

# INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE HISTORIES IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE OF CONTEMPORARY MOSTAR: THE IMPACT ON PRESERVATION AND PRESENTATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE<sup>1</sup>

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Documents that help us understand different parts of Mostar's urban and architectural development are fragmented. There are numerous reasons behind that. The civil war that occurred during 1990s is one of them, but organizational issues in local heritage preservation nowadays are also a relevant problem. The conflict of private and public interest defines itself as one of the main problems behind the negligence of important layers of architectural history. The article provides a selective summary of tracing the intersections of individual and collective histories that are written not only in the condition in which the built environment exists nowadays, but also in different mechanisms of reshaping the attitudes towards the inherited cultural and moral values. They are analysed through comparisons of the changing nature of document in the conditions where fieldwork is faced with fragmentation of what should be institutionally preserved and publicly available for research purposes.

KEYWORDS: Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, documents, architectural history, cultural heritage.

## INTRODUCTION: THE ARCHIVAL DOCUMENT AND ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

Writing the architectural history of a place that has a long period of collective, materially manifested traumas behind it is a task that refocuses our interest on the

mechanisms of subjective recollections that are visible in the built environment. The main difficulty that any researcher of Mostar's architectural history will undoubtedly face is the lack of the institutionally preserved archival documentation. Except for the archival records, original architectural designs<sup>2</sup>, relevant periodical press

<sup>1</sup> This work has been fully supported by Croatian Science Foundation under the project 4153 Croatia and Central Europe: Art and Politics in the Late Modern Period (1780–1945).

<sup>2</sup> They are fully or partially preserved in the Cantonal Archives in Mostar (Units related to the Austro-Hungarian layer of the architectural history and the interwar period).

and photographs, the records include oral culture<sup>3</sup>, private and family archives<sup>4</sup>, travel writings and contemporary artistic and curatorial interventions into urban fabric. The other focuses of interest are the politics of cultural heritage protection and presentation. We will encounter a confrontation between preservation and tourism-motivated attitudes towards heritage. The role of subjective memory and reenactment of the past is treated as commemorative. In the case of its manifestations in the urban landscape, it can be looked at as an alternative to the regular archival resources and documents especially when they are not preserved in the measure that can be satisfying for the desired framework of reconstruction. The role of the built environment in shaping the cultural identity and the politicization of its function cannot be neglected in an attempt to provide a synthesis of the factors that create institutional and everyday intersections of *individual and collective histories*. During the past 200 years international political factors have been envisioning their versions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and presenting them as such on the outside. These circumstances have affected the way in which people in this country perceive themselves, their culture and mentality. The later has especially manifested itself in the tourist presentation of certain sites, Mostar being one of them.

<sup>3</sup> If we presume that oral history today works as an established subdiscipline of historical research, its elements can be categorized as an accepted form of archival records, as stated by Valerie Raleigh Yow in the book *Recording Oral History. A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences*, Second Edition, Oxford, AltaMira Press, 2005, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> The most important resource of this kind that has been used for this article and the previous research is the collection of the photographs and postcards provided by courtesy of Jagoda and Šemsudin Zlatko Serdarević. Except the county archival records and private collections, the most important publicly accessible collection is preserved in The Collection of Photographs (Anton Zimolo Collection) in the Museum of Herzegovina in Mostar.

## INTERNATIONAL FIELD RESEARCH

Some of the international researchers of contemporary Mostar's urban landscape and its socio-political perspectives have chosen to title their results using gerundive or verbal nouns. Chronologically the first systematic insight among them is a document (result of fieldwork) delivered by the International Crisis Group (ICG Balkans Report N°90<sup>5</sup>). It was titled *Reunifying Mostar: Opportunities for Progress* and published in 2000. Prior to this document and soon after the traumatic events of the civil war, in 1994, a brief and informative text by András Riedlmayer titled *Killing Memory: The Targeting of Libraries and Archives in Bosnia-Herzegovina* was published by the Middle East Librarians Association<sup>6</sup>. Larissa Veters wrote about the problematic categories of citizenship in an ethnically divided city in the context of the still ongoing postwar returning process<sup>7</sup>. The scholars that have focused on the heritage preservation and presentation issues are Judith Bing<sup>8</sup>, Carl Grodach<sup>9</sup>, Emili Makaš Gunzburger<sup>10</sup> and Kathryn L. Heffernan<sup>11</sup>. Two chapters of the *Report on the District Area in Mostar* that emerged as a result of the New Urban Topologies team's workshop in 2012 were "Meeting Points Strategies" and "Integration of a District into the

<sup>5</sup> Sarajevo/Washington/Brussels, 19 April 2000.

<sup>6</sup> *MELA Notes*, No. 61, Fall 1994, pp. 1–6.

<sup>7</sup> "The Power of Administrative Categories: Emerging Notions of Citizenship in the Divided City of Mostar", in: *Ethnopolitics* 6, No. 2, 2007, pp. 187–209.

<sup>8</sup> "Ideas and Realities: Rebuilding in Post-war Mostar", in: *Journal of Architectural Education* 54, No. 4, 2001, pp. 238–249.

<sup>9</sup> "Reconstituting Identity and History in Post-War Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina", in: *City* 6, No. 1, 2002, pp. 61–82.

