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**Boris Podrecca,**  
dopisni član Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti

**Međuvrijeme grada, kolaž iskustva,  
susreta i nađenih zapisa**

**Boris Podrecca**  
Corresponding member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts

**City Interim, a Collage of Experiences,  
Encounters and Recovered Papers**



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Ključne riječi: grad; stil; koncepcija; identitet.

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Krajem šezdesetih, dakle na početku takozvane druge moderne, već je Michel Foucault utvrdio: "Sve češće urbanost određuje mjesta, koja ništa ne reprezentiraju, ali svakako predstavljaju suprotnost utopije, moći ili povijesti. Usporednost nespojivih, istovremenih događaja, koegzistencija usporedivih, međusobno ravnodušnih individualnosti."

U to je doba nastao pojam mjesta: *bilo gdje*, u smislu urbanog i kulturnog parametra, koji određuje našu svakodnevnicu, a koji je unutar samog sebe promjenljiv, bez posebnog identiteta ili odnosa prema određenom mjestu. Gradska središta postaju likvidna, potkopavana iznutra te neorganički povezivana s perifernim mjestima. Nastaju iscijepana mjesta i enklave. Nameće se pojam palimpsesta.

Simultano poimanje povijesnih folija, koje se mogu shvatiti između očevitne određenosti i prikrivene neodređenosti. Ovdje se naše odluke u kojima direktno sudjelujemo isprepliću bez primisli s odlukama starog prostora, koje su međutim nastajale u razdobljima od stotina, pa i tisuća godina.

Ovim je kratkim uvodom ukazano na temu ovoga eseja. On obuhvaća praktična iskustva, u prvom redu sa srednjoeuropskim gradom, ali i promatranja i studije američkih urbanih procesa. Centralna tema ovih promišljanja mogla bi se sažeti na sljedeći način: sve žešća suprotnost između grada i okoline, nestajanje tradicionalne slike europskoga grada, koji je svoju društvenu bazu već izgubio, te reakcija na sve jači *boom* konzumerizma i slobodnog vremena u naše informatičko doba.

Proces razgrađivanja europskoga grada počeo je, kao što znamo, već poslije Prvoga svjetskog rata. Danas nije više primjereno vidjeti taj proces kao suburbanizaciju, jer se gradski okoliš posve, u Foucaultovu smislu, osamostalio i postavlja se dinamički i funkcionalno prema primarnom gradskom naselju. Razlozi za ovaj pomak značenja i za fragmentaciju naših *urbs* i *civitas* leže u duboko ukorijenjenim idealima stanovanja, potrebama racionalnoga grada, industrije, uslužnih djelatnosti, kao i u već spomenutom strukturalnom preobražaju i konzumerizmu.

S tim smo idealima odrasli. Međutim danas možemo primijetiti protutendencije *stream*-politike, koje opet teže nadovezivanju na europsku gradsku jezgru. To je politika koja se mjeri stilom života gradske orijentacije, koja svoje interese investira u centralnost grada, ukazuje na kulturni kapital povijesnih gradskih jezgri, ali istovremeno iz njih izvlači dobit. Paralelno s tim – a to je u naše vrijeme simultanost pojave *anything goes* – ove tendencije vrednovanja europskoga grada i njegova istovremenog potkopavanja oslabljuju političku bazu uspješnog protudjelovanja.

Naš grad, koji danas poimamo kao neku vrstu integrativnog uređaja, preuzima odgovornost za koju po svojoj

By the end of the sixties, that is, at the beginning of the so-called second modern, Michael Foucault had already affirmed: "More and more frequently, urbanity has come to define places which represent nothing, but which surely present the opposite of utopia, power or history. A parallelism of unconnectable, simultaneous occurrences, the coexistence of comparable, mutually apathetic individualities." It was in that time that the idea of place came to be: *anywhere*, in the sense of an urban and cultural parameter which defines our everyday life, and which is in and of itself changeable, without a specific identity or relationship to a specific place. Urban settings become liquid, undermined from within, and then unorganically connected with the periphery. Disconnected places and enclaves result. The idea of the palimpsest arises. The simultaneous comprehension of historical foils, which can be understood between visible order and hidden disorder. Our decisions here, with which we are directly engaged, become without a second thought interwoven with the decisions of an old space, decisions which came to pass across periods of hundreds, even thousands of years.

This short introduction indicates the theme of this essay. It encompasses practical experience, first and foremost with the Central European city, but also observations and studies of American urban processes. The central theme of these considerations could be characterized in the following way: ever stronger opposition between the city and its surroundings, the disappearance of the traditional look of the European city, which has already lost its social base, and finally, reactions to the ever-stronger boom of consumerism and free time in the information age.

The disintegration process of the European city began, as we know, just after the First World War. Today it is no longer appropriate to look at that process as suburbanization, because the city's surroundings have become, in a Foucaultian sense, completely independent, and array themselves independently and functionally towards the primary city settlement. The reasons for this shift in meaning and this fragmentation of our *urbs* and *civitas* lie in deeply rooted ideals of living, the needs of a rational city, industry and service sector, as well as the aforementioned structural conversion and consumerism.

