

Original Scientific Paper
UDC: 72.012
725.826(497.11)
DOI: 10.5937/zrffp54-51026

HEURISTIC RETROSPECTION OF META-ARCHITECTURAL CONSTRUCTS WITHIN SAVA AMPHITHEATER PLANNING (BELGRADE)

Aleksa S. CIGANOVIĆ¹

Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia
Belgrade (Serbia)

Vladimir M. STEVANOVIĆ²

Union – Nikola Tesla University
Faculty of Construction Management
Department of Architecture and Urban Planning
Belgrade (Serbia)

¹ aleksa.s.ciganovic@gmail.com;  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0173-5602>

² vstevanovic@unionnikolatesla.edu.rs;  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7770-5282>

Received: May 14, 2024
Accepted: September 24, 2024

HEURISTIC RETROSPECTION OF META-ARCHITECTURAL CONSTRUCTS WITHIN SAVA AMPHITHEATER PLANNING (BELGRADE)

Keywords:
meta-architectural
constructionism;
architectural
iconology;
Jean-Michel
Berthelot;
Sava Amphitheater
(Belgrade).

Abstract. This paper is concerned with the observation of qualitative changes of planning solutions for the Sava Amphitheater in Belgrade in the latter half of the 20th century. The theoretical framework within which these changes are examined is Jean-Michel Berthelot's epistemological program of thought, with its trifold polarity: *naturalist*, *intentional*, and *symbolic*. On the basis of critical analysis of the spatial synthesis in the planning solutions for the Sava Amphitheater, the paper hypothesizes that it is possible to identify chronologically the architectural planning and design solutions as evolving from radicalist to liberalist to conservativist thought, which may be taken to, analogously, correspond to the concept of transition from the naturalist to the intentional to the symbolic pole, as attributes of the contemporary epistemological program of thought of the second half of the 20th century. Following the transition of Berthelot's epistemological poles from the standpoint of a general understanding of socio-cultural and socio-technical programmatic changes, this paper aims to establish the possibility of defining the notion of meta-architectural heritology as a constructionist modality of thought, which establishes certain rules of meta-architectural anthropology. The result of a transdisciplinary introduction into the investigative focus of a constructionist theoretical program points to the fact that every form of technical contemporaneity derives its value from mediated correspondences with heritage according to a model constructed by observation from the "outside," from the field of historical spatial samples. The paper concludes that the constructionist transgression as a philosophical and socio-humanist dogma is an essential mechanism for finding criteria for the use of the two most widespread analytical architectural approaches—*research by design* and *grounded theory approach*.

Introduction

The probable reason for the complete absence of a constructionist position in contemporary architectural theory, i.e., more accurately, its lingering in the realm of contemporary researcher goal-oriented design (Groat & Wang, 2013) may be that the most notable recent standpoints of committed theorists and creators of architecture have, for the most part, been exposed in epistemological form and kept in the shadow of personalist heuristics, while the methodological implications of their design and planning most frequently remained silenced and in the background. Another reason for the absence, in the architectural theory of space, of this overly embodied situational and cognitive concept of social and humanistic theories is probably the dominant presence of classical and abstract terms established in the traditional vocabulary of architecture, such as the spirit of the place (*genius loci*) and the spirit of the time (*genius saeculi*). Their logical foundation in architecture and methodological applicability remain inappropriate both in operational and theoretical procedures. Borrowed from cultural anthropology and literary essays, their adequacy in architectural theory is rarely questioned, including their more recent semantic derivatives from glocal constructs such as *maps* and *non-places*. As a result, these terms are relativized and poeticized explanations of the ambiance and atmosphere of space, actively present but ineffective in formulating a model of spatial synthesis as a fundamental issue, first of all, of the planning and project protection of the architectural culture of space. Accordingly, these terms are normatively outmoded, positivist—thus imprecise, and insufficiently clear thought determinants, and their rejection is the result of a double interpretation — as non-objective descriptions for assessing the comparability of structural-discursive relations and excessive speculative ambiguity in the field of aesthetic analysis (Kadijević, 2010). A common denominator of all constructionist approaches to the philosophy of synthesis points to its reflexive loop and inductivist constructs in individual modalities of thought about society.

Contemporary representatives of meta-architectural constructionism, in the sense of this theorization, are mostly gathered around information and

communication methodologies of infographic visuality and meta-picture of the plan, *Buildswissenschaft* (germ.), and the Eastern idea that a picture is worth a thousand words. Special recognition for this approach can be given to French phenomenology and, especially, to the category of vision and its problematization in the works of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Jean Paul Ricœur, Georges Didi-Huberman, Jean-Luc Marion, and others. At the same time, they emphasize the problem of revealing its cognitive nature in the context of explaining the reality bases that build the meta-image of a future planning solution. The important idea is that of the power of knowledge, control, and punishment, which is based on the oculoscopic study of the power of disciplining through spatial dispositions (Michael Foucault), typical of the *new age-ist* social perspective, whose foundation is the ensurance of the desired construction of individualization and tuning of behavior, from the individual to the group. James Elkins and Mike Ball, theorists of visual constructs, consider the approach of Jacques Derrida extraordinary in terms of its influence on visual constructionism, whose characteristic is the penetration into the field of visual behaviorism, which is intentionally taken without resorting to gestalt and its motherly discipline (history of art), in which the majority of works sit in domains that cannot even be named (Elkins, 2003, pp. 113–115; Ball & Smith, 1992). Also significant is the neologism *iconoscienza* by Bruno Latour (1987). In the area of the convergence of anthropology, history of art, and philosophy, Latour incorporates the knowledge of planning images as the stage of exchange for contemporary science and art, serving as an instrument of interaction between different forms of thought. The image of the plan is interpreted as a cultural presentation, whose meaning is largely connected to the intent to represent, despite the problem of its epistemological objectification. It would be appropriate here to remember the constructs of visual communications and Umberto Eco's concept of the lexicon, as the secondary code of communication in which plans are recognizable fragments of social reality, whether actual or fictional. Plans and maps contribute to the creation of stereotypes, through the lens of which one observes the social reality that surrounds them, identifying the interactive and causal representation of the relation between themselves and society by means of specific discourses. In the Eastern political iconological hemisphere, Juri Lotman speaks of the socio-cultural environment of cognitive constructions, considering the iconic sign as a textual continuum, stressing the impossibility of isolating its discrete semiological elements, which, in his opinion, is the specificity of the always tendentious architectural-iconographical communication, which is oriented towards generating a particular social semantics (Lotman, 1978, p. 93).