<sup>10</sup> *Representing Competing Identities: Building and Rebuilding in Post-war Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina* (doctoral dissertation), Department of Architecture, Cornell University, 2007.

<sup>11</sup> *Reinventing Mostar: The Role of Local and International Organizations in Instituting Multicultural Identity*, Nationalism Studies Program, Central European University (2009).

City". The most recent analysis of contemporary urban planning sustainability in Mostar, with broad and systematic contextualization regarding the post-socialist transition of the regional territory, was delivered in 2015 by Aleksandra Đurasović and Joerg Knieling<sup>12</sup>. The study by Arthur Pignotti, entitled *Stealing Mostar: The Role of Criminal Networks in the Ethnic Cleansing of Property*<sup>13</sup> stands out in the foreign literature corpus as the most comprehensive and detailed insight into the disputable nature of the postwar privatization and its effects on the cultural heritage preservation, even though the author separates his work from the writings focused on the architectural history of the site. Some of the writings are published as results of individual study trips and field work of foreign specialized researchers, e.g. the text by Eleanor Ryan published in 2009, *The View from the New Old Bridge: How Mostar is (Re)constructed by Tourists and for Tourists in the Post-Conflict Present*<sup>14</sup>, in which the author, during her month-long visit to the Old Town area, discusses the common tourist oversights considering the fact that the locals are not very keen on giving out ideologically unburdened interpretations of Mostar's present. International researchers mostly agree about what is often defined as the organized targeting of archives and libraries in the actions of so called memory erasures in the postwar BiH. This can be underlined as the main thesis in the publications delivered by András J. Riedlmayer<sup>15</sup> and Helen Walasek<sup>16</sup>. They interpret this

as a symptom of a nationalist extremist attitude towards Bosnian multicultural history and tradition. Scott Bollens writes about Mostar as a *city with no winners* in the analysis of the consequences of the Washington Agreement (1994) decisions on the problematic urban planning procedures<sup>17</sup>. The most important common feature of all research results is a hope for a promising perspective. Their further conclusions are related to the fact that it is impossible to separate contemporary issues of cultural heritage from their political context, historical and symbolical recontextualisation of certain monuments and urban zones, as well as the lack of transparency in the work of local institutions in charge of monument care.

#### INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE HISTORIES IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, looking for the definition of the term "collective memory", confronts the domains of historical and autobiographical memories<sup>18</sup>. He defines the first one as the item that reaches the social factor only through written records and other types of records such as photographs. The autobiographical memory, on the other hand, is the memory of events that people have personally experienced, and it fades away if it is not kept alive through contacts. The domain where they intersect is the one that we are interested in, and it can be traced in the parts of the urban landscape that are relevant for the observation of (mis)treatment of certain layers of architectural and cultural history of the site. Halbwachs raises the questions that take him to conclusions similar to the distinction between history and memory as proposed by Pierre Nora in the work

*Destruction of Cultural Heritage*, New York, London: Routledge, 2015.

<sup>12</sup> "Urban transition and sustainability. The case of the city of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina", in: *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, Volume 6, Issue 1, June 2015, pp. 5–29.

<sup>13</sup> A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Master of Arts Degree, Arizona State University, May 2013.

<sup>14</sup> It has been published in *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 2009, pp. 26–59.

<sup>15</sup> András J. Riedlmayer (principal investigator), *Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1992–1996: A Post-War Survey of Selected Municipalities*, Cambridge, Massachusetts USA, 2002.

<sup>16</sup> Helen Walasek with contributions by Richard Carlton, Amra Hadzimuhamedovic, Valery Perry, Tina Wik, *Bosnia and the*

<sup>17</sup> Scott A. Bollens, *Cities, Nationalism and Democratization*, London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2007, p. 167.

<sup>18</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*: edited, translated and with introduction by Lewis A. Coser, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992, p. 29.



1. Uncovered colonnade – part of the Spanish Square in Mostar (opened in 2012 by King of Spain Juan Carlos I) as a commemorative area with a memorial monument dedicated to Spanish soldiers who were killed during their service in UN Peacekeeping Operations and Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the ruins of the Economy Savings Bank (designed in 1985 by local architect Dragan Bijedić); street art intervention: Street Arts Festival Mostar, Artists: Colletivo FX & Astronaut

Atvira kolonada – Mostaro Ispanijos aikštės dalis

*Between Memory and History*<sup>19</sup> where the author explains the way in which officially proclaimed history relativizes the universal value of individual memory. By posing the question how we reanimate the collective (and presumably identitarian) attitudes, viewpoints, ideological presumptions and experiences from the past when we are present and alive only now, we might easily come to the conclusion that the commemorative nature of the broadly defined collective activities can imaginatively reanimate those factors. Participation is, however, crucial. More important than theoretical differentiation is the way in which we can trace them in the public space. Therefore, the entitled problem will be manifested

<sup>19</sup> Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire”, in: *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, Spring 1989, pp. 7–24.