We grew up with these ideals. However, today the anti-tendencies of *stream* politics are apparent, and strive to add to European city centers. These are politics that are measured against the style of a city-oriented life, that invest their interests into the centralization of the city, that point out the cultural capital of historical city centers while at the same time extracting profit from them. Parallel with this – in our era, this is the simultaneousness of the *anything goes* effect – these tendencies of valuation of the European city and its simultaneous undermining weaken the political base of successful opposition.

strukturi nije stvoren. Prenapučenost etničkim manjinama, rast uslužnih djelatnosti, rapidni gubitak radnih mjesta – momentalno je u centralnoj Europi 6,5 milijuna radnih mjesta manje nego u prošlom desetljeću – te sve veći gubitak individualnosti povećavaju probleme. Zbog globalizacije se u Europi 70% pogona pretvorilo tek u filijale matičnih tvrtki. U Njemačkoj je 50 milijardi maraka investiranih 1970. godine u industriju slobodnog vremena poraslo 1997. na 450 milijardi maraka. Osim potkopavanja sadržajne baze gradske jezgre, istovremeno se odvija i njena muzealizacija.

S tim u vezi danas se govori o opadanju moći prostora. Gubitak značenja javnosti i politike nigdje nije tako očigledan – ni u literaturi, ni u likovnoj umjetnosti, ni na znanstvenom području – kao u slici grada. Privatizirani velegrad sve se više srozava na adiciju građevnih masa bez međusobne relacije. Grad kao vitalni vanjski prostor nestaje. On pokazuje tek jednu njegovanu i tek na samu sebe orijentiranu sterilnost. Nenamjerni susret, pa čak ni reprezentativnost, više se ne traži. To je arhitektura koja djeluje sama za sebe, koja je introvertirana i implozivna, u kojoj je gubitak socijalne i javne komponente za svakog očigledan.

Baudrillard govori tek o *buildingsima*, amorfnim zdanjima, bez ikakve afektivne veze s uličnim prostorom. Tako se i tradicionalna europska ulica pretvara u sivu tekuću vrpču. Između nje i građevina arhitekture koje je obrubljuju ne postoji nikakva povezanost. Ona više ne služi kao sredstvo integracije i interakcije. Najizrazitije primjere za to daje nam američki grad. Nedavno je Jean Louis Cohen s pravom upozorio na pasivnu indoktrinaciju Europe amerikanizmom, koji je već estetiziranjem brzine u smislu Henryja Forda u Europi bio slijepo prihvaćen.

Što je to dakle, pitamo se, našem gradu oteto, što mu je to opet potrebno? Specifičnost jednog mjesta, lokalni kolorit, informacija koja je na tom mjestu na jedinstven način zamjetljiva, krajolici i zgrade s ekonomskim i socijalnim posebnostima, klimatske iznimke, osobitosti godišnjih doba, jedinstvenost različitih lica i mirisa, povijesti i tradicije, glasa i ugođaja, faune i flore, zrak koji udišemo, zrak što struji krajolikom. Ako se sve povlači u unutrašnjost kuće, u privatni video-javni prostor, gdje sve informacije strelovitom brzinom i simultano stoje na raspolaganju, onda će mjesto, koje kao fizička jedinstvenost uistinu još postoji, socijalno i psihološki biti obezvrijeđeno do one točke u kojoj će postati beznačajno i sekundarno. Bit će to mjesto gdje se faktično živi i radi, dok je medijalno i informacijski prisutno svugdje, u onome *bilo gdje*.

Grad je vrlo senzibilan konstrukt, on je to više no neka knjiga ili neki objekt. Jedva se u kojoj drugoj točki socijal-

Our city, which we conceive today as some kind of integration device, is taking up a responsibility which, by its nature, it was not created for. Overcrowding with ethnic minorities, the growth of the service sector, rapid job loss – in Central Europe today there are 6.5 million less jobs than in the previous decade – along with an ever larger loss of individuality, are amplifying problems. Due to globalization, 70% of factories in Europe have been turned into nothing more than subsidiaries of larger companies. In Germany, the 50 billion marks that were in 1970 invested into the free-time industry grew by 1997 into 450 billion.

Besides the undermining of the content base of the city center, we are simultaneously experiencing its museification. In connection with this, today we also talk about the decline of the power of space. The loss of meaning of the public and politics is nowhere so obvious – nor in literature, nor in the fine arts, nor in the scientific field – as it is in the picture of the city. The privatized metropolis is being ever more cheapened by the addition of mutually unrelated architectural masses. The city as a vital external space is disappearing. It displays only a maintained sterility that is oriented exclusively towards itself. The unintentional meeting and even representativity are no longer sought after. It is architecture which acts only for itself, introverted and implosive, in which the loss of social and public components is obvious to everyone.

Baudrillard speaks only about *buildings*, amorphous edifices, without any affective connection with space on the street. In that way, even the traditional European street is turned into a gray liquid tape. No connection exists between it and the architectural structures surrounding it. It no longer serves as a medium for integration and interaction. The most expressed example of this is presented to us by the American city. Recently, Jean Louis Cohen correctly warned about Europe's passive indoctrination with Americanism, which, with the aestheticization of speed, like some Henry Ford in Europe, has already been blindly accepted.