For the constructionist connection, i.e., summarization of iconological and discursive postulates in the context of this paper, special importance is given to the understanding of the French social anthropologist and philosopher of science Jean-Michel Berthelot, who argues that iconological meta-images form integral

part of cultural history, which he finds iconophilic, in the sense of *indexical transmission of feeling of direct analogies, correspondence, or sensibilities, which confirm our semiotic and cognitive performance* (Berthelot, 2012, pp. 178–179, 457). Iconological presentation, in cultural tradition, exhibits the characteristics of a social state, considered purely imaginary. To understand the complexity of iconological reduction to discourse, Berthelot posits a hierarchy of three logical-epistemological orders of indexed representation: 1) primary or initial iconological order, which is qualitative, monadic, and individualistic imaginary part of impressions; 2) secondary or dyadic order, according to which perception is interpersonally and interobjectively structured; 3) tertiary, which is the order of regularity in phenomena which lead to symbolic cummulativity, paradigmatic orders, and social normativity. Berthelot has found that empirical sciences still control scientific theories through perception, which is, first and foremost, visual and tactile (Berthelot, 2012, p. 521). In this sense, the notion of *synthesis*, which lies in the constructionist center of meta-architectural iconology, is not only an aesthetic but also a meta-discursive term. *Synthesis* is not opposed to *difference* or *dichotomy* understood analytically; it is not the difference between *before* and *after*; and it is not *more* or *less* original than the difference, because it depends on the domain of reflection on the social vision of choice.

Constructionist Meta-Theory: Three Poles of Berthelot's Epistemological Program

From the standpoint of a general understanding of the transition of polyparadigmatic cultural changes in contemporary social space, Jean-Michel Berthelot rejects Thomas Kuhn's excessively misused idea of paradigm as signifying developmental and epistemological paths as the model of excessively stabilized, rigid, and reductive nature (Berthelot, 2012, p. 458). Berthelot affirms the term epistemological program as a more flexible and speculative option capable of inscribing and arranging complementary sets of methodological arrangements, theories, and categorical schemes at related and connected poles under its more general analogical, model, and metaphorical assemblage of epistemology. For Berthelot, epistemological programs represent proactive operators of society with a relatively stable core of theoretical defense. Such arguments are devoid of one-way thought stabilization, which makes them more useful than Kuhn's paradigms, given that the history of the inheritance of intellectual patterns reveals a polyparadigmatic historicity and value orientations that often have to be defined in opposition to dominant theoretical patterns (Berthelot, 2012, p. 457).

The first constructionist pole, which Berthelot calls the naturalist pole, represents a meta-theoretical platform whose path has been determined by classical positivism, typo-morphology, and empiricism related to the inductive

method of natural sciences. The characteristics of the naturalist pole stem from the so-called existentialist turn posterior to World War II. This pole concerns aspectualities of exemplars, basic structures, and causal connections, whereas the idiosyncratic morphology of personalist thought is based on positivist, objective, and rational program continuity, which makes a multidisciplinary mix out of social and anthropological phenomena and the world of natural phenomena (Berthelot, 2012, p. 457). In visual anthropology, this pole still maintains the classical postulates of the history of art and appreciates the foundations of the earlier theories of visual aesthetics and gestalt. Spatial patterns represent the existence of a general structure of thought and life within the/an environment of natural constitutions which programmatically linger in the post-war echoes of the Athens Charter (CIAM IV, 1933), which postulates modernist concepts of the relation between structure and function, everydayness, and healthy and hygienic dwelling. According to this constructionist program, physical space represents a continuum that is the same for everyone: public space in spatial constructions is considered neutral, shared, and available, as a program around which ideas of existential safety are gathered and which is immanent to the constructs of democracy and free will. The effects of planning cannot be greater than the necessary cause, while structural patterns of space are interpreted through purely Euclidean metrics of the relation and disposition of plannable elements. A consequence of naturalist epistemology in its relation to the building heritage is its prominence as a sign-forged reality in the form of an expographical model musealized under the umbrella of contemporary architecture, which makes it a marker of ambiance and the illusion of atmosphere, or, like in soc-realism, a retro-aesthetic analogy of the tectonic and historically real.

The second constructionist pole, which Berthelot refers to as the intentional pole, is directly opposed to the previous one and points to the engagement of social participants, utilitarian beliefs, and enthusiastic preferences, which are the prerequisites of liberal goal-oriented actions through instrumental rationalism. The intentional pole is constructed from schemes of evolutionary emergentism and unrelated incrementalism, as a model of organic complexity (Berthelot, 2012, p. 518). In architecture, this pole is based on the appropriation of systemic technological achievements, a thought which dominantly advocates the consumption of resources and the energy phenomenology of the concentrated metropolis with a culturological base, which is comprised of the position of methodological individualism and interdisciplinarity. The epistemology of meta-architectural intentionality implies that creative perceptions, beliefs, desires, intentions, and other propositional attitudes of design and planning participants suppose engaged creators with individualized intentions regarding spatial and normative structure. As social theorist and philosopher Alpar Losoncz concludes, intentionality is based on the emancipatory thought of independent initiative, which is close to the risk of violence. According to

the chronological horizon and ontological sense in the international historiography of architecture, the programmatic basics of this pole are contained in projections of a liaison between urban development and engaged society, as formerly interpreted by Lewis Mumford in his seminal two-volume work titled *The Myth of the Machine*. Mumford positioned the problem of urbanism within the converging processes of science and economy, exposed through political power and technology as a unity, which contribute to useless, alienating, and eccentric values in the improvement of city dwellers' lives.

According to this constructionist program, the effects of planning based on the principle of methodological individualism overpass the causal requirements, while the city space is considered a field of dominantly present alternatives and variable conceptual choices, with urban patterns in the environment created and changed by the decisions and reasons of various participants (actors). Intentional planning of spatial anatomy supposes a deconstructivist analysis and control of space as an enclosed system of a limited scope, i.e., it supposes a programmed process and a projective rationality which does not adapt to the external systemic openness of variable factors. The conceptual morphology of intentional meta-architectural constructionism understood as an epistemological program rests on the system of new planning, appropriating two aspects of the philosophy of rationalism: the assumption that an urbanologic explanation of space has to be represented in the form of deductive reasoning, and the idea of an all-encompassing spatial system. In terms of patterns of intentionality, the planning textualism has a complex structure and personalist origins of preferences, which remain relative and contradictory to actual social capacities, due to which planning and designing activities very often end their historic role in the form of so-called paper architecture, experimental projects, critical projects, and counter-projects (Stevanović, 2017, pp. 71, 181).

