ARCHITECTURE OF
TERRITORY
Metropolitan Projects
fs 2018

BEOGRAD UNBUILT

Project for Public
Landscape

Colophon

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Content

BEOGRAD UNBUILT—
Project for Public Landscape

BEOGRAD UNBUILT will focus on the urban body formed by Belgrade's many green islands and open spaces enclosed within the built fabric. Emerging in the city from diverse historical circumstances and geographical backgrounds, today many of these public landscapes remain in a precarious state: some are deeply anchored in the collective memory but have become largely obsolete in the present; others are encumbered with private interest, considered only placeholders for development to arrive. Belgrade extends across three distinct ecologies. At the confluence of Sava and Danube, the floodplains of the two rivers meet the folded landscapes of the Sumadija Upland, and the vast Pannonian Plain.
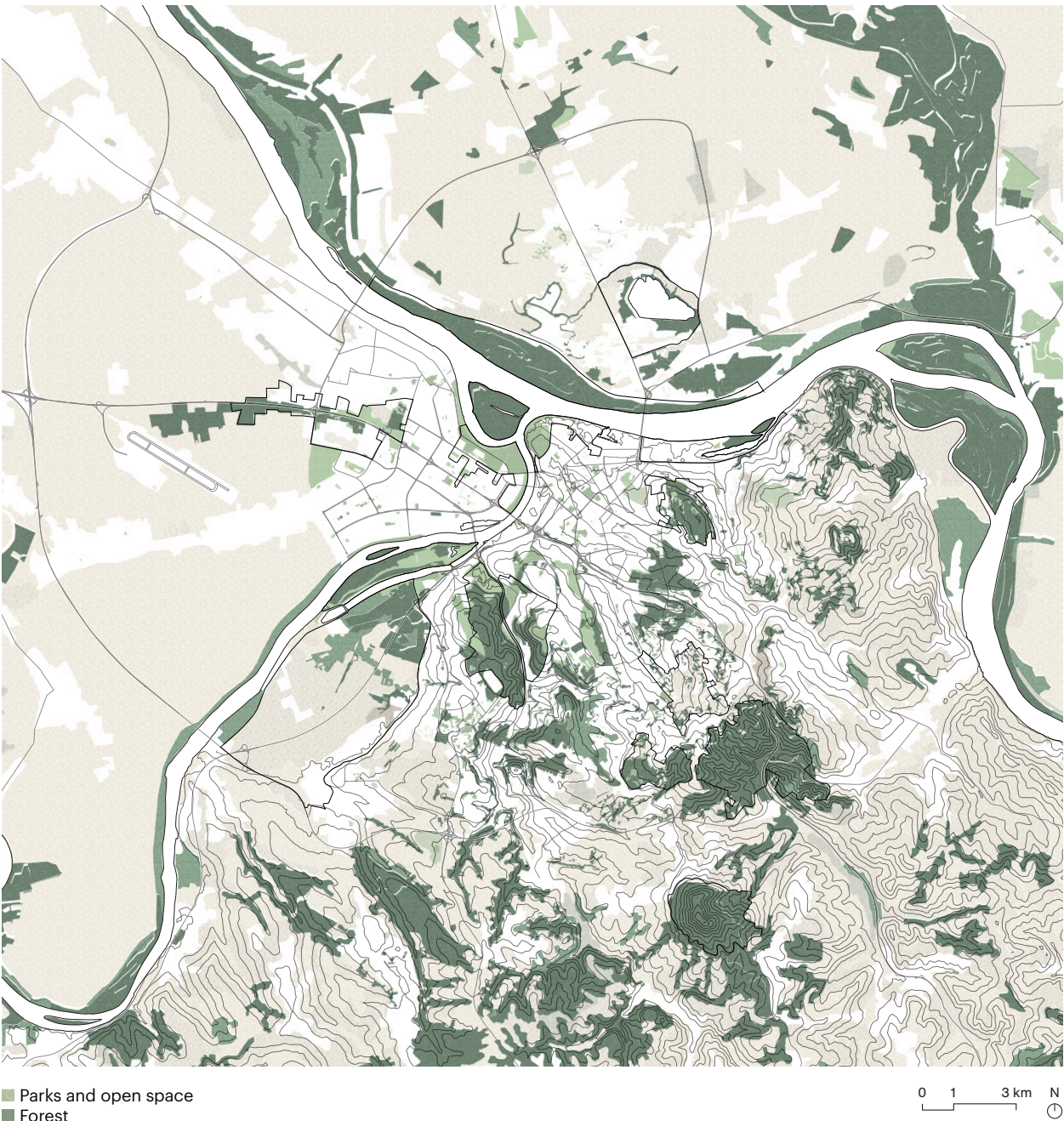
Since the early nineteenth century, the growing city has infringed upon once open lands. These include old public destinations in urban forests and nature areas such as Topcider and Avala, modernism's representational green spaces such as the Park of Friendship, the forgotten WWII memorial grounds, and even haphazard wastelands leftover in the field of recent informal construction. Flanked by nature reserves and flood plains, the interrupted riverbanks along the Sava and Danube are riddled with recreational areas, leisure facilities and former industry. Stabilised over long historical period as essential urban "voids" within the evolving city fabric, these enclosed landscapes have materialised the paths and symbols the city's public rituals, its power geometries and its geographical necessities. Today, each of these landscapes represents a complex and specific urban form intertwining ecology with leisure, power and memory. With the most recent major paradigmatic passage from socialist to post-socialist era, like much of Belgrade's built-up urban space, these green islands in the city are once again changing profoundly. Having fallen victim to the post-socialist "memory wars", shrinking public sector and economic hardship, their uses and meanings in most cases keep eroding together with their green bodies. Socio–spatial practices of the post-socialist city have yet to discover ways in which the many neglected destination points, monuments and fading landscape architectures, now hidden in the green, can be re-inhabited in the present time.

A Project for Public Landscape—Beograd Unbuilt is the first semester in the new series of metropolitan investigations and projects at the chair of Architecture of Territory starting in spring 2018. Each semester of this series will address a particular metropolitan theme or phenomenon, by means of design. After Belgrade and public landscape, we will work in different cities on projects concerning infrastructure and mobility, housing, urban resources and so on. Each studio represents a collective project, where individual students work together towards building a metropolitan vision.

0 1   3 km   N

1 Great War Island
2 New Belgrade Parks
3 Ada Ciganlija & Ada Međica
4 Topčider & Košutnjak
5 Zvezdara Šuma
6 Third Belgrade Pond
7 Highway Corridor
8 Kumodraž Slopes
9 Avala Mountain

10 Kalemegdan
11 Ada Huja
12 Makis Basin
13 Heron Foreland
14 Jajinci Memorial & Suburbs
15 Stepin Lug Forest

0 1   3 km   N

0 1   3 km   N

0 1   3 km   N

Parks and open space
Forest
Agriculture
Built up

0 1   3 km   N

Semester Programme

	WEEK 1		WEEK 2		WEEK 3		WEEK 4		WEEK 5		WEEK 6		WEEK 7		WEEK 8		WEEK 9		WEEK 10		WEEK 11		WEEK 12		WEEK 13		WEEK 14		WEEK 15	
	20.02.	21.02.	27.02.	28.02.	06.03.	07.03.	13.03.	14.03.	17.03 — 24.3		27.03.	28.03.	30.03. — 08.04.		10.04.	11.04.	17.04.	18.04.	24.04.	25.04.	1.05	02.05.	08.05.	9.05	15.05.	16.05.	22.05.	23.05.	29.05.	30.05.

9 AM

| INTRO DAY | Introduction First Tasks | Readings I | Studio Work | Readings II | Studio Work | Morning Stage | Studio Work | SEMINAR WEEK | | Morning Stage | Studio Work | EASTER BREAK | | Morning Stage | Studio Work | Studio Work | MID TERM | Morning Stage | Studio Work | Holiday | Studio Work | Morning Stage | Studio Work | Morning Stage | Studio Work | Studio Work | Studio Work | Studio Work | FINALS |

| | Studio Work | Studio Work | Studio Work | | Studio Work | | Studio Work | | | | Studio Work | | | | Studio Work | | | | Studio Work | | Holiday | | Studio Work | | Studio Work | | | | | |

Holiday

Holiday

Holiday

Holiday

6 PM

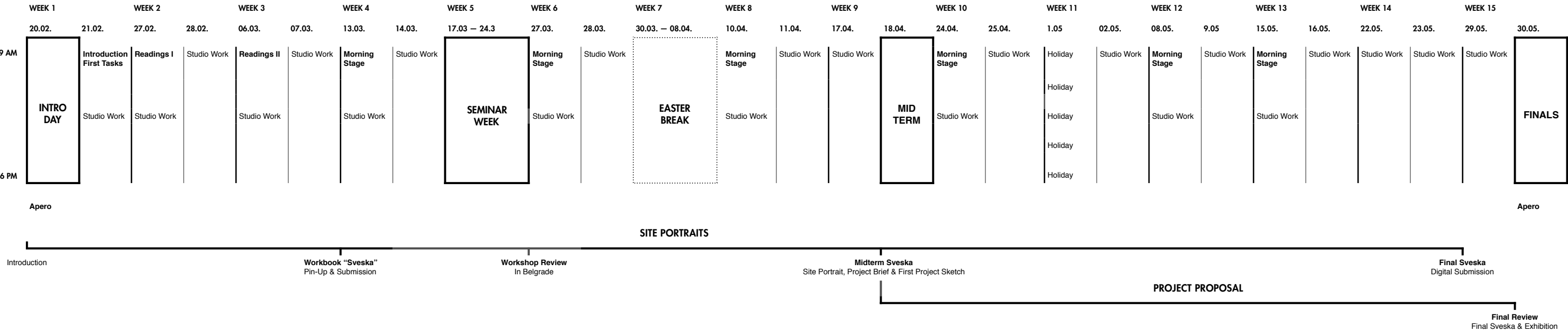Apero   Apero   Apero
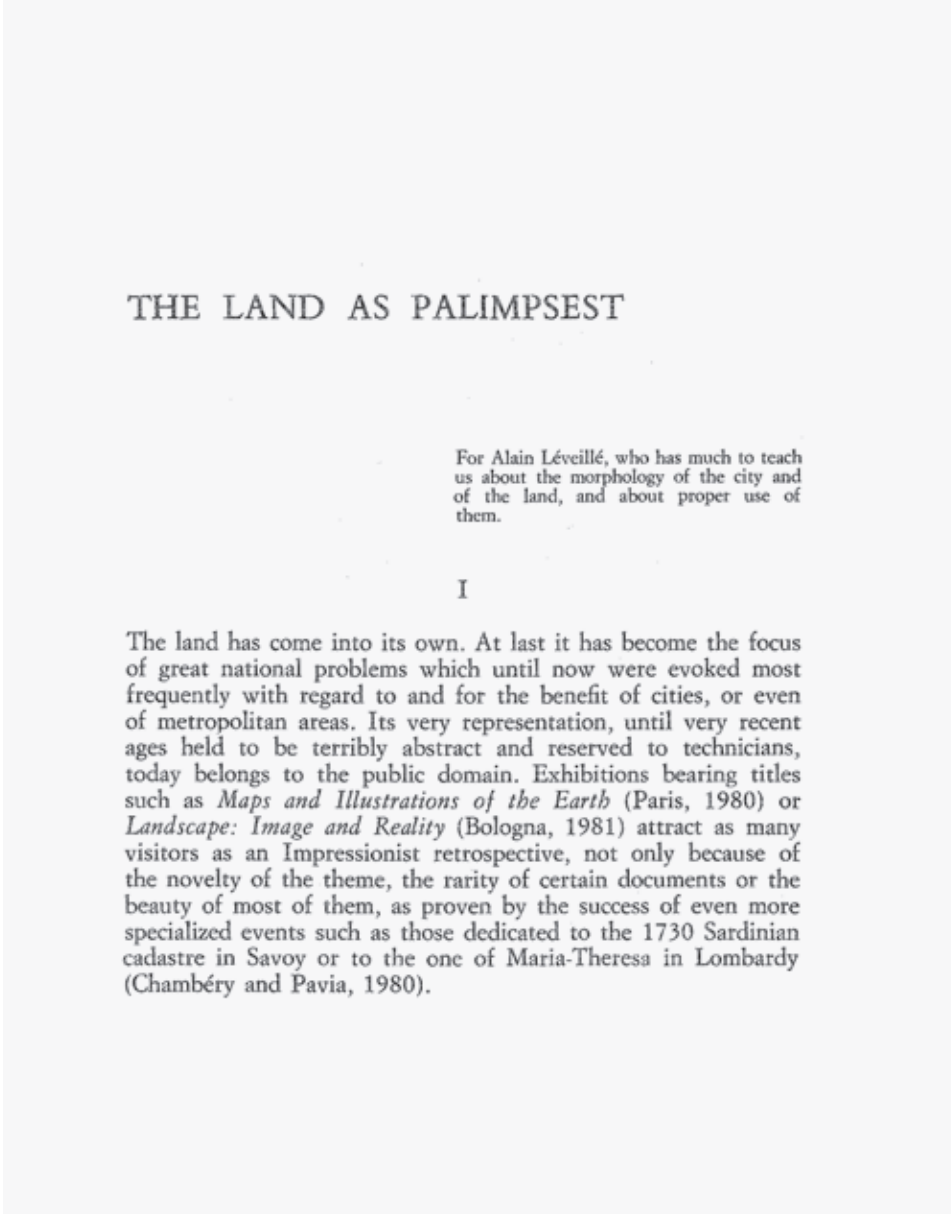
SITE PORTRAITS

Introduction

Workbook "Sveska"
Pin-Up & Submission

Workshop Review
In Belgrade

Midterm Sveska
Site Portrait, Project Brief & First Project Sketch

Final Sveska
Digital Submission

PROJECT PROPOSAL

Final Review
Final Sveska & Exhibition
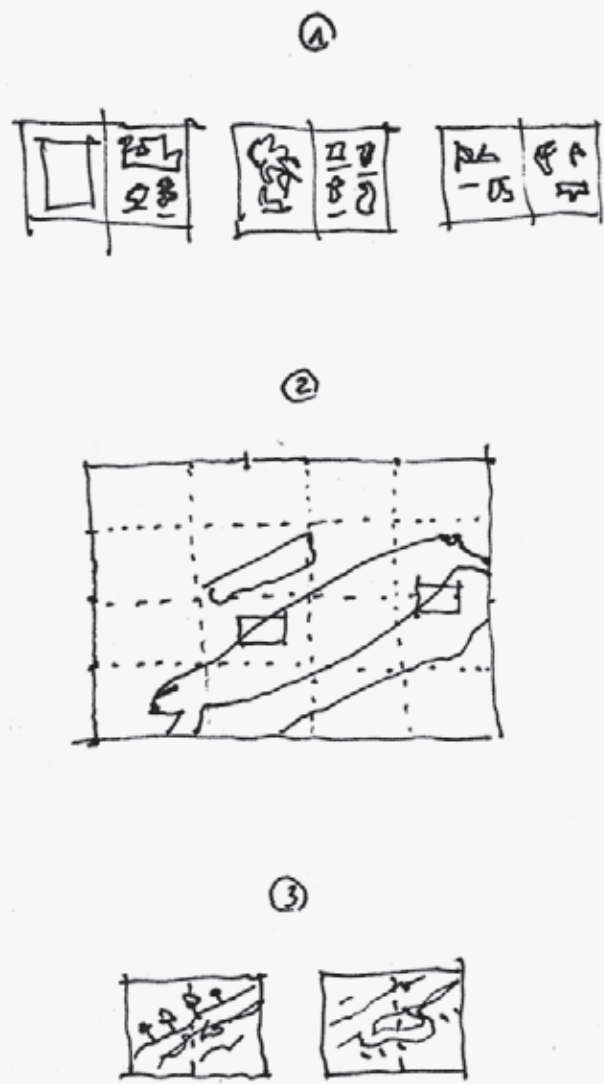
Readings—
Territory and Theory

Presentation: Tue. 28.02, Tue. 07.03, 9.30 am.

During the first two weeks, we will read a selection of texts and debate on some key concepts of landscape, territory and mapping. Each piece will be prepared by two groups, who will each be responsible to read, research and give a 10 minute presentation on their text. We are looking forward to the discussion!

Reading and debates:

For Tuesday, 27.02:
— on territory
André Corboz, *Land as Palimpsest*, 1983
— on landscape
JB Jackson, Landscape. *The Word iItself and A Pair of Ideal Landscapes*, 1984

For Tuesday, 06.03:
— on mapping
James Corner, *The Agency of Mapping*, 1999
— on mapping ecologies
Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies*, 1971

You can find the texts at the student server under:
2018_FS_BEOGRAD UNBUILT/3_READER/HANDOUTS/12_READING EXERCISE

THE LAND AS PALIMPSEST

For Alain Léveillé, who has much to teach us about the morphology of the city and of the land, and about proper use of them.

I

The land has come into its own. At last it has become the focus of great national problems which until now were evoked most frequently with regard to and for the benefit of cities, or even of metropolitan areas. Its very representation, until very recent ages held to be terribly abstract and reserved to technicians, today belongs to the public domain. Exhibitions bearing titles such as *Maps and Illustrations of the Earth* (Paris, 1980) or *Landscape: Image and Reality* (Bologna, 1981) attract as many visitors as an Impressionist retrospective, not only because of the novelty of the theme, the rarity of certain documents or the beauty of most of them, as proven by the success of even more specialized events such as those dedicated to the 1730 Sardinian cadastre in Savoy or to the one of Maria-Theresa in Lombardy (Chambéry and Pavia, 1980).

