of periodicals, both specialized or continuous publications and the general press were examined, although priority was given to the former.

Regarding periodicals, reference is made to publications on urban issues, including the Lithuanian Reconstruction Commissariat's "Statybos menas ir technika" (1922–1923), the publication of Municipality Department (later the Union of Lithuanian Cities) "Savivaldybė" (1923–1940), "Technika ir ūkis" (1929–1940) published by the Union of Architects and Engineers, magazine of the Society of Economic Studies "Tautos ūkis" (1930–1940) and the magazine of cultural direction "Naujoji Romuva". The predecessors of "Savivaldybė": "Sietynas" (1919–1922) and the short-lived "Savivaldybių balsas" of the Union of Lithuanian Cities (1926–1927), are noteworthy as well. The related publications can be found in the publication "Technika" (1924–1941), "Kultūra" (1923–1941), "Židyns" (1924–1940) and "Žemėtvarka ir melioracija" (1926–1940) as well as the only issue of "Technikos apžvalga" (1935). In addition,

many of these issues have been mentioned in major mainstream periodicals, especially in “Lietuvos aidas”, “Lietuvos žinios” and “XX amžius”.

Structure and findings

The study is divided into three parts, corresponding to the three dimensions of the urban planning: institutional, discourse and physical. The **first part** explores the formation of institutions that were responsible for the city planning and laws that regulated it and the evolution of both of these. It includes nuances such as the problems with the Tsarist Construction Law, which was an official document until 1940 and in which the development of cities was touched only in a fragmented and primitive manner; it was characterized by the dominance of positions of private interest over the public one. The urban planning obligation of 1920 and the Interim Order for the Planned Construction of Cities and Towns marked the way on how planning requirements were formed and this did not have large scale changes until the end of the decade. The Land Reform Law issued in early 1920s had the issue of cities not in a priority position, and in general, the land management aspirations of rural areas prevailed. Whilst it enabled the potential urban development by adding city extensions, the decisions, regarding cities that were made during the land reform, were criticized as well for such aspects as the structure of the newly added parts of the city, planning that was not always in agreement with the old parts.

In 1921, the Lithuanian Reconstruction Commissariat (LAK) was created; it replaced the early administrative institutions of construction and had the goal of “planned and cultured reconstruction of Lithuania” that as well included city planning. Nevertheless, the activities of the LAK were marked by the problems that were typical for the country’s early independence: lack of funds, lack of proper cooperation between municipalities and technicians, shortcomings of new construction rules and many technical problems. Later, as a result of the reform of this organization, the redundancies took place, and it only gradually regained its former status after the next reform in 1931. In the regulations made at the beginning of the work of the renewed institution, which was known as the Construction Inspectorate at the time and Inspectorate of Construction and Roads later, there was a declaration of reorganization of staff, stressing some necessary competencies, amongst the priorities of which were “urbanism (urban and town planning)”; other trajectories seeking comprehensive urban planning can clearly be seen from various documentation of this era.

The municipal reform of 1931 was an important step that granted greater rights to local authorities with regard to urban planning, but it as well imposed centralization over the municipal rule. As a result of this reform, urban planning and zoning had to be intensified and facilitated, but little progress was made due to a still enduring lack of specialists and, sometimes, incompetence or lack of interest from the local government. Important turning points of the late 1930s

can be seen in the so-called Five-Year Settlement Planning Plan and the City Land Management Act, both accepted in 1938, the latter of which enabled larger-scale urban redevelopment, allowing the expropriation of private property for greater planning purposes. The National Construction Committee (KSK) that was created in 1939 was primarily aimed to serve as a solution for the transinstitutional problems and act as a centralized basis for the development of the country's construction issues, among which were the solution of urban problems. This was an extremely important step, as it envisioned whole-encompassing view into the planning question: KSK was responsible for regional and territorial planning studies, identification of needs and forming of strategies, mediation between ministries and other institutions, planned urban development, the training of professionals and the search for solutions to the housing issue. In general, while it marked the ever-increasing centralisation, it would have solved most of the existing problems that were plaguing the systematic planning in Lithuania. In terms of academic discipline, lectures on urbanism in Vytautas Magnus University (VDU) have existed since 1934, but it was only during the occupation period when the reforms enabled the creation of a full course. The personnel that were responsible for planning during the late independence period mostly remained in Lithuania until 1944 and worked in the reformed structure of the occupational administrative apparatus while continuing some work that was in terms with the pre-occupation policies; the students of VDU were integrated in this process as well.

Second part of the study is focused on the diffusion and discourse of urban planning and seeks to review the evolution of ideas in both press and various contemporary conferences in 1920s and 1930s that touched on the subject. The first part explores the framework of diffusion of urban planning ideas and is oriented mainly on professional organisations and their gatherings and their participation in the international milieu. The second chapter analyses the content and is divided thematically: “anti-urban” sentiments, the search for the ideal city forms, the question of reconstruction of the existing settlements and the discourse on urban planning policies. One of the researched sub-themes, i.e., the problem of the “Lithuanian city” was programmed from the very beginning, because “urban culture” was a relatively new phenomenon in the state that was created on the ethnolinguistic concepts. Thus, it was reviewed from two perspectives: how the city was appropriated in this type of state and how it reflected on the question of Lithuanization of various towns that were deemed “not Lithuanian enough”. Other subchapters examine the approach to the ideals of the form of the city, taking into account such concepts as Jurgis Getneris’s “national urbanism”, the emphasis of the individual house or the transformations of the garden-city concept in the Lithuanian sphere of thought. It has been revealed that open-type city blocks with the priority of small individual or few

apartment housing were given priority even in the official aspirations, which later expanded into a much broader thematic field.

As for the section on reconstruction of existing settlements, it should be noted that the range of existing opinions can be divided into two sub-genres, i.e., in relation to smaller towns and bigger cities. With regard to construction and planning policy, which are dealt with in another subsection, the prevailing issues were the right of municipalities to expropriate land for public projects, change the perpetual lease statute, the issue of long-term loans, the transfer of estates for recreational and colonial purposes and banning construction on plots that were deemed unfit for building. In this chapter, the bigger picture is revealed: the genesis of Lithuanian urban planning of that time was heavily influenced by the German tradition in almost all criteria. It can be found as early as 1919–1920, and as the new generation of architects and engineers emerged in the mid-1930s, such phenomenon gained even more dominant positions.