What then, we ask ourselves, has been taken from our city, what does it need back? The specificity of a place, local color, information which is in that particular place uniquely apparent, views and buildings with economic and social distinctiveness, climatic exceptions, seasonal differences, the uniqueness of different faces and smells, history and traditions, voices and comforts, flora and fauna, the air we breathe, the air that courses through the landscape. If everything is withdrawn into the interior of the house, into private video-public space where all information is immediately at our service at incredible speed, then the place, which as a physical fact still exists, will be socially and psychologically devalued to the point that it will become meaningless and secondary. It will be a place that is lived in and

nog korpusa tako očigledno transportira budućnost. Mi se nalazimo na karizmatskoj točki novog milenija i nigdje se budućnost ne može tako jasno proigrati kao što se to može jednim neuspjelim gradom. Velika očekivanja koja se danas polažu u informatiku u vezi s prostornim sustavom grada treba uvijek ponovno preispitati jednostavnim pitanjem: hoće li ove nove tehnologije i njihova primjena ljude povezati i time pridonijeti da socijalna mreža postane gušća ili će pak intenziviranje telekomunikacija prouzročiti da se ljudi više ne susreću te oslabiti spontani interes za ono zaista drugo?

Ako promišljamo u kojoj su mjeri naša srednjoeuropska mjesta određena identitetom, relacijama i poviješću, onda jedan prostor koji smo postavili kao informatičku hipotezu, a koji ne posjeduje nikakav identitet, definira jedno ne-mjesto. Ono je čak besmislenije nego već citirano Foucaultovo *bilo gdje* i tvori milje koji sam ne posjeduje nikakve antropološke premise te jedva registrira i klasificira stara mjesta, da bi ih učinio mjestima sjećanja, kao što je to Baudelaire očekivao od svoje moderne.

Okrenimo se subjektivnoj razini ovoga diskursa. Kao arhitekt, usprkos svemu, osuđen sam oblikovati i ta siva mjesta. Dakle, jedan svijet koji je rođenje i smrt protjerao u bolnice, jedan svijet u kojem neprekidno raste broj tranzitnih prostora i provizornih zaposlenja, i to pod neugodnim, merkantilnim uvjetima, a u to su uključeni hotelski lanci, ferijalna naselja, izbjeglički logori. Jedan svijet u kojem se razvija vlastiti sustav prometnih sredstava orijentiran sam na sebe, jedan svijet u kojem se vlasnici kreditnih kartica vezuju za jedan nijemi život.

Grad koji formira ovakvu usamljenu individualnost postaje mjesto za proputovanje prepušteno provizornom i efemernom – ali i takav grad treba oblikovati.

Odatle proizlazi problematika arhitektove etike – je li još provediva njegova klasična zadaća povezivanja tehnike i umjetnosti, inovacije i estetike, emocionalnosti i racionalnosti. Učili smo da je na početku arhitekt bio dirigent orkestra, no on sada polagano mutira u svirača trombona u skupini jednakovrijednih instrumentalista.

Kako li je utješna slika što ju je osmislio Claude Nicholas Ledoux – arhitekt kao suparnik stvoritelja, dakle kao arhitekt umjetnik, koji se u našem vremenu, u najboljem slučaju, pretvorio u uslužnog djelatnika (definicija Komore), u minipoduzetnika.

Moramo li se zaista tužiti na to? Ili je možda ipak tako da bi sve veća specijalizacija i profilacija mogla biti odgovor na onu krizu koja sve više stavlja u pitanje status arhitekta široke orijentacije, a po mojem uvjerenju i svakog kulturnog djelatnika. Sve se to događa pred pozadinom sve kompleksni-

worked in, while it is in the sense of media and information all-present, in the *anywhere*.

The city is a very sensible construct, more so than a book or some object. At almost no other point in the social corpus is the future so obviously translocated. We find ourselves at a charismatic point in the new millenium, and nowhere can the future be so easily squandered as it can be for an unsuccessful city. Great expectations, which are today placed into informatics in connection with the city's spacial system, must constantly be reassessed with a simple question: will these new technologies and their application connect people and thus contribute to the thickening of the social network, or will intensified telecommunications simply cause people to not meet anymore and thus weaken the spontaneous interest for that which is truly 'other'? If we think about the extent to which our Central European towns are defined by their identity, relations and history, then a space posed as an informatic hypothesis, but which possesses no identity whatsoever, defines an 'un-place'. It is even more senseless than Foucault's already-cited *anywhere* and creates a milieu that in and of itself possesses no anthropological premises and barely registers or classifies old places to make them into places of memory, as Baudelaire expected from his Modern.

Let us turn to the subjective level of this discourse. As an architect, in spite of everything, I am sentenced to the task of shaping those grey places as well. Therefore, a world that has chased birth and death into the hospital, a world in which the number of transitional spaces and temporary jobs grows unhindered – and under uncomfortable, mercantile conditions at that, in which hotel chains, holiday settlements, and refugee camps are included. A world in which a traffic resource system is being developed oriented only towards itself, a world in which the holders of credit cards bind themselves to a mute life.

A city made out of such lonesome individuality becomes a place in which to peregrinate, resigned to the conditional and ephemeral – but even such cities must be shaped.

From therein come the problematics of the architect's ethics – is his classic task of connecting engineering and art, innovation and aesthetics, emotionality and rationality, still possible? We learned that in the beginning the architect was the director of an orchestra, but he is now slowly mutating into a trombone player in a group of equally-skilled instrumentalists.

