

# HARMONIZING THE OLD AND THE NEW

## Urban ensemble as decoded and conceived in the texts by Dušan Grabrijan and Bogdan Bogdanović

Aleksa Korolija

**ABSTRACT:** This paper seeks to uncover terms of comparability between Bogdan Bogdanović's and Dušan Grabrijan's texts, building on a thorough translation and interpretation of the written work published by Bogdanović in *Mali Urbanizam* and by Grabrijan on Sarajevo between 1936 and 1942. From 1956 to 1958, at the beginning of a successful career as an architect of memorials and monuments, Bogdan Bogdanović produced a monthly column called 'Mali Urbanizam' (Small-scale urbanism) in *Borba*, the Yugoslav publication that bestowed the coveted yearly prize for architecture. This body of articles includes topics concerning urban design, architecture, art, and how reinterpretations and reflections of historical cities and heritage may suggest spatial features adaptable in the post-war reconstruction of Yugoslavia. It is no coincidence that his first article was dedicated to Jože Plečnik, whom Bogdanović considered a pioneer in small-scale urbanism.

Through a comparative analysis of texts by Grabrijan and Bogdanović, this paper identifies the topic of historic urban ensembles both as precedent and as an area for modern design intervention, given the layered and multifold cultural built heritage that preceded the unification of Yugoslavia. The term 'ensemble' is here used to encompass the formal and historical peculiarities of Yugoslav cities, including the juxtaposition of eclectic buildings and Ottoman urban fabric, a townscape where buildings adapted to an almost untamed landscape, unlike the clashing of old and new in recent socialist urban expansions. Both Grabrijan and Bogdanović used newspaper articles as a medium to initiate an alphabetization process on the intrinsic values of urban heritage. Their efforts were embraced by a small group of students and fellow architects in an attempt to define a 'national style' that would capture all these complexities.

**KEYWORDS:** Dušan Grabrijan, Bogdan Bogdanović, Yugoslav Heritage, Ensemble, Architecture and Urban Planning

### INTRODUCTION: NOTES ON A TENTATIVE COMPARISON

Drawing comparisons between Dušan Grabrijan's research and theoretical writings on Sarajevo and Bogdan Bogdanović's 'Mali Urbanizam' weekly column about Belgrade can prove to be a challenging task. The reason being that Grabrijan and Bogdanović's works were written almost two decades apart, under different political regimes<sup>1</sup>, and with no clear historical evidence connecting them. Moreover, biographical details<sup>2</sup> add to the uncertainty of any direct connection or mutual influence between the two. It is worth noting that Grabrijan passed away in 1952, while Bogdanović started his career as a memorial builder in 1951 after winning the competition for the Monument to Jewish Victims of Fascism and Fighters in Belgrade's Sephardic Cemetery, having graduated in 1950. Moreover, the comparison may be

questionable since Grabrijan, before the war, considered Le Corbusier's ideas on urbanism modern and applicable in Bosnia. In contrast, a few years later, Bogdanović wrote that Le Corbusier's utopian urban designs relied too heavily on engineering and technology, leading to isolation from the city's historical roots and a sense of community and aggregation (Bogdanović, 1952).

Although there are notable differences between the authors, there are also some similarities to be found upon closer inspection of their texts. This comparison ventures into re-reading texts and theoretical work rather than focusing on authorial figures and explores the possibility of finding a common interpretative key. Specifically, concerning urban design projects for historical cities in Yugoslavia, Grabrijan and Bogdanović shared similar ideas. However, they focused on different formal examples

to address design issues and suggest solutions applicable in other urban contexts. For example, Grabrijan looked to the non-authorial nature of Ottoman buildings and urban aggregations as a source for modern architecture. Meanwhile, Bogdanović explored “architecture of older origin, the one that does not fit into the books and is not studied at schools or in the academia; it is the one under no protection from any conservation institute” (Bogdanović, 1958, p. 6). In their written works, both architects employed a comparable reading key consisting of observation, sketches, and real-life examples. This illustrative approach facilitated a better understanding of a technical and specialized subject such as urban design, making it intelligible to a broader audience<sup>3</sup>.

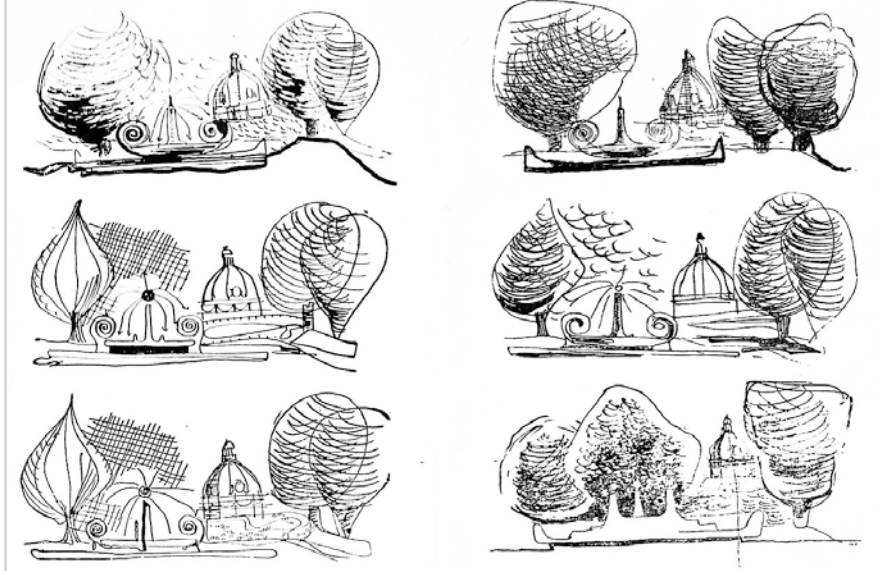
Grabrijan and Bogdanović developed a critical approach for practitioners and students by analyzing life-fed experiences and accessible urban contexts. Their approach focused on the formal and spatial elements that connect buildings to their sites, rethinking the historic city by unlocking hidden potentials and placing contemporary architects in continuity with the long process of city building. Throughout the 1940s, Dušan Grabrijan collaborated with Juraj Neidhardt in providing concrete examples of how reinterpretation processes generated modern designs by incorporating local building history and re-using some of their architectural features. Hence, the published texts and projects in *Tehnički vjesnik*<sup>4</sup> (*Technical Gazette*), which preceded Grabrijan and Neidhardt’s 1952 book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity*, represent a valuable document to unpack methods related to a specific design process. These writings were also valuable for their students (Banović et al., 1970), practically demonstrating how newly designed buildings within urban contexts and even in new settlements were to be harmonized with both built and unbuilt surroundings. By calling upon analogy and synthesis between old Ottoman houses and urban spaces, Grabrijan and Neidhardt established a modern approach to source from historic architecture and overcome the fascination with vernacular architecture as merely a style.

