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<u>The Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar, Bosnia & Herzegovina:</u> <u>Implications of the deterioration of a Monument and Site</u>

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Thesis to obtain the degree of Master of Conservation of Monuments and Sites Presented by Andrew Lawler

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Introduction

This thesis discusses the conservation of the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, in regard to both legislation and society. It is approached through a comparison of this site with the other works of the architect, Bogdan Bogdanović, which are distributed throughout the constituent countries of the Former Yugoslavia.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters, with a final section of concluding remarks. Chapter 1 provides a biography of the architect-designer Bogdan Bogdanović (1922-2010). Chapter 2 details Bogdanović's memorial works throughout the Former Yugoslavia, giving their dates of construction, locations, a description of each site's layout and key features, legal protection status, condition (including information on later interventions and restoration activities), and visitor activities at the site (both commemorative and leisure). Chapter 3 provides a background to the city of Mostar, in which the primary case study is located, and Chapter 4 elaborates on the history of the monument. Chapter 5 attempts to 'rank' Bogdanović's monuments in regard to their legislative protection, presentation to the public, and value to both the local and wider communities.

Chapter 6 returns to the Partisans' Cemetery, presenting a technical analysis of key problems with the monument and its conservation. Chapter 7 defines the values attached to the monument, both by the general public and by the administrative body responsible for enacting the legislation that protects the Partisans' Cemetery by designating it a National Monument of Bosnia & Herzegovina (the Commission to Preserve National Monuments). Chapter 8 concludes the analysis, with a synthesis of the Partisan Cemetery's relationship to the city of Mostar (with a specific focus on its benefits to tourism) and to the context of memorialisation within Bosnia and Herzegovina and other Former Yugoslav states. This chapter further identifies key areas for intervention to maximize the sustainability of the Partisans' Cemetery as a memorial, green public space and key architectural legacy of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Prior to this, it is important to give a very brief overview of the wider historical context of the reason for the creation of both the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar, and Yugoslav Second World War monuments, which were spread around the entirety of the nation's territory, and were a primary focus of Tito's national motto of 'Brotherhood and Unity', and to show the locations of the monuments discussed within this thesis.

Yugoslavia and Memorialization

The People's Liberation War (*Narodnooslobodilački rat*) of 1941-45 led to the creation of the Socialist Federal Republic (SFR) of Yugoslavia from what had previously been the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, a state created at the end of the First World War. This nation consisted of six Socialist Republics (Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Slovenia and Montenegro) and two Autonomous Provinces (Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija, renamed as Kosovo in 1974), which were constituent elements of both the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The country set about a period of post-war reconstruction and 'nation-building' encompassing leader Josip Broz Tito's national mantra of 'Brotherhood and Unity' (*Bratstvo i Jedinstvo*). Central to this was the construction of thousands of monuments, in both rural and urban settings, commemorating the Yugoslav Partisans' antifascist struggle.

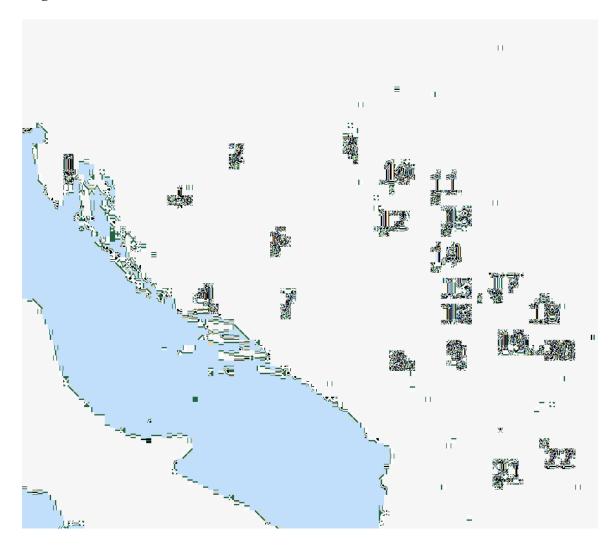
Yugoslavia opted to form its own identity through these monuments, electing to distinguish itself from states under the influence of the Soviet Union through the architectural styles and symbolism imbued in the monuments, particularly after the Tito-Stalin split of 1948. The construction of these monuments continued throughout the existence of SFR Yugoslavia, even through the financial problems and hyperinflation and rise of nationalism that defined the country after Tito's death in 1980. With the onset of the Yugoslav Wars in 1991, following the secession of Slovenia from the Federation, these monuments often found themselves focus points of vandalism and destruction. After the dissolution of the country into its constituent states, devoid of the social context within and for which they were created, many such monuments were either demolished, or fell into a state of neglect.

The Role of the Monuments Today

Since the breakup of Yugoslavia, the monuments have had varied fortunes; some have been intentionally destroyed both during the Yugoslav Wars and after, whereas others have been maintained, and in some cases rehabilitated, and are used as focal gathering and social manifestation sites by the local community. In recent years, the awareness of the presence of these monuments has been raised through a number of articles and exhibitions, and the circulation of images in social media. A number of sites have become tourist attractions, and maps and itineraries have been published by bloggers, often based on literature and tourist guides published during the SFR Yugoslavia period.

The current socio-political situation, in many instances, means that this popularity and interest amongst 'outsiders' and those termed (often in a derogatory manner) 'Yugo-nostalgics' can conflict with the feelings of both the local community and authorities toward the monuments. In spite of their undeniable architectural and historical significance, their social significance has been eroded by the heavily-changed political context. With the number of veterans of the People's Liberation War dwindling, the monuments, in many instances, must be rejuvenated to rehabilitate their significance to the local community, as a way to preserve a key architectural legacy of the Socialist Yugoslavia.

Bogdanovic's Monuments



Above is a map showing the locations of the monuments created by Bogdan Bogdanović throughout the Former Yugoslavia. Further details on their names and dates of construction are to be found in Chapter 2. They are as follows:

- 1 Adonis's Altar, Labin, Croatia
- 2 Jasenovac Memorial Park, Jasenovac, Croatia
- 3 Dudik Memorial Park, Vukovar, Croatia
- 4 Guardian of Freedom, Klis, Croatia
- 5 Garavice Memorial Park, Bihać, Bosnia & Herzegovina
- 6 Monument to the Victims of Fascism, Novi Travnik, Bosnia & Herzegovina
- 7 Partisans' Cemetery, Mostar, Bosnia & Herzegovina
- 8 Monument to Freedom, Berane, Montenegro
- 9 Shrine to the Revolution, Kosovska Mitrovica, Kosovo
- 10 Necropolis, Sremska Mitrovica, Vojvodina, Serbia
- 11 Monument to the Jewish victims of Fascism, Belgrade, Serbia
- Monument to the Start of the Uprising, Bela Crkva, Serbia

- 13 Tomb of Dušan Petrović-Šane, Aranđelovac, Serbia
- 14 Mausoleum of Struggle and Victory, Čačak, Serbia
- 15 Memorial to the Revolution, Leskovac, Serbia
- 16 Arapova Dolina, Leskovac, Serbia
- Monument to the Fallen, Vlasotince, Serbia
- 18 Memorial for the Wars of Independence, 1804-1945, Knjaževac, Serbia
- 19 Popina, Trstenik, Serbia
- 20 Slobodište, Kruševac, Serbia
- 21 Burial Mound of the Undefeated, Prilep, Macedonia
- 22 Partisans' Necropolis, Štip, Macedonia

Chapter 1: Bogdan Bogdanović – a brief Biography

Introduction

Bogdan Bogdanović (20 August 1922 – 18 June 2010) was a Serbian architect, urbanist and essayist. He is most renowned for his memorial architecture, over twenty examples of which were erected throughout Yugoslavia between 1952 and 1990, in five of the six Republics and both of the Autonomous Provinces of which the Socialist Federal Republic was composed.

Besides his monumental designs, Bogdanović also taught architecture at the University of Belgrade's Faculty of Architecture and later at his 'village school' in Mali Popovic, and also served as Mayor of Belgrade (1982-86). With Slobodan Milošević's rise to power and the growth of nationalism, Bogdanović became a dissident, and was eventually exiled in 1993, initially to Paris, but shortly thereafter to Vienna, where he resided until his death in 2010.

His works are characterized by abstract designs and elements derived from classical civilizations and mythology. Often, themes, symbols and elements are repeated in a number of his works.

After the Tito-Stalin split of 1948, Yugoslavia shunned the Socialist Realism style of art that was enthusiastically adopted my many communist and socialist countries, and instead looked toward Western styles for influence. Bogdanović's work in particular found favour with the Yugoslav authorities, and he became one of the leading figures in the creation of the country's monuments to the Antifascist struggle and *Brotherhood and Unity*, alongside Miodrag Živković, Vojin Bakić, Dušan Džamonja, Vladimir Dobrović, Ivan Sabolić and Svetislav Ličina¹. His most famous works are considered to be his first work, the Monument to Jewish Victims of Fascism in Belgrade, the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar, which Bogdanović himself described as "...a model of Mostar, the city on the river Neretva, its ideal diagram", and the pressed-concrete 'Stone Flower' and surrounding landscaping at Jasenovac Memorial Park, the site of the largest Nazi concentration camp in Yugoslavia.

Early Life

Born into a family of leftist intellectuals, Bogdanović was surrounded by the Arts from an early age. His father was the famous literary critic and theatre director Milan Bogdanović, and his mother was a professor of literature (Grimmer, 2006). As President of the Association of Writers of Serbia (*Udruženje književnika Srbije*), Milan Bogdanović was a close acquaintance of the expressionist writer Miroslav Krleža and surrealist poet and essayist Marko Ristić, and these connections heavily influenced Bogdan's formative years.

Bogdanović began his studies in architecture at the University of Belgrade in 1940, but these were interrupted by the onset of the Second World War in Yugoslavia, when Axis forces invaded in April 1941. In 1944, Bogdanović joined the Yugoslav Partisans, but was seriously injured shortly after, being shot through the left hip in the campaign in Eastern Bosnia, and was discharged from the army after recovery. Upon resuming his

¹ Kempenaers, 2010; http://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spomenici_Narodnooslobodila%C4%8Dke_borbe

studies, he decided to focus on urbanism, an academic direction upon which the new Socialist regime looked favourably.

"During the War, I had fun with Marko Ristić by ostensibly designing a silly house for him, where you could slide from the upper floor to the lower one, full of surprises. If it were possible, that is how I would have made architecture. In my circle, we were all surrealists and left oriented, and when our leftist society arrived, we saw that surrealist exhibitions were not going to happen. In despair, I decided to go for urbanism because it was in a way a scientific discipline."

Interview with Vera Grimmer, Vienna, May 29, 2006

Teaching

Upon graduation in 1950, Bogdanović accepted a position of assistant professor within the Department of Urbanism, from 1953, and was later promoted to docent (1960), associate professor (1964), Dean of the Faculty of Architecture (1970), and full professor (1973). He was conferred emeritus professor status in 1987. From 1962, Bogdanović taught the course *The development of housing schemes*, which was later renamed *History of the town*. After his promotion to associate professor (and later as Dean), Bogdanović pressed for reform of the teaching system, favouring greater input from students (Grimmer, 2006), and applying within his own classes a gradeless system:

"It was never ex catedra. I never held the same lecture twice. Professors always carry scripts around with them, read from them. I improvised. ... Very soon I stopped grading my students, to the horror of my colleagues. Whoever heard something from me, heard it. Now, were they able to use something from me, I dont know, but I did not want to give recipes what to do and think. Besides, urbanology is a treat. Anyone who wants to see and hear something, can. ... I was always the epicenter of indiscipline, I always tried to be interesting."

Interview with Vera Grimmer, Vienna, May 29, 2006

In 1976, after attempting to overhaul the teaching methodology employed within the Faculty of Architecture, Bogdanović began teaching a course at an abandoned village school in Mali Popović, a village in the municipality of Jagodina, approximately 120 kilometres south of Belgrade. This institution, *Seoska škola filozofije arhitekture u Malom Popoviću* (Rural School for Philosophy of Architecture in Mali Popović), colloquially known as the Village School, played host to a course run by Bogdanović, titled Symbolic Forms. This course had no fixed timetable and employed the invention of new writing systems, the interpretation of non-existent texts, as well as methods inspired by Freud's Free Association and Gematria – the attribution of a numerical value to certain words, often employed in Jewish mysticism.

"Our motto was as simple as it was complicated: The beauty and the meaning of an architectonic sign can only be apprehended and explained in the all-encompassing sense of a wholeness expanded to a novel."

Bogdanović, in *Der verdammte Baumeister* (1997, p.221)

In 1991, with Bogdanović being one of Milošević's most prominent and vocal critics, the Village School was looted and burned by pro-Milošević henchmen. Almost all of the School's documentation, lesson outlines and exercises, drawings, audiovisual material, project work and portfolios, was destroyed. One of the few items to be rescued was a green leather-bound box, later allegorised in Bogdanović's 2009 book *Zelena Kutija*.

Literature

Bogdanović published an extensive number of books, essays, open letters, and newspaper articles and columns. In total, this amounted to 18 books and more than 500 articles, in a number of languages (Vuković, 2011). His first pieces of writing were a weekly column in the Belgrade newspaper *Borba* entitled *Mali Urbanizam* (*Small Urbanism*) from 1956 to 1959, and a book of the same name in 1958. He continued writing up until his death, on subjects ranging from mysticism and art to urbanism and architecture.

Overall, Bogdanović's work can be categorized into four stages: his early work was dedicated to the history of cities, his works from the late 1960s until the rise of Milošević focused on the quest for utopia within urbanism and a historical précis of this, and his later works, including the so-called 'war trilogy' of *Grad i smrt* (*Death and the City*), *Architektur der Erinnerung* (*The Architecture of Remembrance*) and *Grad i budućnost* (*Future and the City*) between 1993 and 1997, focused on the 'ritual' destruction of the city brought about by non-urban and semi-urban members of a society as part of a greater conflict between the rural and the urban (Vuković, 2011). After these came a final period of evaluation and appraisal, during which Bogdanović re-edited his works, retrospectively appraised them, organized and donated his archives, and gave a number of interviews and increased collaboration to secure his legacy.

Many of Bogdanović's works were received as difficult to understand, and irrelevant to the Party line of the Socialist government which not only supported him and his work, but generally expected a practical value to stem from his academic research. Bogdanović himself believed his literary work would be better accepted in the West than in Yugoslavia, a belief which was reinforced by his 1993 exile to Vienna (Vuković, 2011).

Monuments

Bogdanović is probably most famous for the numerous monuments he created throughout the Former Yugoslavia. In total, he created twenty-two monuments, cenotaphs and memorials (including one simple grave to an individual) dedicated to military and civilian victims of the Second World War, sometimes – as at Knjaževac – in combination with those of other wars.

Bogdanovic's monuments, along with their dates of opening and locations are as follows:

Monument to the Jewish victims of fascism, Belgrade, 1952 Memorial cemetery in Sremska Mitrovica, 1960 Partisans' necropolis in Prilep, 1961 Slobodište – symbolic necropolis in Kruševac, 1961

Partisans' memorial cemetery in Mostar, 1965

Jasenovac memorial site, 1966

Symbolic necropolis in Leskovac, 1971

Monument to the Massacre in Arapova Dolina, Leskovac, 1971

Monument to the start of the uprising in Bela Crkva, 1971

Monument to the history of the struggle for liberation in Knjaževac, 1971

Shrine to the revolution in Kosovska Mitrovica, 1973

Adonis' altar in Labin, 1974

Partisans' necropolis in Štip, 1974

Necropolis to the victims of fascism in Travnik, 1975

Monument to fallen combatants of the revolution in Vlasotince, 1975

Freedom monument in Ivangrad, 1977

Dudik memorial park near Vukovar, 1980

Memorial park to the struggle and victory in Čačak, 1980

Tombstone of Dušan Petrović-Šane in Banja near Aranđelovac, 1980

Garavice memorial park near Bihać, 1981

Popina memorial park near Vrnjačka Banja, 1981

'Guardian of Freedom' in Klis, 1988

Themes in his work are often repeated in numerous monuments, and ideas that he toyed with during the design phase, as evidenced by his studio drawings, were often reappraised and developed in later works. The majority of his works are made of stown hewn by locally-recruited craftsmen, rather than those with a formal masonry education, whom Bogdanovic considered too inflexible. A number of his earlier works (particularly in urban areas) also incorporate rubble from districts and buildings destroyed in World War Two, most notably the Monument to the Jewish victims of fascism in Belgrade, where architectural elements are included in the cladding of the memorial passage's walls, and the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar, which used parts of the town's rubble as an aggregate for shaping the hill into which the monument is set.

After his election as Mayor of Belgrade in 1982, Bogdanovic only created one further monument, that in Klis, Croatia. All of his monuments are located in Former Yugoslavia, although he developed two proposals for international projects: the *Freedom Monument* in Algiers, Algeria (1981) and *Memorial on the Pathway of Peace on the Donauinsel* in Vienna, Austria (1994-96).

Political Life

An ardent leftist, Bogdanović opposed the increasing nationalism among the state leaders of Yugoslavia. On the initiative of Ivan Stambolić (who would later be assassinated on the orders of Slobodan Milošević), Bogdanović was elected Mayor of Belgrade in 1982, and remained in office for one term, stepping down in 1986. During this time Bogdanović did not create any monuments, and his sole piece created after his mayoral tenure (Guardian of Freedom in Klis, 1988) is heavily inspired by an earlier sculpture that he created in Labin in 1974.

After leaving office as the Mayor of Belgrade, Bogdanović became a vocal opponent of Slobodan Milošević. In 1987, he published an anti-nationalist open letter of over 60 pages, satirising the government's increasingly nationalist diction. The letter, in combination with other remarks about Milošević, led to attempts to break into

Bogdanović's apartment, threats of lynching, and his exclusion from the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, to which he had been personally elected by Milošević the previous year. Possibly the most stifling effect of this persecution was the destruction of the Village School in Mali Popović by pro-Milošević henchmen.

Exile & Later Life

With the onset of the Yugoslav Wars, Bogdanović's persistent anti-Nationalist rhetoric resulted in him becoming a target of a hate campaign by the State-controlled media. In 1993, he and his wife Ksenija went into exile, initially to Paris. However, the Nationalist sentiments of which Bogdanović had been a vociferous critic strongly pervaded the Yugoslav community there, and both he and his wife felt uncomfortable with the atmosphere. The following year, on the recommendation of novelist and essayist Milo Dor (who was responsible for translating a number of Bogdanović's works²) the two relocated to Vienna, which Bogdanović later came to describe as a microcosm of the Yugoslavia he loved.

During his time in Vienna, Bogdanović wrote profusely, publishing six books in German, as well as a number in his native language. One of the books in German, *Der verdammte Baumeister. Erinnerungen (The Doomed Architect: Recollections*, later published as *Ukleti neimar* in 2011) (1997) is a collection of essays, which, in many ways, acts as Bogdanović's own personal retrospective.

Although Bogdanović did not create any buildings or monuments during his Vienna exile, he spent a number of years developing a project for a memorial on the Pathway of Peace on the Donauinsel (Danube Island) in Vienna, Austria (1994-96).

Bogdan Bogdanović died in hospital in Vienna on 18th June 2010, following a heart attack.



Fig 1.1 Bogdanović visiting the Partisans' Cemetery, Mostar, July 2000

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² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milo_Dor

Chapter 2: Bogdanović's Memorials

Throughout his career, Bogdan Bogdanović designed a number of memorials which were constructed throughout the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This chapter details them, chronologically, by the order in which they were opened to the public.

A number of lists of Bogdanović's work exist¹²³. These all seem to be adapted from a list which appears in Trumić (1988), attributed to Ksenija Anastasijević, Bogdanović's wife.

A retrospective list of Bogdanović's works was also compiled and published (in German) in 2009 within a publication to accompany an exhibition of his life and works at Architekutrzentrum Wien; *Memoria und Utopie in Tito Jugoslawien* (Memory and Utopia in Tito's Yugoslavia) by Friedrich Achleitner, Ivan Ristić, Ursa Komac, Pablo Guillen, Heike Karge, Dragana Milovanović and Vladimir Vuković (2009).

Trumić's work, a PhD thesis titled *Nacrtane riječi i napisani crteži; spisateljski i graditeljski opit Protomajstora Bogdana* (Words in drawings and drawings in words: A literary and architectural experiment by Architect-designer Bogdan), describes Bogdanović's monuments on the basis of three main topics; syntheme, mythologeme and analogy. These three themes provide major foci for his work, which discusses Bogdanović's opus in terms of mythological allegories and relationship with the landscape.

Achleitner et al. discuss the history of the design and creation of Bogdanović's works, and, in certain cases, their present-day treatment. This, to date, can be considered the most complete discussion of Bogdanović's opus; the book also details two of his major non-memorial works (the Workers' Village for the Hydro-technical Institute in Belgrade and the reconstruction of the villa of Queen Natalija in Smederevo – soon to become the reception residence of the President of the Republic of Serbia⁴). This book further mentions the designs and proposals Bogdanović put forward for a number of other projects (57 in total) which were never realised, but were featured in the exhibition that the publication accompanied.

This chapter gives an introduction to each of the works of Bogdanović by giving a brief description of each monument; its key architectural and landscape elements, history, and reason for construction. Alongside these details, the names given to the monuments (many lack an official name), both in various literature and colloquially are stated, and a summary of the protection laws currently covering the monument is given. The condition of the monument, and activities currently carried out at the site (both of a commemorative nature and otherwise) are also detailed.

The 21 monuments attributed to Bogdanović by the numerous lists available are detailed first. After this, a further two monuments (in Leskovac and Sarajevo) are described.

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¹ http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=7166

² http://kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2778 [Footnote 2]

³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bogdan_Bogdanovi%C4%87#Memorials

⁴ http://voiceofserbia.org/serbia/node/277

It is worth noting that Bogdanović also submitted a number of studies for other monuments, both within the Former Yugoslavia and further afield. Examples include the Revolution Monument in Zenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina (1972), the Memorial to Fallen Soldiers in Ralja, Serbia (1980), the Freedom Monument in Algiers, Algeria (1981) and the Peace Monument on Vienna's Donauinsel, Austria (1994-96).

2.1

Name: Monument to the Jewish victims of Fascism

Location: Belgrade, Serbia

Year: 1952

Description: This, the first monument designed by Bogdanović (allegedly at the personal behest of Josip Broz Tito) is located in the graveyard district (Novo Groblje) of Belgrade, at the rear of the city's Sephardic cemetery, which was established in 1888. Although the location within the cemetery (which is approximately 200 metres long) appears isolated and unfavourable, it has the advantage of allowing the impressive wings to be appreciated in their full scale, which would not have been possible were the monument located close to the high walls near the entrance (**Fig 2.1.1**).

The monument consists of two 10.5 metre tall wings, with a paved processional way between, ending with an iron sculpture of a Menorah. At the other end of the procession way is a small stone pedestal, which contains a stone flower pot, and has been subjected to a number of modern alterations. It is indeterminate as to whether this was initially intended as a part of the memorial, as although perfectly aligned with it and made of identical stone, it lies some 12 metres away, and has been subjected to alterations unsuitable for a monument of such importance.

The wings are made of granite-clad concrete, and bear a number of wrought iron traditional sacral decorative elements; when viewed from the graveyard entrance, a Star of David and the Hebrew abbreviation of a quote from Samuel I (25:29), and at the rear an image of hands performing the Priestly Blessing (*Nesiat Kapayim*) and a Levite pitcher.

The pathway leading to and between the wings is lined by two walls approximately 1 metre in height, upon which are placed memorial plaques to families killed in the Holocaust. Each side is dedicated to one of Belgrade's two Jewish communities: Ashkenazi and Sephardic. The pathway itself is paved with old Jewish gravestones, and the walls incorporate fragments of construction material from buildings razed in the Dorćol district of Belgrade during the Second World War. This was apparently decided upon due to financial constraints, and not chosen as a method for symbolic reasons (Achleitner et al., 2009).

Protection status: The monument is protected by Municipal law both as a work of art and an official City community object (Radovanović, 2012). As of April 2013, the entire complex of the Sephardic Cemetery is under the process of being registered as a monument protected at the State level. Included in this protection will be Bogdanović's monument (Lajbenšperger, 2013).

Condition: The monument bears no evidence of vandalism (although the graveyard itself has been subjected to a number of Antisemitic attacks since 1995), although natural decay has taken hold in a number of elements. Staining from the iron elements fixed to the wings is evident throughout, although this is arguably a part of the monument's aesthetics. Many of the stones that make up the walls of the memorial pathway show

signs of various pathologies, including staining (Figs 2.1.5, 2.1.6), blistering (Fig 2.1.2), flaking (Fig 2.1.2), bursting (Figs 2.1.3, 2.1.4), cracking (Fig 2.1.3) and delamination (Figs 2.1.4, 2.1.7). It is worth noting that, apart from the staining caused by the iron elements of the monument, these pathologies are almost exclusively evident upon reused materials.

Mr. Miroslav Grinvald, technical secretary of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Serbia, who is in charge of the Cemetery, stated that there are no plans for any renovations or conservation of the monument in place at the moment (Radovanović, 2012).

Visitor activities: The graveyard is open to the public daily, and, due to its location within a huge graveyard complex serving the city, is a relatively popular tourist attraction, although no statistics on visitor numbers are kept. However, the primary Holocaust memorial of Belgrade is nowadays considered to be a statue entitled 'Menorah in the Flames' by Nandor Glid, located on the bank of the Danube in the city centre. The walls of the monument's memorial pathway appear to have plaques continually added to it, and one in particular (commemorating members of the Kalderon family) appears to have been added very recently. Furthermore, a plaque commemorating Bogdanović has been added to the foot of one of the wings since his death in 2010.

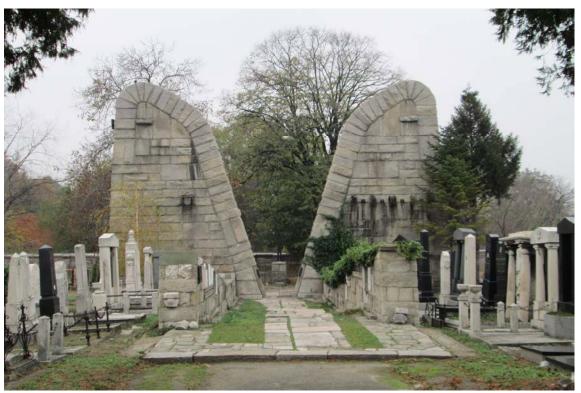


Fig 2.1.1 Monument to the Jewish victims of Fascism



Fig 2.1.2 Blistering and flaking on the memorial pathway



Fig 2.1.3 Bursting, cracking and erosion on the memorial pathway



Fig 2.1.4 Delamination and bursting on the memorial pathway



Fig 2.1.5 Staining from metal elements on the monument





Fig 2.1.7 Delamination on the memorial pathway

2.2

Name: Necropolis in Sremska Mitrovica (AKA: Monument-graveyard for the victims of fascistic crimes)

Location: Sremska Mitrovica, Vojvodina, Serbia

Year: 1960

Description: The monument is situated on the site of mass executions from the Second World War. It is important to note that this is a memorial complex, of which only parts (most notably the landscaping and certain commemorative elements) were designed by Bogdanović. The complex, which covers approximately 12 hectares, consists of seven artificial hillocks (**Fig 2.2.1**) and bronze flames (**Fig 2.2.2, 2.2.3**), a bronze urn (**Fig 2.2.4**, **2.2.5**), and a memorial museum and later additional features, added from the date of its official opening on 4th July, 1960, until October 1981. The main elements of the site are arranged along an axis of approximately 600 metres, passing through the 'Alley of Heroes'.

Each of the seven mounds is dedicated to one particular group which was executed at the site, and topped with a bronze flame. The mounds are clustered around a central area, which contains three cuboidal stone features. This central area, as well as all access routes, is composed of a brick-lined surface in a slight depression compared to the surrounding topography (**Fig 2.2.6**, **2.2.7**). The large bronze urn is situated to the right of the main path upon entrance, and dominates the entire complex.

In total, the site commemorates over 12,000 people (Trumić, 1988), including 308 Yugoslav Partisans, 20 Bulgarian soldiers and 18 soldiers of the Red Army, as well as 4 national heroes from the Srem district and notorious Serbian painter Sava Šumanović, who was executed at this site on 30th August 1942.

On a stone block in the central area is inscribed a text written by Dobrica Ćosić:

"Овде су Немци и усташе од 1941. до 1944. године убили 7.950 људу и жена. Овде су измучене људе и жене по киши и снегу голе и босе бајонетима терали да сами себи ископају раку. Овде су рањене кречом поливали и живе закопавали. Овде су мученици у смрти чекали спас. Овде су над ракама пред бајонетима и митраљезима певајући гинули људи. Били су патриоти Комунисти Борци. Били су људи. Били су и јесу слобода, братство народа и наше достојанство"

"At this place, Germans and Ustaše from 1941 to 1944 killed 7,950 men and women. Here were tortured men and women, and, naked in the rain and snow, were forced to dig their own graves and then bayoneted. Here, the wounded were covered in quicklime and buried alive. Here the martyrs awaited their salvation in death. Here lie the pits where, before bayonets and machine guns, people died singing. They were patriots, Communist fighters. They were people. They were and they are freedom, the brotherhood of our people and our dignity"

Protection status: Enlisted in the 'Cultural Monuments of Serbia' database as a Monument of Great Value as item ZM 37 since 30th December 1997. The site is also listed as a monument of local importance as item 118 in the database of *Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Sremska Mitrovica* (Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Sremska Mitrovica) since 12th December 1997. These registrations are based upon the previous Decision of the Institute, listed no. 39, dated to 28th April 1977, and published as Official Gazette article APV 28/91.

Condition: The site has been the subject of several additions and enhancements over time. Possibly the most dramatic of these was the 1979 renovations, which not only included the addition of two mounds at the entrance to the complex, but also placed a major horticultural emphasis on the site; nowadays, it plays host to over 100 species of trees and shrubs (Fig 2.2.8). A number of the flame sculptures have been vandalised (Fig 2.2.9, 2.2.10). Graffiti has been a persistent problem at the site, with the bronze urn being particularly heavily affected (Fig 2.2.11). The site was further renovated in 2011, with works being completed in January 2012 (Lajbenšperger, 2013), and the site is now regularly maintained.

Visitor activities: The memorial complex used to be a key visitor attraction in the town, and featured on numerous postcards and other souvenirs (Fig 2.2.12). The memorial museum ceased to operate in the 1990s (Lajbenšperger, 2013), and the structure which hosted the museum and its collections has now been given to a local hunting association to be used as their headquarters. There are few (if any) organised visits to the site, and its primary function is as a park for local residents. There is usually a commemorative event held at the site some time in late August or early September (Lajbenšperger, 2013).



Fig 2.2.1 Hillock, topped with flame sculpture



Fig 2.2.2 Flame sculpture, 2006





Fig 2.2.4 Bronze urn sculpture



Fig 2.2.5 Bronze urn sculpture



Fig 2.2.6 Brick-lined commemorative area, 2006



Fig 2.2.7 Brick-lined commemorative area, 2010



Fig 2.2.8 Horticultural gardens



Fig 2.2.9 Vandalised flame sculpture



Fig 2.2.10 Vandalised flame sculpture



Fig 2.2.11 Graffiti on the bronze urn



Fig 2.2.12 Postcard showing Sremska Mitrovica, with memorial in upper-left panel

2.3

Name: Burial Mound of the Undefeated

Location: Prilep, Macedonia

Year: 1961⁵

Description: This monument was designed at the behest of the Mayor of Prilep, to coincide with the city's declaration as a 'Partisan Town', due to its strong resistance in the Second World War (Komac & Guillén, 2011). Bogdanović rejected three sites chosen by the town for the monument (one of which had already been earmarked for a project that was never realised), instead choosing a small plateau on the periphery of the town. The monument, which commemorates approximately 800 soldiers killed in battle (Trumić, 1988) consists of eight figures arranged haphazardly within carefully-landscaped parkland. Bogdanović himself described the monument as "an air monument" (Komac & Guillén, 2011).

The figures themselves resemble feminine figures, and are styled on Ionic columns, commonly found in Classical architecture. These figures measure 2.9 metres in height, with the exception of one figure, which is considerably larger, at around 5 metres (**Fig 2.3.1**).

Bogdanović added this figure as a compromise with the town's council. They wanted a monument more evocative of victory; he simply added this figure, and claimed it was representative of the Goddess of Victory (although it has been claimed that this is a 'male' figure (Achleitner et al., 2009), performing a dance with the female figures in a style typical to this region).

Each figure consists of three blocks of stone: two form the lower – geometric – part and one the upper – the artistic block. As with the majority of his monuments, Bogdanović hired local stonemasons to carve the figures and select the stone from local sources. The stone itself is a white marble called Bianco Sivec, typical to this region of Macedonia.

To the south-east of the group of figures opens a circular cavity, dug into a tumulus which contains the bones of fallen Partisans – a similar feature is employed at the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar to entomb the bones of unknown soldiers. The wall of this cavity is clad in marble, upon which the names of the deceased are engraved.

Protection status: The monument is protected at national level under the Cultural Heritage Protection Law. It is registered in the Central Register of Immovable Cultural Heritage as item no. 293. This database is currently unavailable for public consultation, but will be in coming years (Dimotrovski, 2012).

Condition: In the 1980s, a new road and petrol station were constructed beside the monument, drastically altering its setting (**Fig 2.3.4**). Bogdanović was called in to consult on rehabilitating the site, and a pine copse was planted to hide the new constructions. The opposite side of this road is now a heavily-developed urban area (**Fig 2.3.4**).

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⁵ Note: Although Ksenija Anastasijević listed the monument as having been constructed in 1961, as does the Macedonian Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Komac & Guillén (2011) state that it was unveiled in 1962.

In 2007-08, the complex and surrounding parkland underwent a phase of revitalization, with 4.3 million Dinar ($\[\in \]$ 70,000) donated by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), with the planting of trees and addition of approximately 1 kilometre of new pathways throughout the park, and the development of a botanical garden and miniature zoo, as well as the renovation of a pre-existing summer amphitheatre and sports centre (Fig 2.3.4).

Visitor activities: Komac & Guillén (2011) state that the monument is a focal point for citizens' activities in Prilep. It is treated with respect, and they state it is "a living place and a good example of variety and compatibility of uses", with children, joggers and walkers all using it. It is considered a safe place to visit at night by the townsfolk, because of this regular circulation and good maintenance (**Figs 2.3.2, 2.3.3**).

Commemorative events, including the laying of wreaths are carried out at the site on 2nd August (Republic Day & St. Elijah's Day), 8th September (Macedonia's Independence Day), 11th October (Revolution Day), 23rd October (Day of the Macedonian Revolutionary Struggle), and 3rd November (Day of the Liberation of Prilep) annually. As well as these commemorative events, the park is used for many cultural events hosted by the city, such as its Motor Festival and events in its Summer of Culture.



Fig 2.3.1 Figures, with largest in the foreground

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⁶ http://www.prilep.gov.mk/proekti/mk/revitalizacija-na-kompleksot-mogila-na-nepobedenite/



Fig 2.3.2 Main approach



Fig 2.3.3 Figures, as viewed from the tumulus



Fig 2.3.4 Plan of the site showing additional development (housing, children's park, sports complex)

2.4

Name: Slobodište

Location: Kruševac, Serbia

Year: 1961

Description: The memorial park occupies an area of approximately 10 hectares on a site previously known as Bagdala hill, after the adjacent hamlet. It contains graves and cenotaphs commemorating 1,642 Partisan soldiers and civilians taken as hostages and executed, including 324 executed at the site on 29th June 1943 alone. Here, Bogdanović designed a memorial complex along a 250-metre long axis, surrounded by landscaped parkland (Achleitner et al., 2009). When approaching and entering from the north, one first enters a circular forecourt flanked by two grave mounds for executed men and fallen resistance fighters, one in a wooded clearing to the right, and the other on open ground to the left (**Fig 2.4.1, 2.4.2**).

The focus of the monument assemblage (referred to by Achleitner as a 'valley of memories'; 'das Tal des Andenkens') lies within an 18-metre deep artificial depression, and consists of a series of twelve pairs of 'emerging wings' (Fig 2.4.3, 2.4.4, 2.4.5), reminiscent of Bogdanović's design for the Sephardic Cemetery in Belgrade, which is entered through a circular sandstone-clad portal, or 'Solar Gate', embedded in a grassed bank with the keystone removed (Fig 2.4.6). Six of the pairs of wings lie on the floor of the depression, while the other six, reduced in size to heighten the perception of depth, are placed on the slope. The stone wings are engraved with abstract patterns and designs, said to be evocative of symbols of life. Both the grave mound near the entrance and a nearby hilltop are crowned with sacrificial vessels made of bronze.

An owl-like figure - in a columnal style similar to that used later at Bela Crkva and Garavice - is placed in the courtyard of a memorial centre, set within a semicircular artificial mound (Fig 2.4.7, 2.4.8).

Two years after the monument's completion, a concrete amphitheatre was added at the eastern end of the complex. This was planted with greenery, the intention being that it would be covered and stabilise as a 'natural' amphitheatre by the mid-late 1970s. Until its installation, a makeshift stage had been placed here. This is the largest open-air stage in Serbia, and will remain so until the completion of rehabilitation works at Bubanj memorial complex, near Niš, in coming years.