André Corboz

"Sveska" Workbook

1 Compiled research documents
A4 layout

2 Site drawn in plan with context
A0, 1:5000

3 Two situations drawn in detail,
plan/section/axo, A3, 1:500

"Sveska" (Workbook)— Tracing the Sites

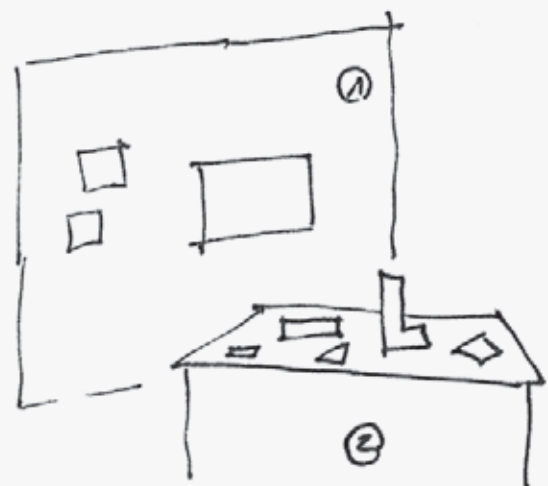|	
Pin-Up:	Tue. 27.02, Tue. 06.03
First Hand-in:	Tue. 13.03
Second Hand-in:	Tue. 25.04 (Midterm)

The landscapes we will investigate this semester all embody a high degree of complexity; a multilayered condition of different geographies, histories and uses, all of which require an acute understanding that enables us to portray them in a meaningful way. In this regard, the first phase of this semester will consist of getting familiar with the specificity of the site and all the elements that constitute its metropolitan character.

First, we will simply draw the site in its current condition, getting a sense for its grain, grasping its scale and putting it in relation to the immediate surrounding as well as to the city at large. We will trace all important elements and follow their stories, leaving no stone unturned and no discovery unquestioned. A large scale map will serve as protocol of our observations and a printed collection of research material will tell the stories behind them. Additionally, two particularly interesting moments will be chosen and represented in detail. Serving as entry point for the research we propose to start along a specific metropolitan theme for each of the landscapes. This should help to focus the narrative and offer a connection to the larger frame of the city.

Together these documents constitute the first step towards a "site portrait", a reading from a certain viewpoint that will become the ground to formulate a project. Compiled into a workbook or "sveska", these observations will be taken along on the field trip to Belgrade and serve as our collective knowledge and base for all following steps.

Deliverables

Base Site Plan with context, A0, 1:5000 or 1:2500
Two situations drawn in detail, plan/section/axo, A3, 1:500
Compiled research documents, A4 layout
Large orthographic (Google) Image

All the above material will be compiled to your Sveska Workbook (A4 format)

Midterm

1 Exhibition including your project brief,
drawings and representations

2 Findings and other supporting material

3 Midterm delivery of the Workbook

Midterm—
Site Portrait, Project Brief
and First Project Sketch

Wed. 25.04

Returning from the field trip we will have sharpened our initial understanding from afar with personal impressions on site. In the second phase before the midterm we will adapt our previous observations and structure them towards a specific reading in order to compose a site portrait. We will start rewriting the current stories of those sites in order to reveal hidden potentials and propose project.

Various analytical tools can be used in order to express a specific approach towards the site: ethnographic sketches, explanatory diagrams, selected photographs, recorded interviews and found objects. The large map crafted before the trip will maintain a key role, as it will be further developed to bring together all of these elements to reveal your point of view and set the stage for a project intervention. You should continue to elaborate on the documents produced in the first phase and sharpen the representation of selected aspects.

In midterm review you will present your research narrative, the site portrait and a project brief in the form of an exhibition in the studio space. The main plan and important points of research can be pinned up together with proposed detail drawings of potential points of intervention. The project brief can take the form of a short text or a telling image, that concludes you narrative in a precise design question. This is accompanied by a first project sketch, a simple hand drawning that shows your first ideas and intentions for the site.
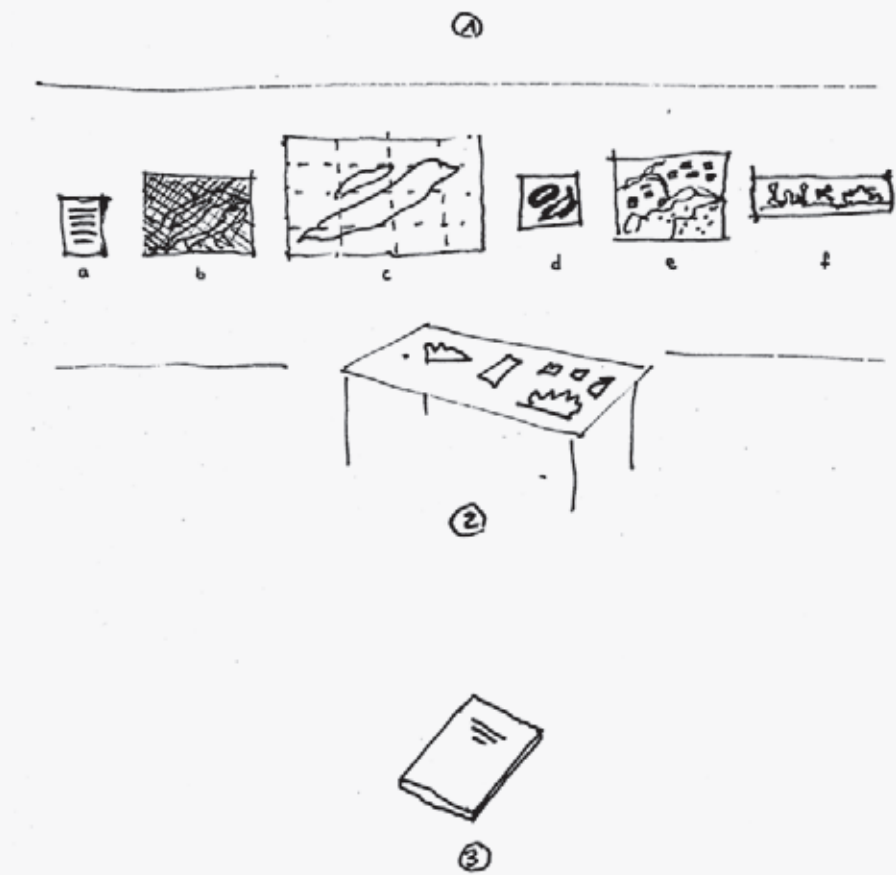
Deliverables

The midterm will take place in the format of a small exhibition, where you will present your narrative in front on your exhibits. Simultaneously, you need to elaborate your "Sveska" Workbook, recording the process of your work.
The output will consist of:

The Site Portrait (in exhibition and workbook)
– Selected research documents, photographs, handrawings, ethnographic sketces and *objects trouvés* (exhibited)
– Elaborated site drawing, A0, 1:5000 (exhibited)
– Compiled research documents in Sveska Workbook (A4 layout)

Project Brief (in exhibition)
– Short text
– Concept image (hand sketch, photograph, diagram)

First Project Sketch (in exhibitioin)
– Projects intentions on the scale of the whole site
– Selected zooms and eye level visualisation for moments of intervention
– Supporting material

Final Review

1 Exhibition including your project proposal,
drawings and representations

2 Models and other supporting material

3 Final delivery of the Workbook

Finals—
Site Portrait and Project Proposal

Wed. 30.05

Following the research narrative and the design question posed in the project brief, we will propose spatial interventions for each of the sites. However concrete and detailed the proposals may be, it is important to relate them to large issues, designing not only for a specific situation but considering the consequences for the whole metropolis. Only by addressing multiple scales, from object to territory, can we construct inventive visions for the development of these public landscapes.

As the project takes shape, each site portrait will be continually adapted and sharpened. The research will be edited to support the design project in a convincing manner.

The final presentation will be an exhibition displaying a series of mandatory documents accompanied by extra elements of your choice. It should describe the project at various scales, from a satellite view, and the large scale concept, to more zoomed-in illustrations and eye level visualisations describing the spatial aspects and program of the interventions. A booklet summarising the final narrative of the project compiling all illustrative and descriptive documents will be produced by each group (A4) and be part of the exhibition.

Deliverables

The Final Review will take place in the format of a exhibition, where you will present your project in front on your exhibits. In addition, the workbook is brought to a final stage bringing together all elements of the Site Portrait and the project proposal. The final output will consist of:

The Site Portrait (in exhibition and workbook)
– Selected images and drawings highlighting storyline
– Compiled research documents in the Workbook (A4 layout)

The Project Proposal (in exhibition and workbook)
– Elaborated concept sketch, hand drawing or collage
– Project plan, A0, 1:5000 or 1:2500
– Moments of intervention drawn in detail, plan/section/axo, A3-A2, 1:500
– Optional models,perspectives and other elements that support your narrative
– Compiled project documents in the Workbook (A4 layout)

Seminar Week—
Beograd Unbuilt
17.03—24.03.2018

Great War
Island

Third Belgrade
Gallery

Ada Huja

MoCAB

Day 1

Belgrade Airport

Faculty of
Architecture

Slavija
Hotel

Zvezdara
Observatory

Day 3

Day 4

Day 2

Pionirski Park

Kumodraž

Avala Tower

0   1   3 km   N

BEOGRAD UNBUILT, the city's unoccupied land –sometimes undesigned, sometimes accidentally left free or under pressure for development– remains relatively unseen. The figure of the *Unbuilt* has emerged from diverse historical circumstances, planning efforts and geographical backgrounds. Today most of these public landscapes are to be found in a precarious state: some deeply anchored in the collective memory but have become largely obsolete in the present; others are encumbered with private interest, considered only placeholders for development to arrive. Green islands, river banks, urban forests on hilltops, neglected open spaces, forgotten lakes or agricultural left-over lands are few of the places that will attract our attention and will become topics to investigate and refigure.

An investigative journey constitutes the core of the project. Travelling through the territory, we will experience its complexity and beauty. Our journey will entail curated walks through the city, boat trips and hikes. We will look for traces, collect materials, interviews and photographs, using hand drawings as analytical and speculative tool. Our journey will be followed by workshop sessions with local tutors to reflect on our findings and the first project hypothesis. Students will have additional time for individual research and documenting their project sites.

The integrated seminar week will take place from 17th to 24th of March 2018. Cost frame B.

17.03 - Day 1
Arrival. *A walk to Novi Beograd.*

18.03 - Day 2
Belgrade from Above. Hilltops and River Embankments.

19.03 - Day 3
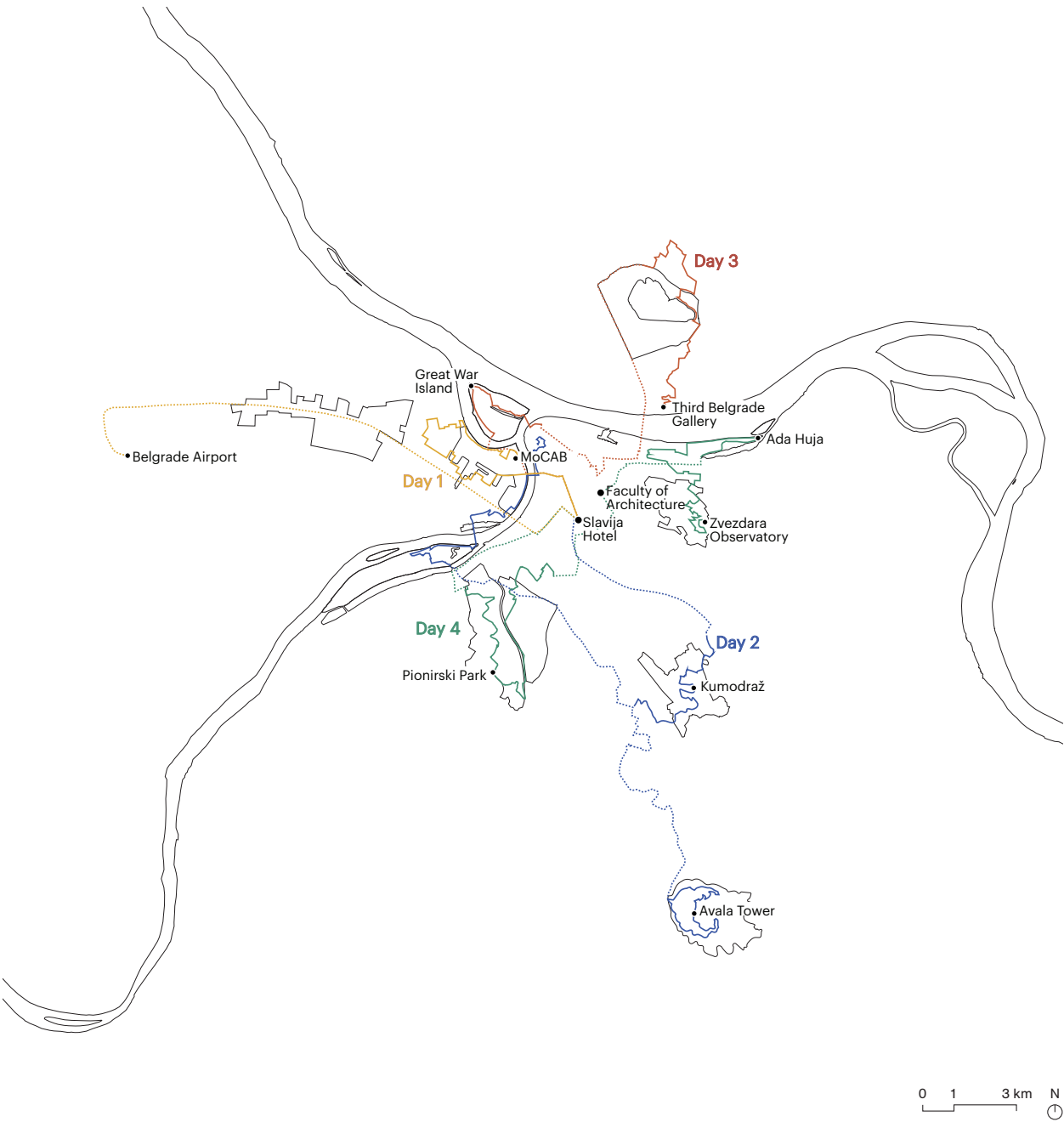*Hidden Belgrade. War Island and Third Belgrade.*

20.03 - Day 4
Belgrade's Urban Forests.

21.03 - Day 5
Workshop and individual explorations.

22.03 - Day 6
Workshop and individual explorations.

23.03 - Day 7
Workshop and final presentation.

24.03 - Day 8
Individual return to the sites.

Beograd Unbuilt—
Studio topics

1
Great War Island—
Nature Reserve at the Heart of the City

2
New Belgrade Parks—
Socialist-Modernist Space of Representation

3
Ada Ciganlija & Ada Međica—
Leisure Island and the City's Water Resource

4
Topčider & Košutnjak—
Historic Forests Charged with Public Destinations

5
Zvezdara Šuma—
Observatory on a Forested Hilltop

6
Third Belgrade Pond—
Privatised Wetlands in the Periphery

7
Highway Corridor—
Industrial Zone Under (Green) Cover

8
Kumodraž Slopes—
Agriculture Besieged by Settlements

9
Avala Mountain—
Monuments at the Metropolitan Fringe

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1
Great War Island— Nature Reserve at the Heart of the City

At the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers, a forested mound of sand was formed by washed-up sediments from the two rivers. The triangular shaped island gained its militant name due to its history as an important strategic point either for the conquest or the defence of the fortress of Belgrade, but it remained un-inhabited throughout history due to its high risk of flooding and unstable soil. When construction of Novi Beograd began in 1948, the city government intended to harvest the island's sand and earth to cover the marshes of the adjacent Syrmian plane, where the new city was to be built. However, the deposits of alluvial materials continually brought onto the island from the Danube prevented this endeavour. Instead, the smaller Little War Island served this purpose and was nearly destroyed in the process.

After being subject to various plans of development in the early 2000s, as a potential location for the Belgrade Zoo or for an amusement park, the city finally decided to reinstate the island as a nature reserve in 2005. Today it is one of the few places in the city, where construction is entirely forbidden and it maintains the highest status of protection as a "landscape of outstanding features". Relatively good conditions, preserved wetlands and water vegetation, as well as the presence of many big rims, made it possible for a very large number of bird species to stay, feed and nest on the island. Many of those species are internationally listed as very important for the biodiversity of the region. Additionally, many fish and mammal species inhabit the land or the surrounding water masses. Though officially uninhabited, around a dozen people occupy small shacks in the island's interior seasonally and cultivate their allotment gardens. In summer, it's north-western tip used to be a leisure destination for urban dwellers until the lido was destroyed in a disastrous flooding in 2006.

The most unique asset of the island is its position in the city: It is situated between two historical cores of today's Belgrade, the Kalemegdan fortress and the medieval town of Zemun, and therefore at the cross section of the most important urban vistas. To fortify it's character as a nature reserve in the heart of the city, there are plans to erect an observation center and install a more permanent pedestrian connection to make it more accessible to the public. Can this central but delicate landscape serve both: a public and recreational as well as an ecological and hydrological purpose?

