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Novak, Sonja; Sioli, Angeliki

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Mapping the Fictional and the Physical City

The Spatiotemporal and Cultural Identity of Osijek, Croatia

Sonja Novak and Angeliki Sioli

Introduction

Osijek is the fourth largest city in Croatia with a population of about 100,000, including the surrounding suburbs. It is the largest city as well as the economic and cultural centre of eastern Croatia. It is located mostly on the right bank of the River Drava and has a rich, multicultural history, which is reflected in its contemporary cultural and urban identity. It is famous for the historical Fort Tvrđa as well as the European Avenue, the most representative street of Austro-Hungarian Secession architecture. The city's urban development has historically emerged from three locations: the fort or citadel Tvrđa, the Upper Town (Gornji Grad), and the Lower Town (Donji Grad), which were united in 1911 as a result of a regulation plan establishing one line along the Drava. This plan promoted the longitudinal development of Osijek's urban structure, making the river one of the most prominent elements of its identity.

When emphasized in literary texts, the changes in the built environment and the cityscape become elements of the cultural heritage and collective memory of the city and its population. Several literary texts that strongly cover and emphasize the spatial features of the city of Osijek have been published since the 1990s, when the city experienced severe changes in its spatial and cultural urban fabric because of the so-called 'Homeland War'. Vilma Vukelić's *Spuren der Vergangenheit* (A Past Rescued from Oblivion) and *In engen Grenzen* (Narrow Borders) are novels from the first half of the twentieth century, but were first published simultaneously in German and Croatian only by the 1990s, when war was raging in the city. At the same time, a series of urban movements arose. Their aim was to preserve the urban cultural fabric through a number of multimedia projects, including visual materials (photographs and videos) as well as journalistic and literary texts, thematizing the city of Osijek. Among the noteworthy literary texts that have been published since then are the historiographic novel *Unterstadt* (Lower Town) by contemporary Croatian author Ivana Šojat in 2009, Jasna Horvats' novel *Bizarij* from the same year, a series of prose texts by Nenad Rizvanović titled *Sat pjevanja* (Singing Lesson) in 2006, *Trg Lava Mirskog* (Lav Mirski Square) in 2010 and *Trg slobode* (Liberty Square) in 2022, Žarko Plevnik's *Crveni fičo* (The Red Fiat) in 2014, Milovan Tatarin's *Zvijezda baruna Beckersa: Sentimentalna povijest Nutarnjeg grada* (Baron Beckers' Star: A Sentimental History of the Inner City) in 2019, and many more, all of them taking place in Osijek.

This chapter will examine how selected literary texts integrate 'real' urban spaces into their fictional fabric, creating new meaning and (re)shaping the cultural identity of a city that has throughout history been perceived as peripheral, provincial and secondary to its adjacent European metropolises.¹ Many of the abovementioned texts rely on historiography to reiterate the referential,² as the descriptive and representative function of the text, but, at the same time, amplify the aesthetics of the described urban spaces, creating a multiplicity of city images that accentuate its

individuality, specific lifestyle, identity, image and symbolism. The theoretical foundation of this chapter relies on Deborah Stevenson's notions of the physical, real and imagined city,³ on Darran Anderson's argument that 'we inhabit our actual cities through . . . personal mythologies',⁴ and on Roland Barthes' *Semiology and Urbanism* as well as Lefebvre's notion of space as a social product. Paraphrasing Kevin Lynch, Roland Barthes states that

*there exists in every city, from the moment when it is truly inhabited by man, and made by him, that fundamental rhythm of signification which is opposition, alternation and juxtaposition of marked and of unmarked elements. Finally, there is a last conflict between signification and reality itself, at least between signification and that reality of objective geography, the reality of maps.*⁵

This opposition and split arise from the difference between the experience of signification and the objective data. This can, in the case of a literary text and the representations of cities in it, be mirrored in the split between the imagined, written city, 'def[ying] time, space and identity', and the real city, which is 'soundly located and constructed within personal biography and the physical world'.⁶ The representations of real cities in literature are indeed imagined cities, yet they tend to intersect with the real in that we locate them on our imaginary maps, since it is part of human nature to look for recognizable patterns and relations in what is described and to search for anchors to confirm our own position within a social context. Reading the city as a text and the text as a city produces a multitude of mental maps of the city – both the real and the imagined one – that depend on our personal experience, knowledge, background and connection with it. We 'create cognitive maps of places and spaces according to a vast range of different visual cues associated subconsciously with our own and shared experiences',⁷ because 'we inhabit our actual cities through these personal mythologies, walking the ghost trajectories of



Fig. 1. Ornamental details of houses that are falling slowly apart, 'rotting quietly and unnoticed' in downtown Osijek.
Photo: Angeliki Sioli, August 2022.