The name 'Slobodište' (meaning *Freedom*) is attributed to Dobrica Ćosić. He also contributed the inscriptions on the millstones in front of the two burial mounds:

Под овим небом, човече, усправи се

Under this sky, man, raise yourself

(Fig 2.4.9) and

Хлеб и слобода исто су нама

Bread and freedom are the same to us

The complex's ancillary facilities include the offices of the National Museum - Kruševac, which maintains the site.

Protection status: Enlisted in the 'Cultural Monuments of Serbia' database as a Monument of Great Value as item ZM 20 since 21st June 1992. The site is also listed as a monument of local importance as item 6 in the database of *Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Kraljevo* (Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Kraljevo) since 12th June 1992, and by the same institute as a Place of Significance of great importance (IV/3). These registrations are based upon a previous Decision of SO Kruševac, listed as number 633-2, dated to 19th June 1991, and published as Official Gazette article SRS 28/83.

Condition: The memorial centre appears to have fallen into disrepair, according to recent photographs. Furthermore, there is minor evidence of graffiti upon the pairs of wings in the crater, and also upon the 'solar gate'.

A serious incidence of vandalism occurred in August 2008, when the millstone bearing the *Bread and freedom are the same to us* inscription was destroyed. An online newspaper report⁷ implied that the damage was premeditated, as the size of the stone would have necessitated the use of a sledgehammer. The millstone was broken into six large pieces. Other incidences of vandalism, including the breaking of lights and benches, have occurred in recent years⁸, in spite of the site being guarded overnight by private security contractors. There appears to have been some minor restoration work undertaken at the memorial centre between 2009 and 2010, including the replanting of flowerbeds and replacement of light fixtures (**Fig 2.4.7**, **2.4.8**).

Visitor activities: The town's website lists the site as one of the 'places of interest' within the town for tourists⁹.

A commemorative event is held on 28th June, the day before the anniversary of the largest of the mass executions at the site. Every year since the complex's opening, a ceremony has been held which includes the lighting of a ceremonial flame and the recitation of a text by Dobrica Ćosić, as well as a procession through all elements of the memorial complex.

On the evening of 30th April to 1st May, the Council of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions organises a barbecue and family events at the site to celebrate Labour Day.

⁷ http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Hronika/Vandali-na-Slobodishtu.lt.html

⁸ http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/aktuelno.290.html:238752-Rostiljijada-kraj-stratista

⁹ http://www.turizamkrusevac.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1243&Itemid=588





Fig 2.4.2 One of the two burial mounds



Fig 2.4.3 Valley with paired wings, 2010



Fig 2.4.4 One of the sets of paired wings



Fig 2.4.5 Family visit to Slobodište, c.1979



Fig 2.4.6 The 'solar gate'



Fig 2.4.7 Memorial centre, 2009



Fig 2.4.8 Memorial centre, 2010



Fig 2.4.9 Surviving millstone, with inscription *Under this sky, man, raise yourself*



Fig 2.4.10 Modern-day use of the memorial valley

2.5

Name: The Partisans' Cemetery

Location: Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Year: 1965

Description: This is possibly Bogdanović's largest design. Construction of the monument required huge amounts of landscaping, including the dynamiting of areas of Biskupova Glavica, the hill upon which it lies (Achleitner et al., 2009). The construction of the monument took several years, and huge amounts of material were used in its construction: over 12,000 carved limestone pieces (Achleitner et al., 2009), as well as rubble from the city's devastation during the Second World War – as at Belgrade – and traditional stone roof tiles recycled from houses, which were used as part of the wall façades in certain sections (**Fig 2.5.1**, **2.5.2**). The monument was officially opened on 25th September 1965, in the presence of many of the country's top dignitaries, including president Josip Broz Tito.

The bodies of 810 named fighters are interred here; with their names and place and dates of birth and death given on their tombstone. The gravestones themselves are uniform, and can be considered to resemble a 'Bird of Peace', a recurring leitmotif throughout Bogdanović's opus. The site can be considered notable for being one of the few monuments by Bogdanović to bear no inscription, besides these simple headstones (**Fig 2.5.3**, **2.5.4**).

The bodies of several hundred unknown soldiers, recovered in the years following the Second World War, are interred in the mound within which the staircases leading up to the monument are set (**Fig 2.5.5**). The bodies were interred during construction, in either 1963 or 1964 (Mrs. R, 2013).

The monument has been described as an 'acro-necropolis', and as a microcosm of the town of Mostar. Bogdanović relied heavily on water elements in this monument (**Fig 2.5.6**), reflecting the town's location beside, and reliance on, the River Neretva.

The monument is accessed from a road not far from *Rondo*, one of the main convergences of roads within the city. Before the visitor is a paved pathway (**Fig 2.5.7**, **2.5.8**), leading to a monumental entrance, consisting of two stairways leading to a ceremonial pathway, which flank an alcove containing a water feature: a series of rippled steps down which water originating at the top of the monument flows (**Fig 2.5.9**, **2.5.10**). After ascending one of the staircases, the visitor continues up the cobbled serpentine pathway (**Fig 2.5.11**) – also interspersed with features meant to hold running water – to the commemorative areas. These consist of five tiers of gravestones (**Fig 2.5.12**), plus the upper platform (which also contains gravestones) containing a fountain (**Fig 2.5.13**) and the focal architectural feature of the site – a 'cosmological sundial' (**Fig 2.5.14**). The lower platform is reserved as a commemorative area. At its western end, it bears an alcove with six pedestals (one for each Republic of SFR Yugoslavia), where flowers were laid at commemorative events (**Fig 2.5.15**).

Also within the complex is a large circular pond (Fig 2.5.16), situated within the ornamental gardens to the east of the monument. Bogdanović also envisioned a number of elements to be added to the Partisans' Cemetery which were never completed(Fig

2.5.17); one of these was an extensive landscaped garden to the east of the site, forming an area of parkland around the site's secondary entrance (**Fig 2.5.18**), and another being a small ornamental area stemming from the ceremonial pathway, approximately half way up the hill leading to the ceremonial plateaux.

Protection status: The site has been declared as a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2006.

Condition: The monument suffered significant wartime damage (Fig 2.5.19, 2.5.20) and post-war neglect and vandalism. Although a phase of restoration has been undertaken (2008-2010) (Fig 2.5.21, 2.5.22, 2.5.23, 2.5.24, 2.5.25), the monument has since remained neglected, and further vandalism and graffiti have been a recurrent problem. The site is also covered by litter, although local initiatives by a number of organisations have endeavoured to keep parts of the monument tidy (Fig 2.5.26).

The Agency responsible for funding and monitoring the site, *Agencija Stari Grad*, is unwilling to progress with restoration activities until funds have been secured to allow public lighting to be fully installed, and guards to be employed to provide 24-hour surveillance. The surveillance facilities have already been constructed (**Fig 2.5.27**), but have also fallen victim to graffiti and other minor vandalism. Were restoration works to continue without the security of the site being guaranteed, then further vandalism would occur, and the funds would be wasted (Fajić, 2012). Currently, none of the water installations are functional, and drainage re-laid above the monument during the recent phases of restoration (**Fig 2.5.28**, **2.5.29**) has already begun to fail, leading to water damage in parts of the site (**Fig 2.5.30**).

Since restoration was undertaken and the site reopened, graffiti and vandalism have persisted. New parts of the monument have been spray-painted (Fig 2.5.31), and grave markers have been overturned and broken (Fig 2.5.32, 2.5.33).

Visitor activities: Once a popular tourist attraction (Fig 2.5.34), the cemetery was described as 'the most beautiful of its kind in the country [Yugoslavia]' (Džumhur, 1982, p.160). Since the war, it has been abandoned, and, despite the city's tourism boom since the inscription of Stari Most on UNESCO's World Heritage List in 2005, it is not well-promoted on touristic itineraries. A 185-page report¹¹ into Mostar's touristic potential prepared by the Ekonomski Institut Sarajevo in 2010 devotes just five lines to the monument. Circa 2008, greater efforts were made to incorporate the Partisan Cemetery in touristic itineraries of the town, possibly to coincide with the first phase of restoration. Signposts were erected directing people towards the monument. However, by 2011 almost all of these had been removed, possibly by vandals. Some signs had been replaced by early 2013 (Fig 2.5.35), possibly as part of a major renovation of Rondo and Španski trg (Spanish Square), which was completed in March 2012¹². The monument still hosts

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¹⁰ Two events held under the framework of 'Let's Do It!', an initiative to inspire volunteers to clean their town, have been held at the Partisans' Cemetery, on 9th September 2012 and 18th May 2013. Furthermore, a local forestry graduate has begun a private initiative to remove overgrowth threatening the surviving trees and shrubbery.

¹¹ Studija turističkih potencijala grada Mostara (2010)

¹² http://www.nezavisne.com/novosti/gradovi/Kralj-Huan-Karlos-otvorio-obnovljeni-Spanski-trg-u-Mostaru-VIDEO-134682.html

commemorative activities four times per year: 14th February (Day of Liberation of the city of Mostar); 26th June (Anniversary of SFR Yugoslavia joining the United Nations); 27th July (Day of Uprising); and 25th November (Statehood Day).
On 14th February 2013, approximately 300 people attended the commemoration event

On 14th February 2013, approximately 300 people attended the commemoration event held at the Partisans' Cemetery (**Fig 2.5.36**). A number of veterans of the Second World War laid wreaths in the designated commemorative area, as did representatives of several social groups and organisations (**Fig 2.5.37**). The event was well-attended by local media, and a number of politicians. Throughout the day, individuals laid flowers at the gravestones of family members (**Fig 2.5.38**).

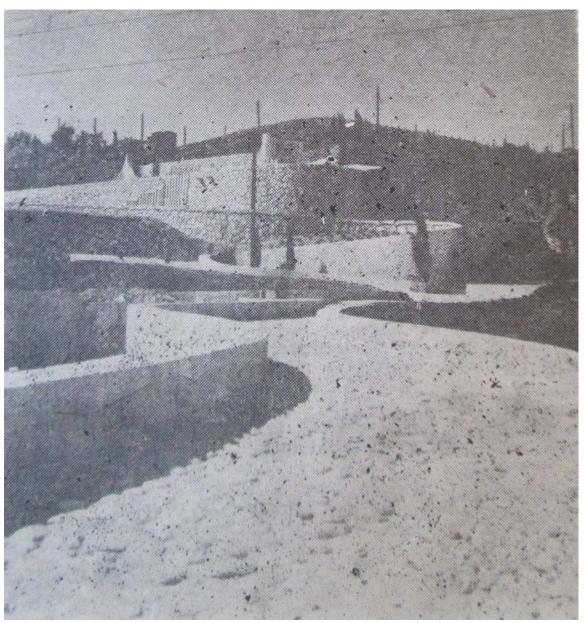


Fig 2.5.1 The monument nearing completion, September 1965



Fig 2.5.2 The monument nearing completion, February 1965

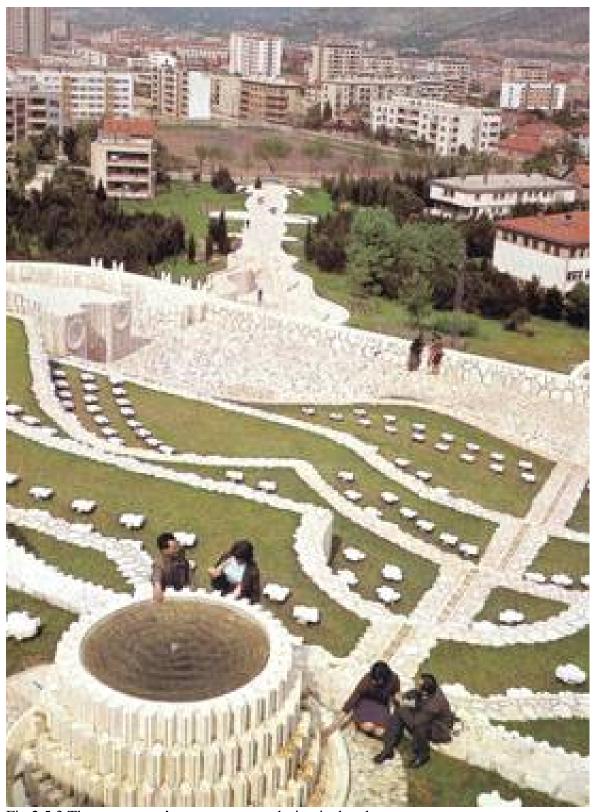


Fig 2.5.3 The monument's grave terraces during its heyday



Fig 2.5.4 The monument's grave terraces in 2005



Fig 2.5.5 Aerial photograph with burial mound, twin staircases and alcove in foreground



Fig 2.5.6 Water feature in alcove



Fig 2.5.7 View from main entrance, 2005



Fig 2.5.8 View from main entrance, 2012



Fig 2.5.9 Alcove, 2005



Fig 2.5.10 Alcove, 2012

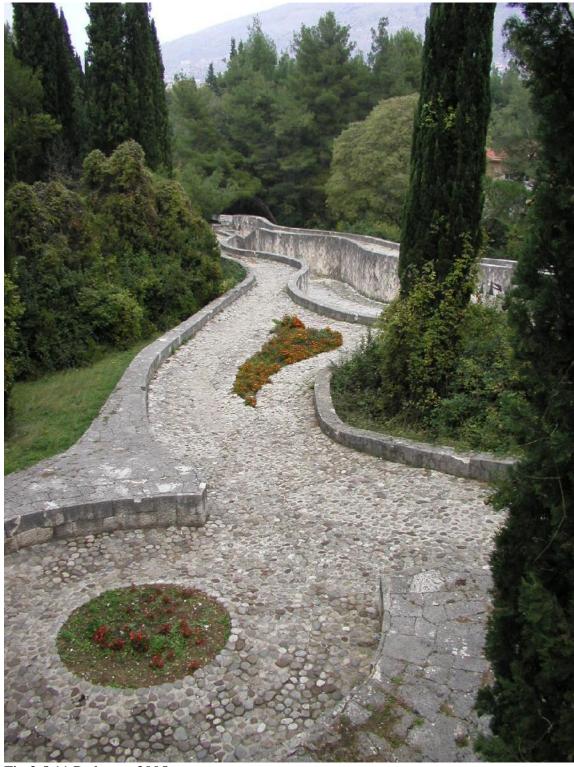


Fig 2.5.11 Pathway, 2005



Fig 2.5.12 Panorama of grave terraces, 2005





Fig 2.5.14 'Cosmological sundial'



Fig 2.5.15 Commemoration area



Fig 2.5.16 Pond

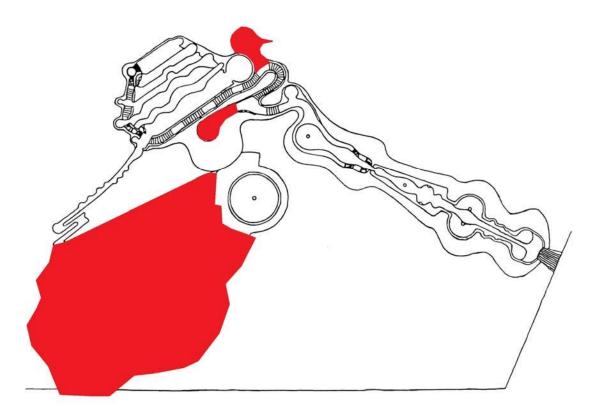
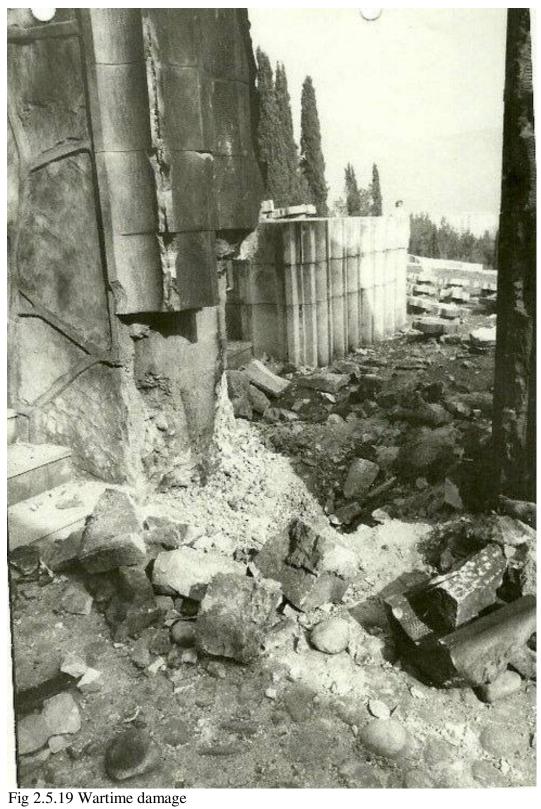


Fig 2.5.17 Plan of the site, with unrealized areas in red



Fig 2.5.18 Secondary entrance



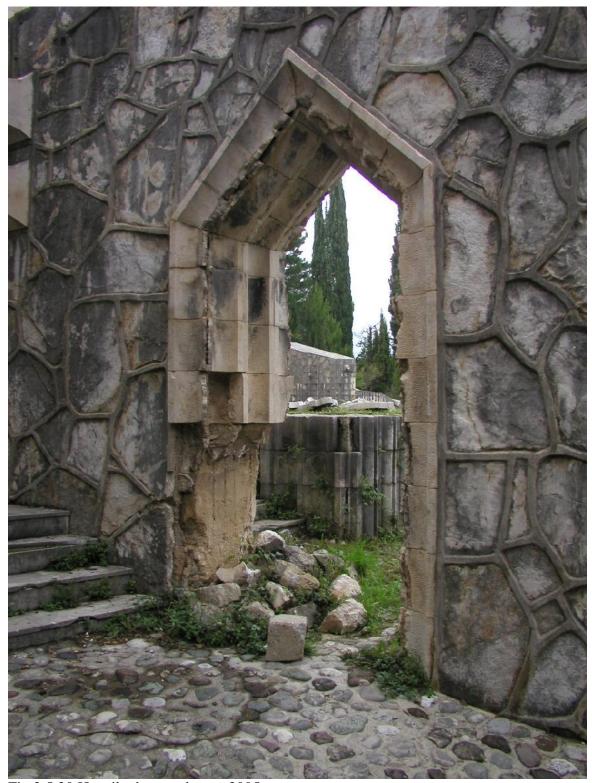


Fig 2.5.20 Heavily damaged area, 2005

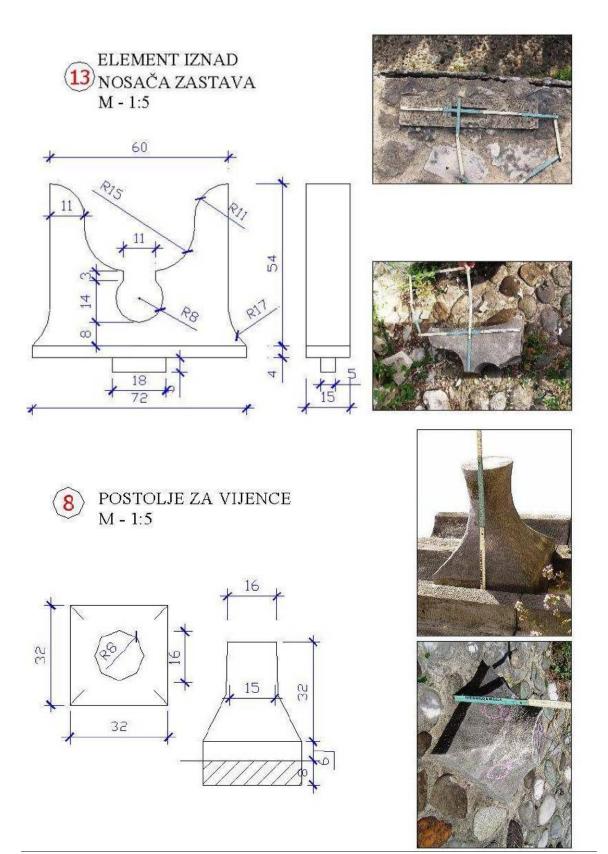


Fig 2.5.21 & 2.5.22 Plans for reconstruction of elements



Fig 2.5.23 Area of repair to cobblestones and wall



Fig 2.5.24 Repaired element



Fig 2.5.25 Repair to section of wall



Fig 2.5.26 'Let's Do It!' initiative, May 2013



Fig 2.5.27 Surveillance centre and souvenir shop



Fig 2.5.28 Replacement of drainage



Fig 2.5.29 Drainage works undertaken during the restoration process



Fig 2.5.30 Current problems due to drainage failure, 2013





Fig 2.5.32 Vandalised grave marker, 2013



Fig 2.5.33 Condition of the grave terraces, 2013

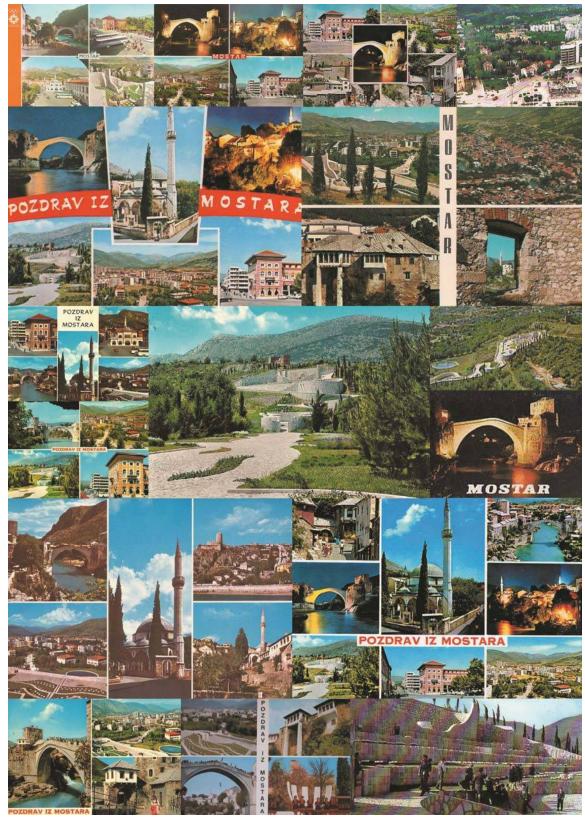


Fig 2.5.34 Montage of postcards depicting the Partisans' Cemetery



Fig 2.5.35 Newly-replaced signage in English for tourists and visitors



Fig 2.5.36 Arrival at commemorative event, February 2013



Fig 2.5.37 Laying of wreaths, February 2013



Fig 2.5.38 Flower laid by family member, February 2013

Name: Jasenovac Memorial Site

Location: Jasenovac, Croatia

Year: 1966

Description: This is possibly Bogdanović's most famous work, built on the site of the Jasenovac concentration camp. The monument consists of a 24-metre high 'stone flower' (**Fig 2.6.1**), as the centrepiece of a vast landscaped parkland, nestled in a meander of the river Sava (**Fig 2.6.2**). The 'Stone Flower' is – paradoxically – made of concrete, an unusual material for Bogdanović to work with.

After the Second World War, the concentration camp at Jasenovac was razed to the ground. Initial proceedings to establish a memorial complex at the site were undertaken in the late 1950s, with outlines of mass graves and elements of the camp being delineated with wire fences, and sign posts and markers being added. In September 1960 the Central Committee of the Federation of War Veterans' Organisations of Yugoslavia invited architects Zdenko Kolacije and Bogdan Bogdanović to present proposals for commemorating the Jasenovac concentration camp¹³. Bogdanović's design – based on a flower which would symbolise life and eternal renewal – was selected. The memorial was unveiled on 4th July 1966, and acts as the focal point of the memorial complex. As well as creating the design for the Stone Flower, Bogdanović also oversaw the landscaping of the complex, in particular the camp cemetery in Limani (Brickworks camp)¹⁴ and the Roma cemetery in Uštica¹⁵. As well as Bogdanović's memorial, a number of additions were made in 1967 and 1969, and the site was fully completed as a memorial by 1971. In 1983, all areas formerly occupied by the concentration camp were incorporated into the singular entity of Jasenovac Memorial Site.

Since the disintegration of Yugoslavia from 1991, the entire memorial site spans both the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where an independently-functioning memorial site (Donja Gradina) was established in 1996¹⁶, and is under the protection of the government of the Republika Srpska. Prior to the breakup of SFR Yugoslavia, this site was registered as a protected area by SR Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1975, but was entered into a memorandum of agreement with Jasenovac Memorial Site in 1983, and the two were administered jointly thenceforth under the auspices of SR Croatia.

Construction of the Stone Flower itself was begun in 1966. This monument consists of a six-petalled 24-metre tall flower made from reinforced concrete. The weight of all six petals is supported entirely by the central column, or 'stem'.

At the foot of the flower are six niches, corresponding to the petals above. Each of these contains a pool of water. The crypt below the monument is paved with recycled railway sleepers lying on top of concrete slabs covering the foundations¹⁷. On the north side is a

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¹³ http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6715

¹⁴ http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6779

¹⁵ http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6756

¹⁶ http://www.jusp-donjagradina.org/eng/

¹⁷ Institute for Concrete and Masonry Structures, Zagreb (2002)

bronze plaque with a stanza from the poem *Jama* (*The Pit*) by Ivan Goran Kovačić (1942), a poem studied by all elementary school children in SFR Yugoslavia(**Fig 2.6.3**):

Gdje je mala sreća, bljesak stakla, Lastavičje gnijezdo, iz vrtića dah; Gdje je kucaj zipke što se makla, I na traku sunca zlatni kućni prah?

That simple happiness, the window's glint; Swallow and young; or windborne garden sweet -Where? - The unhurried cradle's drowsy tilt? Or, by the threshold, sunshine at my feet?¹⁸

The crypt is reinforced with concrete ribs which distribute the weight of the Stone Flower above throughout the structure.

An impression of 10cm wide wooden planks has been left upon all surfaces of the Stone Flower. Although this is most likely a result of the moulding process used in the construction of the monument, it as been argued¹⁹ that this was an intentional part of the design process.

Protection status: The Jasenovac Memorial Site is enlisted on the 'Register of Cultural Goods of Croatia' (Z-3411)

Condition: Before the declaration of independence by the Republic of Croatia in 1991, Jasenovac Memorial Site was well-maintained as one of the focal memorial sites of the National Liberation War. Upon its occupation by JNA forces on 8th October 1991, the site became inaccessible to museum staff, and its collections were removed. In May 1994, a report by an observation mission of the European Community revealed that the Memorial Museum was completely empty and that there was no information on the whereabouts of the Jasenovac Memorial Museum's collections, but that the memorial area and memorial itself had not been damaged (the museum's inventory was eventually returned from Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 2001 after a series of complex negotiations, and the Memorial Site was fully rehabilitated by 2004²⁰). However, assessment of the site undertaken during a series of visits by representatives of the Republic of Croatia Ministry of Culture's State Administration for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage from May 17th 1995 onwards claimed that the museum building and structures throughout the Memorial Site had been devastated²¹. The damage was estimated at 690,570 German marks (c. €340,000). A plan for restoration was set out by the Memorial Site in cooperation with the Republic of Croatia's Ministry of Culture for the rehabilitation of Jasenovac, including the restoration of Bogdanović's Stone Flower.

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¹⁸ Translation by Alec Brown, found at http://www.almissa.com/povijesnitrenutak/jama.htm

¹⁹ Institute for Concrete and Masonry Structures, Zagreb (2002) p.5

²⁰ http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6484

²¹ http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6478

Initial investigations into the structural stability of the monument were undertaken in 1998 by the Institute for Concrete and Masonry Structures, a sub-department of the Croatian Institute for Construction. As well as war damage from shrapnel and bullet impacts, numerous pathologies were detected as a result of degradation over time. These included corrosion of the reinforcing steel bars (**Fig 2.6.4**, **2.6.5**, **2.6.6**), calcification of the concrete (**Fig 2.6.6**) and biological and frost damage (**Fig 2.6.7**, **2.6.8**), particularly in the upper portion of the monument.

A large number of cracks were evident in the lower portion. These were not deemed to be a threat to the structure, and had occurred early in its lifespan, and were considered a natural result of the irregular distribution of the monument's weight throughout the structure, due to its complexity and also as a result of the fact that the concrete for the monument had to be poured in stages, leaving natural weak spots. The investigation distinguished between surface defects (≤0.35mm in width) and cracks (>0.35mm). As one phase of the restoration, all cracks were to be filled with an epoxide resin, and all surface defects coated with a bridging coating ²². After this, and other phases, the report recommended the monument be covered in a protective concrete coating, to prevent further degradation of the concrete.

Works on stabilising the monument and remedying corrosion and calcification were completed by April 2002. It was recommended in the October 2002 report by the Institute for Concrete and Masonry Structures on these works that a secondary layer of concrete (of approximate dimensions 45x20cm) should be added between petals to give additional strength to the monument (**Fig 2.6.9**). This phase of work has never been realised.

Visitor activities: The Memorial Site is a popular visitor attraction, and incorporates a memorial centre, the interpretive narratives of which have been altered considerably over the years (Jovičić, 2006).

Initially, as one of Yugoslavia's most prominent legacies from the Second World War, the Memorial Site hosted a library and publishing house, lectures, conferences and a number of literary events, and the playing of documentary films. The Memorial Site itself produced four documentary films about the concentration camp; "Jasenovac 1945" (1966, Bogdan Žižić), "Evanđelje zla" (Gospel of Evil) (1973, Đorđe Kastratović), "Krv i Pepeo Jasenovca" (Blood and Ashes of Jasenovac) (1984, Lordan Zafranović) and "Kula smrti" (Tower of Death) (1988, Vladimir Tadej)²³. Souvenirs, including postcards, pendants, badges and guidebooks were produced, and Jasenovac Memorial Site was one of the most visited museums in the whole of Yugoslavia.

With the onset of the Croatian 'Homeland War', Jasenovac was closed to the public, but work was undertaken intermittently at the site until mid-1991, including the microfilming of the archives and library. The site was occupied by the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) on 8th October 1991, and the museum's collections were transferred to the self-proclaimed independent state of Republika Srpska on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since the return of these collections and the creation of new exhibitions, the museum receives high visitor numbers. From 2008 to 2012, the museum's visitor

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²² Institute for Concrete and Masonry Structures, Zagreb (2002) p.6

²³ http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6469

numbers fluctuated between just below 8,000 and 10,500²⁴, although it must be noted that the visitor numbers to the open-air parts of the Memorial Site would have been considerably higher, but are uncountable due to the fact that entrance to these areas is not monitored or regulated in any way (Kućan, 2013).

The site hosts its primary commemorative event on the Sunday closest to April 22nd, which is the anniversary of the final breakout of prisoners from the Concentration Camp. This memorial event is attended by approximately 2,000 to 2,500 people each year (Kućan, 2013).



Fig 2.6.1: The 'Stone Flower'

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²⁴Exact figures: 2008 – 7,999 (6,376 Croatian, 1,623 foreign); 2009 – 8,974 (6,392 Croatian, 2,582 foreign); 2010 – 10,158 (6,960 Croatian, 3,198 foreign); 2011 – 10,234 (6,023 Croatian, 4,211 foreign); 2012 – 9,455 (5,401 Croatian, 4,054 foreign)



Fig 2.6.2: Jasenovac Memorial Site



Fig 2.6.3: Bronze plaque with verse from *Jama*



Fig 2.6.4: Restoration of corroded steel, before and after



Fig 2.6.5: Staining from corrosion penetrating the monument

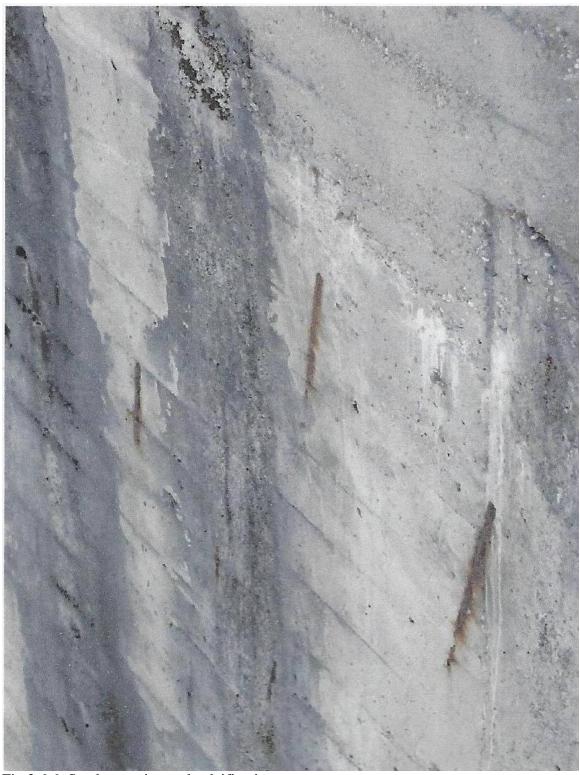


Fig 2.6.6: Steel corrosion and calcification

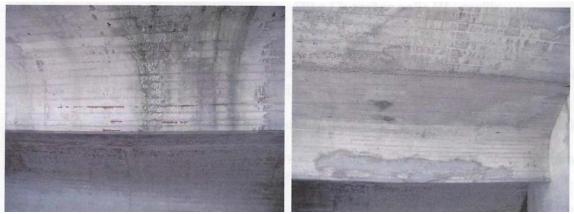


Fig 2.6.7: Treatment of biological staining



Fig 2.6.8: Treatment of biological growth and wartime damage

Skica 2 Shematski prikaz ugradnje sekundarnog betona između latica

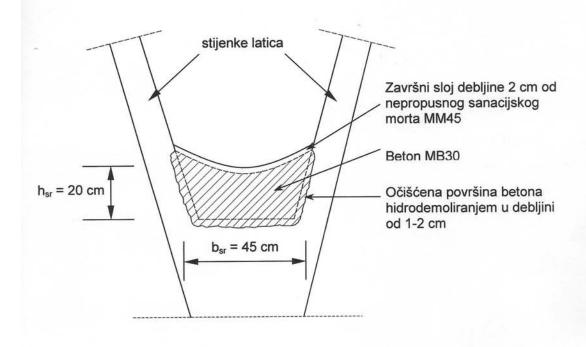


Fig 2.6.9: Schematic for addition of another supporting layer to the concrete petals

Name: Memorial of the Revolution (AKA: Monument-Park)

Location: Leskovac, Serbia

Year: 1971

Description: This monument contains three basic elements; a ceremonial procession way, a group of cenotaphs and a symbolic statue overlooking a sunken amphitheatre. It is in a picturesque setting, slightly elevated above the town, and at the foot of a wooded hill upon which one of the town's two main Orthodox churches is situated.

The 450-metre long flagstoned procession way is entered through a wooden construction, evocative of traditional Serbian architecture (**Fig 2.7.1**). This portal is original to the site, and similar constructions are to be found at other memorial parks in the region (the most notable being Bubanj, in nearby Niš, one of the most well-known memorial parks in Serbia). The route was flanked by stone lantern holders at intervals of 8-12 metres, of which a number survive (**Fig 2.7.2**).

A group of 17 pillars commemorate the 17 most notable soldiers from the Leskovac area (14 National Heroes and three prominent revolutionaries). 17 further pillars commemorate prominent soldiers buried at the site, including some of those commemorated by the other pillar grouping (**Fig 2.7.3**). All of the pillars range from 1.2 - 2.2 metres in height (Stojković, Rakić & Trajković, 2007). The monument itself acts as a cenotaph to over 1,000 soldiers and civilians from the vicinity (Trumić, 1988).

The statue - known locally as 'Goddess of Victory', but described by Bogdanović as a 'Forest Goddess' (Ristić, 2009) – is made of two parts; a 12-metre tall stone clad hyperboloid, and a metal (possibly bronze) 'crown', which used to bear four pendulant ornamentations, described locally as 'earrings' (Figs 2.7.4, 2.7.5). In many ways the shape of this monument is evocative of Bogdanović's earlier work at Prilep, Macedonia. However, the contrasting use of materials, and the entirely different setting within the landscape, evokes entirely different emotions. The design principle of the work's centrepiece overlooking an amphitheatre is also reminiscent of the designer's work at nearby Vlasotince, a project he overtook only a few years after the opening of this site. The Monument Park was opened on 4th July 1971 (Fig 2.7.6) by the high-ranking politician Petar Stambolić (Naša Rec, 1971).

In 2009, work was undertaken beside the pathway to create a lapidarium containing fragments of Jewish gravestones recovered from the vicinity (Tasić, 2012). Prior to the Second World War, the hillside had been the location of a small Jewish cemetery, which was destroyed by Nazi occupying forces. Approximately twenty fragments or complete headstones (some non-Jewish in character) have been placed on a stone platform with a dimensions of approximately 12 by 10 metres. A raised semicircular wall of approximately 40 centimetres height runs across this platform, on which nine of the fragments are mounted, set in concrete. Although the stone flagging employed in the platform's construction emulates the style of that used in Bogdanović's path, the sharp, angular design of the platform and its wall are in sharp contrast with the organic layout of the Monument Park, and detract from the experience of approaching the monumental ensemble (Fig 2.7.7).

Protection status: The monument is under Regional protection, the mid-level form of protection of monuments in Serbia, and has been registered as a *Znamenito mesto* (Place of Significance) since 1992 (*Službeni glasnik opštine Leskovac* 4, 28th February 1992).