Third part is dedicated to two levels of results of urban planning, i.e., plans themselves and their implementation. Like the first part, this part is mainly divided by the main shifts that happened during the period of research, and in order to create a more logical composition, it is chronologically divided into two sections that partly correspond to the 1920s and 1930s. In the sub-section on early planning, it is noted that the laws and the subsequent LAK orders obligated to have prepared plans of the actual condition of the city with marked newly planned streets, which was not an easy task for many municipalities, and the preparation of new plans were slow. Recalling that the main condition for urban development was the addition of former manor lands as a result of the Land Reform, it should be noted that such projects that were prepared by surveyors were mostly elementary plot parcelling schemes with variations on rectangular street layout. The situation was worse on the lands that were located outside the boundaries of the cities, as the local municipalities had no direct influence on them.

As the processes in provisional capital Kaunas were different and more abundant, it is explored separately in both first and second divisions, with most of the narrative focusing on two general plans, i.e., 1920s plan by Marius Frandsen and the late 1930s plan of Jonas Kovalskis and both events that led to the creation of these and their subsequent outcomes. Although some of the problems that plagued other parts of the country were not that relevant to Kaunas, this fact was offset by the negative nuances that were characteristic only to the rapidly growing Provisional Capital. For example, although the main representatives of the country's technical staff resided in the actual capital, such phenomena as protracted major housing crisis and inter-institutional friction could be found. These as well as various other issues e.g., the lack of geodetic data, were the main faults due to which the general plan of the city was not

implemented in the 1920s. The late 1930s plan had different groundings that made changes possible in both local and regional areas.

A separate sub-section is devoted to the late 1930s general plan of Šiauliai, as this was another important instance of full-scale general plan that was being prepared. Another explored topic that is divided into two periods is the creation of systematic housing projects and the nuances of trying to form them during both decades. An important part of the second division of the chapter is analysing the symbolical tipping points in the mid-to-late thirties that marked a shift towards more systematic town planning. The story of Luokė town centre that burned down and was re-planned can be considered as an example that the re-development of small settlements could have been organized even in an unfavourable legal framework, but it was still a very difficult process, and the real changes, accelerating the adoption of the Law on City Land Management, started only after the most important resort of the country, i.e., Palanga, burned down. The town of the port of Šventoji, meanwhile, illustrated the fact that the technical staff that existed in the mid-1930s in Lithuania were already competent enough to form a new settlement that met the standards of master planning at that time; the case of the Birštonas urban competition as well reflects the desire to use democratic principles in urban planning. As an addendum to the chapter, the general results of Lithuanian planners that worked during the first Soviet and German occupations are explored, revealing that most of the plans that were prepared during the German period were highly in-par with the processes of the independence period.

The main **conclusions** of this study are as follows:

- 1) Both in the institutions that have administered construction issues as well as in the various statutes and their projects, the need for planned urban development and efforts to regulate the physical processes related to urban development can be seen since the early years of independence. The initiation of the planning processes was the responsibility of organizations, operating at the central government level: the Technical Construction Department (1919–1920), which had almost no actual activity and changed its subordination, the Construction Division of the Municipal Department of the Ministry of the Interior (1920–1921) and the Lithuanian Reconstruction Commissariat (1921–1923). The preparation and approval of the final city plans were the responsibilities of city and county technicians under the joint control of the Commissariat and the municipal bodies, but due to lack of competencies, staff shortage and technical reasons, few plans were prepared and most of the projects that were made in the 1920s were urban extensions designed by surveyors of the Land Reform Board. The aims of both Construction Division and the Commissariat, expressed by their staff, reflected the latest directions

of urban planning at that time, in which, first of all, the attempt to follow the German experience can be seen. Although planning was enshrined in law, the proposals to integrate reflections of contemporary urban trends into the legal framework were not implemented, and the requirements were different from the pre-war ones. The efforts to plan cities systematically did not gain much momentum due to the aforementioned problems and the interruption of the continuation of the work of the chief building authority. Commissariat, which suffered from the financial deprivation, was reformed and renamed several times since 1924, reducing its competencies and staffing levels.

2) Significant changes in the institutional approach to the issue of urban planning have taken place since about 1931, when a new municipal law affecting cities was passed. The same year saw the reorganisation of the country's main construction institution, then acting as the Construction Inspectorate (from the mid-1930s, Inspectorate of Construction and Roads). In the first respect, the municipalities have acquired much broader rights in the management of urban areas, such as the full right to draw up town plans, establish masonry-building reserved blocks and draw up street projects. On the one hand, this meant that the role of municipalities, especially county centres, in this matter increased, on the other hand, after the reform, the dependence of the municipal sector on the central government increased as well. The Inspectorate, while still suffering from the shortcomings of its predecessors, increasingly oriented its work to solving issues regarding cities and demonstrated clear goals of modern urban planning. Subsequent shifts, as the Adoption of the Law on Urban Land Management in 1938 and the establishment of a National Construction Committee in 1939, testified to the fundamental changes in administrative management with regard to urban planning and a qualitative shift towards institutionalization of urban planning. The law of 1938 changed one of the main issues enshrined in old tsarist-era law that hampered urban planning: it legitimized the orientation towards public interest and allowed taking private property for the needs of city planning. In the second respect, Committee statute marked even more important shifts, such as the beginnings of regional and territorial planning, but urban development became even more centralized. The period of 1938–1940 as well saw the first attempts to create the municipal platforms oriented towards planning: in Kaunas, the first functioning local division for the planning was created, and the construction issues were codified into a single document. In the other major towns, similar shifts were planned as well, and while the creation of separate industrial districts were implemented only in a few cities, the functional zoning was evermore emphasized. The institutional changes that took place during the last few years of the 1930s show that the main legal framework of urban management was formed rapidly and the essential steps were taken towards systematic urban planning. Most of the

key personnel of the institutions that were responsible for the planning issues remained in Lithuania during the first Soviet (1940–1941) and German (1941–1944) occupations. While the institutional basis, laws and the subordination of the main personnel changed, it can be concluded that at least partly, they were continuing some of the processes that were initiated in the period of independence.

3) At the same time, as the important governmental shifts oriented towards urban planning have happened, the academic institutionalization of urban planning took place. While Vytautas Magnus University had lectures on urban planning since the mid-1930s, it composed only an insignificant part in the curriculum. Although the reform of VDU Technical Faculty establishing a separate Faculty of Civil Engineering that included Department of Architecture had been organized since 1936, due to the bureaucratic reasons, the process moved only from 1939 and was implemented only at the beginning of the first Soviet occupation. This process was as well closely related to the qualitative development of urbanism as an academic discipline, as it was after the reform that this was treated as an emphasized course and an important subject. The factor of the surviving academic staff enables the processes that took place during the war to be considered as a continuation of the tradition of the research period.