Apart from written and illustrated texts used to share their ideas, both Bogdanović and Grabrijan shared a profound appreciation for the Slovenian architect Jože Plečnik, whose work influenced their respective careers and which might represent the missing nexus between the two. Grabrijan had the chance to study and work alongside Plečnik on the project for Žale cemetery and later at Ljubljana University as an educator. Bogdanović, on the other hand, regarded Plečnik as an elective master, an actual authority of his craft (Komac & Guillèn, 2009). He dedicated the opening article of ‘Mali Urbanizam’ to Plečnik, referring to him as the “Great Master of Small

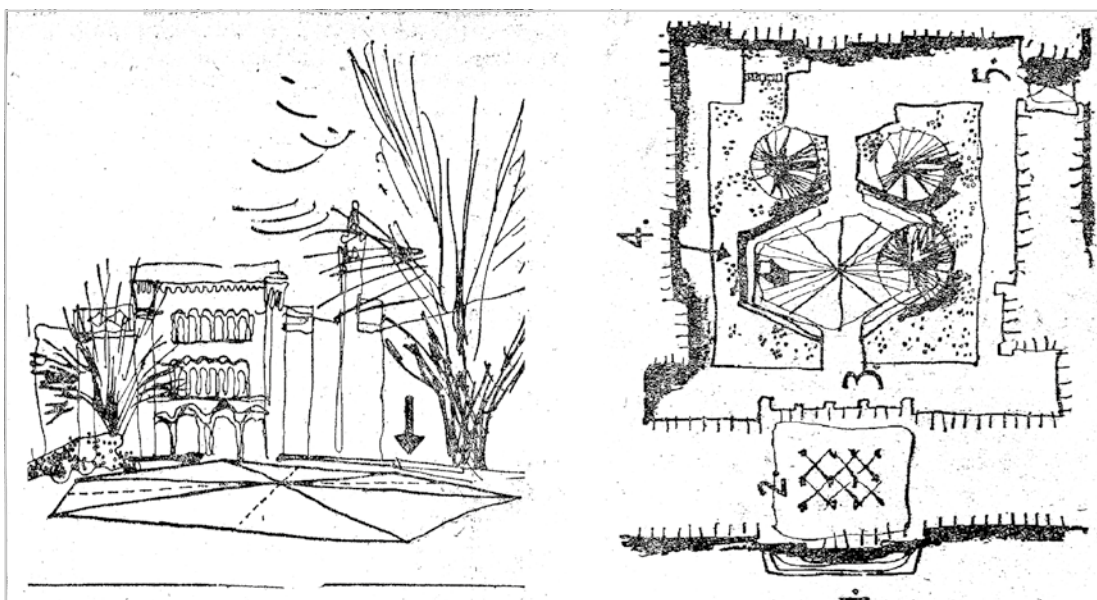
Urbanism” (Bogdanović, 1958, p. 16). Plečnik’s meticulous attention to detail and his ability to capture the essence of a city through his designs left also an enduring impression on Bogdanović that described the urban renovation of Ljubljana as an “unforgettable architectonic minuet” (Bogdanović, 1958, p. 18). Grabrijan also recognized Plečnik’s renovation of Ljubljana<sup>5</sup> as a testament to his design ability to transform the cityscape through scattered small-scale interventions without significant alterations, revealing the latent qualities of places. Bogdanović observed how the dialectic between the various scales of architectural design contributed to defining the final “face” of the city [FIGURE 01, FIGURE 02]. Regarding the Prague Castle (Hradčany) project, he noted how the attention to detail equated to the quality of the engineering work and how small but widespread interventions managed to strengthen pre-existing conditions. Bogdanović noted that in place of geometrical abstraction, the disposition of minute architectural elements enhanced existing vantage points, thereby providing visitors with new, unexpected perspectives (Bogdanović, 1958). Plečnik’s urban designs reflected a non-conservative but creative (Grabrijan, 1968, p. 27) attitude, as he drew inspiration from the past not just for style but also for the latent order of the context. Rather than merely preserving the past, Plečnik amplified and enhanced the urban palimpsest by working with existing conditions.

## THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF YUGOSLAV PEOPLES<sup>6</sup>

Grabrijan and Bogdanović agreed that functional design within layered urban structures in historic cities had negative effects. They criticized the uniformity and banality that resulted from this approach. In the 19th century, the Ottoman heritage of Belgrade underwent significant changes (Maksimović, 1978), leading to the destruction and reconstruction of the city [FIGURE 02]. During the socialist period, many Yugoslavian cities faced a stark contrast between old and new, just like Belgrade and New Belgrade facing each other across the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers after World War II. Interestingly, Grabrijan and Bogdanović expressed concerns that modernization—and the subsequent uniformity—often involved copying foreign architecture, perpetuating past mistakes. The widespread use of concrete, glass, and flat roofs negatively impacted the varied Yugoslav landscapes, failing to align buildings with seaside, alpine, and plain as the historical typologies did. Grabrijan accurately captured this discrepancy when stumbling upon Ottoman architecture in Sarajevo. He observed:



01 Bogdanović's sketches are attached to the article 'About a Fountain' published in 'Mali Urbanizam' (1958). Through a tentative sequence of sketches, the architect is trying to properly locate and shape a fountain, establishing a visual dialog with the dome of the Serbian Parliament building. © Bogdan Bogdanović, 1958, pp. 22-23.



02 Detail from Bogdanović's article 'A nice old Courtyard' published in the 'Mali Urbanizam' column, in which the idea is put forth to integrate the Courtyard of Belgrade's University Rectorate Building (1858) into a bigger system of pedestrian areas in Belgrade. © Bogdan Bogdanović, 1958, scan from newspaper, no page.

*"Why is there so much enthusiasm for everything foreign? When I was forced to look around, I slowly discovered the gap between my models and the reality of what surrounded me. That's when I started interacting with the place and discovered heritage."*

(Grabrijan, 1952, p. 4)

Bogdanović discussed the problem of disconnecting modern architecture from the local context and equally criticized foreign models in the article 'Architecture in the landscape' (Arhitektura u pejzažu) (Bogdanović, 1958). He criticized the "shabby" and "trivial" modern architecture influenced mainly by international trends circulating through journals. According to him, the emphasis on abstract geometry restricted architects and urban

designers to simply copying old designs from the 1920s and 1930s. As a result, they have been unable to appreciate the aesthetic appeal of picturesque urban spaces, which combined various architectural styles from different historical periods to create a cohesive spatial arrangement (Bogdanović, 1958 a, b).

The urgency of finding a modern 'national style'—triggered by the socio-political changes of the break with the USSR since 1948—a national approach towards landscape and built environment was actually a problem that interested a broader auditorium of architects. The topic of urban heritage in planning emerged in the theoretical discourse after the First Yugoslav Architects' Conference in Dubrovnik in 1950. At the Conference, a recurring topic was the concept that the cities of socialist Yugoslavia all included historical core bearing evidence

to the combination of many cultures varying in terms of religion, society, and architecture. Accordingly, the legacy was multifold, and each legacy needed to be examined and interpreted independently because of its distinct and unique characteristics. Grabrijan stated that Balkan-Ottoman architecture, due to its peripheral location and landscape features, was an excellent example of model reinterpretation derived from grand buildings located in the main cities. The peripheral conditions coupled with a belated modernization that both Grabrijan and Bogdanović considered a fortunate situation entailed humanistic values still present among the citizens of Yugoslav cities. Grabrijan and Neidhardt stated that:

*"[...] the spirit of people who live in this part of the world, who, in contrast to western people being mostly constructors and rationalists, still carry in themselves strong emotional tendencies together with very close and intimate relations to nature which the town-dweller in the west has already lost."*

*(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957 p. 330)*

In the ethnically mixed Yugoslav society, various cultural influences were identified as 'peripheral' conditions. These influences were identified as the Dalmatian-Mediterranean tradition (present in Croatia and Montenegro), the Ottoman tradition (present in Serbia, Bosnia, and Macedonia), and the central European-Baroque tradition (present in Slovenia and Croatia). The diverse cultural heritage was distinctly evident in urban and rural areas, each displaying unique characteristics. In urban regions, public buildings showcased eclecticism and architectural styles influenced by previous imperial capitals that once ruled the region before its unification. In contrast, vernacular architecture in rural areas demonstrated practical and structural features meant to adapt to the local climate and geography. In recognition of the diverse heritage, it became the responsibility of urban designers to merge new developments with existing ones by enhancing modernist ideas with humanistic principles.

In the article by Vladislav Ribnikar (1950), *Problemi stambenih zgrada* [Problems of residential buildings], presented at the 1950 Conference, the author advised architects in search of a modern socialist style not to copy the existing conditions but rather preserve its character through the new project; Ribnikar wrote:

*"The problem is not to find a "national style"; down this line, we will never achieve our new style, a socialist-style. The issue is not how to revive, restore, or imitate what the past left us as a legacy. Above all, the problem is not to demolish*

*this heritage in a crude and unartistic way. In our country many heritages have acquired their own physiognomy, their "atmosphere" throughout history. We have coastal towns, Macedonian villages, Bosnian towns, Slovenian cities, villages in Šumadija, etc. We have mountain, plain, and coastal types of houses and their corresponding settlements, which have preserved their character. [...] Harmonizing our modern types of buildings with old ones; not insult the past, that is national in architecture."*

*(Ribnikar, 1950, p. 22).*

On the same occasion, Macedonian planner Ljube Pota (1950) expressed his belief that socialist planning neglected the importance of the Ottoman road network within cities. He argued that, despite their lack of functionality in modern times, Ottoman roads were integral to the cultural and social history of the area. With a clear political bias, he compared them to the city expansions in the 19th and 20th centuries, which he considered driven solely by capitalist interests, leading to social imbalances in Yugoslav cities. Pota proposed a practical solution to distinguish newly socialist neighborhoods from traditional Ottoman cores by creating green buffers with sports and leisure facilities. The new settlements would benefit from these zones, while the traditional presence of walled gardens in Ottoman cities would have been restored and transformed into public parks.