2. Ruins of a private residential building (1930s), street art intervention: Street Arts Festival Mostar, Artists: Ale Senso (Berlin), Irma Gušo, Antonija Zlatić (Mostar)

Privataus gyvenamojo pastato griuvėsiai, XX a. 4 deš., gatvės meno intervencija: Mostaro gatvės meno festivalis, menininkai Ale Senso (Berlynas), Irma Gušo, Antonija Zlatić (Mostaras)

as the individual and/or subjective reenacting in the context of its collectively caused diminishing and continuous reinterpretations. Both realms manifest themselves in the public sphere. Moreover, the public space is the crucial interest of our analysis and it can be almost exclusively perceived as an urban symptom. The term will here be used in accordance with the differentiation proposed by Peter Marcuse<sup>20</sup> and will therefore be referred to as “publicly usable” and not “publicly owned”. The criteria of public accessibility should also be taken into consideration as proposed by Setha Low and Neil Smith: “Public space is traditionally differentiated from

<sup>20</sup> Peter Marcuse, “The Threats to Publicly Usable Space in a Time of Contraction”, in: Heinz Nagler, Riklef Rambow, and Ulrike Surm, eds., *Der öffentliche Raum in Zeiten der Schrumpfung*. Berlin: Leue Verlag, 2004, pp. 64–72.



3. Private house of Mostar's late nineteenth-century major, Mujaga Komadina; street art intervention (collective work, Mostar Street Art Festival 2015); the promenade (Austro-Hungarian Stephanie Alee, later, Lenin's promenade, today, Nikola Šubić Zrinski's street)

XIX a. pabaigos Mostaro mero Mujagos Komadino privatus namas, gatvės meno intervencija, kolektyvinis kūrinys, Mostaro gatvės meno festivalis, 2015

private space in terms of rules of access, the source and nature of control over entry to a space, individual and collective behaviour sanctioned in specific spaces, and rules of use.”<sup>21</sup>

THE (NEGLECTED) LAYERS  
OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY  
AND THE PROBLEM OF TOURISM

*What we call memory today is therefore not memory but already history. What we take to be flare-ups of memory*

<sup>21</sup> Setha Low; Neil Smith, “Introduction: The Imperative of Public Space”, in: *The Politics of Public Space*, edited by Setha Low and Neil Smith, New York, London: Routledge. 2006, pp. 1–16.



4. Street Arts Festival 2015, artist: Pincho (Spain) – intervention on one of the ruins alongside the Boulevard

Mostaro gatvės meno festivalis, 2015, menininkas Pincho (Ispanija)

*are in fact its final consumption in the flames of history. The quest for memory is the search for one's history.*<sup>22</sup>

If you type in “Mostar” in Google search, the most frequently distributed visual reminder of this place is the famous Old Bridge. The aim to understand the city, however, reaches further than accepting what Google has to offer. The focus should, therefore, be transposed to the layers of architectural history that are often neglected in the presentation of the site for foreign visitors and their interpretations of the cultural and urban history of the site. Even though they do not share the amount of historical significance with the internationally more widely accepted visual symbol of the city, they are still very important in the collective memory. While the Austro-Hungarian part of architectural history still gets

<sup>22</sup> Pierre Nora, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

some attention in decisions that need to precede every effort in the reconstruction or renovation, architecture of the period between 1918 and 1945 is threatened by the risk of forgetting. The most representative example of this process is the complete demolition of the coal-mine complex in the north-western suburban area. A modernist hospital (1938)<sup>23</sup> was replaced by a shopping-mall complex with the capacities that are in material misbalance with the living standard and the needs of Mostar's population. The Old Bridge, together with the surrounding Old Town, after suffering severe damage in the civil war of the 1990s, was reconstructed in 2004. It was included in the World Heritage List in 2005. The decision was based on the criterion (vi) of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention as suggested by ICOMOS and illustrated a shift towards recognition of the intangible values of the site that could provide enough to meet their "authenticity criteria"<sup>24</sup>. The financial background for reconstruction was provided by international resources. The Old Bridge Area is under the protection of UNESCO and tourists are the logical consequence of this sequence of events. As Eleanor Ryan wrote in 2009 for *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* about the reconstruction of Mostar by tourists and for tourists in the post-conflict present, there are not many tourists who ask the "right questions about Mostar"<sup>25</sup>, whereas much of the "imaginary Mostar" is generated either by its locals or authorities, or by its visitors. Most of that "creation of meaning" happens accidentally because of the organizational chaos of the local authorities over historical preservation. Therefore, confusion arises in the

<sup>23</sup> According to the available resources, the hospital was probably designed by famous Croatian modernist architect Lavoslav Horvat whose architectural work has been thoroughly researched by Zrinka Paladino and published in the monograph *Lavoslav Horvat: Contextual Environmentalism and Modernism* in 2013.

<sup>24</sup> Christina Cameron, "From Warsaw to Mostar: The World Heritage Committee and Authenticity", in: *APT Bulletin*, Vol. 39, No. 2/3, 2008, p. 22.

<sup>25</sup> Eleanor Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

presentation of the destination. Part of the confusion could be reduced to westernized-authentic dualities in perception and self-perception, but the reality is much more complex and tourists' imagination can be blissfully ignorant. The visual reminders of the war, therefore, can be reduced to powerful sensational impulses.

