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CITY AS PALIMPSEST: VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE MEMORY OF "STUDENTS SQUARE" IN BELGRADE

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Abstract. *The New heritage paradigm is changing the way in which the past is valued and affirming the pluralised and user-oriented presentation of visible and invisible urban memory. The assumption of the paper is that reading the city as a palimpsest can be the basis for a democratic heritage presentation and a multivocal and multitemporal understanding of the past by unveiling the visible and invisible layers of urban memory. The question arises to what extent traditional formats of heritage presentation in public spaces can respond to these demands. This paper aims to explain the concept and method of reading the city as a palimpsest and to demonstrate its application in the case of Students Square in Belgrade to discover and unveil invisible urban memory, while critically reviewing the traditional presentation formats and their ability to adequately present it in public spaces. The results of the research confirm the potential of the palimpsest method and point to a selective approach and physical limitations of traditional formats to present the complexity of urban memory in urban public spaces.*

Key words: *urban palimpsest, urban memory, public space, heritage presentation*

1. INTRODUCTION

According to the old heritage paradigm, heritage worthy of preservation, conservation and interpretation are cultural monuments, works of art, groups of buildings and urban areas, archaeological sites, and other material artefacts identified in the UNESCO Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage from 1972 [1], as well as in other UNESCO and ICOMOS documents [2]. In line with this, the presentation of heritage in public spaces refers to the partial or complete reconstruction of historical buildings, areas or sites, and the installation of commemorative monuments of the historical

events and personalities, selected in accordance with official politics of remembrance. As such, only certain values are retained in the heritage presentation which does not always correspond to the heterogeneous identities of modern communities in cities.

From the new heritage paradigm perspective, selective marking and preservation of cultural heritage distorts memory and insight into the past [3] and affects the way heritage is interpreted. Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge [4] criticize the *selectivity* in the use of artefacts, mythologies, memories and traditions as resources for development, which is opposed to the diversity of the past that is present in human communities and urban spaces. The need to emphasize the diversity of social groups and their relations to particular spaces is promoted, considering not only the modern moment but also their presence and impact through the past. It is therefore suggested that *"multivocal" (multicultural) and "multitemporal"* reading and presentation of the heritage is needed in order to provide a more democratic understanding of heritage by different people and communities. In that sense, since the adoption of the Burra Charter in 1999[5], the elements of heritage include intangible aspects, as well as factors of identity, diversity and meaning of space. In addition, the Vienna Memorandum (2005)[1] has defined historical urban landscapes (HUL) as elements of heritage, along with processes of morphogenesis and urban development of the city.

The importance of historical urban landscapes in the presentation of cultural heritage is emphasized in various documents and contemporary theories, although most often through recommendations for the preservation of entire ambiences within a wider urban context [7]. But Gustavo Araoz [8] particularly emphasizes the continuity of development and change as the value of heritage in cities and as a significant factor in the analysis and presentation of the heritage of different communities. The layering of development and functions of space is, according to Araoz, of great importance for identifying matrices of continuous population, as well as various traditional uses of space which have prevailed to this day, and which do not need to be embodied within the visible spectre of the space.

In this regard, *urban memory* has been recognised as an important element for understanding historical urban landscapes, and a whole new research field related to the understanding, identification, interpretation and presentation of this cultural-spatial concept in urban studies is distinguished. Urban memory, according to Mark Crinson, refers to „the city as a physical landscape and collection of objects and practices that enable recollections of the past and that embody the past through traces of the city's sequential building and rebuilding"[9]. This concept helps to understand urban form not only as the place where heritage is located but as a bearer of meaning by itself and to conceptualize cities as places where lives that are lived (in past and today) physically manifest and shape what is remembered. In that sense, Ali Cheshmehzangi[10] stresses the importance of understanding multiple realities in the historical patterns of city development and the influences that have shaped spaces over time. At the same time, Christine Boyer [11] highlights that the structure of the city is constantly changing, but that the superimposition of the physical urban tissue and memories related to space is based on a continuous translation of the past into the present.

Accordingly, unlike historical urban landscapes that refer to the material form of the built urban fabric, urban memory also includes *"invisible"* elements of this type of heritage – all phases of morphogenesis and their continuities, different socio-historical contexts and their direct impact on urban structures. In presenting urban memory as the "invisible" heritage of the city, it is possible to rely on Henri Bergson's thesis that

"memorials are the representation of the absent" [12]. This is why the identification of the "absent" or "invisible" space and memory is important and can be revealed through identifying and mapping all historical layers and cultural contexts of the site's development. To help understand this "invisible" spectrum of the city's heritage, new methods of analysis in urban and heritage planning and design need to be developed [10] and this research aims to contribute to this goal.

In order to reveal and explore the complexity of urban memory from the new heritage paradigm perspective, the paper will introduce the palimpsest method of urban analysis, arguing that, reading the space through the layers of the past can contribute to a better understanding of multitemporal and multivocal heritage as a whole by unveiling the visible and invisible elements of urban memory. In this research, palimpsest analysis will be applied in the area of Students Square in Belgrade 1) to explore the translation of pasts into the present and 2) to analyze the selectivity of traditional heritage presentation formats for interpreting multicultural influences in the design of contemporary public spaces.

The first section of the paper will establish the palimpsest method and explain it in relation to urban spaces. Explaining the city through its stages of development, or the layers of palimpsest helps identify the particular spaces and meanings which have been concealed by the contemporary urban tissue, while they still remain as a part of urban memory. The second section explores the impact of the heritage paradigm shift on heritage presentation and explores the transition from glorification and commemoration as key narratives in public monuments, and restoration and conservation as means of heritage protection – into pluralised interpretation which relies on presenting the past as a whole, in a non-selective way. The third section of the paper is a case study of Belgrade's historical core and the Students Square area as the urban space with the highest density of heritage. The square will be analysed from two aspects: 1) "invisible memory" - its hidden pasts, explored using the palimpsest method, unveiling four crucial periods of the area's urban development, and 2) "visible memory" the characteristics of existing monuments and markers of heritage sites, and their impact on the narrative of heritage presentation. Finally, the selectivity of traditional heritage presentation formats will be discussed based on a comparison of visible and invisible memory of Students Square and conclusions will be presented.