The third constructionist pole, which Berthelot named the symbolic pole, sits in the vicinity of the culture of thought under the generic denominator of postmodern and represents a hermeneutical deviation from the meanings present in the previous two poles (Berthelot, 2012). Their ontological autonomy and proactive contextual use are achieved through symbolic interactionism in the contemporaneity and the correction and imposition of new meanings (Berthelot, 2012). The trans-epistemological complexity of symbolism is generated in the form of replicas, critique, and skepticism, which brings it closer to the rhetorical modality of thought than normative science understood in relation to Kuhn's notion. In the field of architecture, this pole is grounded in notions whose culturological base is made up of the reconstructivist category of iconological reminiscence, simulacrum, and complexity, while the dominant thought process is methodological holism and transdisciplinarity. As opposed to the previous, intentional pole, dominated by a categorial apparatus derived from methodological solipsism, with the symbolic epistemological pole there is

a return to liberal neo-traditionalism, which brings back dignity to visual impressions via stimulation and complexity, through forms of action of discursive formations and the mechanics of methodological holism. Methodological holism is based on the states of aggregation and accumulation of the sense for system complexity and equilibrical orders, which makes this epistemological program akin to the naturalist program. For this reason, the symbolical reception of the third pole opens up the possibility of redirection and return to the concepts of natural beliefs through a reduction of rules to regenerated archetypes and connectivistically materialized orders of relations. Symbolic meta-architectural constructs are generated from the direct connection of classical form of heritage, most often the cultural importance of secular and sacral elements of the whole, and in that light, geometry that is based on the transcendental imperative (Cable, 1981). It is at the constructionist pole of meta-architectural epistemology that most persistent attempts are made to construct and locate universal and absolute values, identity-defining stimuli, and ethical frames supporting contemporary and current planning and design engineering and technology.

Natural Epistemology:

Radical Meta-Architectural Construct

In constituting a program of theoretical and methodological forms of meta-architectural constructs, the local architectural milieu did not lack specific theoretical solutions, but most often they were peripheral to the conventional forms of formal academic education. In that sense, for instance, when explaining the naturalist pole of meta-architectural epistemology, three prominent meta-theoretical positions can be distinguished—the eco-compositional technicism of Milorad Macura's planning method (1945), Ratomir Bogojević's theory of planning harmonicity (1954), and the Nikola Dobrović's tectological planning method (1957). These three seminal idiosyncratic theoretical constructs, similarly existentialist in nature and sharing a concern for equilibrium-oriented coexistences, contextual contingencies, dynamics of integration, psycho-physical proxemics of structure, regulation-based testing, and modelist liminal cohabitation in developmental societal predictions, reveal a positivist and causal pattern of thinking grounded in the principle of spatial equilibrium. Spatial equilibrium can be defined as a principle of representationalism, in terms of the positive sustainability of the state and the limits of systems characterized by tradition, constancy, mutuality, reciprocity, stability, and integrity of natural and man-made entities.

In such a way, the principle central to Macura's eco-compositional technicism is that of naturalist futurism—a historically internalized theoretical stance towards the ethnographic and biophysical values of the agro-cultural basis of a people's autochthony, which is dialectically appropriate for the new

progressive understanding of soc-realist order and its pragmatic reifications of heritage (Ciganović & Mrlješ, 2018, pp. 36–49). At the center of Bogojević's harmonic compliance lies the idea of sameness in the light of Western-European manifestations of the fundamental canonic ideals of regularity, normativity, and conventions of spatial dynamics. In axiological terms, Bogojević's considerations of harmony are not a mere paraphrase of the antique aspirations towards the proportion-guided idealization and ethical universalization of rules in space. Rather, it includes a modality of thinking that offers a generated imagination of systemic rules of structured order and disposition in the understanding of utopia. Dobrović's egological vulcanization of programmatic thinking about the new postulates of state planning in the Great Initiative (Tepina et al., 1957) was based on the idealist philosophy of science, whose fundamentals are found in geographic, geological, and organic forces as tectological, anthro-geographic, and supersystemic cosmographic forms of thinking, of which a planning architect should demiurgically thinking (Ciganović, 2024). Dobrović's 1946 project of ten civic centers and Đorđe Lazarević's 1949 projects of urban reconstruction of Belgrade's Terazije Terrace and Republic Square reveal the same naturalist developmental prediction of planning constructs (Figure 1).

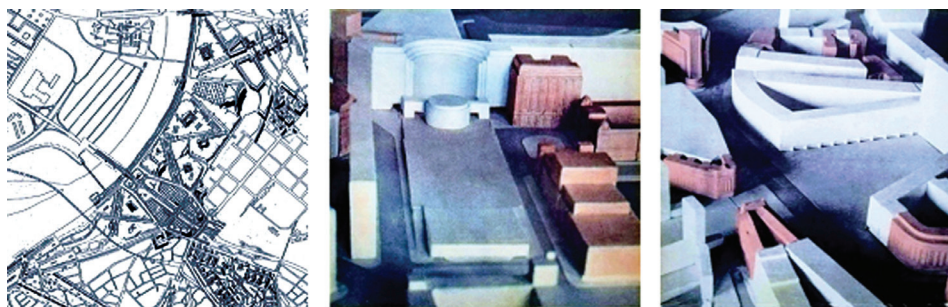


Fig. 1. (a) Nikola Dobrović, Ten civic centers in Belgrade (fragment, published in *Tehnika*, 2, 1946); (b) and (c) Đorđe Lazarević, Reconstruction of the Terazije Terrace and Republic Square in Belgrade (published in *Jugoslavija*, 7–8, 1949)

In the context of the history of local architecture, these projects can be considered as the rhetorical pinnacle of prewar modernist tendencies, albeit in different ways. The specificity of Dobrović's procedure of spatial synthesis suggests a semiotic perspective of traditional modernism, while Lazarević's spatial design of central and historic city blocks is defined by modernist monumentalism characterized by neoclassicist socialist realist undertones. Dobrović develops a new spatial matrix by allowing movement to unfold naturally, conscientiously, and freely, while Lazarević's method is directed towards a transnatural, unconscious, and causal programmatic evolution of urban development. Neither of the two planning solutions is composed based on the

principle of floatant and dynamic urban meta-time (a chronotope used in the sense of Bahtin's philosophical term); rather, it is an urban chronotope of a static nature in that it is a non-conflicting programmatic situation, which is organically tied to the historic city. The value extensions of the new spatial formations are retro-aesthetically determined through conservative modelist figuration and a regulation procedure, resulting in a simulated co-text comparable to the existing, mostly renewed building heritage, through the historicist agency of stylistic references. Both authors' projects evoke the dialectical pattern of the ancient agora, where spatial prominence oscillates between the religious and sculptural content of the spatial pattern, discussing the projections and correlations of the ideal relationship between place and time in the continuity of the tradition of human life. The reception of the spatial constructs is shaped in relation to the retro-aesthetic epistemological role of architectural canons, craftsmen's experientiality/experience, and parahistoricist text. The urban planning discourse of the reconstruction designs of the Terazije Terrace and Republic Square in Belgrade reflect a developmental historization of the city according to the principle of linear additivity and fixity, as the classical materialist principle behind the iconological formulation of continuity of the heritological city substance.