As stated by Bollens<sup>26</sup> and Pignotti<sup>27</sup>, urban planning and administrative organization of the city after the Washington and Dayton Agreements was a social experiment. With two administrative units divided on the ethnic basis, the central zone was aimed to become an area of foreseeable unification. Paradoxically, it still serves as a material manifestation of the political division in the city. The most problematic component of the central zone is the Boulevard<sup>28</sup>. During the civil war among Bosniaks and Croats, it used to be a line of separation parallel to the river. Nowadays, the ruins of historical buildings alongside the Boulevard share their place in the urban landscape with new parts of the built environment that are featured with reflections of the general socio-political picture. One of them is certainly the amount of kitsch in private residential architecture and it is present not only in this part of the city. This area contains vast property in the possession of the Catholic Church with a Franciscan monastery. The old church, an example of early provincial neo-renaissance from the 1860s, was not reconstructed after the war demolition. A completely new concrete basilica was erected in its place. The new, 107 meter-high bell tower stands separate from the church. It serves as a visual counterpart to numerous mosque minarets in the city's outline. Regardless of that, it has recently (in 2015) been ironically turned into the *Peace Tower* with a permanent exhibition that presents the 500-year-long urban history of Mostar for tourists. The political elite, strongly attached to clerical hierarchy, is using religious marks to ethnically determinate the spatial areas.

<sup>26</sup> Scott A. Bollens, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>27</sup> Arthur Pignotti, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>28</sup> In the period of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, it was the Boulevard of the Revolution. Nowadays it is called the Boulevard of Croatian Defenders.



THE (NEGLECTED) LAYERS  
OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY  
AND THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK  
OF HISTORICAL PRESERVATION

After the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, the intimate and narrow oriental urban planning basis was faced with its Central-European antipode on the west coast of the Neretva River. The Boulevard, wide public areas, the railroad, residential quarters for the social elite, as well as monumental public and sacral buildings were constructed during the 40 years of occupation. This urban planning dialogue of the east and the west, with their mutual understanding witnessed in the zone of the former main square of Musala, worked as an integral element of Mostar's remarkable charm. The Mediterranean component of the Old Town area, resting on the oriental urban planning basis, enriched it even more. After the First and the Second World Wars, the city began to expand in the northwest and northeast suburban areas. The period from the late 1950s until the second half of the 1980s in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia left the most notable

5. Ruins, new architecture and private residential buildings alongside the Boulevard

Bulvaro griuvėsiai, nauja architektūra  
ir privatūs gyvenamieji pastatai

trace on the urban planning basis. Collective housing and industrial factory complexes were built in previously undeveloped areas. It was a period of economic and demographic prosperity as well. The military aggression and the civil war during the 1990s interrupted the healthy and logical territorial expansion.

If we decide to treat every part of the built urban environment as a materialized form of the collective memory, it will be difficult to avoid its political nature. Contemporary renovation strategies tend to avoid certain parts that used to be remarkable reminders of what once used to be an identitarian component. Even though the Institute for Urban Planning was dismissed during the war<sup>29</sup> and the International Community was in charge of the initial reconstruction of the historically

<sup>29</sup> Aleksandra Đurasović, Joerg Knieling, *op. cit.*, p. 14.



6. Partisan Memorial Cemetery – original view,  
Bogdan Bogdanović (1959–1965)

Partizanų memorialinės kapinės, pirminis vaizdas,  
Bogdanas Bogdanovičius (1959–1965)



7. Partisan Memorial Cemetery in 2016

Partizanų memorialinės kapinės, 2016



## 8. Amila Puzić at the Partisan Memorial Cemetery in 2016

Amila Puzić Partizanų memorialinėse kapinėse, 2016

most valuable monuments, the later urban planning and restoration strategies turned into nationalist-division motivated robbery. To put it shortly, the most neglected layers are those that ideologically represent the memories of the unified Mostar.

After several past years of a serious crisis in cultural governance in Bosnia and Herzegovina, during which some of the main institutions like the National Museum were closed because of limited financial resources, the Memorandum of support for the period from 2016 to 2018 was signed in September 2015<sup>30</sup>. According to this document, the Ministry of Civil Affairs ensured the participation of over 35 subjects of the state organization in BiH<sup>31</sup>. The ministry received very positive response from the local communities about the project of preserving the country's cultural heritage. Unfortunately, the Herzegovina-Neretva County is not among these subjects. The protection of local cultural heritage is, however, under the jurisdiction of the counties. The Commission for the Preservation of National Monuments was established following the instruction of Annex 8 of the Dayton Agreement (1995). On the local

level, there are two institutions in Mostar: the Institute for the Protection of Cultural and Historical Heritage and the Agency Old Town. The lack of transparency is obviously partly caused by the lack of documentation, as well as by the conflict of private and public interests.

### ALTERNATIVES

Between 2010 and 2013, the curatorial collective Abart that used to operate as part of the initiative conducted by OKC Abrašević<sup>32</sup> worked on a project entitled (*Re*) *collecting Mostar*. They formed and published an archival collection of photographic material and the results of inquiring fieldwork among contemporary locals<sup>33</sup>. One

<sup>30</sup> From the interview with the minister of civil affairs Adil Osmanović published in March 2016: <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/osmanovic-necemo-dozvoliti-zatvaranje-ustanova-kulture-bih>, [cited 2016-07-08].

<sup>31</sup> Cantonal units.