Condition: The flagged processional pathway to the site is in good condition. However, many of the lantern holders that used to line the pathway are now damaged or overturned (**Fig 2.7.8**). This seems to be a result of poor maintenance and weathering issues in many instances, as opposed to overt vandalism. The Jewish Graveyard/lapidarium affects the approach to the site considerably, and has not been constructed in a style sympathetic to Bogdanović's work.

There is some minor damage to the flagstones of the amphitheatre (displacement), and more damage may have been caused by the regular lighting of fires and barbecues within this area, as evidenced by a number of dark patches (**Figs 2.7.9**, **2.7.10**). The 'Goddess of Victory' is, overall, in good condition, with the exception of the loss of the 'earrings' which were stolen at some point in the 1980s (Tasić, 2012).

Visitor activities: The site is denoted on the touristic map of the town as 'Spomen Park', although its entrance is neither obvious nor signposted. A town official mentioned that the park is a popular place for the townsfolk to walk and relax, although poor maintenance in recent years has deterred families and older generations from visiting regularly (Tasić, 2012).



Fig 2.7.1 Entrance portal



Fig 2.7.2 Lantern fitting



Fig 2.7.3 Commemorative pillars



Fig 2.7.4 Focal statue, 2012



Fig 2.7.5 Focal statue with 'earrings'



Fig 2.7.6 Opening of the monument, 1971



Fig 2.7.7 Jewish cemetery lapidarium



Fig 2.7.8 Damaged lantern fitting



Fig 2.7.9 Amphitheatre, with damaged stones



Fig 2.7.10 Detail of amphitheatre, showing blackening from fires

Name: Monument to the start of the Uprising (AKA: Group of Cenotaphs, Symbolism in

Stone)

Location: Bela Crkva, Krupanj Municipality, Serbia

Year: 1971

Description: The village of Bela Crkva was considered to be the location of the start of the uprising against the German-led invasion of Yugoslavia on 7th July 1941. The memorial complex here was developed from 1951, with the unveiling of three busts (**Fig 2.8.2**) by the sculptor Stevan Bodnarov²⁵ (most renowned for the busts on the Tomb of the People's Heroes, at Kalemegdan fortress, Belgrade), and was enhanced on several occasions. The local tavern and post office were preserved in their 1941 state, and a museum was opened within the tavern (**Fig 2.8.3**).

In 1971, to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the uprising, Bogdanović was commissioned to design nine sculptures. His work here differs to those at other sites in that he attempted to emphasise 'male' forms (Achleitner et al., 2009), largely at the behest of the local government. The nine sculptures are granite columns, adorned with *šajkača*, a traditional Serbian hat incorporated into military attire in the 19th century (**Fig 2.8.4**). These are positioned in an irregular formation between the tavern and original local school. The lower portion of each column consists of five roughly-hewn blocks (**Fig 2.8.5**). The sides of the uppermost (*šajkača*) blocks are carved with images of houses, trees, animals and vessels (**Fig 2.8.7**), and in total, each column measures between 2.5 and 3 metres tall. In front of the sculptural ensemble lies a small fountain (which no longer functions), also of granite. Adjacent to this lies a granite block with an inscription (**Fig 2.8.6**) by Ivan Lalić:

Овде је Србија рекла Слобода

Here is where Serbia said Freedom

The nine columns are intended to represent the six Republics, two Autonomous Provinces, and the Federation which bound them together in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Nikolić, 2013). However, a revisionist interpretation seemingly favoured by the government (who have begun to present the present-day Republic of Serbia as a successor to both the Socialist Partisan and Royalist Chetnik movements during the Second World War) presents the columns as representative of the Nine Brothers Jugović (*Devet braće Jugovića*), important soldier characters in traditional Serbian epic poetry²⁶. It is believed that the monument's design 'got out of hand' for Bogdanović, due to the contrasting wishes of the local government, himself and the Yugoslav government. The carvings on the sides of the *šajkača* are supposedly each

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²⁵ http://spomenicikulture.mi.sanu.ac.rs/spomenik.php?id=601

²⁶http://sr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%94%D0%B5%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%82_%D0%88%D1%83%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%9B%D0%B0

pertinent to the mythology of a particular Federal Republic (Nikolić, 2013), but this is obscure, and would not explain why all nine are carved similarly (were one to represent the Federation).

Protection status: The monument, as part of an ensemble, is enlisted in the 'Cultural Monuments of Serbia' database as a Monument of Extraordinary Importance as item ZM 6 since 10th September 1982. This registration is based upon a Decision by the People's Republic of Serbia, listed no. 724/49, dated to 28th April 1949, and published as Official Gazette article SRS 14/79.

Condition: Extensive conservation works of the site were undertaken in 1966 (prior to the addition of Bogdanović's sculpture) and 1977, although these were primarily to the buildings within the complex. The sculptures themselves are in good condition, and appear to remain free from any form of vandalism, possibly largely due to the isolated location and the historic significance of the monumental ensemble, although the abandoned school and former military hospital, which lies just a few metres away from the complex is heavily graffitied. However, two of the sculptures appear to bear damage to their uppermost portions, perhaps as the result of a falling tree (Fig 2.8.8, 2.8.9). Furthermore, one sculpture is heavily stained (Fig 2.8.10), probably the result of a birds' nest being built on the monument itself, or on an overhanging tree branch directly above. A number of windows of the museum complex are broken (Fig 2.8.11), and its collections' conditions are deteriorating rapidly (Fig 2.8.13, 2.8.14).

Visitor activities: Until its cancellation in 2001²⁷, Bela Crkva was the epicentre of activities celebrating the Uprising Day of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Commemorative events are still held at the site on this day, which are relatively well attended²⁸, although the numbers are declining every year (Nikolić, 2013). The museum within the memorial complex is still open to the public (although officially closed²⁹) through prior appointment with the office of the Touristic Organization of Krupanj municipality from 8:00 to 15:00 on weekdays with a volunteer who holds the key to the site's buildings. Between January and May 2013, only two small groups visited the museum, and no large groups (July 7th aside) have visited since 2006, when 3 or 4 coachloads came. There is no electricity or heating inside the museum complex (Fig 2.8.12) since the government withdrew all funding from the complex in 2003, and water damage is beginning to affect the artefacts. Njebojša Nikolić, the current voluntary caretaker of the museum complex, and a local history teacher, believes that the artefacts and displays will be removed from the museum in the coming 3-4 years, and put into storage, with the buildings being sold or reverted to their pre-Socialist owners, who are believed to reside in Zagreb.

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²⁷ http://www.e-novine.com/drustvo/67670-Sudsko-brisanje-antifaizma.html

²⁸ http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Drustvo/332027/Po-sumama-i-gorama-U-Beloj-Crkvi-obelezena-godisnjica-antifasistickog-ustanka-u-Srbiji

²⁹ http://www.krupanj.org.rs/index.php?id=7



Fig 2.8.1 Bogdanović's monument at Bela Crkva



Fig 2.8.2 Bust erected at the site in 1951



Fig 2.8.3 Panorama of the memorial complex showing (l-r) post office, tavern/museum, monument & school



Fig 2.8.4 Detail of šajkač



Fig 2.8.5 Column



Fig 2.8.6 Sign in front of the monument



Fig 2.8.7 Example of carving on šajkač



Fig 2.8.8 Damage to upper portions of one of the columns



Fig 2.8.9 Cracks in the *šajkač* on top of one column



Fig 2.8.10 Heavy staining to the uppermost portion of a column



Fig 2.8.11 Exterior of the tavern/museum



Fig 2.8.12 Interior of the museum



Fig 2.8.13 Interior of the museum, with evidence of water damage



Fig 2.8.14 Museum display destroyed by water damage

Name: Memorial to the Victims of the Wars of Independence, 1804-1945 (AKA: Monument to the History of the Struggle for Liberation/Freedom; Monument to the Fallen in the Liberation Wars of 1804, 1912-18 & 1941-45)

Location: Knjaževac, Serbia

Year: 1971

Description: This memorial site commemorates over 6,000 soldiers from the Timočka Krajina (Timok Frontier) who fell in the various 'Liberation Wars', and was opened in November 1971. This site is located at the edge of the river Timok, in the heart of the town (**Fig 2.9.2**, **2.9.3**, **2.9.4**), making it unique amongst Bogdanović's opus, as he preferred to locate his works on urban peripheries, to blend them with the landscape.

The site has been dubbed the *Polis of Bees* by architects, due to the resemblance of several of the stele to beehives (**Fig 2.9.5**, **2.9.6**, **2.9.7**). The monument consists of several groups of such stele, carved from limestone and symbolically representing various aspects of traditional Serbian rural life; a granary, a well, a watermill, amongst others. Other stones resemble *krajputaši*, (**Fig 2.9.8**) a type of roadside cenotaph most commonly found throughout Western Serbia, and often erected in memory of soldiers from the 19th Century onwards. Motifs inspired by local and Hellenic folklore (Trumić, 1988) are carved into these monuments

Elements within the memorial composition are also dedicated to Red Army soldiers killed during the liberation of Knjaževac, and there is a replica of an older monument, originally dedicated to victims of the 1876-1878 war (**Fig 2.9.9**), which was destroyed by Bulgarian soldiers (Milošević Micić, 2013).

The park is entered through a portal similar to that at Leskovac. However, this varies in that its vertical posts are clad in stone, and carved with flower emblems (Fig 2.9.10). Lining the pathway are lantern holders bearing a strong resemblance to those at Leskovac.

Carved into a granite block near to the entrance is a verse by the Serbian poet Ivan Lalić:

Србија Сунчева кућа, из пепела се свој а диже светлошћу сама себе зида Слободом сама себе светлу

Serbia
The house of sun, rising from its own ashes,
building itself from light,
with Freedom itself.

The park also contains a small amphitheatre. It is worth noting that for the construction of this monument, Bogdanović selected a group of stonemasons from Pirot, in Eastern

Serbia, to carve the elements of the memorial. He continued to employ these masons to work on his monuments for the rest of his career.

Protection status: The monument-park has been protected as a Protected Spatial Cultural-Historical Unit – the third tier of protection status - since 1994 (*Zakon o kulturnim dobrima* Sl. Glasnik 71/94, član 22). It is under the protection of Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in Niš. Although the monument-park is registered as a historical and cultural monument, its status is not yet fully declared in Serbia's new governmental system. However, it still benefits from the protection of the aforementioned law established in the previous regime (Milošević Micić, 2013).

Condition: The monument is currently in a relatively good condition, although graffiti appears to be a persistent problem at the site (Fig 2.9.11, 2.9.12). No particular conservation or restoration activities have ever been carried out upon it, with the exception of regular maintenance. Some minor urbanization projects have been implemented around the monument-park, including the construction of a new wooden bridge across the river at the location where a pre-existing bridge was removed prior to the construction of the memorial (Fig 2.9.13), and a 1950s fountain designed by the renowned sculptor Petar Palavičini, and also removed to facilitate the construction of the park, has been re-installed at its edge (Milošević Micić, 2013).

As well as these, a monument has been added to commemorate local victims of the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s, and the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999, in line with the original intent for the park to act as a memorial to local people who died in all wars from the past and future upon its inception (**Fig 2.9.14**).

Visitor activities: As the monument park is located very close to the town's centre, it is an obvious attraction for visitors, and is apparently included in the itinerary of guided tours within the town (Milošević Micić, 2013). However, there is no mention of the monument on the official websites of the town and municipality, local museums, nor the municipality's touristic organization. Neither is the monument mentioned in the 67-page EU-funded touristic brochure released by the town in English, German and Serbian as part of the EXCHANGE 3 Programme³⁰, although a photograph of it features prominently on page 14. This is especially surprising, considering one of the town's primary hotels, Hotel Timok, is located at the edge of the park.

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³⁰ http://www3.exchange.org.rs/en/page/1/About+Exchange+3+Programme



Fig 2.9.1 Monument-park as viewed from the main entrance



Fig 2.9.2 Location of the monument-park, 1932



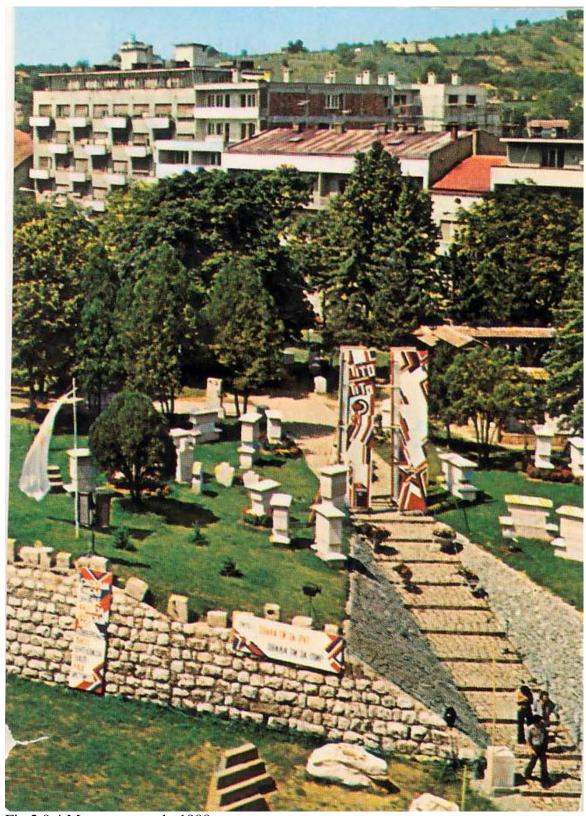


Fig 2.9.4 Monument-park, 1988



Fig 2.9.5 Stele, Knjaževac



Fig 2.9.6 Stele, Knjaževac



Fig 2.9.7 Stele, Knjaževac



Fig 2.9.8 Arrangement of *krajputaši* in the monument-park



Fig 2.9.9 Reconstructed memorial for 1876-78 war

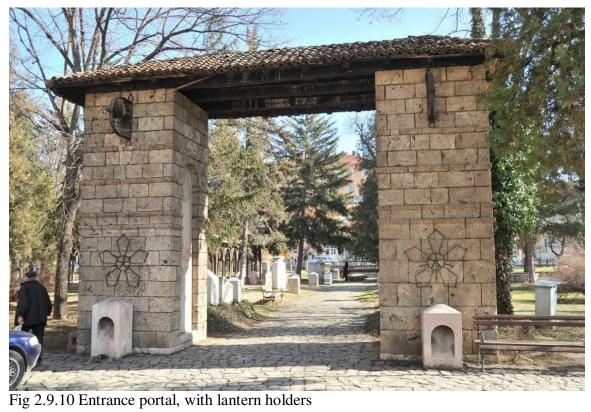




Fig 2.9.11 Stele with graffiti and evidence of cleaned graffiti above



Fig 2.9.12 Stele with graffiti



Fig 2.9.13 Reconstructed wooden bridge



Fig 2.9.14 *Krajputaši*, with one commemorating locals killed in the Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s located on the left

Name: Memorial Shrine of Serbian and Albanian Partisans in the war of 1941-45 (AKA: Shrine to the Revolution; Monument on Partisans' Hill; Monument to fallen Partisans; Monument to fallen Miners)

Location: Kosovska Mitrovica, Kosovo

Year: 1973

Description: The monument is erected on a hill overlooking the town (**Fig 2.10.1**). The process of constructing a monument was initiated in 1959, on the day of celebration of the 20th anniversary of a strike by miners from the Trepča/Trepça industrial complex. The monument commemorates local fighters of both Serbian and Albanian ethnicities who formed the Miners' Troop (*Rudarska ceta*) which fought in the locality against the occupying forces and collaborators (Damjanović, 2013).

The monument is a 19-metre tall gateway, or trilithon, consisting of three elements; two tapered columns and a trough-like structure acting as the lintel (**Fig 2.10.2**). Like at Jasenovac, the monument is made of concrete. The sides of the 'trough' were originally coated in copper, with small decorative elements added to each of its four corners (**Fig 2.10.3**). The columns are said to represent the two peoples of Kosovo, and the lintel their unity through antifascist struggle.

Around the monument, a number of bronze memorial plaques were set, as well as two symbolic cenotaphs; one in front of, and one behind, the monument. The cenotaph in front of the monument consists of four white limestone tombstones inscribed with the names of fallen Albanian and Serbian Partisan fighters (**Fig 2.10.4**). The inscriptions are in Albanian and Serbian, and both employ the Latin alphabet. The cenotaph to the rear is identical, except for the fact that it is devoid of inscriptions (**Fig 2.10.5**). Both of these cenotaphs appear to predate Bogdanović's construction. Evidence survives of other parts of the monument ensemble which have been removed or destroyed (**Fig 2.10.6**).

Protection status: The site is currently not protected by any legislation created by the Republic of Serbia nor the Republic of Kosovo. The administration of Northern Kosovo, an independently-functioning region within which the monument lies, primarily deals with the protection of Serbian Orthodox (ecclesiastical) heritage. This is administered by the Office for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage in Kosovo and Metohija³¹, which is headquartered in the town of Leposavić.

Condition: Although the monument is not currently maintained, there is little intentional damage to it, with the exception of graffiti of both nationalist and personal natures (**Fig 2.10.7**).

Much of the copper coating covering the trough part has been lost: due to its height, this has not been fully removed, and seems to have been stolen by opportunist thieves, or possibly damaged by lightning strikes or other forces of nature. At least one of the four corner-pieces has also been lost. The lower portions of the two columns are covered in

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³¹ http://www.kim.gov.rs/sr/o-kancelariji/kulturna-bastina

graffiti. The monument has not been repaired or conserved at any point since its opening (Damjanović, 2013).

The paths leading up to and surrounding the monument are relatively well maintained, as they are part of a network of recreational trails on the outskirts of the town (Pavličić, 2013).

Visitor activities: The site is a popular place for people to walk, due to its scenic location above the town (Pavličić, 2013), and it is regularly visited by locals from the Serbmajority part of the city.

No commemoration events are held at the monument (Damjanović, 2013). Due to the highly polarised politics of Kosovo, especially within Kosovska Mitrovica (a 'divided city'³²) itself, the legacy of Socialist Yugoslavia is shunned by both ethnic groups. The general feeling towards the monument is one of 'indifference', although at the same time, many people recognise that the monument is a symbol of the town, although those who admire it do so primarily for its aesthetic – as opposed to its ideological – values (Damjanović, 2013). Others see the monument as a symbol of personal happiness and a generally high quality of life in the period of the 1970s to mid 1980s (Damjanović, 2013).



Fig 2.10.1: Old photograph showing the monument overlooking the town

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³² http://www.forcedmigration.org/podcasts-videos-photos/video/mitrovica



Fig 2.10.2: The monument, 2010



Fig 2.10.3: Jamb, showing remaining copper detail (left)



Fig 2.10.4: Engraved cenotaph



Fig 2.10.5: Blank cenotaph



Fig 2.10.6: Remains of removed element



Fig 2.10.7: Graffiti on the monument

Name: Adonis's Altar (AKA: Adonis)

Location: Labin, Croatia

Year: 1974

Description: This work is not a memorial, but instead a sculpture, created in 1973-74 as part of the Mediterranean Sculpture Symposium in Labin. Cut from Istrian limestone, sourced from the Vinkuran quarry near Pula, the monument consists of geometric shapes, primarily frusta and cuboids incised with abstract floral patterns, and is set on a stone pedestal reminiscent of the region's vernacular architectural style (Fig 2.11.1). The carved patterns were designed to be representative of the four seasons, and sketches of similar designs had been made by Bogdanović during 1973³³. The sculpture can be divided into three vertical portions, representative of the three stages in Adonis's year; a third spent with Aphrodite, a third with Persephone, and a third in which he is free (but determines to spend with Aphrodite).

The monument is located next to the main entrance of Dubrova Sculpture Park (**Fig 2.11.2**). The park itself is set within 40 hectares of open landscape upon the Istrian karsts, approximately four kilometres from the coast (Gortan, 2012). Rocks protrude through the thin soils, and vie with grasses and shrubs, and the border of the park is dotted with deciduous trees.

Trumić (1988) attributes the inspiration for the monument to Shelley's eulogistic poem Adonaïs: An Elegy on the Death of John Keats, Author of Endymion, Hyperion, etc. (1821), particularly the lines "He lives, he wakes- 'tis death is dead, not he. / Mourn not for Adonaïs. ..." (361-362). However, components ('Atlas figures') similar in style to this piece are evident in sketches for Bogdanović's works at Bela Crkva³⁴ and Vlasotince³⁵ – the latter of which he worked on simultaneous to this project – and it is probable that Bogdanović was attempting to incorporate allusions to the rebirth mythology within his works at this period.

This work should not be interpreted as a memorial per se, but instead as a work in which Bogdanović was able to realize attributes and forms with which he had been experimenting in his designs, but found unsuitable to incorporate within their schemas. The monument's form was eventually replicated in a memorial form at Klis, on the Dalmatian coast, in *Guardian of Freedom*- Bogdanović's final Yugoslav monument.

Protection status: The Dubrova Sculpture Park and its contents are enlisted on the 'Register of Cultural Goods of Croatia' as part of inscription Z-607.

Condition: The monument is situated within Dubrova Sculpture Park, Labin. It has been assessed by the Park's conservator, who has determined that the sculptures exhibited within the park should be allowed to age naturally (Gortan, 2012).

Achleitner et al., 2009, p.122
 Achleitner et al., 2009, p.108

³⁵ Achleitner et al., 2009, p.122

Visitor activities: The Park is open to the public, and receives approximately 60 people per day, a large proportion of who are local visitors who visit the park on a regular basis. In the summer, this number increases, due to the town's hosting of the Mediterranean Sculpture Symposium (held annually since 1969) this number increases significantly, and busloads of tourists visit on a daily basis. The planned Open Air Museum of Contemporary Sculpture – to be sited within the Park – will host a visitor and interpretation centre. This will be built in the coming years, and will not only maintain more accurate visitor statistics, but will provide informative literature on all 79 sculptures within the park.



Fig 2.11.1 Adonis' Altar, Labin



Fig 2.11.2 Map showing location of sculpture (red) within Dubrova Sculpture Park

Name: Partisans' Necropolis (AKA: Soldiers' Cemetery; Monument of Freedom; the

Monument on Isarot)

Location: Štip, Macedonia

Year: 1974

Description: This necropolis was constructed on a hillside below the ruins of the medieval Isar fortress³⁶, and commemorates over 100 soldiers (Trumić, 1988). Due to the terrain, the monument consists of two granite-paved plateaus. The lower of these contains a ceremonial gateway made of a white stone (Fig 2.12.1), with three monoliths carved with a scalloped pattern. The two larger ones form the portal, with one smaller one to the right. On the left hand side the topography of the hill, with a small bush planted, act as a natural equivalent to this smaller block. Directly after entering through the gate, a steep stairway, approximately 20 metres long, ascends the hillside and joins the two plateaus, with the upper one being nine metres higher than the lower. This stairway is lined with ornamental cenotaphs commemorating individual resistance fighters (Fig 2.12.2). The stones are ornamental in nature, and topped with rounded shapes, similar to the ionic tops of the 'dancers' at Prilep. Another stairway, which predates the monument, also leads up the hill through a small wooded area directly to the fortress.

At the top of the stairway lies the second plateau. Here, twelve 2.2 metre high monoliths, their design reminiscent of those at Knjaževac, are positioned against the bank of the hill, overlooking the town (Fig 2.12.3). These are topped with wing-like 'Cretan horns' (Achleitner et al., 2009), a pattern seen on the features at Kruševac, and indented with circular recesses, described by Achleitner et al. as solar emblems, reflecting the jewellery-making tradition in the region, but by Trumić as stylized poppy heads. Each of these monoliths is made of a white stone, and situated on a trapezoidal granite pedestal (Fig 2.12.4).

Protection status: The site is not protected by Macedonia's Cultural Heritage Protection Law, and is under the curatorship of Štip's municipal administration.

Condition: There is evidence of graffiti on the lower entrance portal, and the lower two cenotaphs lining the stairway are broken (Fig 2.12.5). Some of the monoliths on the upper plateau also bear evidence of graffiti. It appears that attempts have been made in the past to remove much of the graffiti from the stones. The gardens, plateaus and pathways appear well-maintained. The lower plateau also now serves as a car park. Judging from the damage to the two cenotaphs (horizontal breaks at the height at which they are attached to the steps), this could easily have been caused by cars reversing.

Visitor activities: The monument is often passed through by people visiting Isar fortress. Small events are held on national holidays on 11th October (Revolution Day), 23rd October (Day of the Macedonian Revolutionary Struggle), and Štip's Liberation Day, on 8th November.

³⁶ http://travel2macedonia.com.mk/tourist-attraction/isar-fortress-stip



Fig 2.12.1 Entrance portal, with stairway and stele to right





Fig 2.12.3 Upper plateau with monoliths



Fig 2.12.4 Monoliths, showing decoration and pedestals



Fig 2.12.5 Graffiti on portal and damaged lower stele

Name: Necropolis for the victims of Fascism

Location: Novi Travnik, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Year: 1975

Description: This monument, consisting of twelve megalithic compositions chiselled from Bihacite stone within a complex of paths and steps, sits atop the hill of Čamića Brdo in the municipality of Novi Travnik, just off the main road between Vitez and Travnik. The monument acts as a cenotaph to around 700 victims executed at this site during the Second World War (Komac & Guillén, 2011). The site occupied a 2 square kilometer patch of land. Nowadays, the area of the monument consists of a small patch of land, perhaps less than 100 square metres, and a small flight of steps approximately 40 metres long. These steps are no longer maintained, and besides them a pathway for tractors has been developed, utilizing a bridge and small flagstoned area which would have once been a part of the memorial complex (**Fig 2.13.1**).

The twelve megaliths have been described variously as 'stone dragon sentinels' (Trumić, 1988), 'paired snakes' (Achleitner et al., 2009), 'heads of soldiers' (Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2012), and "large stones engraved with strange primitive symbols that recall those of the Bogomils" (Komac & Guillén, 2011). They are placed on stone plinths, and set in two irregular arcs, in pairs, with the distance between each pair measuring approximately 2-3 metres. The approximate dimensions of each megalith are 2-4 metres in height, 1.4m wide and 0.75m deep. The plinths upon which they stand are 80 cm high, 140 cm wide and 140 cm deep (Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2012; Achleitner et al., 2009).

At the foot of the stairway leading up to the site is a stone bearing the following inscription:

На смруцама између
Буковице и Виленице
***** злочинци
године 1941
звјерски су
побили око 700
недужних и беспомоћних
грађана с подручја
средње Босне

Amongst the spruces between
Bukovice and Vilenice
******* criminals
In the year 1941
Horrifically
Killed around 700
Innocent and defenceless

Citizens from the region Of Central Bosnia

One word has been intentionally erased from the sign (**Fig 2.13.2**). This word almost definitely referred to Ustaše forces, although whether it was removed as an act of wartime vandalism or post-war revisionism (or reconciliation) is unknown.

A major feature of the sculptures at this site is their penetrating eyes. Komac & Guillén (2011) attribute their mournful appearance to influences within Bogdanović's personal life: it is while creating this monument that his mother died, which had a deep effect on the architect. It can certainly be argued that the eerie quality imbued in this monument is somewhat unique within Bogdanović's opus.

Protection status: National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2012 (Cultural Landscape category)

Condition: The area around Novi Travnik saw some of the heaviest fighting of the war. As well as landmines, leading to neglect of the area, parts of the originally-designated commemorative area have been turned over for agricultural use, and a clearance cairn has been created at the summit of the site's stairway (Fig 2.13.4). Although the form of the monument has survived, and its pathways can be easily rehabilitated, one megalith is badly damaged, being overturned and broken (Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2011). Upon a site visit (April 2013) it could be seen that, beside the overturned and broken megalith, a further one appears to be almost completely absent. Several metres away, an unusual large stone (Fig 2.13.5) proved to be a part of this missing megalith; one can assume it was dynamited during the war. To the best of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments's knowledge (2012) "Nothing is known of any investigative or conservation-restoration works on the memorial since it was first erected".

Komac & Guillén present their own (and, by implication, Bogdanović's) views on the conservation of this monument:

"Bogdanović liked it even better like that: a ruin is the sweetest death for architecture. ... Now they [the sculptures] lie wounded or dead, half smothered by the vegetation that in a few years' time may engulf them altogether. The bushes could be prevented from growing further but the figures should not be repaired."

(2011)

The monument is considerably more bullet-scarred along its eastern façade, indicative of the positions of front lines during the recent war (**Figs 2.13.7**, **2.13.8**), and minor evidence of graffiti is visible on a number of the sculptures (**Fig 2.13.9**).

Visitor activities: Čamića Brdo is still heavily mined in parts from the recent war, and it is not advisable for tourists to attempt to visit the site without a local guide. In their Decision (2012) to designate the Necropolis of the Victims of Fascism as a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Commission to Preserve National

Monuments stipulate that they will "determine the technical requirements and secure the funds for preparing and setting up signboards with basic details of the monument and the Decision to proclaim the property a National Monument", although no timeframe for the implementation of these measures is mentioned in the document. A ceremonial wreath laying is undertaken at the monument by a token delegation of 3-5 people from SABNOR every 9th May, although it has been several years since a fuller commemorative event has been held at the site (Kalbic, 2013).



Fig 2.13.1 Original entrance and stairway, with farmers' track alongside





Fig 2.13.3 Monument viewed from West



Fig 2.13.4 Clearance cairn at the top of the stairway



Fig 2.13.5 Large piece of stone from missing sculpture, which would have stood next to the sculpture in the background



Fig 2.13.6 Overturned and broken sculpture



Fig 2.13.7 Wartime damage to one of the sculptures

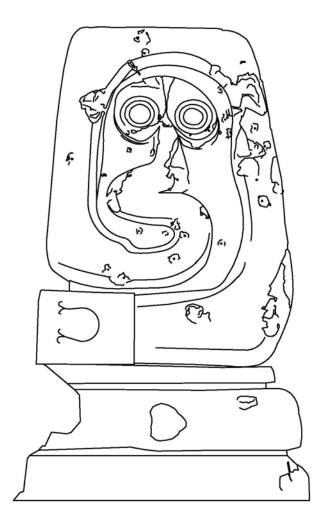


Fig 2.13.8 Details of damage from bullet & shell impacts



Fig 2.13.9 Detail of bullet impacts and graffiti

Name: Monument to the Fallen 1941-45 (AKA: Monument to the Start of the Revolutionary Struggle; Monument to the Fallen Soldiers of the Revolution)

Location: Vlasotince, Serbia

Year: 1975

Description: The monument was opened as part of the 31st anniversary celebrations of the liberation of the city on 8th October 1944. It is part of a larger memorial complex dedicated to fallen soldiers from a number of wars (Golubović, 2013).

Positioned on a hill above the Vlasina river within the town, the entire site covers less than 1 hectare (Achleitner et al., 2009). The site was chosen by Bogdanović to be both central and unseen (**Fig 2.14.2**); not as a prominent landmark (Valčić, 2013). As at nearby Leskovac, Bogdanović employs an amphitheatre, with three rows of 'seats' made roughly worked granite blocks, derived from an outcrop lying approximately 25 kilometres to the south. The amphitheatre is surrounded by large granite boulders, with abstract floral designs carved into them (**Figs 2.14.1**, **2.14.5**). The work was undertaken by stonemasons from Temska, a small village in Pirot Municipality in South-Eastern Serbia (Valčić, 2013). At the edge of the amphitheatre, again like at Leskovac, is the focal feature of the site. This is a twelve metre tall structure, called the 'Guardian of the Revolution', claimed to be a reduced form of a telamon or atlantid (Achleitner et al., 2009). The structure is clad in stone, in regular rows at the sides and where delineating decorative aspects, but with irregular-shaped stones covering the sides of the column that face the amphitheatre and the town.

Upon a stone boulder is chiselled a stanza of a poem by the Yugoslav-Romanian poet Vasko Popa:

Звезда нас је наша над живела и спалићу сваког пали кућу мистрија заиграј тамо где је наше срце стало винова лозо продужи песму наших дамара ако се зажелите наших образа помилујте у подне овај камен

Our star has survived us
And I will burn every incinerator
Friends, dance where our heart has stopped
Vine, prolong the song of our beats
If you ever desired our cheeks
Caress this stone at noon

Protection status: The monument is protected at local level by the Municipality of Vlasotince (Golubović, 2013).

Condition: The monument is regularly maintained and cleaned by the municipal services. No restoration work has ever been carried out upon it (Valčić, 2013). Graffiti is a major problem at the site, and is present upon almost every stone (Golubović, 2013), and covers the pylon to a height of approximately 2 metres (**Fig 2.14.4**).

Visitor activities: The monument is promoted by the town's touristic organization, and is a popular picnic place for people visiting the nearby lake (Valčić, 2013). Furthermore, commemorative activities are held on Victory Day (9th May), Soldiers' Day (4th July), Uprising Day (7th July) and the Day of the Liberation of Vlasotince (10th October). On these events, wreaths are laid, and a memorial service is held (Valčić, 2013). In recent years, the memorial complex has also been used as a practice area for a local climbing group. Adjacent to the complex is a forest trail, which is popular for walks amongst the townspeople (Golubović, 2013).

As at the monument in Mostar, the use of the site as a congregation place for drug users and teenage drinkers is perceived as a large problem by much of the population of the town (Golubović, 2013), and much litter, especially drinks containers, is left at the site by these groups (**Fig 2.14.5**).



Fig 2.14.1 The monument & amphitheatre



Fig 2.14.2 View of the monument from the town



Fig 2.14.3 Approach to the monument



Fig 2.14.4 Pylon, showing graffiti



Fig 2.14.5 Amphitheatre with litter

Name: Monument to Freedom (AKA: "Jasikovac"; Monument on Jasikovac Hill)

Location: Berane (formerly Ivangrad), Montenegro

Year: 1977

Description: The memorial is located on Jasikovac hill overlooking the town, on the site of a minor Ottoman hill fortification (Achleitner et al., 2009). Bogdanović modified this mound, creating a plateau of approximately 40x60 metres, with a slightly raised earthen embankment. On this plateau lies the monument itself, consisting of a spiral pathway leading to a paved area upon which lies an 18-metre high conical sculpture, clad in sandstone and surrounded by forty cuboidal blocks made of dark Herzegovinian gabbro, quarried from the town of Jablanica (Trumić, 1988) and decorated using a carved sgraffito technique (**Fig 2.15.1**, **2.15.2**). The monument complex is entered through a sunken arched gateway made of recycled bricks, and gives the impression of passing under a footbridge through a river (**Fig 2.15.3**).

The images on the gabbro blocks alternate with memorial texts commemorating battles and other significant events in the locality (**Fig 2.15.4**, **2.15.5**). The designs are unusually intricate for Bogdanović's work – although his later monument in Čačak bears a similar decorative level – and are supposed to derive imagery from the history of the local Vasojević clan (Achleitner et al., 2009), and also to depict elements of the Montenegrin national costume. Themes include weaponry (muskets, cutlasses and pistols) (**Fig 2.15.7**), dress elements (hats and embroidery) and jewellery decorations (bracelets, torcs and earrings) and musical instruments (**Fig 2.15.6**).

2.15.8). The lower five segments are lightly decorated with a double-spiral motif and a scalloped half-sphere, recurring motifs in traditional costume and jewellery dating back to medieval (and possibly earlier) times. The segments are separated by white limestone bands and a raised rib of the red sandstone. The uppermost segment is clad in metal (possibly a copper alloy), which has vertical ribbing similar to that seen on the roofs of spires and minarets in the region (**Fig 2.15.9**).

Protection status: The monument is currently not protected by any law. In 2010, the Republic of Montenegro passed the Protection of Cultural Property Act, but currently this law has not been fully implemented, and no new sites are offered protection by the law (Lutovac, 2013).

Condition: The monument is in good condition, and is well maintained by the municipality. Although a number of the gabbro blocks are covered by graffiti (**Fig 2.15.10**), these seem to be isolated occurrences, and the site does not appear to be subjected to continuous episodes of vandalism.

In March 2008, the Municipality of Berane, through the *Agency for the Construction and Development of Berane*, issued a public tender (03/08) for the undertaking of the revitalization of the memorial complex, to the value of €10,800. However, no bids were placed, and the tender was withdrawn in early May 2008.

Visitor activities: The municipality promotes the monument as one aspect of the wooded area on Jasikovac hill, which is a popular destination for families and walkers from the area. A running track and nature trail were developed in October 2007 in this woodland. These were heavily damaged by bad weather during January 2013, and are currently being rehabilitated.³⁷ The monument is mentioned on the municipality's website as one of its main 'cultural heritage' attractions.³⁸

Commemorative events, including the laying of wreaths, are undertaken at the monument every 21st July. This is designated '*Dan opštine Berane*' (Day of the Municipality of Berane).



Fig 2.15.1 Plateau with conical centerpiece surrounded by gabbro blocks

http://www.berane.me/index.php?IDSP=288&jezik=lat

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³⁷ http://www.berane.me/index.php?IDSP=762&jezik=lat



Fig 2.15.2 Approach to the monument



Fig 2.15.3 Entrance portal, viewed from inside embanked enclosure



Fig 2.15.4 Gabbro blocks



Fig 2.15.5 Gabbro blocks encircling plateau



Fig 2.15.6 Musical instrument carved into gabbro block



Fig 2.15.7 Musket engraved into gabbro block



Fig 2.15.8 Conical centrepiece



Fig 2.15.9 Decoration on conical centrepiece



Fig 2.15.10 Gabbro block with inscription and graffiti

Name: Dudik Memorial Park

Location: Vukovar, Croatia

Year: 1980

Description: Bogdanović was commissioned to design this memorial park by Vukovar's town council and the local veterans' association in 1978. It is built on the location of an execution site used during the Second World War, where nine mass graves were discovered by the State Commission for establishing the Crimes of the Occupying Forces and their Supporters (*Zemaljska komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača*), resulting from a series of mass executions by Ustasa forces of civilians and resistance members between July 1941 and February 1943. It is claimed that 455 people were executed here³⁹.