2. CITY AS PALIMPSEST

2.1. Understanding the city as a palimpsest

Selectiveness in displaying the past and preserving historical quarters has resulted in "deleting the memory" of cities, a process which Charles Landry calls a "form of urban vandalism" that underestimates the value of the city's past [13] and prevents the observation of historical quarters as a potential for spatially "anchored" interpretations, as suggested by Laurajane Smith [14]. The issue of the heritage of the place and the interpretation and presentation of urban memory is identified by Chesmezangi [10] as an under-explored value of cities which addresses the impact of the flow of time, different identities and local characteristics on the city. In the context of the New heritage paradigm, the question of interpretation is not only of the heritage situated in a location but also of different pasts and processes that could be called the "heritage of the place". In its character, the heritage of the place transcends the urban heritage framework, which

treats the city's landscapes in their final form as value [15], and values entire processes, identities and events, which often belong to an invisible spectrum of space. A holistic approach to the analysis and planning of cities observes urban spaces as layered sets of pasts that have evolved over time and will be further reproduced in the future [15]. In this context, a set of objects and spaces, narratives, or interpretive values, can be reinterpreted and restored to contemporary urban spaces.

The term used in contemporary urban studies to treat this narrative of physical, visible and invisible stratification of the city is called the *urban palimpsest*. Although the term palimpsest is primarily associated with medieval writings in which texts were rewritten on parchment by scraping the previous text, to replace it with a new one, in the context of cities this process explains various processes that influenced the forms, functions and meanings of urban spaces.

Viewing the land as a palimpsest, André Corboz [16] distinguishes two kinds of processes which have impacted it. The first involves natural changes, conditioned by phenomena such as droughts, precipitation, thawing or freezing, as well as geological and topographic changes that change the physical character of the soil. The second process, relevant to the interpretation of the heritage of the place, Corboz identifies as the consequences of human activity, activities and planned interventions on topography. Concerning identity and city, it is important to see the connection between society and public space through interdependence, under which cultural identities depend on the morphogenesis of the environment [17], its topography and natural characteristics, and as a result, the morphogenesis alone becomes the result of cultural patterns and the actions of society in space.

To make these cultural aspects and processes of urban development noticeable, Tim Williams [18] suggests viewing the city through its archaeological layers which contribute to understanding urban morphology through its functions and uses of public space. Building on Williams's research, Stefano Bianca proposes examining urban tissue development processes "from the inside", helping planners and architects decode the principles of the existing city structure, ensuring that the continuity of urban evolution is brought back into the future [19].

The urban palimpsest, according to Nadia Bartolini, "allows the revival of something that has disappeared from view"[20]. This explanation highlights the importance of the "invisible" spectrum in understanding and interpreting the heritage of places. Although in the processes of urban development new objects and structures have replaced the old ones, Bartolini emphasizes the visual changes of layers, she asks – whether the physically erased traces of the past had really disappeared. [20]

Cheshmehzangi [10] explains this phenomenon of the apparent erasure of the past by the selectivity of values that are retained in cities and transferred to the next stage of urban development. Urban palimpsests observed by Cheshmehzangi start from the characteristics of "erased" memory, which did not endure the selections, and which today, per the New heritage paradigm, especially UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscapes [21], Vienna Memorandum [6] and Silberman's observation that the New heritage paradigm values process above the product [22]. As categories for studying the urban palimpsest, Cheshmehzangi defines urban landscapes, urban identities, urban grid and image of the city as contributing components for creating new narratives about urban pasts.

2.2. Reading the city as a palimpsest – the method

The search for urban palimpsest from the framework of modern urban studies is associated with mapping and identifying changes that took place in the city tissue. Stefano Bianca[19] grouped the use of urban morphology and urbomorphological analyses to find the layers of the city and their impact on the contemporary city tissue in five steps: topographic analysis, historical macro-analysis, architectural microanalysis, analysis of socio-cultural contents, and analysis of possibilities. Topographic analysis explains the main reasons for a city to appear in a certain place, its structure and density, as well as primary identities and shapes. Historical macro-analysis is the most relevant for mapping the urban palimpsests as it includes a temporal dimension in the analysis of urban tissue and depends on superimposing the pasts to determine the "lines of the coexistence of different urban structures" [19], resulting in defining precise spaces of continuities and discontinuities in the urban fabric. Architectural microanalysis observes land use and typology of separate areas of the city and defines characteristic networks of built spaces and streets, whereas the socio-cultural content analysis adds societal patterns and cultural codes into the city's geometric structure, providing them with meaning.

Urban palimpsest analyses based on layering can be carried out and used in two ways. One process is the layering process, which is used to specifically analyze each stage of development, through a retrospective cartographic reading of space [23], while the second process of superimposing the layers, as suggested in Bianca's historical macro-analysis, combines information about the past from historiography, cartography, urban plans and satellite imagery, revealing the complexities and multilayered characteristics of the urban pasts. The temporality of maps and cartographic data already connects collective memory to contemporary physical space through its coordinates, while the new readings of the palimpsest add new meanings and narratives to understanding the space. Superimposing the various stages of the pasts to places within urban tissue connects the visible and invisible spectres of the space, enabling the layering, connecting and overlapping of places' meanings and information. This process enables an understanding of the relationship between the contemporary city and the past [24] and reveals the urban areas with the highest density of the past, as well as the identification of heritage content and its anchors in the contemporary urban fabric, which can become carriers of pluralised and user-oriented heritage presentation.

Identifying the spaces of the highest heritage density determines the priority locations for multivocal and layered heritage presentation. Artopoulos, Bakirtzis and Hermon [25] suggest the search for the urban palimpsest unveils the "cultural beacons" in which the past and the present overlap. These cultural beacons can be observed as anchors of the different pasts, as suggested by Smith [14], which connect meanings to space and present continuities and discontinuities of various cultures and uses of the city.

2.3. Presenting the city as a palimpsest – a challenge

Traditionally depicted palimpsest of the city can most often be seen at archaeological sites or areas of historical cores, in which the literal layering of the archaeological layers at excavation sites enables simultaneous views of several levels of development, or in spaces where symbols and fragments of different periods and cultures are brought to surface. Such is the space of Sultanahmet Meydanı Square in Istanbul. On this square, in the area of the ancient hippodrome, one can simultaneously observe the Column of

Constantine, Theodosius' Obelisk, the Walled Obelisk and the Pillar with snakes from the ancient and Byzantine periods, the Palace of Ibrahim Pasha and the Blue (Sultan Ahmed) Mosque, architectural monuments from the Ottoman period, as well as the "German Fountain", a gift from the Prussian king, erected in 1898 [26]. The observable density of heritage in this square is presented by the fragmented accentuation of individual artefacts of all stages of the place's development, embodied within the compact area of the ancient hippodrome, conceptualised according to the characteristics of an archaeological park, or an open-air museum [27].

The harmonization of the presentation of heritage with the contemporary development of life in the city implies that the interpretation and presentation of heritage should include "manifestations of all periods" [28]. New types of connecting elements of the past should stand out as a new form of education about the past through interaction with localities [29], whereby sites can be viewed in-depth, as places of grouped urban and collective memory – the "accumulated urban assemblages" whose different stages of development and past can be interpreted simultaneously.