<sup>32</sup> Youth Cultural Center Abrašević has a 100-year-long tradition of educational and cultural activities. However, after the war, it continued to function as the only relevant (and active) framework of the underground independent cultural scene and information distribution that is unburdened by political divisions.

<sup>33</sup> Most of the results are available on this link: <http://abart-recollecting.blogspot.hr/>. There is also a printed publication that followed their workshops: Giulia Carabelli (editor), Amila Puzić, Mela Žuljević (editors in chief), texts by: Anja Bogojević, Giulia Carabelli, Lefkos Kyriacou, Asja Mandić, Amila Puzić and Dubravka Sekulić: (*Re*) *collecting Mostar*, Abart/OKC Abrašević, Mostar, 2013.



9. Gordana Anđelić Galić, *This Peace Is Not Mine*,  
Partisan Memorial Cemetery,  
Abart: *(Re)collecting Mostar* (2009–2013)

Gordana Anđelić Galić, *Ši taika ne mano*,  
Partizanų memorialinės kapinės



10. Gordana Anđelić Galić, *Washing*,  
The Old Bridge in Mostar; Abart:  
*(Re)collecting Mostar* (2009–2013)

Gordana Anđelić Galić, *Skalbimas*,  
Mostaro Senasis tiltas

of the methods they used was cognitive mapping. The citizens were asked to name the places they associate with the idea of collectiveness. Participants of the workshop remembered “The Boulevard as a “broad” urban structure, the main road and vital commercial centre of the city. The war transformed it into a “narrow” psychological barrier, an internal highway of division. It is difficult to perceive it as an idea of connection. From the place of bonding it has been turned into the line of division”<sup>34</sup>. The result of this questionnaire among the citizens of Mostar was the perception of the public space not as a place of encounter, but rather as a reminder of a conflict that is still witnessed in the appearance of their town. This project included cooperation with volunteer students and several regionally significant contemporary artists<sup>35</sup> who intervened into the public space in the form of individual reactions to the version of peace that was exposed and publicly criticized as a model acceptable only to contemporary political and clerical elites. The public spaces that were chosen for the interventions were mostly dysfunctional and devastated areas that used to represent important meeting points in the pre-war city. The areas were chosen as effective spaces within the urban fabric with reference to Foucault’s concept of *heterotopia*<sup>36</sup>. As stated by Amila Puzić and Anja

<sup>34</sup> Lefkos Kyriacou, “Grad izvan granica papira: Kognitivno mapiranje u Mostaru” (“The City Outside the Borders Presented on Paper: Cognitive Mapping in Mostar”), in: *(Re)collecting Mostar*, Abart/OKC Abrašević, Mostar, 2013, pp. 26–27.

<sup>35</sup> Anja Bogojević, Amila Puzić, “Kustoska praksa kao kolektivni rad” (“Curatorial Practice as the Collective Work”), in: *(Re)collecting Mostar*, Abart/OKC Abrašević, Mostar, 2013, pp. 41–48 – Božidar Katić, Gordana Anđelić Galić and Slaven Tolj visited Mostar in 2011 and stayed there during a several month long residential program.

<sup>36</sup> *There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are*

Bogojević, the authors of the curatorial concept of the project, these parts of the urban fabric have been recognized as the *potential for subverting the dominant order*<sup>37</sup>.

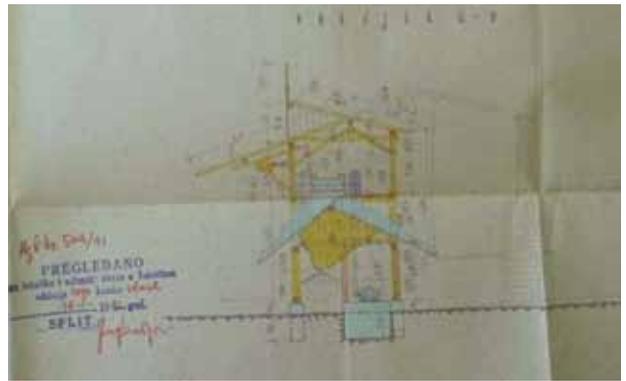
Among the ongoing artistic interventions in the public space, probably the most representative are the results of the yearly international Street Arts Festival<sup>38</sup> in Mostar. Except the commonplace allusions to the political divisions, street art practice tends to speak up about the general problems of young people in the country (and the region). It also brings vivid reflections on the role of the rich cultural tradition of the site in contemporary education by focusing on the points in the urban landscape that are associated with this tradition and its unified basis. Other forms of artistic comments in the post-traumatic life of Mostar's urban fabric are mostly delivered as parts of wide-ranging regional projects and workshops, but can also be motivated by initial individual triggers. A remarkable example of this sort of alternative cultural production is a series of workshops *Individual Utopias Now and Then* (organized in 2009 at the OKC Abrašević) by multimedia artist Lala Raščić<sup>39</sup>.

*simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias.* Michel Foucault (1967), "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias", in: *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité* October, 1984 ("Des Espace Autres," March 1967), translated from French by Jay Miskowiec, pp. 3–4.

<sup>37</sup> Same as note 35, p. 44.