2
New Belgrade Parks—
Socialist-Modernist Space of
Representation

On the former marshland of the Pannonian Plane nothing but sparse settlements and fishermen's barracks along the left bank of the Sava existed before the construction of New Belgrade in the middle of the 20th century. The terrain of this modern development served for centuries as a no-man's-land along the borderzone of the two empires, the Ottoman and the Austrian/Austro-Hungarian. In the short period between the World Wars, with the unification of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and when the river Sava ceased being a state border, various planning strategies for the urbanisation of this marshland were elaborated. The Old Fairground, Staro Sajmište, was erected under King Alexander I as a first monumental complex on the other side of the river, promoting the economy of the newly indipendent state. With the formation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia after WWII under Josip Broz Tito, the extension plans for a modernist urban development were fully initiated. New Belgrade was to become the symbolic and representative capital of the young socialist state.

The Park of Friendship, with its monumental alleys and and modernist buildings like the Palace of Serbia and the Museum of Contemporary Art, played an important role in the representation of the new republic. The planting of trees in this park by official state guests and political allies became a tradition and reinforced the monumental character of this vast landscape park. It's political importance aside, it is also expression of a general concept of modernism's urban planning: towering building blocks in an open and fluent green space, which initially penetrated the whole of New Belgrade. The transition to a capitalist system enabled the property of this continuous green space to be divided among private owners and developed, rendering the Friendship Park the only coherent open space left in New Belgrade. The arrival of the Ušće shopping mall and additional planned constructions further encroach on the open character of this space today. An international competition, won by dutch architect Jan Gelh, envisions a scheme for a leisure park composed of a thematised sequence of programmed stripes.

Contested in it's modernist nature as an un-programmed, open space, and with the memory of it's political past fading, the question arises how to perceive this landscape under the contemporary pressure of leisure, commerce and development? Can this vast landscape once again gain a purpose at the scale of the metropolis?

3
Ada Ciganlija & Ada Međica—Leisure Island and the City's Water Resource

Originally popular among fishermen and first inhabited by Romani nomads, this nature made island in the Sava river had a turbulent history, from a strategic access point to the city and prison during wartimes to a wild borderland and occasional scenic retreat for bohemian citizens. The islands microclimate allows for higher air humidity resulting in lower temperatures during summer, so it is no surprise that its beaches became increasingly popular among the citizens. Connected artificially with the main land in the second half of the 20th century, it is now one of Belgrade's largest recreational areas and the city's drinking water reserve at the same time.

Damns were built to create two basins used as water treatment system connected with pumps and pipes. Surrounded by gravel beaches and leisure facilities it is also one of the most popular recreational areas in town. Nicknamed the "More Beograda", the Belgrade Sea, the island has been conceptualised as a hub for mass sporting activity boasting beaches, swimming pools, sports facilities, hotels, a golf course, bars, restaurants and night clubs, and a small marina.

Managed by the municipal government via the public enterprise "Ada Ciganlija", most of the island is publicly owned with some private entities administering businesses and recreation facilities, such as the golf course. The northern shore is lined with attached floating barges, or houses on the water owned by many inhabitants of Belgrade as a weekend refuge. Many city dwellers come here on a regular basis to enjoy fishing excursions, picnics and barbecues. The smaller Ada Međica is lined with similar weekend houses on stilts but managed autonomously by the community of inhabitants themselves, rather than a central authority. Self established guidelines, like a maximum size of structure and shared solar electricity panels and drinking water connections keep this island functioning without public infrastructure. On the other hand, Ada Međica is prone to frequent flooding, since the city authorities deem a fortification of the shoreline to not be profitable enough. Comparing the two systems of organisation, formal and informal, raises the question of how to manage a public asset for the benefit of all users and the environment. Can the recreational use of the two islands be extended? Can leisure, water treatment and nature protection create synergies that set examples for strategies of how to deal with the cities 200 km of riverbanks?

4
Topčider & Košutnjak— Historic Forests Charged with Public Destinations

The "green lungs" of the city, the forests of Topčider and Košutnjak, are among the most established urban recreational areas, well maintained and rich in leisure and public facilities, sharing a long history of public use. Originally chosen by the Obrenović dynasty as representative residence and adjacent hunting grounds outside the reach of the fortress' cannons, the area grew into a park by the 20th century. Serbia's first railway, built in 1884 and connecting Belgrade to Niš, ran through the valley formed by the two hilltops, stopping at both destinations and bringing the forests in close reach of the growing town. While the north of Topčider developed into and English style park with a hippodrome and several leisure facilities, the southern part of the hill gained military importance, due the installation of army barracks and a vast underground tunnel network resulting in the fenced off, high security area that it is today. The forest of Košutnjak on the other hand remained publicly accessible, criss crossed by hiking paths and packed with picnic spots and restaurants.

Many of the most presigious facilities of the city's public infrastructure and symbols of state power are situated around and within Topčider and Košutnjak. The historic mint of Serbia, the Royal Palaces, the Museum of Yogoslavia and Tito's mausoleum, several university faculties, a hospital and many orthodox churches frame the wooded areas. Situated in the suburban part of Belgrade, the surrounding residential fabric has also tightened its grip on the forest patches. The embassy quarters to the south and mostly wealthy neighbourhoods form a porous fringe towards the woods, that often cross into the green space. Leisure faciliteis accompany the housing quarters here and there, taking advantage of the adjacent open space. Three special building complexes have settled amidst the trees of the Košutnjak: the socialist children's camp, Pionirski Grad, with sports facilities, sleeping halls and playgrounds and Serbia's national radio station next to its transmission tower and the Hydro-meteological Institute. Filmski Grad, a larges complex of film production halls and studios, house Serbia's national television and Avala Studios, the most prestigious Yugoslav production company. The forest is also popular venue for all kinds of festivals, open air cinemas and concerts.

In 2014, city government declared "Košutnjak Forest" as a protected area and natural monument with more than two thirds being in public ownership. Topčider park, with it's many old platanus trees and historic buildings, is under protection as well. The long tradition of use as a public and recreational asset and it's symbolic importance for several regimes throughout history, have shaped this space physically and culturally in the collective memory. How does public perception and social practise influence the development of such landscapes? How can it's social value be upheld in times of dwindling symbolic importance? How can we imagine this important urban landscape in the future?

5
Zvezdara Šuma—
Observatory on a Forested Hilltop

The historic astronomic observatory of Belgrade, the Zvezdara, gave this hilltop and surrounding municipality its name. The now forested landscape has undergone several transformation throughout the course of history. In the 19th century the foothills east of the town's centre were not urbanised and used by the city dwellers as a weekend resort and picnic area. After World War I the hill was covered with meadows, vineyards and brickyards and the first settlements of farmers began to develop around it. In the early 1930s the modernist observatory was built on top of the hill and most of the area was forested in order to protect the complex from encroaching development, tucking the astronomers away behind quiet trees. Forestation of the hilltop went on until the late 50s until it reached the dimensions of a fully fledged forest. The observatory is nowadays deemed unsuitable for scientific work due to the light pollution of the all surrounding city fabric and was moved to the more modern observatory on Mount Vidojevica in southern Serbia. 1972 Zvezdara Hill was officially classified as park-forest and protected as natural monument.

In recent years the hilltop has also become somewhat of a science park, attracting many facilities of research and development and serving for many important metropolitan functions. The newly finished Science and Technology Park, the Mihailo Pupin Institute for Robotics, a hospital, children centres and several schools and sports centres inhabit it's immediate surrounding. Despite its protection, Zvezdara's integrity as park and important public is constantly contested: Many illegal settlements creeping up the slopes have eaten away on the forest's fringe and the city government planned to give way to this urban pressure by converting some wooded areas into developable land in 2009. Due to heavy protest among the population these plans were dropped. Earlier plans to extend parts of the forest the north and south to establish continuous green corridors were also never realised.

As land of negotiation, torn between the private interest of the fast developing neighbourhood and infrastructural as well as recreational importance, the forest has been cut down and replanted several times. In this context of urban pressure can the built and the unbuilt be thought together as a more fruitful system? Can the fragmented forest edge be thought of differently, and what role could it play for the surrounding city?

6
Third Belgrade Pond—
Privatised Wetlands in the Periphery

A large body water in the north of Belgrade is all that remained of the Pannonian Sea, that used to cover the entire basin beyond the Danube river in pre-historic times. Inaccessible wetlands form a shallow pond that is used for carp-breeding by a private company now. Since 1961, when the lake was populated with many fish species, four small basins in the north of the lake, are used to raise fish. They also serve as sport-fishing grounds during summer, while Veliko Blato, the main lake, is used as a feedlot for the larger fish. Every year, after the fishing season is over, the smaller basins are being emptied.

In the early 2010s, an illegal dumping created a landfill south of the lake, polluting the water and hastening the procedure of placing the lake under protection in 2017. Veliko Blato is still not suitable for swimming and bathing due to the large quantities of contaminated mud in it, But it has very high ecological value as a habitat for birds and fish. The landscape surrounding it, is characterised by growing settlements developing along an agricultural grid with some large scale construction endeavours, starting to break with the informal pattern. Additionally, important industrial facilities like the oil refinery and rail and highway transportation axes speed up the urbanisation processes of what is called the "Third Belgrade". The area is part of the municipality of Palilula which is one of the biggest and fastest growing in Belgrade spreading all along the northern banks of the Danube. Two bridges connect it to the city (a third is in planning) making it more and more attractive for commuters and businesses alike.

Belgrade, as a city crossed by two rivers and many remaining wetlands, arguably finds it's greatest public asset in the form of water bodies. While some have been completely urbanised, like the river embankments and leisure islands, the pond of Third Belgrade remains shrouded in private interests and hidden behind an impenetrable wall of greenery. How can the potential of this space be read and how can it contribute to the public sphere of a rapidly expanding metropolis without falling victim to speculation or informal development?

7
Highway Corridor—
Industrial Zone Under (Green) Cover

The "Highway of Brotherhood and Unity", a gigantic socialist infrastructural project, that stretched over 1,182 km across Yugoslavia connecting its four constituent states runs right through the center of Belgrade. As the road was constructed under Josip Broz Tito in 1949 it was not merely a piece of infrastructure but a project charged with symbolic meaning and designed to aesthetic and monumental qualities. Bridging four franternal nations, it's course opened vistas on landmarks and cities, sometimes even lined with dedicated landscape elements. Where it passes the western outskirt of the metropolitan region of Belgrade it is still flanked by an forested strip, forming a green gate to the city.

Originally conceived as buffer zone along the highway, it is in todays planning considered an economic area and houses several industrial activities. The whole sale food market, an electricity plant and a large hospital are interwoven with the artificial vegetation. Although is is increasingly important for the expanding housing neighbourhoods around it, the public land is hardly accessible and its recreational value is only beginning to be recognised. The current plan for development encompasses about 1000 ha with economic activities, public services and facilities, infrastructural connections and green areas for communal activities. The land intended for the construction of buildings is divided into characteristic zones in relation to the position and typology of the building, the existing structure and special conditions of use.

As one of the most important infrastructural axes, the highway attracts industrial activity in it's vicinity. What kind of spaces do these economic interests create and how to they relate to the large network of movement of goods and to the distribution of services? How can the forgotten public and ecological dimensions of this space be reactivated for a growing urban neighbourhood?

8
Kumodraž Slopes—
Agriculture Besieged by Settlements

Many river creeks rund down the tip of the Šumadija Upland mouthing in the Sava river. The stream of the Kumodraž Potok forms in a hilly landscape of slow agriculture, between the growing Padina Suburb and the villages of Kumodraž and Veliki Mokri Lug. It is an enclosed, barren space composed of a mix of small scale extensive cultivations, bushes, uncultivated moors and scattered houses spreading from the fast growing surrounding settlements. The Kumodraž area is a source of many other streams apart from the one that gave its name to the neighbourhood and under some environmental protection, as one of the few riverbeds running through the city, that have not been put underground.

The Kumodraž village used to be a small, agricultural settlement far from downtown Belgrade, but after the 1960s the population of the city boosted and it grew substantially as it was the case in almost all Belgrade's suburbs at the time. Slowly the fringe of the Kumodraž stream region is being consumed by fragmented settlements, where the majority of buildings are not built legally. Since the 1990s this area is particularly known for the contruction of informal mansions for wealthier citizens, whose political interests and influence extend into the surroundings. The lower part is densely built – over 40% of surfaces there are already impermeable. The area surrounding the upper part is still less populated, with many remaining open spaces. The lower course of the waterway is hidden as part of the city's sewer system: it collects large amounts of wastewater, contaminated drainage from landfills in the vicinity, livestock farms, and serves as storm-water runoff. The upper part of the stream flows almost completely unregulated for approximately 2km, as surface water.

The land mainly considered as buildable resource, not regarded as an important water catchment area. In the past 10 years it shrank drastically: one third of its surface has been built. Are the interests of water management and ecological continuities and the opening up of land for development mutually exclusive? Having spread almost entirely without being planned, the settlements lack social infrastructure like schools, kindergardens, community spaces. Can the disrupted fringe of the these agricultural remains play a role in providing public infratructures and facilities to the local population?

9
Avala Mountain—
Monuments at the Metropolitan Fringe

The highest peak on the horizon of the city, the mountain of Avala (511m) is located 16 km south of the historic town, and one of the first landscapes to be protected as a landmark and national monument in Serbia 150 years ago. It is today surrounded by remaining agricultural patches and growing suburbs. The construction of an autobahn encircling the city has brought this former weekend retreat in close range, attracting more and more citizens escaping the saturated city-centre and its increasing prices.

Climbing the mountain offers a view towards the city and the Pannonian Plane, a popular weekend activity for Belgradians and people from all over Serbia. Several national monuments were erected on the mountain, adding a strong symbolic meaning to the public character of this place. A Hotel, restaurants, hiking paths and camping grounds cater to the visitors, while the main attraction remains the Television Tower, destroyed by the 1999 NATO bombing and rebuilt completely a few years ago. As one of the most maintained landscapes and memorial sites in Serbia, it has been developed as tourist destination in the vicinity of Belgrade. It also used to be an important source of Avalite, a local stone which used to be extracted in the Avala quarries.

The mountain was declared successively "national park", "public property of general interest" and today named as "sports and leisure area" by the Belgrade 2021 Plan. With a growing importance as an affordable neighbourhood with good connection to the city, the public landscape has an important role to play in the urban consolidation of the periphery of Belgrade. How can it perform as memorial site and tourist destination as well as recreational area for local citizens?
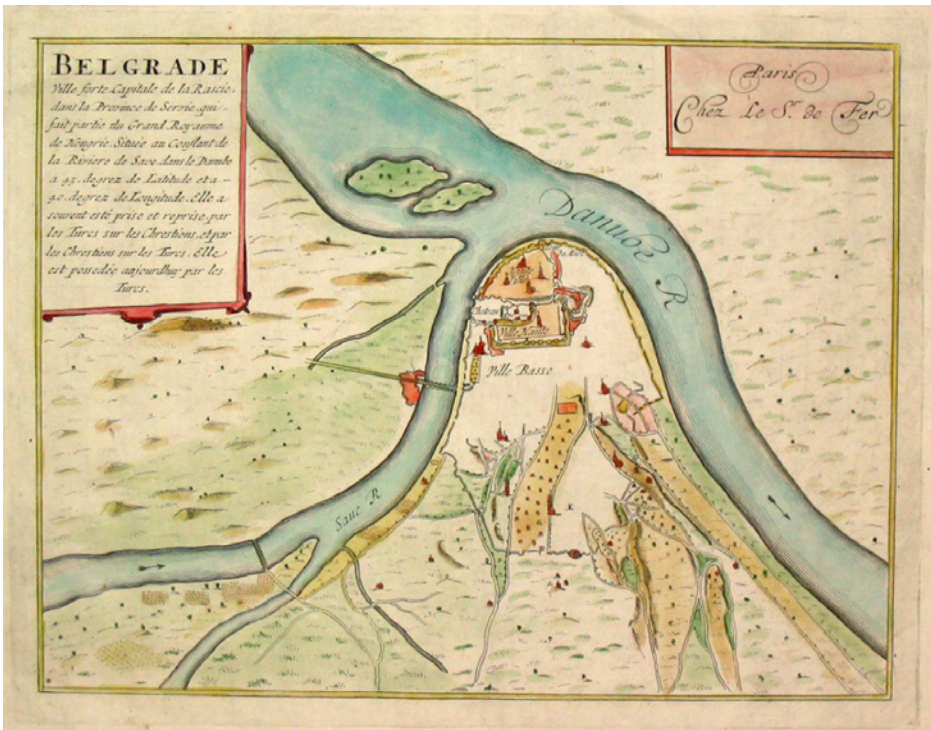
BEOGRAD UNBUILT — Materials

Materials

Belgrade, situated at the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers, surrounded by water from three sides has been found on very particular geographical condition. The surrounding consists of two very different natural entities: The Pannonian plain in the north and Šumadija Upland in the south. The terrain gradually declines, from south to north, as spacious plateaus intersected by streams and small rivers valleys. The diversity and specificity in Belgrade (metropolitan area) derives and can be seen through its idiosyncratic geomorphological characteristics.