The pluralization of the past and its complexity by including different pasts of communities and spaces in the presentation are recognized as special values of the presentation of heritage in the Faro Convention (2005) [30]. As a core purpose of heritage presentation, education in its various formats enables raising awareness about the past, and using the addition of multivocal data on sites, anchored to physical spaces, creates new narratives and empowers the communities by binding the past to contemporary spaces of everyday life.

With such a change in the purpose of the presentation of heritage, in which places become complex geographically determined spatial anchors of collective and urban memory, and users become central figures of heritage presentation [29], the question is to what extent traditional formats of heritage presentation in public spaces can respond to these demands.

3. HERITAGE PRESENTATION IN URBAN PUBLIC SPACE

3.1. Heritage interpretation and presentation: meaning, content and purpose

According to the definitions of interpretation and presentation of heritage in the Ename Charter, (ICOMOS charter on the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites) from 2008 [29], the interpretation refers to a wide range of potential activities aimed at strengthening awareness and increasing understanding of heritage through different modalities, and presentation refers to the "carefully planned communication" of interpreted content with the observer/ user. According to Freemal Tilden [31], the interpretation should connect to users, stimulate and provoke them, as well as use multidisciplinary methods and skills to interpret and communicate heritage as a whole. Looking at the interpretation through two stages suggested by Tim Copeland [32] - one concerning identification and presentation by experts, and the other - which includes the interpretive process of users when interacting, research recognises different groups of actors in the process of interpretation and heritage presentation, from the heritage identification and analysis phase to user experience.

Interpretation and presentation of heritage as procedures in heritage planning and management exist almost from the very beginnings of valorization and preservation of the past. Tilden described the interpretation as an educational activity, which reveals

meanings and depicts heritage as an experience that increases the amount of information about original artefacts through different media [33].

3.2. Presence of past in public space as an urban design issue

Viewing urban areas and urban spaces as "places of safety and continuity", Kevin Lynch [34] concludes that one of the key components of space and user interaction is the identification of residents and users with urban environments. As characteristics of public spaces, Lynch recognizes different actors and their sometimes conflicting, diverse activities [35] adding another dimension to urban space analysis. Lynch also stresses that awareness of the passage of time observable in space creates a pleasant environment for the observer and that reconstructions of objects hide the value that visible remnants of past times have in the city's tissue.

The presence of elements of the past, the cultural and historical heritage, is of great importance for highlighting the identity of the city. Contemporary tendencies of urban development and contemporary urban theory recognize multiculturalism and heterogeneity of identity as the value of space, which needs to be emphasized through public spaces. Chesmehzangi [36] recognizes an understanding of the role of different identity groups and their impact on shaping urban spaces as a key step in understanding urban design. Similar to Lynch's observation of urban spaces as places of safety and continuity, he highlights continuities within space and its usage as key components of spatial identities.

If urban spaces are seen as sets of the past of different cultures, or sets of influences of different communities on space, the identification of the past in cities and the recognition of communities belongs to reading the codes of city spaces and recognizing the impact that different communities had on today's cities. Henry Lefebvre [37]. suggests that each community has left its mark on the urban structure, identifying cities as consequences of social practices in spaces. Looking at this thesis through the prism of multicultural activity in space recognizes cities as a system of multiple "historical realities", which have alternated over time[37].

By introducing the spirit of a place identified through the heritage of places and urban memory, the principles of the UNESCO Vienna Memorandum suggest a readable display of "continuity of cultures through quality interventions", which should be achieved through urban planning and design. In addition, viewing heritage sites, per the new heritage paradigm, includes the "invisible spectrum" of the past, and the link between the past with contemporary roles and functions should be emphasised. [38].

3.3. Traditional modes of heritage presentation in urban public spaces

Aldo Rossi [39] points out that the whole city represents the collective memory of the people, which is related to places and precise urban areas. With this in mind, a time-space relationship can be established on the basis that the relationship to the marking of the past (one pre-selected by politics of memory or more pluralized) is established in the city.

Traditional heritage presentation formats can be divided into two categories: those related to planned and designed heritage presentation in public urban areas, and those that allow visitors to communicate first-hand with archaeological sites. The first type refers to monuments and memorials (sculptural monuments, architectural objects, ruins) [40], informative markers (commemorative boards and plaques, markings in the ground, signage, and miniature models), and public art (murals, abstract sculptures and graffiti) [41]. The

second type of presentation format refers to archaeological sites. Drawing on the research of Iryna Shalaginova, Katarina Živanović [42] identifies two groups of presentation models, which belong to traditional formats. The first group related to guided interpretation include guided tours, public programs, stage performances, and staging of events, while the second group of "non-personal interpretations" includes open-air board formats, vignettes, models and original and revived spaces depicting the past, exhibitions, archaeological sites and installations, landscapes, publications, interpretation centres for visitors, trails, public art and signage [42]. From the aspect of the spatiality of the presentation of heritage, it is more appropriate to observe the first type, while the second type of traditional formats is more suited to the type of interactivity and democracy of presentation, and the creation of interaction with the past as an experience.

In public city spaces, the traditional presentation formats, which are not related to archaeological sites, are associated with monumental culture and politics of memory. As elements of urban design, depictions of the past, or monuments themselves have different design characteristics that affect the type of interaction and perception they enable between the information they transmit and the users of space.

By erecting monuments at the exact locations of historical events, or by shedding light on the fragments of the past, certain spaces emphasize historical significance but do not enable reading the past as a whole [11]. As commemorative depictions of heroes or events, these monuments convey unilateral and previously selected messages, emphasising selected significant figures and periods, which are mainly used to form national identities and send messages of power through the public space [43, 44]. By presenting official, one-sided narratives through public space interaction with monuments often takes place through passive observation from a great distance, especially when the monuments are of extreme height, which emphasizes how much the user of the space is symbolically, but also physically small compared to the observed depiction. This kind of narrative and one-sided depiction of the past has been criticized in the New Paradigm documents, and from today's perspective can be considered an inadequate form of presentation of the past.