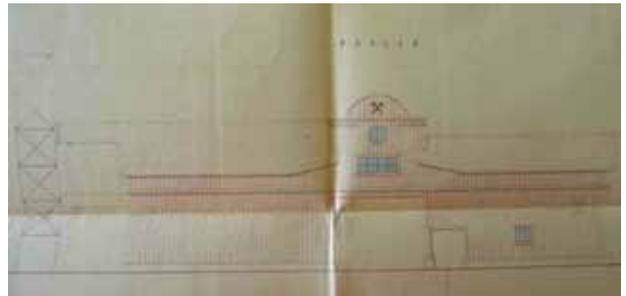
<sup>38</sup> Danijela Učović has thoroughly contextualized this annual artistic meeting/event (established in 2011) in the paper: Danijela Učović, "Street art u Mostaru: Supkulturna kritika realnosti", in: *Identiteti-kulture-jezici: Identitetska i kulturna raznolikost Bosne i Hercegovine i europske perspektive jednoga podijeljenog društva* (collection of conference proceedings), Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Mostar, 2015, pp. 529–550 (Translation of the paper's title: *Street Art in Mostar: Subcultural Response to Reality*).

<sup>39</sup> <https://imaginationsschool.wordpress.com/radionica-mostar/>.



11. Old coalmine area in Mostar 1: parts of the original architectural designs (Archive of Herzegovina Neretva County, Technical Department, Public buildings, early 1920s)

Senosios šachtos rajonas Mostare I: originalių architektūros projektų dalys



12. Old coal mine area in Mostar 2: parts of the original architectural designs (Archive of Herzegovina Neretva County, Technical Department, Public buildings, early 1920s)

Senosios šachtos rajonas Mostare II: originalių architektūros projektų dalys



13. Old coal mine area in Mostar 3: from the archive of the Centre for Information and Documentation Mostar, cidom.org

#### Senosios šachtos rajonas Mostare III

After Mostar, this interactive workshop took place in Novi Sad (Serbia) and Tirana (Albania). Its further elaboration was, however, directly motivated by the artist's encounter with the post-traumatic stress syndrome patients during the Mostar workshop. Even though the most of these efforts are undertaken by young people and the organizational framework of alternative culture that houses their efforts<sup>40</sup>, the mainstream educational system remains tied to the same patterns as the politically approved cultural practice. Educational curricula are ethnically separated. Croatian programs are based on literature from Croatia, and Bosniak – on literature from Sarajevo. However, one gymnasium housed in the Austro-Hungarian Moorish-Revival building in the central zone provides a place for an experiment with two schools under the same roof. Bosniak and Croatian

<sup>40</sup> Besides the collective and individual curatorial and artistic works, there is an international yearly summer school (Mostar Summer Youth Program organized by United World College) that involves local and international teachers and coordinators and generally tends to work on citizenship awareness among the young population).

students attend classes in the same building, but their programs<sup>41</sup> are ethnically separated. An insufficiently elaborate “language barrier” is an argument for this organization<sup>42</sup>.

#### HOW DO PEOPLE SEE IT?

The most recent manifestation of Mostar's organized *afterlife* is happening online. Vulnerable and changing identity is being transposed into new models of communication. The communities<sup>43</sup> work on a daily basis as interactive reconstructions of collective identity and redefined conceptualization of territoriality after the collective trauma<sup>44</sup> that the city's appearance still witnesses. Users frequently notice degradation of the public taste manifested in the places that they used to associate with communal exchange. The most interesting feature

<sup>41</sup> Except the subjects related to natural sciences.

<sup>42</sup> Details are available in: Azra Hromadžić, “Discourses of Integration and Practices of Reunification at the Mostar Gymnasium, Bosnia and Herzegovina”, in: *Comparative Education Review* 52, No. 4, November 2008, pp. 541–563.

<sup>43</sup> The most systematic web site (together with the Facebook fan page) is the Centre for Documentation and Information Mostar: [www.cidom.org](http://www.cidom.org) initiated by Tibor Vrančić and Zdenko Bošković. The members of this community publicly react to the contemporary situation in Mostar by declarative visual comparisons of photo documentation from private archives and the way the same urban zones look nowadays.

<sup>44</sup> The term is here used with reference to Cathy Caruth's work “Unclaimed Experience: Trauma and the Possibility of History”, in: *Yale French Studies*, No. 79, *Literature and the Ethical Question*, 1991, pp. 181–192: *In its most general definition, trauma describes an overwhelming experience of sudden, or catastrophic events, in which the response to the event occurs in the often delayed, and uncontrolled repetitive occurrence of hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena.* Building on Freud's work, the author analyses different manifestations of post-traumatic behaviour manifested in films and works of literature that lean on historical traumas as models of their interpretations.



14. Old coal mine area in Mostar 4: from Abart's archive, *(Re)collecting Mostar*, <http://abartrecollecting.blogspot.hr>

Senosios šachtos rajonas Mostare IV

of these groups is, however, their generational diversity. Following the organizers who are middle-aged emigrants of all three nations, young people part of whom currently live in Mostar are joining the communities. The groups are neither ethnically nor religiously exclusive. The most notorious consequence of these activities is a tendency to collect spatially manifested traumas that are still very present in the urban fabric. The private providers of photo documentation tend to declaratively face *the old* and *the new*, and thus, the collective memories and their conflicts with the present interests of the political leaders and the private capital. Territorial authenticity and indigeneity, therefore, are being defined as captured and kept, but materially stolen.