4) The trajectories similar to the governmental and legislative shifts of the activity on the issue of urban development can be seen in the professional organizations of engineering and administrative nature and in the congresses of the employees of government sector of these spheres that were responsible for the diffusion of planning ideas. During the active discussions in the early 1920s and the quantitative and qualitative renewal of this process in the 1930s, there was a period of time when the activities diminished. Among the most important organizations were the Lithuanian Union of Cities, which unites the core of administrative urban personnel, and the Lithuanian Society of Engineers and Architects that was of an engineering nature. Nevertheless, at the international level, it was the Lithuanian Union of Cities that showed the most activity in the most important international organizations and congresses that had distinguished themselves as the main foci of the diffusion of “urban questions”, especially the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning and their events. Until 1938, the Lithuanian Union of Engineers and Architects did not have much influence, and the most important field of local discussion for the technical personnel was the annual Congress of City and County Engineers, organized by the Construction Inspectorate. Still, in the late 1930s, the urban field issues became more active in all professional organizations. There was an active but fluctuating cooperation between the Baltic States, both between engineering and administrative personnel.

5) Along with the changes in the administrative field and the work of the professional organisations, a public urban planning discourse was formed. At the theoretical level, the problematic issues of urban development were actively discussed already in the first half of the 1920s: this was reflected in both various congresses as well as the mainstream and specialized periodicals. During this period, a problematic field was formed, which foreshadowed most of the problems that were later heavily reflected in the 1930s as well. It can be concluded that at the theoretical level, the flaws of urban development were perceived and exhibited in the first decade of independence. However, when comparing the number of urban publications and discussions and the breadth of the thematic field, some obvious differences have to be acknowledged. In the first active period, which can be defined as corresponding to the relative time span between 1921 and 1926, and in the second, which began around 1935, talks about city planning issues differed in number, the competence of the writers and the reflections of new ideas. This is due to the new generation of architects and engineers with the professional knowledge of the field as well as even more increasing problems of hygiene, poorly regulated suburban development, traffic flows and other problems that plagued development of the cities. The recovery of the construction sector after the financial crisis of the first half of the 1930s has further highlighted the need for systematic urban planning and the existing shortcomings.

6) Summarizing the expression of theoretical discourse, the main sub-themes are the search for the “Lithuanian city” ideal, the need to form a correct legal basis, replanning of the cities and a detailed critique of specific shortcomings in urban planning and existing phenomena. Certain ideals of the urban planning concept can be considered as a kind of connecting link in the 1920s and 1930s. Most emphasized of which were the narrative of the garden-cities and its subsequent transformations and the Germanic conceptual models, which was greatly influenced by Camilo Sitte and his followers. While these have been popular since the early years of independence, the narrative changed in Lithuanian discourse according to both changing international trends and local interpretations.

7) At the institutional level, the early ambitions of the plans were quite high, but the processes were hampered by the same economic and administrative reasons. In the 1920s, the planning projects for some of the larger cities began on the behalf of the Commissariat, but the lack of qualified personnel led to the fact that most of the settlements did not even have plans of their current physical situation. Surveyors of the Land Reform Commission, meanwhile, have prepared many urban extension projects, parcelling former manor lands that were added to the territories of cities. With the exception of some early plans prepared by the Commissariat that

showed influence of *beaux-arts* and the Germanic *städtebau* traditions, other plans were mostly schematic, lacked a clear and theoretically sound urban concept and were limited to the practical arrangement of the street network and the marked location of key public spaces and buildings. This replicated the planning practices that were prevalent during the Tsarist period and could be considered a continuation of them. The activities of the Land Reform Commission in suburban areas beyond the administrative boundaries of cities were criticized, as the parcel projects prepared for them were often incompatible with the general urban development trajectories and promoted unsystematic development of these areas, which did not meet the perspective needs of large cities.

8) While some of the problems plaguing planning in the rest of the country were not as actual in Kaunas, the rest of these were especially visible here, as the peculiar status of provisional capital led to a large growth in both population and factual territory. While in 1923, it had its master plan prepared by Danish engineer Marius Frandsen, who as well adapted ideas of local engineers, this project could not be implemented as it was made without geodetic data and was envisioned more as a sketch for the future planning. While it had some influence on factual city growth in separate districts, further planning was stalled by various factors that were mostly echoing the problems seen in the planning of smaller settlements.

9) Due to the existing outdated legal framework and lack of staff, many settlements, especially the smaller ones, did not even have plans for the actual condition throughout the 1920s, let alone fulfilling the requirement to include geodetic data. While during the following decade, the cities and most of the larger towns prepared the plans concerning the existing situation and planned extensions, only a few cities possessed plans with geodetic data even at the end of the 1930s. Prior to the adoption of the Law on Urban Land Management, the re-development of old parts of cities was mostly limited to small street regulation projects, general infrastructure management and the installation of new public spaces in former commercial areas.

10) The major shifts in the field of urban planning in terms of the qualitative changes of plans are best expressed in certain moments of shift, which reflect a changing attitude and growth of competencies. Two of these points relate to fires: systematic reorganization of town of Luokė after the fire without the formal legal basis showed the importance of competences of municipal engineers and the abilities of the new generation of engineering personnel, while the influence of the great fire of Palanga resort resulted in the re-arrangement of the legal framework of city reorganisation. The desire to form a new town by the port of Šventoji and its project that was prepared in 1936 was an important physical representation of officially accepted ideals and showed strong influence of *städtebau* traditions. The contest and the

exhibition of urban projects of Birštonas resort of 1940, which involved architects and engineers among the Polish refugees, marked the first time when the urban planning became the main theme of such events. The comprehensive master plans of Kaunas and Šiauliai, which started to be prepared at the end of the 1930s, are considered the first documents of such extent that reflected the canons of modern planning. These plans were initiated by municipalities, and among their documentation, they would have included extensive surveys, clear goals for functional zoning, perspective growth research and regional integration on various levels.