Belgrade - A City Fortress on a Hill, 1521

Cadastral Map of the Vojvodina Region comissioned by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, 1897
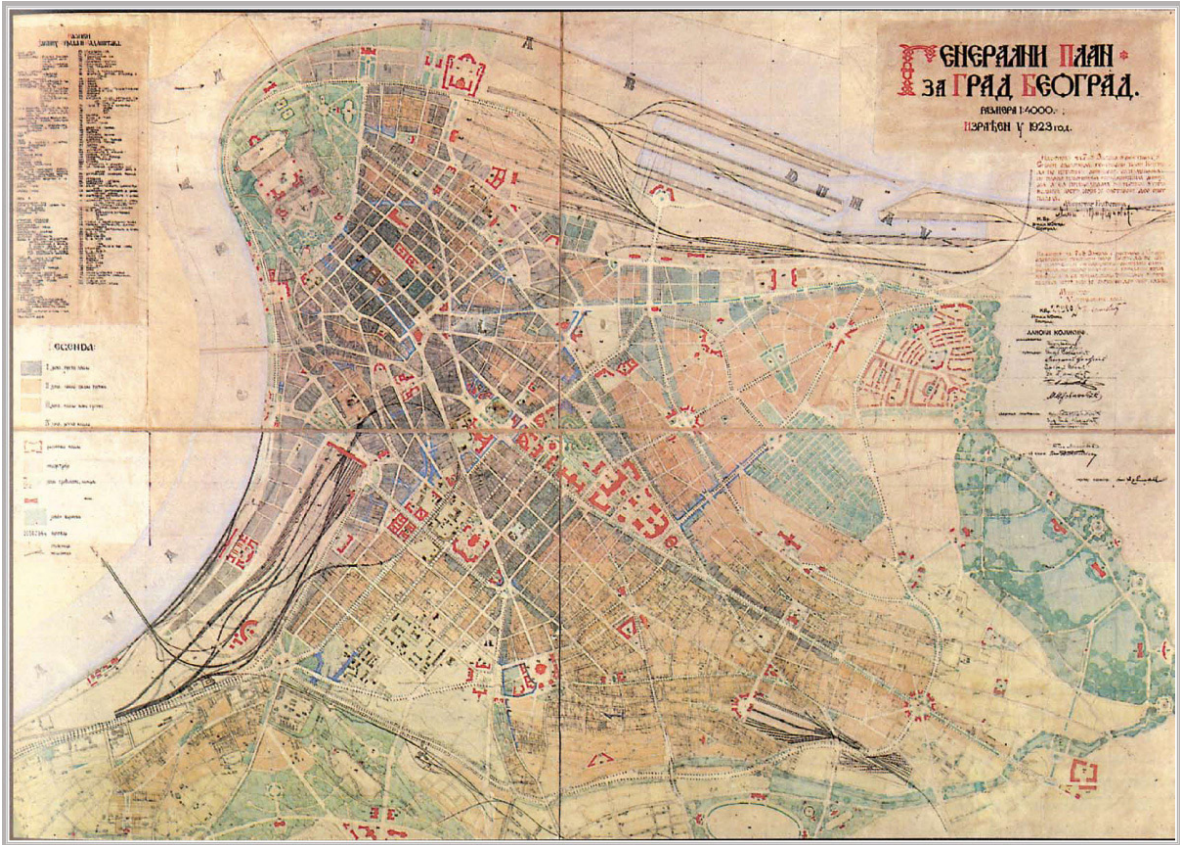
Belgrade, being one of the oldest European cities, with a rich planning tradition, carries a long history of different conceptions of its 'unbuilt land', inscribed in historical representations, maps and planning documents: Initially the Unbuilt is to be found outside the city wall, as *productive agricultural land* or soon after as part of the *defence system* of the medieval city fortress. Together with the first planning efforts at the end of 19th century, the Unbuilt land will be understood and designed as an *'urban system of green spaces'* for leisure and circulation, which connect the urban fabric and it was developped together with the first urban plan and the expansion of the city outside its walls (Jovanovic, 1867 and Kovaljevski, 1924).

a

b

Map of the Austrian Siege of Belgrade in the Ottoman-Venetian War, 1717(a)
French Map of City Fortress, 18th century(b)

Master Plan of Belgrade, Djordje Kovaljevski, 1924

On May 24th, 1941, the Royal Hungarian 1./3. TF flying squadron conducted aerial photography over the recently occupied Serbian capital, Beograd. With these pictures the Hungarian High Command wanted to refresh the outdated sections of the Third Military Survey (made before 1914). On one hand, evident traces of the war, as the missing railway bridge across the Danube, are evident in this picture. On the other hand, the War Island and parts of the river bed have mysteriously disappeared under a flood of the Danube devasting the surrounding. The fluvial system manifests as a crucial dynamic element of the figure of the Unbuilt.
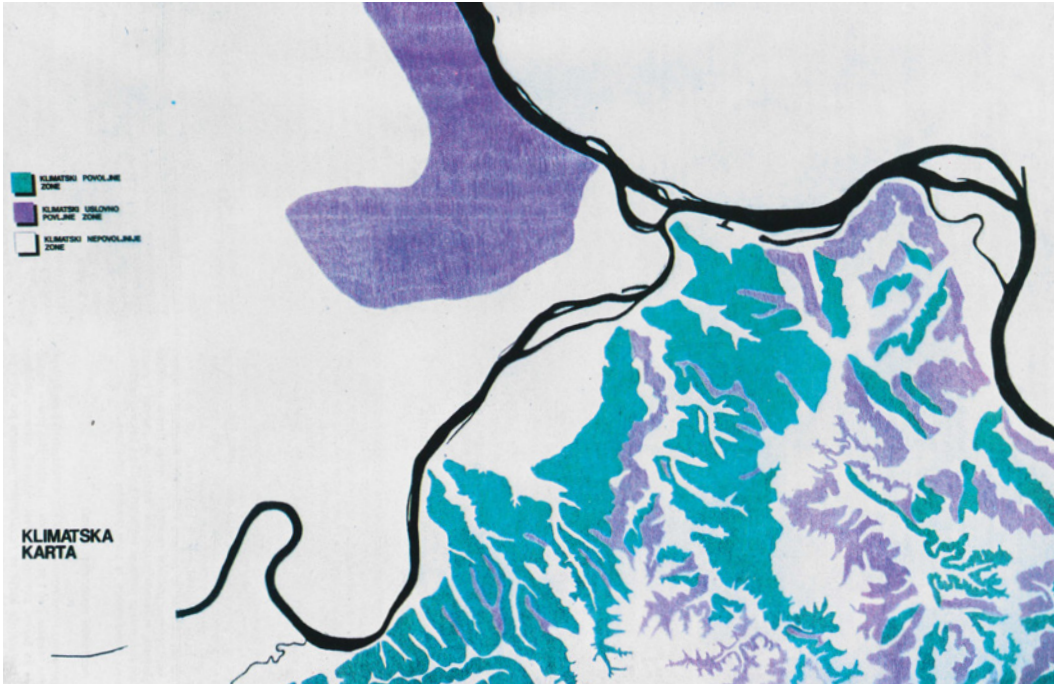
In 1946, the first urbanistic proposal for the new Yugoslav administrative capital in New Belgrade was presented by Nikola Dobrovic, one of the preeminent Yugoslav modernists, serving as Belgrade's city architect. The design for the new Yugoslav administrative center was clearly self-referential, envisaging an urban form independent of historical structures and introducing a new urban and political order between the previously disconnected old Belgrade and Zemun. In the series of architectural competitions and state plans that will follow in order to give shape to the new capital, the vast Unbuilt land plays a key role in articulating the new public sphere and representing state power.

Veliko Ratno Ostrvo and parts of New Belgrade are submerged in the flood
Military aerial photographic survey, 1941

New Belgrade central zone, Institute or Urbanism of Serbia
Aleksandar Djordjević, Leonid Lenarčić, Milutin Glavički, Uroš Martinović, 1959

New representations of the Unbuilt will emmerge with the General Urban Plan of Belgrade, 1972. This time, the planning documents describe *an ecological system* located at the two-river-riverbeds, where 'natural conditions' become key elements of thinking in 'town planning' and 'technical infrustructure'.

a

b

c

d

Climatic Map(a), Development potentials according to geological risks(b)
General Urban Plan of Belgrade, 1971-72

Historic development(c), Landscape for recreation(d)
General Urban Plan of Belgrade, 1971-72

From a *civic right* and a *structured network of green spaces* in the soviet capital, to concepts of the land as a 'white hole' on the map–a *resource to be consumed or developped*–the Unbuilt, as notion and as concrete space is under constant transformation reflecting conflicts, ideologies and dynamics of the city.

Zvezdara Hill with view on the Danube, subsequent Site of the Astronomical Observatory, 1928

View on the Danube River from the Great War Island, 2000s

Old Belgrade with a New Bridge, 1934   Sava River Banks, 1966

Sunday in a Park, 1953 Construction of New Belgrade in the Sava Marches, 1971

Swimming Competetion in a Pool dating back to the German Occupation in Central Belgrade, 1948

Construction of the Astronomical Observatory Zvezdara, 1932-1939

Restaurant Boat at Sava River Banks, Bas Princen, 2007

Sava River Banks, Bas Princen, 2007

House on Danube Shore, Bas Princen, 2007

Little House on Ada Huja, Bas Princen, 2007

THE LAND AS PALIMPSEST

> [epigraph, illegible]

I

The land has come into its own. At last it has become the focus of great national problems which until now were cooked most frequently with regard to and for the benefit of cities, or even of metropolitan areas. Its very representation, until very recent ages held to be trivish, abstract and reserved to technicians, today belongs to the public domain. Exhibitions bearing titles such as *Maps and Illustrations of the Earth* (Paris, 1980) or *Landscape, Image and Reality* (Bologna, 1981) attract as many visitors as an Impressionist retrospective, not only because of the novelty of the theme, the rarity of certain documents, or the beauty of most of them, as proved by the success of ever more specialized events such as those dedicated to the 17th Sardinian cadastre in Sassari or to the one of Maria Theresa in Lombardy (Chambéry and Pavia, 1980).

II

The land is not a given immediacy: it results from various processes. On the one hand there is spontaneous transformation: the advance or retreat of forests and the ice cover, the extension of swamp land or its drying up, the silting up of bays and the formation of river deltas, the erosion of shorelines and sea cliffs, the appearance of offshore reefs and lagoons, the subsidence of valleys, shifting terrain, volcanic eruption and subsequent cooling, earthquakes — all this bears witness to the instability of terrestrial morphology. On the other hand, there is human activity: vegetation, construction of roads, bridges and dikes, erection of hydroelectric dams, digging canals, following cut of tunnels, terracing, land clearing and reforestation, land improvement and even everyday agricultural activity not lost into an increasingly remodeled space.

The dimensions which determine it: by following their own

10

The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention

JAMES CORNER

Mapping is a fantastic cultural project, creating and building the world as much as measuring and describing it. Long affiliated with the planning and design of cities, landscapes and buildings, mapping is particularly instrumental in the construing and constructing of lived space. In this active sense, the function of mapping is less to mirror reality than to engender the re-shaping of the worlds in which people live. While there are countless examples of authoritarian, simplistic, erroneous and coercive acts of mapping, with reductive effects upon both individuals and environments, I focus in this essay upon more optimistic revisions of mapping practices. These revisions situate mapping as a collective enabling enterprise, a project that both reveals and realizes hidden potential. Hence, in describing the 'agency' of mapping, I do not mean to invoke agendas of imperialist technocracy and control but rather to suggest ways in which mapping acts may emancipate potentials, enrich experiences and diversify worlds. We have been adequately cautioned about mapping as a means of projecting power-knowledge, but what about mapping as a productive and liberating instrument, a world-enriching agent, especially in the design and planning arts?

As a creative practice, mapping precipitates its most productive effects through a finding that is also a founding; its agency lies in neither reproduction nor imposition but rather in uncovering realities previously unseen or unimagined, even across seemingly exhausted grounds. Thus, mapping *unfolds* potential; it re-makes territory over and over again, each time with new and diverse consequences. Not all maps accomplish this, however; some simply reproduce what is already known. These are more 'tracings' than maps, delineating patterns but revealing nothing new. In describing and advocating more open-ended forms of creativity, philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari declare: 'Make a map not a tracing!' They continue:

The Word Itself

Why is it, I wonder, that we have trouble agreeing on the meaning of *landscape*? The word is simple enough, and it refers to something which we think we understand; and yet to each of us it seems to mean something different.

What we need is a new definition. The one we find in most dictionaries is more than three hundred years old and was drawn up for artists. It tells us that a landscape is a "portion of land which the eye can comprehend at a glance." Actually when it was first introduced (or reintroduced) into English it did not mean the view itself, it meant a *picture* of it, an artist's interpretation. It was his task to take the forms and colors and spaces in front of him—mountains, river, forest, fields, and so on—and compose them so that they made a work of art.

There is no need to tell in detail how the word gradually changed in meaning. First it meant a picture of a view; then the view itself. We went into the country and discovered beautiful views, always remembering the criteria of landscape beauty as established by critics and artists. Finally, on a modest scale, we undertook to make over a piece of ground so that it resembled a pastoral landscape in the shape of a garden or park. Just as the painter used his judgment as to what to include or omit in his composition, the landscape gardener (as he was known in the eighteenth century) took pains to produce a stylized "picturesque" landscape, leaving out the muddy roads, the plowed fields, the squalid villages of the real countryside and including certain agreeable natural features: brooks and groves of trees and smooth expanses of grass. The results were often extremely beautiful, but they were still pictures, though in three dimensions.

The reliance on the artist's point of view and his definition of landscape beauty persisted throughout the nineteenth century. Olmsted and his followers designed their parks and gardens in "painterly" terms. "Although three-dimensional composition in landscape materials differs from two-dimensional landscape painting, because a garden or park design contains a *series* of pictorial compositions," the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (13th edition) informs us, ". . . nevertheless in each of these pictures we find the familiar basic principles of unity, of repetition, of sequence and balance, of harmony and contrast." But within the last half century a revolution has taken place: landscape design and landscape painting have gone their separate ways. Landscape architects no longer turn to Poussin or Salvator Rosa or Gilpin for inspiration; they may not even have heard of their work. Knowledge of ecology and conservation and environmental psychology are now part of the landscape architect's professional background, and protecting and "managing" the natural environment are seen as more important than the designing of picturesque parks. Environmental designers, I have noticed, avoid the word *landscape* and prefer *land* or *terrain* or *environment* or even *space* when

they have a specific site in mind. *Landscape* is used for suggesting the esthetic quality of the wider countryside.

As for painters, they have long since lost interest in producing conventional landscapes. Kenneth Clark, in his book *Landscape into Painting*, comments on this fact. "The microscope and telescope have so greatly enlarged the range of our vision," he writes, "that the snug, sensible nature which we can see with our own eyes has ceased to satisfy our imaginations. We know that by our new standards of measurement the most extensive landscape is practically the same as the hole through which the burrowing ant escapes from our sight."[1]

This does not strike me as a very satisfactory explanation of the demise of traditional landscape painting. More than a change in scale was responsible. Painters have learned to see the environment in a new and more subjective manner: as a different kind of experience. But that is not the point. The point is, the two disciplines which once had a monopoly on the word—landscape architecture and landscape painting—have ceased to use it the way they did a few decades ago, and it has now reverted as it were to the public domain.

What has happened to the word in the meantime? For one thing we are using it with much more freedom. We no longer bother with its literal meaning—which I will come to later—and we have coined a number of words similar to it: roadscape, townscape, cityscape, as if the syllable *scape* meant a space, which it does not; and we speak of the wilderness landscape, the lunar landscape, even of the landscape at the bottom of the ocean. Furthermore the word is frequently used in critical writing as a kind of metaphor. Thus we find mention of the "landscape of a poet's images," "the landscape of dreams," or "landscape as antagonist" or "the landscape of thought," or, on quite a different level, the "political landscape of the NATO conference," the "patronage landscape." Our first reaction to these usages is that they are farfetched and pretentious. Yet they remind us of an important truth: that we always need a word or phrase to indicate a kind of environment or setting which can give vividness to a thought or event or relationship; a background placing it in the world. In this sense *landscape* serves the same useful purpose as do the words *climate* or *atmosphere*, used metaphorically. In fact *landscape* when used as a painter's term often meant "all that part of a picture which is not of the body or argument"—like the stormy array of clouds in a battle scene or the glimpse of the Capitol in a presidential portrait. In the eighteenth century, *landscape* indicated scenery in the theater and had the function of discreetly suggesting the location of the action or perhaps the time of day. As I have suggested elsewhere, there is no better indication of how our relation to the environment can change over the centuries than in the role of stage scenery. Three hundred years ago Corneille could write a five-act tragedy with a single indication of the setting: "The action takes place

in the palace of the king." If we glance at the work of a modern playwright we will probably find one detailed description of a scene after another, and the ultimate in this kind of landscape, I suppose, is the contemporary movie. Here the set does much more than merely identify the time and place and establish the mood. By means of shifts in lighting and sound and perspective the set actually creates the players, identifies them, and tells them what to do: a good example of environmental determinism.

But these scenic devices and theater landscapes are mere imitations of real ones: easily understood by almost everyone, and shared. What I object to is the fallacy in the metaphorical use of the word. No one denies that as our thoughts become complex and abstract we need metaphors to give them a degree of reality. No one denies that as we become uncertain of our status we need more and more reinforcement from our environment. But we should not use the word *landscape* to describe our private world, our private microcosm, and for a simple reason: a landscape is a concrete, three-dimensional shared reality.

Lands and Shapes

Landscape is a space on the surface of the earth; intuitively we know that it is a space with a degree of permanence, with its own distinct character, either topographical or cultural, and above all a space shared by a group of people; and when we go beyond the dictionary definition of landscape and examine the word itself we find that our intuition is correct.