The monument is located within a mulberry grove on the southeastern outskirts of the city, on a patch of land measuring slightly less than 1 hectare. It consists of five 18-metre tall cones (**Fig 2.16.2**) - the bottom halves of which are covered in hand-cut diorite blocks imported from Bosnia and the upper consisting of a wooden frame clad in copper sheeting – and a number (27 in total) of symbolic boats (*šajke*, a type of barge used for goods transport along the Danube River, upon which the town lies) also made of Bosnian diorite scattered throughout the clearing (**Fig 2.16.4**). The positioning of the boats was determined *in situ*; Bogdanović used two classes of local schoolchildren to determine the potential positioning and orientation of these features (Komac & Guillén, 2011). Also throughout the site are numerous 'stone birds' (akin in shape to those found at Mostar) of granite, bearing inscriptions (**Fig 2.16.1**) such as:

"Putniče, koji si u budućnost krenuo, zastani i na ovom izvorištu napij se bistrinom vode, lepotom slobode, ljubavlju onih koji za nju dadoše živote"

"Traveller, who is going into the future, stop and at this spring get drunk on the clear water, the beauty of freedom, and the love of those who gave their lives for it"

The masons who worked on the site were from Pirot, and had worked alongside Bogdanović on his monuments since the construction of the memorial park in Knjazevac. The coppersmiths were local people, who had experience of similar work on the roofs of local Catholic churches (Komac & Guillén, 2011).

Bogdanović won the inaugural Piranesi Award for Architecture for the design of this memorial in 1989⁴⁰.

Protection status: Enlisted on the 'Register of Cultural Goods of Croatia' (Z-4187)

³⁹ http://www.gk-srbije-vukovar.hr/memspomenici.html

⁴⁰ http://www.pida.si/history_winners.htm

Condition: The monument was badly damaged during the 1991-1995 Croatian 'Homeland War', with all five cones suffering damage to their upper portions; one is almost totally lost, one has lost nearly all of its copper cladding, and the other three bear evidence of shell and bullet impacts, with varying amounts of damage to the wooden framework and copper coating (Fig 2.16.3). A number of diorite blocks forming the bases of the cones have been damaged or lost. The boats are generally in good condition, although a number do bear bullet and shrapnel scars. Furthermore, a replica of an old Pannonian well casing that had been located at the entrance to the memorial park was destroyed (Achleitner et al., 2009). The entrance, and much of the Monument-Park itself, is heavily overgrown (Komac & Guillén, 2011).

Visitor activities: Since 2010, an Anti-Fascist Struggle Day has been reincorporated into the city of Vukovar's calendar of public events. Small commemorations are held at the monument park on both that day and 10th May (the anniversary of the liberation of the city). Neither of these attracts crowds larger than 50-100 people (Baillie-Warren, 2013). Besides these, there are occasional walkers and individuals who visit the park, but it is not included on touristic itineraries of Vukovar; a city which was the scene of some of the most intense fighting during the Croatian War of Independence.



Fig 2.16.1 Inscription on a 'Stone Bird'

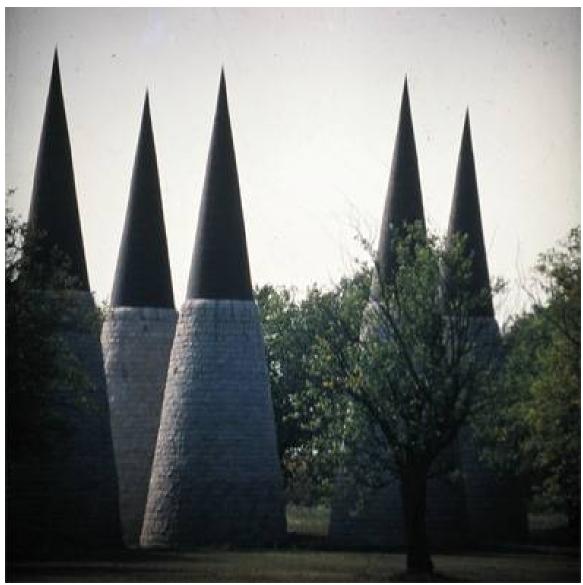


Fig 2.16.2 The monument in its pre-war condition



Fig 2.16.3 The monument today

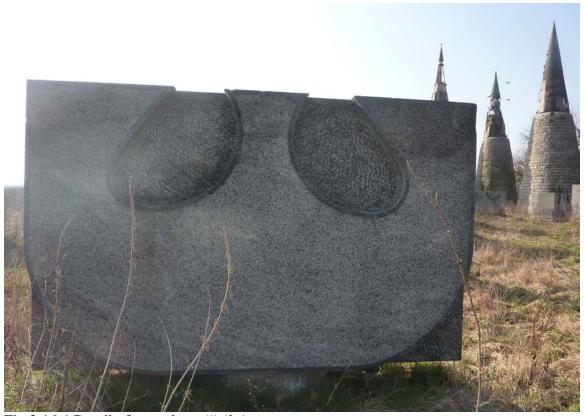


Fig 2.16.4 Detail of stone boat (*šajka*)

Name: Monument Park/Mausoleum of Struggle and Victory

Location: Čačak, Serbia

Year: 1980

Description: The monument occupies an area of 36Ha on the side of a hill above the town within the gently-sloping foothills of Jelica mountain, and was commissioned on 10th October 1976, in commemoration of 4,650 soldiers from the Čačak front and other victims of fascism who perished from 1941-45.

The park, which lies approximately 150 metres off one of Čačak's main arterial roads, is accessed by a steep footpath. Upon entering the site, the visitor encounters a four-metre tall pyramidal tumulus dedicated to those killed, which is actually an ossuary, or collective burial, designed to evoke the prehistoric tradition in the region (Rajić & Timotijević, 2008). Near to this, on a square platform stands a dolmen-like tempietto, cut from Herzegovinian gabbro, and vaguely reminiscent in profile of the temple-like structure atop the hill (**Fig 2.17.2**).

On a granite monolith accompanying the monument complex is chiselled a quote by Josip Broz Tito:

Величина једног народа цијени се по томе како се он држи у данима најтежих искушења.

(The greatness of a nation is measured by how it struggles through the most difficult of days.)

The focal point of the memorial park is a tripartite 'megaron', twelve metres tall, and decorated with 620 wild beasts derived from numerous world mythologies (Rajić & Timotijević, 2008, p.252) (Fig 2.17.3). Bogdanović initially intended these animals to act as acroteria (Achleitner et al., 2009), but later altered the design to have them 'attacking' the monument (Fig 2.17.4), giving the impression that they are crawling over it. The megaron is also made from a Herzegovinian gabbro, known as *Jablanički granit*. The ascent to this mausoleum involves climbing large steps, hewn from single blocks of stone. A footpath runs through the megaron, and into wooded parkland on either side of the monument-park (Fig 2.17.5). The wild beasts or monsters are also carved into the steps and footpath, but in lower concentrations, which increase as one approaches the megaron.

Protection status: The monument remains unprotected by law as immovable cultural heritage. A registration and protection procedure for obtaining the status of immovable cultural heritage had been initiated at some point in the past, but was then abandoned (Bogojević, 2013).

Condition: The monument and surrounding parkland are in relatively good condition (Bogojević, 2013). The area is used primarily as a park for walking, picnics, etc., as the

surrounding landscape is very attractive. The municipal services of Čačak are responsible for the cleaning and maintenance of the area.

Neither conservation nor restoration treatments have ever been undertaken on the monument. The conservator of the Laboratory for Conservation and Restoration of the National Museum in Čačak is unaware of any authorities or persons undertaking any monitoring of the condition of the monument (Bogojević, 2013). The site is affected to some extent by graffiti – in particular the tempietto and megaron.

Visitor activities: The monument is not promoted by Čačak as a tourist attraction, and no tourist brochures or information are publicly available, although it is described in the 2008 monograph *Cultural Treasures of Čačak: From Prehistory to the Modern Day*. Furthermore, in spite of mentioning a number of other war memorials in the locality, the website of the municipality's Tourism Association fails to mention the monument ⁴¹. In the 1980s, visits to the monument were included in the curriculum of schools from the town and surrounding area, but this has since ceased (Bogojević, 2013).



Fig 2.17.1 View of the monument, with small footbridge to the left

 $^{^{41}\} http://www.turizamcacak.org.rs/index.php?option=com_content\&view=article\&id=107\&Itemid=114$

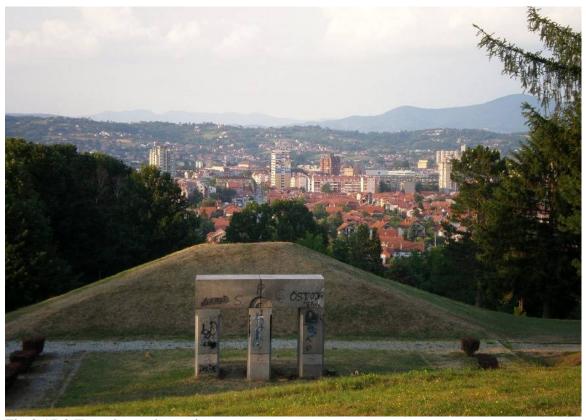


Fig 2.17.2 Tumulus and tempietto



Fig 2.17.3 12-metre tall 'megaron'



Fig 2.17.4 Detail of some of the abstract monsters carved in the interior of the megaron

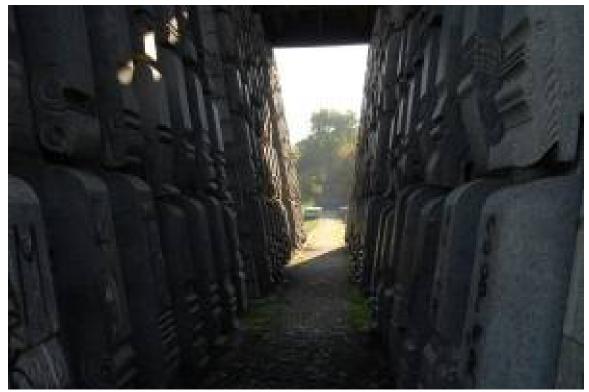


Fig 2.17.5 Interior of megaron, with graffiti, and wooded parkland in the distance

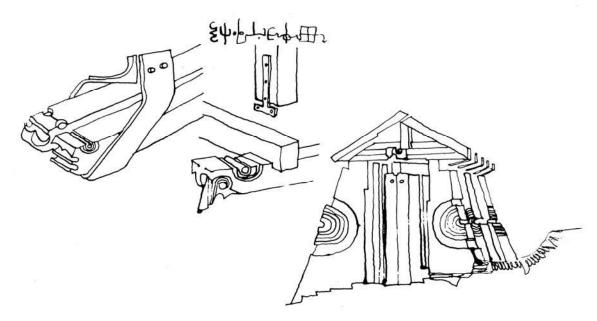


Fig 2.17.6 Some of Bogdanović's sketches for proposals for the site

Name: Tomb of Dušan Petrović-Šane

Location: Aranđelovac, Serbia

Year: 1980

Description: Dušan Petrović-Šane was a pre-WWII trade union activist and Partisan fighter. As a pre-war Communist Party member, he recruited combatants for the resistance movement throughout the war, and rose to the rank of Major-General in the Reserves. After the war, as a party member, he continued his trade union activities, occupying a number of posts. He was made a National Hero of Yugoslavia in 1952, and died in Belgrade in 1977.

The monument is located at the top of a promontory overlooking farmland on the outskirts of Aranđelovac (**Fig 2.18.1**). The location was expressly chosen by Petrović-Šane himself, and mentioned in his will (Lajbenšperger, 2013). The monument was originally located several hundred metres to the south, near to the main road, but has been relocated at some time in the past. In 2002, his wife Vuka was interred next to him.

The site is accessed by a flagstoned pathway (**Fig 2.18.2**, **2.18.3**), which separates off from the main path that provides access to the local cemetery. This pathway leads the visitor directly to two memorial plaques, behind which directly lies the monument (**Fig 2.18.4**). The monument itself consists of a decorative white limestone tombstone set on a plinth, set alongside the two memorial plaques (commemorating Petrović-Šane and his wife), and another plaque (**Fig 2.18.5**) (set at 90 degrees from the two memorial plaques) bearing the inscription:

Човек је створен да се бори да ради да мисли: у томе је сва његова вредност сав његов живот.

Man is created
To fight
To work
To think:
That is
all of his value
all of his life.

The tombstone itself is cuboidal in shape, and simply decorated. It is raised approximately 10 centimetres above the ground on a sandstone plinth (**Fig 2.18.6**). Its lower portion is stepped, and the upper is plainly decorated. The four sides are roughly chiselled, and floral patterns are carved into them, possibly representing poppies (**Fig**

2.18.7). Unusually, this work is signed by Bogdanović – on the upper portion at the side (**Fig 2.18.8**).

Protection status: The monument is not protected by any State, Regional or Municipal body, and no information whatsoever is held about it in the national or regional offices of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments (Lajbenšperger, 2013).

Condition: The monument is in good condition, with no evidence of vandalism. Some small chips are evident, which may be a result of the carving process, the relocation of the tomb, or general weathering, although their concentrations in particular – seemingly regular – parts of the monument would suggest they are the result of transportation using fabric belts, or perhaps chains (**Fig 2.18.9**). The path to the monument does not appear to be extensively maintained, although this contributes to the rural atmosphere of the site.

Visitor activities: There are no signposts to the monument, and it is not well-known amongst members of the local community (Lajbenšperger, 2013). No public commemorative events are held at the monument.



Fig 2.18.1 Location of the monument



Fig 2.18.2 Map showing monument & plaques (red), local cemetery (blue) and access route (yellow)



Fig 2.18.3 Flagstoned pathway



Fig 2.18.4 Monument and plaques



Fig 2.18.5 Commemorative inscription plaque



Fig 2.18.6 Sandstone plinth



Fig 2.18.7 Decoration on the monument



Fig 2.18.8 Bogdanović's signature



Fig 2.18.9 Detail highlighting concentrations of cracks and chips in the monument

Name: Garavice Memorial Park (AKA: Garavica Memorial Park of the victims of Fascist Terror)

Location: Bihać, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Year: 1981

Description: Although this monument was originally commissioned in 1969, and the first schematics – for a far more ambitious plan (Achleitner et al., 2009) – were completed in 1973, it was not erected until 1981. The monument consists of fifteen sculptures arranged on a hill overlooking marshes in which several mass executions were carried out during the Second World War. Between 7,000 and 12,000 victims are believed to have been executed here between June and October 1941.

The monument consists of fifteen near-identical sculptures arranged in two groups (the larger, atop the hill, with thirteen sculptures, and the smaller with two) (**Fig 2.19.2**), and landscaped paths and terraces that follow the contours of the hill (**Fig 2.19.1**). It is one of Bogdanović's less complex works. The use of five-blocked columnar sculptures is reminiscent of his earlier work at Bela Crkva.

Alongside the main entrance, there are two large stone blocks, both chiselled by the craftsmen who created the monument. Upon one is the name of the site, and the other bears an inscription (**Fig 2.19.4**), stating:

Život je jači od smrti Pravda jača od zločina Ljubav od Mržnje

(Life is stronger than death Justice is stronger than crime Love than hatred)

At the edge of the cobbled circular forum in front of the pathway up the hill, there appears to have stood another plaque, but this has been removed at some time in the past(Fig 2.19.5).

Each of the sculptures consists of five Bihacite blocks, decreasing in size toward the top (the base being 290x290x100 cm, second being140x140x120 cm, third being 116x140x70 cm, fourth being 116x140x70 cm, and top being 116x116x110 cm) (**Fig 2.19.6**). The first, third and fourth blocks are a more pronounced rectangular shape while the second and the fifth are nearly cubic. The bottom block acts as a pedestal (**Fig 2.19.7**), and all of the blocks are decorated with geometric shapes (circles, lines, volutes and chevrons). The uppermost block is the most highly decorated, with a saddle-like hollow or indent on one side, and a series of concentric circles on two, which are encircled by a teardrop shape, said to symbolise mourning. The sculptures were originally intended to be made of sandstone, but when this arrived, it was found to be of an inferior quality for sculpting (Achleitner et al., 2009).

A single pathway leads up the hill, and separates into two, with each section culminating at one of the groups of sculptures. The pathway is paved with a combination of concrete and amorphous stone slabs. This is set upon a bed of sand (5-8 cm) and gravel (20 cm) (Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2011).

Below the hill there is also a plaque in Cyrillic script commemorating the victims buried in the mass grave, which predates Bogdanović's memorial (Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2011), having been constructed in 1949. This has been intentionally vandalised, with the Red Star, number of victims (stated as 12,000), mentions of fascism and the date of unveiling having been intentionally chiselled away (**Fig 2.19.8, 2.19.9**).

Protection status: Garavice has been protected as a mass grave since 1950. The site, including Bogdanović's monument, has been inscribed as a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2011 (Cultural Landscape) (Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2011).

Condition: Overall, the monument is in a relatively good condition. The main problems are due to poor maintenance of pathways and grassland (Fig 2.19.10). Almost all of the sculptures bear evidence of graffiti; this is primarily the result of spray paint or ink, but there are some instances of engraving, and one piece appears to have been etched with a corrosive substance (Fig 2.19.11). Several of the sculptures bear minor shrapnel scars, with considerably heavy damage to the uppermost block of one (Fig 2.19.12).

An interpretation panel near the entrance to the monument appears to have been lost or stolen at some point in the past, and parts of the surrounding landscape have been used as a landfill site for construction waste. The Commission to Preserve National Monuments has identified the vulnerability of the two isolated sculptures (**Fig 2.19.3**), due to their proximity to a road and new buildings which have been constructed since the recent war⁴².

Visitor activities: The site lies down a poorly-maintained track, and is not signposted in any way. Although the gate to the site is permanently padlocked, this is only to prevent vehicular access, and pedestrians can walk around. There are no tourist concessioner activities, and no interpretation panels, with the exception of the two stone blocks positioned at the beginning of the pathway to the monuments.

A memorial event is held at the site annually to coincide with the First Liberation of Bihać in 1942. Due to several major anniversaries held in 1943, date of this event was moved. Approximately 50 people attended, primarily delegates of SABNOR from throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as a few local politicians who pledged to allocate resources to maintain and rehabilitate the site (Čoralić, 2013).

⁴² Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2011: "Decision on the Designation of the Cultural Landscape of the Memorial to the Victims of Fascist Terror Garavice as a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina" Elucidation Section II, Paragraph 5

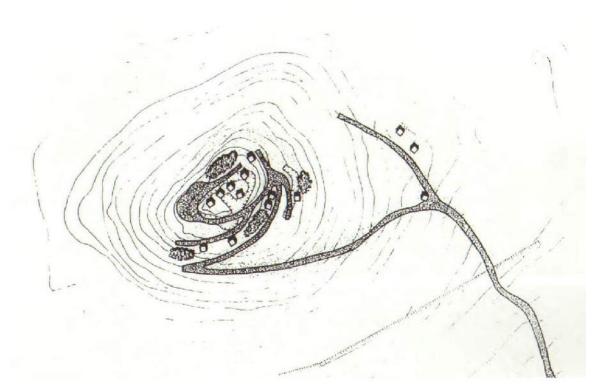


Fig 2.19.1 Plan of site



Fig 2.19.2 The large (left) and small (right) groups of columns



Fig 2.19.3 The small group and encroaching industrial development



Fig 2.19.4 Sign near complex entrance



Fig 2.19.5 Location of removed sign



Fig 2.19.6 Stone column



Fig 2.19.7 Stone columns, with pedestal visible on foreground one



Fig 2.19.8 Original monument plate, pre-war

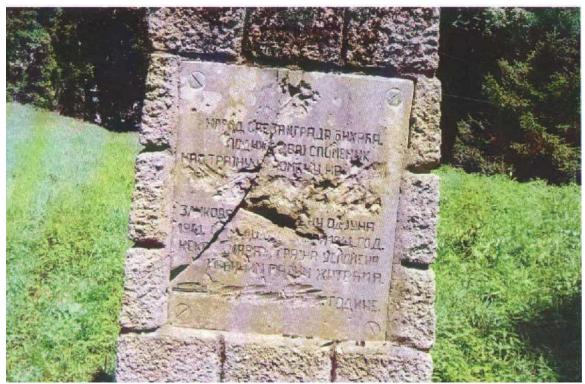


Fig 2.19.9 Original monument plate, current condition



Fig 2.19.10 Overgrown vegetation surrounding stone column



Fig 2.19.11 Column bearing evidence of a bullet hole (upper left), graffiti using ink (centre) and an unknown corrosive material (lower)



Fig 2.19.12 Column with uppermost portion badly damaged by shell impact

Name: Popina Monument-Park (AKA: Mausoleum to the Fallen Insurgents against

Fascism; "The Sniper⁴³")

Location: Trstenik, Serbia

Year: 1981

Description: The monument was a joint commission by the municipalities of Trstenik and Vrnjačka Banja in 1977, and the construction of the 12-hectare memorial park, set within parkland of 106 hectares, was commenced in 1978. It is set on the slopes of two mountains: Crnog Vrha and Goca, to commemorate the first pitched battle between the Partisans and German troops, which was fought in this area on 13th October 1941, and in which 42 Partisans died.

One of the main reasons for constructing the monument was to boost the local economy through infrastructure that would be developed around the attraction, with the monument being promoted as the centerpiece of a country park. However, spiraling costs arising from the use of expensive construction materials meant that the project was never fully realized (Achleitner et al., 2009).

The monument consists of four elements – a stone block chiseled with a commemorative inscription and three monoliths; two cylindrical with a triangular prism in between (**Fig 2.20.1**) – spread over a distance of approximately 90-100 metres. The commemoration block bears the inscription (**Fig 2.20.2**):

Овде је 13. Октобра 1941 године бранећи границе Ужичке републике Врњачко Трстенички НОП одред водио жестоку борбу с петоструко надмоћнијим немачким колонама

Here on 13th October 1941 defending the borders of the Republic of Užice the Vrnjačka-Trstenik NOP squad led a fierce battle with the five-fold superior German columns

The three decorative blocks are all different. The first (lying closest to the commemorative stone) is cylindrical, consisting of three 'rings' set upon a pedestal. Between each of the rings are two small flights of stairs, of five steps each, cut into the pedestal (**Fig 2.20.3**). The second feature is an eighteen-metre tall triangular prism (**Fig 2.20.4**), and the third a simple cylinder. All three of these elements are pierced by perfect hollow cylinders, and the three items (along with the inscribed block) are perfectly aligned on the same axis (**Fig 2.20.5**), so the tubular holes can be seen straight through. The holes in the two cylinder features have a diameter of approximately three metres, and in the triangular prism, it has a diameter of approximately six metres.

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⁴³ http://www.pionirovglasnik.com/print.php?content=557

The monument is clad in Herzegovinian gabbro, sourced from Jablanica, Bosnia and Herzegovina⁴⁴. This material is also used to pave and line the pathways around the monument (Achleitner et al., 2009).

Protection status: The site is neither protected at the national level, nor regional level by the *Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Kraljevo* (Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Kraljevo).

Condition: Overall, the monument is in a very good condition. The grass around the monument is cut regularly, although the paths through the monument assemblage are not well maintained, and require some minor restoration. The monumental elements are in good condition, with no evidence of severe vandalism or degradation. Some minor examples of graffiti are evident upon the monument (**Fig 2.20.2**), but due to the nature of the stone, this is easily removed, and, judging from photographic evidence, some graffiti removal was undertaken between April 2008 and October 2010. It is probable that the isolated location of the monument is a contributing factor to its good condition.

Visitor activities: Due to its isolated location, the monument receives few visitors. It is no longer promoted as a tourist attraction by either Trstenik or Vrnjačka Banja municipality, although wreaths are occasionally still laid at the site (**Fig 2.20.6**).

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⁴⁴ http://granit-jablanica.ba/?page_id=5&lang=en



Fig 2.20.1 View through the monument assemblage



Fig 2.20.2 Commemorative block, with graffiti evident on left hand side



Fig 2.20.3 Three-'ringed' feature



Fig 2.20.4 Triangular prism



Fig 2.20.5 Alignment of the three architectural features



Fig 2.20.6 Commemorative wreaths laid at the site

Name: Guardian of Freedom (AKA: Monument to the Fallen in the Battle of Klis 1943;

Monument to the Uskoks)

Location: Klis, Croatia

Year: 1987

Description: This monument was heavily influenced by Bogdanović's 1974 sculpture *Adonis's Altar*, and was opened in November 1987 (**Fig 2.21.1**). Chiselled from Dalmatian limestone with a greenish hue, the monument consisted of a composition of geometric components; a series of stacked frusta, with lines chiselled to imply a blockbuilt construction, topped by a hollow cylinder indented with hemispheres on its flat surfaces, in a style heavily reminiscent of components of the 'cosmic wheel' in the wall of the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar.

In his PhD thesis (1988) Aleksandr Trumić implied the monument commemorated 'Uskoku' (an incorrect pluralisation of the word *Uskok*), Dalmatian soldiers in the employ of the Habsburg Empire primarily between the 16th and 18th centuries. However, the monument was, in fact, dedicated to 199 soldiers – the majority of whom were youths from Split – who perished in the battle of Klis in 1943 and other Partisan actions, and were commemorated with small stone plaques placed beneath the monument in Klis's fortress, known as 'stone petals' (**Fig 2.21.5**). The fortress itself is located on a plateau at the foot of the karstic Mosor mountain range.

Protection status: This monument is not protected by any legislation. The monument was included in a register of monuments of the People's Liberation War under the 'B' category (Important for National History), following the 1986 guidelines, which were the final ones issued before Croatia's independence (SABH, 2002).

Condition: After the monument suffered vandalism at the hands of unidentified culprits during the first part of 1995, a proposal for the removal of the monument, supported by Klis's mayor, was mooted. The monument was "dismantled and removed from its location" in January 1996 (Achleitner et al., 2009). Ostensibly, the Split-Dalmatia County Commission for Monuments claimed that the move was largely due to the monument being out-of-kilter with the architectural homogeneity of the Klis fortress ensemble. However, the removal can be seen as part of a wave beginning in 1990 which, by that time, had seen the taking down or destruction of over 3,000 monuments commemorating World War 2; over 500 in Dalmatia alone. In the days preceding the monument's removal, the stone memorial plaques commemorating each fallen soldier were relocated to the local cemetery (Transitions Online, 1996). In the publication Rušenje Antifašističkih Spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990-2000 (Destruction of Antifascist Monuments in Croatia, 1990-2000) (2002) it is claimed (p.226) that after the Decision to remove the monument was made by the Municipality, the monument was actually broken up to be reused as construction material. This claim is accompanied by a photograph of the demolished monument (Fig 2.21.2).

Visitor activities: The plaques dedicated to the fallen soldiers have been relocated to the local cemetery (**Fig 2.21.3**, **2.21.4**). They are accompanied by a small new monument, which also acts as a vault, containing approximately 80 caskets (Foster, 2013), presumably containing the remains of some of the deceased commemorated at the site. The castle itself is a popular visitor attraction with visitors to Split and the surrounding area who stay for longer periods of time (more than 5 days). There is no mention of the monument within any literature related to the castle.



Fig 2.21.1 Bogdanovic at the opening of the monument, November 1987



Fig 2.21.2 The monument after being 'dismantled'



Fig 2.21.3 The 'stone petals' in their new location in the local cemetery



Fig 2.21.4 Detail of the stone petals



Name: Arapova Dolina Monument

Location: Leskovac, Serbia

Year: 1971

Description: This monument, opened on 11th December 1973, was designed by Bogdanović simultaneous to his Monument Park in Leskovac. The two sites are approximately 1.2 kilometres apart, and cannot be considered a single complex, despite both being located on Hisar, a large hill overlooking the town.

This monument commemorates several hundred victims (predominantly from the town's Roma community) shot at this location as reprisals for the killing of three German officers during the Second World War, as a result of the instructions of Field Marshall Wilhelm Keitel dated 16th September 1941, that in occupied Eastern Europe, 50 to 100 communists or civilians were to be executed in retaliation for each German soldier killed⁴⁵. The town's officials, responsible for the selection of citizens for execution, told the Germans to round up people from the Arapova Dolina district of the town, an almost exclusively Roma neighbourhood. These people were rounded up and shot, a total of 310; 293 Roma, 6 Jews and 11 Serbs⁴⁶.

The monument itself consists of 15 blocks, hewn from the local greenstone (zelenica), and stacked on top of one another, with six elongated blocks (being approximately 1 metre tall and 40cm wide) forming the base, five roughly cuboidal blocks forming the next layer, and four atop (**Fig 2.22.1**). A commemorative garden and processional pathway formed the original approach to the monument. However, the garden is now largely overgrown (although there is evidence that it is partially maintained by the local community through the type of plants evident), and the pathway – which originally approached the monument straight-on – has been re-diverted to pass three private commemorative headstones (two of which have been vandalised) erected at the side of the site (**Fig 2.22.3**). The approach to the monument is also used to store recycled building materials (**Fig 2.22.2**) Two flagpoles accompany the monument. When commemorative activities are held at the site, they play host to the flags of the Republic of Serbia and the Romani People.

Two stones to the left of the monument bear inscriptions (Fig 2.22.4, 2.22.5). These state:

овде су немачки фашисти стрељали 500 родољуба, међу којима 320 Рома 11. децембра 1941. године

Here German fascists shot 500 patriots, including 320 Roma, on 11th December, 1941

And

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⁴⁵ http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/judkeite.asp

⁴⁶ http://www.juznevesti.com/Drushtvo/Komemoracija-o-stradanju-Roma-u-II-svetskom-ratu.sr.html

Прелети нас птицо и блистај у пламену. Ти си уснула сан у нашем камену.

Bird, fly over and sparkle in the flames. You're dreaming a dream in our stone.

Protection status: The site was placed under Municipal protection (the lowest level of protection afforded to monuments in Serbia) in 1994. Despite evidence of minor tending of the memorial garden, little appears to be done to maintain the grassland surrounding the monument.

Condition: Overall, the site is in good condition. The three private memorials or cenotaphs are unobtrusive to the overall interpretation of the site. With minor maintenance efforts, and the restoration of the original approach to the monument through the memorial garden, the monument could be easily rehabilitated.

Visitor activities: The site plays host to occasional memorial events, predominantly on either the anniversary of the mass execution (December 11th) or the Day of Remembrance for the Roma victims of the Second World War (December 16th). However, a local official has said that the event that this site commemorates is considered a 'great shame' of the town, and it is unlikely that the municipality would ever promote this memorial site to outsiders.



Fig 2.22.1 The monument at Arapova Dolina



Fig 2.22.2 Approach to the monument, showing building materials and original ceremonial pathway through the memorial garden



Fig 2.22.3 Three private headstones to the side of the monument



Fig 2.22.4 Commemorative plaque



Fig 2.22.5 Commemorative plaque

Name: Tomb of Džemal and Razija Bijedić

Location: Sarajevo, Bosnia & Herzegovina

Year: 1978

Description: This grave is set near to the entrance of Sarajevo's largest municipal cemetery, Bare.

Džemal Bijedić was Prime Minister of Yugoslavia from 30th July 1971 until his death in a plane crash on 18th January 1977. His wife Razija also perished in the crash (Kamberović, 2012). The plot in which they are buried is the focal point of a heavily-landscaped section of Bare graveyard. The area is oval in shape, and surrounded with small well-tended poplar trees, and approximately 50 metres long by 30 metres wide, with graves aligned around the edges and generally facing in a north-easterly direction. It appears as if the original intention was for this area to hold the graves of high-ranking politicians and members of the military, judging from the earliest graves within the plot (with the Bijedićs' being the first). The graves themselves are of black granite, with simple brass lettering, much the same as others in the first rows of graves (**Fig 2.23.1**).

Protection status: The grave and accompanying landscaping are unprotected by any culturo-historic laws at municipal, cantonal or national levels.

Condition: During the 1992-95 war, the city of Sarajevo was under siege, and few of the city's cemeteries offered protection from sniper fire. The poplars growing here, combined with the proximity of the plot to the main entrance of the graveyard, made it one of the relatively safer places to bury people. The alignment of graves dug according to both Christian and Muslim traditions in this sector affected its intended layout and landscaping significantly. Several of the graves in this area have suffered impacts from shelling and sniper fire, although the tomb of Džemal and Razija Bijedić itself remained undamaged.

Visitor activities: The grave is a private family grave, and no commemoration event is organised there, although flowers are often left by mourners, especially in the days surrounding the anniversary of the couple's deaths (Bijedić, 2013).

NOTE: In a discussion with the grandson of Džemal and Razija Bijedić on 17th April 2013, it was discovered that this monument was not designed by Bogdanović as claimed by Achleitner et al. (2009, p165), but was a standard grave created for dignitaries by Yugoslav authorities, and was intended to serve as the focal point of the 'Dignitaries' Plot' in Bare cemetery. After further discussion, it emerged that Bogdanović had offered to create a memorial to Džemal Bijedić atop Mount Ivan, the symbolic meeting point of the regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although both the surviving family and the Yugoslav authorities initially expressed interest in the idea, the project was never realised, and was soon forgotten about (Bijedić, 2013).



Fig 2.23.1 Tomb of Džemal and Razija Bijedić

Chapter 3: The Partisans' Cemetery in Context

This chapter explains the Partisans' Cemetery's surroundings from the macro- to the micro-scale. First, the wider area, including transport access to the city from other cities within the region, and surrounding municipalities is discussed. Second, the city itself, along with its main economic and touristic features, is outlined. Following this, the neighbourhood of the Partisans' Cemetery is discussed on two scales; one in relation to the wider neighbourhood, or 'catchment area' within the city, and the second directly in relation to its immediate surroundings. These descriptions are intended to give the reader further insight into numerous factors affecting the conservation of the monument, which will be discussed in later chapters.

3.1 Mostar and its Surroundings

The town of Mostar is located in the south of Bosnia and Herzegovina, upon the River Neretva, and approximately 40 kilometres from the Croatian border and 100 kilometres from the capital city, Sarajevo. It is the unofficial capital and largest city of the Herzegovina region.

Mostar Municipality shares boundaries with ten other municipalities within the country; seven within the Federation, and three within the Republika Srpska. One of those within the Republika Srpska (Istočni Mostar, or Eastern Mostar) was carved from the pre-War municipality of Mostar as part of the Dayton Agreement which brought peace to the country. The ten municipalities are as follows:

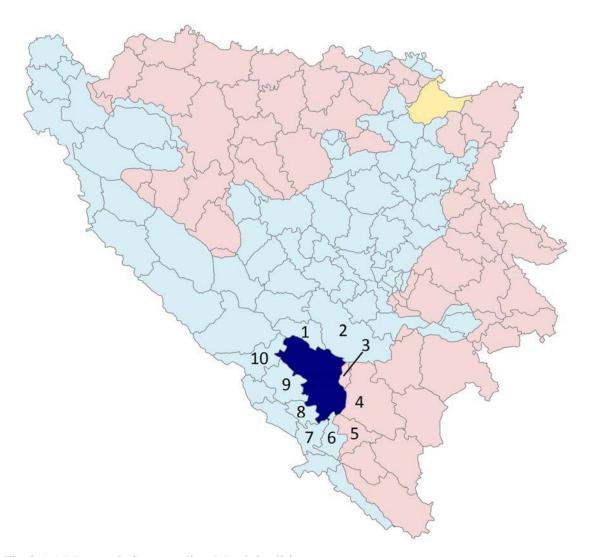


Fig 3.1.1 Mostar & Surrounding Municipalities

Number	Name	Entity	Population (Est.)
1	Jablanica	Federation	13,030 (2005)
2	Konjic	Federation	39,000 (2005)
3	Istočni Mostar	RS	600 (2007)
4	Nevesinje	RS	18,000 (2006)
5	Berkovići	RS	3,510 (1991)
6	Stolac	Federation	11,941 (2006)
7	Čapljina	Federation	27,882 (1991)
8	Čitluk	Federation	14,709 (1991)
9	Široki Brijeg	Federation	26,437 (1991)
10	Posušje	Federation	16,659 (1991)

Today, Mostar itself has an estimated population of over 105,000 (2003 est.¹), making it the fifth largest city in the country. It is a popular tourist destination, particularly with day trippers on organized coach tours from the holiday towns along the Adriatic coast and from cruise ships touring the Mediterranean.

Tourists are largely attracted to the town due to its famous Old Bridge (Stari Most), dating from 1566, which was destroyed by HVO forces in November 1993, receiving much media attention throughout the world. The bridge was reconstructed between 2001 and 2004, and inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2005. Other famous sites include a number of mosques and the Old Town district. As of July 2012, the municipality of Mostar contains 40 National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 6% of the country's total, 20 of which lie within the confines of the city itself.

Access

Access to the city has been identified as one of its major hindrances in touristic development. The city's airport currently has no commercial flights (although charter services to Italy are scheduled to run throughout Summer 2013²), and its train station is only served by two trains per day out-of-season (Sarajevo − Ploče, Ploče − Sarajevo), which has been increased temporarily to four for the Summer 2013 season (an additional daily line from Sarajevo to the border town of Čapljina has been added). A return ticket costs €8.5 from Sarajevo, as of April 2013, and discounts are available for students and pensioners, both international and domestic.

