

WRITING ABOUT CITIES

LITERARY WORKS OF BOGDAN BOGDANOVIĆ ABOUT CITIES AND URBANISM

A B S T R A C T

Bogdanović was not only the leading architect of monuments in the former Yugoslavia, but also one of the country's most important writers. He is the author of 18 books and more than 500 articles, which have been translated into several languages. Most of them are dedicated to cities and urbanism, covering various aspects: the city in history, criticism of the modern city, utopia, death of the city etc. He created the term "small urbanism" and published many articles on the problems of modern cities, which are today, nearly half a century later, still very topical (environment, migration, over-population). In the 1990s he was engaged in the campaign against the war in Yugoslavia and the "ritual killing" of cities. It is also interesting to see Bogdanović's essays in the context of some contemporary theories on urban planning. Knowledge of the literary work of Bogdanović provides a better understanding of his personality, both as an architect and as an intellectual of the European status.

KEY WORDS

SMALL URBANISM
UTOPIA
DEATH OF THE CITY
CRITICISM OF THE MODERN CITY
URBAN PLANNING

“... I wrote to know how to build and I built to know how to write.”

Bogdan Bogdanović

INTRODUCTION

The fact that Bogdan Bogdanović grew up in a family of intellectuals in Belgrade had a positive influence on his later literary work. Thanks to his father Milan Bogdanović, who was a literary critic, editor (in 1934 he established the magazine *Danas* together with Miroslav Krleža) and later on the Managing director of the National Theatre in Belgrade, the young Bogdan was in an early contact with a number of famous writers and artists of that time. He said that he grew up in a house where “the whole inter-war and post-war modernists, and especially Krleža, played an important role”.¹

Bogdan Bogdanović showed literary promise in his school days and in secondary school he founded a literary circle together with Milutin Doroslovac and other colleagues (Doroslovac was later well-known as the author – Milo Dor). During the secondary school Bogdanović came under the influence of the Surrealist movement – something that would leave a lasting influence on his later literary works, design projects, drawings and even on his political convictions. Already in the early 1920s a strong Surrealist movement existed in Belgrade. One of its founders and main protagonist was Marko Ristić², a good friend of Bogdan Bogdanović’s.

Bogdanović completed his architecture studies in 1950 at the Technical Faculty of Belgrade (graduation project with prof. Nikola Dobrović). In the same year he started working at the Faculty as an assistant at the Chair of Urban planning. At that time he and several fellow architects received an invitation to participate in a competition to design a monument dedicated to Jewish victims of fascism at the Sephardic cemetery in Belgrade. In preparation he read about the mysticism of the Kabbalah. Bogdanović won the competition and successfully completed his first monument in 1952. Later on, he said it was a crucial experience for him: Studying the Kabbalah (his interests in mysticism came from the influence of Surrealism) and designing monuments resulted in an ideal combination for his future professional work. Bogdanović said: “... it was like a new world for me. That was the beginning of my philosophy.”³

SMALL URBANISM

Seven years after having completed his first monument, Bogdanović did not work as an architect. He called that time “the seven years of hunger” and he spent it studying literature and writing. From 1956 to 1959 he penned a weekly column in the Belgrade newspapers *Borba* entitled *Mali urbanizam* (*Small Urbanism*). He conceived this title as an opposite to “big urbanism”, the phrase he used to describe bad examples of urban design practice in Yugoslavia during that time. In 1958 Bogdanović’s first book was published under the same title in which he campaigned for more humanity in urbanism, wishing that urban planners and architects occupy themselves with small but important objects of urban design. He wrote about “great masters of small urbanism” such as Donato Bramante and his work on the Cortile del Belvedere in Vatican City, as well as the Slovenian architect Jože Plečnik and his works in Prague and Ljubljana and the British architect, urban planner and illustrator Gordon Cullen, whose drawings of urban space Bogdanović called “inspiring and suggestive”, comparing him with Giovanni Battista Piranesi.⁴ Bogdanović emphasized that small urbanism was not a science-based discipline because it would contradict its highest quality – the “freedom of imagination”.⁵ His goal was not to offer immediate solutions and instructions, but to persuade the “big urbanists” of a new and different way of thinking about cities.

This book signaled the start of Bogdanović’s writing about cities and urbanism. He didn’t make this decision accidentally. He looked at urbanism as an applied theory with a broad field of activity. That was the reason for his decision to work for the Chair of Urban planning. The largest part of his extensive literary work would be devoted to the subject of the city.