Landscape is a compound, and its components hark back to that ancient Indo-European idiom, brought out of Asia by migrating peoples thousands of years ago, that became the basis of almost all modern European languages—Latin and Celtic and Germanic and Slavic and Greek. The word was introduced into Britain sometime after the fifth century A.D. by the Angles and Saxons and Jutes and Danes and other groups of Germanic speech. In addition to its Old English variations—*landskipe, landscaef,* and others—there is the German *landschaft,* the Dutch *landscap,* as well as Danish and Swedish equivalents. They all come from the same roots, but they are not always used in the English sense. A German *landschaft,* for instance, can sometimes be a small administrative unit, corresponding in size to our ward. I have the feeling that there is evolving a slight but noticeable difference between the way we Americans use the word and the way the English do. We tend to think that *landscape* can mean natural scenery only, whereas in England a landscape almost always contains a human element.

The equivalent word in Latin languages derives in almost every case from the Latin *pagus*—meaning a defined rural district. The French, in fact, have several words for *landscape,* each with shades of meaning: *terroir, pays,*

paysage, campagne. In England the distinction was once made between two kinds of landscape: woodland and champion—the latter deriving from the French *champagne,* meaning a countryside of fields.

That first syllable, *land,* has had a varied career. By the time it reached England it signified *earth* and *soil* as well as a portion of the surface of the globe. But a much earlier Gothic meaning was *plowed field.* Grimm's monumental dictionary of the German language says that "*land* originally signified the plot of ground or the furrows in a field that were annually rotated" or redistributed. We can assume that in the Dark Ages the most common use of the word indicated any well-defined portion of the earth's surface. A small farm plot was a land, and so was a sovereign territory like England or Scotland; any area with recognized boundaries was a land. Despite almost two thousand years of reinterpretation by geographers and poets and ecologists, *land* in American law remains stubbornly true to that ancient meaning: "any *definite* site regarded as a portion of the earth's surface, and extending in both vertical directions as defined by law" (italics added).

Perhaps because of this definition farmers think of land not only in terms of soil and topography but in terms of spatial measurements, as a defined portion of a wider area. In the American South, and in England too, a "land" is a subdivision of a field, a broad row made by plowing or mowing, and horse-drawn mowers were once advertised as "making a land of so-and-so many feet." In Yorkshire the reapers of wheat take a "land" (generally six feet wide) and go down the length of the field. "A woman," says the *English Dialect Dictionary,* "would thus reap half an acre a day and a man an acre." In his book on English field systems, Gray mentions a typical medieval village where the two large, open fields "consisted of about two thousand long narrow 'lands' or selions [furrows] each containing usually from one fourth of an acre to an acre."[2]

This is very confusing, and even more confusing is the fact that to this day in Scotland a *land* means a building divided into houses or flats. I confess that I find this particular use of the word hard to decipher, except that in Gaelic the word *lann* means an enclosed space. Finally, here is an example—if it can be called that—of *land* meaning both a fraction of a larger space and an enclosed space: infantrymen know that a land is an interval between the grooves of a rifle bore.

I need not press the point. As far back as we can trace the word, *land* meant a defined space, one with boundaries, though not necessarily one with fences or walls. The word has so many derivative meanings that it rivals in ambiguity the word *landscape.* Three centuries ago it was still being used in everyday speech to signify a fraction of plowed ground no larger than a quarter acre, then to signify an expanse of village holdings, as in grassland or woodland, and then finally to signify England itself—the largest space any Englishman

From Ottoman Gardens to European Parks:
Transformation of Green Spaces in Belgrade

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Introduction

At the turn of the 20th century there was a striving in Europe to establish a balance between the constructed city fabric and green space. Parks and squares with greenery became just as important as showcase buildings and entities within the city center. This paper investigates Belgrade's green areas, taking a concise look at their transformation in the historical context: changes in the city center during the 19th century, and concern for health and hygiene in the first half of the 20th century. The paper presents the production of green spaces in Belgrade's city center through the metamorphosis of devastated and abandoned public and private spaces, and through the creation of new green areas. This paper examines the relationship between culture and nature in Belgrade, within the context of its urban history, and its place values, changed by the new capitalist production of space.

Historical and theoretical overview

During the 19th century, Belgrade was a border city between the Ottoman Empire, represented by the Principality and Kingdom of Serbia, and the Habsburg Monarchy. There was a radical transformation of its urban landscape during this period, a process that was primarily driven by the paradigm of a modern European city. The protagonists of the transformation, wielders of political and economic power, followed the example of the state's capitalist development.

Theoreticians of urban political ecology consider that cities are 'built out of natural resources, through socially mediated natural processes' (Haynen *et al.* 2006, 4). Socio-environmental change enables a new urban nature to be produced where various social groups vie with each other in the process of creating their own living environment, in other words: 'the material conditions that comprise urban environments are controlled, manipulated and serve the interests of the elite at the expense of marginalized populations' (Haynen *et al.* 2006, 6). It is within this theoretical context that we investigate the transformation of green spaces in Belgrade during the first half of the 20th century. Transformation of the traditional attitude/relationship toward nature is accompanied by the phenomenon of a new, *appropriated* nature that characterized a modern, capitalist city: 'Theoretically, nature is shrinking, but the signs of nature and the natural are multiplying, replacing and supplanting real "nature". [...] A tree, a flower, a branch, a scent, or a word can become signs of absence: of an illusory and fictive presence. [...] This space, which has been neutralized by a degrading form of democratization, has as its symbol the square.' (Lefebvre 2003, 27)

Ottoman Private Gardens in Belgrade

Three entities can be singled out in 19th century Belgrade: (i) the Fortress – stronghold of the Turkish army (ii) the Town located in the Moat (*Varoš u Šancu*) – the historic nucleus of the city; and (iii) the area beyond the Moat – marshland with scattered villages in the surrounding area. As of 1521, the city was mostly under Ottoman rule, except for periods of Austrian domination in the 18th century. As with many cities in the Balkans, over the centuries Belgrade became a characteristic multiethnic and multifaith environment – an assemblage of different communities that lived within their own *mahalles* (*Tr.* mahalle - neighborhood, quarter). From the establishment of the Principality of Serbia in 1815 until the Turkish garrison left the Fortress in 1867, a duality of Serbian and Turkish administrative authority was maintained in the city. Located between the Fortress and the Town in the Moat was Kalemegdan, the *town green* – barren and devastated, another symbol of the political and military tensions. Nineteenth century Belgrade resulted from several centuries of adhering to traditional codes of urban order following the principles of Ottoman town culture, and the new program of the national state and capitalist development implemented by representatives of the Serbian elite in the inherited physical environment, expressing new cultural practices. (Ćorović 2015, 75-94)

In the Ottoman areas of the Balkans, a house – as the basic unit of city districts – was defined by three-fold relations to 'wife, neighbor and nature' (Grabrijan, Najdhart 1957, 10). Among the unwritten rules of constructing residential buildings were 'the right to a view' and 'the cult of the neighborhood.' The green infrastructure of the historic nucleus of Belgrade throughout almost the entire 19th century consisted of gardens next to houses from the Ottoman period. One description of old Belgrade says: 'One can sense that the primary intimate life of the family was focused on the yard, an enclosed circle of greenery and flowers. Belgrade of the past preferred its home and garden to the street.' (Kojić 1949, 70) In the late 1850s, gardens that adjoined houses were similar, regardless of the culture of their owners. A house was built to be a personal safe space in a city divided:

'All the windows looked onto alleys. Other Serbian houses at the time were surrounded by high walls. [...] So the Turks also surrounded their houses with walls and their houses were mostly placed in the center of gardens filled with trellises, a great variety of flowers and fountains.' (Đorđević 1927, 60)

Almost all the residential buildings in 19th century Belgrade were separated from the street by high walls and were divided into men's and women's parts of the house, the latter looking onto the inner yard. The yards invariably included a gate (*kapidžik*, Tr. *kapı* - gate) that led to their neighbors (Fig.1). Thus, the gardens of old Belgrade comprised a single, citywide, and at the same time private, system of greenery. The system of these old gardens was, paradoxically, above the existing divisions; namely, it was possible to go from one *mahalle* to another by way of the gardens, without taking public city streets (Kaćanski 1937). The gardens concealed a unique system of city pathways, which constituted a superstructure of the divided city. During 1830-62 in particular, old Turkish homes and their gardens changed ownership and were abandoned or re-sold. The degradation of these areas occurred almost imperceptibly, and many previously opulent gardens fell to ruin, in the expectation of better financial and political circumstances.

European Public Parks in Belgrade

The first pro-European regulation plan of the historic nucleus of Belgrade was made during 1864–67 by engineer Emilijan Josimović (Josimović 1867). His plan expressed a changed attitude toward land: by creating a data base on the terrain, soil quality, and the size and position of land lots, city land became a resource and a basis for collecting state taxes. The plan covered an area of about 90.0 ha. According to this plan, the largest of the old gardens in the city center were to become public green areas, with a total area of around 7.0 ha. Within this context, in writing about the public green areas of the city,

Fig.1. Belgrade in the 19th century (Jullia Wittgens, Београдъ [Belgrade], colored lithograph, 36 x 25.5 cm, Wien, 1864; Belgrade City Museum, sign.: И₁268)

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From Ottoman Gardens to European Parks: Transformations of Green Spaces in Belgrade, 2013

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Josimović accurately predicted that a time would come when it would not be possible to allot city land for green areas because it would all be in the hands of private speculators. The implementation of Josimović's plan was slow and obstructed by economic and political factors, but his vision of forming a park on Kalemegdan began to be realized. With time, Kalemegdan Park became a place of cultural, entertainment and art events and the host of a memorial culture of sorts, with an uncommonly large number of monuments and sculptures. We might say that Kalemegdan became a place of 'the urbanization of nature' within the modern city (Ćorović 2010/2012, 86-8; Vuksanović-Macura and Ćorović 2013, 227-8).

During the first decade of the 20th century, communal works were well underway—the creation of cadastral plans, leveling and regulating streets, continued construction of infrastructure systems, building schools, landscaping parks and squares. A 1906–07 municipal study on the state of apartment hygiene in Belgrade states that, out of a total of 1100.0 ha of city area, streets covered 152.0 ha, plazas 20.0 ha, parks and squares 28.0 ha, and wasteland 219.0 ha. Developed land lots covered 376.0 ha, and the Fortress covered 40.0 ha. Unregistered lots, unsurveyed roads, brickyards, empty lots, fields and meadows, covered around 265.0 ha, which, together with wasteland, made up more than half of the total city area. With regard to residential construction in Belgrade, as in other European cities, the beginning of the 20th century was marked by intensive 'exploitation of land by landowners, who left only the minimal free space required by law for yards in their effort to maximize profits from their land. The average lot in Belgrade was around 688.0 m² of which 248.0 m² were covered by the building, 387.0 m² constituted the yard and only 54.0 m² made up the garden. (Đurić 1912, 21–2)

In the early 20th century, even though the quality of the buildings in the center was poor for the most part, the price of land increased, which brought the replacement of old buildings with new ones with an increased coverage of the lots, and therefore a decrease in gardens and green areas in the city nucleus. Aleksandar Krstić (1932), long-time head of the Department of Parks and Reforestation, wrote that: 'The modern organization of human settlements from the health, aesthetic and finally, the social aspect, cannot be even imagined without sufficient city greenery.' This was in line with the widely accepted belief in the importance of providing a balance between urban fabric and open space (Fishman 2011, 33). The formation of parks and green spaces was an

instrument in the prevention of communicable diseases, which were causing the deaths of a large percentage of the city population. In the early 1930s, out of every 100,000 residents, 125 died annually from tuberculosis in Rome, 180 in Berlin, and 340 in Belgrade, which was almost a quarter of total deaths in the city (Vidaković 1931, 551). Such circumstances made it imperative to incorporate green and open spaces directly alongside the residential fabric and have them evenly distributed in all parts of the city.

In 1923, the Committee to Elaborate a General Plan concluded that Belgrade had very few parks, existing parks were unevenly distributed, and the city lacked tree-lined boulevards. Therefore the greenery system in the General Plan envisaged two peripheral rings with a larger number of radial lines bringing greenery into the center of the city, as well as parks with general and specific purposes (Vuksanović-Macura 2014, 266–8). It was ambitiously planned for open and green spaces to cover an area of around 3,750 ha, which was almost half of the total city territory, and to ensure at least two square meters of green space per resident. The implementation of this plan, as with Josimović's, was obstructed by economic and political factors, with frequent alterations to the planned concept. On the other hand, the practice of forming green spaces gradually began to develop, presented by Krstić (1934) thus:

'Work was being done in all parts of the city, planting began wherever there was available land, regardless of the General Plan. These areas, dressed in greenery, would serve as first-class reservoirs of fresh air and be excellent excursion sites for the people of Belgrade, especially the more impoverished classes [...] Thanks to reforestation and the creation of parks, many areas – until recently eyesores and sources of disease – were reclaimed and sanitized and now are nicely landscaped properties.'

In other words, undeveloped ground was used to create green spaces, but without a clear concept of developing a functional system of green and open spaces. Nevertheless, such an approach increased the total surface area of green spaces: in the mid-1920s parks and squares covered 24 ha, and a decade later they covered an area of 69 ha (Fig.2). The number of avenues of trees planted along streets of various importance leading from the center to the suburbs also increased significantly. In the mid-1920s around 2,000 trees were planted annually, whereas a decade later the number of trees planted was ten times greater, around 20,000 (Krstić 1934, 262).
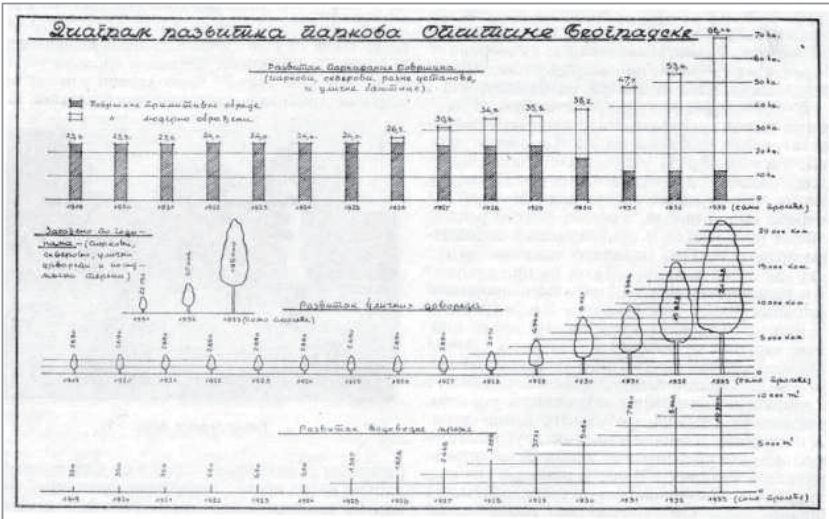
Fig.2. Development of Green Areas of Belgrade in 1919–1933 (Krstić, 1934, 262)

Belgrade Municipality used the creation of parks as a powerful instrument to cover up some of the major problems in the capital city. In 1930, the Municipality tore down hovels in part of the poor settlement of *Pištolj-mala* on the Danube, and constructed a park there, despite protests by residents and their deep conviction that it could not be right for 'homes of the poor to be torn down so that the gentry might stroll' (Vuksanović-Macura 2012, 76). From the viewpoint of the municipal authorities, the implementation of such measures was justified because it fulfilled the hygienic and aesthetic requirements of regulating the capital city. However, certain other stated principles that should have been adhered to, such as social justice, were entirely neglected and even bluntly violated. The poor residents were not offered any alternative solution as compensation for their demolished homes.

Inadequate management of land resources, the lack of money, and political outsmarting between city and State authorities led to the specific phenomenon of building so-called 'temporary parks' (Fig.3). With time, some of them became permanent solutions, and some of the city's most important green spaces were created that way, eg Manjež Park and Terazije Terrace (Vuksanović-Macura 2014, 268–9). Changing the understanding of green spaces and their perception as common and public, as opposed to private property, placed a new dilemma before

Belgrade's municipal authorities—how to landscape the undeveloped part of a plot if it contained a building with a larger number of residents, and not a single-family home in a garden that the family tended. This question became all the more significant with time, and the topic of landscaping common areas within housing block remains a challenge for Belgrade and its residents to this day.

Conclusion

At the turn of the 19th into the 20th century, Belgrade had already been transformed into a European city, judging by many urban indicators, including green areas. Intimate gardens of the Ottoman milieu gave way to public parks and busy city promenades. During the 19th century, parks and tree-lined Belgrade streets were still perceived as elements of city beautification, and members of the newly formed middle class eagerly frequented them *to see and be seen*. At the beginning of the 20th century green spaces become additionally significant from the aspect of urban hygiene, as *reservoirs of fresh air and areas for the citizen's recreation*. The various strategies used by Belgrade Municipality and its technical services when creating green spaces were closely tied to social, political and economic processes. Bearing in mind previous experiences and history, we believe that city planning should be supported by environmental discourse, and that green city spaces, the city and its surroundings, should be viewed as an actual single entity.

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IN BETWEEN

FIG. 1
Confluence of the Sava and the Danube.
(PHOTOGRAPH 2004)

EXTRA MUROS: CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE

Belgrade's center offers at least three places with an impressive view over the topography of the entire city: the citadel hill Kalemegdan, the high-rise that once housed the seat of the League of Communists, and the Genex Towers. When the weather is good, when the air is cold and dry, the view extends far into thisdistance. In the east, the bird's-eye view reveals a compact urban body that follows thecontours of a hilly landscape. The gaze into the other directions of the compass, especially to the north and west, shows something completely different. A broad plain spreads there, its edges difficult to make out. In winter the dominant ocher tones of its extensive meadows, fields, and bushy forests give it an aspect of the steppes. The great bends of the Danube, which meets the Sava River beneath Kalemegdan, work their way into this plain. The water of the river seems to lack depth and resembles a cloudy mirror. A tall sky complements this landscape.