11) While the aims for the creation of systematic housing blocks and districts can be seen already in the early period of independence in both the levels of central and municipal institutions and various cooperative initiatives, these early aspirations usually did not reach the physical form mainly because of administrative problems and lack of long-term credit options. Moreover, it mainly concerned the provisional capital Kaunas, which suffered the highest housing crisis. While there were some interim proposals, this question became emphasized again only during the economically and politically problematic years of 1938–1940, which saw the resurgence of the housing problem as the institutional concern. This led to the creation of first larger physical examples of housing on behalf of a company, cooperative, central-governmental and municipal initiative. In both 1920s and the late 1930s, the single-to-four family housing was seen as an ideal.

12) The leading trends of planning concepts and forms of the plans were continued during the periods of first Soviet and German occupations. While the legal framework and ideological background have changed, the work on the master plan of Kaunas resumed during both of these periods. During the German period, a new programme of replanning and rebuilding the towns that were ravaged during the German-Soviet conflict was commenced. While these were influenced by the ideology of Third Reich, it did not conflict with the ideals that could be seen in the late-independence period. Both the personnel of the former institutions of independent Lithuania that worked in reformed organisational structure and the pupils of VDU prepared the plans that could be summarized by having survey-based approach and emphasis on decentralized, limited size settlements with single family housing on the outskirts and higher density blocks towards the centre with the main square surrounded by the most important administrative and cultural buildings.

13) It can be concluded that in the period of 1939–1940, the beginnings of the existing early local urban current are visible. This is evident by the distinctive directions of discourse that dominated urban thought and had recurring attitudes. These were characterized by a strong influence of the Germanic tradition, the pursuit of centralization in institutional terms, the

principles of decentralization in terms of urban development and the pursuit of low-density housing, especially emphasizing single-family homes. The noticeably growing synchronization of the ideological, institutional and practical levels suggests the formation of a systematic phenomenon. The continuation of the trajectories of the ideological field can be seen both in the changes of legal instruments and in the activities of organizations as well as in the cases of practical planning. While the wartime occupations partly interrupted the processes, the continuation of pre-occupational aims is visible at some extent. Subsequent geopolitical events prevented the results of these qualitative shifts from manifesting in their final, physical form. Despite this fact, the above-mentioned beginnings of the current can be named as the Lithuanian school of modern urban planning, which reflected the aspirations to form cities and towns according to the latest tendencies of urban planning at that time.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Publications that were published in the course of preparing this dissertation:

- 1) LAURINAITIS, P. T. Respublikos laikotarpio (1918–1940) viešųjų erdvių raida Kauno mieste. *Kauno istorijos metraštis*, 2019, 17, 117–138. ISSN 1822-2617.
- 2) LAURINAITIS, P. T.. Urbanistikos profesinio diskurso raida specializuotoje spaudoje tarpukario Lietuvos Respublikoje (1918–1940). *Mokslas – Lietuvos ateitis: Šešėlio skaitymai – 2018*, 2018, 10, 1-7. ISSN 2029- 2341.

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- 2) Laurinaitis, P. T. *Formation of Public Spaces in Kaunas during the 1920s and 1930s: Representational Aspect / Kauno viešųjų erdvių formavimasis XX a. 3-4 dešimtmečiais: reprezentacinis aspektas.* 21st scientific conference of Kaunas history / 21-oji mokslinė Kauno istorijos konferencija. Kaunas, VDU. 2017.

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REZIUMĖ

Aktualumas ir problematika

Pirmoji Lietuvos Respublika (1918–1940 m.) šiuo metu tyrinėjama įvairiais istoriniais pjūviais – taip po truputį sudaromas vis platesnis tuometės etnolingvistiniu pagrindu formuotos valstybės kūrimo dėmenų istoriografinis spektras. Tiek tarp tyrėjų, tiek visuomenėje itin daug dėmesio susilaukia reiškiniai, turintys ryškų vizualinį bei simbolinį krūvį. Pastarąjį dešimtmetį tarpukario architektūrinė tradicija tapo ne tik vienu sistemingiausiai tiriamų epochos fenomenų, bet ir svarbia identiteto dalimi. Visgi nemažai temų dar likę netyrinėtos ir savo tyrimų laukia ateityje.

Šio mokslinio darbo siekis – atskleisti moderniosios Lietuvos urbanistikos reiškinio raidą Pirmosios Respublikos laikotarpiu arba, kitais žodžiais, ištirti, kaip sistemingai buvo vystomi šalies miestai ir miesteliai. Nors tyrimų, susijusių su ano meto urbanistiniais klausimais, yra atlikta, bet juose nagrinėti atskirų temos aspektai ar apžvelgta konkrečių vietovių raida. Taip pat yra parengta studijų, kurios tiriamąjį laikotarpį įtraukė į bendrą šalies urbanistikos apžvalgą. Vis dėlto iki šiol nėra nuoseklios šio reiškinio studijos. Galbūt nedidelį, palyginti su kai kuriomis kitomis temomis, tyrimų kiekį lėmė menkas visuomenės interesas: net ir šiandien Lietuvoje urbanistinė kultūra vis dar atsilieka nuo naujausių tendencijų, taip pat pažymėtina, jog visuomenė sistemingą miestų vystymąsi neretai traktuoja kaip kone išvien biurokratinį procesą. Žinoma, anuomečio miestų planavimo tyrimų trūkumą lemia ir į kiti aspektai. Visų pirma, reikia prisiminti, kad tuometės valstybės ekonominis variklis buvo žemės ūkio sektorius, dėl to šalies vystymosi prioritetai neretai atitekdavo klausimams, susijusiems su kaimo vietovėmis. Prie lėto tuometės šalies miestų vystymosi galbūt prisidėjo ir bendros romantizuotos nuotaikos, kurios kaimą traktavo kaip tautos branduolį. Šie veiksniai negalėjo nepaveikti ir vėlesnių, istorinių Pirmosios Respublikos suvokimo modelių, kur miesto klausimas neretai prarasdavo reikšmę. Dar vienas veiksnys, turėjęs tam įtakos, yra iš sovietmečio atėjęs mitas, kad moderniosios lietuviškos urbanistikos pradžia buvo tik po karo – būtent tai lėmė, kad iki okupacijos kūrė ir rašę specialistai, jų įdirbis dažnai buvo ignoruojami.