In the programmatic constitution of the naturalist pole of the theoretical constructs of space, the postwar proponents of modernism did not lack modelist guidelines in the constellation of historiography and spatial traditions of Belgrade, which is especially noticeable in the regular contributions and commitment of architects Oliver Minić, Branko Maksimović, and Ivan M. Zdravković, found primarily in *Godišnjak muzeja grada Beograda* [*The Belgrade City Museum Yearbook*]. One can present a valid argument by stating that theoretical constructs of space rest on the postulates of determinist materialism and multidisciplinary which, according to Milica Bajić Brković, evolve through action in the domain of architects, which leads to the interpretation of plans in the spirit of the hereditary tradition of city planning as a document that determines the physical structure of a city ..., whereas poor communication with other disciplines supports the already present physical determinism (Bajić Brković, 2002). Bajić Brković also notices that the postwar makeover of the city and the mass demolition of old buildings, even those unimportant in terms of architectural, ambient, and urban value and located in street corridors pre-regulated in the prewar period, in contrast to the radical ideological proclamation of change to general urbanism, including the existent paradigmatic image of it, was then considered as a developmental setback for the city and its commerce. In the light of the heritological determinants of meta-architectural constructionism, the 1950 General Plan of Belgrade shows a strong tendency to maintain continuity of the historical development of the city and to reject unnecessary and unrealistic urbanist reconstruction interventions (Bajić Brković, 2002).

The naturalist meta-architectural pole of this epistemological program may be taken to correspond to a preference for radical socio-technical design and planning modalities. This conclusion is made because when radicalized socio-technical systems are visualized in space, the relationship between interior structures reveals the radicle, rudimentary root of symbolic formations, understood in the sense of Panofsky's iconography, in accordance with the literal origin of the term (radicle—lat. radix, radici, f.). In the radical infographical representationalism of spatial systems, the interconnection of their levels takes on the complexity of structure on a horizontal plane, by functionally synchronizing each level on the space-time plane with modelist properties that derive from the directly adjacent developmental structures. According to philosopher of science and mereologist Peter Drucker and his seminal work titled *Landmarks of Tomorrow: A Report on the New Postmodern World*, planning activities are radically disposed to inflatory decompression and replication of constructs, models, patterns, and configurations from the past. Radical spatial constructs cause the unavoidable paradox of rationalist relationism owing to their essential complementarity with the existent spatial arrangement, by directing its conception towards a schematic rigidity which is based on the mechanically and metrically dependent principle of mutual empowerment and connection of new and retained structures (essentialism of exterior relations), and extreme principles necessary for the qualitative preservation of the existing purity of the own-spatial as cultural identity (essentialism of interior relations).

Intentional Epistemology: Liberal Meta-Architectural Construct

The second theoretical construct of design and planning of urban patterns, gravitating toward the intentional pole of meta-architectural constructionism, coincided with and was enabled by Yugoslavia's stabilized economy and intensified urban migrations, which culminated in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. According to Berthelot, the notion of the intentional pole emerged in social theory as a result of the contemporaneization of society after the older *societas civilis* broke up. As increasing globalization brought to an end the old set of beliefs and convictions, this end not only contained entrance points for an unbreakable chain of logical and historical sequences of goals—but it was also completed with ideals redelegated. In contrast to the naturalist pole, the intentional pole represented a teleological form of theory-turned- practice, barely initiating a journey from the implicit towards the explicit (Berthelot, 2012). The consequences of intentionality in the context of architecture can be understood as sign systems of space that deviate from the realistic and rational, with a difference which is largely compromised, because it questions the

industrial civilization and liberality—simulation is not detected as such, but rather treated as goal-oriented divergence from the real.

The so-called *new planning*, introduced in the mid-1960s, can be considered the pinnacle of the intentional planning dogma. It should inform any considerations of the 1956 Borča-Veliko Blato development project, as well as the *Regulatory Plan of Region I* for the left bank of the river Danube, which provided a basis for the 1968 revision of the Dunavgrad urban plan developed by architect Aleksandar Stijepanović and the 1972 General Plan of Belgrade, developed in association with the Center for Urban Studies of Wayne State University between 1968 and 1970. Informed by the pattern of public initiative and representing a typical indicator of intentional discoursivity and participative personality, a series of development studies were authored by architect Miloš R. Perović, which included the *Cultural Center* (1969), the *Civic Center* (1975), and the *Street of Encounters* (1978), all within the Sava Amphitheater in Belgrade, and the *Street of Memories* (1980) authored by architect Mustafa Musić (Perović, 1982, p. 11). The substance of the designed and planned structure is constituted through infographics, going against the canonical tradition and empirical architectural and urbanistic vocabulary, insinuating meta-architectural constructionism through its poetic principles of environmental norms, high standards, and the totality of public service, whose user is the social subject of consolidated high bourgeois society. The infographical concept of urban patterns is based on the inner feeling of sociopolitical vision, assumed technical-infrastructure capabilities, and technological progressivism, whose projections are shaped by the transition from an international to a global cultural order. The urban patterns aligned with this paradigm are subject to the principles of integral planning of spatial systems, according to the principle of ekistic ecumenopolis (isopolis). Both planning initiatives, prepared by the Institute for Development Planning, Construction, and Spatial Design of Belgrade (today's Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade), reflect intentional aspirations corroborated by the significant document titled "Study of the Central Belgrade Zone" (1976) (Đukić, 2015, pp. 160–173). They semiologically highlight the exchange with the architectural and urban culture of the post-WWII New Belgrade city, i.e., the developmental expansion of the metropolitan area between the left bank of the Sava River and Zemun.