EARLY WORK

The initial stage of Bogdanović’s literary activity was dedicated to the history of cities. Following the experience of researching, designing and building his first monument, he said the subject was crucial for his work because all monuments include some cultural and historical reminiscences. In 1962 he founded the course *Istorija grada* (*History of the City*) at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade. The book *Urbanističke mitologeme*, 1966 (*Urbanistic Mythologems*) is very characteristic of this period. At the same time, this is the only book written by Bogdanović in which he intended to write in a “harder”

scientific way. He was partially inspired by Lewis Mumford, especially by his book *The City in History* (1961). Bogdanović resumed this way of writing only partly in his next book *Urbs & Logos* (1976). There is an additional fact which explains the scientific intention of this period. By the beginning of the 1970s Bogdanović began his PhD and started to write a thesis on Etruscan city planning (*Disciplina Etrusca*⁶). In 1973, after becoming a full-time professor at the Faculty of Architecture due to his growing reputation as a leading designer of monuments, Bogdanović suspended the work on his thesis. Later on, in his literary work Bogdanović avoided the strictly scientific way of writing, arguing that it would limit his creativity. However, in his books he used many findings and facts about cities which he discovered during this phase.

UTOPIAS AND THE CITY

In the period between 1968 and 1986 most of Bogdanović's articles on this topic emerged. In 1968 he started to study the works of Plato. Plato wrote of the kingdom of Atlantis in *Critias* (160a ff.) and partly in *Timaeus* (20e-25d) too. Bogdanović regarded Plato's myth of Atlantis to be one of the earliest utopian works. He saw Atlantis as a philosophical allegory in which the writer, like in a science-fiction novel, installed all the technical achievements of that time and even more: e.g. Plato's description of the magnificent hydraulic engineering facilities of Atlantis as a "monstrous metaphor".⁷ Bogdanović pays particular attention to the circular plan of Atlantis, similar to another one of Plato's utopian cities – Magnesia, described in *The Laws* (704a-707d, 848d). He searched for the origin of this circular type of plan in the time before Plato: such as Aristophanes' *Birds* (414 BC), works of Socrates and finally within ancient proto-urban houses and settlements. Bogdanović does not accept only the coincidental similarity or pragmatic reasons for it. In his book *Krug na četiri ćoška*, 1986 (*The Four-Cornered Circle*) he vainly tries to find out the common origin of all utopian works.

Bogdanović did not mention the fact that Plato once briefly tried his hand as a politician, firstly in Athens and later in Sicily as the advisor to Dionysius II of Syracuse, with little success. But perhaps he realized his intention to influence the political system in his work on ideal cities and societies. On the other hand, the time in which Plato lived was after the Peloponnesian War, in which his native Athens succumbed to the Peloponnesian League led by Sparta. Utopian works often come into existence during times of crisis, as a kind of escape from reality, an attempt to create a safer place, even if it is only in the imagination.

Also as a kind of escape from reality, Bogdanović mentioned examples of *The New Jerusalem* and *The City of God* (*De civitate Dei*). The myth of the *New Jerusalem* (also known as: *The Tabernacle of God* or *The Holy City*) is described in the Bible's Book of Revelation, the last book of the New Testament (Rev. 21:9-22:5). This book was written at the time of the Roman emperor Domitian (81-96 AD), under whose reign of terror the Christians were afraid of persecution. The Revelation was meant to instill hope and strength in difficult times, similar to the apocalyptic visions in the Old Testament (Daniel, chap. 7-12). *The New Jerusalem* is described in full glory, with all the amenities which were conceivable at that time: The walls of jasper, the streets of gold, glass etc.⁸ In a word, this description reflected the image of the ideal city in which the religious people would be saved against all the adversities of life.

Approximately 300 years later, Rome was sacked by the Visigoths. At that time the other cities of the Roman Empire, one after the other, were conquered and destroyed by the hordes of barbarians too. The loss of power of the Roman Empire cast doubt among the Christians about their religion and about the status of the Empire. In the wake of the fall of the Empire Augustine of Hippo developed his thesis about the comparative existence of the *City of Man* (*civitas terrena*) and the *City of God* (*civitas Dei*).⁹ Augustine attempted to convey comfort to the Christians: Even if the earthly rule of the empire was endangered, it was the City of God that would ultimately triumph.