Iki išsivadavimo iš imperinės priklausomybės momento pergrūsto, nehigieniško ir sveikatai pavojingo industrinės epochos miesto problema Lietuvoje praktiškai nebuvo aktuali. Nors dėl carinės Rusijos atsilikimo buvo išvengta industrializacijos keltų problemų miestuose, tačiau tai savo ruožtu lėmė ir menką jų išsivystymą, ir silpną administracinio aparato tradiciją. Vis dėlto visiškos autonomijos siekį Lietuva realizavo tada, kai industrinių miestų

nulemtos sąlygos jau kurį laiką buvo inspiravusios naujo mokslinio lauko – urbanistikos – atsiradimą. Tuomet dar jaunas reiškiny s nebuvo nusistovėjęs ir interpretuojamas įvairiai, sintezuojant atskirus idealus bei idėjas ir po truputį formuojant vėlesnius jo kanonus.

Šios studijos **objektas** – nepriklausomos Lietuvos Respublikos (1918–1940 m.) urbanistikos reiškiny s raida. Tyrimo **tikslas** – iš istorinės perspektyvos atskleisti ir išanalizuoti lietuviškos urbanistikos vystymąsi Pirmojoje Lietuvos Respublikoje trimis pjūviais – instituciniu, idėjiniu ir fiziniu. Darbe taikomi **metodai**: chronologinis aprašomasis, istorinis lyginamasis bei probleminė analizė.

Tiksliui pasiekti keliami tokie pagrindiniai **uždaviniai**:

- 1) Nustatyti, kokia institucinė bei reglamentinė bazė funkcionavo planuojant miestus, taip pat kokie reiškiniai jai darė įtaką; apibrėžti įstaigų ir įstatų pagrindinius evoliucinius etapus.
- 2) Iširti ir atskleisti egzistavusį urbanistikos diskursą: organizacijas, kuriose vyko idėjų apsikeitimas ir sklaida, jose bei periodiniuose leidiniuose vyravusias idėjas, problemas, miesto sampratą, idealus ir jų kismą, galimas įtakos trajektorijas.
- 3) Atskleisti, kaip institucinis ir reglamentinis bei idėjų ir diskurso pjūviai realizuoti miestų, jų pertvarkų bei plėtinių planuose ir juos įgyvendinant; įvertinti planų santykį su realia miestų būkle.
- 4) Nustatyti sistemingų būsto plėtros iniciatyvų klausimo raidą Lietuvoje, apžvelgiant svarbiausius atvejus.
- 5) Įvertinti visų trijų pjūvių tarpusavio sąveiką ir nubrėžti bendrą šalies urbanistikos formavimosi vaizdinį, iš būdingų atvejų ir bruožų nustatant, ar egzistavo reiškinys, kurį galima įvardyti kaip distinktyvią vietos urbanistikos srovę, t. y. mokyklą.

Tyrimo aprėptis

Darbo chronologinės ribos apibrėžiamos nepriklausomos Pirmosios Lietuvos Respublikos egzistavimo laikotarpiu – nuo 1918 m. iki 1940 m. Tačiau kai kur šios laiko ribos peržengiamos siekiant iliustruoti kontekstą, ypač procesus, kurie vyko šalies teritorijoje tiek cariniu laikotarpiu, tiek pirmosios sovietinės bei vokiečių okupacijų metais. Darbe tiriama pagrindinė teritorija, kuri apima šalies ribas be Vilniaus ir Klaipėdos krašto.

Darbe *urbanistika* suvokiama siaurąja prasme, t. y. kaip miestų planavimas, tačiau dėl tuomet dar nenusistovėjusios terminologijos, disertacijos įvade

apibrėžiama ir tuometė miestų planavimo lauką nusakančių terminų raida. Infrastruktūros plėtotė, socialiniai aspektai ar lokaliniai planai plačiau nėra tyrinėjami.

Istoriografija

Nors platesnio masto studijų, orientuotų tikrai į tarpukario laikotarpio urbanistiką, kaip bendrą organizuotą reiškinių ar šio raidą iki šiol nėra, visgi nemažai autorių yra palietę daugelį šios temos aspektų ar įtraukę bendrus bruožus į platesnės chronologinės apimties tyrimus. Kone didžiausiu įdirbiu laikytini ekstensyvūs Algimanto Miškinio Lietuvos urbanistikos istorijos tyrimai. Taip pat paminėtini Mortos Baužienės ir Gendriko Liko straipsniai, kuriuose aptariamas statybų administracinis aparatas bei institucijų raida.

Plačiausiai tyrinėtas Kauno miestas, apie jį įvairiais pjūviais yra rašę Mindaugas Balkus, Eugenijaus Rūkas, Nijolė Lukšionytė ir pats disertacijos autorius. Apie atskirus urbanistinius Pirmosios Respublikos reiškinius studijas yra parengę architektūros istorikai Marija Drėmaitė, Vaidas Petrusis, Rasa Bertašiūtė bei kiti autoriai, publikavę mažesnės apimties darbus.

Šaltiniai

Darbe analizuojami archyviniai dokumentai bei to meto periodika. Pagrindiniai archyviniai fondai, kuriais buvo naudotasi atliekant tyrimą yra saugomi Lietuvos centriniame valstybės archyve (LCVA) bei Kauno regioniniame valstybės archyve (KRVA). Atliekant periodikos analizę buvo tiriami tiek specializuoti ar tęstiniai leidiniai, tiek plačiai visuomenei skirtos spaudos vienetai, nors prioritetas skirtas pirmiesiems.

Atlikus studiją, buvo prieita prie šių **išvadų**:

1. Tiek statybų klausimus administravusiose institucijose, tiek įstatuose bei jų projektuose planingos miestų raidos poreikis ir pastangos sistemingai reguliuoti fizinius miestų raidos procesus atsispindi jau nuo pirmųjų nepriklausomybės metų. Už planavimo procesų inicijavimą buvo atsakingos centrinės valdžios lygmeniu veikusios organizacijos – faktine veikla beveik nepasizymėjęs ir pavaldumą keitęs Technikos statomasis departamentas (1919–1920 m.), dalį jo funkcijų perėmus Vidaus reikalų ministerijos Savivaldybių departamento Statymo skyrius (1920–1921 m.) bei Lietuvos atstatymo komisariatas (1921–1923 m.). Už galutinių miestų planų parengimą ir patvirtinimą buvo atsakingi miestų ir apskričių technikai, veikę su LAK ir municipalinių organų žinia, tačiau tiek dėl kompetencijų trūkumo, tiek dėl personalo stygiaus bei techninių kliūčių buvo parengta nedaug planų.

