

**University of Strathclyde
Department of Architecture**

**OTHER MODERNISM:
Underpinning the Case of the History Museum of
Bosnia and Herzegovina**

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PhD Dissertation**

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Abstract

The thesis advances the understanding of the changing role of modern European history museums marked by engagement and outreach as modes of addressing contemporary and conflicting issues of public history. It contributes to the growing body of knowledge on the institutional uses of heritage, highlighting the case of unique and under-represented 20th-century architecture and public museum(s) of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Inspired by the communicative action concept, the research introduces a blended heritage discourse as a method to investigate the institutional role and architecture of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, formerly known as the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo. The transformations of the History Museum are observed through attitudes to architectural heritage and regional identity-shaping narratives, considering it as a case of embodied social energy at risk. The systematic analysis of previously inaccessible archival records on conception, construction and proposed interventions to the building, charts the field for further research, policy and practice of sustainable renovations.

The research captures the key historic periods of modernisation of the urban environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina, focusing on the continuity of the contextual regionalism in the work of architects sensitive to the local vernacular and the sense of place, as a unique quality within the original architectural modernism in Central Europe. Thus, it supplements the revisions of modernist discourse in the English speaking academia, with an exhaustive inclusion of the sources written in Bosnian (Croatian, Serbian) languages.

The research shows that the Museum in Sarajevo has an original contribution to museology and that it demonstrates remarkable adaptability and resilience, faced with societal differentiation and fragmentation. Among other, this is manifested by strategic deployment of the Museum's status as architectural heritage, which acts as a pivotal place of resistance to the adverse impacts of systemic and governance changes, where the fragmented social narratives might be constructively reassembled.

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The Thesis is dedicated to my husband Denis Harrington, my mother Amira Arnautović, my late father Rašid Arnautović, my family in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Australia, Canada, Germany, Spain, Sweden, UK and USA, and to my friends, wherever they are.

Research Outputs

Prior to the formal commencement of the PhD study at the University of Strathclyde and after the completion of the MPhil European Studies in Trinity College Dublin, the Author engaged in formulating doctoral research proposal. That included the opportunities to present at academic conferences and to contribute to academic publications with material that was fully or partially incorporated in this work and presented here as the outputs of the Thesis.

Selected Papers and Publications

Harrington, Selma, Branka Dimitrijević, Ashraf M. Salama, "Synchroni-city: Sarajevo in five acts and few intervals." Archnet-IJAR, Volume 13- Issue 3- November 2019, 573-594. DOI:<https://doi.org/10.1108/ARCH-05-2019-0125>

.. "CRACKS AND LIGHT: Observing the Resilience of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina." MARTOR Journal 23, (Bucharest: National Museum of the Romanian Peasant, 2018), 143-158. See at: http://martor.muzeultaranuluiroman.ro/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/08_Selma-Harrington-o.pdf

.. "MODERNIST ARCHITECTURE, CONFLICT, HERITAGE AND RESILIENCE: THE CASE OF THE HISTORICAL MUSEUM OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA." Archnet-IJAR, Volume 11 - Issue 3 - November 2017, 178-192. See at: <http://www.archnet.ijar.net/index.php/IJAR/article/view/1330>

Conference Presentations and Seminars

Harrington, Selma, "WHOSE HERITAGE IS IN THIS WHITE CUBE? Travelling with Baš-Čelik (Steel-Bar Shaw) to Gulliver and back," Interpret Europe Conference, Sarajevo, 31 May-3 June 2019.

.. "FRAGILE REPUBLIC: Defragmenting the public space in Sarajevo's Museums Quadrant," All Ireland Architecture Research Conference (AIARG), TU Dublin, 25 January 2019.

- . “Sarajevo in five acts,” The City Reshaped Conference, University of Leeds, 10-11 September, 2018.

- . “RE-IMAGINING REVOLUTION: Action research and trans-disciplinary educational briefs for the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina,” 10th Annual Conference of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian American Academy of Arts and Science (BHAAAS), Jahorina, 21-24 June 2018.

- Harrington, Selma and HMBiH, with Cultural Heritage without Borders (CHWB) Bosnia and Herzegovina. Key Note Lecture and Workshop with Local Focus Group, History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 18 June 2018.

- Harrington, Selma and Branka Dimitrijević, with the Office of Public Works (OPW), “Architecture and Museum: Contemporary Challenges,” Public Seminar and workshop with International Focus Group, ENGAGE II, The Dublin Castle, Ireland, 26 October 2017.

- . “Architecture and Museum: Contemporary Challenges,” Seminar with International Focus Group, ENGAGE with Strathclyde, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, 3 May 2017.

- Harrington, Selma, “Curating memories of conflict: 1990s war and the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, Public Conference “*Conflict + the City*,” UCD/The Heritage Council/SIPTU/Irish Research Council, May 2016.

- . “Revolution in Museum: Salvaging Bosnian modernist ruin”, *3rd Annual Conference BHCICOP*, “*Importance of Place*,” International BURCH University, Sarajevo, 21-23 October 2015.

Conference Presentations and Seminars Related to the Preliminary Doctoral Research Proposal

- Harrington, Selma and Elma Hašimbegović, “Sarajevo 1945-1995-2015: Mapping the City memory,” Cross-disciplinary students’ workshop, History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, May 2015.

- Harrington, Selma, IARCEES Annual Conference *Memories and Identities in Central and Eastern Europe*, “Memories of Normality: The Grandchildren of Revolution at Sarajevo’s Nazi Birthday Party,” Trinity College Dublin, 7

May 2015.

- .. “Bosanka djevojka, carević i Baščelik: Kako smo se sjećali sarajevskog atentata”, EUMEM Network/EU funded *The Long Shots of Sarajevo* Conference, Sarajevo 28 June 2014.
- .. “The Politics of Memory: The Museum Sarajevo 1878-1918 and the Centenary of the Catastrophe”, Conference *The Great War: Regional Approaches and Global Contexts*, University of Sarajevo, June 2014
- .. ”revolution of Museum: The Scene, the Story, the Storyteller” (Position paper), Seminar *Architecture: A Link between Built Heritage and Culture of Remembrance*, History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina with Griffith College Dublin, Sarajevo, 4 April 2014.
- .. “Memory Safe House: Transformative potential of digitalizing the Sarajevo Siege Exhibition”, Conference *Virtual Cultural Heritage Ireland (VCHI)*, The Long Room Hub, Trinity College Dublin, Dublin, February 2014.
- .. “The Sarajevo Siege Exhibition: PIECING THE PUZZLE, RE-LIVING THE EXPERIENCE”, Centre for War Studies, Conference *From Sarajevo to Troy*, Trinity College Dublin, February 2014.

Abbreviations

A2PBEER-	Affordable and Adaptable Public Buildings through Energy Efficient Retrofitting Project
AABiH-	Asocijacija arhitekata Bosne i Hercegovine (Architects Association of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
ABiH-	Armija Bosne i Hercegovine (The Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
AHD-	Authorised heritage discourse
AVNOJ-	Antifašističko Vijeće Narodnog Oslobođenja Jugoslavije (Anti-fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia)
BHHR-	Bosnia-Herzegovina Heritage Rescue
BiH-	Bosna i Hercegovina
CEE-	Central and Eastern Europe
CHARISMA-	Cultural Heritage Advanced Research Infrastructures: Synergy for a Multidisciplinary Approach to Conservation/Restoration
CHWB-	Cultural Heritage without Borders
CIAM-	Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne / The International Congresses of Modern Architecture
CICOPBiH-	Network of International Centers for the Conservation of Architectural Heritage-Bosnia and Herzegovina / part of CICOP Net Confederation
CICOP Net Confederation-	Network of International Centers for the Conservation of Architectural Heritage
CKKPJ-	Centralni Komitet Komunističke partije Jugoslavije (Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia)
CoHERE-	Critical Heritages Project

CRC-	Community Relations Council (NI)
DAHG-	Department of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht (RoI)
DAS-	Društvo arhitekata Sarajeva (Society of Architects Sarajevo)
DCAL-	Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (NI)
DG REGIO-	Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy
DoCoMoMo-	International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement
ECMM-	European Community Monitor Mission
ELD-	Embassy of Local Democracy / Ambaixada de la Democràcia Local (Catalonia)
ETF-	Elektro-tehnički fakultet / Electro-Technical Faculty (Sarajevo)
ETH-	Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule / École polytechnique fédérale / Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich
EU-	European Union
EUNAMUS-	European national museums: Identity politics, the uses of the past and the European citizen
FBiH-	Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine (one of the State entities)
FNRJ-	Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija
GCD-	Griffith College Dublin
HLF-	Heritage Lottery Fund (NI)
HMBiH-	Historijski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
ICOM-	The International Council of Museums
ICOMOS-	The International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICTY-	The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

IFG-	International Focus Group
KHWB-	Kunsthochschule Weißensee Berlin / High Arts School Berlin
KPJ-	Komunistička partija Jugoslavije (The League of Communists of Yugoslavia)
LFG-	Local Focus Group
MGS-	Museums and Galleries Scotland
MoMA-	Museum of Modern Art (New York)
MuCEM-	Musée des civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée / Museum of European and Mediterranean Civilisations
NDH-	Nezavisna država Hrvatska / Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945)
NI-	Northern Ireland
NMNI-	National Museums Northern Ireland
NOB-	Narodno-oslobodilački borba (National liberation struggle)
NOR-	Narodno-oslobodilački rat (National liberation war)
NSK-	Neue Slowenische Kunst / New Slovenian Art (collective)
OHR-	Office of the High Representative (of the EU)
OPW-	Office of Public Works (RoI)
PACE-	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
RBiH-	Republika Bosna i Hercegovina (Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
RIBA-	Royal Institute of British Architects
RoI-	Republic of Ireland
RS-	Republika Srpska (one of the State entities)
SABiH-	Savez arhitekata Bosne i Hercegovine (Union of Architects of Bosnia and Herzegovina)

SFRJ-	Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija
SKOJ-	Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije (The Youth League of Communists of Yugoslavia)
SRBiH-	Socijalistička Republika Bosna i Hercegovina
UAE-	United Arab Emirates
UIA-	Union Internationale des Architectes / International Union of Architects
UK-	United Kingdom (of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
UN-	The United Nations
UNESCO-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR-	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF-	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USA-	United States of America
WWI-	World War I
WWII-	World War II
ZAVNOBiH-	Zemaljsko Antifašističko Vijeće Narodnog Oslobođenja Bosne i Hercegovine (National Anti-fascist Council of National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
ZOI-	Zimske Olimpijske igre (The Winter Olympic Games)
ZZPRKS-	Zavod za planiranje prostornog razvoja Kantona Sarajevo

Chapter One:

Introduction

This Chapter introduces the Thesis, states the problem, knowledge gaps and opportunities, and describes the steps undertaken to define the research scope, aims, objectives, methodology, process, context, and the Thesis structure. Identifying the gaps in knowledge and a limited cross-disciplinary approach, the research follows a growing interest in contemporary issues of managing museums, cultural and architectural heritage from the Modernist period, with a particular complexity in post-conflict regions, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina. Whilst the context specific to Bosnia is outlined here, similar phenomena appear to be common to other Central and East European countries and borderland regions of Europe. Triggered by the condition of a museum building in Sarajevo, the research process adopts a three-pronged course: identifying relevant precedents, establishing a network of institutional and professional contacts to act as Focus groups, and examining and developing a case study. Such course defined the structure and the timeline of the Thesis and delineated a field of discourse which is further explained in Chapter Two.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Bosnia and Herzegovina came to the world's attention in the last decade of the 20th century as a place of escalated regional conflict which dominated in the perception of its cultural identity and has since contributed to the **over-simplified views and neglect of its post-conflict cultural condition**. The international community, the EU

institutions and neighbouring countries have engaged during and after the conflict, enshrining, among other, the constitutional provision which gave the **built heritage and cultural heritage institutions** a critical role in the rebuilding of the communities. However, the situation in the region remains **fragile**.

This is a primary motivation for the Thesis which examines the **processes of societal and environmental transformation of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, problematizing its public role and architecture** as a unique and complex case, **symptomatic of the post-conflict society**.

The references and the body of knowledge available on the topic show that: **a) this type of discourse is underrepresented in the English-speaking academic world, and b) the sources in Bosnian (Croatian, Serbian) language are fragmented and little known outside the region, so an exhaustive effort was made to gather as much as possible from these in the Thesis.**

Illuminating the dynamic context and the experience of extreme conflict which periodically undermined the sustainable use and reuse of cultural heritage, the research contributes to the evolution of public function of museums by linking the history of museum architecture with the revisions of international Modernist discourse.

The research posits the problem triangulated by **the following gaps in knowledge about the region:**

- **A lack of understanding of the current condition both of the twentieth-century architecture and museums as a heritage category in light of their physical condition, continued use and reuse, and changing role in society;**

- **A sparse and localised knowledge of twentieth-century architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina within Yugoslavia, and its place within the international developments of the period;**
- **A lack of knowledge about the institutional development, role and specificity of museums in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially from the Yugoslav period.**

With the above in mind, the research process is designed to be a resource in support of the campaign for active reuse of the History Museum and its continued public mission.

1.2 Knowledge Gaps, Opportunities and New Knowledge

Whilst the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia had been in the international spotlight for a period of time, relatively little attention had been given to its cultural positioning since World War II, or the cultural impact of the war in the 1990s. It can be argued that the separation of the previously unified Federal Republics, with some exceptions, have typically strengthened the cultural bias towards the region, often described as “ferocious, irrational, and barbaric Balkans” (Vezovnik and Šarić 2015, 237-243). The fragmented region of former Yugoslavia is, incorrectly, still culturally positioned “behind the Cold War curtain,” where it never was. With regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina and its capital, Sarajevo, a few well-known cultural tropes persist: a “trigger for World War I” (1914), an “Olympic City” (1984), and more recently, a survivor of “the longest urban siege in 20th century Europe.”

There are several general consequences of the break-up of Yugoslavia of

relevance to this research as they point to gaps and directions for potential new investigation and knowledge:

- the fragmentation of the region and formation of separate states with a strong identity-building or identity-reshaping tendencies and revisionist cultural narratives;
- the endangerment of the twentieth-century architectural heritage associated with the socialist period threatened with demolition or abandonment;
- the fragmentation and restructuring of the institutions of public governance and culture with an ideological shift from socialism to a range of free-market economic models, from centralised (statist) to neo-liberal;
- the cultural and generational impact of the conflict on the population profile changes, including the impact of forced or voluntary exodus from all parts of the region: as refugees, as internally displaced or as economic migrants;
- the emergence of a new generation of international scholars linked by origin, culturally and thematically with the region, and new forms of academic and professional networking with a tendency to re-connect and reframe the intellectual connections similar to the ones that existed in former Yugoslavia; (This is typically communicated in the English language).
- the impact of the EU and international political engagement in the region, in the light of socio-political changes across Europe, the EU cohesion and peace and stability programmes, mobility, migration and multi-culturalism.

This non-exhaustive list paints the broad field of interest for research, which cannot be fully addressed here.

1.3 Initial Investigations and Motivation

The early investigation of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, formerly Museum of (Peoples) Revolution, under the key words: development of museum, the twentieth-century architecture, and the protection of modernist heritage, was prompted by the following questions:

1. What is the significance of the Museum locally, in the region and internationally in terms of its role and public mission, and the architectural qualities of its building in the urban context of the city?
2. What can be learned from the investigation of the apparent neglect of the institution housed in a building which embodies prominent characteristics of the international Modern Architecture period?

This two-track investigation was firstly aiming to develop an understanding of processes which impact on the architecture and the condition of the building, and secondly, to identify if and what other precedents may be relevant for a more generalised perspective of the research scope, process and findings on the museum role. This took a form of action research using a mixture of ethnographic methods and grounded theory, which is explained further in the text and which enabled baseline data gathering. These two methods allowed for direct contact and close engagement with the subject of observation, facilitating the design of the research process.

The investigation highlighted the fact that the condition of the Museum is not unique either locally or elsewhere in Europe. More importantly, it confirmed a modest level of general awareness about the twentieth-century architecture as a

heritage category and frequent confusion and lack of consensus for its adequate protection. This seems more acute, but is not exclusive to Central and Eastern Europe, as the examples from Europe's *borderlands*, from Lithuania (Mansbach 2006, 92-111) to Scotland (MoMO World Scotland 2014, 9-11) demonstrate. The preliminary findings suggest a diversity of contextual reasons for the endangerment of the architectural heritage, particularly from the post-World War II and socialist periods.

The views from within the CEE countries since joining the EU are not investigated here, but the illustration by the Bosnian graphic designer Bojan Hadžihalilović is indicative of the perspective from the countries bordering the Union, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is outside of it (**Fig.1.1**). Hadžihalilović's design from 2002 depicts the alternative map of Europe 2020 with a "security sea channel" along the imaginary *East–West* mental divide, annotated on the USA Central Intelligence Agency map. The boundaries are not correct but are close to the way the Central and Eastern Europeans often perceive their position, with a sea channel, if not a wall between two parts.



Fig.1.1 Europe 2020-Artistic interpretation of the political map. Author: Bojan Hadžihalilović, 23.04.2002 (RAJVOSA) 3-0 (Source: Author's archive, reproduced with permission from Bojan Hadžihalilović).

1.3.1 Preliminary Investigations

The initial research data gathering arose from the academic collaboration on a Design Studio project within the Interior Architecture Programme and the learning-by-doing practice with the intention to simulate live projects.¹ The collaboration developed through action research, a practice which is frequently used in collaboration between education and practice, between education and clients/users of architecture, between education institutions on shared programmes, between sister disciplines and between internal study clusters and units.

In 2013, the management of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina responded with enthusiasm to the author's initiative, endorsing a joint action between two academic teams from Dublin and Sarajevo centered on the Museum building. This kicked off with the Design Studio group students' project in Dublin, based on building survey drawings prepared by Sarajevo students. The project briefs included the preparation of Condition Survey Reports and design proposals for renovations and new exhibitions in the History Museum, articulated through use of Revit and other rendering software.

¹ This relates to the Master Design/Interior Architecture Programme at Griffith College Dublin, led by the author in capacity as Programme Director and Leader of Design Studio between 2011 and 2017. During this time a one-semester group students' project was designed to develop the design proposals for active reuse of the Museum building, including proposals for exhibitions, and assignments to research the history and condition of the building fabric, with the Museum acting as Client. During the three academic cycles, three short study trips were organized with students taking part in interactive workshops in Sarajevo. The collaboration with the History Museum in Sarajevo also engaged students and lecturers from Sarajevo's Architecture Faculty and Arts History and History departments of the Faculty of Philosophy.

The work included a number of field trips, with group study visits and mini-workshops, during which the researcher was able to develop a relationship with the Museum team and connect with local architectural and heritage experts.

Through the informal collaboration with teaching staff and students from the Architecture Faculty in Sarajevo, the measured and photographic survey data were obtained from the Sarajevo team (Čaušević et al. 2014, 14-17). The Construction Systems Unit of the Faculty provided a three-dimensional digital model of the existing structure, as part of the information for Master students in Dublin, who were completing the drawings in AutoCAD and developing a Revit model as part of the Design Studio project.