How comforting is the picture Claude Nicholas Ledoux provides us with – of the architect as the creator's concurrent, therefore as an architect-artist, who in our time, in the best of cases, has been turned into a servile worker (the definition of a council), into a mini-entrepreneur. Must we really complain about this? Or is it simply that ever-better specialization and differentiation might be the answer to the crisis which puts the

jeg i mnogoslojnijeg društva te medijalne komponente koja nad svime ima kontrolu. Pitanje će dakle biti hoće li nama, koji djelujemo u kulturi, uspjeti rekonstruirati i reformirati ova ne-mjesta koja su određena stoljetnim pronalascima svakidašnjice i umijećima stvaranja, kako je to suptilno analizirao Michel de Certeau.

Pokušajmo se sada pomaknuti od analitičke razine u smjeru sinteze. Činjenica je da su odgovori što ih je pružila država blagostanja druge moderne odigrali svoju ulogu. Tek estetizacija stolova u obliku bubrega i plastičnog pokućstva tog doba čini s našeg današnjeg stajališta amblem te relativno uspješne epohe.

Djelotvorna globalizacija prikrivenih interesnih grupa, nestanak političkih ideograma, proplamsavanje raznih nacionalnih *revivala* te novi internacionalni liberalizam bez socijalne skrbi – sve to uzrokuje prekid s epohom druge moderne. Mi se nalazimo u međuvremenu, na putu u treću modernu.

Depresivno raspoloženje koje je zahvatilo grad i javni život njemački sociolog Thomas Sieverts pripisuje prekomjernom bogatstvu našeg društva. Njegova se kritika temelji na sljedećim premisama:

- previše automobila, mnogo više nego što bi to za jednu razumnu mobilnost bilo potrebno;
- prevelika potrošnja roba, sa suvišnim tokovima materijala i suvišnom masom otpada;
- previše slobodnog vremena, očigledno više nego što to naše informatičko društvo može svladati;
- previše stambene površine, koja naše stanove pretvara u skladišta pokućstva i pridonosi rastvaranju grada;
- prevelika kupovna moć, čija je posljedica uništavanje prirode;
- previše školovanih ljudi, za koje nema razumnog i sigurnog posla;
- k tome još: 40% maturanata u Austriji i Njemačkoj ne nalazi više osmišljeno i stručno zaposlenje, pri čemu to sigurno nije pitanje novca.

Ovaj gotovo apokaliptični vid stvari vodi nas do spoznaje da danas moraju u prvom planu stajati materijalizirani sustavi odnosa i uzorci života u našem prorijeđenom gradu, a ne nekakve stilističke preokupacije arhitekata.

Danas se govori o odbacivanju standardiziranih radnih i životnih parametara, koje nadomješta reoblikovanje. Sociolozi nam baš u tom, tako likvidnom gradu s poslovnim centrima na periferiji sugeriraju prihvaćanje šanse nezaposlenosti za korištenje obrazovnih potencijala i koncepata slobodnog vremena pod uvjetima promijenjenih mogućnosti za mobilnost. U toj novoj blizini, kažu nam ekonomisti, sadržani su veliki potencijali ušteda, koje se mogu primijeniti za sani-

status of the wider-oriented architect, and in my opinion, that of every cultural worker, in question? All of this is happening before the background of an ever more complex and multilayered society and media components that have control over everything. The question is, then, if they will succeed in reconstructing and reforming for us these un-places which are defined by centuries of discovery of the everyday and the crafts of creation, as Michel de Certeau subtly analyzed.

Let us now try to move away from the analytical level towards synthesis. It is a fact that the answers offered by the welfare state of the second modern have played their part. Even the aestheticization of tables in the shape of kidneys and plastic furnishings of that era seem to us from our current perspective an emblem of that relatively successful time.

An effective globalization of special interest groups, the disappearance of political ideograms, a blazing up of various national *revivals* as well as a new international liberalism without social care – all of this is causing a break with the era of the second modern. We find ourselves in an interim, on the way to the third modern.

German sociologist Thomas Sieverts attributes the depressing mood which has captured the city and public life to the excessive wealth of our society. His criticism is based on the following premises:

- too many automobiles, many more than are needed for a reasonable amount of mobility,
- too much consumption of goods, with excessive material flows and excessive massive waste,
- too much free time, apparently more than our information society can handle,
- too much living space, which turns our apartments into warehouses of furnishings and contributes to the decay of the city,
- too much buying power, the consequence of which is the destruction of nature,
- too many educated people for whom there are no sensible and secure jobs,
- additionally: 40% of secondary school graduates in Austria and Germany do not find meaningful or professional work, in which case money is certainly not in question.

This nearly apocalyptic view of things leads us to the realization that what must today stand in the spotlight are materialized systems of relations and life patterns in our rarefied city, not some architect's stylistic preoccupations.