Fig. 2. Osijek Train Station under reconstruction.
Photo: Angeliki Sioli, August 2022.

earlier events'.⁸ In this process we are again contributing to the creation of another layer of socially produced space in Lefebvre's terms.⁹

The city as a narrative is not just 'a moderately polysemic, frugally plural, and partially closed text', which can be conquered via the act of reading (the conquered city as a *texte lisible* (readerly text), but is in fact a *texte scriptible* (writerly text), 'eternally polysemous, triumphally plural, perfectly open'.¹⁰ That is to say, the real city does not exist independently because it is also a socially constructed space, in Lefebvre's terms, but it is rather a construct of various discourses, codifications and significations, very much like a literary text. In the interplay of the city as text and the text representing a city, a multilayered identity is further formed by the subjects that come into contact with it – authors, readers, protagonists, inhabitants – all of them weaving a complex spatiotemporal tapestry of the city's everchanging and vibrant life.

Analysis

The methodology that will be used in this chapter is a close-reading analysis of Vukelić's, Šojat's, Horvat's and Rizvanović's texts, followed by the (re)tracing of the city's walks, mapped according to selected excerpts in order to explore the poetologically assigned meaning(s) of urban spaces described in them.¹¹ The city will be read as a text and the text as a city. The aim of the chapter is to map out the fictional and the physical city narrated through different textual cartographies that integrate or synthesize the contemporary urban cultural identity map of Osijek. The analysis will show that there are certain reference points that serve as landmarks in mapping out this identity. On the one hand, references to the political and social history of the city during the turmoil of different wars, which caused huge changes in the urban and social fabric (including its multi-ethnic heritage, which is evident in its former sociolect known as *Essekerisch*). On the other are the city's infrastructure, architecture, and its strong connection to nature, which is reflected in the city's multitude of green spaces, such as

park facilities and the connection to the river. In parallel, images from Osijek today weave an additional narrative along the narrative of the authors. The images are not meant to be illustrations of the literary excerpts, but rather impressions from the city in its current state that touch on conditions and elements mentioned in the novels.

Social and Political History

Vilma Vukelić's publication *A Past Rescued from Oblivion* is the earliest novel selected for this analysis and can be described as both an autobiographical novel and an urban chronicle of the city of Osijek, mirroring its life at the beginning of the twentieth century in terms of its architecture, infrastructure, spatial positioning within the Austro-Hungarian Empire (as peripheral, provincial), education system, cuisine, language and ethnicity, politics, gender roles, etcetera. It is a retrospective of the author's own life as a young girl and woman living in this provincial town. She refers to different living conditions at different stages of history, evoking the two World Wars as well as an almost ethnographic depiction of the different living conditions of various social groups in the very multiethnic and very multicultural community of Osijek. The memoir goes all the way back to 1904 and even in the description of her childhood years, the author captures the looming social and political turmoil:

... Melanka was laughing at my state of despair. With a derisive expression on her face and in a superior tone of voice, she declared, 'Croatia is not your homeland, even if you write it out a hundred times! You may be a good pupil, but you will still not go to heaven, but to the place where only wailing and gnashing of teeth could be expected. The catechist told us that in class today!'

Growing up in the protected environment of my home, I had been unfamiliar with anti-Semitism. I made good friends at school and in the Long Courtyard and we got along perfectly well at all times. I was, of



Fig. 3. Contemporary realities juxtaposed with past façade elements on Županijska ul (County Street), Osijek. Photo: Angeliki Sioli, August 2022.