Bogdanović also sees another aspect in *The City of God* and in the myth of *New Jerusalem* – the attempt to save the city. This idea would have a significant influence throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, especially at times of disease and other calamities. The desire for safety and security in a “happy town” (*urbs beata*) was the main aim of urban development until the early Renaissance.¹⁰ Bogdanović compares this “psychological defense of the city” with other times and cultures, e.g. the invisible Russian city of *Kitež*, a legend which arose during the Tatar raids in the 13th century.¹¹

Finally, Bogdanović occupies himself with the utopias of the early modern history. The book *Utopia* (1516) by Thomas More is one of the most well-known utopian works in modern history. More was inspired by Plato's work *The Republic* (*Politeia*) and by his myth of Atlantis. Bogdanović criticizes a regressive and cursory use of the archaic symbolism and urban iconography

in More's novel (e.g. the "urban-centric" understanding of the town and the world) and designates it as a kind of "religious ecstasy".¹² He expresses a similar point of view of the other utopian authors of that period such as Tommaso Campanella (*Civitas solis*, 1602) or Francis Bacon (*Nova Atlantis*, 1614). For Bogdanović these utopian works were too apodictic, with a lack of humanity and no individualism, trying to make cities unchangeable.¹³ Bogdanović recognizes the literary value of some utopian novels, but he does not attach any greater importance to this kind of writing about cities. He has not ever shown any interest in recent utopias after that time.

DEATH OF THE CITY

Bogdanović wrote on this topic not only in the context of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, but also in terms of global problems of cities in general. In one of his earlier articles, *Grad kao simbol besmrtnosti i smrt grada*, 1972 (*The City as a Symbol of Immortality and Death of the City*)¹⁴, he describes how cities were exposed to different dangers in the history of their development. Bogdanović seeks to prove that in the cities' history there lies not only a need to build, but also to destroy. He calls the barbarian tribes, who sacked Rome, not only "ante-urban" (as they were located outside of the urban development), but also "anti-urban", because of their destructive drive toward cities, surpassing the strategic needs of their conquests.¹⁵ There were examples of mistrust in cities in some other times and cultural areas too. The myth of the construction of the Tower of Babel, where according to the records of the Old Testament (Gen. 11:1-9) God prevented further construction of the city and the magnificent tower, Bogdanović comments saying: "...obviously great Jehovah has not been satisfied with what was happening on the large building site of the big city. He might be even upset ..."¹⁶

According to the time we live in, Bogdanović is not generally against migrations to cities. If new residents behave curiously and respectfully towards a city, the effect is like that of a "grain of sand on a pearl oyster."¹⁷ In contrast, the "semi-urban" population has a problem of identification – it belongs neither to a rural nor to an urban area. Bogdanović considers these sorts of people to be blamed for the "ritual killing" of cities in the Western Balkans during the wars of the 1990s. During that period he published the so-called "war-trilogy": *Die Stadt und der Tod/ Grad i smrt*, 1993 (*Death and the City*), *Architektur der Erinnerung*, 1994 (*The Architecture of Remembrance*) and *Die Stadt und*

die Zukunft / Grad i budućnost, 1997 (*Future and the City*). The main theme of these books is the destruction of cities, based on a thesis of the conflict between the urban and the non-urban part of the population.¹⁸ The “modern barbarians” get the opportunity in times of war to satisfy their latent hatred toward cities. A hatred of all the achievements of civilization makes these primitive people act out to destroy. Bogdanović compares the contemporary occurrences to examples from the past. The “scorched earth policy” was well known and applied even in the ancient times: After Athens surrendered in the Peloponnesian War, Thebes demanded that the notable polis of Attica should be destroyed and all its citizens should be enslaved. Referring to Plato’s claim that there are two opposing castes (*The Republic*, 423a) resident in any city, Bogdanović finds a possible cause for the war in Yugoslavia in the conflict between these two castes: those who understand the “manuscript of a city” and those who do not even know about its existence.¹⁹

The killing of the “personality of a city” is, according to Bogdanović, an even bigger crime than the destruction of a city. His phrase “the semiology of destruction” looks at whether a demolished city can be rebuilt or not. A city is dead when its most important metaphor is destroyed e.g. the demolition of the Old Bridge in Mostar in 1993. This construction physically and symbolically connected two parts of the city for hundreds of years, linking two different ethnic groups. In 2004 the reconstruction of the bridge brought hope for the re-establishment and preservation of the character of Mostar. Bogdanović gives an example of a similar incident from ancient times. According to Virgil’s epic poem *Aeneid* (29-19 BC), when the citizens of Troy escaped the burning city they took the Palladium with them, the statue of the tutelary goddess as a symbol of the further existence of their city (“polis without territory”).²⁰

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In his writings about the death of the city Bogdanović cites once again the close connection between the phenomenon of a city and the achievements of cultural heritage. For him, the problem of the survival of our civilization is inseparable from the future of the city.