Again and again, the eye gets caught up on the edges of the city. A line that for long stretches is quite clear divides the built city from the surrounding countryside. As in the idealized picture of a medieval city, it divides an "unnoticed," agrarian outside from an urban inside. Even where isolated buildings are found outside the city or where the silhouette of a settlement is glimpsed behind a riverside forest, they do not appear to have functional connections but are, rather, autonomous places on the expansive plain.

FIG. 2
The railway track behind the Port of Belgrade.
(PHOTOGRAPH 2004)

EDGES INSIDE: URBAN COUNTERWORLDS

Belgrade's edges not only mark the boundaries between city and countryside but extend, in a sense, to the interior of the city. Nature is folded into the body of the city, so to speak. In New Belgrade, even the foundations on which the city was built can be understood as such an edge: the former marshland—much of which was not developed or has run wild again—consists of open grassland on which the large building volumes of the 1960s and '70s drift like badly anchored rafts. The city has not consolidated here; the buildings have not found their place in the urban context.

The edges inside the city are more clearly evident along the banks of the Danube and the Sava Rivers. For one thing, it is the water itself that divides. Until 1919, the Sava and the Danube formed the border between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Kingdom of Serbia, and so they also conditioned the parallel evolution of the cities of Belgrade and Zemun, which were once similar in importance. These "edges" have a historical basis, having resulted from the coincidence of natural obstacle and political boundary. External borders have become interior ones.

In many European cities, formerly natural borders have over time, as a result of infrastructure and buildings, become urban borders that subsequently hampered the further development of the body of the city. Examples of such borders include not only medieval fortifications but also train stations and systems of tracks, heavily trafficked streets, harbors, industries, shipyards, power plants, dumps, and stockyards. They are the reason why many cities today, despite stated political objectives, do not "make it to the water," and why efforts to do so have rarely succeeded. Belgrade should also be thought of as a city that never "made it to the water," even though it is surrounded by water on three sides. All the facilities mentioned above may be found along the Sava and the Danube. For a long time they were, as in every other city, very important supply and logistics facilities: they provided Belgrade with energy or played a role in foreign trade as traffic nodes or transshipment points. Today they present a dense maze of obstacles to urbanism that have become completely detached from the element that originally generated them: the water.

In terms of their features, these facilities belong neither to the city proper nor to the surrounding countryside. Rather, they represent a third category that we have called "urban counterworlds" in an attempt to describe spaces that fulfill extremely specific and specialized functions and have a largely complementary relationship to the real functions of the "city." These can include the supply functions already mentioned but also "balancing functions"—for example, facilities for leisure and recreation. These spaces can thus have an "industrial" character or a scenic, almost natural one. What they have in common, apart from the fact that they are usually dedicated to a specific purpose, is that their functions are often rather unstable, and they are therefore temporary or ephemeral. Moreover, the only people who go there are those who use these pieces of land. Sometimes they are even closed territories. Their specific structure makes such spaces self-centered "islands," clusters with distinct internal rules, which can be subject to either formal or informal forces. These qualities, moreover, explain the excluding and demarcating effect of such spaces.

FIG. 3
The future Marina Dorćol. (PHOTOGRAPH 2004)

CENTER AND PERIPHERY:
THE DOUBLE CHARACTER OF THE RIVERSIDE

Spaces with this kind of structure may be found in every city, and in this respect they are not a special feature of Belgrade. There is, however, a series of unusual circumstances and phenomena that make Belgrade atypical, if not unique, and lead to its "heterotopic space" and put the riverside areas of the Sava and the Danube in a new light. The first fundamental difference is that in the areas along the rivers, especially the Sava, center and periphery overlap, in a sense, creating a paradoxical situation in which a geographical center functions like a periphery. This situation resulted from the construction of New Belgrade as part of the planning of a capital for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Removed from the historical town centers of Belgrade and Zemun, New Belgrade was constructed on drained marshland as a self-referential, self-con-

tained monumental form, which neither provided nor allowed its integration into the urban or the natural space. Its infrastructural connection to the center, which became known as "old Belgrade," was minimal, spanning the riverside by means of bridges and elevated roadways along the banks. When the marshlands were drained, the riverside area became considerably narrower, and though it occupied the geographical center of this new, bipolar urban structure, nothing changed with regard to its marginal position in terms of its function as an intermediate or border zone. With the building of New Belgrade, rather, the status quo with respect to the river was consolidated.

Moreover, after twenty years of a crisis of transformation, war, and Serbia's economic and political isolation, public influence in the areas along the Sava and the Danube was largely lost, and the entire riverside—especially the southern bank of the Danube and the eastern bank of the Sava—deteriorated into a hidden wasteland. Places that had once been "central" fell into ruin, degenerating into "peripheral sites" claimed back by nature and surrounded by a dilapidated city. Even private influence—the investors everyone hoped for—appears to be extremely limited and for the time being, at least, is not introducing any essential changes. The development plans for the Luka Beograd (former Port of Belgrade) and the projects for the Marina Dorćol—a luxurious yacht harbor with services and residences—have not gone beyond the stage of rumor. Real change at the moment is only taking place where several favorable factors overlap, as for example in New Belgrade or in the old town. The riverside area, by contrast, is on hold, without any explosive excitement, indeed practically without any energy flow at all. Even saying that it is lethargically waiting for a better future seems exaggerated. The position taken by official urban planning in the Master Plan of Belgrade to 2021 is limited and not very directed for the period after a recovery from the present paralysis. Apparently there was a fundamental lack of political legitimacy, even a minimum of "money to play with," and the necessary legal basis for any more far-reaching plans.

The crux of the current situation of the riverside area in Belgrade is that the areas along the Danube and the Sava that we have described as urban counterworlds form an unbroken chain consisting of a conglomerate order of individual, largely autonomous elements. These are intricately structured with many small areas subject to different uses and, as noted above, follow distinct internal rules. They are entirely different both from one another and in comparison to the rest of the urban body. Four examples will demonstrate this.

APPARENT ACTIVITY The Luka Beograd harbor area situated near Pančevo Bridge in the north of Belgrade was recently purchased by a private group. It is essentially a large harbor basin surrounded by facilities for loading and storage of goods and extensive open areas. Although shipping on the Danube to and from Serbia has all but ceased, the place is still filled with conspicuous activity. Most of the warehouses, some of which are enormous, continue to be rented to companies and shipping agents. A belt of sheds that has sprung up around the harbor serves the companies active at the port, in some cases for residential purposes. An art school occupies one former warehouse. There are train tracks, but they are scarcely used, as most transportation is by truck. Now and again a donkey cart passes by.

PICTURESQUE INDUSTRIAL RUIN Following the tracks upriver, you reach an impressive industrial ruin: a former power plant. There is not a sign of activity here. Broken windows in brick façades, rusting cranes, overgrown plants, and trash present a picturesque image of a terrain vague. The power plant has a modest harbor in which several motorboats and sailboats roll: it is supposed to be turned into a luxury marina. A man, supposedly from a security company, points out that this is private property and then walks off again.

SUBURBAN LIVING Immediately next to the ruin of the power station looms the façade of a six-story housing development that is part of the district of Dorćol. It was built in two stages in the early 1980s and is distinguished by solid construction and a

high standard. The development is reached via a narrow pedestrian bridge leading over the tracks that separate it from the rest of the district, but most of the residents just arrive across the tracks. The buildings are grouped around large interior courtyards with playgrounds and parked cars. Given the typology of the facility, which could be expanded at will, and the striking tidiness, it feels more like being in a Western European agglomeration than on the Danube in Serbia; there is no waterfront, the neighborhood is an "inhabited island" in no-man's land.

LIVELY RUIN Even further upstream, you arrive via a pedestrian and bicycle path at the Sportski Centar 25 Maj. This architecturally thrilling ensemble of expressive exposed concrete was built between 1961 and 1975 and includes a restaurant with a view, swimming pools, tennis courts, and other sports facilities. Only parts of this sports center are still in operation, and it is in a desolate state, with many locked and filthy glass doors and flaking concrete. Small kiosks have been set up on the parking lot to replace some of the facilities that have disappeared. The sports center is a ruin, but a lively one.
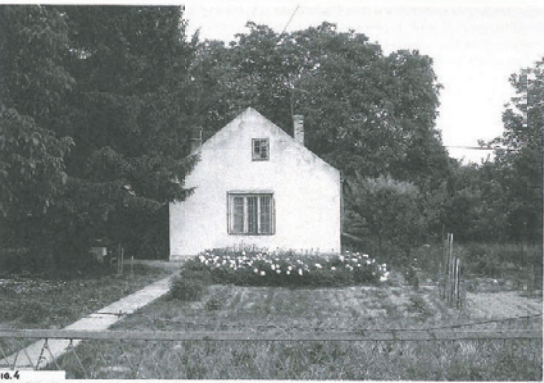

FIG. 4
Staro Sajmište neighborhood, New Belgrade. (PHOTOGRAPH 2004)

INNER STRUCTURE: THE MECHANICS OF ISOLATION

In addition to the layout described here, the above-mentioned inner structure of the "islands" is extremely important for the urban development of Belgrade's riverside area. The conglomerate order formed by these "islands" is extremely fragmented, and each entity functions according to its own rules. These internal laws stem from fissured property rights and rights of use, various, monofunctional uses, and a constantly shifting balance of formal and informal forces. The level of accessibility and the room for action is correspondingly varied, and it comes as no surprise that there is virtually no interaction between neighboring entities. A string of three such entities west of the Sava illustrate this observation: the park surrounding the Museum of Contemporary Art, the old fairground Staro Sajmište, and an adjacent neighborhood.

INNER STRUCTURE:
THE MECHANICS OF ISOLATION

ART IN A MEADOW RIVER Park Prijateljstva (Park of Friendship), a charming landscape with broad meadows and numerous species of trees, is part of a public green space that was conceived in connection with the building of New Belgrade as a kind of "planned foreshore" between the city and the river. Freestanding buildings housing cultural facilities were supposed to be built on this site. The green space was planned to be a continuous band around New Belgrade. Of the planned buildings, the only one to be built was the Museum of Contemporary Art (1960–65); its architecture is as outstanding as that of the sports center. A second building—the Museum of the Revolution—was not completed and is now a ruin. Despite its dividing quality and its present form as a fragment of the original conception, this green space evolved in relation to the urban space and within the framework of official urban planning. Although only a few people are to be found here during the week, the park has features of a public space that is still subject to a measure of municipal control.

INNER-CITY COLONY The Staro Sajmište and its adjacent namesake neighborhood to the south produce very different impressions. The old fairground was built in the 1930s—when this site was still unoccupied and located outside the city—and it testifies to the emerging modern architecture of that time. Many of the buildings are in the International Style or reveal Italian and Russian influences. The heyday of the fairground did not last long, however. A concentration camp was set up on the site during World War II, in a sense transforming the fairground into an exterritorial zone, a forbidden place, over which the city no longer had control. Although the concentration camp is long gone, that status has changed little. Its ruins, some of which still survive, were used to house the homeless after the war. Several artists also came here, and some businesses, especially car dealers. The site was converted and expanded as required. For this reason, it can be compared to other, informal sections of the city. It also shares with them a distinct privacy, closing itself off from the rest of the city. Visiting this inner-city colony, one feels

strangely alien: those who do not live here or work here in some way have no business being in Staro Sajmište.

GALLIC VILLAGE The feeling in the Staro Sajmište neighborhood, to the south, is similar: here too one always has a sense of being watched. This is a residential neighborhood consisting of six parallel streets connecting narrow plots with small houses facing the street and gardens to the rear. The development has village-like, almost rural features, and dense plantings separate it not only visually but also acoustically from the surrounding neighborhoods—it seems turned in on itself. Officially, some 1,200 people live here; estimates of the real number range from 3,000 to 6,000. The neighborhood, formerly known as Bežanija Plaža (Bežanija lido), can be traced back to an official plan initiated in the 1930s by King Aleksandar I Karađorđević as part of "foreign" land that until World War I had belonged to the Habsburg Empire. However, when the socialist federation had been established and New Belgrade was being planned, the development slipped from the city's notice and was basically left to itself. It was not indicated on any of the plans for New Belgrade; the entire riverbank was shown as the continuous green space mentioned above. Accordingly, its residents saw themselves as part of old Belgrade, untouched by the developments in New Belgrade. And in fact little has changed in the last fifty years. Transformations that could be summed up in phrases such as "from village to city" or "from legal to illegal," which can be found in other informal neighborhoods, occur extremely slowly here. Nor has the view of the planners changed much: instead of a public park, the master plan now foresees a high-density zone for services, but it still ignores the existing situation. For the reasons already mentioned, these plans do not seem to pose much of a threat, however. Why should anyone try to take land where the property rights are highly fragmented and the infrastructure is poor—land which, moreover, is already occupied—when sufficient centrally located land for building is available elsewhere?

FLOATING ISLANDS The difficulties of accessing, controlling, and operating the spaces along the Danube and the Sava are perhaps demonstrated especially well by the fourth example, which is located, so to speak, offshore from the zones already described: the famous party and restaurant boats that "went ashore" in the uncontrolled 1990s. Because the boats are on water, however, the city has a say as well, basing its demands on the fact that there is a gangplank leading from each boat to the

shore—that is, to municipal property. Where exactly this gangplank leads to the mainland is irrelevant; visitors come and go by taxi. These simple observations reveal only the blurry contours of an enormous shadowy area. For example, of three hundred boats counted on the western bank, only twenty are "legal." Because these areas are largely autonomous and subject only to their self-referential regulations, which are necessarily based on informal rules worked out between neighbors, the individual entities are entirely isolated; they persist in an indifferent juxtaposition.

FIG. 5
A forgotten landscape at the foot of Kalemegdan.
(PHOTOGRAPH 2004)

IN THE SHADOW OF VISIONS:
THE BEAUTY OF FORGOTTEN LANDSCAPES

Against this backdrop, it is interesting to see how urbanists are trying to take control of both isolated parts and large areas along the river. The vision for the Sava Amphitheater is probably the most ambitious and prominent of their projects. Throughout the second part of the twentieth century, the visions for the Sava riverbanks have comprised a variety of architectural attempts that are now echoed in the land use plans of the Master Plan of Belgrade to 2021. The aim is to establish a new urban center on both sides of the Sava in the area between Gazela Bridge and the Novi Železnički Most (New Railway Bridge). The idea of such a "center between the centers" seems to make sense at first—after all, the sites are very centrally located and potentially profitable. Yet the motivation for this project was not just economic but also has a symbolic dimension: The project promises to take the city, whosebasic struc-

UNFINISHED MODERNISATIONS
BETWEEN UTOPIA AND PRAGMATISM

MAROJE MRDULJAŠ
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WHY MODERNISATIONS?

It is the concept of modernisation, and not of modernism or modernity, that appears in the title of this research project and this exhibition. Why so? For the purpose of indicating the conceptual and theoretical framework, we understand modernism as a social formation, and modernity as an epoch with its pertaining values. The history of socialist Yugoslavia is still relatively poorly researched, and integrated interpretations are wanting in all fields. We believe that the processes of modernisation, with all their different motivations and effects, can be an instructive lens when researching how architecture and town planning were linked to the social context. We also believe that modernity's global diversities and variations manifest themselves particularly precisely through the processes of modernisation. Here we consider modernity the point of departure for modernisation, and the various modernisms as its forms. We refer to modernisations in the plural for we think multiple and fragmented processes: the history of the region is crucially marked by interruptions, attempts at establishing continuity, and the repeated revisions of the concepts of modernisation. These processes, whether intentionally or consequentially, showed a certain degree of independence or divergence from how they played out in international ceners of modernity, which was essentially affected by the 'between' position: between socialist East and capitalist West, the economically developed North and the underdeveloped South, progressive cultural experiments and re-traditionalisation, between innovative political conceptions and repressive mechanisms of ideological control. Under such conditions, an unprincipled blend of pragmatism and utopia may have seemed necessary both to the governmental elites that carried out the modernisations, and also to the widest strata of the citizenry who expected, if with anxiety and doubt, a better future from these modernisations. Our understanding of the Yugoslav context, then, is based on a reading of two positions 'between': one related to the global and the other to the inner contrasts that fundamentally mark the modern history of the region.

RUPTURES AND CONTINUITIES

More than 20 years have passed since the break-up of Yugoslavia, state that during the 20th century experienced every great world turning point – World War I, World War II, the collapse of the Cold War division, crisis of neo-liberal capitalism – through its own traumatic internal transformation. The region was the testing ground for a variety of ideologies, thus continuing an already complicated history of an extremely heterogeneous territory in terms of ethnicity, culture and civilisation.

A common monarchy was founded in 1919, followed by a federal republic forged during the anti-fascist struggle in 1943. The political system established after the war was initially a specific feature of the Yugoslav region, but the war was stalin socialism, but a break with the eastern bloc and Stalinism occurred in 1948, resulting in the introduction of the specific conception of self-managing socialism based on a return to an original reading of Marx and reliance on economic and political cooperativism. During the 45 years of existence, the socialist system, which showed both unitary and liberal tendencies, endeavoured to self-correct itself in various ways, including by combining the concepts of the market and the planned economy in the mid-1960s and by the gradual strengthening of national, i.e., ethnic, autonomy, which was laid down in the 1974 Constitution. Finally, following the collapse of the eastern bloc, in 1991 the Yugoslav federation dissolved, which led to independences of former national republics and transition to parliamentary democracy.