The next section will present the application of the palimpsest analysis in the area of Students Square in Belgrade to explore the translation of pasts into the present and to analyze the selectivity of traditional heritage presentation formats for interpreting multicultural influences in the design of contemporary public spaces.
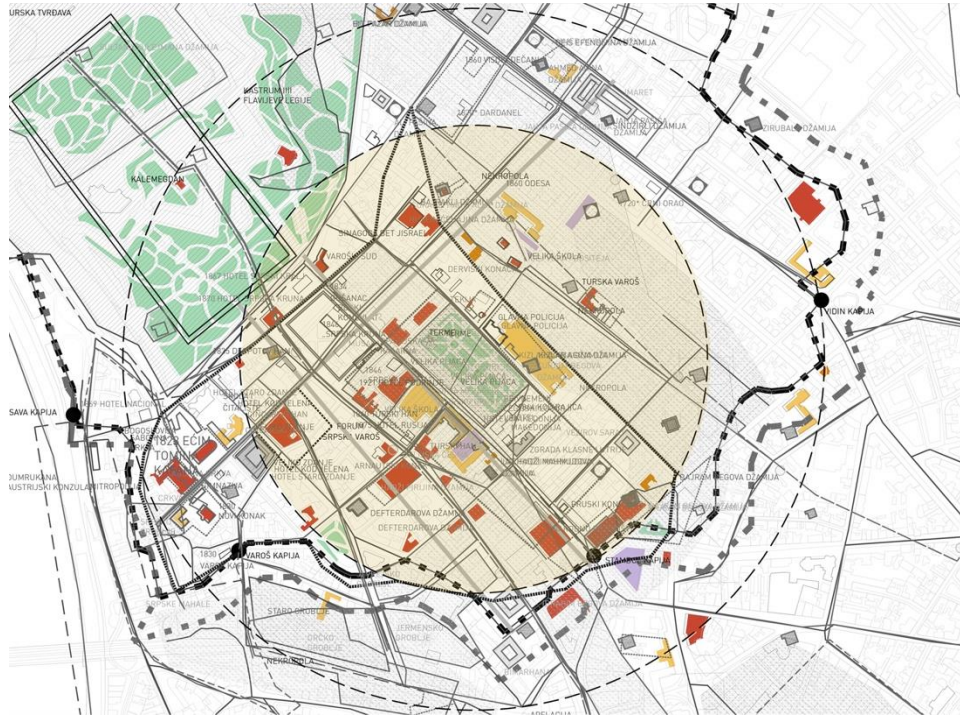
4. CASE STUDY OF "STUDENTS SQUARE" IN BELGRADE

4.1. Students Square in the Urban Context

Students Square area is one of the oldest continuously populated and built spaces of Belgrade, with traces of Roman civilian settlement dating back to the 2nd century when a castrum with buildings for the development of public life was formed on this site [45]. Through all phases of Belgrade's development, from antiquity, through Ottoman and Austrian development of the town, to the modern structure and use of the space, Students Square was one of Belgrade's crucial sites. During its development, Students Square functioned as a standalone Roman settlement, the border of the two towns – Ottoman and Christian, but also as an administrative and trade centre, as witnessed by Belgrade's plans from different periods of cartographer Željko Škalamera. In today's morphology of Students Square, vivid and culturally diverse development processes are not emphasized,

although the wider area of the site is rich in different visible and invisible heritage and urban memory.

Fig. 1 Students Square in the Urban Context. *Author*: M. Mladenović

The context of the Students Square area (Fig. 1), as one of the central city squares and parks, is one of the most frequent gathering places in Belgrade. Located in the city centre, in the area of the academic centre surrounded by faculties, a pedestrian zone, and in the contact zone of institutionally protected units of the Belgrade Fortress in the west, Knez Mihailova Street in the south and the area around Dositej Lyceum on the northern perimeter of the site, Students Square includes various attractions, cultural and historical ambience, but also central city functions in a comfortable distance of pedestrian movement (400-600 m). Due to its characteristics of a social and educational centre, as a zone with a high density of the past in the public city space that is actively used, Students Square is a complex testing ground for testing the potential for the multivocal heritage presentation of cultural heritage.

In the centre of the Students Square is University Park, which is one of the larger park areas in a radius of comfortable walking distance. In addition to the park, which is adapted to all-day use, in the immediate proximity there are 15 gathering places in the open – squares, plateaus, squares and playgrounds, as well as the pedestrian zone of Knez Mihailova Street with shopping facilities, which attracts a large number of users, which is why the Students square can attract users of these gathering places with its facilities. In addition to gathering places consisting of open public spaces, in the vicinity of the

Students Square there are 23 educational institutions and 36 cultural institutions, which additionally contribute to the potential attendance of the space, but also to the identification of educational and cultural institutions as potential actors in the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage.

4.2. Revealing Urban memory of Students Square - Historical palimpsest analysis

Reading spaces using the palimpsest method involves overlaying historical and contemporary data on public spaces and identifying the layers of visible and invisible heritage found in them. In this way, by reading the city through its past, a better understanding of the city fabric and the contemporary built environment is possible. The search for the urban palimpsest and multi-layered heritage is carried out using the method of historical macro-analysis, which establishes the chronological determinants of the past in the city (multitemporality), architectural micro-analysis, which identifies the heritage spaces and their characteristics, and the analysis of the socio-cultural context of which they read the multivocal effects of people's activities on the urban fabric. In this way, the elements of collective memory, areas of greater density of urban memory, and spatial manifestations of the past, in the form of existing institutionalized sites, or those that belong to the visible spectrum of urban spaces, are identified. This phase includes the collection of data about the past and their mapping (Fig.2), whereby cartographic data from different periods, photographs, documents, recordings, or memories as spatially abstract elements of the past become part of the database that enables a complete presentation of the past and emphasizing the continuity of the existence of the city and its various communities.

The results of revealing the urban memory of Students Square in Belgrade by applying the palimpsest method will be presented in further sections.
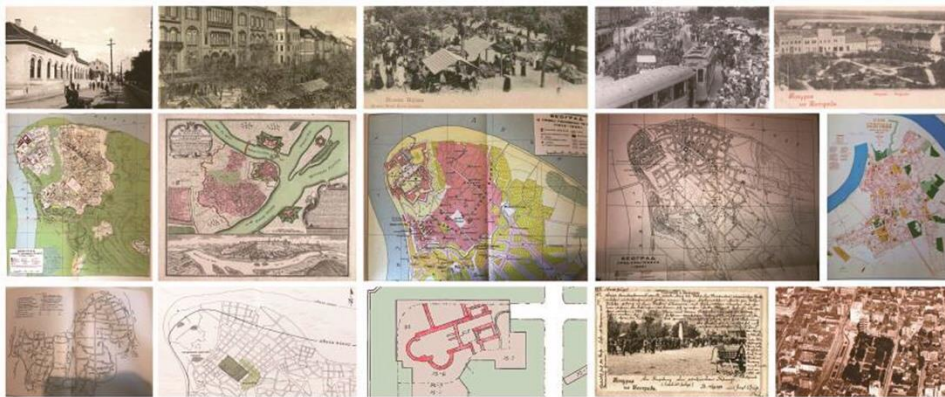
Fig. 2 Sources for layering urban memory of Belgrade. *Author*: M. Mladenović

4.2.1. Roman Belgrade Heritage in Students Square (2-4th Century)

Apart from the marked spaces related to the important academics that influenced the development of Belgrade and the institutions around Students Square, a higher percentage of urban memory constitutes an unmarked cultural and historical heritage. Students Square is one of the oldest parts of the city, whose borders date back to the 2nd century when there was a

temporary Roman legion camp on this site, bordered by the paths of today's streets of Braće Jugovića, Kralja Petra, Knez Mihailova and Dobračina [45]. From this oldest period of Belgrade's development to date, the direction of Braće Jugovića Street has been maintained as part of the urban structure and remained unchanged from antiquity to this day through all periods of morphogenesis of Belgrade's centre.