## MALI URBANIZAM: SPOTTING A GENRE?

Although Ljube Pota's proposal for developing Macedonian cities with Ottoman heritage might have sounded innovative, it was based on the planning procedures of socialist Yugoslavia. At the core of Yugoslavian urbanism, this method prioritized quantitative aspects and functionality through data and statistics before beginning the design process (Ilić, 1949). This approach was a well-established practice in Yugoslav planning offices and led to a certain bureaucratization of architects' jobs.

In contrast, through 'Mali Urbanizam' Bogdanović elaborated a learning method—he dubbed it the 'Jonnie Walker method'<sup>7</sup> (Bogdanović, 2007)—for observing the existing city from a formal, social, and symbolic point of view and proposed it as an actual task to his students. By reading 'Mali Urbanizam', one gets the impression that Bogdanović aimed to carve out a specific topic for urban designs in Yugoslavia by reviving the approach used by the most renowned architects throughout history<sup>8</sup>. In the opening of the collected articles of 'Mali Urbanizam' published in 1958, Bogdanović published the image of Bramante's Belvedere courtyard to demonstrate that "from

time to time in the history of architecture even the greatest masters enjoyed dealing with minute urban tasks; they enjoyed in developing it entirely, delve into its details.” (Bogdanović, 1958, p. 4).

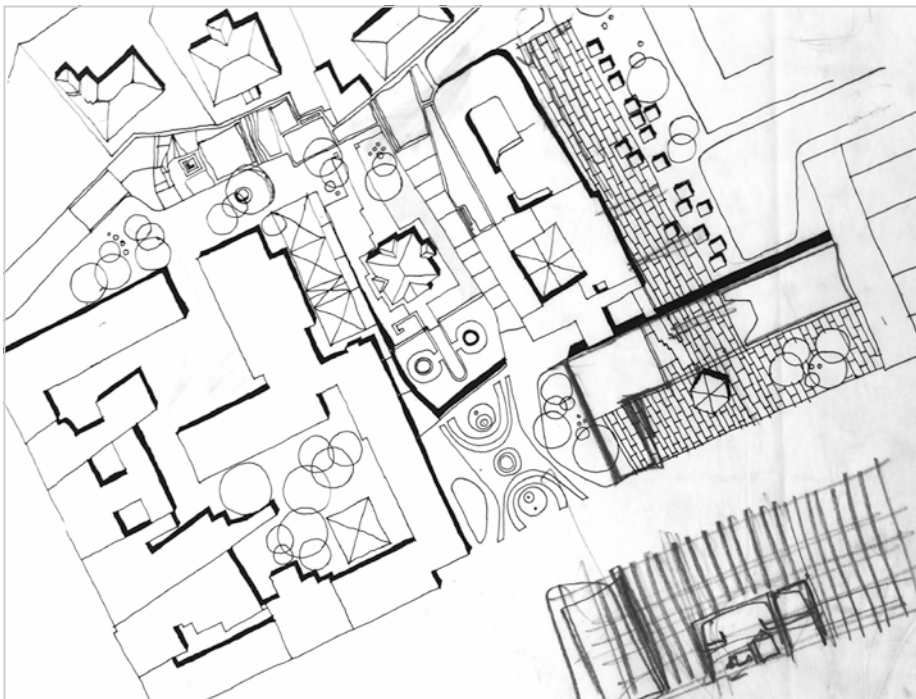
Bogdanović’s texts had a 19th-century sense of flânerie (Kulić, 2017), focusing on the topics and language used. He intentionally and ironically adopted the adjective “mali” (small) to describe areas that socialist urban planning did not include in post-war projects. This was a nod to a minor type of architecture and a city scale that could be better grasped through a pedestrian stroll. Bogdanović’s articles, published between 1956 and 1959<sup>9</sup>, included annotations, photographs, and drawings that immersed readers in descriptions of historic buildings’ courtyards, surviving traces of the Ottoman city, small parks, and international references to successful examples of what he considered small urbanism. The critique of modern architecture and urbanism was mainly directed towards new residential neighborhoods, which he believed lacked identity and social and spatial variety, unlike historical cities. He wrote:

*“Neighborhoods of standardized apartment blocks called ‘kolonije’ dominate the way we live here. These residential units are intended for families of the same type, a uniform lifestyle, and families doing the same job. I wonder whether combining families of different sizes and working in different professions wouldn’t be more interesting? Isn’t it more fair from a social and human point of view? [...] A neighborhood (thus not a “colony”)*