CRITICISM OF THE MODERN CITY

One of the most interesting issues in the works of Bogdanović is his criticism of the modern city in the context of history, current situation and the future

of its development. This criticism concerns the development of the city after the industrial revolution which caused unprecedented urban growth, bringing major challenges and problems, and keeping urban planners busy up to today.

In his lecture *Za grad ili protiv grada*, 1979 (*Pro or Contra a City*) Bogdanović warns of the problems of modern cities which come “from the inside”. They are derived from the foundation of the city, as a result of social problems, e.g. the challenges of uncontrolled migration from the Third World Countries into the cities of the Western Hemisphere.²¹ Bogdanović did not achieve any recognition from his colleagues and contemporaries for this lecture. However, thirteen years later because of the actuality of the topic, this article was published unaltered in the *Lettre Internationale* in Paris, entitled *La ville ravagée* (1992).

Bogdanović began his critiques of modern architecture and urbanism in his articles from the 1950s, for instance in *Monotonija novih naselja*, 1953 (*The Monotony of New Settlements*), *Arhitektura bez topline*, 1956 (*Architecture without Heartiness*) etc. He criticized the abuse of the ideology of functionalism and the disrespect of inherited traditional structures in the reconstruction of the European cities after the Second World War. Today, about half a century later, many contemporary critics support this thesis. The German urban planner Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm argues that the ideas of the Modern Movement in architecture were often abused in the post-war reconstruction of cities because megalomaniac ambitions were preferred to an elitist aestheticism.²² In his criticism Bogdanović does not ignore the examples in his own country. He considers New Belgrade to be one of the largest and most expensive monuments of CIAM²³ Urbanism and one which is unconvincingly reminiscent of some early urban paradigm of Le Corbusier. Bogdanović had his own vision for the construction of New Belgrade which was a city on the waterside with lakes and canals, like Venice, St. Petersburg, Stockholm or Helsinki.²⁴

Bogdanović did not believe that the period of postmodern architecture was the answer to the problems of modern architecture. Postmodern architecture vainly tried to revive a “new-symbolism” using elements of traditional architecture in a distorted way; the city is a cultural, human form as long as the artefact and metaphor are in balance.²⁵ He criticizes the misuse of symbols to dress up cities for national, political or economic aims because this is against the

dignity and “personality” of a city. In this context, he cites Las Vegas as a negative example: “the city of illusions”.²⁶ However, Bogdanović’s criticism of postmodern architecture came during a time when this movement was on the rise, only a few years after the issue of Venturi’s *Learning from Las Vegas*. In the early 1980s it was suggested that Bogdanović be named the first Serbian postmodern architect, due to the use of symbolism in his own work. He firmly rejected this offer arguing that he did not see his architecture as postmodernism. Based on the date of the origin of most of his projects it would be very difficult to classify them within this style. In his design works Bogdanović wished to get into a deep layer of the common human memory – “fictive archaeology”, using elements of historic styles or ancient architecture and creating his own distinctive style.

In the context of discussion about the modern city, Bogdanović emphasises the fact that cities in the past played a more important role in the lives of their habitants. The residents of old Mesopotamian towns (Babylon, Eridu, Uruk) believed that their city was located in the centre of the universe, being as old as the world (ergo, they expected their cities to exist as long as the world). This “urbo-centric” concept did not bring specific benefits to citizens, but it allowed them a sense of mental satisfaction and dignity, creating a presumption of a more serene life that is missing in today’s cities. Bogdanović does not recommend the immediate acceptance of these experiences of the past, but he believes that today’s urban planners and architects should show more respect for the city and the nature.²⁷

In his criticism of the modern city Bogdanović often cited the cities of the past as positive examples. However, his image of the historical city is “purified” of negative manifestations, such as bad hygienic conditions, illnesses, crime etc. It would be wrong to consider that Bogdanović’s attitude is generally negative to the modern city and generally positive to cities of the past. He selected the examples of the past to emphasize the deep affection of ancient citizens toward their cities and to highlight the problems of modern cities pleading for more humanity in architecture and urban planning.