Fig. 4. The embankment of the River Drava in the Upper Town, where Vilma Vukelić, narrator and protagonist of *Spuren der Vergangenheit*, used to spend many hours as a child. Photo: Angeliki Sioli, August 2022.

course, aware of my Jewishness because I had separate religion classes and did not participate in the religious practices intended for Catholic children . . . I felt entirely at home among my friends and behaved the same as any other child. There was no doubt that Croatia was my homeland. That was what our textbooks were saying. My father also used to say, 'Every person has to love the country in which he was born and in which he lives.' I sang the anthem 'Lijepa naša' . . . in unison with all the others and was annoyed if anyone maintained that Nikola Šubić Zrinski was Hungarian!¹²

The quote reveals the complexity of the social and political history of the multiethnic community of Osijek at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was comprised of many ethnic groups living in the periphery of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which could not yet be described as nationalities at the time, but were nonetheless distinct from each other according to the languages they used – German, Slavic, Hungarian and many more – or the religions they followed – Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, Orthodox, etcetera. It was a time of an increasing national awareness, on the one hand, and the expansion of imperialist politics, on the other. This led to great societal changes such as a changing attitude towards the German language, which was until then used as the official language for administration and culture, but was being pushed out with Serbo-Croatian becoming more dominant. Due to historical events surrounding Osijek, such as the resettling of Slavonia by different ethnic groups from central Europe (Austria, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, etcetera) after the invasion of the Turks in the eighteenth century, multiethnicity has long been one of the city's characteristics. The phenomenon of a coexistence of multiple ethnic groups that remain distinct reached a certain hybrid level in social terms. This means that in the city's past it was impossible to determine a clear ethnic affiliation of a great deal of its inhabitants. This was partly due to the fact that nations were relatively illusive terms at the turn of the century as well as the fact that the inhabitants at that time were usually bilingual, coming from mixed marriages, and were quite mobile in terms of residence over the course of their lives and

within the Empire. Such was the case for Vilma Vukelić in her real life, but also for Oto, the protagonist of Rizvanović's novel *Sat pjevanja*, in which, written in the 1980s, the multiethnic history of the city is described as follows:

Outside, above the cherry plum trees, the clouds were hovering as peacefully as if it were just daybreak. Oto was on his favourite route towards the old post office and from there on towards the Healthcare Centre and the residential area . . . The Jewish and German citizens used to live in these houses that were now rotting quietly and unnoticed. Oto even knew some kids with Jewish family names, or maybe those were German family names, maybe Jewish-German, most of those family names were difficult to distinguish anyway; they were so similar to each other, if not practically the same.¹³

Furthermore, Jasna Horvat's *Bizarrij*, in addition to the history of the city and the region, also puts forward the Esseker sociolect as an integral part of a culture that is now gone, as nobody uses this sociolect anymore. It was a mixture of spoken languages – German, Hungarian, Yiddish, Serbo-Croatian – reflecting the hybridity of Osijek's population in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. By incorporating it into her novel, Horvat opens up an archive of the city's memories that now speak – in Barthes' terms – through the novel's characters:

*– Habidiere! Reidnc esekeriš? [Habe ich die Ehre! Reden Sie essekerisch? / It's an honour! Do you speak Essekerisch?]
– Eseka sajn fajni lajt, fua fi acih joan veat kana kšajt. [Esseker sind feine Leute, vor dem vierzigsten Lebensjahr wird keiner gescheit. / The Essekers are very nice people, nobody comes to their senses before they are forty.]¹⁴*

Today, even though Essekerisch is not used any more, there are still active Jewish, Hungarian and German minorities in Osijek and the relations with

Austria and Hungary as well as its Central European heritage are nurtured through cultural and educational institutions and events, making up a significant feature of the city's social and cultural life.

As opposed to Vukelić's memoirs, which bear witness to societal changes, Ivana Šojat's *Unterstadt* can be described as a historiographical novel, critically reflecting on the city's history over the course of the twentieth century, especially its political history in the depiction of the turmoil during both World Wars and the Homeland War in the 1990s. Šojat begins by describing the aftermath of the Homeland War in the 1990s in Osijek:

Near the station, there was no longer the supermarket in which football fans and students drowned in their beers before leaving for college or returning home, and then staggered and vomited in the trains. Although I had seen it burning on the TV, hit by multiple rocket launchers, I guess, I was still stunned by the void, by the absence of something that used to be there. I stopped for a moment, laid my suitcase down on the cobbled pavement made from yellow, smooth bricks and stared at that void in space.¹⁵

In taking the reader on a journey through her family's past and thus through the past of the city, the protagonist Katarina describes recollections of another war that has greatly influenced the city. This time she explains the events from the perspective of her grandparents, Peter and Klara, who lived through the Second World War:

It was on Good Friday, 11 April 1941, when Klara was walking with her three-year-old son Antun and passed by the hotel Tomislav, towards the Chapel of Our Lady of the Snow, that war came to Osijek . . . the sky was clear . . . Klara just stood there. She didn't know how to feel, what she was feeling. Everything had changed, turned completely upside-down, as if she had, instead of in her bed, woken

up in the middle of the night, thirsty, in her backyard, in complete darkness.¹⁶

Klara's feelings of helplessness, confusion and disbelief arise from the fact that the war had changed not only her life, the life of her family, but also the life of several generations of Osijek's inhabitants, and is indicative of the bigger changes in the social and historical dimensions of the city that follow. The following quote from the novel stands as a site of memory for the grand synagogue in Osijek, which was burned down during the Second World War:

And [Peter], as if he stubbornly persevered in his intention to inflame her undefined feeling of disgust, one day, by the end of April, on his way back from his office, he saw the grand synagogue go up in flames in the Komitats-Gasse. He stopped and watched as the high flames licked and then devoured the house of worship of the Jewish, but also in a way, of his own God. He stared into the theatre building which was only two entrances away from the synagogue. Ironically, the theatre would in only two weeks' time stage [Julius] Horst's 'Heaven on Earth'.¹⁷

Even though the novel *Sat pjevanja* mainly focuses on the topic of the musical preferences of the main character who, as opposed to his family's expectations and wishes, prefers modern and pop music over classical, its plot is set in Osijek, and reflects its urban life during the 1980s.

The descriptions of the city dominate the first chapter, but are very much present throughout the novel, depicting the city's cultural and urban past and present. Rizvanović's protagonist Oto reflects on the city's history as well, in which the wars have played a major part:

When sunbathing on such a sunny day, it felt impossible to Oto that anyone could have ever suffered; it was unthinkable that people and children were



Fig. 5. Old buildings abandoned in Osijek's Lower Town. Photo: Angeliki Sioli, August 2022.



Fig. 6. Different architectural styles blending in the backdrop of a dramatic afternoon sky. Photo: Angeliki Sioli, August 2022.

taken by force, tortured, and killed. Thoughts like these melted away in the rays of the sun, but he wanted to remain aware of them, among the tall buildings and high windows. Maybe it was the Jewish and German spirits returning to have their afternoon tea that had been waiting for them since the day they were taken away. Osijek has often been nothing but a giant railway station, where people and things were coming and going, quickly and forever, until it finally became a city of ghosts when the number of those who went away or were missing surpassed the number of those who stayed. Those who were banished from their homes would later think how lucky they must have been to be able to escape, especially those who did not end up in one of the concentration camps. But they would rarely return after the wars. They were afraid of everything they might find here and they didn't have anywhere to return to anyway. Even though the houses and the buildings were the same, painfully the same, it wasn't the same city anymore.¹⁸

Similar to Šojat, Rizvanović also refers to the Second World War and the events surrounding it, such as the forceful deportation of thousands of Jews from Osijek to concentration camps during the war, but also by referring to the *Vertriebung* (expulsion) of Germans after the War. Written in the 2000s, but set in the 1980s, Rizvanović's novel symbolically circles around another very traumatic period in the city's history without mentioning it: the Homeland War of the 1990s. The reader, aware of this war, recognizes that history will yet again repeat itself in Oto's and the city's lifetime.

Infrastructure and (Landscape) Architecture

The architecture described by Vukelić in *Spuren der Vergangenheit* dates from the nineteenth century, when the most famous street in Osijek was built, the so-called European Avenue, which is the longest Art Nouveau street in this part of Europe with architectural influences mainly from Vienna and, later, Budapest, especially around the time of the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement in the 1850s and 1860s. The architecture mirrors

the social and political position of Osijek as a provincial city, as opposed to Vienna and Budapest, which were the two capitals of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the main sources of architectural influence. It was only after the Croatian-Hungarian settlement of 1868 that, alongside Hungarian architects such as Ferenc Pfaff, who was the chief architect of the Hungarian National Railway and designed the railway station and post office in Osijek, the Croatian architect Janko Holjac was commissioned to design the courthouse in Osijek. It is precisely because of these politically nuanced changes in the city's development that Osijek today has such a multicultural architectural tradition and cultural heritage. A complex political situation created a variety of architectural styles that are both Central European in their origin and influence, but also inherently local with strong influences from different regional centres.