It has to be emphasised that the content and dynamics of the action research workshops, conducted over three consecutive years, were primarily responding to the academic requirements of each respective programme by the participating faculties. Some of its content and outcome was outside of the limits defined in this Thesis and could be further considered in light of a problem-solving simulation of the design brief, as a process and a thought-provoking exercise, rather than the fully developed practical professional or research programme. The academic learning outcomes were independently assessed within each institution.

The action research outcomes relevant to this Thesis are discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven. The preliminary action research and academic collaboration with the History Museum provided sufficient information to establish it as a suitable case study from which this Thesis could further evolve.²

² In the initial stages of the collaboration within the first study trip, initiated by the author and co-organized with the Museum, an international seminar was held on 4 April 2014, titled “Arhitektura

1.4 Research Question and Hypothesis

The History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, its role, condition and status as architectural heritage, symbolically encapsulates the current situation in the country as a whole. This Thesis argues for the inseparability of social, economic, environmental and technical performance-led sustainability, and develops a model of discourse recommended for any future decisions related to the continued use of the Museum, including the interventions on its physical structure.

The Thesis advances **a hypothesis, firstly, that the Museum, as an important institution of public history in a state of flux, is an exemplary case of resilience and resourceful transformation throughout various adverse conditions. Secondly, as an architectural monument of Modernism, the Museum merits a status at the level of its better-known international precedents.**

The research argument is situated at the intersection of the current reviews of the canons of the twentieth-century architectural Modernity as heritage category and the regional contextual environment, including the specific conceptual and thematic transformation(s) of museums accentuated by conflict.

Consequently, the following research questions are formulated:

1. What is **an appropriate framework to analyse a public history museum as a case of symbiotic relationship of architecture (tangible) and its identity-shaping representation in urban context (intangible)?**

kao spona između graditeljskog naslijeđa i kulture sjećanja-Architecture as link between built heritage and culture of remembrance.”

2. What are the trends in the contemporary development of public museums and their architecture and what are the **relevant international precedents** for the study of the cultural impact on that development of political, territorial or administrative ruptures in the 20th century?
3. What are the characteristics of the **contextual modernism in Bosnia and Herzegovina**, emerging from its former Yugoslav identity, in light of current trends in the international Modernist discourse?
4. What are the current issues and what is a unique context for consideration while examining the current **politics of twentieth-century cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina**?
5. What can be learned from **the case of the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo, since its foundation and transformation into the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina**, examining its **public role, mission, unique architecture and status as a national monument**?

1.5 Aims and Objectives

The primary research aim is:

1. To **contribute to the improvement** of the environmental and social impact of the continued use of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the trajectory from the post-conflict heritage condition to its physical renewal.

As a consequence, two other sub-aims are developed in support of the key one:

2. To **broaden the discursive field** within which it is possible to observe the role of the modern Museum as an institution and its architecture as part of the public sphere;
3. To **add** to the discourse on “**other modernisms**” within the dominant Western European/Trans-Atlantic architectural heritage narrative of the period.

Arising from the aims, the following specific objectives are developed:

1. To establish a suitable theoretical framework for investigation of a **public building (museum) as a symbiotic relation of architecture and its identity-shaping public representation in an urban context**, within the international discourse on Modernist architecture;
2. To **probe into the contextual modernism in Bosnia and Herzegovina**, emerging from its former Yugoslav identity, **in light of the East-West binary**, and the current revisions in the international Modernist discourse;
3. To identify and examine the relevant twentieth-century public history museum function and developments, as **international precedents impacted by political, territorial or administrative ruptures of consequence for the architecture of museums**, with a view to recognize patterns and specificities;
4. To develop a selected case study by unveiling the **complexity of spatial and architectural articulation of the public mission of the former Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo, including its transformation into the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina**;

5. To examine the **context and politics towards the twentieth-century architectural and museum heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina in light of the experience of the targeted destruction in the 1990s.**

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

Arising from the five research questions, this Thesis is structured around the stated objectives each of which is addressed and cross-examined in the main chapters, as illustrated in the **Fig.1.2** and outlined below.

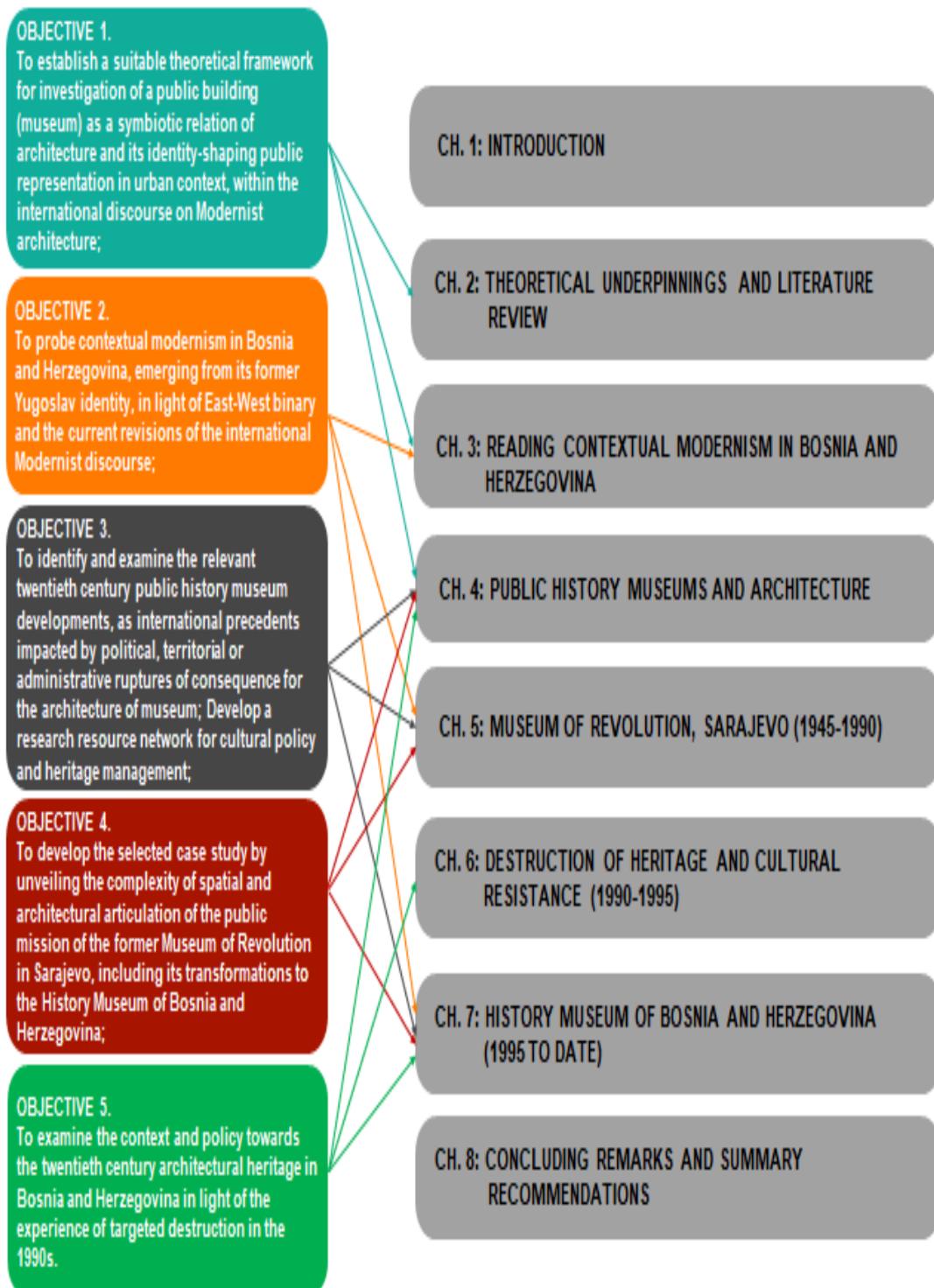


Fig.1.2 Thesis structure (©Selma Harrington, 2019).

Chapter One - Introduction profiles the subject, scope and structure of the Thesis, which focuses on an evolving role of public museum and its architecture rooted in modernist ideas, making contribution to the knowledge about the twentieth-century architecture heritage beyond the Western discourse. The research brings to light the specific impact of extreme systemic ruptures on the attitudes and politics of society towards memory embedded in architecture, by parallel observation of tangible and intangible. Combining qualitative research, field work and work with focus groups, the case study the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina is developed, in the timeframe since its original foundation as Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo to date.

Inspired by the Communicative action concept, **Chapter Two - Theoretical Underpinnings and Literature Review**, discusses the spatial application in the critical heritage discourse on modernity which attempts to bridge the West - East division. Within a general proposition that Modernism itself must become a discourse, the lenses of *Orientalism* and *Balkanism* from post-colonial studies are tested as counterpoints for the *critical regionalism* discussions.

Prompted by the new interest in former Yugoslav regions, **Chapter Three - Reading Contextual Modernism in Bosnia and Herzegovina** navigates the research through the periods of architecture and cultural history in the country, with particular attention to the four decades of the first (Interwar) and second (Post-War/Socialist) phases of modernisation. The patterns of Sarajevo's architecture through key periods challenge the East-West binary and utopian studies lens and bring to light the specific roots of the Bosnian contextual modernism.

Chapter Four - Public history, Museums and Architecture, investigates the institutional and architectural aspects of museums as part of the public sphere in the modernist period looking at international precedents. Using examples from the Celtic Fringe³, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the concept of *museum of revolution* is contrasted to the concept of *museum of conflict* and *history museum*.

Based on newly discovered original materials, **Chapter Five - Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo 1945-1990**, develops a case study of the institution, its role and output, with focus on the period during which its purpose-designed building was procured and acclaimed as “pure architecture.”

Chapter Six - Destruction of Heritage and Cultural Resistance 1990-1995 uncovers new original records and sources. The impact of war on the built heritage and aspects of cultural resistance by Sarajevo architects and institutions are corroborated by expert accounts and reports in order to understand the post-conflict politics of heritage.

Chapter Seven - The History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1995 to-date, maps the transformation of the History Museum in the post-conflict period, marked by a changed mission and a loss of secure government funding. It discusses the status and condition of the building as well as the current permanent exhibition, in context of regional developments and future plans.

The **Concluding remarks and Summary Recommendations** discuss the findings and limitations, with reflection to the appropriateness of the research method. The preliminary conclusions about the Museum point to the fragility and pressures on institutions and regional architecture, which both display resilience as a

³ A concept of shared cultural space introduced by Michael Hechter (1975).

strategy and a necessity. In a mixture of entrepreneurship, improvisation and resourcefulness, the Museum is trans-morphing from a state-sponsored public institution into a new form of private-public collaboration, with an expanding outreach, signalling the potential to become an agent for an important low-key and low-budget social change. In line with the findings, further research into the technical aspects of the museum building will be required, in preparation for a conservation plan and future development, in relation to its current curatorial policy and permanent exhibition content.

1.7 Designing the Research Process and Methodology

[The Research is] based on fieldwork observations; [it] produces explanations suitable for those carrying out the research, or to whom it is directed; produces limited explanations based on immediate evidence; works from an evolving design which adapts to suit the situation as it develops - but appropriately (Robson 1993, 189).

The overview of the investigation approaches in relation to the various aspects of the methodology and to the key objectives are mapped on the diagram and further explained in the text (**Fig.1.3**).

Dynamic perspective: observation, participation, practice and reflection

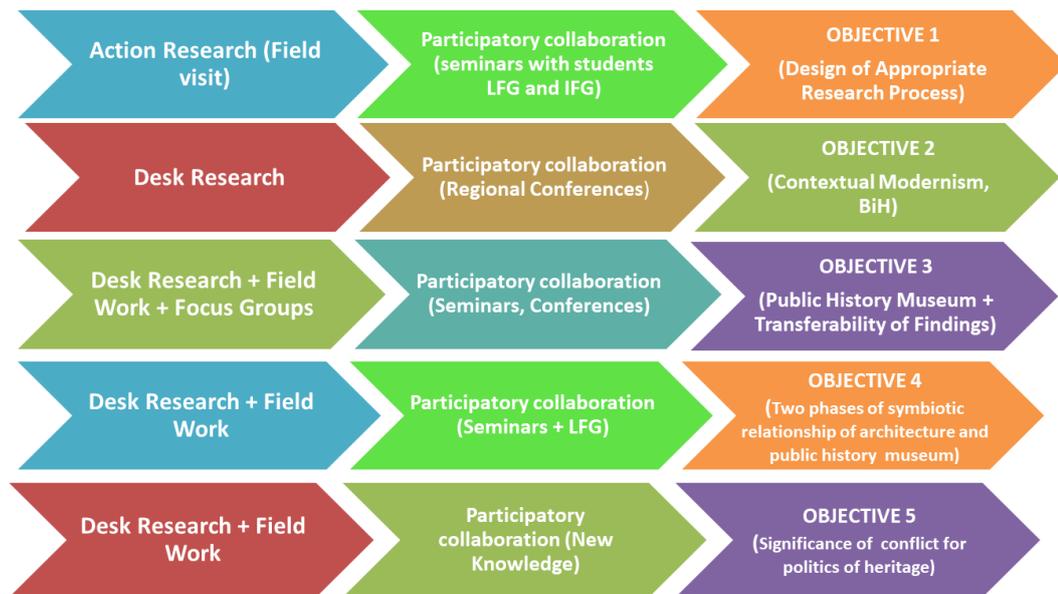


Fig.1.3 Overview of the investigation approaches related to the methodology and objectives (©Selma Harrington, 2019).

1.7.1 Action Research, Grounded Theory and Case Study Method Considerations

The preliminary investigations adopted the form of the “practitioner action research,” conducted as a process where the resources for “reflection” provided the basis for a “critical analysis,” which according to Wisker (2001, 158), can develop an “awareness of a varied context and its contradictions, leading to a sense of alternative possibilities both in practice and in one’s understanding of practice.” Carr and Kemmis define the process as “simply a form of self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own practices, their understanding of these practices, and the situations in which the practices are carried out” (Carr et Kemmis 1986, 162) (**Fig.1.4**).

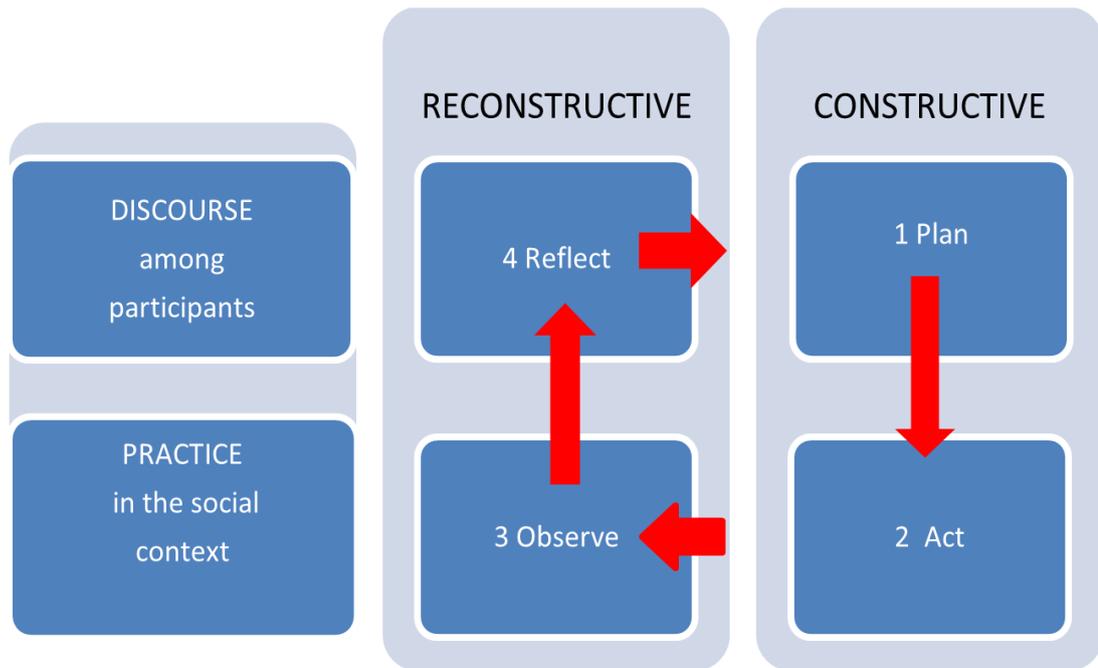


Fig.1.4 The “moments” of action research, based on Carr and Kemmis (1986, 186), redrawn and annotated by Selma Harrington.

The action research has also drawn from the principles of the *grounded theory* (Glaser et al. 1967), “which is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents” so that “one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that is allowed to emerge” (Corbin and Strauss 1990, 23). According to Corbin and Strauss, the grounded theory is “discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analyses, which is capable of providing [...] generalisation when the validity of the theory has been established.” Similarly, for Robson (1993, 52), the case study “is a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence” (Cf. Wisker 2001, 191).

The choice of case study as method is based on two parallel aims: firstly, to make it useful as a study of particular practices based on the single set of examples and secondly, as an example transferrable to another context. To

overcome the limitations resulting from the strong focus on a single case, the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to illustrate transferability/translatability of the context and findings, the work deployed other strategies which are further discussed in Chapter Four.

The preliminary research at the History Museum in Sarajevo in 2015 confirmed a necessity to deploy a trans-national lens and trans-disciplinary methods, in order to understand the wider societal changes that impact on museums and public architecture, which informed the formulation of the stated aims and objectives in the Thesis.

The Thesis research process is designed to include multiple perspectives of an architect, conservation specialist, cultural historian and educator, with the role of participant, practitioner and observer, both with deep cultural connections to the region, and a multicultural experience.

Qualitative in nature, the research for the Thesis involved archival and desk research, and field work conducted in Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), in Zagreb (Croatia), in the UK (Scotland and Northern Ireland), and in the Republic of Ireland. The aim of the field work was two-fold: firstly, to establish the relevant expert network, and secondly, to identify comparable precedents in order to contextualise Sarajevo's museum as the main case study. Two shorter field trips to Croatia included a study at the Architecture Research Centre at the Architecture Faculty Zagreb, which provided access to archival material and a direct insight in the latest academic research into the period of socialist modernism, conducted with other Central European scholars.

The research fortuitously coincided with several major cultural projects, such as the exhibition “And then, in Sarajevo, the shot was fired/ *A onda, odjeknuo je onaj hitac u Sarajevu*” (Hašimbegović 2015), the regional exhibition which originated in Serbia “They never had it better/*Nikad im nije bilo bolje*” (Panić 2015), “Sarajevo Now: People’s Museum” at the Venice Biennale (Urban Think Tank 2016), the exhibition “Sixties in Croatia /*Šezdesete u Hrvatskoj*” (Maković, 2018), and the exhibition *Towards a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1945-1980* in New York (MoMA 2018). These events brought to light new material on the cultural context of the Western Balkans, complementary to some earlier studies of historic uses of memory (Fladmark 2000; Rampley 2012), which had broadened the geographical scope of inquiry into European heritage outside of the “core” (Martin 2014, 950) cultural centres.