PROSPECTS

According to the UN, since 2008 for the first time in human history the urban population in the world has exceeded 50% of the total population on our planet.

This tendency still continues. Many problems have arisen because of this fact, especially as two thirds of the urban population live in poor and developing countries. In some Asian cities up to 30% of the inhabitants live in slums, in Africa up to 60%.²⁸ Such problems require new strategies in urban planning. In 2004 one of the biggest insurance companies in the world *Munich Re* published an extensive research study entitled *Megacities – Megarisks*²⁹ which warned of the drastically increased risks of “mega-catastrophes” in cities of more than 10 million population: terrorism, natural disasters, technical disasters, cyber-attacks etc. This situation is a result of global problems such as excessive use of natural resources, environmental pollution, migrations, social problems etc. One of the most delicate issues of urban planning strategies today is the phenomenon of suburban agglomerations.

When Thomas Sieverts published his book *Die Zwischenstadt, 1997 (Cities Without Cities, 2003)*³⁰, he caused a great controversy on the subject of sustainability and the future of the modern city. This book raises the question of eligibility in taking the traditional European city as a model of good (human) urbanism. Sieverts argues that our idea of that city of the past is often unrealistic in terms of urbanity, population density, centrality, mixture of functions and environment, and therefore hardly applicable to today’s conditions. On the other hand, more and more cities become a shape of suburban agglomerations or metropolitan regions. There are no more precise boundaries between a city and the country side. Sieverts does not claim that these “cities without cities” are acceptable from the aesthetic, functional and ecological point of view, but he accepts them as a given condition, a reality that cannot be avoided. Therefore, he summons experts to deal with this issue without prejudice and to improve the quality of these settlements as much as possible. He gives practical suggestions such as a reform of the regional governmental system (taking into account the situation of a given urban region and not the political divide), the common planning of urban and interurban areas, and even agricultural areas etc. As good examples of implemented reforms he points to the Stuttgart Region and the Ruhr Region in Germany.

In his work Bogdanović does not find any positive aspect of the phenomenon of suburbanisation. He criticizes it from the viewpoint of their semiotic identification and lack of “urban core”.³¹ He notes with regret that many of today’s metropolitan regions can be seen only from satellites because of their excessive size – as if they are invisible to us from the earth. For him, the

European metropolises of the past centuries are the “most-urban” cities, the right measure of size and power, knowledge and wisdom.³²

CONCLUSION

Generally speaking, Bogdanović’s attitude towards the issue of the city could be described as poetic, philosophical, romantic, but often unrealistic. In his writings he never deals with the pragmatic problems of urban planning such as infrastructure, traffic, social affairs, and he never gives concrete suggestions for solving the problems of the modern city. Although he wrote a lot about utopian cities, he has never tried to present a picture of an ideal city in a drawing or in an article. His goal was not to offer immediate solutions, but to bring architects, urban planners and citizens to a humane and creative way of thinking about cities. Similar to the Italian author Italo Calvino, who wrote with *Invisible Cities* (1972) “one of the last romantic novels about the city”, Bogdanović shuns the pragmatic discourse in favor of a more poetic style of writing about the phenomenon of the city.

Much of Bogdanović’s literary work was written during the time of the Socialist Yugoslavia, when for most of the people his books were too difficult to understand, too abstract and they were considered to be ideologically suspicious. Critics expected a work of practical value from him as an architect.³³ Bogdanović believed his literary work was better accepted in the West than in his homeland, something he especially felt when he moved to Vienna in 1993. However, in the former Yugoslavia he was able to create works of lasting value, which did not have anything to do with the ruling communist ideology. That was not always the case in other Eastern European countries behind the Iron Curtain. Probably the partial liberalization of the Yugoslav society contributed to this situation, which followed after Tito’s split with the USSR and the Cominform in 1948.

In our century of urbanization, which some authors call “the century of suburbanization” (Roger Keil), we must seek for sustainable solutions for the development of future cities. The question is, if and how the experience of traditional historic cities could be applied to some of today’s urban areas, where we are not sure if we can still call them *cities*. Even so, the issue of humanity, which Bogdanović discussed in his books, will play an important role in every form of appearance of future settlements.