The constructionist procedure of Stjepanović's concept formation is based on the construct of New Belgrade's open blocks in spatial synthesis, methodologically directed towards futuristic visions of land-art, systemic and infrastructural fluidity of planning solutions, which conceptually derive from the meta-architectural theory of strong dynamics and fluctuation of urban meta-time (chronotope), as designing and planning motivation. Systemic disposition of architecture and urbanism served as the platform for the exploration of optimal modular variations for a feasible identity of an urban center and exclusive diversity of the city in the future. The discourse reflects a divergent process in the culturalization of

urban space according to the intensive (cumulative) principle of developmental contingency in the morphological and typological substance of urbanism. The planning solutions represent a direct appropriation of cultural internationalism and cosmopolitanism of the artistic discourse of a concrete utopia and the cosmic city as defined by the Russian avant-garde, which lead to the critical potential of architecture and to the constitution of the principle of post-human topology in the urbanistic substance, which refer to Thomas Saraceno's rhysomatic structures or Michael Heizer's land-art (City, Nevada, 1972) (Figure 2).

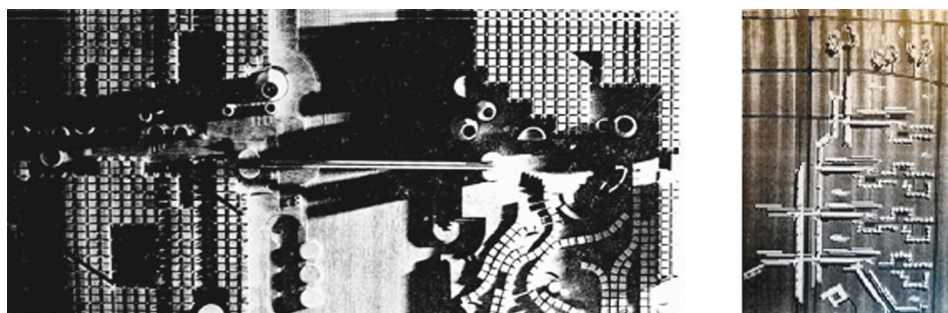


Fig. 2. (a) Miloš R. Perović et al. (1975), Civic Center – House of Friendship (*Čovjek i prostor*, 8–9, 1985, p. 23); (b) Aleksandar Stjepanović (1969), Dunavgrad (author's documentation, 2020)

Theoretical reception of intentional polarity accentuates the approach to spatial synthesis through liberalized meta-architectural discursivity with progressivist motivation of pattern planning in the sense of free management of patterns (Ciganović, 2019, pp. 405–412). Designed in the spirit of strong developmental intentionality, these study projects remained unimplemented, lingering in urbanological visions as a part of the theoretical heritage and an epistemological crack in the developmental lines of urban patterns in the form of paper architecture, while on the time horizon towards contemporaneity and actuality these projects can be understood as critical and counterprojects, resulting from the projective and processing perspectives of the architect as a socially engaged and independent individual. Prof. Bajić Brković observes that by the end of the 1960s and the 1970s, the spatial dispersion of the city form of Belgrade resulted in the planning of new urban centers, and that regarding various interests and the noted possible politicization of decisions, the pendulum nevertheless moved towards scientifically grounded methods and techniques of planning. More precisely, as regards the main participants and procedures, there was a significant increase in the number of those deemed affected by the General Plan, who were thus required to participate in its development, including both in the professional community and non-professionals (Bajić Brković, 2002, p. 22). Under the illusion of clarity offered by the imported conception

of *new planning* (Bajić Brković, 2002, pp. 19–31), planning intentionality pre-determined the spatial concept of the city through a model divergent from the previous one—from a regional understanding of the city with a narrow city zone with urban characteristics and a disproportionately broader metropolitan area towards the concept of a linear city, a product of planned macro-projects and functional connections to new arterial traffic corridors, bridges, and a future metro. At the other end of the spectrum lay the general urban form, dominantly based on low density and story count, allowing for major demolition and reconstruction works in the central city zones and the important negation of heritological spatial components (Bajić Brković, 2002, p. 31).

The Intentional meta-architectural pole of this epistemological program corresponds to a preference for a liberal socio-technical modality of design and planning synthesis, which can be understood according to the Foucaultian principle of the culture of thought, which is concerned with the art of change management. To the same epistemological end, liberalism as immanent to the intentional pole can be understood as the technology of self (cult of the individual) and constitutive deviation (constitutive deformation), which represent the condition of developmental contradictions, whose complexity holds the potential for an interactive relationship between diametrically opposed structures and systems according to the different levels of complexity between the individual and the whole. From this socio-technical perspective, the category of liberalism can be understood as a critique of any limitation of potential within a certain type, class, or system, and the possibility of critical application, i.e., choice within different structures. The physical manifestation of the cultural morphology of liberalism and its internal social function are seen as a strengthening of utopist visions instead of vitalistic ones (which are characteristic of the naturalistic pole of epistemological constructionism). The cultural products of evolutionary processes belonging to this modality have no previous references and their developmental states cannot be predicted; they rest on the morphologization of a total construction according to the principle of radical morphology, as well as on the principle of total deconstruction according to the horizontal socio-technical system.

Symbolic Epistemology:

Conservative Meta-Architectural Construct

The third theoretical meta-architectural construct of urban pattern design and planning, the symbolic pole of meta-architectural constructionism, emerged with and was shaped by the postmodern culture of thought. This construct contributed to urbanization by shifting away from intense development industries in favor of the cultural industry and heritological postulates related to identity formation and understanding. Jürgen Habermas points to its social characteristic,

which manifests as existing on two related yet separate culturological planes—the conservative and neo-conservative planes (Habermas, 1981, pp. 3–14).

General planning was redirected towards the concept of dense, concentrated, and compact classical city (Bajić Brković, 2002, pp. 25–26). The first step forward of the postmodern culture of design and planning modalities of urbanistic art initiates cultural consumption and symbolic economy of city as the urbanological determinants of planning tactics of city regeneration, which, within the planning development strategies of the City of Belgrade, produced two controversial and opposing analytical competition entry studies (Stojkov, 1985, non. pag.), which dissected the neglected area of the Sava Amphitheater as Belgrade's central metropolitan area. A comparative analysis of two exploratory studies of the development of the Sava Amphitheater—the development project prepared by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts called 3rd Millennium Cultural Center (1985) and the urbanistic project prepared in collaboration with the Society of Belgrade and the International Union of Architects titled Competition for Improvement of New Belgrade Urban Structure (1984–1986), reveals planning concepts which reflect, as previously said, an artistic agency of tradition, grounded in the heritage spatial values of the area of the Old Belgrade and using infographical representation.

These meta-architectural constructs referred to the return to the canonical and empirical in the vocabulary of urbanism, which rested on postmodern references of form, artisanal trades, and the language of materials in the composition of landscaping technique in the direction of historicism. Space was conceptualized through patterns of non-conflicting extensions in relation to Belgrade's older historical morphological matrix, through formations of promenade enfilades and visual resultant attractors, identified by Đukic, and conflicting designs in small settlements, which regenerated New Belgrade's modernist blocks (Đukić, 2015, pp. 160–173) (Figure 3).