Daugiausia trečiame dešimtmetyje – matininkų parengtų miestų plėtinių planų, kurių reikėdavo prie miestų teritorijų prijungiant žemės reformos metu skirstytas žemes. Tiek SK, tiek LAK personalo veikloje atsispindėjo naujausios tuomečių miesto planavimo kryptys ir galima išvėlyti bandymą perimti vokiškąsias patirtis. Nors miestų planavimas buvo įtvirtintas įstatymais, tačiau pasiūlymai integruoti į įstatyminę bazę tuometes urbanistikos tendencijas nebuvo įgyvendinami, o galiojantys reikalavimai mažai skyrėsi nuo ikikarinių. Nors ir buvo siekiama sistemingai planuoti miestus, tai didesnio pagreičio neįgavo dėl išvardytų problemų ir dėl to, kad buvo pertrauktas vyriausiosios statybų institucijos įdirbis. Finansinių nepriteklių bei įvairių veiklos trikdžių vis patiriantis LAK nuo 1924 m. buvo keletą kartų reformuotas ir pervadintas, sumažintos jo kompetencijos ir personalas.

2. Ryškesni institucinio požiūrio pokyčiai miestų planavimo klausimais prasidėjo maždaug nuo 1931 m. Tuo metu buvo priimtas naujasis savivaldybių įstatymas, reformavęs miestų administracinį aparatą bei šio kompetencijas, be to, iš naujo pertvarkyta vyriausioji šalies statybinė institucija, tuomet jau veikusi kaip Statybos inspekcija (nuo ketvirto dešimtmečio vidurio pervadinta į Statybos ir sauselių inspekciją). Pirmuoju aspektu, savivaldos įgijo kur kas platesnes teises tvarkant urbanizuotas teritorijas, kaip antai, visas teises į miestų planų sudarymą, mūro kvartalų nustatymą ir gatvių projektus. Viena vertus, tai reiškė, kad savivaldybių, ypač apskričių centrų, vaidmuo miestų planavimo atžvilgiu išaugo, kita vertus, po reformos didėjo ir municipalinio sektoriaus priklausomybė nuo centrinės valdžios. Nors inspekcijos darbą ir toliau persekiojo personalo trūkumas ir per dideli darbo krūviai, vis labiau jos veikla buvo orientuojama į miestų vystymo klausimus ir atsispindėjo planavimo siekiai, atliepantys tuolaikės tarptautines tendencijas. Vėlesni poslinkiai, tokie kaip 1938 m. Miestų žemių tvarkymo įstatymo priėmimas ir 1939 m. įsteigtas Krašto statybos komitetas, rodė reikšmingus administracinio valdymo pokyčius miestų planavime ir kokybinę slinktį link urbanistikos institucionalizacijos. 1938 m. įstatymas pašalino vieną didžiausių ydų, įtvirtintų senajame carinio laikotarpio reglamente, trukdžiusių miestų planavimą – galiausiai buvo įteisinta orientacija į visuomenės interesus ir įgalintas privačios nuosavybės perėmimas vystant ir plėtojant miestus. Krašto statybos komiteto statusas rodo regioninio ir teritorijų planavimo užuomazgas, tačiau miestų vystymas tapo dar labiau centralizuotas. Instituciniai poslinkiai, įvykę per keletą paskutinių ketvirto dešimtmečio metų, parodo, jog pagrindinė miestų tvarkybos įstatyminė bazė buvo sparčiai formuota ir įgyvendinti esminiai pakeitimai siekiant sistemingo miestų planavimo. Dauguma institucijų darbuotojų, atsakingų už planavimą, liko Lietuvoje ir per pirmąją sovietų

(1940–1941 m.), ir per vokiečių (1941–1944 m.) okupacijas. Nors pasikeitė institucijos ir jų sąranga, įstatymai ir personalo pavaldumas, tačiau galima daryti išvadą, kad iš dalies buvo tęsiami procesai, pradėti nepriklausomybės laikotarpiu.

3. Greta miestų planavimo administracinių pokyčių vyko ir urbanistikos akademinė institucionalizacija. Nors Vytauto Didžiojo universitete nuo pat ketvirto dešimtmečio vidurio vyko miestų planavimo paskaitos, jos nesudarė reikšmingos studijų dalies. Nuo 1936 m. universitete siekta įgyvendinti Technikos fakulteto reformą, įkuriant atskirą Statybos fakultetą, kurio struktūroje buvo numatyta atskira Architektūros katedra, turėsianti ir platesnį urbanistikos kursą. Tačiau dėl biurokratinių priežasčių procesas pajudėjo tik 1939 m., o įgyvendintas buvo dar po metų, kai Lietuva jau buvo praradusi nepriklausomybę. Šis procesas lėmė urbanistikos kaip akademinės disciplinos kokybinę raidą, nes būtent po reformos ji buvo pradėta traktuoti kaip svarbi architektūrinio išsilavinimo dalis. Išlikusio akademinio personalo faktorius įgalina jau karo metais vykusius procesus taip pat laikyti tiriamojo laikotarpio tradicijos tąsa.
4. Trajektorijas, aktyvumu ir tematika artimas pokyčiams oficialioje miestų planavimo politikoje bei įstatuose, galima išvelgti ir profesinių inžinerinio bei administratyvinio pobūdžio organizacijų ir šių krypties valdiško sektoriaus darbuotojų suvažiavimuose, kurie laikytini pagrindiniais planavimo idėjų difuzijos židiniiais. Tarp diskusijų suvažiavimuose pirmojoje trečio dešimtmečio pusėje bei kokybinio jų atsinaujinimo ketvirtame dešimtmetyje pastebimas laiko tarpas, kai urbanistinių klausimų sumažėjo. Svarbiausiomis organizacijomis laikytinos Lietuvos miestų sąjunga, vienijusi administratyvinio miestų personalo branduolį, ir Lietuvos inžinierių ir architektų draugija. Visgi tarptautiniu lygiu aktyviausiai reišėsi būtent pirmoji, palaikiusi ryšius ir dalyvavusi svarbiausiose to meto organizacijose, kuriose vystėsi „miestų klausimo“ diskursas. Ypač pabrėžtintas LMS dalyvavimas IFHTP, laikytinos urbanistikos raidai ryškiausiai įtaką darusia organizacija, veikloje bei jos kongresuose. Iki 1938 m. Lietuvos inžinierių ir architektų draugija neturėjo didelės įtakos, o svarbiausiomis inžinerinio personalo sueigomis laikytini kasmetiniai miestų ir apskričių technikų suvažiavimai, organizuoti SI. Visgi pažymėtina, kad 1938–1940 m. miestų planavimo klausimai buvo vis dažniau keliami visose profesinėse organizacijose. Paraleliai veikė inžinerinio ir administratyvinio personalo kooperacija tarp Baltijos valstybių, nors bendradarbiavimo aktyvumas svyravo.