#### CONCLUSION: THE SCRAPBOOKS

One of the key elements of a healthy understanding of the chronology and complexity of the urban landscape is the systematization of architectural heritage from different periods. Due to the undeniable lack of preserved archival documentation, it is hardly possible to organize a systematic catalogue of Mostar's cultural heritage with its 500-year-long and rich urban and architectural history,



15. Old coal mine area in Mostar 5: from Abart's archive, *(Re)collecting Mostar*, <http://abartrecollecting.blogspot.hr>

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but an insight into active critical awareness of the factors that affect its contemporary presentation might be fruitful for a dialogue with the past.

It is difficult to (re)think the possibilities of effective action in the context of a general moral and economic decline in society. People and collectives that have been engaged in the attempts to provide alternatives often react bitterly to their earlier efforts. Mostar today does not offer a promising perspective. The unemployment rate among the youth is continuously increasing<sup>45</sup>. As a

<sup>45</sup> Numbers from the Herzegovina-Neretva County Employment Services *Statistical Bulletin for February 2016: At the end of February 2016, there were 34,494 unemployed persons in the Register of Service for Employment (Labour Service) at H-N Canton. In comparison with the average unemployment in 2015, the number of unemployed has grown by 1.3%, and in comparison with the last month, it has grown by 0.3 %. Mostar municipality has the biggest number of registered unemployed persons (17,127 or 4.,7 %), followed by Konjic municipality (4,131 or 12.0 %), Čapljina (3,464 or 10.0 %), Čitluk (2,790 or 8.1 %), Jablanica (2,373 or 6.9 %), Stolac (2,141 or 6.2 %), Prozor - Rama (1,982 or 5,7 %), Neum (448 or 1.3 %) and Ravno with 38 unemployed persons in the Register.*



16. Part of the old coal mine area in Mostar in 2016

Senosios šachtos rajono dalis Mostare, 2016

result, it precipitates the increase of street violence and drug addiction. The cases of homeless people inhabiting the dangerous ruins of historical monuments are an especially symptomatic and disturbing part of the contemporary urban landscape. On the other hand, the 500-year-long cultural tradition keeps on living inside the material borders of the contemporary city, in oases that the mainstream media and local authorities prefer to remain consciously ignorant about. It also keeps on living among the dislocated citizens who seem to be well aware of the nature of the materially manifested trauma in the complexity of its layers. Field research in the conditions of the unsystematically inventoried archival material depends on different collections of these subjective truths that are in different manners relevant for the understanding of their socio-political conditioning<sup>46</sup>. This

<sup>46</sup> As João Biehl and Peter Locke described it in *Deleuze and the Anthropology of Becoming* (2010) in reference to Michael M. J. Fischer's work *To Live with What Would Otherwise Be Unendurable: Return(s) to Subjectivities* (2007): In Fischer's view, we need to attend to more than the "enunciative function" of the subject: subjectivity does not merely speak as resistance, nor is it simply spoken (or silenced) by power. It continually

collective experience deserves to be understood from as many perspectives as possible. The initiatives in recollecting, questioning, comparing and reconstructing what has been materially lost are usually motivated by minor groupings of the subjects who organize these documents in different sorts of publicly available archives of visual material and recorded oral rendition. Thereby, we could provisorily call them *scrapbooks*, because of the allusion to imperfection that the word contains. A Serbian/Croatian/Bosniak word for the similarly focused recollections is *spomenar* and could be translated as a notebook for memories, or a *memory container*. Furthermore, the word *container* signifies a temporary, prefabricated object (mostly of depository purpose, but also usable as residential). However, the more frequent usage of this loanword (*kontejner*) in Serbian/Croatian/Bosniak signifies large communal

*forms and returns in the complex play of bodily, linguistic, political, and psychological dimensions of human experience, within and against new infrastructures, value systems, and the transforming afflictions and injustices of today.* (João Biehl; Peter Locke, "Deleuze and the Anthropology of Becoming", in: *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 51, No. 3, June 2010, p. 323).

garbage cans. The analysis of the different nature of a *scrapbook* could provide explanations of the reasons for collective abandonment of certain urban zones that used to play a vital role in the previous parts of the city's life. Despite the physical devastation and abandonment, they are still preserved in oral culture. The city's areas are called after the parts of the built environment that no longer exist<sup>47</sup>. Among the locals and dislocated citizens, the streets, squares and bridges are called by the names that they used to have during the previous regimes<sup>48</sup>. At the same time, abandonment affects the places with meanings that have been declaratively changed in the period of postwar reconstruction. Good examples of that are the New Old Bridge<sup>49</sup> and the Partisan Memorial Cemetery<sup>50</sup>. The material borders of the categories of

belonging, identity and indigenous tradition are complex. Regardless of that, the critical awareness that Mostar is (or could be) different from its contemporary version exists and certainly affects part of the young generations. Intentional negligence towards the shared inheritance brings up questions of collective responsibility. The models in which these categories are being reshaped and distributed are independent, subversive, and often initiated by individuals or small collectives, but are still kept at a safe distance from the possibility of change. The resigned, ironic and/or furious attitudes in the discourse of alternative culture at a certain point in time will hopefully overcome the burden of suppression and will actively engage with the categories of unity/unification, past, present and whatever follows.