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Construction Site of
New Belgrade

to become dilapidated, while the colloquial commentaries state that they are 'over-modern'. And to that extent, today, too, the continuities of modernisations coexist with interruptions. While the results of socialist urbanisation continue to be used, while their achievements are on the whole valued more and more affirmatively, the idea about urban development for the benefit of the public good has been totally depressed into the area of individual, practically heterotopian and isolated architectural accomplishments. Whether the experiences and resources of the unfinished modernisations can be reactivated—particularly the lesson that interruptions are not necessarily also endings—is both a political and an architectural question.

THE SITUATION UNTIL WORLD WAR II

Modernisations during the first Yugoslavia, down to the beginning of World War II, were focused primarily on the already existing urban centres, and continued on from processes started in the 19th century, while most of the country was still rural. It was also a period of a relatively vigorous assimilation of modern architectural culture through education in European centres, together with the active participation of individual architects from the region in leading international trends. Jože Plečnik, talented student of Otto Wagner, was fruitfully active in Vienna and Prague, and developed an entirely authentic authorial style. Hugo Ehrlich and Zlatko Neumann worked with Adolf Loos. After a stint with Le Corbusier, Ernst Weissmann became a critic of the great master actively taking part in the work of CIAM. Architects with international experience, like Edvard Ravnikar, Juraj Neidhardt, Drago Ibler, Nikola Dobrović, Milorad Pantović, Mate Baylon, the Kadić brothers, Josif Mihailović and others brought back home the

Successive changes of the social context led to changes in the objectives of modernisation and the ways in which it unfolded. Processes started within one set of socio-political, economic and technical circumstances were transferred to, remodelled or even abandoned in another. The objectives of the modernisation projects were often unrealistic, and their implementation was slowed by technical and economic limitations or incompetence and the particular interests of the governing elites. Such circumstances certainly did not favour continuity in applying experiences in further modernisation. Also, the crucial interdependence between dominant ideologies and modernisations stifled critical thought, which was scarcely and only partially articulated, with limited effect on social reality. Of course, such dynamics of modernisation was not in itself a specific feature of the Yugoslav region, but the number of profound social changes resulted in frequent adjustments of modernising concepts, or in stagnation and standstills. It is, therefore, possible to detect a sequence of unfinished but mutually linked modernisations, easily discernible in today's physiognomy of the built environment, which shows ample but incomplete results of urbanisations.

Urbanisation in Yugoslavia can be critiqued on the same grounds as most of modernist architecture and planning, especially for its uncritical and instrumental development unconcerned with incidental consequences and by-products. But socialist modernisations in Yugoslavia were built into a specific utopian vision of an egalitarian society based on the ideals of working class emancipation, unalienated work and the withering away of the state. These conceptions were formulated in the unique geo-political context of an intermediate place between the eastern and the western blocs, and even the originality of Yugoslav socialism was to an extent essentially conditioned by the need for a symbolic differentiation from both state socialism and capitalism. Although the 'experimental' socio-political system was so roughly defined as to be risky and went through the successive waves of reforms, it nevertheless produced numerous benefits: the essential industrialisation and urbanisation of the country, social security and a considerable increase in the quality of life of the citizens, as well as a level of cultural freedom sufficient to allow for the development of entirely authentic and internationally relevant cultural practices. From today's perspective, architecture and urban design in Yugoslavia did not reach a level of innovation analogous to the West, but the progressive ideals of self-managing socialism, and the conceptions explored were not essentially different from other modernising tendencies in the world at large. But architectural and urban planning practices managed to channel modernisation into a built environment that, if not ideal, was certainly not dystopian. They were, on average, at a fairly equal and sound level everywhere in the region and the individual aesthetics and conceptually exceptional realisations—the landmarks of modernisations—were additional confirmations of the generally sound standards.

In spite of the unfinishedness, the results of the region's socialist urbanisations are today still functional and vital. Unlike in many other parts of the world, the urbanised environments are less controversial or burdened with deviations from the originally planned aims. The successors of Yugoslavia have inherited from the socialist period a great deal of their existing urban fabric, such as much of the housing stock and the buildings of educational institutions, cultural institutions or hospitals. Housing neighbourhoods are still socially heterogeneous and un-gentrified, and afford sound spatial standards. Regressive tendencies and the forced development of national identities after the fall of socialism have led to some apparently paradoxical situations: modern buildings have been suffered

then current but also diverse architectural ideas from Paris, Vienna, Prague, France and even the USA. In parallel with this import of experience, local architectural knowledge was cultivated in the schools in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, each with their own specificities. As well as these schools, there were also smaller architectural scenes active, like those in Split, Sarajevo and Novi Sad, while Nikola Dobrović created a unique synthesis of modern architectural conceptions and reactions to the Mediterranean context in his Dubrovnik oeuvre.

Most of the leading architects subscribed to the modernist ethical mission of improving society through architecture, and some were of openly leftist orientation. During the 1930s, various versions of modernism formed the leading architectural discourse, but most of the realizations were residential buildings, primarily for the rising middle classes, with rare but high quality public buildings such as hospitals and schools.

Up to the beginning of World War II the architectural discipline carried out its own internal modernisation. Interpolations in the city centres were executed and new avenues and neighbourhoods introduced progressive standards and residential practices, thus inscribing a new cultural layer in the built environment. But publications, exhibitions, ambitious and conceptually advanced competition projects and unbuilt proposals, and the work of architectural groups like the socially engaged Zagreb Working Group, the Yugoslav branch of CIAM (the Group of Architects of Modern Orientation - GAMP in Belgrade) and the circle of architects around Edvard Ravnikar in Ljubljana show the presence of a modern architectural culture that was only just looking for an opportunity for a more ample participation in the processes of urbanisation.

FROM SOCIALIST MODERNISATION TO NEOLIBERAL CAPITALISM

After World War II, the social context changed radically, and the newly founded socialist state that came out of the anti-fascist war had great ambitions. The transformation from a rural to an urban and industrial society and the empowering of the urban proletariat were considered necessary preconditions for the building of socialism. The first phase of socialist urbanism was thus conditioned by both ideological and pragmatic objectives.

During the short time the country belonged to the eastern bloc in the first post-war years, the attempt at the political imposition of socialist realism excited a heated discussion about the architectural expression appropriate to a socialist society, which came to a sudden close after the break with Stalin in 1948. From then on Yugoslavia built socialism oscillating tactically between East and West, cultural freedoms were gradually augmented, and modernism and functionalism became legitimate options that were no longer called into question. The modernism inherited from the pre-WWII period was a solid base, but for the implementation of large scale mass urbanisation it was necessary to develop and put into practice fresh knowledge, such as the techniques of managing urban development, the organisation of construction processes and the mass prefabricated production of the built environment. Such knowledge was not primarily aesthetic, but of a broader modernising character, while socialist urbanisation was, in a social and programmatic sense, directed at all segments of society. There were of course under- and newly-privileged social groups, but the idea of modernisation was to reduce all differences and was applied over the whole region of Yugoslavia.

Processes of socialist urbanisation in Yugoslavia were marked by simultaneity of utopian and instrumental objectives, at least until socialism's descent into stagnation and decadence in the late 1970s. The high concentration of respectable modernist

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buildings was the product of designer skills and architectural culture, as well as the readiness of society to incorporate knowledge and culture into its own project of conquering the utopian horizon. Urbanisation was supposed to reconcile two extremes: to build rapidly and pragmatically what could be achieved at once, but with the long-term aim of gradual approximation to the ideal, utopian society and environment appropriately built for it. To this extent a little bit of utopia was built into every fragment of modernising pragmatism put into practice, while the utopian horizon was, at least in outlines, reached through pragmatic actions.

The most extensive and important modernising actions were subject to semantic and functional changes and reversals. For example, New Belgrade/Novi Beograd, the functional and symbolic centre of the federation, was conceived at the end of the 1940s as a modern administrative capital. As early as the 1950s this conception was expanded with ample housing, but the urban plan was still structured around a powerful central axis with public and institutional programmes. Under the constant pressure from the housing crisis, however, the construction of dwellings was vigorously addressed and the completion of the central public space never happened. New Belgrade has in the meantime lost the symbolic meaning of the Yugoslav capital but also the negative connotation of 'socialist dormitory', devoid of public programs. Today, on the one hand, many parts of New Belgrade are seen as a space for high quality life, and on the other its broad modernistic spaces planned for public contents are being supplemented with new residential and commercial programmes, which is a process discernible region-wide. The Zagreb Fair, which marked the beginning of the development of New Zagreb / Novi Zagreb, from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s, was a symbol of architectural and economic prosperity, a site of classic Cold War rivalries, and a proving ground for modernist architectural experiments. Like a permanent exposition, it brought together architects from Yugoslavia and the two Cold War blocs, but it gradually lost its international importance. Today it needs change of purpose from the ground up and integration into the urban tissue, unsuccessfully proposed by architects during the whole of the socialist period. While Ljubljana expanded in clusters of new settlements, in Slovenia a number of key urbanisation projects were carried out beyond the capital. In 1947 came a project for Nova Gorica, conceived as a new regional centre after Yugoslavia lost what is today Italian Gorizia through a redrawing of the borders. In the same year a new industrial city, Strnišče, today Kidričevo, was designed and a few years later because of the growth of the Velenje mine, a major project for the development of a new city centre was launched. New industrial cities alongside smaller settlements were developed in other regions of Yugoslavia.

The first wave of modernisation from end of 1940s till the mid 1960s was based on a combination of pre-war experiences and the exploration of new knowledge, as direct reaction to the acute needs. Building sites were an important location for the advancement of the methods of urbanisation, and improvement was gradually made in the techniques and organisation of construction. By the mid-1950s, intense international connections were established again with a stimulating effect on architectural discourse. Further training of architects abroad was connected with the internal evolution of architecture and the emancipation of individual Yugoslav schools. The exchange of knowledge took place within the country, with the conceptual autonomy of individual milieus being preserved, contributing to the cultural heterogeneity of Yugoslav architectural space. Academic knowledge and the leading creative personalities were not always in charge of the biggest urbanising processes, resulting in a disjunction between research aspirations and building practice. An

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New Zagreb in
mid-1960s

increasing number of educated architects and the scope of building did not lead to a general growth in architectural culture, which during the whole of the socialist period remained at about the same level. But the leading creative personalities did achieve considerable social and professional reputations, through their academic work, promotion in publications and the dynamics of the scene, which included the distribution of professional prizes, defining the aesthetic and conceptual outlines of the activity, the effect of which was to maintain the level of architectural culture, and this in turn had a positive effect on the wholesale development of the environment.

As in the first phase, the projects of the second, more complex, phase of urbanisation from the mid-1960s to the end of the 1970s, such as the expansion of Split or the reconstruction of Skopje after the earthquake, were only partially accomplished. The completed segments suggest what the ideal modernised city could be – with all the advantages and failures of the architectural and planning ideas of the 20th century. Even uncompleted, all these projects ultimately came to life, providing home for the hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. They have become integral parts of broader urban identities that people no longer read through the prism of socialist ideology but through their functional and spatial qualities. Such urban identity and functionality of socialist modernisation is a common, trans-national achievement that links together the urban environments in the region.

The discontinuities and lurches of modernisations relate not only to the watershed historical moments but also to the reactions to the less drastic internal changes of Yugoslavia. The language and typology of western corporate (post-modern) architecture from the mid-1970s were implemented in the social context as a result of the strengthening of the market economy and the growth of large and relatively autono-

mous companies that built prestigious, vast and introverted administrative buildings. The demand for representation of the state was realised through the prestigious international events in politics, sport and culture. As in the 1950s, architects once again took the opportunity provided by the changes in the social system to test novel concepts in accordance to the contemporaneous international tendencies.

AFTER SOCIALISM – THE REMAINS OF MODERNISATION

After the collapse of socialism and the bloody collapse of Yugoslavia, the region entered a transition period marked by the increasing differences among the newly established independent states. The western part was gradually stabilised, but the central and eastern parts are stagnating and even retrogressing economically. A hard division into East and West has been reinstituted by the Schengen frontier on the eastern border of Slovenia, soon to be moved to the eastern border of Croatia. This has led to a kind of return to the pre-Yugoslav state of affairs. The dissolution of Yugoslavia has brought the countries of the region, from their one-time 'place between', once again into a provincial position. During the 1990s and in some places still today, the various degrees of re-traditionalisation and political and cultural regression have denied the achievements of the prior waves of modernisation. But the economic and cultural connections, broken during the collapse of Yugoslavia, have been recently gradually re-established, and the attitude to the joint socialist past, in spite of continued resistance, is ever less of a tabooed topic.

Across the region, new actors in the real-estate business have transformed the built environment. At first, it was the local capital created during the controversial privatisation in the 1990s, as well as the pettier private initiative that exploited the planning deregulation. The political normalization brought the inflow of international capital which had an effect on the building boom trend, up to the financial crisis in 2007. These new actors initiated new waves of construction, this time with no progressive modernising ambitions, rather in the spirit of the laissez-faire neoliberal development and speculative building campaigns. Recent processes in the built environment show the collapse of institutional and professional practices of urban planning and their inability to carry out the task of arranging and mediating between individual and public good. This phenomenon primarily reflects the character of the dominant politics and the change of the social context, in which institutions in charge of the public good are losing their operational and even nominal autonomy.

Under such circumstances, both the physical remains and the lessons of previous uncompleted modernisations seem superior to the current situation, which relates to both concrete concepts of urban development and realisations, as well as the dominant politics of space that are ever more narrowing the realm of public good.
The occasional outstanding achievements in contemporary design show the continuity of architectural culture, while research into the built environment turns to analysing the phenomena such as informal building and the active involvement of citizens in decision making about city development. There has been a kind of about-turn in the understanding of the role of urbanisation as against the ideology of the socialist period: pure pragmatism is the only motive for urban development, and any critical counter-proposals take on a utopian character.

SPACES OF UNFINISHED MODERNISATIONS

The project and exhibition Unfinished Modernisations cover multiple individual actions and projects and in no way pretend to write a coherent history of modern architecture in the region of the former Yugoslavia. At issue are a number of case

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Split III
today

studies that depict the most important processes of urbanisation, almost all of them uncompleted, in an attempt to understand the relation between architecture and social reality. Much of the research is still in progress, so we are not aiming at scholarly precision and comprehensiveness, but at a broad description of the phenomena that produced certain pieces of architecture and of the modernising effects of these buildings and their significance today. The focus is not only on outstanding architecture in the narrow sense, but also on various ideas and actions that participated in the broader modernising trends: improving the living conditions, the formation of the spatial framework and infrastructures for modern events, developments of cities...

It is not our intention to look nostalgically back at historical events, but to critically read the ways in which modern values and ambitions were interpreted and produced: social justice, the public domain, cultural advancement, social solidarity, and the dissemination and exchange of knowledge. Although the social reality in socialist Yugoslavia was by no means an ideal realisation of progressive values, it was still marked by consistent efforts to put them into practice with the full participation of architecture and urbanism.

Finally, we want to draw attention to a cultural layer of this recent history that, in spite of successive interruptions, endorsed the region as a space of authentic architectural imagination, which is still to be inscribed on the international map of modernity.

We have grouped the investigations around different geo-political, cultural and socio-anthropological scales of space: space of representation, space of global exchange, of spatial practices, the Yugoslav architectural space and the politics of urban space. Each of the themes should be considered complementary, and the reading of an individual group should help in the better understanding of the others.

Glotzt Nicht so Ro– mantisch!

On Extra– legal Space in Belgrade

An early play of Brecht's featured the banner "Glotzt Nicht so Romantisch!" ("Don't Stare so Romantically": instead, the audience had to assume a critical engagement. Hatherley, 2008: 101)

A typical extension of a Russian Pavilion, expanding its floor space as far as possible over the existing structure, thus enhancing the effect of a house sitting on top of another house. In the background, a glimpse of another extension in progress (photo taken in 2004).

I took this photo in 2004 when I first encountered the extensions of the Russian Pavilions. Roof extensions, or a house on a house, became omnipresent in Belgrade as the 1990s progressed. They were probably the most controversial urban form that appeared and blossomed in that period, beside the ubiquitous kiosks – increasingly permanent structures on the sidewalks and in other public spaces, which were the primary sites of the dominant street trade. The mere mentioning of either to any professional, whether architect or urbanist, would make their blood run faster. There was a general consensus among the profession: the roof extension was the most obvious sign of the "malign" transformation society was undergoing in the 1990s. This cry against roof extensions was even formalized in the 1997 Declaration against Roof Extensions, drafted by the Association of Belgrade Architects, but it did little to stop the practice. Nor did the continuous demonization of the kiosks stop their proliferation and upscaling.