While it was tempting to study the History Museum as part of the twentieth-century built heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina from a purely practical conservationist perspective, it immediately became apparent that the research cannot bypass the period of targeted heritage destruction in the country during the 1990s. That unique context necessitated the inclusion of a break-out Chapter Six, for which Helen Walasek’s edited Volume *Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage* (2015) provided an indispensable reference, which was corroborated by local knowledge and professional voices, literature, and the responses to structured questionnaires.

The original incarnation of the History Museum, originally the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo is representative of former Yugoslav foundational narrative, which has been constructed through a now defunct network of “museums of

revolution/homeland museums.” It could be considered as an example of an *authorised heritage discourse* (AHD) (Smith, 2006) and a systemic endeavour to create a unifying official memory.

The research concept here develops a new *blended heritage discourse*, as a process which is centred on the case study, where the public institution of museum and its architecture are observed in a synchronistic flux, in a chronological flow and in a dialogical relation between the public history and architecture of the building. Chapter Two explains how this concept is applied to interrogate the differentiation and multiple transformations of the modernisation narratives related to the case study. This *blended heritage discourse* process is schematically presented in **Fig.1.5**, which maps the key components to be analysed within a theoretical frame inspired and underpinned by the communicative action concept (Habermas [1981]1984).

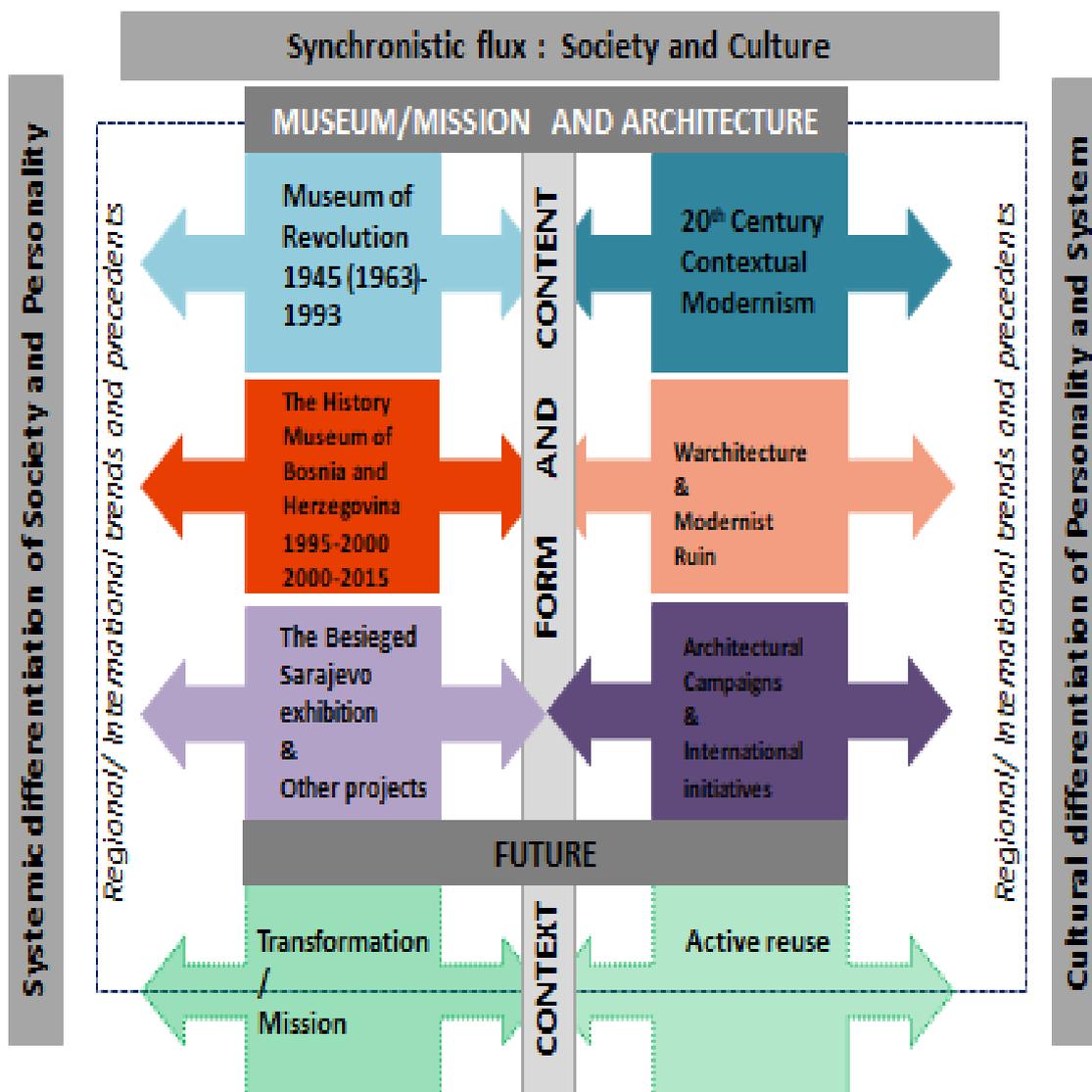


Fig.1.5 Illustration of a *blended heritage discourse* developed as a research process and inspired by the communicative action concept (©Selma Harrington, 2018).

1.7.2 Primary and Secondary Research

Access to the Museum's own library and archives had initially been limited, which had in the meantime been improved, due to efforts by the Museum team and local support in kind, including modest but significant internal renovations to the library

space and record keeping.⁴ However, it has to be said that the documentation in the Museum is neither professionally catalogued nor readily accessible.

During the field study in 2017, some previously inaccessible original correspondence and hard copies of project folders were made available and photographed by the Author, unveiling material related to the Museum building brief development. The correspondence relates partly to the construction stage and includes the project proposal for renovations from 1986. These were internally retrieved by the Museum Staff and are currently used within the project *Keeping It Modern* (The Getty Foundation 2018), led by the Foundation Cultural Heritage Without Borders BiH (CHWB), which according to its Director is currently mapping the history of previous interventions on the building.⁵

The original drawings of the winning competition project for the Museum of (Peoples) Revolution from the estate of the late architect Boris Magaš are held in the Museum of Architecture in Zagreb.⁶ The author visited the Museum in Zagreb but was ultimately not successful in getting access to the original material.⁷

⁴ This took place during the researcher's field study and work in the Museum between 12 and 21 July 2017.

⁵ Informal interview with the CHWB's Director Adisa Džino Šuta, conducted on 23 April 2019 in Sarajevo.

⁶ The author made direct contact with the Museum of Architecture in Zagreb in June 2015 (and later in June 2018), as by then the Museum was in possession of Magaš's personal archive. However, the author was not successful in obtaining any copies. Some of the original drawings from the competition entry for the Museum of Revolution were shown at the exhibition "Sixties in Croatia" in the Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, in June 2018, other copies of the tender drawings are kept in the History Museum in Sarajevo.

⁷ Architects Vladimir and Branka Petrović from Karlovac, Dubravko Bačić, Rajka Bunjevac and Dr Karin Šerman, from Zagreb, all provided a valuable information, references and contacts during author's two visits to Zagreb in June 2017 and June 2018.

1.7.3 Local and Regional Focus Groups

The initial data gathering included the identification of the Local Focus Group (LFG) of experts, architects, historians, art historians, museum and heritage specialists, with whom the author has engaged throughout the research process. The ethical policy by the University of Strathclyde was followed through with all participants, who were first introduced to the content and objectives of the research and asked in advance to agree and sign the Consent forms (**Appendix I**). The format of engagement varied from individual, informal and semi-structured interviews and correspondence, to questionnaires, seminars and workshops on location. The initial interviews were recorded as transcripts by the researcher and followed by a series of questionnaires tailored to address the specific heritage destruction topics with the LFG (**Appendix II**) and to track the current developments in the heritage field (**Appendix III**). The research gathered from work with LFG provided the material for Chapters Four, Five and Six.

A similar communication approach was adopted with the International Focus Group (**Appendix IV**). As the research progressed, direct communication was maintained in person and by correspondence, including some additional structured interviews and questionnaires.

1.7.4 Data Corroboration and Interviews in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia

The principal sources of local information were obtained from the History Museum Director and staff, experts from the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, and the Federal and Cantonal Institute for the Protection of Monuments, who were responding in a personal capacity and not necessarily representing the institutional

position. The Museum Director was interviewed on several occasions between 2015 and 2018 in her office in Sarajevo in an informal and semi-formal way, and she also responded to the online questionnaires prepared for the International and Local Focus Groups. This is further discussed in Chapter Seven.

Late architect Ivan Štraus (1928-2018) was interviewed informally by the researcher in 2016 in Sarajevo and a written record was kept up. Several other colleagues from Sarajevo were interviewed in 2017 and 2018, and cited in the text as applicable, while the researcher kept the original recorded transcripts and questionnaire responses.

It is significant that a majority of the key proponents of modern architecture from the socialist period in Bosnia are now octo- and nonagenarians, while some of them are no longer alive. This includes architects Boris Magaš (1930-2013), Radovan Horvat (1930-2016) and Edo Šmidihien (1930-2015), the authors of the winning design team for the former Museum of (Peoples) Revolution/now the History Museum. The researcher has had an opportunity to interview the late architect Edo Šmidihien in June 2015 in Zagreb and obtain some of his personal records about the building.

On the same occasion, a preliminary primary research was conducted in the Architecture Centre of the Architecture Faculty Zagreb, assisted by architect Maroje Mrduljaš, who was its Head at the time. Architects Branka and Vladimir Petrović from Karlovac arranged for a visit to the Museum of Architecture in Zagreb where the researcher met with the Director Dubravka Kisić, since retired, who at the time had just received the personal archive by the late architect Magaš.

1.7.5 Precedents and the International Focus Group (IFG)

The Case Study of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina evolved in two directions, combining the appraisal of heritage qualities of architecture and the analysis of the public history narrative and its transformations. In order to establish the general common trends in the architectural briefs for public history museums and narratives, the contemporary international precedents were identified, acknowledging also the existing and potential cooperation patterns arising from the administrative grouping of European Union regions.

The research focused on the regional rather than metropolitan centres, the precedents were identified as per the following criteria:

- commonality and proximity in scale of the public sphere;
- commonality of cultural geography within the centre-periphery binary and;
- commonality of public history narratives impacted by conflict and post-conflict.

In addition, the experts selected for participation in the International Focus Group (IFG) had to meet two other criteria:

- An established professional record or position in the field of architecture and/or architectural heritage, design, conservation, care and architectural interventions related to national museum buildings;
- An established professional record or position in national museums, related to management and/or curating and public history content in national museums, with specific impact of conflicting narratives.

Through this process, an opportunity was created to identify and connect partners from the Atlantic Coast and South East European region, as per map of regional cooperation groupings in DG REGIO (2014-2020) documents. In other words, selected partners from the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland (Celtic Fringe) and from the Western Balkans were invited to be part of the IFG, based on the track record of previous activities and a new potential for engagement **(Fig.1. 6)**.

The first two seminars comprised experts from academia, public heritage, professional associations, architecture and museum directors and curators, from Scotland, Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, Belgium, Croatia (remote participation) and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The IFG participants were firstly asked to respond to a baseline questionnaire and secondly to prepare selected thematic presentations for two seminars in 2017, in Glasgow and in Dublin.⁸ The third event was held in Sarajevo in June 2018, in the format of a Colloquium and lecture with a Local Focus Group (LFG) and experts from architecture, art history, museum practice and heritage disciplines. These activities provided a valuable fresh perspective from the field of practice, with reflections on the role and change in museums and their architecture, which will be further elucidated in Chapter Four.

⁸ The International Focus Group met twice: first in Glasgow (May 2017), and then in Dublin (October 2017) under the initiative Engage with Strathclyde and co-organized by the Author, with the University of Strathclyde in Scotland and the Office of Public Works in Ireland. Under the same initiative, the Author co-organized a third event, a key note lecture and a Colloquium, in Sarajevo (June 2018) with LFG and heritage experts, co-organized with the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and regional office of Cultural Heritage Without Borders (CHWB).

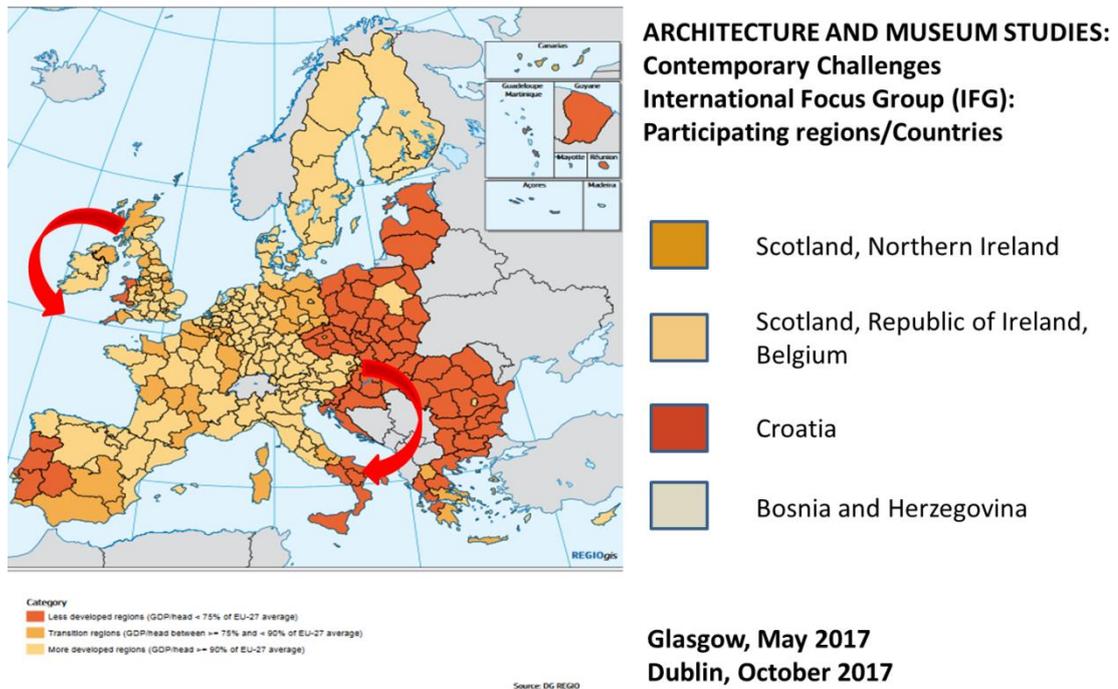


Fig.1.6 Introductory information for the International Focus Group seminar, annotated by Selma Harrington based on the DG REGIO categories of regions for the ERDF 2014-2020 funding.

During the first seminar in Glasgow, in May 2017, along with specific discussion related to the research with the IFG, a potential future collaboration was explored. It is anticipated that the research is likely to identify common interests and themes which might be pursued after the completion of the Thesis. As an introduction, a brief overview of the collaboration process was presented based on published online reports from European projects on national museums, such as EUNAMUS (2013) and CoHERE (2017), on the heritage conservation repository, such as CHARISMA (2015), and on the retrofitting strategies, such as A2PBEER (2018). This provided the initial pretext for discussions with the IFG.

The outcomes of the work with the IFG in May 2017 formed preliminary comparative data which provided the contextual generalisation, as discussed within Chapter Four. While this produced a wealth of material, only part of it is used in the

limited comparative case studies on the Ulster Museum in Belfast and the former Museum of Revolution in Zagreb.

1.8 Sources and Literature Review

Addressing several major knowledge gaps related to the research topics, the key literature review is incorporated within the **Theoretical Underpinnings (Chapter Two)** and integrated within each subsequent chapter, as applicable. This approach enables a better connection among identified knowledge gaps related to each topic. The primary and secondary literature is drawn from sources in the English language as well as from extensive sources in the language of the region, commonly known as Serbo-Croatian, which is since the war in 1990s defined as Croatian, Serbian or Bosnian/Croatian/ Serbian, depending where and who speaks it.⁹ The text and the quotations used in the text are in principle translated by the author unless the English language was used in parallel within the original. As much as possible, the references to the language in this Thesis reflect the appropriate historic use of name of the language in the relevant geographical space and are therefore inter-changeable.

The literature includes selected publications on museums, heritage, identity, memory and conflict, and specifically the selected recent volumes from and about Bosnia and Herzegovina, and other parts of former Yugoslavia, as well as new and emerging publications on the selected European borderland areas, in line with the

⁹ Serbo-Croatian language was used by the majority of people in: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia. Macedonian and Slovenian languages were used in the respective republics. Mirroring the ethnic spread in other parts of former Yugoslavia, Albanian, Hungarian, Roma, Italian, were also used among respective population groups.

research focus. The key literature overview is discussed in Chapter Two in line with the theoretical underpinnings and other sources are added in subsequent chapters as relevant to the specific topics.

1.8.1 Data Analytics Scope

The data analytics of primary material was corroborated by interviews with the Local Focus Group (LFG) and other experts and triangulated with the secondary data. The documentary analysis includes the following material in Serbo-Croat/Bosnian:

- selected material from the Zbornik radova (Almanac), which was published by the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo between 1975 and 1990, and which has been revived by the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2017;
- selected Museum publications accompanying major events, published since 2012;
- technical documentation and reports accessed from the Museum library and archives, dating from the original construction stage of the Museum building, subsequent interior design stage in 1960s, and the later renovation proposals from 1989;
- selected issues of the professional architecture magazine ARH published by the Association of Architects of Sarajevo: issue No. 8 from 1964, issues No. 22 and No. 23 from May and November 1991 respectively and issue No. 24 from June 1993;
- selected literature and reports by international organizations and the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by experts and journalists, in

particular those related to destruction of the cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 1990s;

- selected publications on the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo accessed in the Architecture Centre of the Architecture Faculty Zagreb, including texts from magazines *Arhitektura* and *Čovjek i prostor*.

1.9 Socio-political Context

Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the successor states of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ). Its name refers to its territory known as such from Medieval times, Bosnia being a toponymal, - a name of the river, while Herzegovina/*Hercegovina* is derived from a nobleman's title *Herzog*, signifying the land bequeathed by the Bosnian King to one of his key vassals.

As a constitutive Yugoslav republic, *Socijalistička republika Bosna i Hercegovina*/Socialist Republic Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was often referred to by the acronym SRBiH, or as *Bosna*/Bosnia. Similarly, further reference to the country in the Thesis will alternate between the full name, the acronym BiH and Bosnia.

The break-up of Yugoslavia and the 1992 hostilities which followed were intended to “carve up” Bosnia between neighbouring Croatia and Serbia. That has reopened the questions on historical continuity, territorial integrity, and state sovereignty and equality rights of all its citizens, which were gravely violated during the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Caught between the external threat and an internal vulnerability, the official Bosnian identity narrative sought its roots in the Medieval Bosnian Kingdom (1180-

1463).¹⁰ According to Malcolm, (1994, 24) it was during this time that, “despite its intermittent civil wars and invasions, Bosnia had achieved real prosperity.” After that, the country and the wider region fell under the military, political and cultural domination of the Ottoman Empire for some four hundred years. This was followed by forty years of Austro-Hungarian rule (1878-1918) and the subsequent incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, firstly in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918-1941) and secondly in the Socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1991) (Ramet 2006).¹¹ The historic process of complex social, economic and political transformation of the country is illustrated in **Fig.1.7**.