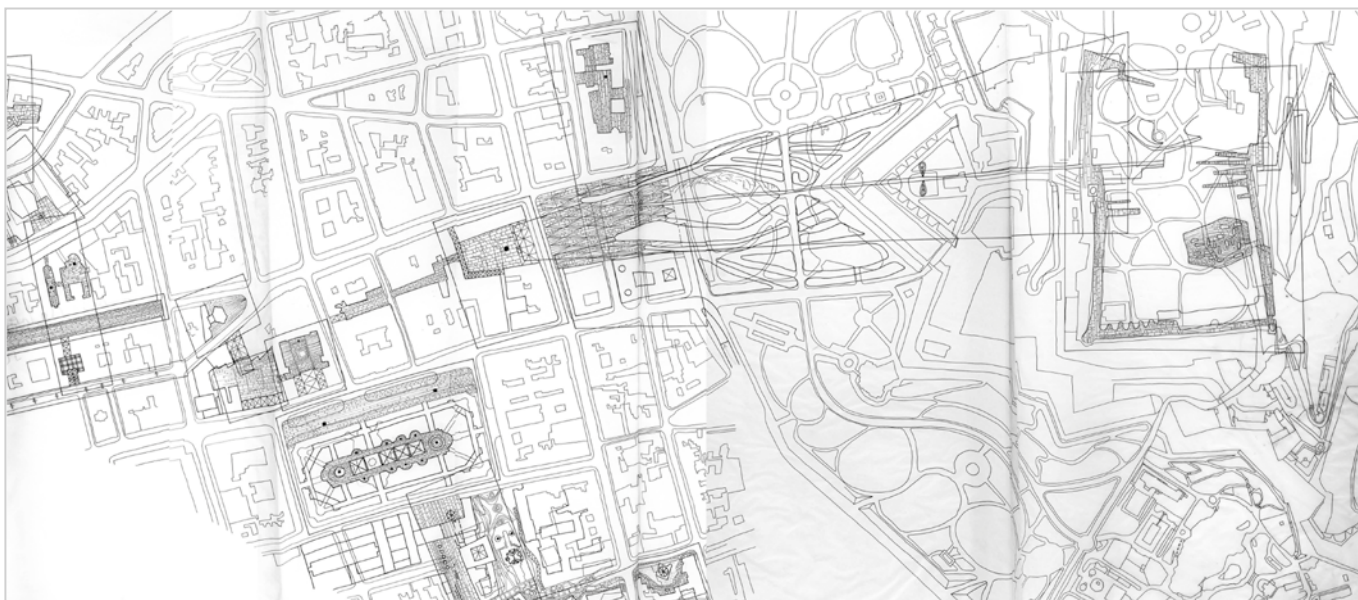
*is a kind of primordial urban cell. Doesn’t such a cell require as much diversity as possible? [...] A neighborhood is not just a technical phenomenon, as our urban planners consider it. The neighborhood is a living community.”*  
(Bogdanović, 1955, p. 25)

The column published in Borba sparked the formation of a homonym team *Mali Urbanizam* that included Svetislav Ličina, Zoran Žunković, and Bogdanović himself. Working together, the team developed urban projects to revitalize neglected areas and open spaces within Belgrade’s historic core, harmonizing new architecture into the existing built environment. The project at Student Square extended the pedestrian area to join the few surviving buildings from the Ottoman period: the Sheik Mustafa Turbe, the Museum of Vuk and Dositej located in the best preserved Ottoman house with a garden in Belgrade, the Božić Family House and the house of sculptor Arambašić [FIGURE 03].

These projects effectively redirected attention towards the historic city, mostly overlooked in favor of developing New Belgrade on the opposite riverbank. One proposal for Belgrade’s central area was to connect the Kalemegdan fortress and the park to the 19th-century urban fabric [FIGURE 04]. The objective of turning theoretical stances into fruition resulted in blurring the boundaries between architecture and urbanism, as noted by Bogdanović in reference to the revered old masters, including Plečnik<sup>10</sup>. Grabrijan’s theoretical positions and the projects created by the *Mali Urbanizam* group share a similar approach when dealing with urban issues on a large scale. They



03 Detail from the project elaborated by the Mali Urbanizam team (Bogdanović, Ličina, and Žunković) to connect the eastern side of Student Square (Studentski Trg) in Belgrade with Jevremova Street, 1956-1958. © AzW Collection N05-017 Bogdan Bogdanovi Mali Urbanizam (“Der Kleine Urbanismus) 1956-1958.



04 In this design, a network of pedestrian routes crossed the interior courtyards of public and residential buildings, as well as the road in front of the park, with a pedestrian cable-stayed bridge leading to the fortress., 1956-1958. © AzW Collection, N05-017 Bogdan Bogdanovi Mali Urbanizam ("Der kleine Urbanismus") 1956-1958.

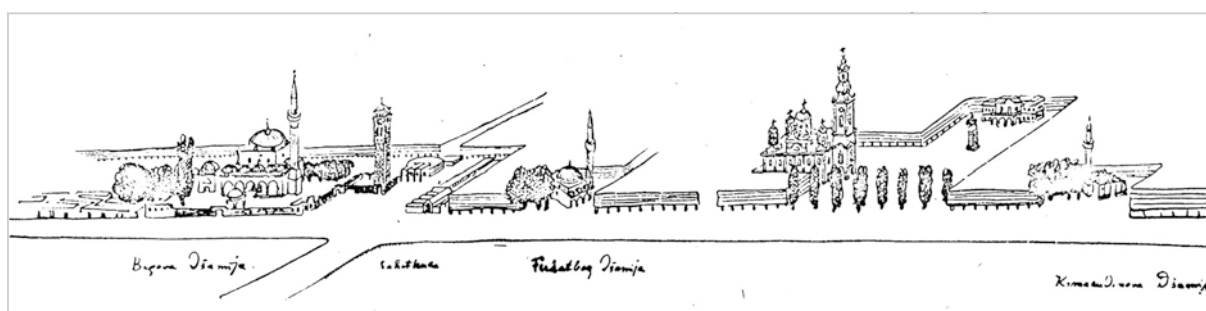
use architecture to solve big-scale problems, and drawing from the analogy of historical examples gives them a contemporary meaning<sup>11</sup>. Grabrijan and Nejdhardt, for instance, explicitly employed the house and room analogy to elucidate the Sarajevo east-west axis project. They did not just describe it in terms of size and importance but also gave it architectural and spatial characteristics reminiscent of Bosnian Ottoman houses, de facto humanizing the scale of intervention. Specifically, they identified the ensemble as the combination of existing buildings and monuments—religious and laic, Muslim and Christian indistinctly—and, by analogy to an architectural scale, merged a sequence of space starting from the train station as the gate, passing Marijin Dvor thoroughfare as the foyer, and extending into the main squares with Catholic and Orthodox churches as halls. Since Grabrijan’s arrival in 1930 and throughout the 1940s, Ottoman Sarajevo could still be perceived as a unicum, an integral part of the patchy mosaic of ethno-religious quarters that constituted the urban fabric; as such, they did not tolerate piecemeal demolitions or partial reconstructions. Grabrijan’s descriptions of the Ottoman urban fabric incorporated landscape elements as vital parts of the buildings, such as the River Miljacka, old Turkish cemeteries, and even isolated trees inside mosques’ gardens; they all contributed to tying