Although the city is well-served by buses, the poor quality of roads, added to the fact that there is only one single-lane highway through the Neretva valley to both the Croatian border to the south and Sarajevo to the north, make journeys on public transport an unfavourable and unreliable option for many tourists. Currently, bus journeys to the following major cities within the region are timetabled³ to take the following average times:

¹ http://www.visitmostar.net/Mostar.htm. Unofficial sources claimed 118,000 in March 2013.

² http://www.mostar-airport.ba/novosti_vise.php?id_novost=16

³ http://www.autobusni-kolodvor.com/kolodvor.aspx?k=187&d=070

City	Distance (km)	Time (hrs)
Belgrade (Sr)	450	11:00
Dubrovnik (Cro)	140	03:00
Sarajevo (BiH)	130	03:00
Split (Cro)	190	03:30
Zagreb (Cro)	520	10:00

Prices vary between companies, but generally range from €7 to €10.5 for a one-way ticket to and from Sarajevo as of April 2013, with a surcharge of €0.5 per item of luggage. Student and pensioner discounts are available to domestic travelers only.

Added to these hindrances is the fact that, when entering Bosnia and Herzegovina with a private vehicle (and, in many instances, rental vehicles from neighbouring countries), the driver is required to purchase additional insurance, called a 'Green Card'⁴, which provides them with third party insurance inside the country, which many external insurers will not provide. This is a time-consuming process, and the service is not available at all borders. Furthermore, few people working with the Green Card have knowledge of non-local languages.

⁴ http://www.bzkbih.ba/en/stream.php?kat=96

3.2 The City of Mostar

A Brief History of the City

The City of Mostar itself has a controversial and well-documented modern history. During the Ottoman period, the town was considered a strategic crossing point of the River Neretva and a busy, but small, trading town had developed around the Old Bridge, which was erected in 1566. After the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia & Herzegovina, Mostar was heavily developed as an administrative centre, with a local tram system, a grammar school, and many administrative buildings and grand residences built up on the right bank of the river (with the highest concentrations along the streets today known as Bulevar and Nikole Šubića Zrinjskog), and a number of grand hotels (including the famous Hotel Neretva) being constructed. During the First World War, the town hosted injured British and Commonwealth servicemen, as well as medics and stretcherbearers, including the renowned artist Stanley Spencer, who painted a number of pictures while based in the town (Fig 3.2.1). During the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Mostar was first the capital of its own Oblast (one of 33 which comprised the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) from 1922-29. After this date, it was incorporated into the Primorska Banate (one of nine which made up the country), with its capital in Split. From 1939 until the Nazi-led invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941, it was incorporated into the significantly larger Banate of Croatia.

After the Second World War, the town was reincorporated into Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a major town within the newly-industrializing country, Mostar experienced huge development – both cultural and industrial. A major new hotel was built, *Hotel Ruža*, designed by Zlatko Ugljen in 1978 (**Fig 3.2.2**), and parkland was redeveloped, and the Partisans' Cemetery was created. Mostar was one of the most visited towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, alongside Jajce. Two major industries were also located in Mostar; the aeronautical firm SOKO and the aluminium industry *Aluminij*⁵, as well as major distribution and processing centres for wine and tobacco. The employment capacity of these firms led to a huge swell in Mostar's population, with rapid urbanization occurring. One side effect of this urbanization was a mixing of ethno-nationalistically distinct people from rural communities, resulting in the highest proportion of 'mixed marriages' in SFR Yugoslavia, a point which was proudly pointed to by the state as part of its national agenda of 'Brotherhood and Unity' By the time of the 1991 census, inter-ethnic marriages in Mostar accounted for one third of all marriages within the city.

When war broke out in Former Yugoslavia – initially in Slovenia and then Croatia – Croatian nationalists took advantage of the situation, with the Croatian Democratic Union declaring the unrecognized state of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosna, with Mostar intended as its capital, on 18th November, 1991. However, the first armed conflict in Mostar was an attack by the JNA after Bosnia & Herzegovina's declaration of independence. The first bombardment was on 3rd April, 1992. The town was besieged for 3 months, until a combined force of the Army of Bosnia & Herzegovina (ARBiH) and Croatian Defence Council (HVO) repelled the attackers and lifted the siege. However, tensions between the two allies flared, and Mostar's town centre became a front line for

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⁵ http://www.aluminij.ba/en/history-aluminij

⁶ http://pescanik.net/2012/03/mixed-marriages/

⁷ http://www.conflictincities.org/Mostar.html

the following three years between ARBiH and the HVO. The front line, which ran along the streets of Aleksa Šantića and Bulevar, parallel to the river Neretva on its right bank, eventually became the line of division when the Dayton Accords (1995) and subsequent Rome Statute (1996) instilled the town's status as a Divided City.

The Dayton Agreement, which divided the country into two self-governed entities (as well as the autonomous Brčko District) shaved a part of the pre-war Municipality of Mostar off, which joined the Republika Srpska. The rest of the municipality fell into the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mostar itself was further sub-divided into six sub-districts (three Bosniak and three Croat) and a central 'neutral' zone, centred on the area of the former front line, which housed many of the administrative buildings. Each sub-district was given a certain level of autonomy in decision-making, and many citizens referred to them as 'municipalities' in their own right. However, spiralling inefficiency and general impasse on any decision making led to the failure of this system, and the municipality was reincorporated as a single entity in 2004, although the six former sub-districts have been retained as electoral units. The process of implementation of all aspects of the municipality's reincorporation is still ongoing.

Besides the political troubles affecting Mostar and its development, a further issue is that of establishing the city's population, and, subsequently, its demographics. No census has been held in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1991, and, although plans were in place for one to be held in April 2013⁸, delays and stumbling-blocks have led to the postponement of this until October 2013 at the earliest.

Famous sites

As mentioned in 3.1, the town itself contains 20 sites inscribed as National Monuments. These are as follows:

Monument Name Clock tower in Mostar	Category Historic Building	Type Clock Tower	Era Ottoman	Date Inscribed 2004
Hadzi Ali-Bey Lafo Mosque and harem	Architectural Ensemble	Mosque	Ottoman	2003
Jewish cemetery in Mostar	Burial Ground Ensemble	Cemetery	1890 onwards	2004
Karađoz-beg mosque Koski Mehmed-paša mosque and madrasa	Architectural Ensemble Architectural Ensemble	Mosque Mosque	Ottoman Ottoman	2004
Metropolitan's residence (Bishop palace)	Architectural Ensemble	Residence	Austro- Hungarian	2004
The historic urban area of Mostar	Historic Urban Area	Urban Core	Various	2004
Nesuh-aga Vučijaković mosque	Architectural Ensemble	Mosque	Ottoman	2004
Nezir-aga mosque Old bridge with towers Old Orthodox burial	Architectural Ensemble Architectural Ensemble	Mosque Bridge	Ottoman Ottoman	2004 2004
ground at Bjelušine Old Orthodox burial	Burial Ground Ensemble Burial Ground Ensemble	Cemetery Cemetery	Various Various	2003 2003

⁸ http://setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2012/02/23/feature-01

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ground in Pašinovac				
Old Orthodox Church of				
the Birth of the Virgin	Architectural Ensemble	Church	Ottoman	2003
Orthodox Cathedral of the	Remains of Architectural		Austro-	
Holy Trinity in Mostar	Ensemble	Church	Hungarian	2004
Partisans' Memorial				
Cemetery in Mostar	Architectural Ensemble	Cemetery	Socialist	2006
Residential complex of				
Biščević-Lakšić	Architectural Ensemble	Residence	Ottoman	2004
Residential complex of				
the Muslibegović family	Architectural Ensemble	Residence	Ottoman	2004
Roznamedži Ibrahim-				
efendija mosque	Architectural Ensemble	Mosque	Ottoman	2004
Sevri hajji Hasan mosque	Architectural Ensemble	Mosque	Ottoman	2004
			Austro-	
Synagogue	Historic Building	Synagogue	Hungarian	2003

A number of these, alongside the Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar World Heritage Site (which includes both parts of the Historic Urban Area of Mostar and Old Bridge National Monuments) are popular tourist attractions, with much effort made to promote them to tourists. Alongside these, *Muzej Herzegovine* (Museum of Herzegovina Mostar) has three departments in the city; a department of literature, the Old Bridge Museum (located in the ancillary buildings of the Old Bridge) and the Birthplace of Džemal Bijedić.

The map of the town freely available to tourists, and displayed on a number of noticeboards throughout the city lists twenty-six sites of interest. These include four outside of the confines of the town. The Partisans' Cemetery is denoted on this map as Number 17. However, this map is significantly outdated, and does not denote the Mepas Mall, which opened in early 2012, although it does have the nearby Orca Shopping Centre marked, which opened in 2009. The most noticeable anachronism of this map, however, is the naming of certain streets, such as Nikole Šubića Zrinjskog as Lenjinovo Šetalište, a name which was changed at some point before November 2010.

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⁹ http://infoneretva-mostar.blogspot.com/2010/11/do-kada-ce-lenjinovo-setaliste-biti.html

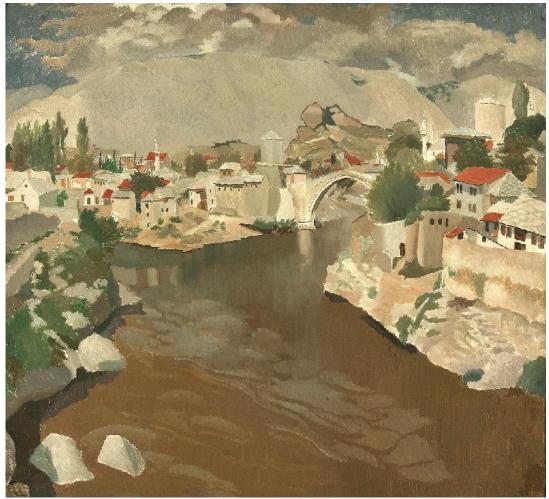


Fig 3.2.1 Stanley Spencer – *River Nareta* [sic], Mostar, Bosnia (1922)



Fig 3.2.2 *Hotel Ruža* (1978)

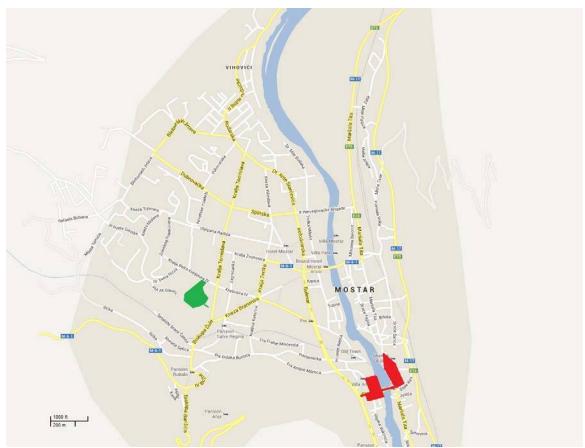


Fig 3.2.3 Mostar, showing Old Town (Red) & Partisans' Cemetery (Green)

3.3 The District around the Partisans' Cemetery

The Partisans' Cemetery lies in the part of the city denoted as West Mostar after the recent war. This part of the city is almost exclusively inhabited by people who selfidentify as Croats. The majority of people live in Socialist-era or modern tower blocks, a large number of which have been created to accommodate the influx of Croat refugees, displaced persons, or those who have moved to the town in search of work due to the continual economic decline within the country. The Cemetery lies between the districts of Balinovac (from which it is separated by the rocky outcrop Biskupova Glavica, upon which it lies) and Strelčevina, where the primary campus of the Croatian-language University of Mostar (Sveučilište u Mostaru) is located, across the road from the Partisans' Cemetery to the north. Many of the stores on the streets surrounding the Partisans' Cemetery are single-storey constructions, with the majority being fast food outlets, cafes and bars, and betting shops (Fig 3.3.2, 3.3.3). Other relatively common businesses nearby include florists (to serve the numerous graveyards found in the area) and photocopy shops (to serve the university campus). To the west of the Partisans' Cemetery, there is a decrease in the concentration of commercial units, as a residential area begins. The street connecting the district of Strelčevina to Rondo (a major landmark within the former West Mostar) – an extension of K.P. Krešmira IV – is relatively affluent, with High Street stores and brands typical to a moderately large town in Western Europe (**Fig 3.3.4**).

Due to its proximity to both the University campus and several Middle and High Schools (seven, of varying sizes, are within a 10 minute walk of the monument), the Partisans' Cemetery is a popular gathering place for youths. Another factor in this may be the relatively secluded nature of the site, and also the fact it is not under constant surveillance, unlike other nearby areas of greenery such as the Spanish Square and the parkland behind Nikole Šubića Zrinjskog. Another group of people for whom it is a convenient gathering place is supporters of the football club Zrinjski, whose stadium is located nearby. Due to past violence involving their supporters, many of the bars in the vicinity are heavily monitored by police on matchdays, and the Partisans' Cemetery seemingly currently provides an alternate meeting place for certain factions of their support, as is evidenced by graffiti throughout the monument.

The districts of the town that the Partisans' Cemetery borders were almost exclusively developed during the Socialist Federal Republic era. There are a number of post-war buildings throughout the area, also, but these have not dramatically altered the urban plan of the area imposed during the Socialist period.

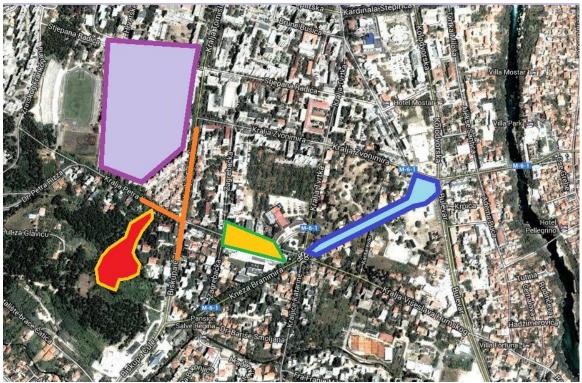


Fig 3.3.1 Diagram to show primary features of the locality: Red – Partisans' Cemetery; Purple – University Campus; Orange – Single-storied Shops; Yellow – High Street Retail Area; Blue – Nikole Šubića Zrinjskog walkway between Rondo & Spanish Square



Fig 3.3.2: Typical single-storied shops in the neighbourhood



Fig 3.3.3: Burger bar with amusement arcade next door



Fig 3.3.4: The more affluent K.P. Krešmira IV street

3.4 The Immediate Locality

The Partisans' Cemetery has two access points; the first of these being the Main Entrance, and the second being a small, unsignposted entrance up a turning off the main road (Kralja Tomislava).

The Main Entrance, located on K.P. Krešmira IV, although not directly signposted (unlike many of Bogdanović's monuments, which bear an inscriptive block at their entrance), is easily distinguishable, due to the unique cobbles and the visibility of the more decorative elements of the monument in the distance when viewed from there. The road itself is single lane, narrow and overcrowded, and congestion at the junction with Kralja Tomislava is common, making turning into the small and awkwardly-positioned parking spaces available beside the monument's Main Entrance extremely difficult in many instances. There is no designated crossing point near to the monument, which also hinders pedestrian visitors, who would naturally approach the monument while walking on the opposite side of the road, due to this being the most commonsensical approach from Mostar's Old Town. Directly opposite the monument's Main Entrance are a number of bars and cafes, which are obviously intended to cater for local clientele and students (Fig 3.4.1). However, on the junction with Kralja Tomislava there are a relatively large number of cafes that are well maintained with large outdoor terraces, which would be enticing to tourists.

The secondary entrance (at the approximate location of a part of the originally-conceived ornamental gardens) is totally unsignposted. Its approach is through a wooded area, with a well-maintained dirt track. It would appear that this area is maintained by the local forestry institute, as part of the government-controlled woodland industry. There is plentiful evidence of regular tree-felling activity along this path. The path divides at three points; one being the main dirt track, which continues, another being a smaller path, which leads to an outdoor activity centre popular with elderly men primarily for playing *boćanje*, a game similar to the French *boules*, and the final being an unmaintained path, seemingly leading to an abandoned electric sub-station. This final path is, in fact, the path leading to the Partisan Cemetery's secondary entrance, and what appears to be a sub-station is actually a pumphouse, presumably to regulate the flow of water drained from Biskupova Glavica into the city's municipal drainage, or to supply water to the monument's reservoir, located atop Biskupova Glavica¹⁰. The poor condition of this pathway is of some surprise, as the entranceway was only re-created (by the addition of fencing and a gateway) in 2009.

A number of households neighbouring the Partisans' Cemetery – most obviously those bordering the Pond Area – appear to have taken advantage of the post-war confusion and inefficient administration to extend their gardens by several metres, thus absorbing part of the monument's land into their own. In most other sections of the site, the fencing put up in 2009 has created an artificial border between the monument and the landscape, which was not part of Bogdanović's original vision for the site. It must be noted that this border does not correspond to the Protection Zone established by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments in 2006, with its main purpose being not to delineate the

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¹⁰ http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=50&lang=4&action=view&id=2778 Elucidation, Para II Section 1.

property, but to provide a certain amount of protection from would-be vandals, fly-tippers and thieves.



Fig 3.4.1 Small local bars directly opposite the Partisans' Cemetery

Chapter 4: The Partisans' Cemetery through History

This chapter will document the history of the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar, from the beginning of the initiative to create a large memorial in the town to its current use and condition. The chapter is divided into six sections, documenting the initiative and design process, construction of the monument, the opening ceremony, its use during SFR Yugoslavia, its treatment during the 1992-95 conflict and its postwar situation.

4.1 Designing the Monument

The idea to create a large monument in or near to Mostar was first raised by then-member of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina's government, and Mostar native, Džemal Bijedić in 1959 (Mutevelić 1980, p40). A committee was formed, which contacted Bogdanović with the idea of creating a monument on Bijeli Brijeg, the limestone hill upon which Biskupova Glavica is the most prominent outcrop. In 1960, Bogdanović created a number of schemes and drawings for the monument (Fig 4.1.1). Preparatory work began in October 1960, under a company formed to be responsible for the parkland and forestry within the area of the monument. Official construction work began on 1st December 1960, with the beginning of the shaping of Biskupova Glavica. It has been argued (Milićević-Nikolić, 1966) that Bogdanović intended this monument – along with Jasenovac which was designed simultaneously (1960-65) – was intended to complete a 'set' of five elemental monuments; fire in Sremska Mitrovica, air in Prilep, earth in Kruševac, stone in Mostar and water in Jasenovac. This could arguably be further extended to encompass his later works at Leskovac (forest/wood), Bela Crkva (mankind) and Knjaževac (the town). The original project documentation for the construction of the Partisans' Memorial Cemetery was destroyed during the 1992-95 war, both in the archives of Mostar Municipality and Bogdanović himself, much of whose archives were destroyed when he went into exile.

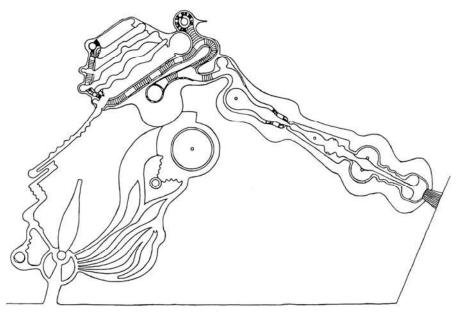


Fig 4.1.1: Original design for the Partisans' Cemetery

4.2 Creation of the Monument

Choosing the Location

The site was chosen to overlook the town, and to meld Bogdanović's 'city-within-the-city' into the landscape. Due to the rugged terrain surrounding Mostar, parts of the hill upon which the monument is situated (Biskupova Glavica) had to be dynamited.

The construction of the monument took several years, and huge amounts of material were used in its construction: over 12,000 carved limestone pieces (Achleitner et al., 2009), as well as rubble from the city's devastation during the Second World War, which was used as an infill. To provide a façade for parts not covered by decorative elements, traditional stone roof tiles, officially recycled from houses destroyed or damaged during the Second World War but perhaps also taken from houses destroyed to accommodate the rapid urbanisation of the city, were used. Mutelević (1980, p41) states that the construction included 11,000 cubic meters of earth, required the raising of 4,750 cubic metres of embankment, and employed 1,300 cubic metres of concrete. The 12,000 elements mentioned by Achleitner total 1,647 cubic metres, and the roof tiles amounted to 1,193 square metres. The 871 square metres of ceremonial pathway included over 87,000 cobles from the bed of the Neretva as cobbles. The total area of the monument was slightly over 40,000 square metres, with 20,000 being woodland, 15,150 being parkland and the fountain area, and 5,200 being the Commemorative Area and pathways leading to it.

The water system installed to circulate water throughout the monument is, in fact, two pumps coordinated to appear as if the water they are pumping is from a single source. One controls the small fountain and cascade at the top, with the other controlling the lower portion inside the alcove (Achleitner et al., 2009).

Adapting the Design

The final design of the monument differs considerably from the plan published in Olga Milićević-Nikolić's 1966 paper Svedoci Revolucije: Kamen u Mostaru i Voda u Jasenovcu (Witnesses to the Revolution: Stone in Mostar and Water in Jasenovac). This plan shows the monument as having an additional elaborate garden and secondary entrance, as well as two secondary platforms stemming from the Ceremonial Pathway; one next to the Commemorative Area, the other extending from the penultimate bend in the pathway (**Fig 4.2.1**). No documentation survives to explain the reason for these adaptations; it can be safely assumed that they were at least in part due to financial constraints, and also possibly time restrictions.

However, it would appear that plans were also mooted to further expand the monument, or at least to create associated elements, in another way. In a 1980 guidebook to the monument, Ico Mutevelić states "The second phase of the Monument is yet to be realised. This includes the building of a Museum to the Revolution, a covered Square incorporating zenithal [anidolic] lighting, as a finished canvas, which encompasses the whole Partisan Monument in Mostar. The space between this building and the already-constructed monument after the completion of fulfil both phases will act as a unique functional and spatial unit." These plans were never realised, and it is unknown where such a museum would have been located, although one could assume it would be in the area set aside for the ornamental garden in the original plans. A photograph of the

maquette of the museum (designed by the architect Nedim Džudžo) does survive, however (Fig 4.2.2).

Finding the Dead & Reburial

Not only are the 816 named soldiers who are buried in the upper portion of the cemetery commemorated, but also a number of unidentified Partisans, who are buried in the hillock into which the alcove and twin staircases (referred to by Achleitner et al. (2009) as a 'Lion's Gate') are set. These remains were interred between 1962 and 1964, according to Mrs. R (2013), and a memorial ceremony, attended by local dignitaries and citizens of Mostar and the surrounding region, was held. Remains were collected from throughout Herzegovina and identified where possible(**Fig 4.2.3**). Those identified were buried in the upper portion of the site, with information on their name, place and year of birth and place and year of death (if known) carved into one of the 'stone flowers'. Of the 816 buried on the upper terraces, 614 are from the Mostar Battalion of the Partisans¹.

Horticulture

On the slopes of the monument were irregular shaped beds within which Mediterranean evergreen shrubs were planted. These included a mixture of rosemary, lavender, santolina (both grey and green varieties) and Mediterranean sage. All of the plants are hard-wearing and can survive the climatic extremes present in Mostar. A number of the plants bear flowers late in the year, and there remain aspects of greenery all year round. As well as the shrubs, a number of indigenous trees are planted (the most predominant being the black poplar – *Populus nigra*), interspersed with imports such as the cypress and Aleppo pine (**Fig 4.2.4**).

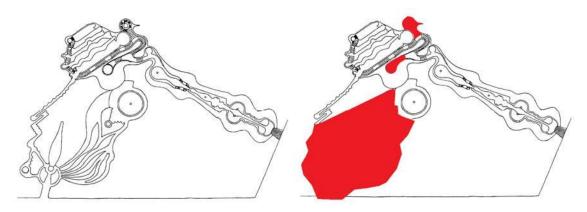


Fig 4.2.1: Plan showing parts of the original design never realised (red)

¹ Sloboda Newspaper, XX1/40, 27th September 1965

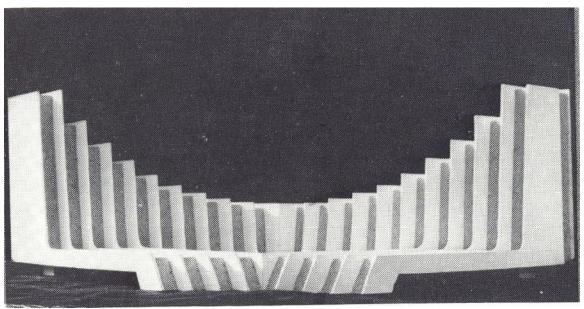


Fig 4.2.2: Maquette of 'Museum to the Revolution'

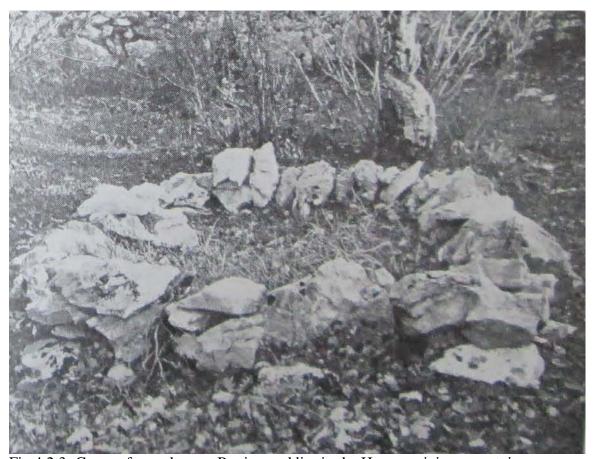


Fig 4.2.3: Grave of an unknown Partisan soldier in the Herzegovinian mountains



Fig 4.2.4: Original horticultural layout of the monument

4.3 Opening

Ceremony & Publicity

The monument was officially opened on 25th September 1965, in the presence of many of the country's top dignitaries, including president Josip Broz Tito. In the run-up to the opening, the monument received much publicity in Mostar's local weekly newspaper, *Sloboda* (**Fig 4.3.1**), with stories about the monument being featured on the front page five times in 1965 prior to its opening, and filling much of the newspaper for the issues of 20th and 27th September and 4th October². The opening ceremony was attended by the majority of Mostar's citizens, and involved a ceremonial procession by dignitaries, followed by the laying of wreaths, and inspection of the monument by Tito and Džemal Bijedić (**Fig 4.3.2, 4.3.3**). After this, individuals were allowed to lay flowers at the graves of fallen family members. A public speech was given by Avdo Humo, a powerful (although later disgraced) Communist politician, and former Partisan fighter.

The perceived success of this monument undoubtedly also boosted the demand for Bogdanović as an architect and designer of memorial works. The opening of the Partisans' Cemetery, at the core of one of SFR Yugoslavia's 'model cities' in conjunction with the Jasenovac memorial the following year propelled Bogdanović and his work into the limelight, and he was soon regarded as one of the most prominent architects within the country.



Fig 4.3.1: Announcement from the front page of *Sloboda* declaring the date of the opening of the Partisans' Cemetery.

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² Sloboda XXI/39, XXI/40 & XXI/41



Fig 4.3.2: Josip Broz Tito (far right) and other dignitaries at the wreath-laying



Fig 4.3.3: Džemal Bijedić inspecting one of the headstones

4.4 The Partisans' Cemetery, 1965-1992

The monument proved hugely popular amongst the citizens of (and visitors to) Mostar. It was utilized as a place to walk and sunbathe (**Fig 4.4.1**), being one of the few green spaces within the city. The lush greenery of the Partisans' Cemetery also made it a popular area of parkland, which provided shade and a more tolerable climate in the summer than the harsh, dusty air of the town and its arid surroundings.

As well as providing an area of landscaped parkland for the local population to use for recreation, the monument's primary purpose was to act as an area of commemoration. Four commemorative events were held annually (see Chapter 2.5), which were attended by up to several thousand people. Besides these events (and individuals' commemorations of friends and relatives) the monument was also used for official ceremonies and events, often involving the military (**Fig 4.4.2**, **4.4.3**), or the Union Pioneers of Yugoslavia (colloquially known as *Pioniri* (**Fig 4.4.5**). Flags and banners were used to decorate the monument for these events (**Fig 4.4.4**), significantly transforming its ethos, and evoking the symbolism of the State.

The monument was also promoted to tourists and visitors. Numerous postcard designs were available with images of the monument, often in combination with those of other tourist attractions, such as some of the older mosques in the Old Town, Stari Most, or the source of the river Buna, in the nearby village of Blagaj. That the Partisans' Cemetery's popularity persisted is evidenced by its inclusion on one of the designs for Mostar's postcard for the 1984 Winter Olympics, held in Sarajevo³ (**Fig 4.4.6**).

³ It would appear many towns within Bosnia and Herzegovina released official postcards to capitalize on the boom in tourism to the country as a result of these Olympic Games, including Jajce, Bihac, Mostar and others.



Fig 4.4.1: Students visiting the monument, 1976

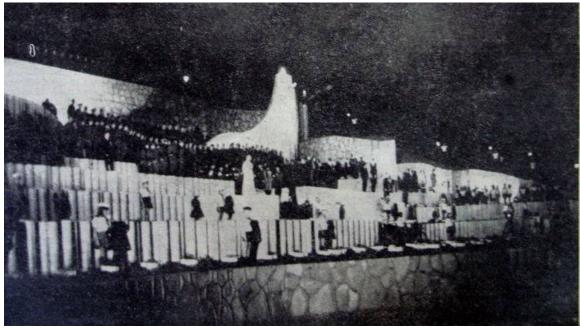


Fig 4.4.2: Partisan veterans' gathering at the Partisans' Cemetery, 1967



Fig 4.4.3: Commemorative event at the Partisans' Cemetery, 1980s

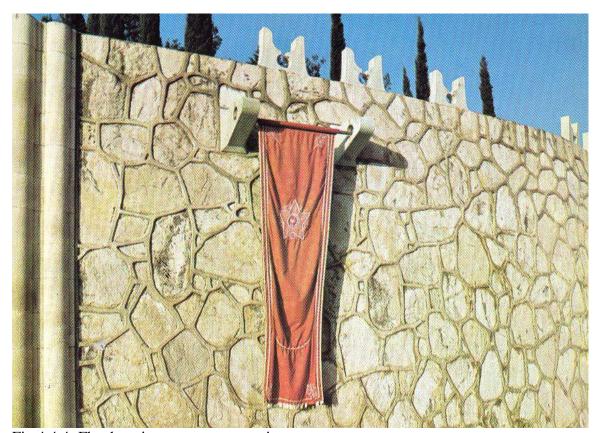


Fig 4.4.4: Flag hanging at commemorative event



Fig 4.4.5: Youth ensemble 'Mostarske Kiše' at the Partisans' Cemetery, 1973

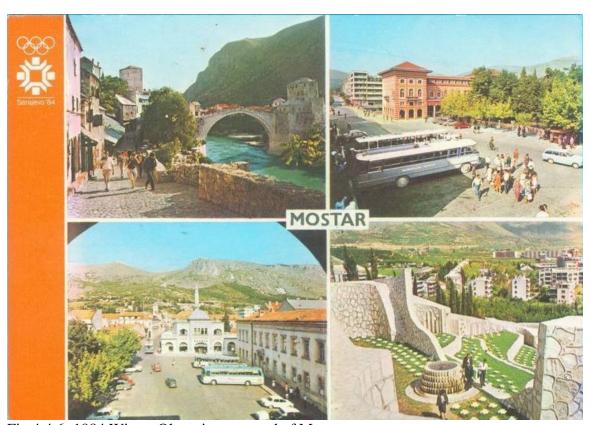


Fig 4.4.6: 1984 Winter Olympics postcard of Mostar

4.5 The Partisans' Cemetery 1992-95

In the days leading up to the onset of the war, an explosion (believed to have been caused by Croat Nationalists⁴) damaged the monument (**Fig 4.5.3**). A protest was held at the monument in response to this, to which hundreds of people attended (**Fig 4.5.1**). Authorities soon moved the protest to the Musala district of the town⁵.

Further damages were caused throughout the war. The monument lay on the Croatian side of the divided city, and was used as an observation point and mortar position, due to its location overlooking the city (**Fig 4.5.2**). Towards the end of hostilities, further intentional damage was caused to the monument, including the dynamiting of several parts of the façade. During the war, the drainage and cascade systems failed, possibly due to the removal of pumping systems for scrap metal. The resulting saturation of the underlying earth caused structural failure of many of the monuments walls, and severe bulging in parts, in particular the areas of walls along the Ceremonial Pathway and beside the terraces, where old building material was used as a façade, with structural support being provided primarily by compacted earth embankments. Headstones were dislocated, and stacked as walls to provide further cover for HVO forces using the monument as an observation post (**Fig 4.5.4**). Decorative elements were also intentionally destroyed, both by explosives and ammunition and also mechanically.



Fig 4.5.1: 1992 protest after explosion at the Partisans' Cemetery

⁴ However, this view has been challenged, with some believing the bombing was an incident of 'controlled terror' by Yugoslav Intelligence Services, as occurred at the Jewish Cemetery in Zagreb in the early hours of August 19th, 1991 as part of *Operation Opera*.

⁵ http://herojisaneretve.blogger.ba/arhiva/2010/11/06/2620523



Fig 4.5.2: Wartime marker on wall of the lower terrace

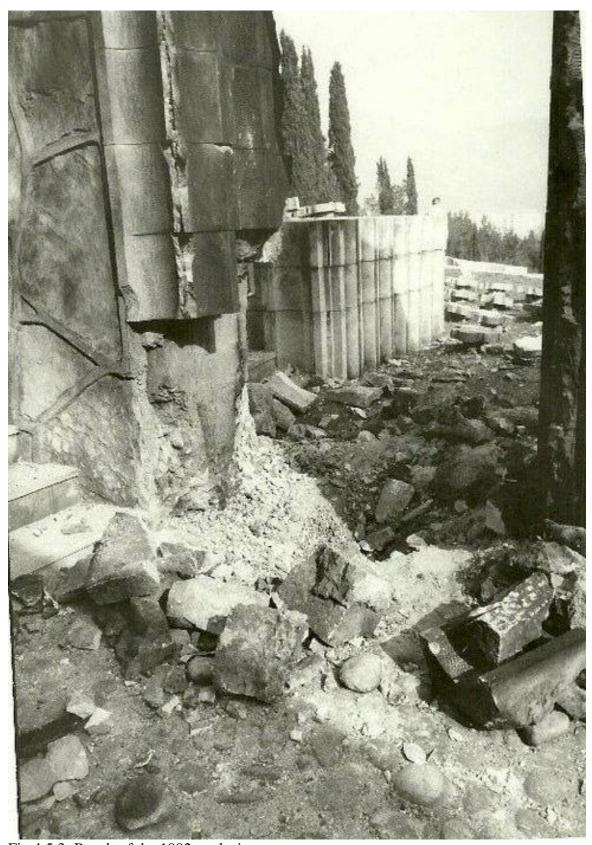


Fig 4.5.3: Result of the 1992 explosion



Fig 4.5.4: Grave markers and upper terraces, c.1996

4.6 The Post-War Situation

Continued decline

After the cessation of hostilities, with the signing of the Dayton Agreement, the Partisans' Cemetery was left in ruins. Few people visited the monument, due in part to a fear of mines and unexploded ordnance, and also due to the segregation of the city. Graffiti began to appear (**Fig 4.6.1**), and the grave markers, which had survived the war largely intact (although removed from their original locations) were damaged through a combination of overgrowth, continued decay of the site, and intentional vandalism (**Fig 4.6.2**).

Documentation begins

From the year 2000, efforts were made to document the dilapidated state of the monument. In September 2000, a document was published following preliminary analysis of the condition of the Partisans' Cemetery by URBING, identifying nine primary types of damage to the monument⁶. These were as follows:

- 1 Deformation of the cobbled pathways
- 2 Damage to retaining walls and cladding
- 3 Damage to the lining of the stone walls (decorative elements)
- 4 Damage as a result of the war (shell & bullet impacts)
- 5 Damage due to water penetration into the walls
- 6 Non-static damage
- 7 Damage to the water supply and drainage system
- 8 Damage to the electrical installations for public lighting
- 9 Damage and altered state (overgrowth) of green areas

The damages were further elucidated upon, and a damage map created (Fig 4.6.3).

There were several recommendations made for the project of renovation. First, it was suggested that the entire substrate under the cobbles be replaced, and the cobbles at the three points where they had completely disappeared also be replaced. The cracking in the walls was noted as the most urgent damage to rectify (**Fig 4.6.4**), in particular upon the supporting walls, where the freezing of the groundwater during the winter was exacerbating the problem. Certain ornamental elements were identified as requiring complete replacement. Wartime damage (and also the pre-war explosion in 1992), concentrated in the corridor and staircase leading between the terraces, and their entranceways only caused aesthetic damage, but required repairing. However, shell impacts upon the walls of the terraces and Ceremonial Pathway was identified as not currently being of severe threat, but could have resulted in structural failure in the long-term (**Fig 4.6.5**).

The failure of the drainage system and gravity-driven reservoir above the monument was identified as a cause of water pervasion into the monument's walls. Although water damage was visible, and aesthetically unpleasing (**Fig 4.6.6**), the structural stability of the monument remained uncompromised by this water flow at the time. Also, the need for work to be undertaken on the drainage system below the cobbled pathway was identified.