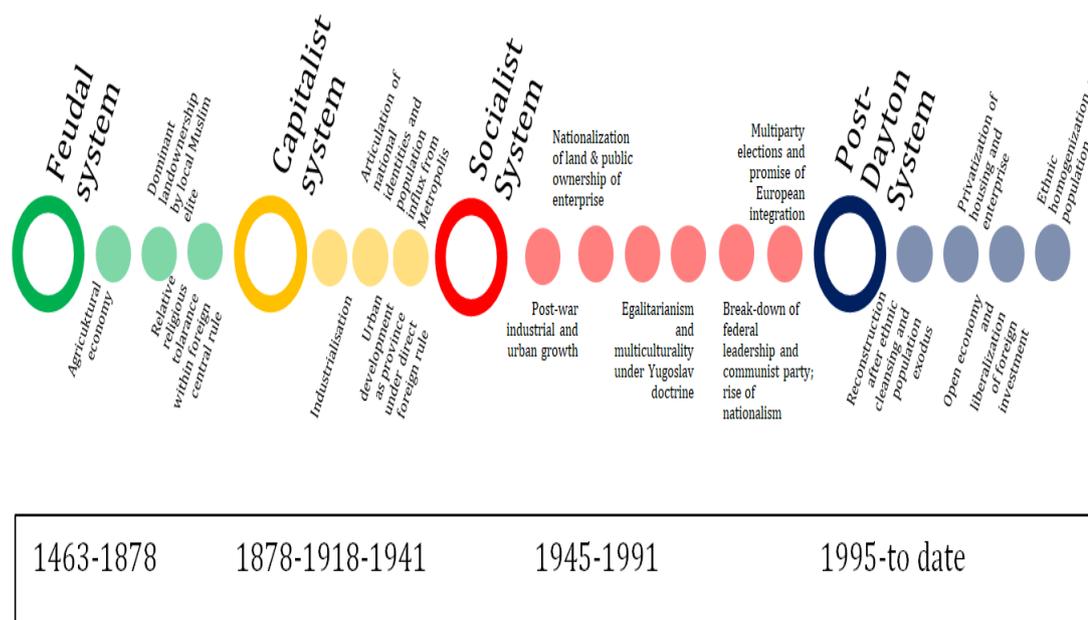


Fig.1.7 Conceptualising the historic socio-economic and political transformation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (©Selma Harrington).

¹⁰ As an example, a copy of the Charter of Ban Kulin, written on August 29, 1189, in the name of this Bosnian ruler, granting trade and passage rights to Ragusan (Dubrovnik) traders, today kept in the entrance hall of the Government buildings in Sarajevo.

¹¹ The first Yugoslavia was founded as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, 1918-1929. It was subsequently renamed The Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1929-1941. Second Yugoslavia has been proclaimed in 1943 in Jajce, Bosnia and Herzegovina, during the World War II national liberation struggle. It was named Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ) (1945-1963), which was changed to Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ) (1963-1991).

Malcolm maintains that “Bosnia was the only constituent element of [Kingdom of] Yugoslavia which retained its identity” (1994, 156-173), by way of retaining its territorial integrity within the reorganized thirty-three regions of the newly formed Kingdom. This changed in 1929 with the abolition of the constitution and King Alexander’s dictatorship. This “imposed a completely new division of the Yugoslav territory [...] arranged [...] to cut across the old borders of the constituent elements of the Yugoslav state,” which meant that “[f]or the first time in more than four hundred years, Bosnia had been partitioned to the detriment of each of its communities” (Malcolm 1994, 169). The internal political crisis in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia fuelled by both Serbian and Croatian nationalism, further escalated prior to Nazi occupation in 1939. The secret Agreement between the Croat and Serb leaders Maček and Cvetković eventually led to the break-up of the Kingdom and, consequently, the absorption of Bosnia into the Independent Croatian State allied to Hitler’s occupational force (Malcolm 1994, 171-173).

After World War II, Bosnia and Herzegovina became one of the six constituent republics and two autonomous regions of the “second Yugoslavia,” a country forged as a socialist federal project, through the national liberation movement of partisans led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (Ramet 2006). The successive federal Yugoslav constitutions were designed to maintain a balance of power among the republics and prevent the more populous among them from dominating. Despite the strong one-party state system, “the country was decentralised to an unprecedented extent” (Silber and Little 1995, xxvi). Having broken away from the Soviet-dominated Eastern Bloc in 1948, Yugoslavia navigated between East and West under President Tito, also forging political and commercial

alliances with developing and non-aligned countries in Africa and Asia (Strydom 2007; Non Aligned Movement 2016).

The Yugoslav political and economic model was based on Marxist principles, characterised by the privileged public ownership and distribution of wealth, managed by institutions and mechanisms and defined as a socialist self-management system of governance. The system permeated all aspects of life, but it is important to distinguish it from the so-called “state socialism” models characteristic of countries in Eastern Europe at the time (Bošković 2011). The socialist agenda was to make culture accessible and participatory for “working people,” as opposed to the older practices perceived as exclusive or elitist. The participation of left-leaning intellectuals and artists in the national liberation war gave them a prominent role in the foundation of the SFRJ, its narratives, identity formation and its institutions (Bošković 2011). Yugoslav socialist culture was seen as means to legitimate the process of modernisation “steered by a party system” and “performed by a proletarian class” (Križić-Roban 2012, 46).

The rise of Serbian nationalism among Belgrade intellectuals in the mid-1980s, the subsequent harnessing of nationalist rhetoric by Slobodan Milošević and a matching reaction in Croatia, contributed with “political efficacy” (Herscher 2018, 114) to the dismantling of the Yugoslav system which, according to Silber and Little (1995 xxiii) “was deliberately and systematically killed off.” The aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina and war on its territory has already been defined as targeted destruction (Malcolm 1994), genocide (Gutman 1993), ethnic cleansing (*etničko čišćenje*) (Silber and Little 1995) and war crimes (Doyle 2018).

The conflict which was engineered outside of Bosnia and fuelled initially from Belgrade, comprised nationalist Serb forces made up of paramilitary units and the former Yugoslav army, which effectively transformed itself into an eighty-thousand strong Bosnian Serb Army. Stationed in Bosnia in 1992, it soon occupied some 70 percent of the territory expelling non-Serbs (Silber and Little 1995, 268; Baumann, et al. 2015). This was further complicated from 1992 to 1994 by the outbreak of fighting between Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats and the formation of the Croat-controlled autonomous region (Malcolm 1994; Silber and Little 1995). Mindful of the complexity of the war which cannot be detailed here, it can be said that, in effect, the multiple localised fighting added a civil war dimension with atrocities happening on all sides (Shrader 2003).

For almost four years, the international news broadcasted details of the shelling, atrocities, expulsions, killings, concentration camps, mass rape, the siege of Sarajevo and the destruction of infrastructure throughout the country, including the Old Bridge in Mostar by Croat paramilitaries (Silber and Little 1995, 323).

The Dayton Peace Agreement (1995) had put an end to the war. The parties to the agreement were the new successor states of former Yugoslavia—Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (now the Republic of Serbia)—as the countries with responsibility and vested interest in the conflict.¹² It was agreed that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina would comprise two “entities:” the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) and the Republic

¹² Article I of the Dayton Peace Agreement (1995) states: “[T]he Parties shall fully respect the sovereign equality of one another, shall settle disputes by peaceful means, and shall refrain from any action, by threat or use of force or otherwise, against the territorial integrity or political independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina or any other State.

Srpska (RS),¹³ with a separate District of Brčko. The Federation was further divided into Cantons and these into Municipalities, whereas the Republic Srpska was divided into Municipalities.

The European Union Office of the High Representative (OHR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina is charged with overseeing the civilian implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement. One of the preconditions for Bosnia's membership in the EU is that the OHR will cease to exist (Peace Implementation Council 2009). However, the recent address by the High Representative to the UN Security Council in fact calls for increased efforts by the international community to promote reconciliation, including the need for more "prescriptive" measures concerning necessary reforms, and for maintaining "all of the tools at [...] [OHR's] disposal to prevent any further deterioration of the situation" (Inzko 2018).

As a consequence of the war fatalities and emigration, Bosnia has seen a reduction in population from some 4, 5 million citizens before the war to 3, 5 million in 2013. Consequently, this created a changed population distribution which reflects the ethno-national homogenisation forced by the war (Popis 2013 BiH 2013). Tone Bringa, the Norwegian social anthropologist, who studied aspects of Bosnian identity, believed that it defied the "logic of the ethnic nation-state," and said:

Since being Bosnian was a synthesis of the historical and cultural experiences of all three *nacije* / [*nations*] living on common territory where the different sources of people's identities were acknowledged and even emphasised, it represented a contradiction of the logic of nationalism which, after the defeat of the Yugoslav credo of "brotherhood and unity", seems to have been the only viable recipe for political mobilization and state building (Bringa 1995, 33).

¹³The second Bosnian Entity is Republika Srpska/Republic Srpska, which is not to be confused with Republic of Serbia, one of the successor countries of former Yugoslavia.

But Maria Todorova adds the wider regional perspective to the regional identity profiling:

Balkan nationalism [...] irrevocably destroyed the imagined community of Orthodox Christianity, [but] managed to preserve a frozen, unchangeable, and stultifyingly uniform image of the Muslim community[...] [manifested in] the continuous and indiscriminate [and pejorative] use of the name Turk to refer to Muslims in general (Todorova [1997] 2009, 177-178).

The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is predominantly Slavic, and according to the regional concepts of nationality or ethnicity, comprise the three *constitutive peoples* and *others*. The demographic spread has been affected by the war in 1990s, in which the primary goal of the neighbouring political elites was an expansion and territorial redistribution at the expense of the territorial integrity of Bosnia. The main population groups, according to 2013 census (Agencija za statistiku Bosne i Hercegovine, 2016), are Bosniaks (50.11%), Serbs (30.78%) and Croats (15.43%), with rest as Not Declared or Other, which may include Jews, Roma and others.

Ljubljana-based sociologist and historian Vera Kržišnik-Bukić (2001, 109) contemplated the Bosnian paradigm and observed: “Never in our history has there been an un-adulterated ethnic model.” She conceptualised the totality of Bosnia and graphically articulated her vision and solution to the Bosnian Question, starting with an operational view of the Question of the Bosnian identity, where Bosnia means both territory and population (**Fig.1.8; Fig.1.9; Fig.1.10**). This paradigm represents a continuous struggle between centrifugal and centripetal forces, which may be viewed in its temporal context, by acknowledging the historical truths of the past.

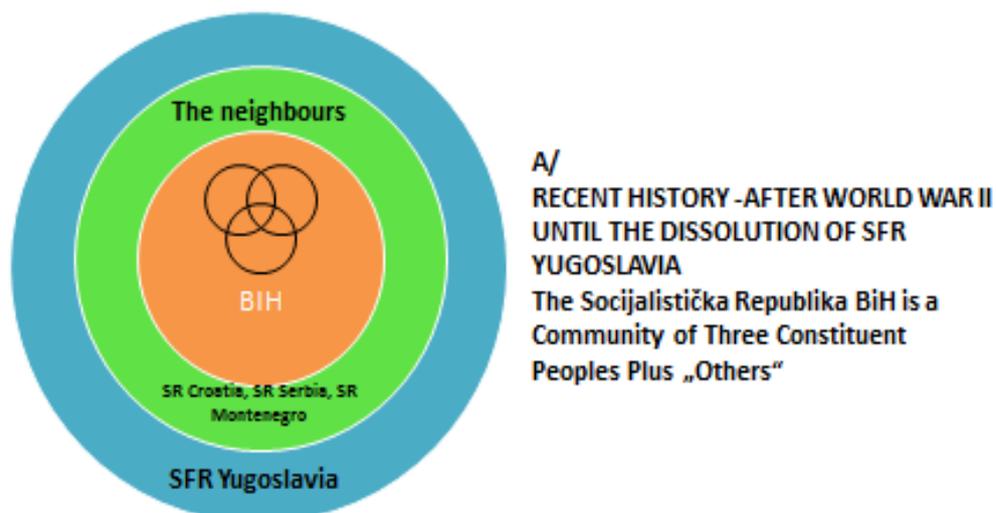


Fig.1.8 The Bosnian Question at geopolitical and neighbourhood level, redrawn and annotated by Selma Harrington (Kržišnik-Bukić 2001, 111).

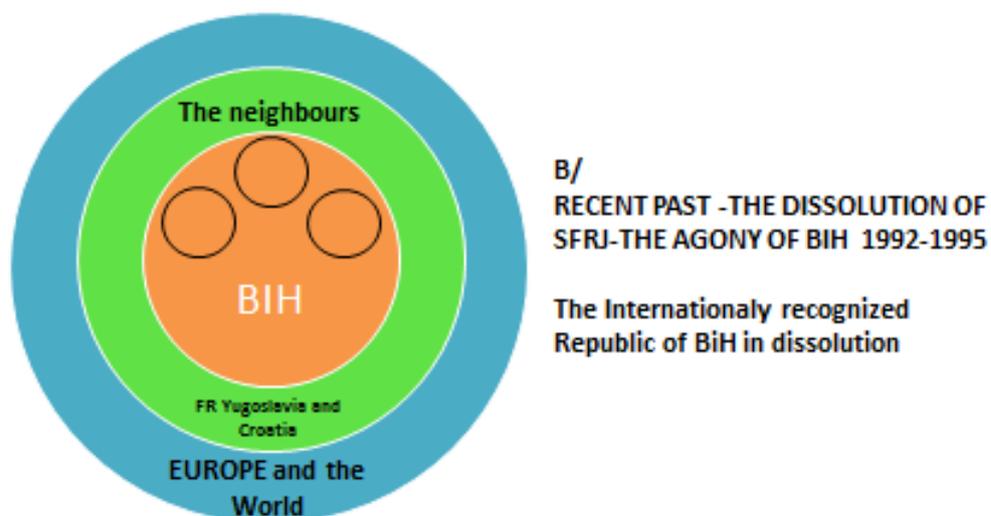


Fig.1.9 The Bosnian Question at geopolitical and neighbourhood level, redrawn and annotated by Selma Harrington (Kržišnik-Bukić 2001, 111).

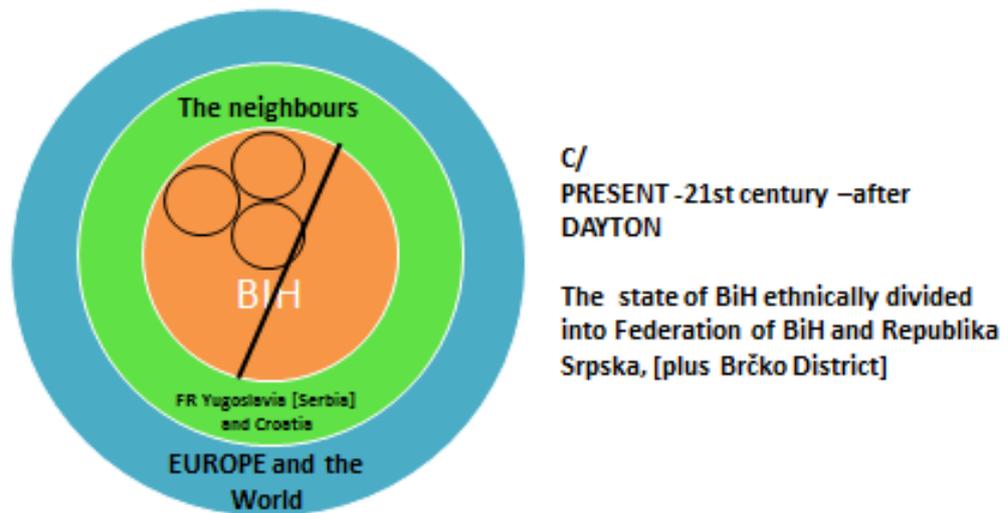


Fig.1.10 The Bosnian Question at geopolitical and neighbourhood level, redrawn and annotated by Selma Harrington (Kržišnik-Bukić 2001, 111).

For Kržišnik-Bukić, the Bosnian identity is made up of three parts: the Country (state of BiH), the People (citizens + three constitutive ethnic nations and “Others”), and the Spirit of Bosnia (collective and individual consciousness as related to the Bosnian national identity in the form of memory and sense of history and belonging). Based on the Bosnian demographic element, Kržišnik-Bukić observes the relations among ethnic groups, marked in her graphs as three small circles. She argues that these groups have at all times, in the past and present, coexisted in three ways: firstly, as “living with the Other(s),” secondly, “living alongside the Other(s),” and thirdly, “living strictly apart from, or against the Other(s)” (Kržišnik-Bukić 2001, 110). The degree of presence of each model varies. For Kržišnik-Bukić (2001, 110), the particularity of Bosnian national identity could be described as the “unity of differences,” [...] an “awareness of participation in the identity of the Other,” but this was often politically denied to exist.

At the time, Kržišnik-Bukić was acutely aware of the Bosnian dependence on international and global factors and attributed its survival to the financial support from non-European Islamic countries, the USA and the Dayton provisions. She therefore argued that the country and its identity need to be viewed from the context of “neighbourhood”: immediate, European and global and examined through relational changes of the interdependent elements of Bosnian identity (as a set of peoples, as a country and as a consciousness), in the recent history and past. As the country emerged from the 1990s war and the Dayton Peace Agreement, Kržišnik-Bukić emphasised the necessity of the commitment by Bosnian neighbours, Serbia and Croatia, to respect and support it as an equal state in the region, a condition which remains acute.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Underpinnings and Literature Review

Societies learn through resolving system problems that present evolutionary challenges [...] [,] problems that overload the steering capacity available within the limits of a given social formation. Societies can *learn in an evolutionary sense* by drawing upon moral and legal representations contained in worldviews to reorganize systems of action and shape new forms of social integration. This process can be understood as an institutional embodiment of rationality structures already developed at the cultural level (Habermas, *The theory of communicative action* Vol. I [1981] 1984, 313).

Inspired by the concept of *communicative action*, this Chapter explains the theoretical framework which is constructed to underpin the central hypothesis of the research. The communication is located at the intersection of critical heritage studies, modernism discourse in history of architecture and a concept of critical regionalism, as conceptualised in **Fig.2.1**. The selected literature sources provide a broad world-view on the impact and absorption of modernism in different regional architectures, including the voices from Central and Eastern Europe, former Yugoslavia and lesser known cultures beyond the Western world.

Filtering through the lenses from post-colonial studies such as *orientalism* and *balkanism*, the investigation leads to the selected modernist architecture case study, revealing the transformation of museum in which aspects of memory and identity are blended with the spatial and physical considerations.