5. Kartu su administraciniais pokyčiais bei profesinių organizacijų veikla formavosi ir viešasis urbanistikos diskursas. Teoriniu lygmeniu probleminiai miestų raidos klausimai buvo aktyviai diskutuojami jau trečio dešimtmečio pirmojoje pusėje: tai atsispindėjo tiek institucijų bei organizacijų vidaus dokumentuose, tiek suvažiavimuose, tiek ir periodikoje. Šio laikotarpio probleminis laukas aktualus išliko ir ketvirto dešimtmečio diskurse. Iš to darytina išvada, kad teoriškai miestų vystymo ydos buvo suvokiamos ir eksponuojamos jau per pirmą nepriklausomybės dešimtmetį. Visgi, lyginant urbanistinio pobūdžio publikacijų bei diskusijų kiekį ir tematinio lauko plotį, reikia pripažinti kai kuriuos akivaizdžius skirtumus. Pirmas aktyvus periodas santykinai apibrėžiamas nuo 1921 m. iki 1926 m., o antrasis – apytiksliai nuo 1935 m. Diskurso laukas skyrėsi tiek kiekybe, tiek rašiusiųjų kompetencija, tiek keltomis naujomis idėjomis. Tai sietina tiek su naująja architektų bei inžinierių karta, tiek ir tuo, kad didžiuosius miestus vis labiau kamavo higienos, menkai reguliuojamos priemiesčių plėtros, transporto sprautų ir kitos problemos, į kurias buvo bandoma žvelgti naujai. Po krizinio laikotarpio atsigaunantis statybų sektorius dar labiau išryškino sistemingo miestų planavimo poreikį ir egzistavusius trūkumus.
6. Apibendrinant teorinio diskurso raišką, pagrindiniais potemiais laikytini lietuviško miesto idealo paieškos, miestų perplanavimo, naujos įstatyminės bazės formavimo poreikis ir konkrečių miesto planavimo trūkumų bei egzistavusių reiškinių kritika. Savotiška trečio ir ketvirto dešimtmečių jungiamąją grandimi galima laikyti ir tam tikrus miesto planavimo koncepcijos idealus: visų pirma – miesto-sodo naratyvą ir vėlesniasias jo transformacijas bei vokiškąją tradiciją, pasižymėjusią didele Camillo Sitte ir šio sekėjų idėjų įtaka. Populiarios nuo pat pirmųjų nepriklausomybės metų, lietuviškame diskurse šios koncepcijos keitėsi tiek pagal besikeičiančias tarptautines tendencijas, tiek pagal vietines interpretacijas.
7. Kaip ir instituciniame lygmenyje, realūs pirmieji planų rengimo užmojai buvo gana ambicingi, tačiau procesus sunkino ekonominės bei administracinės priežastys. Trečiame dešimtmetyje LAK buvo pradėti rengti kai kurių didesnių miestų išplanavimo projektai, tačiau kvalifikuoto personalo trūkumas ir techninės priežastys lėmė tai, kad daugelis miestų neturėjo net tikrosios būklės planų. Žemės reformos valdybos matininkai parengė daugybę miestų plėtinių projektų, dažnai buvusių vieninteliais oficialiais gyvenviečių plėtros dokumentais. Kai kuriuose LAK parengtuose projektuose išvelgtina *beaux-arts* bei vokiškosios mokyklų įtaka. Visgi dauguma miestų planų ir plėtinių projektų buvo schematiški, neturėjo aiškios bei teoriškai pagrįstos urbanistinės koncepcijos ir apsiribojo praktiniu gatvių tinklo sutvarkymu ir vietų, skirtų svarbiausioms viešosioms erdvėms bei

pastatams, nustatymu. Kadangi tai atkartojų carinio laikotarpio planavimo trajektorijas, čia išvelgtinas pasenusių praktikų tęstinumas. Žemės reformos matininkų veikla už miestų administracinių ribų plytėjusiose priemiestinėse teritorijose buvo vertinama kritiškai, nes jų parceliacijos projektai dažniausiai nebūdavo suderinami su bendromis miesto vystymosi trajektorijomis ir urbanistiniu audiniu bei skatino nesisteminę minėtų teritorijų plėtrą, kuri neatitiko didžiųjų miestų perspektyvinių poreikių.

8. Įvairios problemos, susijusios su planavimo klausimu, buvo ypač matomos laikinosios sostinės statusą įgavusiame Kaune, kuriame sparčiai didėjo gyventojų skaičius ir faktinai apgyvendinta teritorija; be to, čia kirtosi įvairių institucijų interesai. Kadangi faktinėje sostinėje spietėsi ir pagrindinis inžinerinio personalo ratas, miesto planavimo klausimas čia buvo kuruojamas aktyviausiai. Pasinaudojant vietos inžinierių įdirbiu, 1923 m. danų inžinierius Mariusas Frandsenas parengė naują miesto išplanavimo projektą. Tačiau naujasis miesto planas buvo rengtas neturint geodezinių duomenų ir pripažįstant, kad jis yra numatytas tik kaip eskizas ateities planavimo procesams. Nors planas buvo pripažįstamas oficialiu miesto plėtros trajektorijas apibrėžiančiu dokumentu ir turėjo tam tikros įtakos faktiniam miesto planavimui atskiruose rajonuose, bet tolesnę eskizo vystymą į profesionalaus pobūdžio projektą stabdė problemos, su kuriomis buvo susiduriama ir likusioje šalies teritorijoje.
9. Dėl pasenusios įstatyminės bazės ir personalo trūkumo daugelis gyvenviečių, ypač mažesnės, neturėjo netgi tikrosios būklės planų, tuo labiau su geodeziniais daviniiais. Nors pirmojoje ketvirto dešimtmečio pusėje dalis didžiųjų gyvenviečių parengė planus su nubrėžta esama situacija bei plėtros trajektorijomis, tačiau grafinius dokumentus su nuosekliais apmatavimais net ir dešimtmečio pabaigoje buvo parengę tik keletas miestų. Iki Miestų žemių tvarkymo įstatymo priėmimo senųjų miestų dalių pertvarkymas dažniausiai apsiribojų smulkiais gatvių reguliacijos projektais, bendro pobūdžio infrastruktūros tvarkyba ir naujų viešųjų erdvių įrengimu buvusiose prekybinėse zonose.
10. Didieji pokyčiai urbanistikos srityje rengiant planus geriausiai matyti per slinkties momentus, kuriuose atsisklaidžia besikeičiantis požiūris ir už planavimo procesus atsakingo personalo kompetencijų augimas. Du iš tokių pokyčių susiję su gaisrų faktoriumi: sistemingas 1934–1935 m. Luokės miestelio pertvarkymas, vykęs po gaisro ir be oficialaus įstatyminio pagrindo, pademonstravo savivaldos inžinierių kompetencijų ir naujosios architektų bei inžinierių kartos sugebėjimų svarbą, o jau vėliau 1938 m. įvykęs didysis Palangos gaisras paskatino juridinį tokių pertvarkų reglamentavimą. 1936 m.