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⁶ Agencija Stari Grad Mostar documentation

The 'non-static' damage identified in the list related to the disturbance of the 'Stone Flower' grave markers upon the terraces, the graffiti upon the monument, and the overgrowth of plants. The alcove between the two entrance staircases was identified as the area with the highest concentration of graffiti (a situation that remains in 2013). Although these factors were not identified as immediately jeopardizing the monument, cleaning was recommended.

The damages to the water system at the time were not as extensive as today (2013). Small amounts of water were still flowing in the lower portion of the monument, and it was assumed at the time that water in the upper portion had ceased to flow due to a blockage in the system, as opposed to outright damage. It was recommended that a test be carried out to evaluate the feasibility of rehabilitation of the water circulation systems. The lights that illuminated the pathways and upper terraces had been entirely removed, and the control box destroyed. It is impossible to determine whether this was a result of wartime damage, or post-war scavenging for scrap metal, although the latter is the more probable. The entire system required replacing. Although lights were installed to celebrate the completion of works upon the Partisans' Cemetery in 2005 (**Fig 4.6.7**), these were temporary, and new lighting will not be installed until the implementation of the third phase of rehabilitation.

The green areas were identified as heavily overgrown, leading to the killing-off of some of the planted species (**Fig 4.6.8**). A lack of maintenance had also led to the disappearance of many of the flowering plants within the monument. However, it was also acknowledged that in the area around the monument, forested in the 1960s, trees had just reached their full physical maturity, one of the small positives highlighted by the report. Weeds (in particular clematis and brambles were abundant throughout the site. It was recommended that all invasive plants be removed, to see which cultivars still survived and would again flourish were the beds to be maintained, followed by a phase of replanting after monitoring. It was also noted that the lawned areas required a full renewal, as more hardy grasses had taken root in place of the lawn grasses that had once been planted there.

Further documentation and initial phases of restoration

In January 2003, the Mayor of Mostar officially formed a Committee to support the renovation of the complex of the Partisans' Memorial Cemetery in Mostar. This was composed of Bogdan Bogdanović, Boris Podreka, Amir Pašić, Darko Minarik, Ekrem Krpo, Zdravko Gutić, Tihomir Rozić, Alija Bijavica, Milica Dogan, Florijan Mičković, Milivoj Gagro, Radmilo Andrić, Mumin Isić and Mustafa Selimović (Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2006). At the end of 2004, this Committee drew up an operational programme of measures to renovate the Memorial.

On 16 June 2003, SUBNOR Mostar submitted a petition to the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, to designate the Partisans' Cemetery as a National Monument.

During 2004-05, works were carried out on the monument to clear away accumulated debris, remove overgrowth, and undertake work on some of the monument's fabric, as recommended by the 2000 technical assessment. One of the major focuses of this work was the replacement of damaged areas of the cobbled pathway, and replacement of a number of sections of the drainage system. A major emphasis was also placed on the rehabilitation of the monument's horticultural features, and many of the beds were

replanted (**Fig 4.6.9**, **4.6.10**). All damaged headstones were replaced, after Bogdan Bogdanović gave permission, with the stipulation that they were to be made of tenelija limestone, of the same shape and with the same epitaphs as the originals (**Fig 4.6.11**). Funding for this was secured from the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Kingdom of Norway (Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2006). The partially-restored monument was officially reopened on 9th May 2005.

Unfortunately, these renovations did not survive intact for long. The newly-renovated monument became the focus of vandals, and re-laid headstones were upturned, graffiti continued to blight the site and the recently replanted flowerbeds were intentionally torn up. No funds were secured for the maintenance of the site, and, due to the difficult political situation in the town, police were generally slow to react to reports of vandalism. Examples of vandalism (in particular by Far-Right and neo-Nazi groups and sympathisers) were regularly reported in *Glas Antifašista*, the newsletter of SUBNOR.

In 2005, the Department of Town Planning and Building of the City of Mostar also submitted its documentation to the Commission to Preserve National Monuments in support of their decision to inscribe the Partisans' Cemetery as a National Monument. This occurred in January 2006.

After its inscription as a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina, responsibility for the protection of the monument was handed over to *Agencija "Stari Grad"* Mostar, under whose jurisdiction the Old Town and Bridge World Heritage Site is. This Agency is responsible for the protection of all National Monuments in the Municipality of Mostar. The responsibility for the protection of the site was handed down to the agency by the Federal Institute for the Protection of Monuments (the government institute responsible for cultural heritage protection within the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina entity), who are still responsible for the funding of restoration efforts.

A new rehabilitation project was initiated, under the supervision of Agencija Stari Grad. Public tenders were issued for a three-phase project, involving construction of a souvenir shop, repairs to masonry and pathways, replacement of plumbing and electrical infrastructure (as well as the addition of a surveillance system), horticultural renewal and overall restoration works in July 2008. The first tender, for the construction of the souvenir shop, fencing and overall restoration works was successfully bid for, and the works were realized at a cost of €210,000 by September 2010. In a discussion with Miralem Fajić, Director of Agencija Stari Grad on 2nd November 2010, it was explained that only the first Lot was successfully tendered for, and the other tenders were withdrawn, and will be relaunched at a later date. No further works can be undertaken upon the Partisans' Cemetery before lighting and security measures are in place, as without these, due to the high risk of vandalism, any restorative actions would be 'inappropriate and pointless' (Fajić, 2012). Agencija Stari Grad intends to have the project fully implemented and a complete touristic infrastructure in place by 2014 – the next part on the touristic initiative (a separate project) is the creation of a touristic brochure.

After the completion of the project, the Major of Mostar has agreed to include the costs of surveillance and maintenance (both workers' wages and utility bills) of the Partisans' Cemetery in the town's budget, with support from the government of the Federation.

The Utilities Agency of Grad Mostar is responsible for cleaning and maintenance. After security is in place, these tasks will be far more simple and effective.

Currently, the secure fencing that has been installed as a result of this rehabilitation project is in a good condition. However, the souvenir shop (which, in fact, consists not only of a souvenir shop, but also public toilets and a surveillance equipment monitoring room) has fallen into disrepair, and has been subjected to episodic vandalism (**Fig 2.6.12**, **2.6.13**). In May 2013, it was evident that persons unknown had broken into the building and used it as an *ad hoc* dwelling.

Ongoing upkeep and public initiatives

Although the condition of the site has continued to deteriorate since the most recent phase of restoration, both due to vandalism and natural causes (in January 2011, a storm felled several trees within the Partisans' Cemetery, causing minor damage to the 'Lion Gate' and part of the Ceremonial Pathway, and water seepage is again evident in the alcoves on the western side of the upper terraced area), a number of public initiatives have surrounded the Partisans' Cemetery in recent years.

The artistic organisation Abart, an independent group based in the Abrašević Youth Cultural Centre, Mostar, has initiated numerous projects and exhibitions that have focused on, featured, or been held at the Partisans' Cemetery⁷. These have had the effect of raising the monument's profile.

To counteract the problem of littering (as a result of both antisocial gatherings and flytipping), two events held under the framework of 'Let's Do It!', an international initiative to inspire volunteers to clean their town, have been held at the Partisans' Cemetery, on 9th September 2012 and 18th May 2013. Both of these events were relatively well attended, and received much media attention. Also, in early 2013, a local forestry graduate began a private initiative to remove overgrowth threatening the surviving trees and shrubbery. A small number of people have volunteered to aid in this. The focus of their work is the large area around the monument (as opposed to its gardens and embankments) that was forested in the 1960s as one of the landscaping phases of the monument.

Future prognosis

The continuation of the project to repair, revitalize and protect the Partisans' Cemetery, led by Agencija Stari Grad is largely dependent on funding. Currently, the project requires a further €50,000 in unsecured funding to progress, although the Agency's Director is confident of securing the funding in the near future (Fajić, 2012). Once the project is completed, the monument will be able to positively contribute to the neighbourhood (and at a larger scale the town's) environs. In addition to this, the increased awareness of the monument amongst tourists, both as a result of increased promotion of the site by the municipal authorities and of external interest in the topic and agents of monumentality and memorialisation in the Former Yugoslavia through its popularization in social media would suggest that the monument's future is secure as an asset to Mostar and its citizens.

⁷ See, for example; http://fromapartisan.blogspot.com, http://abartarhiv.blogspot.com, and http://abartintervencije.blogspot.com



Fig 4.6.1: Graffiti at the 'Lion Gate', 2000



Fig 4.6.2: Grave markers, c.1998

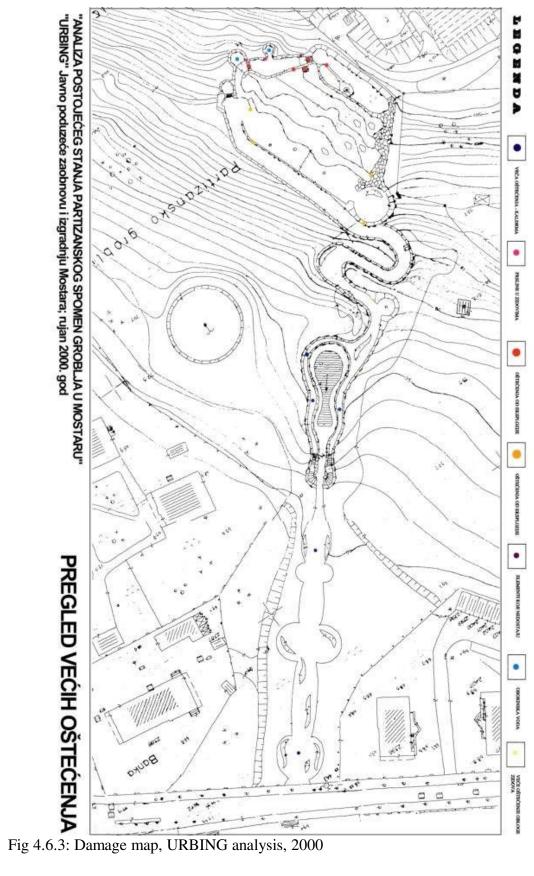




Fig 4.6.4: Cracks in the walls, 2000



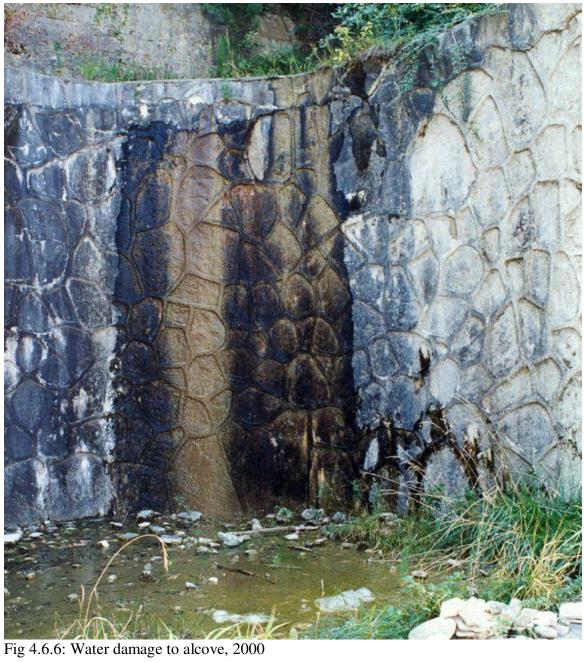




Fig 4.6.7: Temporary lighting at the monument, 2005



Fig 4.6.8: Overgrowth of horticulture, 2000



Fig 4.6.9: Replanted beds, 2005



Fig 4.6.10: Replanted beds, 2005



Fig 4.6.11: Replaced headstones, 2005



Fig 4.6.12: Completed souvenir shop, 2009



Fig 4.6.13: Souvenir shop, January 2013

Chapter 5: Quantifying the Monument

This chapter attempts to 'rank' the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar, by comparing aspects of its conservation with those of other monuments designed by Bogdanović.

Six key areas are compared; level of legal protection, level of integrity, overall condition, current level of maintenance, value to the local community, and value to the wider community. Each criterion is given a score of 1 to 5 (1 to 4 in the case of legal protection), and is given a weighted value. Below are discussed the justifications for each score for each of the six criteria.

5.1 Categories of conservation

Level of Legal Protection

Each monument is ranked from 1 (no protection) to 4 (protected as a national monument). Scores of 2 and 3 represent municipal and regional protection, respectively. It must be noted that two of the monuments (those in Belgrade and Berane) are currently undergoing reclassification (with Belgrade soon to be adopted as a national monument, and Berane to be totally reappraised with an unknown outcome). These two monuments are classified according to their current status.

Integrity

Scores for a monument's integrity are based on a number of factors, including development of the surrounding landscape, function of ancillary buildings, retainment of original features and retainment of original interpretive and commemorative values.

Condition

This is a highly subjective category. Scores were given from 1 (monument destroyed) to 5 (excellent condition). Factors taken into account included the completeness of the monument, levels of long-term damage (destruction of masonry elements, metal theft, etc.) and the quality of restoration and rehabilitation works carried out (where applicable). It must be noted that the scores allocated are, in a number of cases, partially based on photographic evidence, which may not provide the most accurate overview of the condition of a monument.

Maintenance

This category considers maintenance efforts (by local authorities, or, in some cases, dedicated organizations) and the general upkeep of the monument. Indicators taken into account included the upkeep of landscape features (in particular horticultural elements, lawns and pathways), the condition of fixtures and fittings (such as lighting), the prevalence of litter, and efforts to counteract graffiti and other sporadic vandalism. Sites are ranked on a scale of 1 (monument destroyed) to 5 (monument and landscape regularly maintained).

Value to the Local Community

This category takes into consideration the use of a monument by the local community for commemorative and recreational purposes, as evidenced by interviews with numerous

people during research for this thesis¹. Also taken into consideration is restrictions of access to the monument (or parts of it), whether through limited opening hours or the introduction of a ticketing policy. Also taken into account is the population catchment area of a monument, and, in three cases (Mostar and Kosovska Mitrovica, and, to a lesser extent, Vukovar) the fact that the monuments lie in 'divided cities'. Monuments are given a score from 1 (monument destroyed) to 5 (monument a focal point of community-based activities).

Value to a wider Community

This category attributes scores based on a number of factors; the importance or fame of a monument (or the event(s) that it commemorates), its promotion in recent years within national and international media, academic research into the monument, location and accessibility and promotion by the local authorities to tourists and visitors. Again, a ranking is given from 1 (no promotion, virtually inaccessible, of perceived low importance) to 5 (of international repute, large numbers of visitors, heavily incorporated into touristic itineraries).

5.2 Scores

The scores given to each monument for each category are presented in the table below²:

Site	Ρ	I	С	М	L	W
Monument to the Jewish victims of fascism, Belgrade	1	5	5	5	3	2
Memorial cemetery in Sremska Mitrovica	4	3	4	4	4	3
Partisans' necropolis in Prilep	4	4	5	5	5	3
Slobodište – symbolic necropolis in Kruševac	4	3	4	4	3	3
Partisans' memorial cemetery in Mostar	4	3			2	4
Jasenovac memorial site	4	4	5	5	4	5
Symbolic necropolis in Leskovac	3	3	4	4	4	3
Monument to the start of the uprising in Bela Crkva	4	5	5	3	2	3
Monument to the history of the struggle for liberation in Knjaževac	3	3	4	4	5	3
Shrine to the revolution in Kosovska Mitrovica	1	4	3	3	3	2
Adonis' altar in Labin	4	5	5	5	3	4
Partisans' necropolis in Štip	2	3	4	4	4	3
Necropolis to the victims of fascism in Novi Travnik	4	3	3	2	2	2
Monument to fallen combatants of the revolution in Vlasotince	2	4	4	3	4	3
Freedom monument in Berane	1	5	4	4	4	2
Dudik memorial park near Vukovar	4	4	2	4	3	4
Memorial park to the struggle and victory in Čačak	1	5	4	4	4	2
Tombstone of Dušan Petrović-Šane in Banja near Aranđelovac	1	5	5	4	2	1
Garavice memorial park near Bihać	4	3	4	3	3	2
Popina memorial park near Vrnjačka Banja	2	3	5	4	2	2
Monument in Klis	1	1	1	1	2	1
Memorial in Arapova Dolina	2	4	4	3	2	2

¹ A full list of people interviewed can be found in the Bibliography

² Abbreviations as follows: P = level of legal protection; I = integrity; C = condition; M = maintenance; L = value to local community; W = value to wider community

5.3 Weighting

The weightings of the scores are given in the table below. The six categories can be put into three groups; Legislation (15%), Presentation (50%) and Values (35%). It must be noted that he lowest weighting is given to the 'Condition' category due to its significant overlap with aspects of both Maintenance and Integrity. Part of the reason that legislative protection receives a low weighting is due to the relatively lax implementation and enforcement of heritage protection laws throughout the region.

Category	Weighting (%)
Protection	15
Integrity	20
Condition	10
Maintenance	20
Local value	20
Wider value	15

5.4 Calculations

Each score was given a corresponding value. These were tiered in increments of 0.25 in the case of the level of legal protection (giving values from 0.25 to 1.00) and increments of 0.2 for the other 5 categories (giving values from 0.2 to 1.00).

Each score was then multiplied by its weighting, and added up, to give a score out of 100, as shown in the following table:

Site	Total / 100
Monument to the Jewish victims of fascism, Belgrade	71.75
Memorial cemetery in Sremska Mitrovica	76
Partisans' necropolis in Prilep	90
Slobodište – symbolic necropolis in Kruševac	72
Partisans' memorial cemetery in Mostar	59
Jasenovac memorial site	92
Symbolic necropolis in Leskovac	72.25
Monument to the start of the uprising in Bela Crkva	74
Monument to the history of the struggle for liberation in Knjaževac	76.25
Shrine to the revolution in Kosovska Mitrovica	55.75
Adonis' altar in Labin	89
Partisans' necropolis in Štip	68.5
Necropolis to the victims of fascism in Novi Travnik	55
Monument to fallen combatants of the revolution in Vlasotince	68.5
Freedom monument in Berane	69.75
Dudik memorial park near Vukovar	75
Memorial park to the struggle and victory in Čačak	69.75
Tombstone of Dušan Petrović-Šane in Banja near Aranđelovac	60.75
Garavice memorial park near Bihać	65
Popina memorial park near Vrnjačka Banja	59.5
Monument in Klis	28.75
Arapova Dolina	57.5

However, these are not the final scores. For statistical purposes, a positive bias has been introduced by 'boosting' the scores at the lower end. Therefore, the minimum values obtained from each category must be deducted, as follows:

$MinP = 0.25 \times 15$	3.75
$MinI = 0.2 \times 20$	4
$MinC = 0.2 \times 10$	2
$MinM = 0.2 \times 20$	4
$MinL = 0.2 \times 20$	4
$MinW = 0.2 \times 15$	3

Total to be subtracted = 20.75

The resulting scores are out of 79.25. To recalibrate the scores, all are then multiplied by the inverse of 79.25 (1.262 to 4 s.f.), giving the recalibrated (and ranked) scores in the following table:

Rank	Name	RecalTot
1	Jasenovac memorial site	89.91
2	Partisans' necropolis in Prilep	87.38
3	Adonis' altar in Labin	86.12
4	Monument to the history of the struggle for liberation in Knjaževac	70.03
5	Memorial cemetery in Sremska Mitrovica	69.72
6	Dudik memorial park near Vukovar	68.45
7	Monument to the start of the uprising in Bela Crkva	67.19
8	Symbolic necropolis in Leskovac	64.98
9	Slobodište – symbolic necropolis in Kruševac	64.67
10	Monument to the Jewish victims of fascism, Belgrade	64.35
11	Freedom monument in Berane	61.83
=	Memorial park to the struggle and victory in Čačak	61.83
13	Monument to fallen combatants of the revolution in Vlasotince	60.25
=	Partisans' necropolis in Štip	60.25
15	Garavice memorial park near Bihać	55.84
16	Tombstone of Dušan Petrović-Šane in Banja near Aranđelovac	50.47
17	Popina memorial park near Vrnjačka Banja	48.9
18	Partisans' memorial cemetery in Mostar	48.26
19	Arapova Dolina	46.37
20	Shrine to the revolution in Kosovska Mitrovica	44.16
21	Necropolis to the victims of fascism in Novi Travnik	43.22
22	Monument in Klis	10.09

The mean score from these calculations is 60.19, with a standard deviation of 17.31. The Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar is ranked 18th out of 22 when considering all factors in the areas of legislative protection, overall presentation of the monument, and values ascribed to the monument for both the local and wider communities.

5.5 Discussion

A number of the final rankings presented in the above table were of some surprise. Although the highest two ranked monuments (Jasenovac, a recently-restored monument of international repute and Prilep, a monument at the heart of the social life of the city) were of little surprise, Adonis's Altar, in Labin, also scored very highly. This may be due to the monument's setting in a sculpture park. This site is maintained as an artistic space and parkland by a dedicated institution. Also, it is worth noting that the monument *itself* does not receive National-level protection, but rather the Sculpture Park in which it is situated, as part of the 'stancija Dubrova' property, a historic building and its attached lands. This could be argued to add a bias to the monument's protection score as it is the location, as opposed to the monument, that is protected.

Dudik Memorial Park in Vukovar also receives a relatively high score. This may be influenced by the recent academic work undertaken regarding the site (Komac & Guillén, 2011; Baillie, 2011; Baillie, 2012), which was factored into the 'Value to the wider Community' category, and the fact that although the monument is in a poor condition, its integrity within the landscape remains, and also there is little damage to the stone components of the monument, and the wooden cones and their copper coatings could, potentially, be relatively easily restored or replaced.

In spite of its relative importance, both as a monument and as an agent of commemoration, the Monument to the Jewish victims of Fascism receives an overall score only slightly above the mean. This is due to three primary reasons; the graveyard has restricted opening hours, the monument is little-promoted to the wider public (with Nandor Glid's 1995 sculpture 'Menorah in Flames', located on the bank of the Danube³, being promoted as the city's predominant Holocaust memorial) and the fact that the monument currently has a low protective status, although this situation is soon to change (Lajbenšperger, 2013, see Chapter 2.1).

There seems to be little influence of the type of location (urban, suburban, semi-urban or rural) on the scores given to each monument. Although location type was not factored for directly, it did influence scores for values to local and wider audiences, and indirectly influenced the scores for maintenance and integrity (as rural sites will be subject to less vandalism and also less pressures from development). Both rural and urban sites feature near the top of the list (Jasenovac and Prilep respectively) and near the bottom (Novi Travnik and Kosovska Mitrovica).

Obviously the monument in Klis is ranked the lowest of all of Bogdanović's works. This is due to its destruction in 1996. However, the monument does retain a slight value, as the memorial plates that were placed around it were relocated to a local cemetery, where they still survive. However, this monument can only be claimed to have a low-moderate local community value.

With the exception of Klis and the exceptionally well-maintained or integrated sites at Labin, Jasenovac and Prilep, all sites fall within a relatively narrow range between 43 and 70 – just 27 out of 100. This can, in part, be attributed to the limited scoring range (out of either 4 or 5 for each category), resulting in a grouping of scores around 3, 4, or 5 for the final five categories, which are subjectively created. This will be further elaborated upon in the evaluation.

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³ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0003_0_02350.html

5.6 Evaluation

There are numerous strengths and weaknesses in quantifying Bogdanović's works in this way. This section highlights a small number that have been identified during the undertaking of this analysis.

Legislation

Although a score has been given for the level of protection afforded to a monument by the state in which it lies, this score does not take into account how fully or efficiently such laws are implemented, or the nature of protection afforded to the individual monument by the law(s) enacted. To include such factors in a score, an in-depth analysis of the effectiveness of such laws would have to be made, similar to those outlined in Robert Pickard's (2000) *Policy and Law in Heritage Conservation*. Although the Council of Europe's ongoing HEREIN project and the recently-established 'Solone' database⁴ of *Scuola Normale Superiore*, Pisa, Italy (La Monica, Anguissola & Cresci, 2013) are intended to provide researchers and policy-makers with an overview of heritage laws within European countries, only Serbia and Macedonia submitted completed reports to the HEREIN 2 cycle⁵, the results of the HEREIN 3 cycle are as yet publicly unavailable, and the Solone database has not yet expanded to cover any of the relevant countries.

Also, in regard to the legislative protection score, it must be taken into account that different levels of protection policy are given by each country. For example, in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH), there are two levels of regional protection; Cantonal and Entity (Federation). In contrast, it would appear that Montenegro's 2010 *Law on the Protection of Cultural Goods* does not make any provisions for any form of Regional protection (in part due to the fact that the Regions of Montenegro were only afforded legal status in 2011⁶).

Presentation

Regarding the scores for the presentation of the monument, a bias may have been introduced due to the photographs viewed, either due to the season or time they were taken, or due to a bias by the photographer in focusing on good or bad aspects of a monument's maintenance, integrity or condition. A similar bias (particularly in regard to maintenance) may have been introduced during site visits to individual monuments.

Although a thorough internet search for news articles regarding vandalism of the monuments detailed in Chapter 2 was conducted, many instances of vandalism will not be considered newsworthy, due in part to the political climate, lack of interest amongst the general public and the time elapsed before vandalism is noticed: Although several instances of vandalism of the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar have been detailed in SABNOR BiH's magazine *Glas Antifašista* (1996–), these have rarely been mentioned in the local press, with the exception of occasional commentaries on the general condition of the monument.

⁴ http://solone.sns.it/

http://european-heritage2.coe.int/sdx/herein/national_heritage/select_country.xsp

⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_regions_of_Montenegro

Values

Although the value of a monument to the local community has been given a greater weighting to that of the wider community, it must be noted that a high level of value of a monument to the wider community could increase its value locally through economic benefits. Popular and well-known monuments, such as that at Jasenovac, can prove to be an economic asset through touristic concessioner activities developed to cope with an influx of tourists. This interrelationship is not fully appreciated within this analysis. In the case of the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar, an additional benefit could be the greater distribution of tourist spending throughout the city, as heavier promotion would increase tourists' circulation throughout the city. This will be elaborated upon in Chapter 8.

Despite values of the monument to both the local and wider communities having been taken into account separately, no account has been taken of the monument's significance to groups who consider the monument as primarily 'their' heritage. Instances of this could include the Roma (at Arapova Dolina), Jewish (in Belgrade), or possibly the Serb (at both Dudik and Jasenovac) communities. Relatives and friends of the deceased should also be considered when factoring in groups to whom a monument would hold an elevated significance. The scale of this research made such an approach impossible to undertake for all monuments within Bogdanović's opus — an attempt to define individuals' and groups' opinions and values in regard to the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar has, however, been undertaken within Chapter 7.

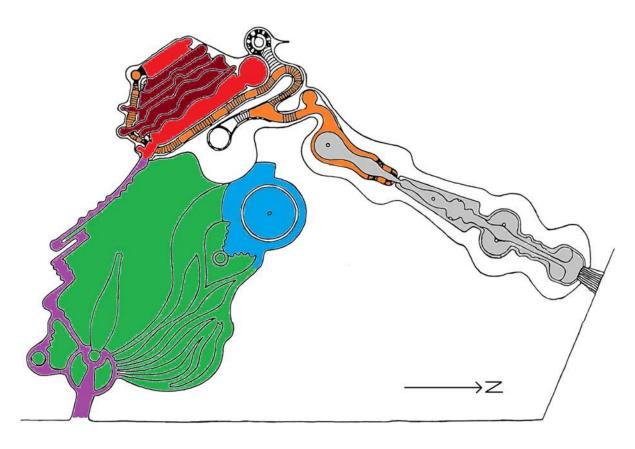
Other

It may also be the case that the author introduced bias into their work, due to their involvement with the topic of study. In an ideal scenario, scores should be given to individual monuments by stakeholders (representatives of local, regional and/or national authorities, members of the local community and members of various departments of urban planning, economic development, tourism and heritage, as well as organizations or groups with vested interests in a monument, and, where relevant, landowners). These scores would then be moderated by independent heritage specialists. In cases of transnational heritage, such as the monumental works of Bogdanović (and, by extrapolation, Former Yugoslavia's Second World War commemoration legacy in general), a group of representatives from all member states would be formed, with at least one member from a non-participant country to mediate between differences of opinion. In this way, a similar 'scoring system' to that above may be employed in quantifying the monuments for purposes of protection, conservation and intervention. A similar method is already employed in a number of countries for identifying the needs of monuments. For example, the Federal Heritage Buildings Review Office (FHBRO) of Canada employs such a method in its evaluation of the built heritage for the purpose of creating a statement of significance regarding a building's values (Déom & Thiffault, 2013). A more fullydeveloped evaluation process, along the lines of the FHBRO's criteria, could be evolved for the quantification of the value of Bogdanović's monuments, and others, throughout the Former Yugoslavia, a system which could be operated independently of the individual nations' own criteria for registration and protection of cultural heritage and allocation of funding for conservation, which may (unintentionally) bear political biases against their recent histories.

Chapter 6: Technical Assessment of the Partisans' Cemetery, Mostar

Below are highlighted a number of problems affecting the Partisans' Cemetery, and also an attempt is made to highlight the causes of these problems, and to suggest a sustainable approach to rectifying them.

The problems identified below stem from a number of issues, such as social problems, poor maintenance and poor restoration practice. Areas where issues occur are identified on a modified version of the plan of the Partisans' Cemetery first published in the journal *Arhitektura Urbanizam 40* (Milićević-Nikolić, 1966), and reproduced by Trumić (1988), with areas and zones referred to below clearly delineated:



Key:

Grey = Main Entrance Dark Red = Burial Area

Orange = Ceremonial Pathway
Green = Landscaped Gardens
Red = Commemoration Areas
Purple = Alternative Entrance

Blue = Pond

Note: the ornamental gardens were never completed to the extent shown in the above diagram, and instead only minor landscaping was undertaken. Also, the Alternative Entrance only extends from the Commemoration Areas approximately to the length of the first straight section, where it then joins a network of paths to the South. Furthermore, the areas stemming from the Ceremonial Pathway and left uncoloured in the above diagram were never realized. For a fuller description, see Chapter 4.2.

Problem identified: Accumulation of rubbish

Locations & Severity: Main Entrance (severe), Ceremonial Pathway (severe), Commemoration Areas (severe), Pond (severe), Burial Area (moderate), Landscaped Gardens (minor), Alternative Entrance (moderate)

Images: 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5

Cause: Lack of bins, poor surveillance, lack of regular maintenance.

Description: There are no bins within the Partisans' Cemetery, although there are a number located proximal to the Main Entrance. Bins were installed within the complex around 2008 (Mrs. R, 2013), but were stolen, vandalized or relocated within two years. Broken glass is a severe problem, and covers all parts of the Ceremonial Pathway and the lower of the two Commemoration Areas, as well as there being a large accumulation at the bottom of the Ceremonial Pathway, and in the atrium of the Main Entrance, due to it being gradually washed down the monument by frequent rainstorms. Rubbish is also thrown into the Pond, and during dry periods when all of the water has evaporated (its fountain system and drainage are currently not functional), a layer of detritus approximately 30cm deep covers the bottom of the water feature. There are also a large number of beer cans and PET plastic bottles littering the entire site as a result of its popularity as a gathering place amongst local youths for binge drinking.

Solution: Greater maintenance of the park would keep it cleaner and discourage a 'vicious cycle' of littering. The repairing of water features would also discourage visitors from using them as rubbish repositories. Beyond these two long-term solutions, it is of importance to install bins within or near the site. A study should be undertaken to determine where bins would be the most effective and least aesthetically detractive. Furthermore, the design of such bins should be carefully considered, with regards to aesthetics and antisocial behaviour. The possibility of bins being installed temporarily (i.e. seasonally or only in the evenings) could also be considered.

Problem identified: Graffiti

Locations & Severity: Ceremonial Pathway (severe), Commemoration Areas (severe),

Burial Area (moderate), Pond (minor)

Images: 6.6, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 6.10

Cause: Poor surveillance, social tensions in the town.

Description: The monument's walls are covered in graffiti. Much of this is political in nature (although some instances are simply names; primarily individuals or young couples). Fascist and far-right graffiti has, in many instances, been daubed over by members of *Antifašistička Akcija*, an antifascist network with a heavy and noticeable presence in the town. Despite the arguably good intentions of this group, in many instances they have opted to use aniline-based dyes, which – ironically – cause more permanent damage to the monument than the graffiti they are intended to obscure. The

graffiti occurs almost exclusively on walls, and has also seemingly intentionally targeted recent restoration works in a number of areas. There appear to have been efforts made to remove graffiti in the past using water and possibly solvents, by unknown individuals or groups. These have had varying levels of success. It must be noted that none of the grave markers themselves appear to have been the target of graffiti.

Solution: Due to the high porosity of the limestone used in the monument, this problem is possibly the most urgent to prevent and reverse. Improved lighting and surveillance would deter graffiti artists and vandals. In more secluded areas of the monument, sacrificial coatings could be experimented with, although these should not detract from the monument's aesthetic appeal. Finally, an education campaign amongst members of *Antifašistička Akcija* on the long-term problems and damage caused by the use of aniline-based dyes may reduce their use on not only the Partisans' Cemetery, but also on other historic and protected monuments in the region.

Problem identified: Intentional Damage to Masonry

Locations & Severity: Commemoration Areas (moderate-severe), Ceremonial Pathway (moderate)

Images: 6.11, 6.12, 6.13, 6.14

Cause: Antisocial behaviour, poor surveillance.

Description: In a number of places, intentional damage to ornamental elements of the site has occurred. This has happened to both original elements and those replaced during the reconstruction works. In some instances, due to the height and design of certain elements, it would appear that they were intentionally damaged or destroyed by vandals, possibly using a rope and their own body weight. Other parts appear to have been damaged using brute force. No evidence of post-war damage due to the use of explosives or tools (i.e. sledgehammers or pickaxes) is evident, although damage to stones due to the lighting of fires (often made from rubbish and overgrown vegetation collected at the site) can be seen.

Solution: Improved surveillance and lighting would be a major deterrent to the antisocial behaviour responsible for this type of damage.

Problem identified: Water Damage

Locations & Severity: Ceremonial Pathway (moderate-severe), Commemoration Areas (moderate-severe), Main Entrance (minor), Alternative Entrance (undeterminable)

Images: 6.15, 6.16, 6.17

Cause: Poor drainage, poor restoration, misuse of site.

Description: The restoration works at the monument undertaken since the end of the war have included the installation of a new drainage system to reduce damage from water running into the monument from Biskupova Glavica¹. However, this drainage seems to have already failed on the left (Eastern) side of the upper portion of the monument, and water has started to seep through the monument's walls, causing noticeable damage to two niches in the intersection between the Ceremonial Pathway and Commemorative Areas. This water also runs through the area of the Alternative Entrance, although the extent of the damage it has caused cannot be determined, due to the overgrowth of

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¹ http://www.asgmo.ba/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&lang=en&id=115

vegetation, but it is safe to assume it is not particularly severe, due to the lack of decorative elements or structures in this area.

After unpredicted and unprecedented snowfall in January 2012, the city's administration decided to use the Main Entrance as a dumping ground for snow cleared from the city's pavements and roads. This caused damage and sagging to the pathways at the main entrance, and allowed large amounts of meltwater to seep into the ground.

Solution: The drainage on the Eastern portion of the monument must be replaced. To facilitate better drainage, a fuller study of water runoff from Biskupova Glavica, including water that may drain into the hill, should be undertaken, and the idea of creating an alternative drainage system to lower the water table should be considered. With regard to the Main Entrance, municipal authorities should establish a contingency plan for heavy snowfall. Not only did the use of the Cemetery as a dumping area cause damage to the monument, but its uphill location had the additional affect of meltwater running back into the town centre, causing a nuisance for residents, and grit and sediment carried by this water further blocking the city's overstretched canalization.

Problem identified: Disintegration of Mortar

Locations & Severity: Main Entrance (minor), Ceremonial Pathway (moderate), Commemoration Areas (moderate)

Images: 6.18

Cause: The disintegration of mortar at the site stems from a number of causes. Primary amongst these are climatic and environmental factors, although poor cohesion between original mortar and that from repairs, the quality of mortar and water percolation are contributing factors.

Description: The primary areas affected are the walls that were repaired after the war, either due to acute wartime and post-war damage, or chronic deformation due to water runoff from the above hill into the material being retained by the cemetery's walls. The new mortar does not appear to have bonded well with the original mortar used. There appear to be three different types of mortar used in the monument; it is not possible to determine from observed documentation whether mortar had been replaced in the past, or whether there were two types of mortar used in the original construction or in the restoration work.

The disintegration of the mortar is most obvious on the upper side of walls in the Commemoration Areas and Ceremonial Pathway. This is possibly due to greater exposure to sunlight and precipitation, and also due to visitors to the site using these walls as seating.

Solution: A study of the original mortar should be undertaken, and it should be replaced in its entirety or a suitable mixture chosen to bind with the original mortar, and also to look the same.

Problem identified: Loss of Pathway Material

Locations & Severity: Ceremonial Pathway (severe), Main Entrance (severe), Commemoration Areas (minor), Alternative Entrance (severe)

Images: 6.19, 6.20, 6.21

Cause: Vegetation and poor drainage, exacerbated by a lack of regular maintenance. After the snowfall in January 2012, the city's administration decided to use the Main

Entrance as a dumping ground for snow cleared from the city's pavements and roads. This caused further damage and sagging to the pathways in this area. Furthermore, the use of the unrestored Main Entrance area as a car park exacerbates the deterioration of the pathways in this area.