According to archaeological maps, on the territory of Students Square, from the II to the 4th century there was a continuously inhabited settlement – the civilian part of Singidunum, while the necropolis spanned from the Faculty of Mathematics to the north, along the Danube Slope. From this period, the site of the previously mentioned buried thermae remained on the territory of Students Park. The main routes connecting the Fortress to one of the most important roads of the Roman Empire – *Via Militaris* [46], in today's tissue, left traces within the direction of Uzun Mirkova and Vasina streets, as well as the direction of Kralja Petra Street (the possible equivalent of Rome's *Via Decumanus*). In the further course of the city's development, even after centuries during which the life of the city took place exclusively around Kalemegdan Fortress, these two directions will be the beacons of the social, religious, and political life of Belgrade from the 16th to the 20th century.

Today, apart from the board marking the site of the Roman baths in the park, there are no visible material clues that indicate to the observer/user of the Students Square site the continuity of the development and existence of settlements from ancient times, which further indicates the perception of discontinuity, or falsely brief continuity of the city's historical development, thus reducing the diversity of identity with which users of space can identify. Nevertheless, due to the purpose and structure of the space today, although there is enough space to highlight the elements of the heritage in Students Park, the spaces of Braće Jugovića and Vasina streets are very frequent roads, which is why they cannot be physically marked or reconstructed in the spirit of historical times.

4.2.2. The Ottoman Belgrade Heritage in Students Square (15-18th, 18-19th Century)

During medieval times, Belgrade was developing within the borders of Kalemegdan. The revival of the Students Square area began in the 16th century as a border of Serbian and Turkish mahalas (parts of town). At the time of the Ottoman reign, the cartographic data and historiography testify that the area of the square had both religious and memorial significance. The area of the park was the Turkish graveyard – Orta Mezarlik (Veliko Mezarje), whereas the site of today's Mathematical faculty was the location of the Kizlar-Aga Mosque, renamed in the 18th century to Turgut Bey's Mosque. In the 18th century, the area around the park was also named Turgut Bey Mahala and was one of the centres of public life in Ottoman Belgrade. The key point of Turgut Bey's mahala was the complex of the Dervish Lodges. The site of the complex had a significant impact on today's regulation of Braće Jugovića and Višnjićeva streets, where it was situated.

The remains of the vivid religious centre of the 16th-century Students Square area and the site of many 18th and 19th-century urban legends related to the Dervish Lodges are now only present through a singular monument of the Sheikh-Mustafa's Tomb, which pops out from the Ottoman past into the contemporary urban space, without being linked to its original spatial or historical context. The position of the Tomb unveils an anchor of the invisible urban memory of the area, from the site of the Dervish Lodge complex to the central graveyard on the border between the two communities, which were removed from the urban tissue throughout historical urban development.

While preserving its role as a place of gathering, as a faculty, the site of Kizlar-aga/Turgut-bey's Mosque remains a completely hidden and unmarked part of the Ottoman culture in the Students Square area, which emphasizes the selectivity of multicultural representations in the area.

4.2.3. Austrian Belgrade Heritage in Students Square (1717-1739)

The Austrian conquest of Belgrade brought new styles and principles of regulation of urban areas in the development of the city. The organic matrix, characteristic of oriental countries, in which the plots are of irregular shape, and the city blocks intersected by blind alleys, have been replaced by a more regular system of plots, blocks and streets, characteristic of Austrian cities. Although the focus of Belgrade's development in this period was on the reconstruction of the fortress and the construction of the moat, the changes that shaped the area of the Town are also significant. During the period of Austrian rule, the Town was also divided into two parts, with a border on the route of Uzun Mirkova and Vasina streets. Reconstruction of the city was planned through several projects and plans, among which one of the most famous is the reconstruction plan of the fortress of Nicolas Doxat de Morez. In the plans of Belgrade from the first half of the 18th century, the surface of Students Square completely coincides with today's space for the first time, which is why this period is a turning point in the morphogenesis of the location - the space will no longer change shape and surface. At the location of Students Square, most of the plans for baroque reconstruction include built rectangular blocks, such as those parcelled to the Stambol Gate, but a map by the Austrian officer Fr. V. Brusch from the end of the 18th century indicates that this division was not realized, but that the area of Studentski trg existed as a parcelled public area divided into two parts by the extension of today's Višnjićeva street to today's Vasina street [47].

In the hinterland of Students Square, towards the Danube slope, on the site of Turgut Bey's mosque from the 17th century, the cartographic data reveals the site of a Minoritian church [48], while the Orta Mezarlik cemetery as well as other smaller cemeteries were moved outside the ramparts of the town. According to the maps, it is not possible to reliably determine whether the undeveloped space was used, and in what way, since it was marked on various plans as a deleted space, a system of undeveloped blocks or a square, but due to public buildings (churches and barracks) on the edges, conclude that it was an open public space.

While the baroque town and buildings were mostly demolished and the city had returned to its previous state, the shape of the area of the Students Square has persisted until today as a living part of the urban memory. Unreliable sources about the period point to the possibility of the fragments of the Austrian orthogonal matrix being preserved, but they cannot be precisely determined apart from the morphology of the square.

4.2.4. Modern Belgrade Heritage in Students Square 19th Century

The dynamic period of development of the territory of Students Square is related to the end of the 18th and the entire 19th century, which influenced the functions of the Students Square area, and whose traces still exist on the southern front of Vasina Street. Around today's park, in Braće Jugovića Street were significant city centres – Tekija (the building of the 19th-century Governing Council), The Main Police and The Great Market, which had great significance, both for the Turkish town in the 18th century and for the development of the

Serbian modern city in the 19th century. An interesting representative of this transitional period is the Tekija building next to Sheikh Mustafa's Tomb, which had multiple significance for the history of the city. Cartographic data shows this site overlapped with the former complex of the Dervish Lodges, testifying to the "urban adaptive reuse" in 19th-century Belgrade. The site of today's park was divided into two sections, probably remnants of the Austrian reconstruction, where one part was a restored Turkish graveyard, and the other the Great Market – the centre of trade and merchandise in Belgrade. According to the plans by Emilijan Josimović in 1867 the two public blocks were to be joined into one park, which was implemented through phases until the first half of the 20th century [49].