What professionals failed to notice was the pivotal role kiosks, roof extensions and other forms of illegal constructions played in the wild, grey economy existing in Serbia in the 1990s. Even a wild self-regulated economy, like the one that existed in Serbia during the 1990s, due to war and isolation, produces surplus products, and needs something to absorb them. The illegal construction of kiosks, roof extensions and other buildings, although initially started out of the people's sheer necessity to solve their immediate needs, was the urbanization needed to absorb the surplus. As the surplus grew, so did its spatial manifestation. Both in scale and diversity. Creating the perfect setting for romantic fantasies the outside gaze has on Balkan: crazy, bustling with life and empowering the

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'Gardens, without precisely balanced poles of activity like front and back, appear as neutral grass carpets on which the houses are simply and somewhat haphazardly placed.' – A view of Kaluđerica settlement from the adjacent hill.
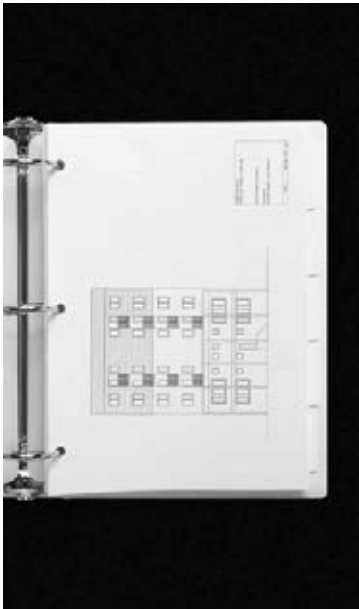
"The surface of the terrain, a former field, is clearly visible and stretches continuously beneath the buildings, unaltered. Gardens, without precisely balanced poles of activity like front and back, appear as neutral grass carpets on which the houses are simply and somewhat haphazardly placed.
No design, urban or architectural, situates the neighbourhood and its residents within a specific cultural or aesthetic milieu. The wild suburb does not reproduce or evoke any known urban or suburban models: it is not a garden city or cul-de-sac, nor even a village, but replicates nothing but itself."
(Topalović, 2012: 88)

The prevailing impression is that someone simply shook a sack of houses on a field and left them strewn about with no particular order. Eventually, a road was trodden between the houses. Urbanists largely turned away from the problem and failed to propose proactive strategies as to how the future spreading of the wild suburbs would be regulated rather than contained. Their plans basically came down to attempts to 'normalize' the conditions and make them resemble nominal urbanism as much as possible. Ironically, none of the official plans marked the wild suburbs – until the amended version of the General Plan of 2003 was drawn up. Wild suburbs were usually coloured verdant – indicating them as green, unconstructed areas.

Unlike urbanists, who turned a blind eye, the rest of society, especially towards the end of 1980s, was discussing the issues of wild construction and the theme was even present in popular culture, as it was often the peripheral story of many television films and series. The take of Television Belgrade on the genre of the coming-of-age series, "Zaboravljeni" [The Forgotten], popular in the late 1980s, among the main protagonists, mostly well-off high-school students,

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Dossier: The Russian Pavilions Negotiations

Constructing without permit, called 'wild building', has existed in Serbia since the 1960s. One of the reasons this practice came into being was the inability of self-managed socialist Yugoslavia to produce enough, versatile housing for its inhabitants, which it was required to do by the constitution. Those who were not able to solve their housing problems within the system would build in the periphery of the system: in the suburbs. This practice was officially sanctioned, but unofficially tolerated.

The collapse of Yugoslavia also affected the production of housing units. One of the first things that the newly established states did was to start the transition from state socialism to capitalism. The first stop on this route was the privatization of the housing stock. Next to this, the production of the housing units was privatized and, for the first time, a housing market was established at the beginning of the 1990s. As Serbia was in a state of crisis at the time, a housing market existed, but the production of new houses was marginal and the impoverished population could not afford the houses on the market.

The majority of the housing production moved from regular to irregular – to the 'wild' sector, a.k.a. constructing without permit. Little by little this practice moved from the city suburbs to the centres and to the roofs that became an Eldorado to intervene and experiment with space and rules.

Roofs became the most used and contested space of the constructions without permit. They were seen by
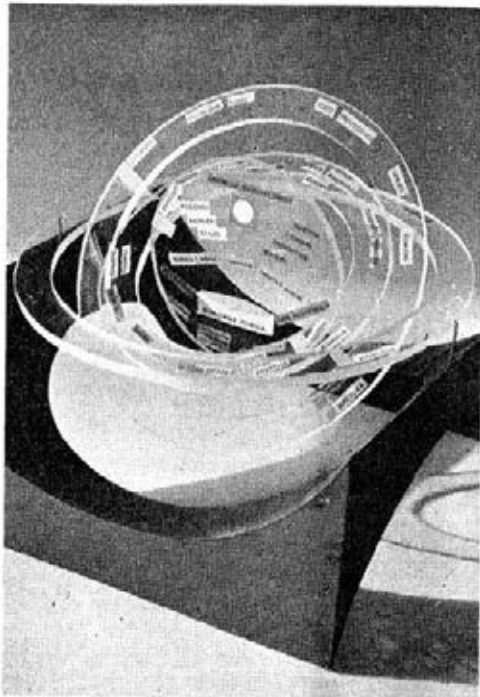
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the professionals, the architects and urbanists, as the most visible sign of the 'decay' of urban space and planning during the 1990s. In the beginning, a roof extension was a small-scale structure, usually built by the person living in the apartment below or elsewhere in the building. In most cases, these extensions were made to solve an immanent housing problem; they were rarely built for profit. It did not take long for this practice to up-scale.

One of the triggers for the up-scaling and expanding of this practice was the Law on the Maintenance of Buildings from 1995. This law was the first to deal with construction without permit and regulate the procedures of acquiring consent for extension from the inhabitants of the "building-to-be-extended".

The next important moment was the Law on Housing (1997), which, for the first time, introduced the concept of legalization. After these changes in the law, the field of roof extensions was completely taken over by developers who started extending roofs for profit, often excluding from the process those who wanted to do it for personal use. Above anything, the building of a roof extension is all about negotiations—

I With the municipality and ministries about interpretations of laws and rules for legalization, so what is built without or outside of the initial permit can be built in the knowledge that it will be legalized later. Or: "what is illegal now, will be legal tomorrow".

II With the inhabitants and owners of pavilions that have to sign a consent for the extension and give up their 'part of the sky' and airspace. Or: "above you, today, a leaking roof – tomorrow, 4 to 5 new floors to keep you warm".

III With laws and regulations, existing and future ones, skilfully using construction elements to map the blurred border. Or: "a wall that became a roof that became a mask".
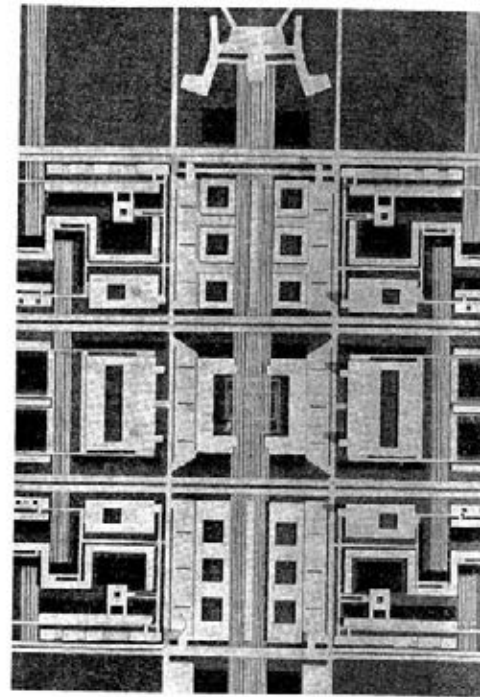
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The Problematic of a "New Urban": The Right to New Belgrade

Ljiljana Blagojević

In 1986, Henri Lefebvre and architects Serge Renaudie and Pierre Guilbaud participated in the International Competition for the New Belgrade Urban Structure Improvement, organized by the City of Belgrade under the auspices of the International Union of Architects.[1] In the opening lines of their competition report, they stated that in the process of worldwide urbanization during the second half of the twentieth century, the socialist countries had not been capable of avoiding the overwhelming growth of cities, nor of creating "The Socialist City."[2] This statement alone raises issues that are central to my explorations of New Belgrade as a modern socialist city, but also for rethinking Lefebvre's work today in this concrete case. More to the point, Lefebvre, Renaudie, and Guilbaud continue their opening argument by contrasting the predicament of the "devastating and irreversible" development of cities in the capitalist world with their findings about the specific case of Yugoslav socialism.[3] As they claim in the concluding lines of the same introduction: "Because of self-management, a place is sketched between the citizen [citoyen] and the citadin, and Yugoslavia is today perhaps one of the rare countries to be able

[footnotes, left column — small/faded]

Left: Vjenceslav Richter, Self-management, 1967. See page 124.

and Zbigniew Garbowski) and the other to a rather formal and dense re-urbanization scheme (by the architect Jaroslav Kachlik, from Bratislava).[4] The proposal by Lefebvre, Renaudie, and Guilbaud was eliminated in the first stage of the jury procedure (acquiring only three votes by jury members). I would argue that it was removed from further consideration despite, or rather for the very reason of, the relevant critique of the socialist city and the reality of the sociopolitical construct of self-management, which was presented in their written report. In disagreement with the competition requirement to propose a definitive design, and dismissing such a figuration as "a dangerous trap," Lefebvre, Renaudie, and Guilbaud argued for an idea, or, rather, a concept of complexity that would be elaborated over time. Their designs were, accordingly, not concrete proposals, but served as a correlative to the central proposition of the right to the city. Questions such as, "Has state socialism produced a space of its own?" "[H]ow is the total space of a 'socialist society' to be conceived of?" and "How is it [space] appropriated?" posed earlier by Lefebvre in his Production of Space (1974) underlined the argument of Lefebvre, Renaudie, and Guilbaud, yet seemed redundant or even disturbing to the competition judges.

I would propose that precisely this argument is central to New Belgrade, even more so in its current transformation under the conditions of post-socialist sociopolitical and economic transition. The seemingly apolitical planning stance of the 1980s, as presented in Lessons of the Past and With Man in Mind and reflected by the competition program, may have served as a latent internal critique of the sclerotic system of socialist planning, but it produced

[footnotes, left column — small/faded]

Left: Grad Martinowald, Milutin Glavički, Miloace Milić, Dušan Milenković, and Leonid Lenartlić, Plan of Central Zone of New Belgrade, 1986.

Finally, in 1962, the definitive Regularization plan was adopted, and it remained in force until the beginning of the 1980s. When New Belgrade was eventually, largely realized, in the 1960s and 1970s, it was as a city of housing, its disjointed structure bearing traces of all previous planning strategies, including the finalized buildings of the Federal Executive Council (formerly the Presidency of the Federal Government), and the Sociopolitical Organizations (formerly the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia), both renamed to mirror the concomitant institutional rearrangements of Yugoslav federative socialism.

Being situated between two historic cities, New Belgrade acted as an integrative urban structure for the Greater Belgrade, and, thus, fully reflected the notion of a socialist city as Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co put it, by succeeding in "inverting the logical manner in which a bourgeois city expands by introducing into the heart of the metropolis the residence as a decisive factor."[14] The specificity of the housing function followed the ideological premise that a place of residence/apartment in socialism is not a commodity in the first place, but that it is its use value that defines it. It reflected another sociopolitical construct of the right to a residence as a universal right to the common public good and related to the ideal of just distribution—the ideal of a free apartment and free social services for all. As a consequence, New Belgrade was realized as a city in the societal realm, i.e., through public/common property.

The appropriation of modernism in this period of fervent construction largely followed the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne's (CIAM) concept of the functional city, with the underlying narrative that this model could be fully concretized only under the conditions of socialism. The housing blocks of 6,000 to 10,000 inhabitants each, complemented by schools and basic services, formed the urban structure of the central part of the new city. Although the concurrent crisis of CIAM and its dissolution initiated a thorough re-examination of the concept of the functional city, strict zoning continued in New Belgrade, separating housing blocks from

[footnote, right column — small/faded: Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, Architettura Contemporanea (Venezia: Electa Editrice, 1976), 332.]

placement of different elements called to constitute, over a period of time, the city. These two general principles proceed from the same dynamic: complexity, and they reciprocally reinforce one another." Here, I would stress that imbrication of appropriation is particularly indicative in the context of the socialist city, as it assumes a relational richness of diversity and imbrication of public/private, collectivity/individuality, and community/intimacy. The third principle of "respect of specificities" relates individual (identity) to the collectivity.

Related to the main issue of the actual competition programme, of how to create the centre of New Belgrade, these principles provide for an alternative concept of centrality, not considered as a simplistic concentration of commerce and services, but the possibility of a New Urban. In regard to New Belgrade and its future development, Lefebvre, Renaudie, and Guilbaud envisaged these diversified forms of social and political structures enriching the principle of self-management, such as diversified forms of types of work and habitation, as well as new dynamisms and organizations in the relations of production. In addition, the proposition that the right to the city "presupposes a transformation of society, according to a coherent project" connects also to what Lefebvre wrote in 1974:

To phrase the question even more precisely, what is the relationship between, on the one hand, the entirety of that space which falls under the sway of "socialist" relations of production and, on the other hand, the world market, generated by the capitalist mode of production, which weighs down so heavily upon the whole planet, imposing its division of labour on a worldwide scale and so governing the specific configuration of space, of the forces of production within that space, of sources of wealth and of economic fluctuations?[15]

In the conditions of contemporary change in the sociopolitical paradigms of post-socialist transition in Serbia, this relationship poses multiple questions. The modern city realized under the conditions

[footnote, right column — small/faded: Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 54.]

of socialism is often reductively seen as the physical residue of a deposed socioeconomic and political system, or as its ideological monument. Its unfinished open plan is being rapidly filled by what is simplistically understood to have been lacking in the socialist epoch, namely, commercial and business development on the one side and orthodox churches on the other. Perceived again as a terrain that needs to be conquered, with demarcation lines now set by multinational capital, new borders are put in place, e.g., glitzy development vs. dilapidation, gentrification vs. depravation, depoliticization vs. peripherialization, and desecularization vs. public space (consumption).

Between the past marked by universality and the hegemony of two dominant dogmas, that of Marxism and of CIAM's functional city, and the current processes of globalization, the structure of the modern socialist city yields to the present transnational processes with dramatic spatial and social consequences. Finally, in the context of European integrations and its limitations, Lefebvre's distinction citoyen/citadin (citizenship/city-dwelling-ship) is particularly illuminating. With the breakup of the former federation of the multinational state, New Belgrade lost its dimension as the city where, as Lefebvre, Renaudie, and Guilbaud concluded in their competition report, "all nations which compose [Yugoslavia] may find through new modes of appropriation of the space of the city, their own character." Could it be argued that, thus, a priority for New Belgrade today is the recovery of citizenship, as well as the city-dwelling-ship, in recovery of its almost-lost comparative advantages, primarily in the reinterpretation of its centrality in the regional, as well as in the European context?

THE SPELLING OF YUGOSLAV NAMES

ESIRABLE though it might be for many reasons to use the Yugoslav spelling of place names, to do so would be to introduce an obstacle to easy reading. Unusual combinations of consonants, particularly the frequent placing of a 'j' immediately following another consonant, and the use of diacritic signs on or through consonants, to indicate special sounds, make strange names seem still stranger in an English text, and more unpronounceable than they really are. So that the reader's eye can move smoothly forward, the names have therefore here been spelled in an English way (though giving the vowels their singer's value), and this should in fact make it easier for the reader to get something like the proper pronunciation. In the alphabets used in Yugoslavia, each letter indicates one sound only. The modified Latin alphabet provides one letter for each original Cyrillic letter.

Pronunciation, beyond an approximation, is to be acquired only after long practice, but the following notes may help. Though in Slovenia and Macedonia one may find names with emphasis on the final syllable, this is never the case in Serbo-Croat, i.e., in the great majority of Yugoslav names. In fact, there is no 'accent' at all, but tone is given to the vowel in a principal syllable of every word except a few enclitics. (A difficulty for the foreigner is that the tone sometimes, but not always, shifts or changes its nature in an oblique case, so that he does not always hear the 'same' word in the same way.)

The vowels are *a, e, i, o, u* and *r*, the first five being like *father, fate, feet, fog* and *food*, the sixth rather like the 'r' in such a word as *myrtle* when the first syllable of this is pronounced in a purring way with light trilling of the 'r.'

The tone consists in pronouncing the vowel with a precise length, short or long, and with the voice rising or falling in pitch, without changing the value of the vowel. Tone is not to be confused with length. Long vowels may occur elsewhere in a word, even after an emphasised tone vowel which is short. This it is that gives rise to many common mispronunciations, for the foreign ear picks out the long syllable which is unimportant, but ignores the short one, which is. Thus one often hears the town Sarajevo with its long 'e' mispronounced as *Sarajévo*, which is quite wrong, and nearly as often one

hears *Sarájevo*, which is equally wrong, and arises because the foreigner more often hears it in the objective case, when the tone does fall on the second syllable (in fact a short rising tone falls on the first 'a'). The errors sound like those made by foreigners pronouncing such a place-name as Salisbury as *Salisbúry* (a common American error), or *Sal'sbury* (frequent among Indians).

The Consonants are fortunately easier, and roughly correspond to those of English, except that:

c — tz

ć — the 't' in *venture*, pronounced meticulously

č — ch in *church*

š — sh

ž — zh ('s' in *pleasure*)

dž — j or dg in *judge*

đ — d as in *verdure*, pronounced meticulously

h — strongly breathed yet very short and so sometimes so fugitive as to seem to disappear altogether

s — never as 'z.'

Finally, words are divided as far as possible (and with certain exceptions dictated by the meaning of attached particles) in open syllables, i.e., ending in a vowel and beginning with a consonant; if a syllable ends closed, the tendency is still to begin it with a consonant. Thus one divides:

Za-greb	Not	Zag-reb
Sko-pié	Not	Skop-ié
Bi-to-la	Not	Bit-ol-a
Liu-blia-na	Not	Liub-lian-a
Kra-gu-ye-vatz	Not	Krag-u-yev-atz.

c, ć, č, š, ž, dž, đ, h

Digital material

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Additional Extended Material

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Exercise Materials

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2018_FS_BEOGRAD >4_READER / HANDOUTS

Hand In and Archive

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