Šojat's novel *Unterstadt* also strongly underlines the city's infrastructure and architecture, with an emphasis on the lower part of the town still recognizable today:

*We walked very slowly towards the cemetery in the Lower Town. The cemetery was located on an elevated part of the sandy riverbank, where the River Drava meanders right and where the winds during winter time howl and scream like demons, like the damned souls in hell. Yes, that's what the old townspeople call this place: hell. The Austrian Crown had ordered a cemetery to be erected there, far away from the town at that time. The dead had fled away from the living towards hell, but the city grew and flooded over them like the tides.*¹⁹

Additionally, Šojat's protagonist Katarina critically reflects on the contemporary attitude towards the cultural heritage dating from Vukelić's time. In her description of the school that she used to attend, Katarina expresses her disbelief at the level of neglect of the architecture that was destroyed in the war and never rebuilt:

First, I set out towards the school . . . I stopped in the middle of Crkvena Street in utter horror. My mouth wide open . . . I stood there in a frenzy and stared at the building that was damaged by shrapnel shells and moisture . . . The people got used to the ruins, to the derelict state, I almost screamed that sentence to myself. In Western Europe, in the civilized world, people organize seminars about the Secession period, they preserve the Secession façades and building fronts as national treasures, and we let it collapse on passers-by, I continued thinking. I was horrified. I was still just standing there as if completely dug in, squeezing my fists and lips, and staring at my old school building. Left only half-conscious by this horror, I tried to get inside this derelict, grey, diseased building. I couldn't. I turned around full circle, tilted my head back, and the street spun around me like a merry-go-round, like a grey roller with only a colourful spot here and there. I was appalled. My face wrinkled like a clenched fist. Terrible: two centuries old, grandiose houses of former craftsmen, traders, lawyers, doctors, professors from the Lower Town as well as warm homes of people thanks to whom Essek [the Austro-Hungarian name for Osijek], even though it was geographically an 'outhouse', was actually a town of true Central European spirit. And now it was all falling apart in front of our eyes. The skin of these buildings was peeling off, they seemed disoriented, as if they couldn't stand up straight any longer. Blackened from the moisture, resembling old folks with bad backs and aches all over, their roofs bent and black. Probably from the moisture and the financial powerlessness of those whose heads they were still kind of keeping safe. . . . Misery, I was hit right in the middle of my forehead by misery, bluntly, as by a rounded rock. But this misery didn't come from everywhere equally, in unison, but from the houses that were left to rot there so that someone would someday buy an empty plot rather than a house, a burial plot from which another flashy, insanely kitschy construction will arise as an emblem of the arrogance of the nouveau riche. Squeezed in-between the derelict elderly brick buildings, there were now grotesque red and yellow brick-covered formations with plaster lions erected at the gate entrances to their tiny front yards, with

*poor imitations of disgusting royal pillars at the front doors and in front of rich, heavy drapes, resembling theatre curtains in the front windows.*²⁰

On the other hand, Osijek is often nicknamed the 'greenest' city in Croatia and it has more parks than squares. There are 17 parks in Osijek, among which the most famous are the Sakuntala Park, Petar Krešimir IV Park, King Tomislav Park, King Držislav Park and many more. It has the longest river promenade and the biggest zoo in terms of surface area in Croatia. The city is stretched out along the river, which connects the three parts of town: the Upper Town, Tvrđa and the Lower Town. Jasna Horvat, in her novel *Bizarrij*, describes 'how lucky Osijek was to have been missed by the Danube by some miracle, but instead to have been spat on in the middle of its forehead by the Drava, a river as whimsical as an Italian opera, so very prone to treacherous whirlpools and flooding.'²¹

Šojat describes the green past of Osijek as well when she writes how Katarina's great-grandparents Viktorija and Rudolf

. . . went steady for a whole year and always walked hand in hand in the green City Garden where they had met for the first time. Every Saturday, they would go dancing in the ballroom situated at the entrance of the Osijek 'Schönbrunn',²² as the townspeople used to flatteringly call their most luxurious park. Fine ladies and gentlemen, who attended the balls organized here, would arrive in their own carriages. The future Mr and Mrs Meier were miles away and 'off the beaten track' from here, as they had to take the horse tram.²³

Peter and Klara, Katarina's grandparents in Šojat's novel, also recollect the city's strong connection to the outdoors, the greenery and nature:

When they didn't feel like going to the theatre, where every season would host and stage up to 40 new performances, Peter and Klara would

walk hand in hand, slowly to the City Garden, listen to regular concerts of military and firemen orchestras, dance at balls, watch chess and marksmen tournaments, or simply wander around the spacious park and paths . . . Peter would sweettalk Klara on their walks, all the way from Eselsberg [Donkey's Hill] in the City Garden to a part with sitting benches, from where they could see the former Majuri, today's Neustadt.²⁴

The Pejačević Well (*Secesijski zdenac*) is located on the riverbank, next to the promenade, placed very centrally and represents one of the sites often frequented by passers-by on the busy promenade.