Today, we talk about discarding standardized working and living parameters, which are being replaced through a kind of reshaping. Sociologists have suggested to us, in that very liquid city with business centers on its periphery, the acceptance of

ranje prirodnih resursa. Govori se i o jednom novom društvu djelatnosti, o jednoj državi djelatnosti. Sve se više uviđa da se ne može gospodariti na račun generacija koje dolaze. Sve to vodi novoj strukturi gradskog krajolika, pa tako i k novoj *civitas*, određenoj simbiotskim odnosima i procesima, koji će omogućiti prisvajanje grada u vremenu kojim će se moći relativno slobodno raspolagati. Jasno je da upravo mi, arhitekti, moramo ukazati na vezu između realnog i virtualnog u javnom prostoru. Tijekom svih epoha kod nas u srednjoj Europi – a to i jest pravi kapital – idejna su strujanja i njihovo uobličjenje ostali živi, a u preoceanskim zemljama potpuno su nestali.

Oni moraju dalje djelovati i u trećoj moderni, te kao europska perspektiva gradskog života zadržati svoj značaj. Novi edukativni grad mora se oduprijeti muzealizaciji. Ne trebamo nikakve esperantističke filijale centra Pompidou ili MOMA nego moramo njegovati autohtono zajedništvo kultura i podupirati nezamjenjivost pojedinih mjesta.

Druga velika opasnost koju danas treba kontrolirati jest nova kultura zabave. O tome nam mnogo govori bečka sociologinja Anette Baldauf. Bilo to u Las Vegasu, ili City Walku u Kaliforniji, ili na Times Squareu, ili pak na Potsdamerplatzu u Berlinu – takozvani *global players* industrije zabave, kao što su *Sony*, *Disney*, *Warner Brothers* itd. napuštaju svoj teritorij na periferiji i osvajaju naš grad ili, bolje rečeno, svoju ideju grada, zapravo surogat grada. Potrošački hramovi kao *Niketown* ili razni *Entertainmentcenters* tvore nove znakovne sustave kapitala kulture te prisvajaju gradske centre pomoću imidža vječne mladosti. Istovremeno navedeni centri oduzimaju suburbijima svojstven strah od nepoznatog, onog nečeg drugog, i to razrađenim, gotovo nevidljivim sustavima nadzora i kontrole. Svaka imaginacija ili kreativna fantazija ovdje se sprečava rizikom bez rizika. Stari *Shopping-mall*, simbol amerikanizma, kao i tematski park, ima sve manje posjetilaca. Oni su izraz suburbija koji je izgubio svoj utopijski potencijal. Zbog toga dolazi do ataka na naš grad.

Hoće li sutra društvo dokolice, razmaženo bogatstvom, premda možda bez mogućnosti zaposlenja, doživjeti svoj konačni vrhunac spajanjem zabave i naobrazbe u industriji kulture – pojavi koju su i Adorno i Horckheimer kritizirali. Hoće li se prostor zabave i prostor života stopiti u neki neutralni konglomerat? Demonstriraju li *Entertainment cities* raspad modernog javnog prostora, gubitak *civitas*a, za čime tako romantično žali Sennett, ili su oni sidro spasa implodirajućeg društva koje traži uporište u tematski definiranim prostorima? Sigurno je da je amerikanizacija europskoga grada uvela suptilni kulturni imperijalizam, pri čemu je gašenje lokalnih posebnosti postalo načinom ponašanja.

the opportunities of unemployment to make use of educational potential and the concept of free time under changed mobility conditions. This new proximity, economists say, has great savings potential, which can be used for the recovery of natural resources. We are talking about a new business society, a new business state. All of this leads to a new structuring of the cityscape, as well as to a new *civitas*, defined by symbiotic relationships and processes, which will make the usurpation of the city possible in time that can be made relatively free use of. It is clear that we, architects, are the ones who have to point out the relationship between the real and virtual in public space. Through all epochs in Central Europe – and this is our true capital – idea flows and their shaping have survived, while in countries across the ocean they have disappeared completely.

They must continue to function in the third modern and, as a European perspective of city life, retain their meaning. The new educational city must resist museification. We do not need any kind of Esperanto-esque subsidiaries of the Pompidou Center or MOMA – rather we must protect the indigenous collective of culture and support the irreplaceability of specific places.

The second great danger that must today be controlled is the new entertainment culture. Viennese sociologist Anette Baldauf can tell us much about this. Whether in Las Vegas or City Walk in California, or on Times Square, or even Potsdamerplatz in Berlin – the so-called *global players* of the entertainment industry, such as *Sony*, *Disney*, *Warner Brothers* etc. are abandoning their peripheral territory and conquering our cities, or rather their idea of the city, the city's surrogate.

Consumer temples like Niketown or various *entertainment centers* are forming a new semiotic system of cultural capital, and are adopting city centers with the help of an image of eternal youth. Simultaneously, these centers are taking up the suburban signature fear of the unknown, fear of the other, and this is happening through well-developed, nearly invisible systems of supervision and control. Every imagined thought or creative fantasy is stopped here, risk-free, by risk. The old *shopping mall*, a symbol of Americanism, along with the theme park are receiving less and less visitors. They are an expression of a suburbia that has lost its utopian potential. This has led to an attack on our city. Will the leisure society of tomorrow, spoiled by wealth despite possibly being unable to find employment, experience its final climax with the union of entertainment and education in the culture industry – phenomena that both Adorno and Horckheimer have criticized? Will entertainment space and living space be joined into some sort of neutral conglomerate? Do *entertainment cities* represent the downfall of modern public space, the loss of the *civitas* that Sennett so romantically mourns, or are they the anchor that will save an imploding society seeking a foothold in