Fig. 3. (a) Miloš R. Perović, Branislav Stojanović (1985), 3rd Millennium Cultural Center (*Lessons of the Past*, 2008); (b) Jaroslav Kaclik et al. (1986), Competition for the Upgrade of New Belgrade Zone, 1st prize (*Future of New Belgrade*, SBA, 1986); (c) Kristof Domaradski et al. (1986), Competition for the Upgrade of New Belgrade Zone, 1st prize (*Future of New Belgrade*, SBA, 1986)

The period preceding the formal collapse of the Yugoslav community as a political, social, and cultural paradigm, the early 1980s, represents the social frame of the postmodern concept of eclecticism through neo-conservative principles in the analysis of the socio-cultural dimensions of humanism. Contemporary architecture was alarmed by a crisis-inducing announcement of the end of socialistic architecture, while situated in the intentional experience of late postmodernity, methodologically established in analytical and critical techniques, but interpretatively possessing a broader phenomenological flexibility. The historical continuation of the symbolic reception of the development of urban patterns refers to the paradigm of strong divergent processes in the culturalization of the entire space of the city according to the principle of anti-utopian architecture and the return of artisanal trades from the initial periods of postmodernity. The meta-architectural horizon of symbolic constructionism rests on an organic understanding of the reconstruction of heritological space and re-actualization of historical neoclassicist samples—organic stylistic replicas—albeit including radical deconstruction of historic space through visionary collages.

Urbanological questions engage in transgressive explorations of the sense of crisis, escapism, and decadent philosophical mobilization about spatial heritage preservation, increasing criticism of the populist permissiveness of the state and its institutions, surrender to irony and cynical deconstruction of the institutional derivatives of state power, skepticism towards the reality of the defeat of the idea of socialist humanism, but also hope in the new humanism of the city as part of the global village. Urbanological textualism in magazines and fanzines in the second half of the 80s of the 20th century is deeply rooted in the critique of the death of socially oriented culture and the loss of unambiguous self-identifications, but also in the hope for global experimental references of contemporary humanity, which reflects a neo-conservative habitus of urban patterns with progressivist developmental motivation.



Fig. 4. (a) Miloš Bobić et al. (1991), Programmatic variation: Futuristic version (personal archives of arch. Zorica Savičić, 2020); (b) Branislav Stojanović, Aleksandar Stjepanović et al. (1991), Savski bulevar (Architect Club, 2007) (c) Zoran Nikezić, Slobodan Rajović (1991), Competition for the development of the Terazije Terrace in Belgrade (*Izgradnja* 12, 1991).

The completed invitation-only competition that took place within the multiennial analytical investigation of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts under the name The Third Millennium chose as the most suitable the competition entry called City on Water (Đukić, 2015, pp. 170–173). A retrospective analysis of another invitation-only competition of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts carried out for the development of the Sava Amphitheater was conducted by the Architect Club headed by Zoran Manević (1937–2019) in his paper *Critical Analysis of Hitherto Proposals for Reconstruction of Sava Amphitheater*, under the auspices of the Transportation Institute CIP in October 2007 (Manević, 2007). According to the findings of The Architect Club, the best design option for the urban pattern was proposed by a team of architects gathered around Branislav Stojanović and Aleksandar Stjepanović. Their analytical concept titled The Sava Boulevard features a design which emphasizes the significance of the classic city structure as a cultural product in the context of technical and technological future, only with classically constructed attractors. That same year, i.e., in April 1991, the competition for architectural and urbanistic development of the Terazije Terrace was closed and a design by architects Zoran Nikezić and Slobodan Rajović won the first prize. The eclecticism of the winning design is justified by the authors' intention to form a contemporary neoclassical architectural unit somewhat oriented toward the future (Nikezić & Rajović, 1991). Bajić Brković argues that in this period, general urban planning was a result of a compromise between traditional city design grounded in architectural experience and new rationalism, which leaned on the spirit of the 1950s and the 1960s. Ideas of a regional city and dispersion were abandoned in favor of a revival of the concept of a concentrated and compact city (Bajić Brković, 2002, p. 30). The concept of linear city was also corrected, with design redirected towards radial and circular (unifying) geometries dominated by the creation of urban patterns based on inherited determinants of previous development in connection with the naturalist pole. However, these patterns did not correlate with the principle of an archipelago of inhabited areas in a sea of greenery, which was deemed expensive and inexpedient, with much of the areas formerly intended to be turned into greenery repurposed as agricultural and construction land outside the boundaries of city development land (Figure 4).

General planning had its heyday following the enactment of the 1985 Revision, of the 1972 Comprehensive Plan, which relies on conservative planning tools through purely physical categories, such as the distribution of functions in line with gravity-based models, density, constructability, and morphology of space. Berthelot claimed that the history of the contemporary age allows for the tracking of fantastically rapid and spectacularly reversible backward transitions of the poles, which can be defined as paradigmatic references from the early 1920s. In the local experience of architectural modalities of spatial synthesis, neo-conservative cultural morphology is positioned in the center of

the postmodern thinking pattern, whose initiations are related to social tensions as interpreted by the late-socialist social critique of socialism as a stagnant and autarchic social system, through rebellions of national tradition and negations of former delusions in the context of a new communitary renewal of a nation. In a chronological sense, the neo-conservative cultural morphology of spatial planning is associated with the period of crisis of the socio-political closure of the Yugoslav social, ideological, and cultural project in the post-bloc approach to the European system of social and economic-political values from the mid-1980s. Within these aspirations, tensions arose, as a reaction to the wave of modern technical-technological age developments (abandonment of atheism with the acceptance of new-age globalist tendencies, spiritualist esotericism, existentialist irrationalism, and other post-socialist transcendences). The neo-conservative matrix of planning in that period can be situated in the problems of segregation of urban zones and democratization of the development of public urban space, which brings it, according to Ksenija Petovar, closer to an extreme disparity from the centralization of relevant urban functions, whose eliteness is not and cannot represent the core of a democratic city (Petovar & Vujošević, 2008, pp. 23–51). The new neo-conservative iconology of planning is visible in an important project by Dragomir Manojlović, created within the framework of the veg's master's theme in 1975, and which, with its public affirmation in 2007, decisively influenced the urban development of the city as a whole as politically delegated (Figure 5).