together “elements of different scales into a single ensemble” (Grabrijan 1942, p. 237) [FIGURE 05]. According to Grabrijan, the harmonious effect of unity was achieved through the seamless integration of residential structures on the region’s natural topography. He referred to the residential neighborhoods of old Sarajevo as a plastic composition dubbed as an “architectural sculpture” (Grabrijan 1942, p. 227).

In clarifying the meaning of the adjective ‘mali’ (small), Bogdanović alluded to the small scale of intervention and the area to re-design, thus indicating a more holistic approach. He emphasized that the urban project might bring together different parts—buildings, monuments, and even furniture—of the city into a cohesive whole and that cities are the result of a synthesis rather than simply the addition of elements at different times. By hinting at authorless residential neighborhoods, he referred to:

*“architettura minore as Italians call it. [...] It is a kind of choral architecture, a collection of forms and things, not very significant in themselves if we take each thing and observe it separately, - but which are nevertheless grouped into charming wholes.”*

*(Bogdanović, 1958, p. 6)*



05 The Fragment of the proposal for the East-West axis in Sarajevo by Grabrijan and Nejdhardt presents a design wherein the meandering urban fabric harmoniously integrates elements of diverse scales and architectural character, 1942. © From Sarajevo i njegovi trabanti, 1942, p.242.



06 Jaroslav Černi Housing, no date. © AzW Collection, N05- 003 Wohnsiedlung des Instituts für Hydrotechnik "Jaroslav Černi" Bogdan Bogdanovi, 1952-1953.

When considering the relationship between historic buildings and residential neighborhoods as a whole, Grabrijan and Bogdanović may have shared similar perspectives. They believed that multiple buildings could come together to serve a practical and community-driven purpose for city residents, depending on how they are strategically located and arranged. This idea is known as an ensemble (Haslam, 2018). Bogdanović's article (1958) entitled 'The Old and the New' (Staro i Novo) delves into the notion of ensemble against the modern tendency of isolating monumental buildings through selective clearings in the urban fabric. For instance, Le Corbusier's Plan Voisin proposed meandering buildings to leave little evidence of Paris's urban fabric, selectively maintaining few monumental structures. On the contrary, Bogdanović believed that every element of the urban environment, from the buildings to the green spaces and urban furniture, should work together to create a sense of unity rather than emphasizing the contrast between old and new that is often seen in modern urban planning by questioning the isolation old buildings and their 'setting' on a pedestal as museum objects that would have denied them the right to be understood and observed as living beings (Bogdanović, 1958, p. 60).

Bogdanović's theoretical beliefs were put into practice with the design and construction of a functional working-class community prior to the publication of Mali Urbanizam. Therefore, his theoretical framework

developed retrospectively, informed by the practical experience of bringing his ideas to life. Lesser known, the eight houses built between 1952 and 1953 near Belgrade's Avala Hill for Jaroslav Černi Hydrology Institute employees [FIGURE 06] represent an exemplary demonstration of how Bogdanović translated the social and formal unity he recognized within historical ensembles into contemporary times.

In the Jaroslav Černi neighborhood, the architect proposed clusters of single-family homes surrounding a central green area instead of multifamily housing units for the working class. Originally divided into three separate communities, the 24 houses were arranged in groups of eight and built on sloping terrain offset from the main road. Through the stone walls, chimneys, pitched roofs, and decorated plaster façades, as well as the shared courtyard in front, the neighborhood boasted an almost archetypal appearance, blending elements from different cultures in Yugoslavia. Instead of reviving or imitating historic cities, Bogdanović deployed analogy to re-create varied spatial sequences and levels, encompassing public, semipublic, and private spaces, including houses and gardens; he studied the differences between a geometric and a free arrangement. The sketches are published in 'Mali Urbanizam' column with the title 'About free and geometric urban arrangements' [FIGURE 07]. He described it this way:

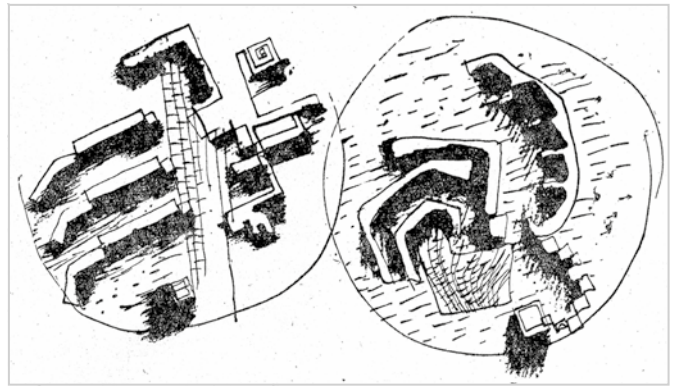
“Such an arrangement is rooted in the Mediterranean culture. [...] We could compare it with rowhouses along the steep streets of a medieval town set on the slopes of a large mountain. Some contemporary arrangements remind us of the villages of the Alps; something similar can also be found in the Balkan Ottoman cities. The courtyard is a figure that belongs to southern peoples. In Italy, in Dalmatia and the Greek islands, and even in North Africa, we find similar kinds of arrangements made of small buildings around enclosed and well-defined tiny squares. [...] I would call it a social form. The houses are allies and gathered in the true sense of the word.”