In the contemporary structure of Students Square, the site of the Governing Council, where Dositej Obradović had lived and died, in the north-west corner, is the most neglected part of Students Square, almost without any trace of the historical functions it has held in the religious, political, and civilian everyday life of Ottoman, Austrian and Modern Serbian Belgrade. The Building of Tekija, i.e. the headquarters of the Governing Council, partially exists today in a neglected state, marked with a bronze plaque, off the main pedestrian paths. Along with the contemporary use of the park as a place of gathering with occasional markets happening in the area, the Great Market can be perceived as a part of potentially anchored and semi-visible urban memory revealed through the multitemporal palimpsest.

The building of the Main Police, the mosque and remnants of the Turkish graveyard belong to the invisible heritage of 19th-century Belgrade, while Captain Miša's Mansion and Dositej Obradović have become beacons of the selective and thematized memory of the Students Square, and the University Park has prevailed as a place of gathering and a public park.
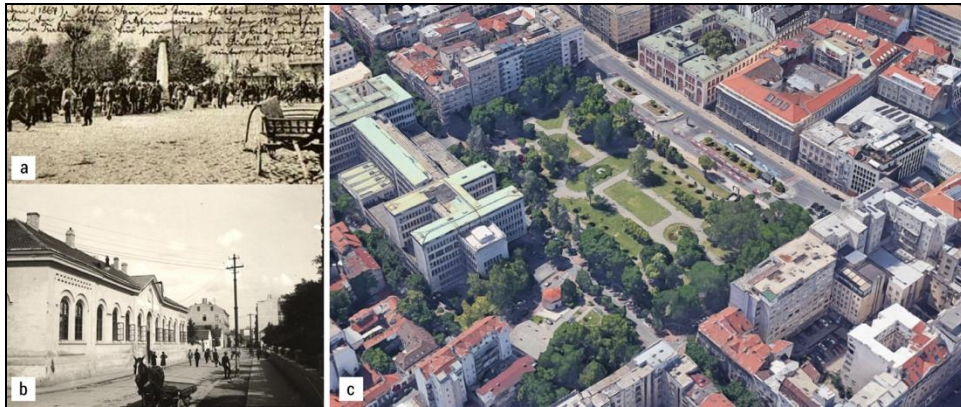
4.2.5. Contemporary Belgrade Heritage in Students Square 20-21th Century

During World War II, Students Square had a different function than the picturesque city centre from the pre-war and interwar periods, as the building on the site of the Main Police during the interwar period and the German occupation functioned as one of the main investigative prisons in Belgrade. The facility was run by the Special Police and was the place of terror for numerous communists and anti-fascists [47], which did not begin with the German occupation, but in the same organizational structure lasted from the 1930s, when Communist Party members such as Vukica Mitrović were tortured here [50]. The original police building was damaged in the April bombing in 1941 when the Special Police moved to Obilićev venac, but the Main Police facility in Students Square was still in use by the German military administration [51]. The building was finally demolished in the 1950s, and in its place today is the parking lot of the Mathematical faculty. The morphological structure of the square has remained unchanged from the early 20th century, but the architecture of the buildings carries its own memory. In October 1944 four buildings surrounding the square were demolished by the Nazis and were consecutively replaced by newer buildings through the 20th and 21st centuries as a part of the contemporary urban reconstruction [52].

The building of the Main Police belongs to the invisible heritage of the 18th and 19th century Belgrade, but it is marked as a World War II site with the 20th-century memorial "Cvet". The remembrance of the victims is not a part of the visible spectre of the space, so the monument can be perceived as an anchor for further explanations of the memory of the site. The sites of the four buildings which were demolished in October of 1944 remain a part of invisible urban memory.

4.2.5. Layering the pasts of Students Square

By analysing the morphogenesis of the site, as well as the urban memory and places of remembrance at the site, it is possible to determine which objects, streets, directions, and functions were relevant to the city's urban development on the site of Students Square (Fig. 3). Because today's site structure cannot support the physical marking of all elements of urban memory with monuments, memorial plaques, or the entire object reconstructions, it is possible to create an interactive base that overlaps and connects different heritage elements according to the selection criteria. This can generate thematic maps by periods (Fig. 4), cultures, types of objects, or heritage, in which existing spatial features can be included, giving them a wider context, and meaning in presentation according to the New heritage paradigm.

Fig. 3 Students Square in history and now. *Sources*: a) Rijaset, b) MGB (UR 11394), c) Google Maps

Fig. 4 Multitemporal reading - History and morphology of Students Square (1-antiquity, 2) first half of the 18th century, 3) second half of 18th century, 4) first half of the 19th century, 5) 1878, 6) 20th century). *Author*: M. Mladenović

Although existing spaces of interaction with monuments indicate sufficient space in the Students Square area for the introduction of new monuments, most elements of urban memory are related to the street fronts around University Park, which have various purposes and actively participate in contemporary life, making it impossible to physically reconstruct historical buildings and paths.

When we talk about the sites of invisible heritage on the Students Square from the aspect of its spatiality and appearance, two points with the most pronounced palimpsest are singled out (Fig. 5), i.e. whose appearances and functions have changed the most throughout history – the space of today's Faculty of Mathematics, and the space of the University Park in the centre of the square. According to its initial spatial characteristics, the point of the Faculty of Mathematics belongs to the front of the built tissue, where possible presentations are analyzed based on the morphological characteristics of the building. The second point, University Park, typologically belongs to public green spaces, which, based on characteristics and purposes, are treated as open public spaces independent of the morphology of the constructed tissue.

Fig. 5 Palimpsest analysis - Simultaneous reading of multicultural layers. *Author*: M. Mladenović

The space of today's Faculty of Mathematics is specific in the depth of palimpsest. On the site of the modern building and in its immediate surroundings were the sites of the border of Castrum from the 2nd century AD, the Roman necropolis, Turgut-bey and Kizlar-aga Mosque, the Minoritian church and the Main Police. According to the density of this site, which includes six periods and their invisible representatives, this point represents the most complex assemblage of the pasts in this zone of the historical core of

the city suggesting different means of presentation which go beyond traditional monument formats. On the site of the University Park, the former graveyard Orta Mezarlik, Great Market and its surroundings as well as other buildings demolished in 1944 also belong to the invisible spectre of urban memory (Fig. 6).

1-roman thermae   2-roman military camp   3-roman necropolis   4-musala   5-orta mezarlik

6-turgut-bey mosque   7-dervish lodges   8-minoritian church   9-ottoman barracks   10-tekke/gov. council

11-great market   12-main police   13-turkish chan   14-"srpska kruna"   15-hotel "macedonia"

Fig. 6 Invisible memory of Students Square. *Authors*: Mladenović&Živković

4.3. Presence of past in Students Square – visible urban memory

In the inner area of the Students Square, within the University Park, there are two kinds of traditional markings of the past. One related to the Roman period, and the other to the symbolism of the use of the square as an educational centre of the city. The archaeological site of the now buried Roman thermae within the park is marked by an informative board at the western entrance to the park (d), not clearly relating its content to physical space, or the precise location of the site within the park. As remains of the

Ottoman Belgrade and its representation in the Students Square, only Sheikh Mustafa's Tomb (b) remains in the contemporary space of the square, while the Dervish Lodge complex and its later use as the Governing Council is marked with a plaque (a).