Description: The Main Entrance area is almost unrecognizable from the above plan. Almost all pathway material and ornamental flower beds have been lost, and deep ruts have been made in the underlying material due to constant use of the area as a car park. Concrete bollards that were originally in place to prevent vehicular access to the site have been moved to the side since 2011, and the Main Entrance is now in regular use as a car park.

The lower portions and bends of the Ceremonial Pathway are in the worst condition. This is presumably due to rainwater flow, combined with an unsuitable choice of consolidation material. Despite restorations to the pathway having been carried out since the end of hostilities, the pathway sags severely in parts, and many cobbles have been lost or displaced. The effect is most severe immediately surrounding and below ornamental flowerbeds. This is also a problem in the Commemoration Areas.

The alternative entrance's pathway material has been almost totally lost. This entrance falls outside of the perimeter fence constructed in 2008-10, and is seemingly not maintained. Furthermore, this entrance is not promoted in any way to visitors, and is primarily utilized by local residents.

Solution: A project should be initiated to restore all lost pathway material using correct materials and methods. These pathways should be regularly monitored for degradation due to Mostar's climate. The pathways and paving at the Main Entrance must be consolidated urgently, or access to the area restricted for vehicles.

Problem identified: Vegetation Overgrowth

Locations & Severity: Burial Area (minor), Ceremonial Pathway (moderate-severe), Landscaped Gardens (severe), Main Entrance (moderate), Alternative Entrance (severe)

Images: 6.5, 6.9, 6.22, 6.23

Cause: Lack of regular maintenance

Description: Overgrowth of vegetation has had a number of effects; it further damages the integrity of the original landscaping of the cemetery, accelerates the loss of pathway material, reduces ease of access to the site, encourages moisture concentrations and detracts from the aesthetic value of the site.

Solution: Regular maintenance by trained gardeners would reduce overgrowth. Also, full rehabilitation of the site would increase visitor circulation, which in turn would regulate certain aspects of plant overgrowth. Repairs to mortar and the cobbled pathway would prevent weed growth from walls and floor surfaces.

Problem identified: Encroachment of development

Locations & Severity: Alternative Entrance (moderate), Main Entrance (minor), Landscaped Gardens (moderate)

Images: 6.24

Cause: A lack of correct procedures during the planning process in the rapid post-war development of western Mostar.

Description: Postwar development of the plots bordering the monument (specifically along its eastern and southern boundaries) has jeopardized the integrity of the site. Not only are its boundaries affected, but also the skyline of the immediately surrounding area, and also natural lighting, particularly in the morning.

Solution: The monument is scheduled as a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, with a defined Protected Area and Buffer Zone. These should be respected and consulted during the planning process for any new construction within the vicinity.



Fig 6.1: Broken glass accumulated at the 'Lion Gate', May 2013



Fig 6.2: Pond filled with plastic bottles, 2011



Fig 6.3: Pond detail, October 2011



Fig 6.4: Rubbish accumulated in overgrowth, January 2013



Fig 6.5: Rubbish & overgrowth removed from alcove & Ceremonial Pathway, May 2013



Fig 6.6: Far-Right graffiti, June 2012



Fig 6.7: Far-Right graffiti, June 2012



Fig 6.8: Far-Right graffiti, April 2013





Fig 6.10: Purple aniline dye used by Antifašistička Akcija, June 2012



Fig 6.11: Intentionally-damaged decorative element, January 2013



Fig 6.12: Damage to 'Celestial Sundial', June 2012



Fig 6.13: Recently-broken headstone, January 2013



Fig 6.14: Stone elements in fountain on upper terrace



Fig 6.15: Water damage, April 2013



Fig 6.16: Water damage, April 2013



Fig 6.17: Pump house condition, April 2013



Fig 6.18: Cracks in repaired mortar, April 2013



Fig 6.19: Replaced cobbles with deteriorating mortar, April 2013



Fig 6.20: Condition of pathway at entrance, January 2013



Fig 6.21: Removed concrete bollards and deteriorated entrance paving, April 2013



Fig 6.22: Overgrowth on terraces, June 2012



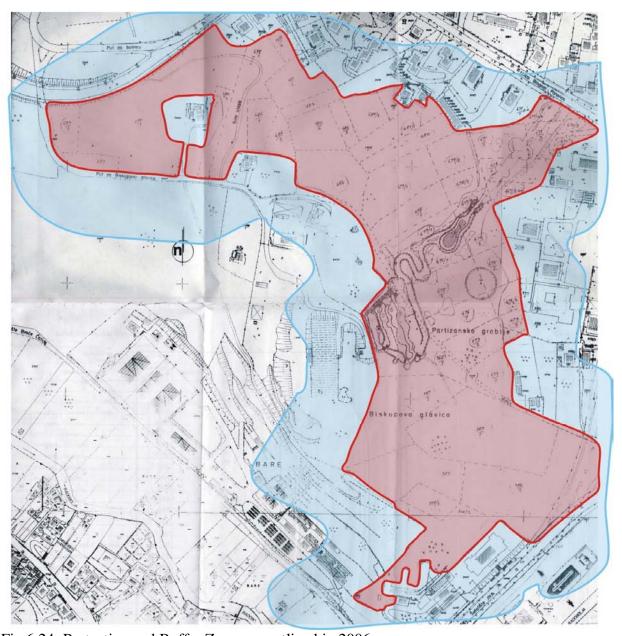


Fig 6.24: Protection and Buffer Zones as outlined in 2006

Chapter 7: Identifying Values at the Partisans' Cemetery, Mostar

This chapter aims to identify the values of the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar through the means of a questionnaire targeted at people with an interest in the monument (both local and non-local) and a critical assessment of the values identified in the process of declaring the Partisans' Cemetery a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although a focus group with Mostar residents was also originally intended to be undertaken, this had to be cancelled in February 2013, due to a lack of interest.

The 'Questionnaire' part of this chapter aims to analyse 99 responses to an online questionnaire consisting of 10 questions on people's feelings in regard to the Partisans' Cemetery and its interrelationship with the town and its people. These results are presented, analysed and evaluated.

The part of this chapter discussing the values of the Partisans' Cemetery as detailed in the 2006 Decision to designate the architectural ensemble of the Partisans' Memorial Cemetery in Mostar as a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina focuses on the values identified during the documentation process, and argues for the inclusion of values not included by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments in their Decision.

This chapter concludes with a discussion of the values identified in the two different approaches (community-led and authority-led), as well as the problems with the monument's current interrelationship with the community, and suggestions on how to monitor this.

7.1 Identifying Values: Questionnaire

7.1.1 Creation

It was decided to create a questionnaire, to attempt to capture an overview of the range of opinions toward and values ascribed to the Partisans' Cemetery by locals and visitors. The questionnaire was formulated through consultation with Liv Westring, a Postgraduate student at the University of Gothenburg, who undertook research into locals' values employing a similar methodology at the World Heritage Site of the Rock Carvings of Tanum¹ (inscribed 1994), in Bohuslän, Sweden (Westring, 2012).

In February 2013, an online questionnaire was set up, using the free service offered by the website SurveyMonkey, containing ten questions set over three pages, detailed here:

Q1: Koliko imate godina? What is your age?

Q2: U kojem gradu i zemlji ste rođeni? In what city and country were you born?

Q3: U kojem gradu i zemlji živite? In what city and country do you live?

Q4: Kad ste posljednji put posjetili Partizansko groblje? When did you last visit the Partisans' Graveyard?

Q4a: Razlog posjete / Reason for visit:

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Q5: Koje su Vaše prve asocijacije na spomen Partizanskog groblja u Mostaru? What thoughts come to mind when you hear about the Partisans' Graveyard in Mostar?

Q6: Koliko često i zašto posjećujete Partizansko groblje u Mostaru? How often and why do you visit the Partisans' Graveyard in Mostar?

Q7: Imate li određeni stav i mišljenje kada je u pitanju Partizansko groblje u Mostaru? What are your opinions on the Partisans' Graveyard?

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Q8: Od kakvog je značaja za Vas? Do you view it as important?

Q9: Prema Vašem mišljenju, kome ovo groblje predstavlja važnost? Who do you think views it as important?

Q10: Jeli Partizansko groblje doprinosi ili nanosi štetu gradu? Na koji način? Does the Partisans' Graveyard bring something good/bad to the town? What exactly?

The questionnaire was bilingual, with Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian offered as the first language.

¹ http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/557

7.1.2 Distribution

The questionnaire was only launched online, which has had drawbacks by isolating older potential respondents, although such an approach maximized the anonymity of those who answered. Attention to the questionnaire was raised by contacting pre-determined organizations, so as to receive responses from as diverse an ethnic and political spectrum as possible. These were as follows:

Personal Facebook appeal: An appeal as follows

"Molim Vas da mi odgovorite na priloženi upitnik o Partizanskom groblju u Mostaru. Ova anketa vam neće oduzeti više od nekoliko minuta, a uveliko će doprinijeti mom istraživačkom radu. Hvala unaprijed! Također, bio bih Vam veoma zahvalan ukoliko bi ste ovaj upitnik proslijedili i drugim ljudima.

Please can people answer the following questionnaire on the Partisans' Graveyard? It should take 4-8 minutes, and will be very helpful for my thesis research. Thank you! If you could also share the questionnaire, I would much appreciate it."

was posted by myself on Facebook on February 18th, 2013, with the intention of attracting the attention of a small group of people who I know to have an interest in the site.

Partizansko spomen-groblje - Help to preserve famous WW2 Memorial in Mostar: A Facebook group dedicated to the preservation of the Partisans' Cemetery, with over 2,100 members. A request was posted to the group on February 18th, 2013, asking for its members to complete the questionnaire.

Students of the University of Mostar's Archaeology programme: Students of Mostar's Croatian-language university were contacted via email by a colleague on 18th February, 2013.

Antifašistička Akcija BiH: An appeal was placed on the Facebook 'wall' of the group by its moderator on 20th February, 2013.

Anonymous respondents, selected by a journalist contact: To ensure the responses were not too heavily biased towards people of certain political dispositions, on February 21st, 2013, I enlisted a journalist to choose contacts to ask to complete the questionnaire. The people that this journalist asked are unknown to me.

Members of RK Herceg: An amateur rugby club based in Mostar, which identifies itself with the Croat ethnicity. The captain of the club contacted its members on 25th February, 2013, via email upon a personal request from myself, asking them to complete the questionnaire.

Literary Society, Mostar: An informal organization of young writers, poets and playwrights both from and living in Mostar. The questionnaire was publicized amongst the group on 25th February after a request to one of its members.

7.1.3 Responses

In total, 100 responses (the maximum number allowed for questionnaires hosted on SurveyMonkey's free service) were gathered between February 18th & February 28th, 2013. However, one of these responses was a test by the author, and so is excluded from analyses, leaving 99 responses in total.

After analysing responses, the total response rates for questions are as follows:

Q1: 98 responses

Q2: 97 responses

Q3: 97 responses

Q4: 99 responses

Q4a: 34 responses

Q5: 74 responses

Q6: 72 responses

Q7: 75 responses

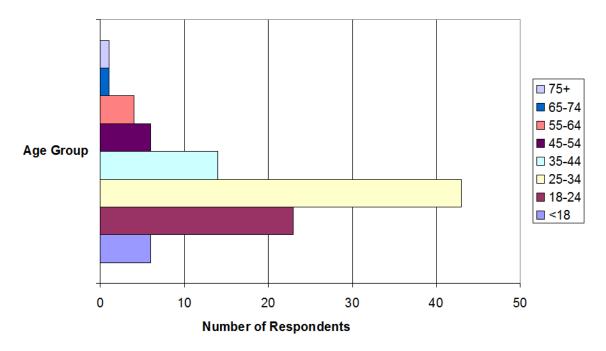
Q8: 69 responses

Q9: 66 responsesQ10: 65 responses

7.1.4 Analysis

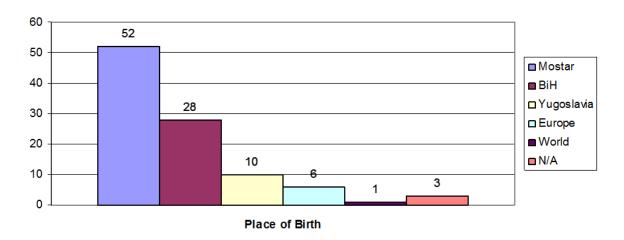
Question 1: What is your age?

Respondents were questioned on their ages, and these were grouped into categories. In the graph below are shown the responses:



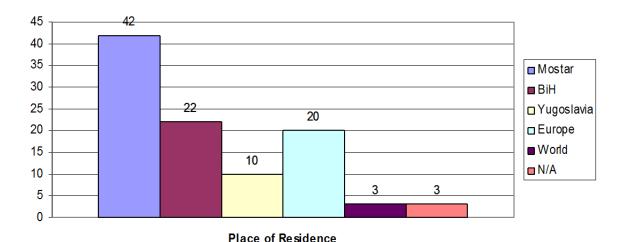
Question 2: In what city and country were you born?

Respondents were asked to name the town and country of their birth. A number of respondents refrained from stating their town of birth, instead only putting their country. Results have been classified into the following categories; Mostar, Elsewhere in Bosnia & Herzegovina, other Former Yugoslav state; other European country; Elsewhere in the World.



Question 3: In what city and country do you live?

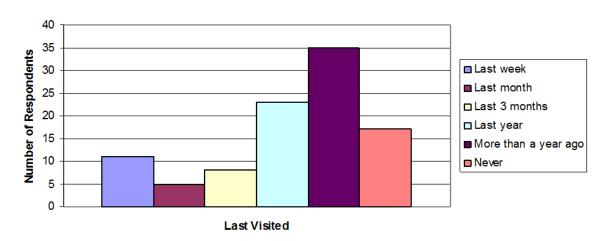
Respondents were asked to name the town and country in which they currently reside. Again, a number of respondents refrained from stating their town of residence, instead only putting their country. Results have been classified into the same categories as above.



It is worth noting that the reduction in Mostar and Bosnia & Herzegovina residents from the previous graph, and corresponding increase in European residents is almost exclusively due to the wartime and post-war displacement of persons.

Questions 4 & 4a: When did you last visit the Partisans' Graveyard? (Please state your) Reason for visit.

Respondents were asked how recently they last visited the Partisans' Cemetery, with several options being available to them. The results are shown below.



Of the sixteen that had never visited the Monument, two were born and currently lived in Mostar, and a further two currently lived in Mostar, one of whom was born in Croatia, and the other in Livno, a town in the west of Bosnia & Herzegovina. Both of those who had declined to answer the question on their place of birth and residence had never visited the monument. Also, one further respondent had neither been born in nor lived in a Former Yugoslav State (stating the UK for both). This person also refrained from answering any questions beyond the first page. All of those that were born in Mostar but lived elsewhere (of nineteen respondents) had, at some point in time, visited the Partisans' Cemetery.

It must also be noted that a bias has been introduced to the category 'Last week', due to the proximity of the launch of the questionnaire (February 18th) to Mostar's main commemorative day for the Second World War, which is celebrated on February 14th, and involves the laying of wreaths at the Partisans' Cemetery, an event attended by several hundred people.

Respondents were also asked the reason for their most recent visit. This proved to be the least-answered question on the questionnaire. A range of answers were provided, ranging from attendance at the commemoration on the town's Liberation Day held the week previously (14th February) [13, 20] and laying flowers at the graves of two relatives [43], to going there to smoke marijuana [70] and get drunk [64].

Reasons and frequencies can be categorized thus:

Reason (generalised)	Frequency
Media/academic/work	9
Tourism/Interest	10
Commemoration	7
Leisure/Socializing	6
Unclear	3

NB: Respondent [46]'s answer is categorized in both 'Tourism/interest' and 'Commemoration'.

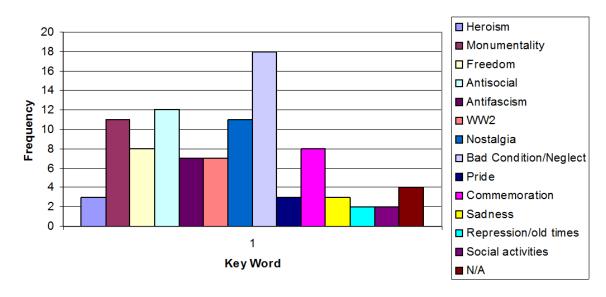
Question 5: What thoughts come to mind when you hear about the Partisans' Graveyard in Mostar?

This question allowed qualitative responses. Although 75 of the 99 respondents answered this question, one response [56] simply answered "Nar", which, although in Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian language means 'pomegranate', is almost definitely a truncated version of an answer alluding to drug use. This response has been omitted from analysis. Due to the qualitative nature of answers, a number of key words and themes have been drawn from the responses, in order to attempt to quantify them. These were determined as follows:

Key Word	Description
Heroism	Respondent uses the word 'heroes' to describe those commemorated

Monumentality	Response focuses on the architectural or artistic aspects of the monument
Freedom	The word 'freedom' is contained within the response
Antisocial	The association of the Partisans' Cemetery with antisocial behaviour is mentioned
Antifascism	Refers directly to antifascism or a battle against fascism, as opposed to World War 2
WW2	Refers directly to World War 2 or the People's Liberation War
Nostalgia	Respondent relates the monument to past personal experiences or events
Bad	One of the primary thoughts of respondents is about the current
Condition/Neglect	condition of the monument
Pride	Pride in the existence of the monument, as architecture or as a symbol or commemoration
Commemoration	Response directly references commemorative and memorial purposes of the monument
Sadness	Regret or sadness at the current state of the monument is expressed
Past repression	Response directly alludes to Yugoslavia as having had a repressive or evil regime
Social activities	Recreational activities including walking and socializing, not including drug use or alcohol abuse
N/A	Response was impossible to categorize

NB: Several of the answers given fall into more than one category, up to a maximum of three. The frequencies of these responses were as follows:



The responses that could not be categorized above include comments like "I [feel like] a Partisan" [98] and "I just remember where it is" [86].

A number of interesting responses and trends were gathered through this question. One response in particular, [89], is of interest, as the respondent believed the monument not only commemorated Partisans from the Second World War, but also "those who died later". Other comments of note include that of respondent [43], who claimed that hearing of the monument made them think of "Better times before the recent war", and

respondent [75], a resident of Mostar who was also born there, and stated that they had not visited the Partisans' Cemetery for at least 5 years, who stated that they considered the monument "A dirty, neglected, gathering place for shady people" when hearing about it.

Of no surprise is the fact that the two most frequent themes brought up in answers focus on antisocial behaviour around the monument and the bad condition and state of neglect that it is currently in. A total of 24 responses to this question (32%) touched on at least one of these two themes.

Question 6: How often and why do you visit the Partisans' Graveyard in Mostar?

This question allowed the respondent to answer freely as to how regularly they visited the monument, as opposed to providing check boxes. The justification for this was the fact that it was impossible to know how to create category borders, considering the fact that no previous research has been undertaken into visitor trends and habits in relation to the Partisans' Cemetery.

Although only 72 persons responded to this question, the frequency of visits could be obtained for a further 2 respondents from the responses they provided to question 4a.

The responses regarding frequency of visits have been broken down into four categories.

The responses regarding frequency of visits have been broken down into four categories, as follows:

Category	Definition	Frequency
Never	Respondent has never visited the Partisans' Cemetery	15
Rare	Respondent visits less than once per year	33
Occasional	Respondent visits 1 to 3 times per year	20
Frequent	Respondent visits more than 3 times per year	6

It is interesting to see that only just over a third of respondents to this question visit the Partisans' Cemetery on an annual or more frequent basis. This can be explained through the large number of respondents not living in the city (57%) or country (34%). Of the six frequent visitors to the Cemetery, four are residents of Mostar, and a further one is a resident of Bosnia and Herzegovina who stated their place of residence as 'Uz Neretva' (lit. 'Along the Neretva') and was therefore not included as a resident of Mostar, although they undoubtedly live within the city or very close by. The final respondent was a resident of the UK. I believe this person to have been a resident of Mostar within the months immediately preceding the distribution of the questionnaire.

Five of those who claim to never visit the Partisans' Cemetery are residents of Mostar. Three of these were also born in the town, although one respondent [61] further qualified their answer by stating that the reason they did not visit was due to the monument's current condition.

One respondent [82] stated that, although they had visited the monument, they had never gone to the upper portion, due to its bad reputation. Three people ([25], [90] & [96]) stated that they visited to show the monument to tourists or guests. Respondents [19] and [51] stated that they primarily visited the monument for official purposes, with [19] being

involved in activities of the Slovenian Second World War veterans' association and [51] undertaking film work there.

Question 7: What are your opinions on the Partisans' Graveyard?

After obtaining data on respondents' age, birthplace and place of residence, as well as their frequency of and reasons for visiting the Partisans' Cemetery and basic personal associations of it, the questionnaire then attempted to obtain further insight into the values that individuals ascribe to the monument. This question asked for respondents' general opinions on the monument. Although 75 respondents provided an answer to this question, sixteen stated that they had 'no opinion', and a further four stated that they have opinions on the monument, but declined to elucidate (respondent [76] stating "You don't want to know!").

The question provoked a number of varied and interesting responses. Due to the variety, it is impossible to generalize these answers or categorize them, although a number of themes did recur throughout the responses, including the monument's current poor condition, a need to rehabilitate and protect the monument, its historical and symbolic importance for the town, and also its artistic qualities. Perhaps the most lucid response in such respects was that of respondent [45]; "The symbiosis between architecture and nature, the poetry in stone, a symbol of suffering and values that for me represents Mostar". Even those with no personal or ideological connection to the monument commonly expressed a desire to see it restored, with respondent [51] stating "[I have no special opinions on it], but I hope they will repair it".

A number of respondents aired their view that the current administration is largely responsible for the neglect and vandalism of the Partisans' Cemetery. Respondent [24] expressed a particularly cynical stance in this respect, stating "Well, the "government" should take appropriate action to restore the cemetery and set up specific provisions for it", implying an often-expressed view amongst Mostar residents that the local administration is ineffective and mired in ethno-political 'point-scoring'.

One respondent [06] stated "...It should be reintegrated into the city as an active public space", echoing efforts made at certain other monuments by Bogdanovic, most notably that at Prilep. Other respondents also mentioned the need to reintegrate the Partisans' Cemetery into the city's urban fabric, but for different reasons: [15] stated "It should be renovated and all citizens should be made every day to swear an oath of anti-fascism", suggesting an overtly political motive for the monument's rehabilitation; a similarly politically-minded statement was given by [38] in regard to the monument's current condition and decline "[The] Partisan Cemetery must be protected as a cultural monument, and not remain a symbol of fascist victory!". The 'fascist victory' referred to in this statement was the monument's current condition and episodes of vandalism including the spraying of fascist, Nazi and pro-Ustaše symbols and slogans on the monument's walls. On the opposite end of the spectrum, [64] (who had, in answer to Question 5, responded that they thought of "Evil, repression, Communism" when hearing about the monument) stated "Everything we can profit financially from is fine by me. In this case, money comes from tourism.", showing that political ideals are not the primary

factor in all citizens' minds when approaching the subject of the future of the Partisans' Cemetery.

However, not all respondents were enthusiastic about the conservation and rehabilitation of the Partisans' Cemetery. Respondent [73] stated "It takes up too much space that could be better utilized; a monument to the failed ideology of the regime. I do not know why there is so much fuss about it.". It must be noted that this respondent was not a resident of Mostar, but had been born and lived in Zenica, a town approximately 150 kilometres away.

A final point of interest is the comment of respondent [91]; "A sign to explain the graveyard is needed". In conversation with a member of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Commission to Preserve National Monuments, this point was brought up. A sign had been erected at the site, but was taken down (most likely as a result of theft or extreme vandalism) at some point shortly after being put up. There is currently a plan to erect a second official sign giving an overview of the monument, and stating its designation as a National Monument. However, funding issues and worries about potential vandalism due to the monument currently not being under surveillance have delayed the erection of this. The Commission employee mentioned that the Partisans' Cemetery is considered a priority site for the erection of a sign; the only one of Bogdanovic's monuments within Bosnia and Herzegovina to currently be so. The lack of signage and current condition of the monument may lead to misconceptions within the population about its status: respondent [82] stated "I think it should be culturally protected". From this, one can infer that the respondent is unaware of the monument's status as a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Question 8: Do you view it as important?

This question was primarily interpreted by respondents in two different ways; whether they perceived the monument to be of personal importance, or whether it was of importance to the wider society. Some respondents answered the question in regard to both (e.g. [90] "It has no personal importance to me, but I think that it is an important monument to the history of the city and the state."), and a large number were unclear as to whom they were referring to. A small number of responses to this question are also uninterpretable. The table below shows the breakdown of answers:

Importance for Personal reasons	14
Importance for wider Society	19
Unclear who importance attributable to	34
Uninterpretable answer	7

The breakdown for each type of answer follows.

Personal Importance

Fourteen people answered this question in regard to the monument's importance for themselves as individuals. Of these answers, eight respondents viewed the monument as having a personal importance, and five viewed the monument as unimportant. One respondent claimed they were 'unsure'. Of the eight who viewed the monument as

important, five directly associated it to past memories; two of these to childhood memories. A further respondent [65] claimed that they regarded it as one of the symbols of 'my town' (Mostar). One of those who did not find the monument important [80] further justified their answer by saying that they did not personally find it important due to the fact they rarely visited it.

Importance to Society

Nineteen people answered this question directly in reference to wider society. Of the nineteen, none believed the monument had no importance. Two respondents had mixed feelings, with one stating they were 'unsure', and one stating "At some point it must have been, but it doesn't show any more". Of interest is the fact that a far higher proportion of those referring to the monument's importance to wider society mentioned the impact of symbolism; six respondents directly referred to the Partisans' Cemetery as a symbol, with three claiming it to be a symbol of a political ideology, and three as a symbol of the city of Mostar. Eight of the respondents claimed the monument was of historical importance, to the town, the country or even wider society. One of these responses [25] further elucidated, stating "[It is of] great importance for the history, culture, architecture and aesthetics of the town". One further respondent [67] focused on potential touristic attributes of the site, stating "When they invest in it, it could be of interest for tourists".

Unclear who Importance is attributed to

Of the answers to Question 8, it was difficult to determine whether answers related to the individual respondent or to wider society for 34 responses. Of these, nineteen believed the monument had some form of importance, twelve that it had no importance, and a further three were unsure, or further clarified their comments. One of these [93] was interesting in that the respondent answered (in English) "Not more than memorial monument". This can be interpreted in two ways; either as "Not as anything more than a memorial" or as "No more than any other memorial". Either interpretation of this suggests that the respondent believed that the most significant aspect of the monument's values was its commemorative or memorial element.

Question 9: Who do you think views it as important?

This question provoked a wide range of responses. Two-thirds of respondents opted to answer this question, with a total of thirteen categories of answers being identified. These are summarised in the table below:

Important to Mostar's citizens	13
Important to wider geographic area (BiH; Yugoslavia; Europe; World)	6
Important to the Elderly	6
Important to Antifascists	11
Important to the families and friends of those commemorated here	9
Important for the Arts/ architecture/history	8
Important to 'normal'/'decent'/'multicultural' people	11
Important to Everybody	8
Important to Partisans/Communists	5
Important to nobody	3

Important to a particular ethnicity	1
Other/Uncategorizable	4
Spoiled Answer	2

What is immediately obvious from these frequencies is the large amount of people associating the monument with Antifascism, 'normality' and the city of Mostar. It must be noted that 'Antifascists' were mentioned by people whose views can generally be regarded as 'pro' and 'anti' Partisans' Cemetery (likewise for the category 'Partisans/Communists'). The emphasis on this group may be partially due to a bias in the promotion of the questionnaire for data collection. Nine of the respondents who said the monument was important to Mostarians exclusively mentioned this as the group to whom it bore significance. One of these [98] further expanded on this by stating "All true Mostarians. Also, the immigrants should, but unfortunately not so!" By 'immigrants', the respondent presumably is referring to those who arrived in the city during the post-war influx of displaced persons, who are often blamed by the citizens of Mostar for the instigation of ethnic tensions. A further respondent [64] referred to the financial benefits that they perceived the Partisans' Cemetery could bring to the town: "As a [potential] source of revenue, it should be important to all Mostarians".

Only two people in the category of Arts/architecture/history directly referred to the monument's architectural value, and one more to its value as a cultural site. The rest of these respondents spoke of its value to those with an interest in regional or world history. Of surprise is the fact that six respondents claimed the monument to be of value to 'the elderly'. At almost 10% of respondents, this would suggest that there is an underlying feeling that the Partisans' Cemetery represents 'days past' and is of little or no relevance today. Four of these respondents exclusively mentioned this category, while another one also mentioned families of those commemorated there. The final respondent [96] answered "Alternative citizens and activists. Elderly people". The former part of this response is classified as 'uncategorizable'.

The other three answers considered uncategorizable are as follows: "(It is important to) future generations and myself' [15]; "Both fascists and anti-fascists ... The cowards damage the defenceless stone, and anti-fascists are still trying to find inspiration for their fight" [38]; "Those that don't fit into [agree with] new Nationalist politics" [40]. The response provided by [38] is of particular interest, as it suggests that the Partisans' Cemetery also acts as a focal point for 'fascist' graffiti and vandalism. The response of [40] connects Nationalist politics with the deterioration of the Partisans' Cemetery, and also with the attitudes that have led to its vandalism and neglect.

Eight responses suggest that the monument is of importance to everybody. One particular response is of interest, with [23] stating "Everyone, because we need to honour our fallen heroes as all the normal people in the world do (e.g. soldiers' cemeteries in America, where (everybody) pays homage to (the fallen) because they gave their lives for their country)". This response would suggest that the respondent believes that the tradition of commemoration of soldiers is not deeply rooted within local society, but should be, and that they believe inspiration should be taken from commemorative traditions in other countries. This response is arguably controversial, as – as evidenced in Chapter 2 of this thesis – commemorative traditions still exist within both Bosnia and Herzegovina and other Former Yugoslav countries. However, the fact that this monument is not maintained in a way comparable to those in many countries is a valid point.

Finally, it is worth noting that only one respondent identified the Partisans' Cemetery as being important to a particular ethno-nationality. Respondent [05] stated that they believed that the monument was viewed as important by "The Serbs, maybe". It is important to note that this respondent was European, but not from the Former Yugoslavia, and had visited the Partisans' Cemetery within the past year, almost definitely as a tourist. The fact that the only ethnically-oriented response came from a non-native may suggest that, although ethno-nationality is of limited importance to those from Mostar, Bosnia & Herzegovina and other Former Yugoslav countries, the narrative given to visitors and tourists may give them an altered perspective on peoples' perspectives of SFR Yugoslavia.

Question 10: Does the Partisans' Graveyard bring something good/bad to the town? What exactly?

This question showed a deep split between residents of the town. Overall, 41 responses claimed the Partisans' Cemetery enhanced the town, 18 claimed it had no impact upon the town or a negative impact, and 6 of the answers were undecipherable. However, many of those that claimed the monument had a negative impact upon the town added as a caveat that this was primarily due to the monument's current condition, and the impression that this left upon visitors. The two categories (positive and negative) are analysed separately below:

Positive contribution

Of the 41 respondents who claimed that the Partisans' Cemetery enhanced the town, 17 refrained from providing a justification for their answer. From the other 24 responses, a variety of themes and reasons were provided. As with previous questions, some responses mentioned multiple themes. These have been categorized and given their respective frequencies in the table below:

Category	Frequency
History/heritage	11
Culture	7
Symbol of the Town	2
Heroism	2
Nature/greenery	2
Leisure	2
Symbol of Unity	2
Commemoration	2
Tourism	1

By far the two most prominent categories of responses are those that imply that the Partisans' Cemetery is a historic site, and part of the town or country's heritage, and those that imply that it is a cultural boon to the town. Of surprise is the fact that only one respondent stated that they believed that the monument made a positive contribution to the town's touristic industry, upon which it is heavily reliable. Two respondents believed

that the Partisans' Cemetery was important as a symbol of the city; this is some surprise, considering the international reputation and fame of Stari Most. However, one of these two respondents [13] further explained their answer, stating "(The) Partisan Memorial Cemetery is one of the most valuable cultural-historical monuments in BiH, & as such represents one of the two symbols for which Mostar is globally known."

It is also noteworthy that two respondents mentioned the Partisans' Cemetery's importance as a symbol of unity. This is of some surprise considering the well-documented tensions within the town since the end of the 1992-95 war.

One respondent [25] who did not clarify how the Partisans' Cemetery positively contributes to the town stated "It contributes, but the town doesn't contribute to the graveyard", showing an acute awareness of the detrimental effect of neglect upon the monument.

Negative or no contribution

Of the 18 respondents who stated the Partisans' Cemetery contributed nothing, or was of detriment to the city of Mostar, twelve offered further explanation, which again can be categorised. The table below shows the frequencies for all explanations:

Category	Frequency
Reflects badly on the City/Citizens	5
Bypassed by the Tourist Industry	1
Too badly Damaged to contribute	2
Drugs & Antisocial Behaviour	2
Political Reasons	3

The most common reason for the perception that the Partisans' Cemetery contributes negatively to the town is that its current condition reflects badly on the city and its citizens. This was further elucidated upon by some respondents as being specifically due to the damage evident upon the monument, or the rubbish accumulated at the site. The three responses mentioning politics ranged from one respondent [60] claiming that the monument is used by Bosniak politicians and military forces to associate Croats with fascism, while at the same time equally contributing to the monument's neglect, for purposes of propaganda, to one [68] stating "It inflicts damage. It should be torn down, as it is a monument to past BAD times."

However, it must be noted that of these 18 responses, eleven suggested that the detrimental effect of the monument upon the city was a temporary thing, with comments such as "(It is an) Amazing thing for the city to have, but its abandoned state reflects badly on the city" [06] and "When they invest in it, it will contribute to the city, but this is not helped by the damage" [67] showing that although a significant proportion of respondents (31% of interpretable answers) believe the monument is detrimental to the city, it could potentially contribute in a positive way in the opinion of a number of these. One of the six responses [45] that was not analysed here gave an insight into the situation of the monument that was not mentioned by anybody else: "Currently neither. It is an area that seems to be exempt from the urban fabric, as citizens will not realize the value, importance and potential of the Cemetery." I believe that this statement summarizes the

primary problem of the Partisans' Cemetery. It is not seen to be 'of the City' by the people around it, for numerous reasons, ranging from politics to neglect and vandalism.

7.1.5 Discussion

The questionnaire responses analysed here provide a wide range of opinions on the value of the Partisans' Cemetery to the city of Mostar and its utilisers – both citizens and visitors – and give a deeper insight into problems surrounding its conservation and rehabilitation as a part of the urban fabric. It can be seen that the majority of people want the monument to be preserved, and that many believe its neglect and decay to be a big problem for the monument itself and also for the city as a whole.

Although a small number of respondents associate the monument with negative political connotations from the former regime, this is definitely not the predominant trend amongst those who answered the questionnaire. In fact, a number of those who could be interpreted to bear a disliking toward the Socialist Federal Yugoslavia regime also expressed either admiration – or at the very least tolerance toward and acceptance of – the Partisans' Cemetery. Perhaps [64] is the best example of such a respondent. Both born in and a resident of Mostar, they primarily visited the monument to binge drink, and stated that it reminded them of "Evil. Repression. Communism". In later answers, they identified its potential as a source of touristic revenue, and claimed it should be considered important "to all Mostarians" for this reason. Their answer for Question 10, on whether the monument contributed anything to the city in either a good or bad way, was as follows:

"It does not harm the city. If someone sees the Partisans as evil, like I do, it is evil and oppression that we survived, we won something, and all of theirs that survives is a monument. Those partisans celebrate the memorial of their "heroes." This city is a city of diversity and to be accepted. You love it, and respect others."

On the opposite end of the spectrum was respondent [60]. Also born in and a resident of Mostar, this person considered the Partisans' Cemetery "The biggest and most beautiful memorial in Yugoslavia to Partisan soldiers...". They claimed to visit the monument approximately every 10 days for recreational (walking) purposes. They claimed (in response to Question 7) that they believed that the monument "...needs to be repaired, but is used for political means, which inhibits reconstruction". They were also one of the people who viewed it as important due to it being a symbol of the city of Mostar, and should be important to everyone, as it is a monument to commemorate "people who have died for an ideology that was right and (it) should be respected". However, when asked in Question 10 whether they believed monument contributed anything to the city in either a good or bad way, they answered:

"Currently the damages are used in the interest of Bosniaks and the Army of BiH, who declare themselves Antifascists, while associating Croats and the HVO with fascism and the legacy of WW2. The Bosnian army is leading to the situation of not renewing cemeteries and (promoting) tensions in the town. One should detach/separate WW2 and the (modern) Army, and move the date of the wreath laying from 14.02, because the

murder of innocent brothers/monks (on that date) is a sufficient reason for that."

The "murder of innocent brothers/monks" mentioned here is the killing of six priests by the Partisan liberators of Mostar. Discussions of the event were suppressed during the Yugoslav period, and nowadays all information available on the killings is derived from revisionist (often Croat Nationalist) sources. Again with this respondent, a mixture of beliefs and utilizations of the monument is evident, but at an almost polar opposite to the responses of [64].