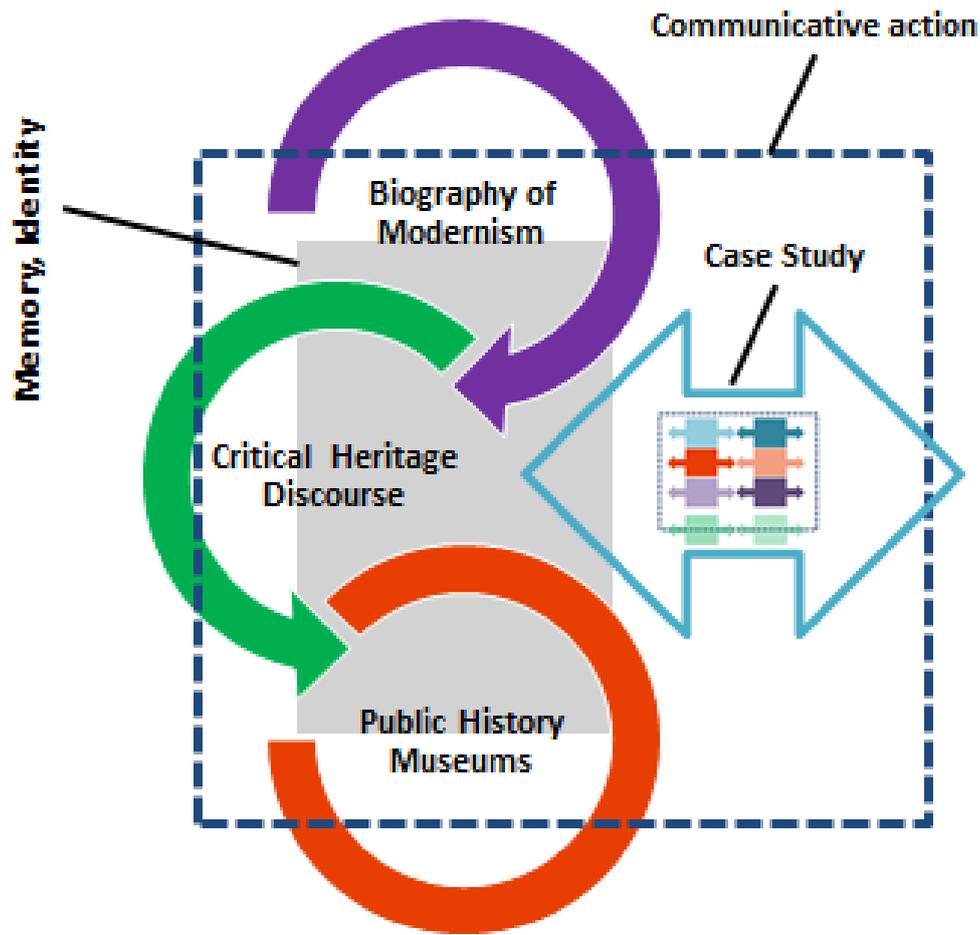


Fig.2.1 Conceptualising the research framework (©Selma Harrington, 2017).

2.1 Communicative Action Concept and Discursive Language

The agency of architecture in public space is linked with the process of modernisation. However, in the discourse on modernism focused on selected buildings and their designers, there is a realisation that a “stand-alone” approach to the history of architecture is not enough. In parallel, the sociologists and the critical theorists from humanities have brought the studies of contemporary architecture in their focus, which resonates with desire to move away from reductionist approach

that had consigned architectural phenomena to the analysis of style. As a result, architectural research has begun to resort to social and cultural studies, borrowing their methods of observation in order to build a better phenomenological understanding of its own field and subject, and situate it within a *synchronistic flux* of cultural, political and social developments.

Social scientists Carr and Kemmis (1986, 136) considered the *communicative action* concept by Jürgen Habermas ([1981]1984)¹⁴ as an “emancipatory” tool for critical social science, while architectural historian Williams Goldhagen (2005) equated it with the on-going conversation in architecture about its place in modernisation (**Fig.2.2**).

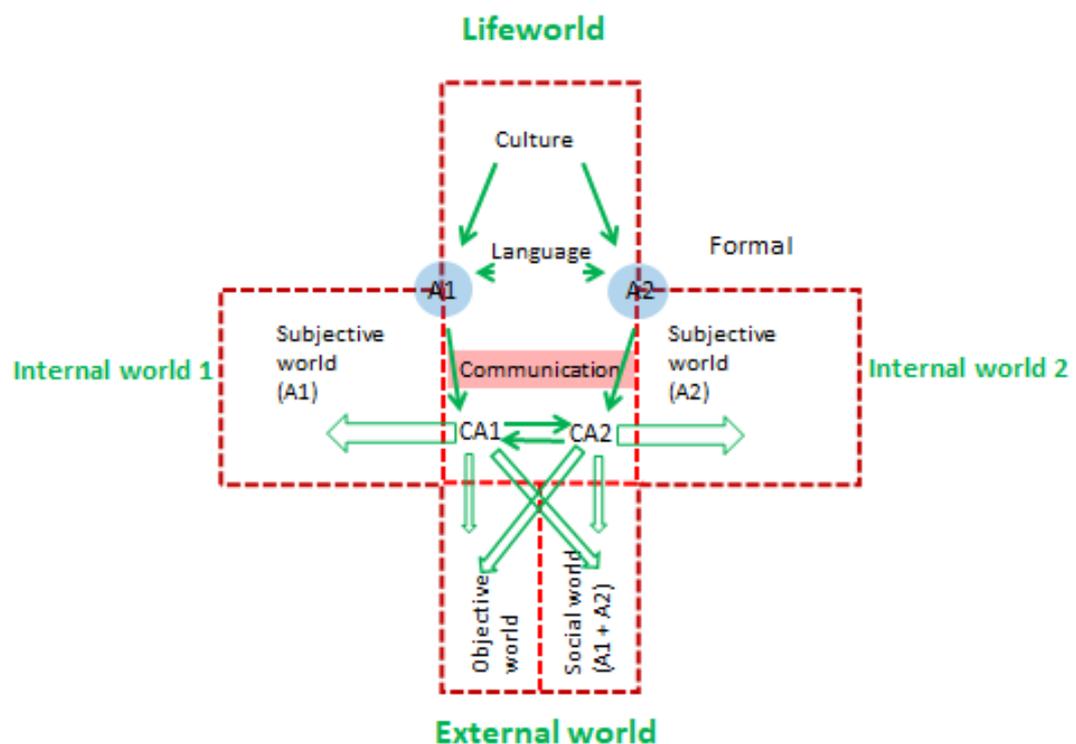


Fig.2.2 World-Relations of Communicative Acts (CA), drawn by Selma Harrington (Habermas 1987, II 127).

¹⁴ The Author has accessed Habermas’ work translated to English language by McCarty (Habermas 1987), or interpreted by Brand (1990).

Habermas described his concept as “the most basic form of societal action” which is coordinated “through use of language or corresponding non-verbal expressions oriented towards reaching understanding” (Brand 1990, 26). This refers to the interaction of at least two subjects capable of speech and action that establish interpersonal relations (whether by verbal or by non-verbal means). The actors seek to reach an understanding about the action situation and their subsequent plans of action in order to coordinate their actions by way of agreement. Central to this process is the concept of interpretation, which in the first instance refers to negotiating the definitions of the situation, which might lead to an interaction through consensus, or changed into a further discourse (Habermas [1981] 1984; Brand 1990, 26).

The principles of communicative action are applied in the Thesis to interrogate the interpretive potential of public architecture and historic memory narratives from different disciplinary perspectives, with the purpose of *shared understanding*, seen as critical for future action. Inspired by Habermas’ notion of the *structural differentiation of Lifeworld*, architecture and narratives are placed in a discursive model, which allows for the observation of historical dynamics characterised by convergence, divergence and conflict. Whilst the observation of communicative acts in a series of synchronistic sequences related to a specific and local narrative lead to specific conclusions, the method itself is sufficiently generalised to be operable in other situations.

It is further suggested that such modelling might enable a controlled re-enactment of communicative acts in public space and contribute to the interpretive potential and understanding of the behaviour patterns of different societal groups.

This might have a role in reconciling conflicting and destructive trends in the public sphere, as a methodology for dealing with “difficult heritage” (Mullan 2018, 34-48) or with “dissonance” of heritage (Kisić 2016), which this Thesis marginally explores.

According to Brand (1990, 26), central to most of Habermas’ work, has been the “wider notion of rationality” based on the linguistic dimensions of the reason and the recognition of collective learning processes, both in technological-scientific and in the moral-practical domain. However, in terms of social action, he was mostly interested in the element of a *shared understanding*, rather than goal-achieving, and consequently in the “interpretive” aspects of it (Brand 1990, 31; Habermas [1981] 1984, 333-334). Habermas introduces four aspects of the rationalisation of action, such as *teleological* (goal-oriented), *constative speech acts* (which embody empirical-theoretical knowledge), *norm-regulated* (oriented to the moral-practical knowledge), and *dramaturgical* (oriented to effect or deception).

When the listener or observer reacts to a claim presented in a speech/act the action is coordinated in the following sequence: a) understanding the meaning, b) taking a “yes” or “no” position to it and c) follow up with action on “yes”, according to the conventionally established action obligations. In the case when a “no” position is taken, the interaction could be switched off or changed into a discourse in which both participants could further change their positions (Brand 1990, 26-27).

In reference to social groups and their inter-relationships, Habermas introduces the category of Lifeworld, as a reference system comprising society, culture and personality.¹⁵ Culture is here “the stock of knowledge [...] which provides

¹⁵ Habermas had extensively studied and advanced the work of the American sociologist, Talbot Parsons, who is attributed with the foundation of the systems theory, as an ‘all-inclusive theoretical

interpretations”, and personality is defined as “competencies that make a subject capable of speaking and acting, that put him in a position to take part in process of reaching understanding and thereby [...] assert[ing] [...] own identity” (Habermas 1987, II 138).

Habermas believes that the Lifeworld is in a process of *structural differentiation*, where the dynamics between each element can be described as follows (Brand 1990, 35-36):

- Differentiation between culture and society, where the trend is an increased disconnection of institutional systems from world views;
- Differentiation between personality and society, where the trend is the coming about of an increasing scope for the creation of interpersonal relations;
- Differentiation between culture and personality, where the renewal of tradition becomes increasingly dependent on the critical and innovative activities of individuals.

On the cultural level, Habermas sees a process of *differentiation between form and content*, in each of the aspects of Lifeworld: culture, society and personality. In the cultural domain, he observes processes in which the core of cultural traditions is transformed into formal elements and thus increasingly separated from the concrete content of these traditions, and reduced into procedures of argumentation, or abstract and standardised values (Brand 1990, 36). In a societal domain, such differentiation can be seen in the legal order and morality, which

framework’ in the field of sociological theory in which the action theory plays a part (Brand 1995, 102-110).

became more abstract and less and less connected to concrete contents. In the domain of personality, the separation of form from content is visible in the cognitive structures, which became more and more disjointed from the concrete contents of cultural knowledge, in favour of development and application of “the ‘formal-operational’ skill of quantitative reasoning” specific to the occupational field (Brand 1990, 36-37).

Habermas describes the *increasing, functional specification of processes of the reproduction of culture, society and personality*, which can be seen in the way the specific institutions and forms of discourse are developed “for the pursuit of the sciences, humanities and arts, (culture); in [...] the coming about of specific institutions in the political sphere which provide the basis for ‘discursive formation of the will’ in political matters (society); [...] [and] finally, [...] of specific institutions for the education [...] and [...] the reflection on education as a specialised task in the form of pedagogy (personality)” (Brand 1990, 37; Habermas 1987, II 146-147).

Lifeworld is for him one aspect of society, the other being the System, and therefore he distinguishes between *social integration*, as part of the symbolic reproduction of society among the participant agents, and *system integration*, perceived as the “functional intertwining of action consequences” (Brand 1990, 38). The processes of differentiation according to Habermas, imposes “heavy demands on the interpretive capacities of actors”, so that the whole areas of societal action, primarily in the systems of governance and finance, “drop out of language” (Brand 1990, 38).

Accordingly, the Public Sphere in the Social Welfare State Mass Democracy is characterised by the compromise negotiated between social organisations which deal with the state in the political public sphere, either directly with the administration or through political parties (Habermas et al [1964] 1974, 55). The public and private realm is interwoven, whereby the political authorities assume certain functions in commodity exchange and social labour and vice versa, social powers assume political functions. The political public sphere of the social welfare state is characterised by a peculiar weakening of its critical functions, which resort to “public relations” forms rather than to the organic growth from the social structure, even though it operates within the extended fundamental rights of the welfare state. Habermas saw a danger of the disintegration of this model, due to the transformations of the public sphere itself and called for a new rationalisation of power through a medium of public discussion among private individuals and under the mutual control of rival organizations committed to the public sphere, by their internal structure as well as in their relations with the state and each other.

Habermas’ categories of formal and empirical pragmatism and intent are particularly useful. He distinguishes between the “cooperative interpretive processes” and their opposites, in particular the *systematically distorted communication*, which can be classified as communication pathology, or as *fake news*, in the contemporary jargon. Discussing the causes of such pathology, Habermas points to the confusion and manipulation in action motivation goals, between understanding and success, but he also acknowledges the role of intrapsychic and interpersonal causes in disturbances of communication, due to “the kind of unconscious repression of conflicts” acting as a defence mechanism (Habermas [1981] 1984, 332-333). His

graphic depiction of this divergence provides a useful place to stake the site for architecture in such a public sphere, and to illustrate its positioning from the perspective of this research (Fig.2.3). That means that architectural structures and urban arrangement of structures in space are seen as strategic actions, with designated functions that communicate and enable social interactions.

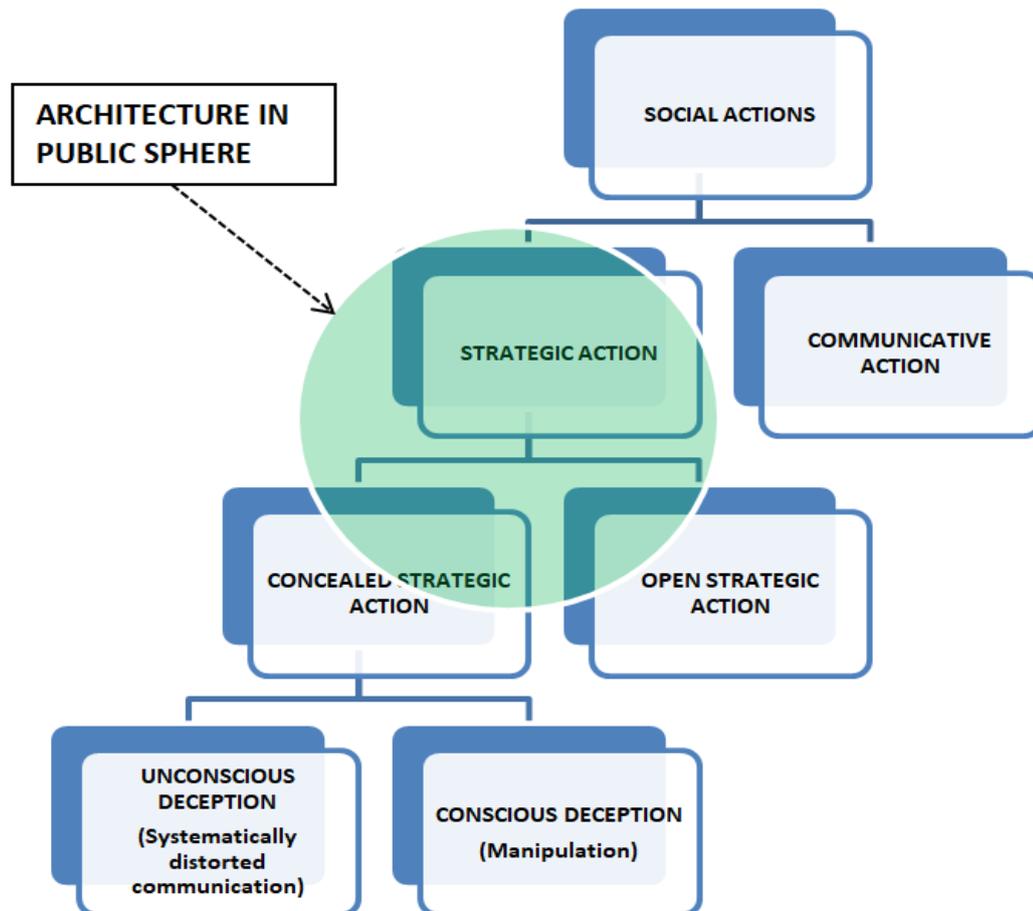


Fig.2.3 Situating architecture in social actions flow, inspired by Habermas, drawn and annotated by Selma Harrington (Source: Habermas [1981]1984, 333).

Taking issue with the first inclusion and exhibition of architecture at the Venice Biennale in 1980, which he described as a disappointment, Habermas¹⁶ opined "that those who exhibited [...] formed an avant-garde of reversed fronts, [in other words] they sacrificed the tradition of modernity in order to make room for a new historicism" (Habermas and Ben-Habib 1981, 3). He outlined the evolution of the concept of "modern" since late 5th century to the present date, describing it as a general expression of "the consciousness of an epoch that relates itself to the past of antiquity, in order to view itself as the result of a transition from the old to the new" (Habermas and Ben-Habib 1981, 3-5). The French Enlightenment, inspired by modern science and "belief in the infinite progress of knowledge [...] and advance towards social and moral betterment", opposed the classic antique by turning to "the idealised Middle Ages" [...] [O]ut of this romantic spirit" in the 19th century, "a radicalised consciousness of modernity" emerged, "which freed itself from all specific historical ties" and assumed a role of "an abstract opposition between tradition and the present:"

Since then, the distinguishing mark of works, that count as modern is "the new" which will be overcome and made obsolete through the novelty of the next style. But, while that which is merely "stylish" will soon become out-moded, that which is modern preserves a secret tie to the classical. [...] [T]he emphatically modern document no longer borrows this power of being classic from the authority of a past epoch; instead a modern work becomes a classic because it has once been authentically modern. Our sense of modernity creates its own self-enclosed canons of being classic (Habermas and Ben-Habib 1981, 5).

¹⁶ This originated as a talk delivered in September 1980, when Habermas was awarded the Theodor W. Adorno prize by the City of Frankfurt; it was subsequently delivered as the James Lecture of the New York Institute for the Humanities at New York University in March 1981; and published as "Modernity Versus Postmodernity" in *New German Critique* 22 in translation to English by Seyla Ben-Habib (Winter 1981, 3-14). The Author is grateful to Professor Meave Cook from the School of Philosophy at the University College Dublin, for pointing to this work.

Informed by the geo-political and cultural turn in the world of the early 1980s, Habermas and Ben-Habib (1981, 4) pronounced that: “The new value placed on the transitory, the elusive and the ephemeral, the very celebration of dynamism, discloses a longing for an undefiled, immaculate and stable present.” This was also evident in the way modern architecture was presented and described in numerous publications, manifestoes, or catalogue texts, which often reduced it to its volumetric essence.