The monuments to Josif Pančić (e) and Dositej Obradović (g) were erected after the final reconstruction of the space and the formation of the park at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century [53], as well as a monument to Jovan Cvijić (f), erected in the same style in 1994. The position of the monument in the park is determined by being in the central zones of fenced lawns that direct the movement of pedestrian users of space. Monuments on pedestals in the middle of the lawns are a multiplied version of a plan for the positioning of monuments in this area, according to the Plan of Regulation of the Town in the Moat from 1867. According to this plan, monuments, fountains, or other central spots were to be placed within the newly designed central circle (the position of today's monument to Josif Pančić) [49]. The urban furniture disposition and the low greenery in the park (carried out folowing Josimović's plan, i.e. according to the General Plan of Belgrade by Đorđe Kovaljevski from 1923) [54] enable a frontal view of the monuments. The height of the monument is about 5 m, which makes the monuments easy to perceive in the open space, although due to the distance of viewing, inscriptions on the monuments cannot be clearly seen. In recent years, a detailed addition to the information about the monuments in the form of QR codes leading to a Wikipedia page was linked to the monuments as self-standing structures, providing digital information about the monuments. The contemporary history related to WWII is embodied in the "Cvet" memorial (c), marking the site of the singular past of the former Main Police.

In the southeastern corner of the square, at the plateau in front of the Faculty of Philosophy, there are five more markers of the past, interpreted through different traditional presentation media. The oldest remnant of the past in this micro-ambience of Students Square is represented in the form of the brick arches, an abstract, formalist representation of the shape of the ancient Roman baths found below the plateau (h). The monument to Petar II Petrović Njegoš between the two lower levels of the plateau is a statue depicting a 19th-century poet, philosopher and prince-bishop of Montenegro. The 5,4m tall monument of a seated figure (i) was erected in 1994. In 1989 a plaque commemorating Nikola Tesla's visit to Belgrade, and a lecture he had given at Belgrade University was presented at the side of the University building, positioned more than 2.5m above ground (j). Along with the statues in the park, and the Njegoš monument, this plaque contributes to the overall symbolics of the area as an educational centre, which is highlighted throughout the visible spectre of pre-selected heritage presentation. The following two presentations of the past are related to the newer history – the mural painted by artist Vladimir Veličković in 1989 during the organisation of the 9th Summit of the Non-Aligned countries (k), as a part of the open-air gallery depicting friendship and solidarity [55]. Situated on the wall above the plateau, the mural is not a part of the dominant views on the pedestrian paths but is easily perceived from the entrance to the Faculty of Philosophy, as well as from the corridors inside the building. Just below this mural, there is a mural dedicated to the former prime minister Zoran Đinđić (l). The lower position of this mural is closer to the pedestrians and the viewpoints of the plateau, but due to its position within reach, it is frequently vandalised.

Fig. 7 Visible memory of Students Square: a) "Cvet", b) Sheikh-Mustafa's Tomb, c) Governing Council building plaque d) Roman baths info-board, e) J. Pančić monument, f) D. Obradović monument, g) J. Cvijić monument, h) N.Tesla memorial plaque, i) P. P. Njegoš monument, j) baths presentation k) 9th Summit of the Non-Aligned Countries mural, l) Mural dedicated to Z. Đinđić. Authors: Mladenović&Živković

4.4. Analysis and discussion of heritage presentation concerning the complexity of urban memory

The results of the research point to the complexity of the heritage of the area, and the *rich "visible" and "invisible" urban memory identified by the palimpsest method*, which may be beneficial to the multivocal and plural interpretation and presentation of the past. The use of the palimpsest method revealed many stages of urban and cultural development of the city which now belong to the "invisible" spectre of the space. The presence of ancient Roman, Ottoman, Austrian, Jewish and other minor groups' influences on the current shape of Belgrade, helps us understand it as a continuous multicultural hub, created by shifts of many of the Lefevbre's "historical realities". The palimpsest method also revealed spaces of everyday life as well as the continuities of using space through the shifts in cultures. Exploring the space of Students Square through historical palimpsest macro-analysis, and reading it through superimposed layers of the past, points also to specific micro-ambiences in which the majority of the past is hidden by the contemporary urban fabric, or to the individual remnants of the past which have been detached from their cultural and spatial contexts – and can be seen as priority action areas. This way the palimpsest method was confirmed to be a powerful tool to reveal both visible and invisible urban memory and the continuities and discontinuities of urban development, thus enabling a deeper understanding of different cultural influences, and encouraging the identification of contemporary users with the multivocal past, as suggested by Ali Cheshmehzangi.

In relation to heritage presentation, it is important to acknowledge that although fragments of different pasts "pop up" at different points of the Square as marked and un-marked visible urban memory, continual and multicultural understanding of the evolution of Students Square is difficult. Table 1 presents the visible and invisible spectrum of urban memory and points to the conclusion that the majority of information about the multicultural urban past is missing in the contemporary design of Students Square. The existing heritage presentation is mainly traditional, in the form of monuments and memorials, and is based on the principles of the old paradigm. It is a relatively diverse presentation of the past, but it represents only fragments of selected past for display as heritage. *Being selective and fragmentary* it does not explain the area through its pasts, but these elements can be used as anchors of future pluralised narratives according to the New heritage paradigm. From the point of interaction, all observed monuments and heritage sites are marked with content that limits interaction to passive observation, and with low contribution to understanding the area as a whole. Shaped as figural depictions or wall art, the existing presentation of the past does not contain enough information for user-oriented presentation, limiting the observer's understanding of the monuments, and the significance of the depicted people or sites. In the context of heritage pluralisation and democratisation, the palimpsest of the Students Square area calls for new methods of interpreting heritage sites.