7.1.6 Evaluation of Methodology

The methodology adopted here to obtain opinions on the values of the Partisans' Cemetery has, admittedly, certain drawbacks. These have been identified below and critically evaluated with regard to the effect on the results collected.

Age Bias

Due to the fact that responses were collected exclusively online, there is a bias toward younger respondents. Only 12% of respondents were aged 45 or over. However, it can be predicted that most elderly people would have a 'positive' view of the Partisans' Cemetry, as evidenced by responses to Question 9, where a significant number of respondents stated that they believed the monument was viewed as important mainly by elderly people, and a similar amount said it was of value to former Partisans, a demographic that consists exclusively of the elderly.

Lack of immigrants

Only eight respondents were immigrants into Mostar, and there was no way of determining whether they had immigrated before or after the war. This is an important factor that should have been investigated further, as locals tend to imply that vandalism and extremist graffiti are predominantly the actions of 'post-war newcomers'. Of interest is the fact that of the eight immigrants who answered the questionnaire, three did not answer any questions further than those on personal details (Questions 1-3), and a further one answered nothing beyond Question 4 (where they claimed to have last visited the Partisans' Cemetery for the commemoration event held on February 14th). Of the other four, two had little opinion on the monument (although one of these expressed their contempt for the neglect of the site in Question 10, claiming it reflected badly on the city), and the other two viewed the Partisans' Cemetery in a generally positive light, with one being categorized among the 'Frequent' visitors in Question 6.

Ideally, the opinions of this demographic, and in particular post-war immigrants, would be better represented within this survey, as their views regarding the values of the monument are of great interest, and are massively under-represented here.

Over-representation of 'AntiFa'/Antifascists

The survey results may also have unintentionally suffered from over-representation amongst Left-Wing and Antifascist groups and individuals. The reason for this is due to

its promotion in two Facebook groups; Partizansko spomen-groblje - Help to preserve famous WW2 Memorial in Mostar and Antifašistička Akcija BiH, in the first days of the questionnaire's launch. While the former of these groups is politically unaligned, it is highly likely that a significant proportion of its members are Left-Wing supporters or activists, and it is evident from posts made on the group's wall that almost all of its most active members are involved in Left-Wing activism. This will have almost definitely resulted in a bias toward an overall 'pro preservation' stance being evident from responses. Nevertheless, when observing responses individually, there is a wide enough spectrum of views represented to form a meaningful analysis of the values of the Partisans' Cemetery.

Anonymity

As the questionnaire was totally anonymous, there was no chance to follow up on any ambiguous comments, or those that were of particular interest for qualitative analysis. Ideally, an option would have been created for individuals to leave their contact details for potential follow-up interviews. However, as the questionnaire aimed to maximize anonymity, due to the potentially heated nature of answers on a contentious part of Mostar's heritage, then it was decided to not include this option, which could have potentially made respondents uneasy.

Overall Appraisal

Overall, due to the wide variety of responses obtained and the fact that the questionnaire reached its maximum capacity of respondents in 11 days, it can be argued that the questionnaire fulfilled its aims in spite of the identified deficiencies.

7.2 Defining Values: Legislation

During its Session held from 19 to 24 January 2006 the Commission to Preserve National Monuments adopted a Decision to inscribe the Partisans' Memorial Cemetery in Mostar as a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is classed as an architectural ensemble (as opposed to a sepulchral ensemble or burial ground ensemble, categories of National Monuments also evident within Mostar Municipality).

The decision was based on criteria as laid out in the Commission's official *Criteria for Designation of the Property as National Monuments*² as adopted in 2002, and modified in 2003. The original Criteria of value (for immovable cultural property) are published on the Commission's website³ as follows:

II. VALUE

A. Time frame

(properties arisen from the prehistoric times until the end of XX century)

B. Historic value

(association of a building, or group or place to a historic figure in the history or a significant event in the history)

C. Artistic and aesthetic value

- i. Quality of workmanship,
- ii. Quality of material,
- iii. Proportions,
- iv. Composition,
- v. Value of a detail,
- vi. Structural value.

D. Clarity (documentary, scientific and educational or pedagogic value)

- i. Material evidence about less known historic era,
- ii. Evidence of historic changes,
- iii. Work of a famous artist or builder,
- iv. Evidence of certain type, style or regional manner,
- v. Evidence of a typical lifestyle in the certain era.

E. Symbolic value

- i. Ontology value,
- ii. Sacral value,
- iii. Traditional value,
- iv. Relation to the rituals or traditions,
- v. Significance for the identity of a group of people.

F. Townscape/Landscape value

² Official Gazette of BiH nos. 33/02 and 15/03

³ http://kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=88&lang=4

- i. Relation of the form in the comparison with other parts of the group,
- ii. Meaning in the townscape,
- iii. A building or a group of buildings is a part of a group or site.

G. Authenticity

- i. Form and design,
- ii. Materials and substance,
- iii. Use and function,
- iv. Traditions and techniques,
- v. Location and setting,
- vi. Spirit and feeling, and
- vii. Other internal and external factors.

H. Uniqueness/rarity

- i. The single or rare example of a object type or style,
- ii. A masterpiece of workmanship or course,
- iii. Work of a prominent artist/ architect, craftsman.

I. Integrity (groups, sites, collections)

- i. Material wholeness,
- ii. Homogeneity,
- iii. Completeness,
- iv. Unimpaired condition.

In 2003, the section II.A (Time Frame) was revised, with the words "up to the end of the twentieth century" being replaced by "up to 1960". This should, in theory, have prevented the Partisans' Cemetery from being made a National Monument. However, provisions were made in the Decision as follows:

In cases where the building in question is an outstandingly valuable work of contemporary art or architecture of a date later than 1960, the Commission will consider these cases and issue a recommendation to the heritage protection authorities at the Entity, regional or local level that the monument be protected pursuant to the relevant laws.

Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2003

This provision has allowed all three of Bogdanovic's monuments within Bosnia and Herzegovina (Partisans' Cemetery, Mostar (1965); Necropolis to the Victims of Fascism, Novi Travnik (1975); Garavice Memorial Park, Bihac (1981)) to be declared as National Monuments.

The criteria deemed by the Commission to be pertinent to the Partisans' Cemetery in its 2006 Decision are as follows:

B. Historical value

C. Artistic and aesthetic value

C.iv. composition

D. Clarity

D.iii. work of a major artist or builder

E. Symbolic value

E.v. significance for the identity of a group of people

F. Townscape/ Landscape value

F.i. Relation to other elements of the site

F.ii. meaning in the townscape

G. Authenticity

G.i. form and design

G.ii. material and content

G.iii. use and function

G.v. location and setting

G.vi. spirit and feeling

H. Rarity and representativity

H.ii. outstanding work of art or architecture

H.iii. work of a prominent artist, architect or craftsman

I. Completeness

I.i. physical coherence

I.ii. homogeneity

I.iii. completeness

It could be argued that the Partisans' Cemetery fulfils two further criteria; those of D.v and G.vii.

D.v (Evidence of a typical lifestyle in the certain era) is particularly pertinent to this monument. As one of the key foci of the Socialist Yugoslav state for the purposes of Nation-Building, such monuments (particularly on the scale of the Partisans' Cemetery) are arguably prime examples of this facet of livelihood during the period.

G.vii (Other internal and external factors) is an incredibly vague category. This could be interpreted as the monument's value as the 'stone' part of an 'elemental set' as argued originally by Milicevic-Nikolic (1966), along with Sremska Mitrovica (fire), Prilep (air), Krusevac (earth) and Jasenovac (water). I would argue that this 'set' could be further extended to include Bogdanovic's subsequent works at Leskovac (forest/wood), Bela Crkva (mankind) and Knjazevac (the town); all key elements from which Bogdanovic derived inspiration for his memorial works and writings throughout his career.

7.3 Discussion

The authority-led approach detailed in 7.2, which is reliant on a list of pre-defined values, is successful in capturing many of the values of the monument identified in 7.1. However, it could be argued that Section E.v., and the subsequent elucidation, fail to fully capture the specific values identified in the questionnaire, particularly those of Questions 9 and 10. The Decision to designate the Partisans' Cemetery as a National Monument is also a relatively inflexible document; although amendments can be made to the Decision, it is unlikely that the Commission to Preserve National Monuments (largely due to a lack of resources) would ever readdress the values identified as belonging to the monument. Overall, the questionnaire not only captured the positive values attributed to the Partisans' Cemetery by the local community and visitors, but also the negative ones. Themes related to littering, poor maintenance, vandalism and antisocial behaviour and gatherings were identified. Comments of this nature could be useful as a fulcrum for developing a rehabilitation plan for the monument, and also as a basis for ideas on how to improve the circulation and number of visitors.

It would be beneficial to occasionally repeat this (or a similar) questionnaire as a method of monitoring people's feelings in regard to the Partisans' Cemetery, as an additional monitoring exercise alongside traditional methods of monitoring the condition and standards of maintenance of the monument. Ideally, repetition of such a questionnaire would be undertaken after a reasonable 'settling in' period after the completion of a particular phase of conservation or restoration, or once every two years. It would also be useful to vary the time of year of the questionnaire, as both visiting habits and certain attributes connected to the monument may be influenced by weather and the number of daylight hours.

Chapter 8: Synthesis

8.1 Summary of the Monument

The Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar was designed by Yugoslav architect Bogdan Bogdanović, and opened to the public in 1965. It was Bogdanović's 5th monument, and one of his most ambitious projects. From its opening throughout the period of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the monument was maintained to very high standards and considered (alongside the Stari Most) as one of the jewels of Mostar, and promoted as one of the symbols of the city. In the spring of 1992, with the outbreak of hostilities on the horizon, the Partisans' Cemetery was targeted with a deliberate bombing, an act of destruction which caused much consternation amongst the town's inhabitants. Several thousand people came out in peaceful protest against this act of vandalism, and the increasing possibility of war. When war broke out, the town was besieged by JNA forces, which were eventually expelled by a combined force of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Defence Council. However, hostilities soon erupted between these two factions, and the town became divided into 'eastern' (predominantly Muslim) and 'western' (predominantly Catholic or Croat) sides, with the Partisans' Cemetery lying within the Croat zone of control. During the war it received further damages from both sides, through shelling and vandalism. After the war, the status quo of a divided city was maintained for several years, in spite of attempts by the international community to reintegrate the city. The monument lay abandoned and neglected, subject to occasional acts of vandalism. Due to the lack of maintenance, its condition began to deteriorate; failing drainage and water run-off led to problems with the masonry and pathways, while the horticulture of the site became overgrown, killing off a number of the carefully-chosen plants and shrubs. Efforts to rehabilitate the monument have been undermined by continuing episodes of vandalism and the Partisan Cemetery's growing reputation as a gathering place for antisocial youths, as well as reluctance within the City Administration to fully rehabilitate the site. Although a rehabilitation project is in place, this currently lacks finances to be fully realized.

8.2 The Monument and Mostar

The monument is considered by many of Mostar's pre-war citizens as a symbol of the town. It was a popular place to meet and spend time amongst all demographics, and was also promoted by the town's authorities as a tourist attraction. It lay on the periphery of the town's urban area (a common theme amongst Bogdanović's monuments, although admittedly this is, in part, due to a number marking the location of mass executions, normally committed close to, but not in the centre of, urban areas), and its greenery and water features provided a cooler atmosphere than Mostar's harsh summer climate. In a 2006 interview, Bogdanović hinted at the popularity of his monument amongst people:

Once I was approached in Vienna by a not-so-young person who told me, "I come from Mostar. I don't know how to tell you, but I was conceived on one of your monuments." I received that as a great compliment.

(Interview by Vera Grimmer, Vienna, 29th May 2006)

After the 1992-95 conflict, the site became abandoned. It now has a reputation amongst local people as a meeting place for binge drinkers and drug users, as evidenced by the questionnaire responses in Chapter 7. However, many residents of the town and visitors to the site appreciate its value to Mostar, both as a community object and as a memorial. Therefore, attempts should be made to fully rehabilitate the Partisans' Cemetery, to increase its value to the neighbourhood and to the city as a whole.

8.2.1 The Monument's relationship to local Tourism

Mostar is Bosnia and Herzegovina's primary destination for visitors to the country. Tourism (primarily in the form of 'day trippers' from the Dalmatian coast – see Chapter 3.1) is largely concentrated around Stari Most and the Old Town. This is primarily due to the area's designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, but also – to a lesser extent – due to the area's proximity to the front line during the 1992-95 war, a fact of appeal to tourists interested in the recently-identified phenomenon of 'dark tourism'. There are numerous problems identifiable with this concentration of tourists in one small part of the town, for locals and visitors alike. First, the high concentrations of visitors in the narrow streets of the Old Bridge district of town (often in guided tour groups, increasing congestion) are unpleasant for locals and tourists alike. Many locals avoid this area of town (often utilizing considerably longer routes to reach their destination) during peak tourism times, and the over-crowdedness of the area detracts from the visitor experience. Second, a higher concentration of people, especially holiday-makers with expendable cash, leads to a 'Disneyfication' of the area. Few shops selling household amenities still exist in the Old Town, having been replaced with shops selling handicrafts from the region and tourist souvenirs. The few shops that remain have noticeably higher prices than elsewhere in the region, and also than those on the other side of the town. The concentration of inflated prices, increased profit margins and wealthier customers in this district of town creates an imbalance in the distribution of wealth within the city, a potentially dangerous factor which could contribute to perceived differences and inequalities amongst the town's citizens, something that one must take into account when dealing with a divided city. An issue also related to this is the fact that visitors are primarily led around 'eastern' Mostar (the predominantly Muslim part of the town), and are only presented 'one side' of the wartime and postwar history of the city, another source of discontent amongst some citizens of the town.

Were the Partisans' Cemetery to be incorporated into a standardized itinerary for guided tours of Mostar, many of these issues could be (at least partially) overcome. A tour covering a wider area of the town would ease pedestrian congestion within the Old Bridge Area, encouraging locals to return to the district, and also allow tourists to see more of the city. In addition to this, visitors to the city may have a better experience, as many potential routes incorporating the Partisans' Cemetery would include a number of shaded areas, essential to many tourists from cooler climates in the intense summer heat, which commonly peaks above 40°C in the summer months. Potentially, rental prices for commercial properties would drop around the Old Bridge Area, increasing shop and service diversity in the area. Also, due to the circulation of tourists over a wider area of the city, more bars, cafes and shops would benefit from their custom, increasing competition, and having the knock-on effects of lower prices, increased quality and a

more even distribution of touristic income. Potentially, the prices in bars and restaurants in the Old Town would drop, encouraging local customers to also frequent them, thus guaranteeing a more steady income throughout the year, and increased stability of employment for staff, a significant proportion of whom are currently seasonal workers.

In terms of social cohesion, as mentioned above, the current inequalities in income derived from tourism could be a potential source of conflict in the town, as could the perceivedly 'imbalanced' presentation of the recent conflict through the concentration of tourism within the 'eastern' part of the city. An increased circulation of visitors through the incorporation of the Partisans' Cemetery within the itinerary of guided tours of the town could arguably redress this imbalance, as well as allowing the incorporation of visits to a number of other sites en route to the Partisans' Cemetery.

Current touristic routes by a number of local tour guides are shown in the map of the city below (**Fig 8.2.1.1**). These are arranged by a number of different tour operators, and are designed for tour groups arriving primarily on day trips from the Adriatic coast. Below these is a diagram proposing a new touristic route incorporating the Partisans' Cemetery and the Old Bridge (**Fig 8.2.1.2**). This proposed route should take an estimated 2 hours and 15 minutes, including a short break in the 'western' part of the city, and allowing free time within the proximity of the Old Bridge at the end of the tour. Both start and finish points have adequate parking for tourists. This alternative route utilises the Alternative Entrance to the Partisans' Cemetery, which has yet to be fully rehabilitated.

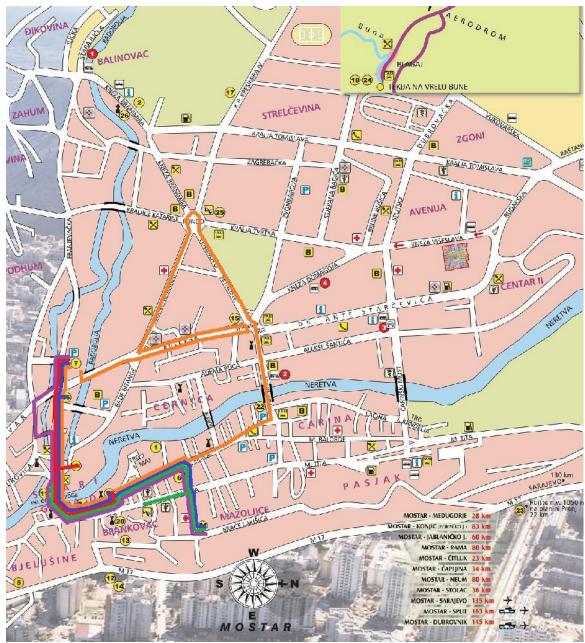


Fig 8.2.1.1: Routes of tour guides in Mostar

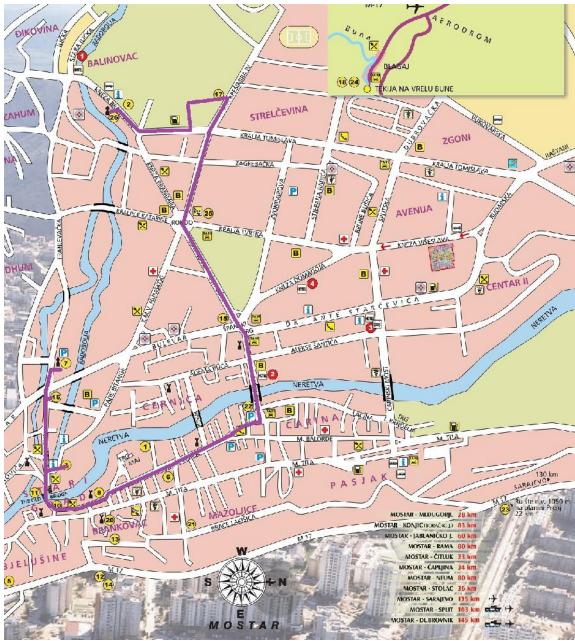


Fig 8.2.1.2: Proposed tour route incorporating Partisans' Cemetery

Description of Maps:

Blue route: Duration 1 hour 40 minutes

Key points - Franciscan church, Synagogue, Old Bridge, Kujundžiluk, Koski Mehmed pasha Mosque, Musilbegović's House

Red route: Duration 1 hour 15 minutes

Key points - Franciscan church, Tabacica Mosque & Hamam, Old Bridge, Kujundžiluk, Koski Mehmed pasha Mosque, Musilbegović's House

Green route: Duration 1 hour

Key points – Musilbegović's House, Kujundžiluk, Old Bridge

Orange route: Duration 2 hours 30 minutes

Key points - Franciscan church, Old Bridge, Kujundžiluk, Fejić Street, Musala Square, Tito Bridge, Spanish Square, Promenade, Rondo, Liska Street, Bulevar (specialist focus on Austro-Hungarian architecture)

Purple route: Duration 1 hour 45 minutes

Key points - Franciscan church, Crooked Bridge, Old Bridge, Kujundžiluk, Koski Mehmed pasha Mosque, Musilbegović's House

Proposed route: Duration 2 hours 15 minutes

Key points – Catholic Cathedral, Partisans' Cemetery, Rondo, Promenade, Spanish Square, Tito Bridge, Musala Square, Kujundžiluk, Old Bridge, Tabacica Mosque & Hamam, Synagogue, Franciscan Church

8.3 The Monument and Memorialisation

The Partisans' Cemetery displays traits of the main themes of Socialist Yugoslavia's war memorials. It was a huge, ambitious project, devoid of any symbolism considered synonymous with the regime. Burials are not divided by religion or ethnicity, and there is no inscription glorifying the soldiers or the cause that they died for.

As discussed in Chapter 4.1, this monument can be considered as part of a 'set' comprising Bogdanović's earlier works, either along the lines of Milićević-Nikolić's (1966) argument of five elemental monuments; fire in Sremska Mitrovica, air in Prilep, earth in Kruševac, stone in Mostar and water in Jasenovac, or the argument detailed earlier that this 'set' can be extended to incorporate Bogdanović's later works at Leskovac (forest/wood), Bela Crkva (mankind) and Knjaževac (the town) – all themes that were common in Bogdanović's writings and monuments.

Commemorative events are still held at almost all of Bogdanović's memorials, as they are at the majority of memorials throughout Former Yugoslav states. However, survivors of the People's Liberation War are dwindling in number, and in many cases monuments have been revised to also commemorate victims of the Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s. Motions have been made within Mostar's municipal administration to rededicate the Partisans' Cemetery to all victims of the Second World War in Mostar, including those who were killed by Partisan forces due to collaboration with the occupying forces. Currently, such a move is prevented by the Decision of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, which prevents any changes to the layout of the monument without explicit written permission.

Although, as highlighted by Chapter 5, the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar can be considered one of the least highly protected, presented and valued monuments from Bogdanović's opus, it does not face anywhere near the same dangers as some Second World War memorials, and also those of the more recent wars. Between 1990 and 2000 in Croatia alone, the Association of Antifascist Soldiers of Croatia state that 731 monuments and 2,233 memorial statues and plaques had been destroyed (SABH, 2002) p.349) primarily for ideological reasons. Since then, the destruction has continued, both in Croatia and elsewhere. In Croatia, the continuing decline of the condition of the Petrova Gora monument, by Vojin Bakić, has recently been the subject of much media attention¹, culminating in an international project to address its future². In the town of Široki Brijeg in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on 4th May, 2013, the memorial 'Stone Flower', constructed in 1985 was destroyed by municipal authorities³, although the landscaped parkland on which it lay is not scheduled for any modifications. Finally, it must be noted that the Partisans' Cemetery is not the only memorial to suffer damage within Mostar. As well as the continuous vandalism of other Second World War memorials within the town, on the night of 13th January, 2013 an explosion blew up the monument to the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina⁴, located on Bulevar, one of the town's main streets. It is believed a grenade or small explosive charge was detonated underneath the monument, shattering one section of it (Fig 8.3.1). In Priština, Kosovo, the monument to fallen Partisan fighters, built in 1960, is expected to be destroyed later in 2013, to make

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¹ http://blog.archpaper.com/wordpress/archives/20717

² http://us5.campaign-archive1.com/?u=b44ca719702311562cf51e75b&id=586d2de61b&e=15b77af62c

³ http://www.avaz.ba/vijesti/iz-minute-u-minutu/u-sirokom-brijegu-uklonjen-spomenik-antifasistima

⁴ http://www.radiosarajevo.ba/novost/99896/eksplozija-u-mostaru-srusen-spomenik-armiji-bih

way for a memorial complex to Ibrahim Rugova, president of the self-declared Republic of Kosova from 1992-2000, who died in 2006 and is buried approximately 50 metres from the monument

Overall, many monuments to the People's Liberation War are under threat from authorized destruction, vandalism, historical revisionism and theft. Due to the rapid ideological change witnessed in the countries which composed SFR Yugoslavia beginning in the 1980s and continuing to the present day, these threats should be identified and discussed in an open manner: many of the monuments are significant works of art created by the countries' foremost architects, artists, designers and sculptors. At the same time, one cannot impose the ideas and values from Western European countries with regard to monumentalism and memorialisation: whereas in Western Europe, the rhetoric with regard to World War 2 was built around antifascism, the Socialist Yugoslav state built around the fight against fascism. With the fall of communism and SFR Yugoslavia, those who opposed the regime often connected antifascism with communism, and monuments to the antifascist struggle were destroyed as symbols of the former state. However, it must be noted that in recent years, since the onset of the Great Recession⁵ in late 2007, war memorials have been at ever-greater risk of metal theft in many Western European countries; in the UK it was estimated in 2011 that on average one war memorial per week was targeted by metal thieves (War Memorials Trust, 2011). The Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar can be considered somewhat fortunate in having no components of salvageable value. Were this to be the case, considering its abandoned condition, it would surely have also been targeted for such materials. Overall, it would be fair to claim, however, that the changing face of politics within Bosnia and Herzegovina (and, by extrapolation, the Former Yugoslavia as a whole) poses a great threat to the commemorative legacy of SFR Yugoslavia, one of the keystones in the nation-building philosophy of Josip Broz Tito, and one of the most identifiable architectural legacies of any political ideology of the 20th century.

⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Recession



Fig 8.3.1 Destroyed monument from 1992-95 war, Mostar, January 2013

8.4 Formulating a Plan for Conservation

8.4.1 Key factors in conserving the Monument

The Partisan Cemetery's current condition does not make it an attractive place for either tourists or locals. To improve the site's appeal, a few key issues need to be addressed. These are detailed below.

Access and circulation

One major problem with the site is issues with access and circulation. Currently, the Alternative Entrance is in poor condition, with overgrown plants blocking the path and no pathway surface. From outside the monument, it is unclear where exactly the entrance is, so this access point is primarily used as an exit. Its overgrown nature deters visitors from exiting via this route, and so it is primarily used by the small number of locals who regularly visit the site. Opening this pathway would have the positive effect of increasing circulation through the site, encouraging people to use it as a thoroughfare, having the additional effect of deterring spontaneous vandalism and antisocial gatherings, which primarily occur around the upper terraces and Ceremonial Pathway of the monument, both of which have a clear view down to the Main Entrance, but which remain relatively unseen by passers-by and irregular police patrols, due to the poor lighting of the monument and overgrowth of vegetation.

Lighting

The site currently has no lighting at night. The introduction of lighting will have two main effects; it will deter antisocial gatherings and also aesthetically improve the site.

Better lighting is believed to have a minor role in the reduction of crime, but, more importantly, a significant role in reducing people's fear of crime (Ramsay, 1991), thus encouraging a greater amount of evening and night time visitors to the monument, which in turn will deter antisocial gatherings.

Prior to the 1992-95 war, the monument was lit at night time, and this was always the intention. The white stone of the monument is very impressive when illuminated, and, in combination with well-maintained horticultural elements, could turn the Partisans' Cemetery once again into a symbol of the town.

As part of the post-war rehabilitation project, a lighting system has already been designed for the illumination of the monument⁶. However, it must be noted that prior to its installation, it is important to guarantee the security of fixtures and fittings through the implementation of adequate security measures, to deter vandals and thieves.

Security

A surveillance system for the monument has been designed, incorporating five remotely-controlled cameras; two located on the Upper Terraces, one on the Ceremonial Pathway, one in the alcove at the Main Entrance and one on the pathway leading to the 'Lion Gate', approximately 20 metres from the main road⁷. This, in combination with the

⁶ Agencija Stari Grad Mostar documentation

⁷ Agencija Stari Grad Mostar documentation

employment of a security guard to observe the cameras and patrol the site, in combination with regular police patrols, would help combat vandalism and antisocial behaviour.

Restoration, rehabilitation and maintenance

All aspects of the site need to be fully restored, including water features and horticulture, as well as static elements. Pathways and horticulture need to be regularly maintained, and a study should be undertaken on the best measures to remove graffiti from the site. The potential of coating areas of the site with a sacrificial coating should also be considered, as long as it is not detrimental to the site's aesthetics. Provisions should be kept in supply at all times for graffiti removal, to allow the rapid treatment of the site in order to reduce the risk of graffiti 'hot spots' forming in certain areas.

Promotion

Once fully rehabilitated, the monument should be more heavily promoted to tourists and locals alike, possibly as part of a 'green belt' connected with the pedestrianized promenade along Nikole Šubića Zrinjskog, less than 200 metres away. The Alternative Entrance should be clearly signposted, and the pathway well-delineated, with the structure housing the water-pumping facilities redesigned to look less incongruous and made more secure.

8.4.2 Learning from other monuments?

Each of Bogdanović's monuments has its own unique features in regard to accessibility, location, circulation and utilization amongst locals, touristic potential and condition. It would be interesting to compare these in further detail (along with other monuments to the People's Liberation War), as well as reasons for their locations. In Chapter 5, it was determined that the best examples of Bogdanović's monuments in terms of a combination of protection, presentation and value were those at Jasenovac, Prilep and Labin, which all scored above 85% in the ranking system used, followed by Knjaževac, Sremska Mitrovica, Vukovar and Bela Crkva, which all scored between 67 and 70 per cent. Looking at these monuments, one can derive several key factors to their success, which could potentially be replicated at the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar.

Both Jasenovac and Labin have restricted access for visitors. In the case of the Partisans' Cemetery, although this is a technically feasible option, it would severely affect the ethos of the place, which was intended not only as a memorial monument, but also as a landscaped parkland for people to enjoy.

The site of Bela Crkva is incredibly inaccessible to tourists. Funding for the site has been scaled back in recent years, and, although the site is currently in a good condition, the building which hosts the museum collection is starting to show signs of accelerating deterioration. This, combined with the cancellation of the official government commemorations at the site in 2001 and declining numbers of visitors to mark the 7th July Uprising, would imply that the ranking score achieved by Bela Crkva in these calculations will not be retained for long, as presentation and value scores continue to decline.

The site of Dudik on the outskirts of Vukovar scores relatively highly considering its condition due to two primary factors; many of the most visible damages to the site are

relatively easily repairable, meaning that although it receives a relatively low score for Condition, its Integrity score remains high, and recently there has been an increased academic interest in the site (see, for instance, Komac & Guillén, 2011; Baillie, 2011). With the raising of the profile of Former Yugoslavia's monumental works by publications such as Jan Kempenaers's *Spomenik* (2010), which immeasurably raised awareness amongst the public of their existence, it is conceivable that the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar may receive further academic study in the near future, as may a number of Bogdanović's other works.

The site of Prilep, while also the focus of a recent academic work (Komac & Guillén, 2011), has possibly had the most successful adaptation to a post-Socialist system. The monument, while remaining physically unaltered in itself, has become the social hub of the city of Prilep, with numerous festivities taking place on the surrounding fields, and social and cultural facilities being installed in the surrounding area. The popularity of the monument amongst the local populace is summarized in the following paragraph:

The people of Prilep are proud [of] its monument and treat it with respect and joy. It is a living place and a good example of variety and compatibility of uses. Depending on the time of day, one can find children playing there, people running and walking by, or old men out for a stroll. At night or very early in the morning some solitary person will visit it.

Komac & Guillén, 2011 p.30

The common feature shared between the monuments at Prilep and Mostar is the fact that they were built on the peripheries of their respective cities, in areas that were later urbanized. However, whereas Bogdanović chose to reflect the mountain plains in his work at Prilep with wide, open grasslands, at Mostar the rugged terrain was emulated by the forestation of the surrounding area, meaning that a similar reuse of the land employed as a boundary between the monument and the city as at Prilep is unattainable at Mostar. The remaining two sites, those in Knjaževac and Sremska Mitrovica have a number of similarities to the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar. The monument in Knjaževac benefits from being incorporated into guided tours of the town (Milošević Micić, 2013), being at the heart of the urban zone, and having numerous access points. Although not heavily promoted as a tourist attraction (see Chapter 2.9), its value to the local community (largely due to its central location) counteracts this, as many people utilize the park for its greenery, attractive sculptures and as a conduit between parts of the town's urban zone. The monument-park in Sremska Mitrovica has been recently renovated, after suffering from vandalism and graffiti in a similar way to the Partisans' Cemetery. Its horticulture has been revitalized, and the static elements repaired. Although the integrity of the site has been slightly impaired by the closing of the attached museum, the landscape and memorial attributes still survive. This memorial park lies on the periphery of an urban zone (albeit with a drastically different topography), and still performs a function within the town.

Perhaps, overall, to ensure a sustainable future for the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar, local and national authorities should seek to cooperate with and learn from various agencies within the Former Yugoslavia who are plagued with similar socio-political

difficulties when addressing the commemorative legacy of SFR Yugoslavia. Opening a dialogue between different state agencies would allow each to put forward, adapt and adopt ideas with regard to the protection, maintenance and promotion of sites, to ensure the preservation of their legacy for future generations.

Concluding Remarks

This thesis attempted to outline the problems faced by the Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar in the context of its environment and through comparing it to other monuments created by the architect-designer Bogdan Bogdanović.

Due to the time limitations in undertaking this thesis, the scope of research was limited to these parameters. Were greater time available for research, it would be interesting to incorporate a study of the conservation of Second World War memorials within the Former Yugoslavia within a wider context; perhaps that of all forms of memorialisation within the region, or in a comparison with attitudes to memorials in Western Europe. Within the Former Yugoslav states, reinterpretation of memorial sites is an ongoing and real process, with decisions regarding presentation and promotion seemingly taken whimsically, by different authorities on different governmental levels. This (often political) process can be studied in the wider framework of historical revisionism within these countries.

The Partisans' Cemetery in Mostar can be seen as a victim of the new Nationalist politics that have ravaged the independent states that emerged from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Its continued deterioration is of detriment to the city's touristic potential, and is against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the town's residents, even those who abhor the ideology of the former regime. The problems identified within this thesis and proposals put forward could be followed to rehabilitate the monument and reintegrate it into the city of Mostar.

Image Credits

Introduction

Map created by Andrew Lawler, student, Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation. Original map available at

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/10/Yugoslavia_blank_map.png

Chapter 1

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Mirko **Bozić**, Mostar resident and registered tour guide, email correspondence, 11-15/7/2013. Identification of guided tour routes through Mostar

Aida **Bucalović**, Officer for Moveable Cultural Heritage, Commission to Preserve National Monuments, Bosnia and Herzegovina, series of interviews, 10/2012-5/2013. Discussion of the documentation procedures for Garavice in Bihać and Novi Travnik monuments

Muhidin **Čoralić**, SABNOR BiH representative Bihać, telephone interview 28/5/2013. Discussion of visitor and commemorative activities in relation to Garavice, plus potential plans for its rehabilitation

Miloš 'Shlomo' **Damjanović**, Kosovska Mitrovica resident, email correspondence, 1-27/6/2013. Discussion on the condition of the monument in Kosovska Mitrovica and visitor activities pertaining to it

Valentino **Dimitrovski**, Director, Section for Moveable Heritage, Republic of Macedonia Cultural Heritage Protection Office, email correspondence, 2-19/10/2012. Discussion of protection status and condition of the monuments at Prilep and Štip

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Stevan **Golubović**, Vlasotince resident, email correspondence, 25/3-29/4/2013. Discussion of the condition and visitor activities regarding the monument in Vlasotince

Ksenija **Gortan**, Secretary, Mediterranean Sculpture Symposium, email correspondence 25/9–2/10/2012. Discussion of the condition of the Adonis's Altar monument and its location and treatment within the sculpture park

Selma **Imsirović**, Associate, Commission to Preserve National Monuments, Bosnia and Herzegovina, email correspondence, 19-24/5/2013. Discussion of situation regarding signs erected by the Commission at National Monuments throughout the country

Sefir **Kalbić**, SABNOR BiH representative, Novi Travnik, telephone interview, 28/5/2013. Discussion of visitor and commemorative activities in relation to the monument in Novi Travnik

Maja **Kućan**, Curator, Jasenovac Memorial Site, email correspondence, 7-11/6/2013. Discussion of visitor figures for Jasenovac and 2002 conservation works upon the Stone Flower

Nenad **Lajbenšperger**, Historian, Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Belgrade, email correspondence, 15/4-1/6/2013. Discussion of the protection status, condition and conservation of numerous monuments throughout the Republic of Serbia

Predrag **Lutovac**, Director, Municipal Museum of Berane, telephone interview, 30/5/2013. Discussion of protection and maintenance of the Berane monument, as well as its promotion to tourists and locals

Milena **Milošević Micić**, Senior Curator, Homeland Museum of Knjaževac, email correspondence, 21/1-8/2/2013. Discussion about the protection status, visitor activities, promotion, conservation & restoration and modifications of the Memorial Park in Knjaževac

Njebojša **Nikolić**, Curator, Bela Crkva museum and monument complex, interview, 20/5/2013. Discussion on the condition of the Bela Crkva monument and memorial complex, visitor activities and issues pertaining to its protection

Jelena **Pavličić**, Kosovska Mitrovica resident, email correspondence, 4/2-1/4/2013. Discussion on the condition of the monument in Kosovska Mitrovica and visitor activities pertaining to it

Mrs. **R**, Mostar resident, interview, 14/02/2013. Discussion of Mrs. R's feelings about the postwar condition and treatment of the Partisans' Cemetery: five members of her immediate family (father, two uncles, one second cousin and one first cousin) are buried there

Vojislava **Radovanović**, Director, Jewish Historical Museum of Belgrade, email correspondence, 24/8–19/11/2012. Discussion of the conservation and protection of the Monument to the Jewish Victims of Fascism, Belgrade

Zivojin **Tasić**, Associate, National Museum, Leskovac, email correspondence, 5/1-11/2/2013. Discussion about legal protection of the Monument-park in Leskovac and overall situation of the monument in Vlasotince

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Azra **Tunović**, Associate, Federal Ministry of Culture and Sport, interview, 12/4/2013. Discussion of rehabilitation of the Partisans' Cemetery, Mostar, and its potential inclusion in the project 'Ljubljana Process II'

Danica **Valčić**, Curator, Homeland Museum of Vlasotince, email correspondence, 7-8/2/2013. Discussion of the protection status and promotion of the monument in Vlasotince, and a clarification of the inscription

Ivica **Vetma**, 'klis.com.hr' website manager, email correspondence 1-4/2/2013. Discussion of the dismantling of the Klis monument and relocation of the 'Stone Petals'

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