<sup>47</sup> For example, the area of the old coalmine is still called Rudnik (coalmine), even though there are no material reminders of the complex.

<sup>48</sup> Perpetuating the patterns of identification with the urban environment, within the terms of *cultural memory* and *communicative memory* (including oral history), as defined in 1988 by Jan Assman in: Jan Assmann, "Kollektives Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität", in: Jan Assmann, Tonio Hölscher (Hrsg.), *Kultur und Gedächtnis*, Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a. M., 1988, p. 10.

<sup>49</sup> The Old Bridge, since the renovation and the inscription on the World Heritage List, has been treated and advertised as a symbol of unification, but the goal of unification has not been reached yet. Therefore, the bridge serves as a reminder of an unresolved conflict and this puts an emphasis on the problematic presentation of the place for foreign tourists who often visit the Old Town area only. Within the framework of Abart's project *(Re)collecting Mostar*, Gordana Anđelić Galić has spoken about these issues in a performance entitled *Washing* during which she washed 24 flags that signify 24 regimes that affected the turbulent history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The performance took place on the coast of the River Neretva, under the Old Bridge.

<sup>50</sup> The Partisan Memorial Cemetery in Mostar was designed by Bogdan Bogdanović in 1959. It was opened by the lifelong president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

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Josip Broz Tito in a ceremony organized on 25 September 1965. The cemetery holds the remains of 810 members of Yugoslavia's National Liberation Army who were killed in World War II. It combines an organic flow of paths and alleys with vegetation and water into a conception of necropolis that consists of terrace steps marked by a puzzle – like gravestones in abstract forms, surrounded by concrete walls and the running water. The shaping of the paths is based on the traditional oriental urbanism in the Old Town of Mostar. During the period of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, it was a public park. Together with many other significant problems with public (and private) spaces in Mostar, the fate of this monument is possibly the most relevant one. Its condition fully reflects the moral crisis that this city continues to face regardless of the war years being put behind. The same artist as in the previous note (Gordana Anđelić Galić) during the Abarts *(Re)collecting Mostar* publicly warned about this problem in a performance entitled *This Peace Is Not Mine* by exhibiting a banner with the written message in the memorial area.

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## ASMENINĖS IR KOLEKTYVINĖS ISTORIJOS ŠIUOLAIKINIO MOSTARO MIESTOVAIZDYJE: JŲ ĮTAKA KULTŪROS PAVELDUI IŠSAUGOTI IR PRISTATYTI

Sanja Zadro

REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: Mostaras, Bosnija ir Hercegovina, dokumentai, architektūros istorija, kultūros paveldas.

### SANTRAUKA

Straipsnyje nagrinėjami Mostaro miesto (Bosnija ir Hercegovina) ankstyvesnių istorinių laikotarpių atminties mechanizmai, atsiskleidžiantys per įvairius archyvinio saugojimo, materialių užstatytos aplinkos ženklų, meninės ir kuratorinės praktikos, žodinės kultūros ir internetinės žiniasklaidos aspektus. Supriešinant *individualią* ir *kolektyvinę* atmintį, galima persvarstyti taktinį termino *kolektyvinis* prigimtį, ypač jo nesugebėjimą išreikšti savo santykį su teritoriškai apibrėžtais vienetais. Privačių ir viešųjų interesų konfliktas trukdo pastangoms atgauti viešąją erdvę kaip pozityvios socialinės sąveikos sritį. Ankstyvesniems miesto architektūros istorijos etapams gresia užmarštis daugiausia dėl terminų *kolektyvinis* ir *viešas* takumo, taip pat dėl to, kad jie yra glaudžiai susiję su angažuotu socialiniu-politiniu dabartinės valdžios požiūriu į Mostaro istorijos išsaugojimą ir miesto planavimo valdymą. Vietinio paveldo pristatymas priklauso nuo įvairių ambicingai kuriamų ir atkuriamų reikšmių, kurios leidžia užsieniečiui lankytojui pažvelgti į istorinį senamiesčio zonos branduolį, tuo tarpu vėlyvesnių miesto vystymosi etapų paminklų nepriežiūra lieka ignoruojama. Straipsnyje analitiškai pabrėžiama žodinio perdavimo atminties funkcija, pastangos kuriant nykstančių ar negrįžtamai besikeičiančių urbanistinių zonų nuotraukų kolekcijas ir neatidėliotinas poreikis susirūpinti vykstančia archyvinės medžiagos bei gyvojo miesto audinio fragmentacija. Straipsnyje keliami klausimai dėl miesto istorijos, kurią liudija užstatyta

aplinka ir individualūs prisiminimai, pristatymo ir organizavimo metodų tvarumo atspindi abejones, ar galima išspręsti šią problemą alternatyviai apibrėžiamų *kolektyvų* rėmuose. Todėl atminties iniciatyvos ir toliau yra laikomos individualiomis ir pavienėmis pastangomis, kurios retai gauna progą aktyviai prisidėti sprendžiant praktinius istorinių paminklų ir urbanistinių zonų išsaugojimo ir pateikimo klausimus.