Table 1 Visible and invisible urban memory of Students Square

Historical period	Visible urban memory	Invisible urban memory
Roman Belgrade 2nd Century Roman Belgrade (Singidunum) – 3rd and 4th Century	▪ Information board depicting the Roman baths in the University Park ▪ Semi-circular forms mimicking the Roman baths at the plateau in front of the Faculty of Philosophy	▪ The Military Castrum, bordered by today's Braće Jugovića, Knez Mihailova, Kralja Petra and Dobračina streets ▪ Position of the site of Roman baths in the University Park ▪ System of roman roads along Vasina Street ▪ Roman necropolis in the area of the Mathematical Faculty
Ottoman Belgrade 15th-18th Century, 18th-19th Century	▪ Sheikh Mustafa's Tomb	▪ Orta Mezarlik graveyard ▪ Kizlar-aga/Turgut-bey's Mosque ▪ The complex of the Dervish Lodges ▪ Main Police
Austrian Belgrade 1717-1739	▪ The regulation and shape of today's Students Square ▪ Orthogonal matrix from the baroque reconstruction of the city ▪ Land-use – Students Square as a public space	▪ Minoritian church on the site of Mathematical Faculty
Modern Belgrade 19th Century	▪ Captain Miša's Mansion ▪ D. Obradović Monument ▪ J. Cvijić Monument ▪ J. Pančić Monument ▪ P. P. Njegoš Monument	▪ Great Market ▪ Governing Council Complex ▪ Hotel "Makedonija" ▪ Main Police
Contemporary Belgrade 20th Century	▪ Morphology of the square ▪ Buildings surrounding the square	▪ Buildings mined and demolished in 1944

Similar to fragments of the rich past that exist in Sultan Ahmet Square in Istanbul, there are certain fragments of the heritage of Students Square which can be used as anchors in the interpretation of the multivocal and multitemporal past of this part of the city. Thus, traces of the Roman city can be seen as part of the urban design of the plateau in front of the Faculty of Philosophy, and the representatives of both periods of Turkish rule are embodied in Sheikh-Mustafa's Tomb located at the north-west corner of the square, separated from its wider cultural and spatial context. Apart from the inherited orthogonal matrix and the morphology of the Students Square, there are no other traces of the Austro-Hungarian rule in the visible spectrum of the heritage of Students Square. After World War II, a part of the demolished buildings was reconstructed, while new buildings were built in the places of mined buildings, as is the case with the hotel "Makedonija", which was demolished in the 1941 bombing. Over time, Students Square's fronts were filled from all sides, except for the area of the former Tekija. On the site of the former Main police, there is a previously mentioned monument "Cvet", while other sites remain unmarked.

The characteristics of heritage presentation in the area of Students Square point to the *selectivity of memory* reflected in the gap between the official politics of memory (embodied in the existing monuments and memorials) and the heritage richness and density unveiled using the palimpsest method that portraits Students Square as a compact territory with various multicultural layers still present in parts of urban tissue and collective memory. While the prevailing narrative of heritage presentation depicts 19th-century figures, traces of the past from the 3rd, 17th and 18th centuries, as well as from the newer history, presented in traditional shapes of sculptural monuments, plaques and boards can be considered "anchors" for a complete, multivocal and non-selective, plural presentation following the principles of the New heritage paradigm.

Enabling the heritage to be perceived as a complex assemblage of pasts through the recontextualization of existing elements may lead to restoring parts of urban memory and bringing them back to the contemporary city through different means of interpretation. An adequate interpretation and presentation of heritage as a whole, as suggested by the New heritage paradigm is related to the content and character of heritage presentation, which includes pluralised and multivocal heritage. Including different pasts in heritage presentation may engage visitors to interpret the complex past as a whole, enabling identification of contemporary users with the past cultures and communities, making interaction with heritage more appealing and personal. Avoiding selectivity in heritage interpretation and presentation, as highlighted by Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, acknowledges the value of the past as a resource and contributes to interpreting pasts as a whole, with all its continuities, cultures and urban memories.

5. CONCLUSION

With the heritage paradigm shift, the purpose of its interpretation and presentation has changed, replacing commemorative and glorifying presentation goals with a need to illuminate the past in a more pluralistic way. In this respect, the multivocal and multitemporal approach to the interpretation and presentation of heritage is needed for understanding the city as a dynamic collage of multicultural influences that through time shaped urban form and life.

This research introduced the idea of reading and understanding the city as a palimpsest and confirmed the potential of the palimpsest method to enable complex reading of urban pasts, thus contributing to heritage and urban planning theory and practice. Applied in the specific urban context of Students Square, this method reveals both visible and invisible elements of urban memory and allows for connecting them in different ways. This way, the city may be read as a collage of multicultural influences and explored in depth through individual layers that reveal various cultural patterns building upon one another, and leading to the contemporary city image. Therefore, to understand urban development through the passage of time, and to identify priority areas of showcasing the dense urban memory within cities for affirmation of multiculturalism, it is necessary to add the palimpsest method to the usual urban analysis of the city areas.

Interpretation and presentation of the multicultural influences that shaped urban life and morphology through time call for re-evaluating the traditional forms of heritage presentation, and their ability to support connecting, layering and transmitting greater complexity of information on visible and invisible urban memory to users of space. The case of Students Square in Belgrade's historical urban core reveals the limits of the existing heritage presentation formats to highlight the complexity of urban memory. The research shows the selectivity of the presented chronologic periods as well as the fragmentation by which many elements of the past remain invisible. In this way, it is not possible to fully understand Students Square plural pasts nor the continuity of its development. Besides that, although traditional formats enable the planned thematization of the narrative of the space as an educational centre, urban sculptures as presentation formats are limited in conveying information and do not allow for interactive presentation to a variety of users.

Recognising the limits of the traditional formats to present visible and invisible urban memory in public spaces and the need to make heritage presentation more interactive and user-oriented indicates the necessity to examine other presentation formats. Further research should explore the potentials and limitations of using digital media to present cities as palimpsest and their visible and invisible memory in urban public spaces.

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GRAD KAO PALIMPSEST: VIDLJIVA I NEVIDLJIVA URBANA MEMORIJA "STUDENTSKOG TRGA" U BEOGRADU

Nova paradigma nasleđa menja način na koji se vrednuje prošlost i afirmiše pluralnu i ka korisnicima orijentisanu prezentaciju vidljive i nevidljive urbane memorije. Pretpostavka rada je da čitanje grada kao palimpsesta može predstavljati osnov za demokratičnu prezentaciju nasleđa, odnosno multivokalno i multitemporalno razumevanje prošlosti osvetljavanjem vidljivih i nevidljivih slojeva urbane memorije. Međutim, postavlja se pitanje u kojoj meri tradicionalni prisutpi prezentaciji nasleđa u javnim prostorima mogu da odgovore na ove zahteve. Cilj ovog rada je da objasni koncept i metod čitanja grada kao palimpsesta i da na primeru Studentskog trga u Beogradu demonstrira njegovu primenu u cilju osvetljavanja nevidljive urbane memorije i kritičkog preispitivanja tradicionalnih formata prezentacije da je na adekvatan način prezentuju u javnom gradskom prostoru. Rezultati istraživanja potvrđuju potencijal palimpsest metoda i upućuju na selektivni pristup i fizička ograničenja tradicionalnih formata prezentacije prošlosti da prikažu kompleksnost urbane memorije u javnim gradskim prostorima.

Ključne reči: *urbani palimpsest, urbana memorija, javni prostor, prezentacija nasleđa*