Conclusion

Urban space cannot be merely perceived as a product of architecture and urban planning along with the everyday life of its inhabitants over the course of time. It is rather inevitably constructed as a multifaceted and multilayered entity, whose identity is also defined by the narratives of its integral tangible and intangible parts. The tangible city is the physical, 'real' architecture and built environment, while the intangible parts are the flow of time, the utilization and appropriation by its inhabitants, the meaning(s) they assign to sites in the city as well as the culture in its broadest sense that they create and the everyday lives that they lead, and to which the urban environment is exposed. In this sense, it truly becomes a wholesome social construct – in Lefebvre's terms – and maintains the basic dialectic rhythm of signification through narratives and its urban reality – in Barthes' terms.

Vilma Vukelić writes about the three main parts of the city of Osijek, which are the Upper Town, the Citadel Tvrđa and the Lower Town, while Ivana Šojat emphasizes the Lower Town, Nenad Rizvanović describes the Upper Town for the most part, and Jasna Horvat focuses on different parts of the city throughout its history, but also on its broader surroundings beyond the city limits. In addition to covering the geographical, spatial scope of the city,

the novels unveil different time periods in the city's history as well. In doing so, they map out a broad sociocultural and historical-political panorama of the city, often as a critical reflection on all the major elements defining its identity in the form of textual maps, with spaces to employ one's own imagined city where the real has not artistically been mapped out.

- 1 Budapest is only three hours away by car and Belgrade two and a half hours.
- 2 According to Roman Jakobson, there are six functions of language, among which there is a referential function that refers to the context outside of language, which is the extratextual context that has a certain value attributed to it (true or false, or real or unreal).
- 3 Deborah Stevenson, *Cities and Urban Cultures* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003).
- 4 Darran Anderson, *Imaginary Cities* (London: Influx Press, 2019), 236.
- 5 Roland Barthes, 'Semiology and the Urban', in: Neil Leach (ed.), *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 158-172: 160.
- 6 Stevenson, *Cities and Urban Cultures*, op. cit. (note 3), 113.
- 7 James Clifford Kent, *Aesthetics and the Revolutionary City: Real and Imagined Havana* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 1.
- 8 Anderson, *Imaginary Cities*, op. cit. (note 4), 236.
- 9 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 26.
- 10 Džerald Prins (Gerald Prince), *Naratoški rečnik* (Belgrade: Službeni Glasnik, 2011), 32.
- 11 The term 'poetologically' refers to a specific poetics of an author and the way an author constructs their literary texts.
- 12 Vilma Vukelić, *A Past Rescued from Oblivion* (Victoria: FriesenPress, 2020), 71.
- 13 Nenad Rizvanović, *Sat pjevanja* (Zagreb: Profil, 2009), 15. Translations of quotes from Rizvanović's, Šojat's, and Horvat's novels have been done by the authors for the purposes of this paper.
- 14 Jasna Horvat, *Bizarij* (Zagreb: Ljevak, 2009), 39.
- 15 Ivana Šojat-Kučić, *Unterstadt* (Zaprešić: Fraktura, 2009), 9-11
- 16 Ibid., 198.
- 17 Ibid., 203.
- 18 Rizvanović, *Sat pjevanja*, op. cit. (note 13), 15.
- 19 Šojat Kučić, *Unterstadt*, op. cit. (note 15), 304.
- 20 Ibid., 216-218.
- 21 Horvat, *Bizarij*, op. cit. (note 14), 23.
- 22 Schönbrunn in Vienna, as one of the biggest and most beautiful parks in Europe, was at the time the ideal example of landscape architecture in an urban environment.
- 23 Šojat Kučić, *Unterstadt*, op. cit. (note 15), 28.
- 24 Ibid., 140.