Habermas’ ideas pre-date the Internet and the subsequent explosion of social media, which has added increased pressure to the expectations and interpretative aspects of communication. Nevertheless, his concept seems even more relevant to our times with regard to the need for information management and discerning the shared understanding amidst the speed and facets of *implicit* knowledge, *holistically structured* knowledge and the knowledge that *does not stand at our disposition* (Habermas [1981] 1984, 336). His concept of systematically distorted communication seems a particularly suitable lens to observe conflict and post-conflict situations in the development of the case study.

2.2 Critical Heritage Discourse

[T]he legitimacy of the critique of all things is one of the tangible elements of modernity; the subject of such a critique could well be modernity itself as well as the totality of its premises (Sadria 2009, 91).

The criticism in the heritage studies discourse, according to Tim Winter (2013, 532-545), could be traced back to the reactions in the late twentieth-century to the

“heritage boom” in the UK, which was dominated by conservatism, nostalgia, and “a commodity culture” (Rampley 2012,10-11). This was further extended in the critiques on the heritage practice by Laurajane Smith (2006), Emma Waterton (2010) and others, leading to the articulation of “critical heritage studies” as a field of academic enquiry after the inaugural conference of the *Association of Critical Heritage Studies* in Gothenburg, Sweden, 5-8 June 2012 (Winter and Waterton 2013, 529). This approach argues for the critical perspective on “the socio-political complexities that enmesh heritage; tackling the thorny issues [which] those in the conservation profession are often reluctant to acknowledge” (Winter 2013, 533). It reaches out to the conservation profession, pointing to the value of “conceptual architecture” which the social sciences and humanities add to practice, as a way to surpass the “complex issues which enmesh heritage in the twenty-first century” (Winter and Waterton 2013, 529).

Winter is mindful of the growing funding opportunities for conservation and preservation of heritage, and its association with climate change, sustainability, security, multiculturalism and conflict resolution discourse, which necessitates a cross-sectoral collaboration and cultivation of a common language, pressingly needed particularly in less developed countries. Because of the expectations from the contemporary “heritage culture” “to fulfil a multitude of ends,” two immediate priorities loom large for Winter (2013, 536), firstly, a pursuit of post-western perspective and secondly, an engaged dialogue with the heritage conservation sector. Winter argues that, for critical heritage to be relevant, it must reach out to practice(s) and work with the specificities in a post-industrialised, post-imperial, globalised world.

Winter critiques the Euro-centric position of the “disciplines” of knowledge production around material culture, secured since the *Enlightenment* by the deployment of “modern, rationalist, empiricist and scientific methods” (Winter 2013, 537). Even though all of them were advancing “the infrastructure of imperial rule,” the perceived universality of European knowledge, according to Winter (2013, 537-538), enabled it to “sidestep the post-colonial critique” in the decades of the 1940s-1960s and to enjoy an almost universal ascendancy as a scientific paradigm (Escobar 1995; Singh 2011). This permeates policy discourse at the level of United Nations bodies like UNESCO and UNICEF and is mimicked by networks like ICOMOS¹⁷ and ICOM¹⁸, which privilege “rational, positivistic models of security and socio-economic development” and consequently, cultural heritage operates in a language of “scientific rational enquiry” (Winter 2013, 538). Winter believes that such language projects a voice of authority, anchored by an assumption of apolitical, objective and value-neutral expertise, but can be problematic as it often excludes knowledge outside of “technical reports and scientific criteria” (Winter 2013, 539).

Some authors, like Adrian Forty (1986), have already embraced a broader cultural perspective in the study of the historical development of design and its impact on society, and according to Michie ([1987] 2006, 107), included a critique of earlier histories “for confining to the study of art or technology.” In her book *Uses of Heritage* (2006), Laurajane Smith critiqued the concept of *authorised heritage discourse* as a Western expert-view and called for a reappraisal and turn of gaze to local and vernacular, which, in her view, have a great importance for “place-making and local identity, constituting and giving meaning to communities” (Mullan 2018,

¹⁷ International Council on Monuments and Sites, 1965

¹⁸ International Council of Museums, 1946

36). Tim Benton and Clementine Cecile (2010, 23) discussed the significance of “extrinsic context” of heritage, a psychological term comprising experience and memory, which facilitates understanding of “monuments and heritage sites [...] as memory prompts,” posing a question which encapsulates the central approach used in this Thesis:

Is there anything in the form of an artefact which can carry meaning as memory, irrespective of what the viewer knows about the artefact’s origins?(Benton and Cecil 2010, 23).

New trends in heritage studies arise from the specialisation and introduction of digital knowledge tools in conservation, implying that the “new scientific conservation” (Muñoz Viñas 2005, 1-26) may require close physical proximity to the object and a “strongly specific knowledge” at one end of the spectrum, and a “sub-molecular” digital access, at the other end. Other developments embrace “sustainable development,” “community involvement,” challenge and value of cultural tourism for heritage, while the inclusion of the category of “intangible” heritage, widens the scope, moving away from purely “fabric” orientated conservation and preservation. Winter calls for cross-disciplinarity and challenges the technically-minded, science-based epistemologies of culture to pose critical questions on how heritage is analysed: whether as a lived experience, as political relations, as an expression of modernity or as the cultural economy. He argues for a more ambitious scope for heritage studies, beyond a “familiar analytical triad: monuments, memorials and memory” and instead, calls for engagement in issues-based research more directly, and with a “serious post-western perspective” (Winter 2013, 541-542).

In order to consolidate and legitimise the professional field of heritage studies, Croatian museologist Darko Babić (2016, 15-28), discusses the arguments

for and against the transformation of “museum studies” into “heritage studies,” observing that:

[T]he museums sector in south-eastern Europe [...] does not necessarily align perfectly with the predominant perspectives and approaches in Western Europe (Babić 2016, 17).

Mindful of the greater demand on the whole heritage sector (museums, galleries, professionals) to “deliver tangible and practical results in addition to theoretical ones” (Babić 2016, 16), he critiques the reductionist approaches to heritage in developmental strategies and the tourism industry. Instead of concentrating only on the economic usefulness, Babić (2016, 18) advocates for heritage sector’s central role in “the sustainability of resources and rights of ownership” for the benefit of local communities.

Applying the same analogy to the twentieth-century architectural heritage, the apparent state of its abandonment and neglect in many countries considered peripheral to mainstream Modernism, exposes the controversy. Despite its material value and sometimes its continued use, there is a tendency to view this architecture as synonymous with ruins and fragments of dismantled ideologies and societies, and therefore either condone or out-rightly reject it. In some cases, as the Moscow cultural tours show, the regard to architecture heritage might signify nostalgia (Benton and Cecil 2010, 7-43). Some recent scholarship in humanities position the post-World War II architectural heritage from Central and Eastern Europe, within cultural studies of memory, identity, conflict and trauma (Rampley 2012; Gafijczuk 2013).

The emerging new scholarship tests the notion that modernity somehow failed more in Europe’s East than in its West. The funding mechanisms made

available after the European Union enlargement in 1997 and 2005, kick-started new collaborative projects which began to challenge the perceived divisions of modernity between East and West. The voices of authors culturally connected with Eastern and Central Europe, such as Stanek and Van Den Heuvel (2014) and Moravánszky and Lange (2017), provide a more complex reflection and new insights in this period of architectural Modernism in former Communist and Socialist countries.

Mindful of the existing knowledge gap and the prevalence of what could be termed as *trans-Atlantic bias*, this Thesis aspires to give voice to a built heritage which is both under-represented and often simplistically “othered” as “Eastern European”, a “part of the former Communist Block,” or from behind the “Cold War” barrier. This research centres on the modernist architecture of a museum from an ex-Yugoslav space, whose legacy is complicated by the impact of conflict and post-conflict processes of coming to terms with the heritage of a once shared identity, which is being suppressed, resented and remembered, in almost equal measure. Actualised by more recent trends and the (re)discovery of Yugoslav architectural heritage (MoMA 2018), the Thesis expands the scope of discourse on socialist built heritage and its management in Bosnia and Herzegovina and probes the attribute of “the unloved heritage, in both West and East” (Steiner 2012).

2.3 Modernism as Discourse

Architecture, as a design discipline and as an object of research, is experiencing a scalar shift, from building to city to territory. Architecture, urbanism and landscape have more or less merged into one large and interdisciplinary constellation

of design disciplines, and architectural history is seeking to reposition itself accordingly (Bozdogan 2006, 4).

Similar to the heritage studies critique, architecture historians and educators were questioning the usefulness of “the canon of modern architecture” (Collins 1965; Joedicke 1958), with a significant scholarly contribution by Manfredo Tafuri (1975) and the School of Venice to the problematisation of its “grand narratives” after the decline of the orthodox modernism (Hoekstra 2014, 2). A new interest in broader cultural and philosophical themes emerged in the mid-seventies, inspired by the work of French philosophers/sociologists Derrida and Foucault. This led to the approaches of “dissecting” history in order to expose the weaknesses of modernism, rather than synthesising the phenomena. It coincided with the changed position of Europe in the world, in which its past legacies of enlightenment, triumph of reason and struggle for emancipation, have seemed no longer suitable as meta-narrative.

Williams Goldhagen (2005, 144-167) argued for a change of “modernism’s biography” based on the assemblage of work by famous personalities and suggested a new framework for a *discourse on modernism* which would be conceptualised *itself* [as] *that discourse*. This implied placing the “modernist buildings, projects, urban plans, including their stylistic positions, as well as manifestos, exhibitions, and other contributions,” as focus for “identifiable community of recipients (architects, urbanists, critics, curators, historians, and theorists” (Williams Goldhagen 2005, 159). Williams Goldhagen called for pooling the perspective of practitioners and scholars in the same discourse, to allow for a cross-generational exchange, effective insights and tackling of otherwise neglected and isolated issues, such as for example, periodisation and its impact on the discourse.

She suggested that “modernism in architecture is not limited to this or that movement, but instead generated many movements and strains” and is made up of “a set of arguments that cohere around a core cluster of propositions” which have manifested in a “plurality of patterned difference” in “the architecture proposed and built - including [the] stylistic inclinations.” If, as she believes, “modernism in architecture is a discourse,” then it can be examined “in its synchronistic flux” by observing the external phenomena that impacted on it and have shaped the four central dimensions of its internal structure: cultural, political, social and formal aspects of discourse (Williams Goldhagen 2005, 162). Here, she argues, the concept of *communicative action*, as coined by Habermas, appears to be a suitable method of discourse, as “modernism in architecture was and is an on-going conversation [...] about how, in living with the cultural, political, social, and economic conditions of modernity, a newly conceptualised built environment might enhance self-awareness, might improve social life, might contribute to a more humanised present, and might help people to envision their future in a better world” (Habermas 1987, 336-367).

Other authors, like Woodham (1997) and Forty (1986) examined a broad set of cultural themes from a more general design perspective, describing societal and industrial progress. Concentrated mostly on the industrialised trans-Atlantic world, Woodham (1997, 9) introduced themes like “design and national identity,” “nostalgia, heritage and design” and “postmodernism.” He also pointed to the emergence of new themes, such as multiculturalism, regionalism, the (then) implications of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet perestroika, the cultural impacts of package holidays and global travel. Mindful of the inevitable omissions in his work, Woodham explained the geographic exclusions by citing the lack of

developed and published research, as the main reasons for focusing on the Western industrialised world. At the same time, he hoped that further studies after “perestroika and the demolition of the Berlin Wall” would in time broaden the picture of twentieth-century design (Woodham 1997, 9).

Similarly, Charles Jencks argued for a *multivalent* approach, in his *Modern Movements in Architecture* (Dženks 1986, 18-19).¹⁹ He critiqued Pevsner’s *Pioneers of Modern Design* ([1936]1960), and his deterministic, personalized and selective approach displayed in the book which influenced several similar “conservative, elitist and future-telling” architecture histories and theories which follow a singular pre-determined line of development. Instead, Jencks envisaged the discourse in history of architecture as a “series of discontinued movements” and he argued for a pluralist approach, while simultaneously admitting the inevitability of selectiveness and some omissions (Dženks 1986, 19-20).

The Irish-American architecture historian, Kathleen James-Chakraborty (2014), re-writes the history of modernisation, situating it in the parallel global process, in which an increasing amount of novel structures facilitated an intensification of contact and interaction between geographically disparate cultures. James-Chakraborty’s (2012, 11-24) interest in “a New Bauhaus Heritage” emerging after the reunification of Germany in 1989, contributes to understanding of the continuity of significance of the original institution, and its legacy of complex association with democracy and the Third Reich. According to Hoekstra (2014, 2), the shift in the field of study after the end of the Cold War, signifies the rise of new

¹⁹ Phonetic spelling of Author’s name from the Serbo-Croat translation of the book *Moderni pokreti u arhitekturi* by Charles Jencks.

themes such as multiculturalism, a new understanding of the past, and departure from the Western-centric perspectives and restrictions imposed by national concepts.

2.4 Critical Re(gion)alism²⁰ and Vernacular Modernism

Thus, we come to the crucial problem confronting nations just rising from underdevelopment. In order to get on to the road towards modernization, is it necessary to jettison the old cultural past which has been the *raison d'être* of a nation? (Frampton [1980]1984,1992, 314).

Kenneth Frampton's rhetorical question is at the heart of the global *angst*,²¹ and the unsolved human dilemma of embracing the ever-faster change and fear and rejection of it at the same time. Since the 1980s, Frampton's influential trans-Atlantic voice made a strong impact on the twentieth-century architecture discourse, firstly with his critique of the International Style, "a convenient phrase denoting a cubistic mode of architecture which had spread throughout the developed world by the time of [WWII] [...] [whose] apparent homogeneity was deceptive [...] [and which] never became truly universal" (Frampton 1992, 248).

Frampton (1992, 16-30) advanced the idea and study of *critical regionalism*, a concept by Alexandre Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre (1981, 164-178), which have inspired his reading of critical regionalism. Formulated "to disassociate the term from the demagogic regionalism of the Third Reich" (McQuillan 2016, 2), the concept was used as a counterpoint to the design of suburbia in the United States of

²⁰ The use of brackets in re(gion)alism is explained in the text in reference to its originators, Alexander Tsonis and Liane Lefaivre.

²¹ A psychological term, originating from German language, signifying a feeling of deep anxiety or dread (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angst>, accessed 21.07.2019).

America at that time (Frampton 1983).

To distinguish the concept of regionalism from its historic uses as *pastiche*, Tzonis and Lefaivre resorted to the Kantian concept of *critical* applied on the “approach to design [...] [which gives] priority to the identity of the particular rather than to universal dogmas” (Tzonis 2003, 10). They studied such practices in Spain, United States, Greece and Israel, but subsequently felt that the concept was “repeatedly misused,” even “transported back to its obsolete, chauvinistic outlook” (Lefaivre and Tzonis 2003, 10). This led them to suggest the renaming of the concept to *critical realism*, as a more appropriate reflection of practices which explored the identity of the particular. However, the actuality of regionalism as a concept and as a term persists, and it stands to epitomise the ongoing all-pervading conflict “between globalization and international intervention” versus “local identity and the desire for ethnic insularity.” Tzonis’ and Lefaivre’s study of some twenty projects built after World War II up to the 21st c. geographically encompasses North America and Europe, Japan and China, South East Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Turkey but does not explore beyond the former Iron Curtain.

In contrast to the relatively limited regionalism discourse in the US, it appears that European regionalisms have been to higher degrees politicised revealing the agency of architecture and other aspects of culture, as suggested in the book *Regionalism and Modernity: Architecture in Western Europe 1914-1940* (Meganck et al. 2013). Canizaro (2014, 1-3) also argues that European post-war political developments shaped its regionalism differently and that it’s “a quiet resurgence in the discourse” might be a consequence of several dramatic developments. Nationalism, post-war reconstruction, large-scale urban migrations, displacement of

the population due to wars and political instability, appear in parallel with the fast modernisation of work and lifestyle. The re-introduction of vernacular from a post-modernist perspective (Umbach and Hüppauf 2005), recognises its identity-shaping potential in the crisis of modernity, as a phenomenon “where modern appears co-existent with given natural environment and its customary built articulation” (Czaplicka (2005, 175-176).

2.5 Orientalism, Balkanism and Modernising of the Third World

When in the late 1980s the Iron Curtain collapsed as the barrier against the imagined “Europe’s Other”, the meaning of East in the trope started shifting back to the notion of East as a symbol of the “ancient traditional” versus West as symbol of “modern [...]”, as was originally laid out in Edward Said’s influential book *Orientalism* ([1978]1985). This became a useful theoretical crutch in cultural analysis of regional architectural modernisms, particularly for scholars from “beyond-Western” perspectives, who brought forward the views by the “other” (Alić and Gusheh 1997, 179).

In dialogue with “Said’s orientalism [as] distinctly identified with Islam,” Maria Todorova develops a concept of *balkanism* as an independent category in her book *Imagining Balkans* (Todorova 2009, 18). Contrasted with “the intangible nature of the Orient,” for her the Balkans distinguishes with its “historical and geographic concreteness,” its boundary position between Islam and Christianity, and with “several Balkan self-identities” which “were invariably erected against the

‘oriental’ other” (Todorova 2009, 11). Todorova analyses the Ottoman legacy in the Balkans as continuity and as perception, “treated as the cluster of historical continuities after the secession of the Balkan States from the Ottoman Empire” and as “complex product of local Balkan, Islamic and Turkish components.” She tackles the frequent attribute “an agent of backwardness,” arguing that the Ottoman Empire “left a more tangible legacy in the economic and social spheres,” with three common characteristics in almost all post-independence Balkan societies: “the absence of a landed nobility;” “the existence of a relatively free peasantry;” and, the strong centralised state. These elements are, for her, congruent with a “certain commitment to egalitarianism,” considered as “a feature of the Balkan experience.” At the same time, she observes the disappearance of high/elite culture in the newly seceded states after a break with Ottoman culture, leaving behind only [...] architectural monuments” (Todorova 2009, 178-179), with only “exception among Bosnian-Slavic-speaking Muslims, who unlike their counterparts in Bulgaria, Greece or Macedonia, occupied the highest places in the social hierarchy of their region” (Cf. Tanasković 1989, 299-307). Todorova also notes how much a previous “Byzantine legacy was actually built into the Ottoman Empire” which was ironically and irrevocably disrupted with the “disintegration of the Ottoman world along national lines” (Todorova 2009, 179).

The Croatian critic Drago Jurak (2015) regretted that Todorova’s call “for demythologizing and re-historicising the Balkans” came some twenty years late, noting also the absence of Said’s *Orientalism* in the region. The opportunity to shake off “the stable set of stereotypical discourse which tie[d] the Balkans into a cognitive strait-jacket” (Todorova 2009, 13) has been missed during the traumatic 1990s, when

the questions of West, the Balkans and the demonised and constitutive “other,” were central to the Croatian state-making project.