Gubitak nenamjernog susreta, slučaja, koji često može utjecati na čitav životni program, potkopava polikromiju etničkih pripadnosti. Iz *South Bronx* u New Yorku već se sedamdesetih godina odselilo oko 60 000 građana židovske manjine u korist nezadrživog širenja crnog stanovništva. Osamdesetih godina tu je bilo oko 35 000 požara. Godine 1994. predsjednik Clinton u državnom je proračunu predvidio 300 milijuna dolara za najsiromašnije četvrti New Yorka kako bi Afroamerikance, Južnoamerikance i židovske imigrante povezao u jedinstven sustav odnosa realnog života. Sve to vodi do slika arhitekture. Mi razrađujemo okvirnu radnju tih slika. Tako nastali *passepertout* utječe onda na ljude koji u njemu žive. Djelatnost arhitekta trebala bi osigurati faktor prostornosti unutar čovjekova djelovanja. On bi trebao stvoriti epifaniju prostora, u kojoj se povijesna, lokalno specifična forma mora razlikovati od svoje funkcionalne determinacije. Nije dakle potrebno samo jedinstvo nego je isto tako potrebna i afirmacija različitosti. Mješavina povezanosti i različitosti tvori polje mogućnosti jakih slika u dramaturgiji grada.

Ludwig Wittgenstein, filozof opsjednut jezikom, usporedio je tekst i teksturu grada: "Labirint ulica i malih trgova, starih i novih kuća, sve to okruženo nebrojenim predgrađima ravnih cesta, uzduž kojih stoje jednolike kuće."

Mnogo virulentnijim, s potpunim prihvaćanjem kompleksnosti grada, sasvim drugačijim nego što je to apodiktički stav bečkog asketa, pokazuje se stav Jamesa Joycea i njegova *Ulyssesa*. Umjesto da slijedi jednu liniju, njegova se snaga širi oko jedne jedine točke u svim dimenzijama, pa i u onoj vremenskoj. *Ulyssesov* svijet nastanjen je kompleksnim i neiscrpnim životom: mi u njega ulazimo kao u jedan grad, u koji se često vraćamo da bismo njegova lica opet prepoznali, da bismo razumjeli njegove ljude te njegovali svoje veze i interese. Joyce, koji je dugo živio u Trstu, upijao je u sebe atmosferu Jadrana, pa je i svom sinu Giorgiu slao razglednice pisane na tršćanskom dijalektu. On je iz tog labirinskog grada, koji sam i ja u mladosti doživio, izvukao jednu tehničku metodu vrijednu pažnje, kojom nas uvodi u elemente svoje priče na takav način da onda možemo samostalno prolaziti svoj vlastiti put kroz knjigu: svejedno na kojem mjestu opet počinjemo čitati *Ulyssesa*, mi to možemo učiniti na svakoj proizvoljnoj točki. Grad koji zaista postoji u prostoru i u koji se iz svakog smjera može ući – kao što Joyce, po vlastitim riječima, na različitim mjestima svoje knjige može opet nastaviti dalje pisati.

Pokazuje se da urbanost predstavlja i krizu: ono što ne pristaje zajedno, ono neuređeno, ono dvojbeno, sve što je spontano i što fluktuiru – sve to stvara dojmove i izazove za naše osjetilno poimanje. Ova diverzifikacija i kontekstuali-

tematically defined spaces? The Americanization of the European city was most certainly introduced through subtle cultural imperialism, the result of which was that the extinguishing of local curiosities became standard procedure.

The loss of the unintentional meeting, coincidence, which can often have an impact on the entire system of living, is undermining the polychromy of ethnic affiliations. By the 1970's in New York's South Bronx, around 60,000 Jewish minority citizens had already moved away, to the benefit of the unsustainable spreading of the black population. In the 80's it saw around 35,000 fires. In 1994 President Clinton foresaw 300 million dollars from the federal budget for the poorest neighborhoods in New York so that Afro-Americans, South Americans and Jewish immigrants might pull themselves together into a united system of real-life relationships. All of this leads to a picture of architecture. We are developing the basic plot of these pictures. A *passepertout* that comes about in this way naturally has consequences for the people who live in it. The work of the architect should be to ensure a factor of spatiality within human actions. He should create an epiphany of space in which the historical, locally specific form must differ from its own functional determination. Not only is uniqueness necessary, but the affirmation of differences is as well. A mixture of connections and differences can create a field of possibilities of powerful scenes within a city's dramaturgy.

Ludwig Wittgenstein, a philosopher obsessed with language, compared the text and texture of a city: "A labyrinth of streets and small shops, old and new houses, all surrounded by countless suburbs with straight streets, along which stand identical houses."