NOTES

- 1 Bogdan Bogdanović, interview in: *Glib i krv*, ed. L. Perović, Helsinški odbor u Srbiji, Beograd, 2001, p. 8.
- 2 Marko Ristić (1902-1984), Serbian writer and politician, Yugoslav ambassador in France (1945-48).
- 3 Bogdanović, interview with the author in Vienna, August 2005.
- 4 See Bogdan Bogdanović: *Mali urbanizam*, Narodna prosvjeta, Sarajevo, 1958, p. 11-19.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 6 Bogdan Bogdanović: *Disciplina Etrusca, A ritualistic approach to the philosophy of nature and the city*, in: *Ekistics*, Athens, December 1976, V. 42, 253, p. 329-331. Also in: *Urbs & Logos*, p. 77-124.
- 7 See Bogdan Bogdanović: *Architektur der Erinnerung*, Wieser Verlag, Klagenfurt-Salzburg, 1994, p. 97, 98 (the article was written in 1986).
- 8 See deuterocanonical intr. to the Book of Revelation, in: *Die Bibel*, ed. Klosterneuburg, 1980, p. 1374 f.
- 9 See *Bertelsmann Universalexikon*, Gütersloch, 1991, p. 77.
- 10 Not only Bogdanović wrote on this subject. See Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, 1938.

- 11 Bogdanović wrote on this subject especially in: *Urbs & Logos*, Gradina, Niš, 197, p. 48 f. and
Gradoslovar, p. 14, 32, 38, 53, 174, 176 f.
- 12 See *Architektur der Erinnerung*, p. 41-44.
- 13 See *Gradoslovar*, p. 38, 99.
- 14 Bogdan Bogdanović: *Grad kao simbol besmrtnosti i smrt grada*, in: Književnost, Beograd, 1972,
pp. 420-433.
- 15 See *Architektur der Erinnerung*, p. 37.
- 16 See *Gradoslovar*, p. 41.
- 17 Ibid., p. 208.
- 18 Bogdanović wrote for the first time on this subject in the article: *Za grad ili protiv grada*, in: *Čovek
i životna sredina*, Beograd, 1979, p. 5-8.
- 19 See Bogdan Bogdanović: *Die Stadt und der Tod – Essays*, Wieser Verlag, Klagenfurt-Salzburg,
1993, p. 36, *Architektur der Erinnerung*, p. 12 and *Die Stadt und die Zukunft*, Wieser Verlag,
Klagenfurt-Salzburg, 1997, p. 38, 39.
- 20 See *Urbs & Logos*, p. 22.
- 21 The lecture *Za grad ili protiv grada* in SANU (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts), Belgrade,
1979.
- 22 Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, *Die dritte Stadt*, Frankfurt, 1993, p. 15 f.
- 23 The Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne.
- 24 See Bogdan Bogdanović: *Vom Glück in den Städten*, Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien, 2002, p. 12, 15,
23-40.
- 25 See Bogdan Bogdanović: *Grad i budućnost*, in: *Tri ratne knjige*, Mediterran Publishing, Novi Sad,
2008, p. 127, 161 and *Gradoslovar*, p. 21, 30, 257.
- 26 See Bogdan Bogdanović: *Budućnost je u ljudima i idejama koje ih pokreću*, in: *Marksistička
misao*, 1978, 6, p. 221-245.
- 27 Bogdanović wrote on this subject in: *Urbanističke mitologeme*, Vuk Karadžić, Beograd, 1966, p.
82, 91, 92, *Architektur der Erinnerung*, p. 24-27 and *Gradoslovar*, p. 38.
- 28 *Der Fischer Weltatmanach 2011*, Frankfurt, 2010, p. 26-27.
- 29 Munich Re: *Megacities – Megarisks: Trends and challenges for insurance and risk management*,
München, 2004.
- 30 Thomas Sieverts: *Die Zwischenstadt – zwischen Ort und Welt, Raum und Zeit, Stadt und Land*,
Frankfurt, 1997. (Engl. transl. *Cities Without Cities*, London, 2003).
- 31 See *Urbs & Logos*, p. 52 (Serb. “gradska suština”).
- 32 See *Gradoslovar*, p. 334, 335 and *Tri ratne knjige (Grad i budućnost)*, p. 137.
- 33 E.g. Aleksandar Milenković, *Sudbina grada*, in: *Komunist* Nr. 1047, Beograd, April 11, 1977, p.
27.

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