deklaruotas siekis formuoti naują miestą prie Šventosios uosto laikytinas fizine oficialiai pripažintų idealų reprezentacija ir parodantis tebevyraujančią stiprią vokiškosios planavimo tradicijos įtaką. 1940 m. Birštono kurorto urbanistinių projektų konkursas ir paroda, kurioje dalyvavo architektai bei inžinieriai iš Lenkijos karo pabėgėlių tarpo, žymėjo tašką, kada miesto planavimas pirmą kartą tapo tokio masto ir pobūdžio renginio tema. Kaip itin svarbius reiškinius galima įvardyti ir ketvirto dešimtmečio gale pradėtus rengti Kauno bei Šiaulių miesto visapusiškus generalinius planus, kurie laikytini pirmaisiais tokio pobūdžio dokumentais, atspindinčiais moderniojo planavimo kanonus, rengtus Lietuvoje. Šiuos planus inicijavo savivaldybės, o projektinė dokumentacija turėjo apimti ir išsamius tarpdisciplininius tyrimus, perspektyvinio augimo trajektorijas, nustatytas aiškias funkcinio zonavimo teritorijas ir regioninę integraciją.

11. Nors sistemingų būsto darinių kūrimo užmojų galima matyti jau ankstyvuojų nepriklausomybės laikotarpiu (pirmojoje trečio dešimtmečio pusėje) tiek tarp centrinės ar municipalinių valdžių, tiek tarp kooperatinių iniciatyvų, tačiau jų siekiai nepasiekė fizinės formos daugiausia dėl administracinių problemų ir ilgalaikio kredito galimybių trūkumo. Dauguma jų buvo susiję su Laikinąja sostine, kur būsto krizė buvo labai didelė. Nors vėliau buvo pavienių siūlymų ar net įgyvendintų projektų, šis klausimas didesnį svorį įgijo tik ekonomiškai ir politiškai problemiškais 1938–1940 m., kai atsinaujinusi būsto problema tapo instituciniu rūpesčiu. Pastebimas suaktyvėjimas kuriant pirmuosius didesnius būsto darinių projektus – toks reiškinys matomas tiek įmonių iniciatyvose, tiek kuriamų būsto kooperatyvų pavidalu, tiek centrinės bei municipalinės valdžios siekiuose. Tiek trečio dešimtmečio pradžioje, tiek ketvirtame dešimtmetyje nedidelis būstas, skirtas 1–4 šeimoms, buvo laikomas siekiamybe.
12. Pirmosios sovietinės ir vokiečių okupacijų laikotarpiais buvo tęsiamos iki tol vyravusios planavimo koncepcijų ir planų formų tendencijos. Nors pasikeitė teisinė bazė ir ideologinis pagrindas, darbas dėl Kauno bendrojo plano tęsėsi tiek vienu, tiek kitu laikotarpiu. Vokiečių okupacijos metais buvo pradėta nauja miestų, nuniokotų per vokiečių ir sovietų konfliktą, perplanavimo ir atstatymo programa. Nors šiems projektams įtaką darė Trečiojo reicho ideologija ir plėtros strategijos, jie dažniausiai neprieštaravo idealams, kuriuos galima įžvelgti jau vėlyvajame nepriklausomybės laikotarpyje. Tiek buvusių nepriklausomos Lietuvos institucijų atstovai, dirbę okupacinių valdžių reformuotuoje statybinėje administracinėje struktūroje, tiek VDU studentai rengė planus, kuriuos būtų galima apibendrinti taip: akcentuojamos decentralizuotos, riboto dydžio gyvenvietės su vyraujančiais vienos šeimos

būsto arealais ir intensyvesnio užstatymo kvartalais centro link, visais atvejais numatoma pagrindinė aikštė, apsupta svarbiausių administracinių ir kultūrinių pastatų, miestai vystomi numatant ekstensyvias žaliąsias zonas ir sporto infrastruktūrą, o visas gyvenvietės planavimas grindžiamas tarpdisciplininiu tyrimu ir perspektyvinės raidos numatymu.

13. Apibendrinant galima daryti išvadą, jog 1939–1940 m. galima išvelgti egzistavusios ankstyvosios vietinės urbanistikos srovės, arba mokyklos, užuomazgas. Pirmiausia tai įrodo distinktyvios urbanistinę mintį dominavusios diskurso kryptys, kurios turėjo pasikartojančias, aiškiai išreikštas nuostatas. Joms buvo būdinga stipri germaniškosios tradicijos įtaka, centralizacijos siekis instituciniu atžvilgiu, decentralizacijai būdingi principai miestų plėtros požiūriu ir sodybinio užstatymo siekiamybė. Pastebimai auganti idėjinio, institucinio ir praktinio lygmenų sinchronizacija rodo užuominas į sistemingo reiškinių formavimąsi. Idėjinio lauko trajektorijų tąsa matoma tiek įstatyminių instrumentų pokyčiuose, tiek organizacijų veikloje, tiek praktiškai rengiant planus. Nors karo meto okupacijos dalinai pertraukė beįsivyrąjančius procesus, tačiau vyko tam tikros dalies procesų kontinuacija. Visgi vėlesni geopolitiniai įvykiai užkirto kelią šių kokybinių slinkčių rezultatams pasireikšti galutinėje, fizinėje, formoje. Nepaisant šio fakto, minėtas srovės užuomazgas galima įvardyti kaip lietuvišką moderniąją urbanistikos mokyklą, kurioje atsispindėjo siekis miestus ir miestelius formuoti pagal naujausias tuometės urbanistikos tendencijas.

UDK 711.4(474.5)(091)(043.3)

SL344. 2020-08-12, 2,25 leidyb. apsk. I. Tiražas 50 egz. Užsakymas 178.
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