Much more virulent, and with a complete acceptance of the complexity of the city altogether different from the apodeictical position of the Viennese ascetic, is the position of James Joyce and his *Ulysses*. Instead of following one path, its strength spreads around one single point in all dimensions, even temporally. The world of *Ulysses* is filled with complex and inexhaustible life: we enter into it as we would enter a city, to which we frequently return to rerecognize its face, that we might understand its people and nurture our own relationships and interests. Joyce, who lived for a long while in Trieste, drank in the atmosphere of the Mediterranean, even sending his son Giorgio postcards written in Trieste's dialect. From that labyrinth of a city, which I myself experienced in my youth, Joyce extracted a technical method worthy of notice, with which he leads us into the elements of his story in such a way that we can independently find our own way through the book: it does not matter at what point we start to read *Ulysses*, we can do so at any arbitrary point. A city that truly exists in space and which can be entered

zacija homogenog i heterogenog danas je glavna zadaća za arhitekta. Njegov subjekt, njegovo ja, sa svim prirođenim, apriornim preferencijama, povlače se u drugi plan. Kapital srednjoeuropskoga grada, koji treba ponovo uspostaviti, upravo je njegova polifonija, koja se u židovsko-kršćanskoj kulturi već rano pokazala kao razdvajanje vjerske duhovnosti i svjetovnosti, moralnosti i ravnodušnosti, vjerske pripadnosti i potencijalnog neprijateljstva. Dramaturgija ovih principa segregacije mijenjala se kroz stoljeća – staleži, zanimanja, industrijske klase – sve to vodi gradogradnji, kao suzbijanju opasnosti, koje svako specifično vrijeme donosi. Nakon funkcionalno raščlanjenog grada slijedi tayloristički grad, a putokaz za treću modernu u smjeru istinskoga grada već je postavljen, kao što čitav ovaj diskurs pokazuje.

Ipak, skeptici među nama pitat će se mora li arhitektura ući u tako tijesnu vezu s fenomenom vremena. Može li arhitektura preuzeti odgovornost za društvo rizika i gdje su njezine granice između virulencije i apatije? Naravno, arhitekti naginju tome da spoznaje sociologa često neposredno primijene na javni prostor. Pred bijelim crtačim stolom pomišlja se na: gubitak solidarnosti, proizvoljnost izmjene informacija, fenomen pojave samaca, opadanje nataliteta, sve višu moguću životnu dob – novi starci, prilagodbu obaju spolova tržištu rada, virtualne biografije, oslobađanje od tradicionalnih partija, modu naizmjeničnog glasovanja, personalizaciju televizijskih ikona te na besadržajnu medijsku igru.

Sve to i još mnogo drugoga događa se pri lutanjima kroz grad, u njegovoj općenitoj dezorijentaciji i njegovu ukroćenom erosu.

Duboka transformacija društva najavljuje i nove zadaće za arhitekta. Cijenit će se potencijali kvalitete novouređenih socijalno-ekoloških reinvesticija. Moramo se polako osloboditi i svih tih istinitih, ali apokaliptičnih slika, što nam ih pružaju *cyber-space*-sociolozi, da bismo se mogli baviti oblikovanjem. Sve te fenomene treba proučavati, ali potrebno je shvatiti i specifičnu rezistenciju naših gradova. Grad posjeduje paralelne slike, kao što je to utvrdio Robert Musil, grad još uvijek ima mogućnosti i preživjet će nas – on posjeduje trajnost. Umberto Eco ustvrdio je da pojedinačno ljudsko sjećanje nije dostatno za šetnju Joyceovim *Ulyssesom* sa svom njegovom zahtjevnošću.

Moj srednjoeuropski prostor sličan je tom *Ulyssesu*, gdje svatko može naći svoj put, bez zasićenja umjetnim zajedništvom. Baš velik broj tih prikrivenih mogućnosti u *urban sprawl*, u rastočenom području, pruža barem za moju djelatnost inspirativan humus.

Tu leže čvrsti parametri vezani uz vremenske slojeve koji se suprotstavljaju čitavom tom brbljanju o virtualnom, globalnom, digitalnom i ostalom “bla-bla”. Mene puno više

from any direction – one such as Joyce, in his own words, could continue writing again from any point in his book.

It appears that urbanity also represents a crisis: that which is not mutually accepted, the disorderly, the dubious, everything spontaneous and fluctuant – all of this creates impressions and challenges for our sensory perception. This diversification and contextualization of the homogeneous and heterogeneous remains today the architect’s main task. His subject, his I, with all its innate, *a priori* preferences, retreats into the background. The capital of the Central European city, which must be reestablished, is actually its polyphony, which in Jewish-Christian culture presented itself early on as the division of religious spirituality and secularity, morality and equanimity, religious belonging and potential animosity. The dramaturgy of these principles of segregation have changed through the centuries – ranks, professions, industrial classes – all of this leads to citybuilding as opposition to the dangers that every specific time brings. After the functionally dismembered city comes the Taylorist city, and the map towards the third modern in the direction of the genuine city has already been established, as this entire discourse shows.

Nevertheless, the skeptics among us will ask themselves if architecture must really enter into such a close relationship with the phenomenon of time. Can architecture take up responsibility for a risk society, even where its borders lie between virulence and apathy? Of course, architects prefer that the revelations of sociologists be often directly applied to public space. Sitting at a white drawing table, they often ponder the loss of solidarity, the arbitrariness of information exchange, the phenomenon of the loner, the decline in the birth rate, the ever-higher potential life expectancy – new old people, adjustments in the job market to accommodate both sexes, virtual biographies, freedom from traditional parties, the fashion of alternative voting, the personification of television icons and the contentless media game. All of this and much more happens when wandering through the city, its general disorientation and tamed eros.