The spread of modernism, and internationalism as its sub-theme, has been acutely felt in Third World countries²², many of which were diverse Muslim societies in the Ottoman sphere of the Near and Middle East. Modjtaba Sadria (2009, 7-17) reflects on the rich debate among intellectuals provoked by “the process of grasping, analysing, and qualifying aspects of convergence, divergence, contradictions and harmony” which modernism brought to such societies. Suha Özkan²³ observed the impact of modernism in the Third World, in particular when it arrived in a form of *internationalism*, with a “proclaimed universal and world-wide applicability of certain values of architecture” (1985, 8). The widely promoted identification with contemporaneity through modernism, via the public education and the construction industry, had “almost totally discarded all the ‘regional’ building activity” for a considerable period. In Özkan’s view, the specific persistence of regionalism in parts of the Third world is a result of a reaction to and rejection of *internationalism*.²⁴

²² The Third World has gradually lost its original meaning since the end of the Cold War. The term is now replaced with the Least Developed countries or Under-developed nations. The original reference encompassed countries and nations outside the First World (USA, EU, Japan, etc.) and Second World (Russia and its allies).

²³ Özkan is a former Secretary-General of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, an architectural prize established by Aga Khan IV in 1977 (Aga Khan Award for Architecture n.d.). “[T]he Award strives for a better understanding of the context of our built environments and their inhabitants, to assure that nominated projects from different parts of the world, with diverse approaches, programmes and solutions to our spatial needs, are responding to the realities of their circumstances. [...] [I]ts activities it is not just concerned with architects and building professionals but considers architecture a social act and responsibility, thus engaging with and benefiting from the knowledge and expertise of practitioners of other disciplines, such as philosophers, historians, sociologists and artists, as well as government policy planners and decision-makers. The Award has, in its turn, tried to act as a catalyst for these other disciplines, prodding them to consider architecture as an important element in the study of societies and the human environment” (Derakhshani, 2009, 5).

²⁴ More recent regional scholarship points to the extreme and clashing legacies of multi-coloniality and the “supremacist” idea of *la mission civilisatrice* under which *internationalism* penetrated the

Özkan investigated architectural practices in North and East Africa, the Arabian Peninsula and the Indian sub-continent, and broadly identified two categories of reactions to modernism, as *vernacularism* and *modern-regionalism*, with a caveat that regionalism, at its core, carries respect for the local culture, climate and at times, technology. Özkan distinguishes between a conservative vernacularism and an interpretative or *neo-vernacularism*, as one category of local responses to modernism. He suggested that work by the Egyptian architect Hassan Fathy, who almost single-handedly strived to revive a local building tradition, falls in the category of conservative vernacularism. In contrast, Özkan believed that *modern-regionalism* could accommodate both contemporaneity and local context, and suggested that either *concrete* or *abstract* variants of such approach could be traced in the works of many local architects, singles out the work of Charles Correa, encapsulated by slogan “Form follows climate” (Özkan 1985, 14). Özkan’s concepts of divergence of modernism are illustrated in **Fig.2.4**.

Third World. Seeking to understand the destruction of the city Homs in Syria, Marwa Al-Sabouni’s (2017, 86) emotionally charged book “Battle for Home,” goes to the heart of modernism citing the grand plans espoused by Le Corbusier, with the planned selective demolition of the old historic quarters of Algiers, suggesting that his “visionary ideal,” was in fact “an insolent assault on a subject people,” perpetrated by a corrupt local administration. Al Sabouni believes that “the social dysfunction that finally erupted as civil war [in Syria] has been enhanced, perpetuated and maintained through the built environment.” In effect, she suggests that the stripped-down neutrality of modernist architecture, celebrated by the internationalists and worshipped by the purists, is the very culprit for the soul-lessness of space which produced soul-less and destructive human behaviour. She seems to be calling for a whole new set of other skills and solutions, which are needed to understand and facilitate positive social behaviour in the built environment (Al Sabouni 2017, 87).

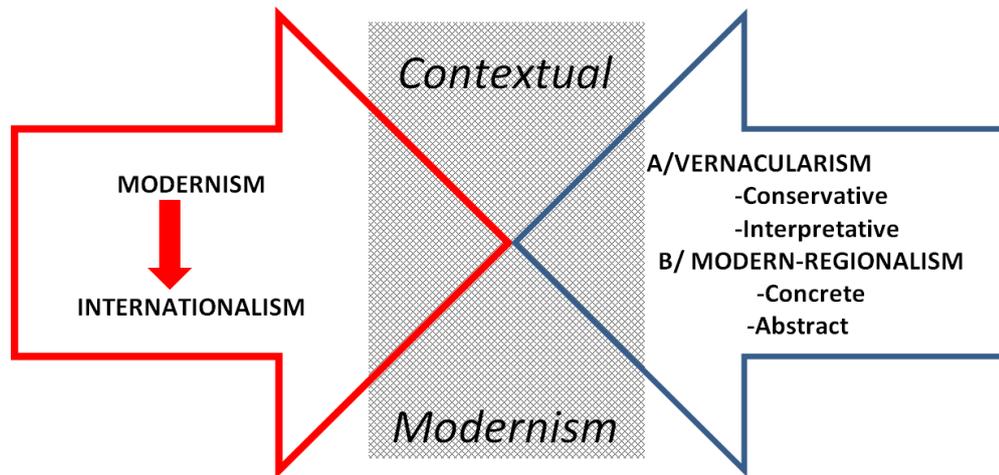


Fig.2.4 Conceptual illustration of divergence of Modernism, inspired by Suha Özkan (1985, 8-16), drawn by Selma Harrington.

2.6 Modernism and East-West Binary

For a long time, the Trans-Atlantic/Western perspective has been dominant in the discourse on architectural modernism, which had a strong cultural influence on the education and practice of architects worldwide. Except for the Russian Avant-Garde, architecture from countries in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) from the twentieth-century, is modestly represented or non-existent in the international architecture history textbooks. This gap has already been recognised by some western scholars, and more recently confronted by authors culturally connected with CEE space. Some examples can be found in the edited volume by Swiss scholars Ákos Moravánszky and Torsten Lange (2017), Dutch-Bosnian author Arna Mačkić (2016), Lukasz Stanek and Dirk van den Heuvel (2013), Dariusz Gafijczuk and Derek Sayer (2013), Vladimir Kulić, Maroje Mrduljaš and Wolfgang Thaler (2012) and others. The focus and tone of this growing body of new writing on “other modernisms” tend to

converge with different branches of cultural studies and humanities, where architecture and the architectural heritage are considered in resonance with themes and trends in post-colonial studies, critical heritage discourse, and memory, identity, conflict and trauma studies.

The twentieth-century modern architecture is often left to ruination or actively demolished. Looking from afar, this gives rise to claims that its current state in Central and Eastern Europe is material evidence of ideological failure and the ultimate defeat of Communism. Looking from within, across an inter-generational gap, this begs for explanation why that which was once perceived as modern and progressive, seems to be rejected, disused, assigned (and obscured) to memory.

There is an underlying notion that the modernity failed more in Europe's East than in its West, as manifested in the structures that symbolised the period. Such notions are often indirectly articulated through cultural tropes and range from prejudice to statistical data. The statistics show slower economic growth and standard of living in the east, despite the enlargement of the European Union from 15 to 28 Member States, matched by the slower social progress, as measured by the cohesion index of the European regions (Dijkstra 2017, ix).

Europe's experience of ruptures and discontinuities caused by two world wars on its soil, resulted in different conditions, developments and appropriations of modernism during the post-World War II recovery. It is generally accepted that the early pioneering spirit of functional modernism, perceived as a force for social change, gradually declined in the Western world after World War II, and diversified into a variety of post-modernist styles. The deepening of the political, societal and cultural differences in the post-war rebuilding phase, coupled with the waning

influence of the original protagonists of modernism, meant that many of the regional processes and protagonists have been isolated and obscured, as new research suggests (Moravanszky and Lange 2017).

It is frequently perceived that Le Corbusier's design for Villa Savoy and Mies van der Rohe's design for the Barcelona Pavilion²⁵ encapsulate the essence of architectural modernism. The international work and influence of these two and other pioneering modernists had a different reaction on each side of the Atlantic, resulting in somewhat formulaic practices of the US version of International Style, associated with Bauhaus, contrasted by the more organic architecture of Alvar Aalto and other Scandinavian architects, as well as Frank Lloyd Wright. This has been reflected in the writing of Siegfried Giedion ([1941] 1969), who, like Sir Nicholas Pevsner ([1936] 1960), had a significant impact on the architectural education and practice of many post-war generations of architects in Europe.

Czech art historian Vybírál (2013, 1-5), believes that the perpetuation of canonised writing on architecture became "either shallow or [...] based on long surpassed ideas." His review of the *European architecture since 1890* (Ibelings 2011), credits the author for shaking up the established interpretations of twentieth-century architecture. Vybírál (2013, 4) points to Ibelings' "revision of purely aesthetic perspective on modern architecture," by emphasising its social dimension, which was otherwise celebrated exclusively by its "morphological nature." He also

²⁵ In her essay "Edith Doesn't Live Here Anymore", Yoke-Sum Wong (2013, 102-133) takes on a client-architect relationship perspective to dissect the "pure expression" myth, as exemplified in Mies van der Rohe's Farnsworth House designed in 1947. Initially drawn to the architect's, now classic, Barcelona Pavilion and the Tugendhat Villa, as "a disciple" who commissioned him to design her own house, at the end of a lengthy controversy, Edith Farnsworth claimed that the house "had allowed nothing human" (Wong 2013, 128-129).

highlights the (re)introduction of architectures from Poland, Czech and Baltic countries, and especially from the countries which were part of former Yugoslavia.

The edited volume *East, West, Central, Re-Building Europe 1950-1990* edited by Ákos Moravánszky and Torsten Lange (2017), expands on this geography and weaves threads between architectural modernism discourse and European identity politics, arguing for a more nuanced understanding of diverse developments in Central Europe. Moravánszky (2017, 7-12) subtly implies the resilience of “othering” concepts after World War II when discussing “the boundary between the two halves of Europe” and the “two dark ‘others’: communism and capitalism.” This refers to the imaginary division of Europe by the Iron Curtain, as coined in 1946 by Winston Churchill ([wikipedia.org/Iron Curtain](http://wikipedia.org/Iron%20Curtain) n.d.). Moravánszky (2017, 9) argues that this division was asymmetric and the border “semi-permeable,” where *permeability* was enabled through the architectural (Western European) magazines, travels and networking facilitated by professional organizations. He also suggests that, while the West might have been more monolithic in its shared values, the concept of “a shared Eastern European identity has never been popular among the inhabitants of that region.”

Moravánszky observes the (reappearance of) the intellectual concept of *Mittleuropa/Central Europe*, as a form of “thirding,” and the one that better defines the “complex and heterogeneous civilizational and political reality” beyond the Cold War East-West binary. This might also arguably signify an endeavour to affirm the pro-Western cultural orientation among the countries which were politically part of the Soviet Bloc, with inherent disadvantage or inequality. Moravánszky (2017, 9)

notes that “[I]ronically, [...] the abolishment of state socialism and the new freedom of movement [...] have lessened the urgency to cross borders intellectually.”

Pointing to the blind spots in Western perceptions, Lange (2017, 15) argues that the exchanges of ideas with and within Eastern Europe, need to be scrutinised beyond the narratives of dissent and critique, and he points to the significant “transnational exchanges [...] [originating from CEE] in post-colonial contexts [...] [with] the global south.” He implies that the architectural activity through various forms of international technical exchange, or through the Non-Aligned Movement (2016), acted as a vehicle for spreading modern concepts, which has so far been overlooked.

Stanek and Van Den Heuvel (2014) revert to the start of the Cold War period by giving a fictitious retrospective voice to the eastern side of the schism which led to the dissolution of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) (Mumford 2000). In their *Team 10 East: Revisionist Architecture in Real Existing Modernism*, a new insight leads to a different perspective on the ideological debates and dissonance, suggesting that these became somewhat permeated by Cold War mentality, thus deepening the gap between two geographies of Europe (Stanek and Van Den Heuvel, 2014).

The neglect of architecture from the socialist period, apparently common in many CEE countries, obscures its significance and original role. Blagojević (2012, 808) suggests that the systemic transformations in most “post-socialist” countries resulted in an “obsessive anti-communist discourse” which hastily relegated much of the earlier “heterodox and liberal Marxist thought” [and its spatial representations], “to the dumping ground of history.” This disowned many aspects of “the complex

emancipatory project” which had advanced these societies in the past (Blagojević 2012, 808).

For example, Gafijczuk, inspired by Georg Simmel’s philosophy of culture (Simmel 1983; Habermas and Delfem 1996, 403-414), ponders the concept of “inhabited ruins,” where “the ruins are taken as structures that evoke and summon the past to an encounter with contemporary reality - a type of co-appearance [...] [as] possibility of virtually witnessing the past” (Gafijczuk 2013, 149-170).

The trend in cultural studies with examination of the physical ruination of architecture from the perspective of identity, historical memory and trauma, or romanticising its ruinous state, might be toying with the notion that modernity somehow failed more in Europe’s East than in its West. With particular reference to socialist Yugoslavia, it is important to make a distinction “between the *failure* of a political project and the *destruction* of a political project,” as Andrew Herscher (2018, 114) stresses. He points how in this case, the study of architectural destruction “refracts on often-assumed or argued claims” that the political project failed, and instead, “it emphatically reveals that socialist Yugoslavia was destroyed, from both within and without” (Herscher 2018, 114).

Other socially orientated Marxist and post-Marxist critiques, reveal the original concerns and connections between “practice and concrete” with “theory.” For example, Lukasz Stanek’s book *Henri Lefebvre on Space* (2011) provides “the first systematic and synthetic study on Lefebvre coming from the camp of architectural research, aiming at an interrogation of the position of empirical work

[...] within [his] general theory of space” (Blagojević 2012, 808).²⁶ Stanek (2011, 52; 63-68) highlights the engagement and relevance of Lefebvre’s concepts and work for intellectual debates and practices in socialist urbanism in the CEE countries during the Iron Curtain years, and the contacts which Lefebvre cultivated with Marxists in Hungary and Poland, and in the non-aligned and self-managed socialist Yugoslavia.

Lefebvre, with Ernst Bloch, Lucien Goldmann, Herbert Marcuse, Jürgen Habermas, Erich Fromm and other Western critical philosophers, took an active part in the philosophical-political summer school on the Dalmatian island of Korčula, organized by the group around the journal *Praxis*, in the early 1960s. A gradual divergence occurred between the *Praxis* circle and Lefebvre, due to his disenchantment with the concept of self-management, “the rigorous theorisation of the concept in 1970s and insistence on its de-institutionalisation” (Stanek 2011, 240-244; cf. Blagojević 2012, 808), through which Yugoslavs articulated the “withering of the state” (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012, 7).

2.7 Concrete Utopia

Yugoslav architects had a double agency in the post-war project of global modernity: as absorbers of the pre-war legacy of Western and Central European modernism, on the one hand, and on the other, as carriers and promoters of notions of modernity in many newly independent postcolonial nations (Stierli 2018, 11).

²⁶ Ljiljana Blagojević (2012) usefully refers to the numerous works by Henri Lefebvre which were published in the Serbo-Croat language since 1957, including *La révolution urbaine /Urban Revolution* (1970) (Lefevr, 1974), the publication of which in Yugoslavia preceded its English translation by some thirty years. Blagojević believes that the English-speaking academia was lagging behind on this subject until the post-humus translation of Lefebvre’s seminal work *The Production of Space* (1991).

For Hans Ibelings (2012) the cities of the former Socialist countries of Central Europe hold much attraction, as they embody two types of optimism, “an adventurous [and current one] in the face of the persisting economic, social, political and cultural challenges”, while retaining signs of the older one. Ibelings believes that the architectural legacy of Socialism exudes “the optimism about a new egalitarian society,” akin to similar sentiment which existed in capitalist Western Europe during the 1950s and ‘60s, no matter how misplaced it turned out to be. In his view, while material evidence of this optimism has been mostly obliterated in the West, “in the name of the very same progress it had romanticised,” this is much less the case in Central and Eastern Europe:

When it was built, Socialist architecture hinted at what society could become, instead of what it actually was. Now it offers glimpses of what might have been but never will be (Ibelings 2012).

Acknowledging the gap in knowledge about the Yugoslav “other” manifested in post-World War II architecture, as well as the reception of Western architecture in the East, Dietmar Steiner (2012, 5), welcomes the gaze to “a time when architecture and city planning were still seen as a ‘public matter’, as common, political enterprise,” with visions for “an architecture of large numbers” led by the dreams of “universal-happiness-society.”

The Western perspective on Socialist architecture, “able to arouse a deep melancholy” (Ibelings 2012), echoes the revival of academic interest in utopia, as an historic concept of idealised communities, removed from a wider social context, and built by *intentional communities* in imagined places.²⁷ Coleman (2005) argued that

²⁷ “A **utopia** (/ju:ˈtʊʊpiə/ yoo-**TOH**-pee-ə) is a community or society possessing highly desirable or near perfect qualities. The word was coined by Sir Thomas More in Greek for his 1516 book *Utopia*

the architectural discourse on “optimistic architecture” has neglected the utopian concept, due to its (unwelcome) negative connotations. He surmised that “by encouraging recollection of the architects’ capacity to invent settings for the social,” the utopian dimension might in fact offer a way for the renewal of architecture (Coleman 2005, 88-89).

Of course, the demise and salvation of architecture seems to be an underlying and recurring theme, since Manfredo Tafuri’s influential *Architecture and Utopia* (1975), which exposed the delusion “that the production of form alone can intervene productively in the social world” (Till 2009, 189). When applied to such “production of form” in former Yugoslavia, then the question arises if its architecture should be studied as a manifestation of a utopian dream, and how can that be reconciled with the fact that it evidently failed?

Mrduljaš and Kulić (2012, 7) opine that the “socialist modernisations in Yugoslavia were built into a specific utopian vision of an egalitarian society based on the ideals of working class emancipation, unalienated work and the withering away of the state.” They posit that, while not ideal, the “architectural and planning practices managed to channel modernisation into a built environment that [...] was certainly not dystopian” (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012, 7).

The emerging new insights in architectural and urban development of the second decade of the twentieth-century, articulated as the “unfinished project” (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012), resonate with Habermas’(1984) ideas. The new research

(in Latin), describing a fictional island society in the Atlantic Ocean. The term has been used to describe both intentional communities that attempt to create an ideal society, and imagined societies portrayed in fiction”(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Utopia, accessed 30.08.2015). This has spawned other concepts, most prominently dystopia, as an antonym to utopia, as “state in which the conditions of life are extremely bad as from deprivation or oppression or terror” (www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/dystopia, accessed 16.07.2019).

suggests that the architecture of the socialist period, while holding a respectable influence in society, at least managed to delay the encroachment of social space by international capitalism, even though it ultimately failed to resist it. Operating under the mobilizing slogan *gradimo socijalizam/we are building the socialism*, the Yugoslav professional expertise was able to identify, integrate and often lead the processes of (re)construction of socialist space, especially in the early period of modernisation of the country described as *obnova i izgradnja / renewal and construction*.