(Bogdanović, 1957, p. 9).

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Placing Grabrijan and Bogdanović in the historical context of post-war Yugoslavia poses certain challenges, as their career paths and backgrounds differ significantly. Grabrijan aimed to uphold the principles of the Modern Movement in Ottoman architecture while adapting them to the unique features of socialist Bosnia. Bogdanović's focus on historical cities as palimpsests, not just of Ottoman or European origin, challenged conventional modernism and created new formal expressions that had to convey symbolic and archetypal dimensions.

In Belgrade and Sarajevo, despite evident differences, the architects developed a similar methodical approach to investigate the character of Balkan historical cores and to squeeze out design principles that could be generalized to similar urban contexts that demand reconstruction or repair. The concept of ensemble was a major focus of exploration for the architects Grabrijan and Bogdanović, as well as Neidhardt's projects. This idea has revealed the potential for design to unite various existing structures, landscapes, and sculptures into a cohesive and harmonious spatial whole. Architects must now consider the importance of overall site planning, beyond mere functionality, to creatively bring together diverse elements that impact the quality of a space. The formal and spatial analogies between architecture and urban projects serve as a common thread linking Plečnik, Grabrijan, and Bogdanović's work. While some sporadic examples of successful ensembles follow these principles, Sarajevo and Belgrade offer unique and valuable case studies that can help establish a theoretical framework for addressing the challenge of building and repairing in existing urban environments in Yugoslavia.



07 The left scheme shows a typical disposition of residential and public buildings in connection with the road. Whereas the scheme to the right shows the same scheme modified according to the principle of ensembles, in this alternative the buildings are clustered around a central space encompassing a variety of building typologies and are visually interdependent. © Bogdanović, 1958b.

## REFERENCES

- ALIĆ, D. (2010). *Transformations of the oriental in the architectural work of Juraj Neidhardt and Dušan Grabrijan*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of New South Wales]. UNSWorks. <https://doi.org/10.26190/unsworks/22973>
- BANOVIĆ, S., Besser, B., Hadžiosmanović, N., & Jovičić, M. (1970). Arhitekta Dušan Grabrijan u sjećanju svojih učenika [Architect Dušan Grabrijan in the memories of his students]. In A.A.V.V., *Grabrijan i Sarajevo: Prilozi za proučavanje historije Sarajeva*, pp. 15-18.
- BOGDANOVIĆ, B. (1952). Civilizacija mašinizma ili biotehnička civilizacija [Civilization of machinery or biotechnical civilization]. *Književne novine* (53), p.9.
- BOGDANOVIĆ, B. (1955). Urbanistički problemi komune [Urban planning problems of the commune]. *Naša stvarnost*, 9(1), pp. 19-27.
- BOGDANOVIĆ, B. (1957, August 16). Mali Urbanizam: Grupe [Small Urbanism: Groups]. *Borba* (Belgrade edition).
- BOGDANOVIĆ, B. (1958). *Mali Urbanizam* [Small urbanism]. Sarajevo: Narodna Prosvjeta.
- BOGDANOVIĆ, B. (1958a, January, 1,2,3). Mali Urbanizam: Živopisna arhitektura [Small urbanism: Picturesque architecture]. *Borba* (Belgrade edition).
- BOGDANOVIĆ, B. (1958b, January, 17). Mali Urbanizam: O slobodnim i geometrijskim dispozicijama (II) [Small urbanism: About geometrical organisation]. *Borba* (Belgrade edition).
- BOGDANOVIĆ, B. (2007). *O sreći u gradovima* [About happiness in the cities]. Beograd: Prosveta.
- GRABRIJAN, D. (1942). Sarajevo i njegovi trabanti: arhitektonsko-urbanistička razmatranja uoči izrade nacrtu za regulaciju grada Sarajeva [Sarajevo and its surroundings: architectural and urban observations in anticipation of a regulation proposal]. *Tehnički vjesnik* 7-9, pp. 199-322.
- GRABRIJAN, D. (1952). Arhitektonsko naslijeđe naroda Jugoslavije [The architectural heritage of Yugoslav people]. *Arhitektura* (5), pp. 4-10.
- GRABRIJAN, D., & Neidhardt, J. (1957). *Arhitektura Bosne i put u suvremeno* [Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity]. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.
- GRABRIJAN, D. (1968). *Jože Plečnik in njegova šola* [Jože Plečnik and his school]. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.
- HASLAM, J. (2018). The idea of the 'ensemble' in urban morphology. In *Urban Morphology*, 22(2), pp. 141-154.
- ILIĆ, I. (1949). O urbanističkoj metodi [On the urban method?]. *Arhitektura. časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam i primijenjenu umjetnost* (25-27), pp. 5-18, 95.
- KOMAC, U., & Guillèn, P. (2009). Bogdan Bogdanović und Jože Plečnik. In I. Ristić, *Bogdan Bogdanović. Memoria und Utopie*