The deep transformation of society also hails new tasks for architects. Value will be placed on the quality potential of newly-ordered socioecological reinvestments. We must also slowly free ourselves of all those true yet apocalyptic pictures offered to us by *cyberspace* sociologists, in order to allow ourselves to deal in shaping. All of these phenomena should be studied, however it is also necessary to comprehend the specific resistance of our cities. The city holds a parallel picture, Robert Musil confirms, the city still has a chance and it will outlive us – it has permanence. Umberto Eco asserts that individual human memory is not enough for a walk through Joyce’s *Ulysses*, with all of its demands.

My Central European space is similar to that *Ulysses*, where everyone can find his own way without being saturated with arti-



zanima put prema odgovornoj oblikovnoj sintezi u kojoj će se moći izraziti različitosti pri istovremenom poimanju vremen-  
skih slojeva. Radi se dakle o povezivanju novih društvenih  
fenomena sa specifičnom memorijom mjesta. Pritom je  
potreban okvirni estetski koncept. Ne radi se dakle o mani-  
festima s banalnim pitanjima kao što je to naprimjer bilo ono  
postavljeno u uskom mentalnom pruskom rasteru prilikom  
izgradnje Berlina: "Kojim stilom graditi?" Meni osobno baš  
se tu nameće potpuna raznorodnost, specifikacija, proširenje  
i osjećajno afirmiranje pojma grad – a ne umjetna homo-  
genizacija. Pruski diktat jednog nestvarnog stila, baš kao i  
*anything goes* arhitekture slične *Idilama* austrijskog pjesnika  
Ernsta Jandla, u kojima se programatski kaže: "Ja sam slobodan  
i meni je zlo." Treba reći i to da se moramo čuvati preo-  
tvorene europeizacije, kao što to pokazuje primjer poznatoga  
suvremenog književnika, koji već u svom jeziku piše tako da  
ga se lako i brzo može prevesti, da bi kao prvi bio prisutan na  
sajmu knjiga u Frankfurtu. Međutim mi, kao arhitekti, jedva  
ćemo moći promijeniti društvo. Možemo pružiti samo dobar  
*passpartout* unutar kojega će se odvijati njegova sudbina.  
Moguće je oblikovati tek okvirnu radnju, ako je potrebno i sa  
subverzivnim stavom prema sadašnjem vremenu. Arhitektura  
mora danas uspostaviti pročišćavajuću ekvidistanciju prema  
gorućim fenomenima našeg vremena i prisjetiti se opet edu-  
kativnog i uslužnog impetusa. Ako se ograničim na srednjo-  
europski prostor, koji poznajem, onda bih tražio rezistenciju  
javnog prostora baš tamo gdje se dosad naslućivala apatija.  
A apatiju treba moći osjetiti baš tamo gdje je ona prikrivena  
fenomenima našeg informatičkog vremena.

Nakraju bih rekao da će u tradiranom, ali i idealiziranom  
*physisu* grada najbolja mjesta biti ona gdje će čovjek moći  
boraviti usred neizvjesnosti a da pritom ne mora biti uzne-  
miren pitanjima o razlozima i činjenicama.

ficial togetherness. The truly large number of these possibilities  
hidden within *urban sprawl*, in that decanted space, offers (at  
least as far as my work is concerned) an inspiring medium.

Here lie solid parameters, connected through layers of time,  
that oppose all that blabbering about the virtual, global, digital  
and all the other *blah-blah*. I am much more interested in the  
path towards a responsible shaping synthesis in which differ-  
ences can be expressed through simultaneous comprehension  
of layers of time. It is a matter of, therefore, connecting new  
social phenomena with the specific memory of a place. We must  
have a framework aesthetic concept in order to accomplish this.  
We are not concerned with manifests full of banal questions,  
such as that which was asked in the narrow, Prussian frame of  
mind before the reconstruction of Berlin: "In what style should  
we build?" Personally, I would at this point introduce complete  
heterogeneousness, specificity, growth and a sensitive affirma-  
tion of the concept of the city, not artificial homogenization.  
The Prussian dictate of a false style, just like *anything goes* archi-  
tecture, is similar to the "Idylls" of Austrian poet Ernst Jandl, in  
which he programatically says: "I am free and I feel ill." It also  
must be said that we must protect ourselves from being too  
open towards Europeization, as the example of one well known  
modern author shows, who even in his own language writes how  
his work could be easily and quickly translated, and how it would  
be the first one present at the book fair in Frankfurt. However,  
we as architects are hardly able to change society. We can simply  
offer a good *pass-partout*, inside of which its fate will be played  
out. It is only possible to change the basic framework of the plot,  
even, if necessary, with a subversive opinion towards modern  
times. Architecture today must establish a cleansing equidis-  
tance towards the pressing phenomena of our time and again  
take up an educational and helpful impetus.

If I limit myself to Central Europe, with which I am famil-  
iar, I would then seek the resistance of public space right there  
where, until now, we have sensed apathy – while we should be  
able to detect apathy in those places where it is concealed by  
the phenonema of our information age.

Finally, I would like to say that in a traditionalized, but ideal-  
ized *physis* of a city, the best places will be those where people  
can live amidst uncertainty without having to be disturbed by  
questions of reasons and facts.