Fig. 5. Dragomir Manojlović DIK (master thesis, 1978); Antonije Antić, Slobodanka Prekajski, Milica Krstanovski, Belgrade Riverfront (developed at the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade and presented at the Chamber of Commerce of Serbia forum The Sava Amphitheater—Belgrade Metropolis Center, May 16, 2007) (Вукотић Лазар, 2007).

The symbolic meta-architectural pole of this epistemological program corresponds to a preference for a conservative socio-cultural morphologization, grounded in the postulates of the canon, tradition, and nucleus. According to Frederic Jameson, the conservative socio-cultural morphology of city synthesis supposes a reconstruction of symbolic formations whose interpretative spaces engender eclectic meanings with direct historic references and narratives that result in the creative feeling of nostalgia. Emphasizing the non-authentic nature of nostalgia favoring potent development processes, in his seminal work titled *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991), Jameson argues that nostalgia transforms the actual history into oblivion and mere populist spectacle, becoming an embarrassing cultural fantasy. In this way, conservatism is understood as the source of the essential and narrative functions of the spatial text, which edits and dramatizes events through projected temporalism. Procedural schemes of the constructive morphology of the conservative spatial model offer a simple and unified character of structure and attractor algorithm, without the possibility to redefine structurally complex forms. The elementary apparatus of conservativist ontology is represented by citational evenness as the corpus of accumulated symbols ascribed by architects to certain texts from their own cultural experience or, to paraphrase Amos Rapoport: as the adaptation of models in the collective understanding of vernacularity. The conservative epistemological morphology of the socio-cultural philosophy of spatial synthesis supposes implication, in mathematical tautology terms, i.e., intertextual equivalence that implies citation in the strict sense of the notion, referential citation, or plagiarism as a form of unethical citation.

The conservative category of the symbolic pole of socio-technical spatial synthesis refers to the general typo-morphologies and analogies in the history of European art and culture, while in the context of Eastern European culture this can be defined in terms of constructive principles or dominants as categorial notions of Russian formalists. Remaining in this theoretical construct, it can be said that parodies and pastiches, as related forms grounded in homologies, eclecticism, and syncretism referred to by Mikhail Bakhtin, do not disrupt the dominant model of illustrative citability in high culture and architecture. It is noteworthy to point to the neo-conservative socio-technical morphology as one of the recent divergences of conservativity, which can be applied to all entries of the invitation-only competition of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1991. The neo-conservative socio-technical morphology, as one of the recent divergences of domestic conservatism that can be observed in all the works of the 1991 competition of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, can be articulated through the words of social anthropologist and culturologist Monic Palmberger from her work *Nostalgia Matters: Nostalgia for Yugoslavia as Potential Vision for a Better Future*: neo-conservatism is seen as an integral part of the changed context of current Western meta-modernity (Palmberger, 2008,

p. 355). This pole of planning epistemology is understood as a phenomenon that rehabilitates lost frames of reference and criticism of established patterns rooted in the modernist concepts of time and space, which are seen as liberally progressive and irreversible, representing a countercultural reaction to the fast-changing environment that the traditional form of vernacular conservatism has failed to appreciate (Figure 5).

Conclusion

Analysis based on an epistemological program represents a concrete way of applying theoretical methodology in *grounded theory* and *research by design*. The socio-dynamic theory of epistemological programs introduced to social theory by Berthelot to provide a constructionist periodization of the field in the broad domain of social sciences and humanities also strongly implies theoretical-methodological assumptions of developmental perspectivism of metropolitan urbanism in the second half of the 20th century in several ways: through giving privilege to the process as opposed to figural modelistics; typological classification of relevant meta-architectural ideologies; but above all, through opening up possibilities for examining the assumptions of current retroactive turns in the contemporary developmental trajectory of urbanism, which points to the return to the earliest, causal naturalism. The comparative analysis of the three programs of epistemological constructs has shown that the inherently present philosophy of the design and planning synthesis moves along the line of consistent appropriation of specific discursive meanings in the context of the conceptual shaping of the Sava Amphitheater as the central metropolitan area of Belgrade. A significant consequence of the heuristic introduction of the idea of epistemological polarity into architectural heritology is at the same time a recognition of the current spectacular processes of concept reversibility in urban pattern design and planning, which allow for an implicit identification of the key participants.

Instead of an exact and explanatory historiography of the protection of architectural heritage that dominated the main currents of contemporary architectural historiography, it seems that time has come to expose their distinct characters—in the spirit of research by design, methodologically less defined and more liberal, ontologically more tolerant of the author's vagueness and epistemologically far more alive and creative interpretations. Through consideration of Berthelot's general epistemological program of naturalist polarity, this paper observes the radical meta-architectural pattern of the philosophy of spatial synthesis design and planning, which local historiography places in the period immediately posterior to World War II and the aesthetic model of socialist realism. Thereafter, within the intentional polarity paradigm, the conclusion is

that in local social conditions, it rested on a liberal meta-architectural construct as a manifestation of the philosophy of spatial synthesis design and planning, proximate to the general theory of systems and cybernetics, and with aesthetic references to visionary architecture within technical and technological totality. Finally, regarding the symbolic epistemological polarity, the philosophy of spatial synthesis aligned with a conservative meta-architectural socio-technical morphologization, whose cultural and aesthetic references dwell in the post-modern epistemologies of simulacrum and complexity.

References

- Bajić Brković, M. (2002). Urbanističko planiranje u Jugoslaviji u 20-om veku: primer Beograda. *Arhitektura i urbanizam*, 9, 19–31.
- Ball, M. S., & Smith, G. W. H. (1992). *Analysing Visual Data*. London: Sage Publication, Inc.
- Berthelot, J. M. (2012). *Programmes, paradigmes, disciplines: pluralité et unité des sciences sociales*. In: *Épistémologie des sciences sociales*. Paris: PUF.
- Cable, C. (1981). *Symbolism in Architecture*. Vance Bibliographies.
- Ciganović, A. (2019). Developmental trauma in the architecture of beliefs: Futurism of the past from millenium origins of Belgrade urban planning. In: B. Stojkov (Ed.), *Between Temptations of Exponential Technology Growth and the Concept of Human City* (pp. 405–412). Belgrade: Academy of Engineering of Serbia – University of Belgrade – Faculty of Geography.
- Ciganović, A. (2023). Metaarhitektonski konstrukcioizam arhitekta Nikole Dobrovića. U: A. Kadijević (ur.), *125 godina od rođenja arhitekta Nikole Dobrovića* (str. 499–506). Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti – Univerzitet u Beogradu – Arhitektonski fakultet.
- Ciganović, A. i Mrlješ, R. (2018). Shvatanje „održivog razvoja” u srpskoj arhitekturi i konzervatorskoj praksi druge polovine dvadesetog veka. U: I. Vesković (ur.), *Kulturno nasleđe i društvo – (Ne)ravnoteža teorije i prakse u kontekstu održivog razvoja, ekologije i zdravlja* (str. 36–49). Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda.
- Đukić, A. (2015). New Belgrade: visions, plans and realizations 1950–2014. In: G. Doytchinov, A. Đukić, & C. Ioniță (Eds.), *Planning Capital Cities: Belgrade Bucharest Sofia* (pp. 160–173). Graz: Verlag der Technischen Universität Graz.
- Elkins, J. (2003). *Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Groat, L., & Wang, D. (2013). *Architectural Research Methods*. Second edition. NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Habermas, J. (1981). Modernity versus postmodernity (Seyla Ben Habib, Trans.). *New German Critique*, 22, 3–14.
- Kadijević, A. (2010). *Arhitektura i duh mesta*. Beograd: Građevinska knjiga.
- Latour, B. (1987). *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society*. CA: Harvard University Press.
- Lotman, J. (1978). *Struktura umetničkog teksta*. Beograd: Nolit.