- in *Tito-Yugoslawien* (pp. 28-33). Klagenfurt/Celovec: Wieser Verlag.
- KULIĆ, V. (2017). Bogdan Bogdanović and the Search for a Meaningful City. In A. Moravanszky, J. Hopfengärtner (Eds.), *Re-humanizing Architecture: New Forms of Community, 1950-1970* (pp. 199-210). Berlin, Boston: Birkhäuser.
- KULIĆ, V., Mrduljaš, M., & Thaler, W. (2012). *Modernism in-between*. Berlin: Jovis Verlag.
- MAKSIMOVIĆ, B. (1978). *Idejni razvoj srpskog urbanizma. Period rekonstrukcije gradova do 1914* [The ideal development of Serbian urbanism. The period of Reconstruction until 1914]. Beograd: SANU.
- POTA, L. (1950). O nekim problemima urbanizma Makedonije [About some urban problems of Macedonia]. *Urbanizam i arhitektura* (11-12), pp. 33-36, 88-90.
- POZZETTO, M. (1997). Plečnik and Prague Castle. Architecture for the New Democracy. In J. Plečnik, Z. Lukeš, D. Prelovshek, T.F. Valena (Eds.), *Josip Plečnik: An Architect of Prague Castle*. Prague: Prague Castle Administration
- RIBNIKAR, V. (1950). Problemi stambenih zgrada [The problem of residential buildings]. *Urbanizam i Arhitektura* (11-12), pp. 15-23.
- STABENOW, J. (1996) *Jože Plečnik: Stadtebau im Schatten der Moderne*. Wiesbaden: Vieweg+Teubner Verlag.

**Aleksa Korolija** is an architect, and graduated from the *Politecnico di Milano (Polimi)* in 2012 with a thesis in urban-design and landscape. His PhD (2017) in Architecture, Urban Design and Conservation of Housing and Landscape focused on Yugoslav post-WWII architecture and urbanism, in particular the memorial landscape as a multidisciplinary field of architectural design embedding symbolical and figurative meanings. His research on the memorials by Bogdan Bogdanovic has been published in 2023 as a monograph entitled *Di pietra e di piuma. Bogdan Bogdanovic e lo spazio memoriale. From 2017 to 2020, he held a post-doc position in the European-funded project MODSCAPES (Modernist reinventions of the rural landscape in Polimi). Currently, he is an adjunct professor at the School of Architecture Urban Planning Construction Engineering at Polimi teaching Architectural Design.*

## ENDNOTES

- Grabrijan at the time under NDH (Independent State of Croatia) and nazi occupation; Bogdanović in liberated and socialist Yugoslavia.
- Dušan Grabrijan (1899-1952) was a Slovenian architect and teacher. Born in Lož, he received his degree in 1924 at the Technical School at the University in Lubiana as part of the first generation of architects mentored by Jože Plečnik. After his diploma, he spent one year (1925-1926) at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Until 1929, he was employed at the Construction Directorate in Lubiana; later, in 1930, he moved to Sarajevo, where he worked at the Construction Directorate until 1945. At the end of the 1930s, he finally devoted himself to teaching and research. In 1946, he worked at the Ministry of Mining and Industry in Lubiana, and in 1947, he became an assistant professor at the Department of Architecture of the Technical Faculty of the University of Lubiana; in 1951, he became an associate professor at the same university, teaching the history of architecture and fundamentals of architectural design. Bogdan Bogdanović (1922-2010) was a Serbian architect, professor at the University of Belgrade, and Mayor of Belgrade from 1982 to 1986. Born in Belgrade, he was the son of Milan Bogdanović, a renowned literary critic. Enrolled in 1940 at the Faculty of Architecture at the University in Belgrade, he got the degree in 1950 under the mentorship of Nikola Dobrović. After winning the 1951 competition for the Monument for the Jewish victims of fascism and fighters, Bogdanović established himself as the architect of memorials and monuments in socialist Yugoslavia.
- In the article 'About free and geometric arrangements' (O slobodnim i geometrijaskim dispozicijama) (1958), Bogdanović explains that Mali Urbanizam's attempt is to simplify technical terminology; he even suggests that the book might be called "Urbanism in 100 lessons."
- Tehnicky Vjesnik was a publication for the Association of Croatian Engineers. In 1942, a volume titled *Sarajevo i njegovi trabanti* was published. It was revised and partially rewritten and later published in 1970 under the title *Grabrijan i Sarajevo* in the monographic number of Sarajevo's Museum journal.
- For an exhaustive analysis of built and unbuilt urban projects by Plečnik see Stabenow (1996).
- In 1952, Grabrijan published an article with the same title in the Croatian journal *Arhitektura* claiming that historical buildings in Yugoslavia were peripheral interpretations of cultural centers like Istanbul, Vienna, and Venice. He emphasized that the main monuments were built out of collective need rather than for representation. This allowed architects to focus on adapting to natural and social conditions, leading to a better understanding of mutual influences between oriental and Western building traditions.
- Name ironically given after the figure of 'the striding man' used by the homonym scotch brand.
- See Bogdanović (2007). When Bogdanović started teaching at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade, he initiated a new subject called Urbanology, Urban Theory, and History instead of Urbanism.
- In 1958 he published a selection of articles in a monography named Mali Urbanizam after the column; the publication of the column continued until 1959.
- Marko Pozzetto (1996) highlights Plečnik's intervention in Prague Castle (Hradčany), a heterogeneous yet unified historic setting. Pozzetto emphasizes the significance of visual connections, paired with pedestrian accessibility, which are indicative of the architectural scale rather than urban planning. This approach underscores the importance of the human scale in design.
- See the text O Plečnikovih Propilejah in the posthumous book by Grabrijan *Jože Plečnik in njegova sola* (1968). Grabrijan describes the spatial analogy between Plečnik's proposal for the Congress Square in Lubiana and the monumental axis stretching between Triumphal Arch and Louvre's Courtyard in Paris.