- Manević, Z. (2007). *Kritička analiza dosadašnjih predloga za rekonstrukciju Savskog amfiteatra*. Klub arhitekata – Saobraćajni institut CIP (personal documentation).
- Nikezić, Z. i Rajović, S. (1991). Terazijaska terasa – osnovni koncept i prikaz prvona-građenog rada. *Izgradnja*, 12, 22–38.
- Palmberger, M. (2008). Nostalgia matters: Nostalgia for Yugoslavia as potential vision for a better future. *Sociologija*, 50 (4), 355–370.
- Perović, M. R. (1982). Ulica susreta. *IT Novine*, 5. 7. 1982.
- Petovar, K. i Vujošević, M. (2008). Koncept javnog interesa i javnog dobra u urbanističkom i prostornom planiranju. *Sociologija i prostor*, 46 (179–1), 23–51.
- Stevanović, V. (2017). *Dejan Ćimović: Dokumenta*. Beograd: Orion Art.
- Stojkov, B. (1985). Treći milenijum u Novom Beogradu ili Novi Beograd u trećem milenijumu. *Komunikacija*, 40, non-paginated.
- Tepina, M. (1957). *Urbanističko planiranje*. Savez urbanista Jugoslavije.
- Вукотић Лазар, М. (ур.), *Инфо (інформатика)*. Београд: Урбанистички завод Београда.

Алекса С. ЦИГАНОВИЋ

Републички завод за заштиту споменика културе
Београд (Србија)

Владимир М. СТЕВАНОВИЋ

Универзитет Унион – Никола Тесла
Факултет за грађитељски менаџмент
Одсек Архитектура и урбанизам
Београд (Србија)

Хеуристичка ретроспектива мета-архитектонских конструката у планирању Савског амфитеатра (Београд)

Резиме

Текст се бави опсервацијом квалитативних промена планских решења Савског амфитеатра у Београду током друге половине XX века, са циљем формулисања парадигматских идејних образаца и интелектуалне историје. Рад демонстрира карактеристичну хеуристички поступак архитектонске анализе који подразумева филозофију квалитативног визуелног мерења архитектонских предлога – *research by design* (истраживање кроз пројекат) и *grounded theory* (теорија утемељена на чињеницама). Теоријски оквир у којем се сагледавају ови критеријуми полазе од епистемолошких програма културе мишљења које је конституисао француски филозоф наука и социјални антрополог Жан-Мишел Бертло (Jean-Michel Berthelot), а који имају три поларности: *најнатуралистичку*, *интенционалну* и *симболичку*. На основу критичке анализе просторних синтеза у планским и пројектним решењима Савског амфитеатра, текст полази од хипотезе да се може

идентификовати хронологизација архитектонске културе мишљења радикализма, либерализма и конзервативизма, која би аналогно одговарала концепту транзиције од натуралистичког преко интенционалног до симболичког пола као сегмената општег савременог епистемолошког програма. Пратећи транзицију Бертлоових полова у оквиру општег епистемолошког програма са становишта генералног разумевања социо-културних и социо-техничких програмских промена, циљ текста је успостављање могућности хеуристичког генерисања и дефинисања појма мета-архитектонске херитологије као конструкционистичког модалитета мишљења који метатеоријски повезује архитектонску антропологију и архитектонску филозофију технике, планирања и пројектовања.

Резултат трансдисциплинарног увођења у истраживачки фокус конструкционистичког теоријског програма указује на то да сваки облик техничке савремености добија своју онтолошку вредност из медијатизованих кореспонденција са историјским наслеђем, по моделу који се конструише посматрањем од „спољашњости”, из подручја историјског просторног узорка. Разматрањем Бертлоовог општег савременог епистемолошког програма натуралистичке поларности, радом је опсервиран мета-архитектонски образац радикалне филозофије планске и пројектне синтезе простора који се у домаћој историографији одвија током периода непосредно након Другог светског рата и естетичког модела социјалистичког реализма, чије су карактеристике просторни репрезентативизам и објективизам (пројектни предлог Николе Добровића, 1946). Затим, у оквиру интенционалне поларности закључено је да се Бертлоов епистемолошки програм у домаћим друштвеним условима позиционира на либералном мета-архитектонском конструкту као манифестацији филозофије планске и пројектне синтезе простора у близини опште теорије система и кибернетике са естетичким референцама на визионарску архитектуру у техничком и технолошком тоталитету (пројектни предлог Милоша Р. Перовића, 1975). И коначно, у симболичкој епистемолошкој поларности филозофија синтезе простора се позиционира на конзервативној мета-архитектонској социотехничкој морфологизацији, чије се културне и естетичке референце налазе у постмодерним епистемологијама симулакрума и комплексности (пројектни предлог групе аутора са позивног конкурса САНУ). Аутори рада дају предлог који у оквиру симболичког пола планирања и пројектовања простора, хронолошки открива и његову неоконзервативну димензију, чије се културне и естетичке референце имплицитно налазе у аутономним аранжманима значења који повезују оба претходна пола синтезе (решење Драгомира Манојловића – Дика, 1978/2007).

Кључне речи: мета-архитектонски конструкционизам; архитектонска епистемологија; Жан-Мишел Бертло; Савски амфитеатар (Београд).



Овај чланак је објављен и дистрибуира се под лиценцом *Creative Commons ауторско-некомерцијално 4.0 међународна* (CC BY-NC 4.0 | <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>).

This paper is published and distributed under the terms and conditions of the *Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International* license (CC BY-NC 4.0 | <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>).