The *Unfinished Modernisations* (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012, 6-21) laid out a diverse and mediatory field for the study of Yugoslav architecture, as tensions between singular and universal and between particularity of architectural identity and levelling forces of modernisation, described as a vehicle for production of the socialist built environment. They asserted that the incompleteness of modernisation manifested as inability of socialism to adequately harness the cultural heterogeneity and critical thinking to advance the social processes, which had created a vacuum to be filled by parochialism and revisionism of history. Such outcome eradicated the possibility for dialogue, both with “other” and with “universal,” therefore the modernisation remained “unfinished” and impotent to act as a social correctiv in the periods of social trauma (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2013, 2). Elsewhere, the authors suggested that the very absence of a homogeneous “Yugoslav architectural culture,” confirmed the capacity of modernism to resist the essentialism both at regional and ideological levels (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2013, 2).

The recent *re-assembly* of the socialist built space in the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York “Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in

Yugoslavia, 1948-1980” (Stierli and Kulić 2018; Museum of Modern Art 2018), could be seen as the peak of the momentum created by the *Unfinished Modernisations* outside of the region in which it originated, confirming its significance as a reference point for study of the plurality of twentieth-century architecture.

It seems that the MoMA’s (2018) exhibition successfully conveyed the upbeat visions, realisations and pride of Yugoslav achievements. But these are also mixed with a sense of grave loss, as Andrew Herscher points:

Many commercial, institutional, and residential buildings by some of Yugoslavia’s leading architects were destroyed during sieges waged by Serb forces against the Bosnian city of Sarajevo, [...] Mostar, [and] Vukovar and Osijek [in Croatia]. In the Bosnian, Croatian and Kosovar countryside, antifascist and Partisan monuments [designed by Vojin Bakić] were denounced as ‘Serb’ and obliterated; [...] In attacks on Dubrovnik’s Old Town, as well as on Mostar, Osijek, Sarajevo, Vukovar, and many smaller towns in Bosnia and Croatia, Serb forces demolished many historic monuments listed on the state registry. Finally, NATO’s aerial bombardment of Serbia also destroyed important buildings, deemed ‘military targets’, such as Nikola Dobrović’s Generalštab/Army Headquarters [...] and the Avala TV Tower [designed by Uglješa Bogunović and Slobodan Janjić] (Herscher 2018, 113).

After the MoMA (2018) opening, with pride and awe of “its magnificence,” architect Tatjana Neidhardt, who helped compiling her father’s work for the exhibition, concluded: “I was sad to see what capacity we had in almost all spheres of life and what has been squandered and destroyed.” Her reflection points to a paradox of thus reconstructed former Yugoslav space, whose message of coexisting modernisms is loaded with a potential to unite and further diversify at the same time,

in line with the separate experiences and contemporary territorial and political polarisation of the region.²⁸

2.8 Summary

This chapter has argued for amending the architecture discourse by its positioning among several disciplinary perspectives, inspired by the concept of communicative action by Jürgen Habermas. That would enable (re)rooting architecture firmly in the public sphere in which it could act as a backdrop for projection and a place of social interactions, where a variety of forms and processes might lead to a harmonious and shared understanding, and action. This rootedness in the public sphere is the key for architecture to be a part of shared heritage, but equally, the failure to do so might make it an object of systematically distorted communication, and in the extreme, of conflict within society and environment.

The critical heritage concept advances the cross-disciplinary discourse on architectural heritage, which addresses the limitations and weakens the canonised Western perspective. Allowing modernism to become a discourse and not a canon,

²⁸ Author's informal interview with Tatjana Neidhardt via Messenger, 2 August 2018; subsequently she wrote: "I forgot to say how I rescued my father's archive. After my mother's death, I moved all his works to the basement of our family house in Ilidža, which I shared with my late husband and two daughters. Ilidža was occupied by the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) and I stayed with friends in Sarajevo, which was also occupied. Towards the end of the war and after, I was house-sitting in my friend's apartment and occasionally hosted three Swiss journalists there. They helped me to go to Ilidža and find out what was going on in our house. At the time I was in divorce proceedings with my husband, the children escaped with the last civilian flight from the Butmir airport to Germany...When we arrived, people who squatted in my house were loading its contents into the truck. One of the journalists, Stephen Israel, went to the house and brought out my father's portrait and a few boxes with his works. Everything was taken, I found nothing else. Two other journalists, Irene Meyer and Veronique Pasquier were sitting in the car with me, stunned, watching what was going on. I deposited all the rescued materials in the Academy of Science and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ANUBiH) after the war. It is thanks to Stephen, my friend, who confronted the persons who occupied my house that we have today a part of what my father created with lots of love."

opens paths to new knowledge of the under-studied, neglected and fringe areas, and brings a new fluidity in observing and interpreting its manifestations and impact on architecture. This includes unravelling of the cultural tropes such as the Orient or the Balkans, applied to the built environment. The emergence of knowledge on modernist architectural heritage from the “other” and from the developing world is reframing and re-evaluating the aspects of regionalisms which challenge the social, political and environmental responses of the main stream modernist practices. The divergence of modernism and the actuality of its varied appropriations outside of the core centres, as the review of selected writing shows, manifests as the evolution of critical regionalism, previously virtually unrecognised. In that vein, the renewed interest and emerging scholarship on former Yugoslavia and its successor states opens up a whole new field of enquiry into contextual modernisms of the very creative and extremely turbulent period of the second half of the twentieth-century in Europe.

Chapter Three: Reading Contextual Modernism in Bosnia and Herzegovina

[W]e want to draw attention to a cultural layer of the region's recent history that, in spite of successive interruptions, endorsed the region as a space of authentic architectural imagination, which is still to be inscribed on the interpretational map of modernity (Mrduljaš and Kulić, 2012, 13).

This Chapter provides a wide contextual background for the case study central to this Thesis by focusing on the relevant urban and architectural developments up to the first two post-war decades in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The key developments of architectural modernism which evolved over periods of continuities and ruptures are examined while probing into the East-West cultural dichotomy. The original writing on architecture and urban development of Sarajevo, presents a unique regional case, with an active consideration to modernisation of built environment over several distinct periods, which manifested as evolution and exchange, or departure and resilience, complicated by the experiences of extreme threat to the integrity and survival. The documentary analysis includes literature in native language²⁹ and current international academic reviews, triangulated with lenses of *orientalism* (Said 1978) and *balkanism* (Todorova [1997]2009), terms borrowed from cultural studies. In addition, the key local trends are synthesised following the spirit of Habermas' (1981) critique of modernity as "incomplete project," Henri Lefebvre's (1974) theoretical and empirical work on new towns, and the international revisions of regional modernisms.

²⁹ In Bosnia it is called Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and prior to that Serbo-Croat. It is the same language which is commonly understood, spoken and written in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia.

3.1 “Europeanisation” of Bosnia through Built Environment (1878-1918)

Despite its geographic position and historic European rootedness since the Middle Ages,³⁰ some four hundred years of Ottoman dominance culturally situated Bosnia and Herzegovina as Europe’s proximate Orient, to pinch and twist Donia’s (2007) phrase. Thus the version of *East* applied to Bosnia, confuses and sometimes overrides the other cultural meaning and alignment of the wider region with the communist orbit.

The urban core of Sarajevo is an embodiment of the trope “East meets West” which can be seen on the contemporary regulatory urban plan with four historic zones: Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, Interwar and Post-War (ZZPRKS 2000, [58a & 58 b]), marking the built ensembles and single objects of historic interest (**Fig.3.1**).

The key characteristics and architectural trends of each historic period are further elucidated here proposing a somewhat modified terminology: the Ottoman period (instead of Turkish), Austro-Hungarian, Interwar Modern and Socialist Modern³¹ (instead of Postwar) period, to improve the clarity of periodisation, as illustrated in **Fig.3.2**.

³⁰ For more on the Medieval Bosnia, see Malcolm (1994, 13-42), also *Istorija srednjovjekovne Bosne* (Klaić 1994). Seizing the reference to European connections from the 15th century, Omer Hadžiselimović drew parallel with a “similar illusion of help from outside” which many Bosnians had in 1992, albeit in a completely different geopolitical context. Citing a Bosnian Serb literary critic, Jovan Kršić: “Bosnia had always had that ill fate to be a bone of contention between other peoples’ interests”, Hadžiselimović (1995, 18) reminds on a plight by the last Bosnian King, Stjepan Tomašević (King Stephen), to Pope Pius II and other European rulers in 1461, before his medieval kingdom fell to Turks. The King forewarned of the rippling effect that the imminent Ottoman invasion might have on Hungary, Venice and Italy, but European help manifested only by formal recognition of Bosnia’s independence, symbolised by a royal crown sent from the Pope.

³¹ Interwar Modern was shaped by the regional architects who trained abroad and returned to practice in Bosnia. According to (Štraus 2010, 26-27) the second phase, was carried out by the indigenous architects who between 1946-48 returned home from studies in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana and together with the cadre from other parts of Yugoslavia, formed the Sarajevo architecture circle.

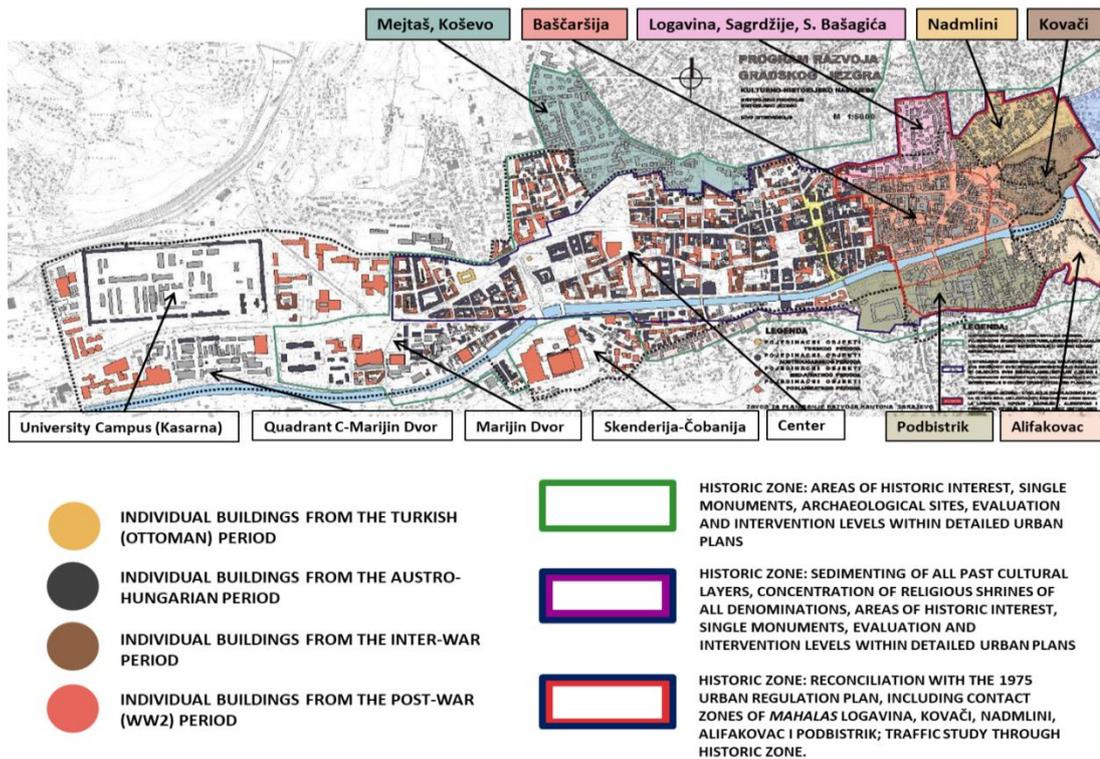


Fig.3.1 The urban plan of historic core of Sarajevo, annotated by Selma Harrington, on the urban map titled “Kulturno- historijsko naslijeđe. Historijsko područje-historijsko jezgro. Nivo intervencije” (Source: *Program razvoja gradskog jezgra Sarajeva*. Sarajevo: ZZPRKS 2000, [58a]).



Fig.3.2 Illustrated historic periodisation of modernising architectural developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Photo inserts from left to right: Svrzo’s House, Grand Hotel (Zemaljska banka), Gajret Residences, Džidžikovac Residences (© Selma Harrington 2020).

3.1.1 The Ottoman Urban Space

After the Ottoman conquest (1463-1878), from a smaller existing settlement (Čelić 1991, 48-50; Malcolm, 1994, 67-69), Sarajevo grew significantly as capital of the new *Bosnian Province/Sandžak* and reached its “golden age” in the sixteenth century (Zlatar 1996). With residential micro-zones, *mahalas*,³² distributed around its commercial heart, *Baščaršija*, the city became “the biggest and richest trading centre in the western part of the Empire, with more than a thousand shops and stores, three *bezistans*, five *daires*, about fifty *hans*, with water supply, fountains, gazebos and *hamams*, numerous mosques, churches, synagogues, *mektebs* and *medresas*, and religious schools, Orthodox, Roman-Catholic and Jewish” (Čelić 1991, 48).³³

Todorova deemed that “the Balkan city was incorporated in the Ottoman system as a completely constructed feudal category” in which guilds were centrally controlled. When the Empire started adapting to Western European modernisation, the rising capitalism adapted to the guild system and vice-versa, with beneficial consequences for the non-Muslim producers (Todorova 2009, 172-173). Sarajevo craftsmen made and sold their goods, divided not by religion, but according to trade (Čelić 1991, 48-50), which can still be recognized by the street names in *Baščaršija*.³⁴ Architect Džemal Čelić (1991, 49) wrote: “Sarajevo’s history is a history of tolerance,” pointing to its specific socio-ethical values that had bemused

³² Bosnian historian Behija Zlatar (1996, 38) describes *mahala* as a residential settlement of a dozen to over a hundred houses built around a mosque or a *mesdžid*, at its centre, by which it gets the name, and within which there is an obligatory *mekteb*, a graveyard and a fountain. Also, each mahala has a bakery and sometimes a grocery shop.

³³ Slavenised Turcisms: *mahala*: micro-residential zone; *bezistan*: covered market; *daire*: Oriental mall, a series of stores around an inner courtyard; *han*: Oriental inn; *hamam*: Turkish public bath; *mekteb*: Muslim primary school; *medresa*: Muslim theological school.

³⁴ Street names: Bravadžiluk (Coppersmith’s); Kovači (Blacksmith’s); Sarači (Leathercraft’s); Čizmedžiluk (Footwear); Kazandžiluk (Tinsmith’s) (Čelić 1991, p. 48).

the seventeenth century French traveller Pouillet (Jelavić 1908), when he found “that the houses of the rich and the poor are very alike.”

Urban planner Vlasta Žuljić (1991), advocated the use of urban morphology as a method for evaluation of historic fabric and future planning, and argued that Sarajevo, as a collection of complex ensembles needs to be analysed at macro- and micro-level. This means identifying the elemental spatial structure and its accent; the woof, understood as a basic unit -the ground; and the traffic system, as a skeleton. In Sarajevo’s Ottoman core, Žuljić (1991, 102) observes the “elements being most usually comprised out of well-balanced geometrical forms of a cube, cylinder, dome, vertical [element], interior half-arched yard,”³⁵ some of which is still identifiable in the cascading structures along the older streets (**Fig.3.3**).

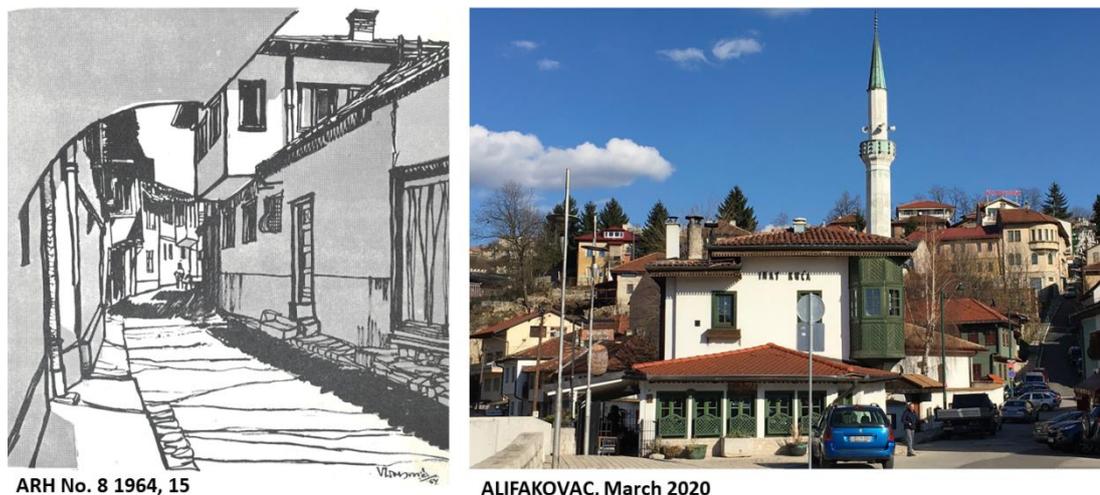


Fig.3.3 Sarajevo’s mahala: (left) drawing by architect Vlado Dobrović, 1964 ((Source: ARH No. 8, 1964, 15; Reproduced with permission from the Association of Architects of Bosnia and Herzegovina); (right) Alifakovac (© Selma Harrington).

³⁵ Žuljić (1991, 102) describes the ensemble as a cluster of elements comprised of the “separately situated objects in correspondence with the surroundings [...] the objects that are in their function and form determined and set in spatial harmony. The pivot of the ensemble is most frequently a street, which they are not directly connected with, because, functionally, they are as objects turned ‘towards themselves’, introverted, and the communication is conveyed over an interior yard (mosques, madrasas, caravanserais). There is not a classic square, whose role is taken by these yards with fences that are ‘airy’ and thus allow inner events to be seen.[...] [T]he mosque minarets most frequently take over the role of the vertical accent of the ensemble.”

After the twenty-year rule of Gazi Husrev Bey and the golden era at the beginning of the 16th century, Sarajevo ceased to be the capital (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957, 42-55; Zlatar 1996, 38-79). By then, its westernmost boundary was defined by the Koševski Potok and Ali Pasha Mosque, on the edge of mahala Magribija (Zlatar 1996, 68), which remained unchanged until the Austro-Hungarian occupation (Fig.3.4).



Fig.3.4 Notional western boundary of the Ottoman core along the Koševski Potok: (left) the Institute for Hygiene (post-war); (centre left) Ali Pasha Mosque (Ottoman period); (right) the Provincial Government buildings I and III (Austro-Hungarian period) (© Selma Harrington 2020).

At the time of the Occupation (1878) and subsequent Annexation (1908) of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, with some 21 000 inhabitants (Čelić 1991, 48), Sarajevo and its Oriental urban fabric were in decline. Its core, the Old City/*Stari grad*, today one of Sarajevo's municipalities, has an apparent Oriental outlook, embedded in its intimate scale, built forms, materials and activity in a pedestrianised central zone.

However, on a closer examination of the city's Ottoman legacy, "the historical and geographic concreteness of the Balkans" have stomped on "the intangible nature of the Orient" (Todorova 2009, 12). This has always been a poorer relation of the resplendent Orient, whose discursive use Edward Said (1978) was interested to

dissect. As Todorova correctly pointed to the instability of the spatial location of Orient/East, the steady contraction of Bosnia's Orient is evident in the urban form, despite some new recurrence of *east-ness* in the Old City, mostly as a result of desire to court tourism.

3.1.2 The Austro-Hungarian Province and Building of the Bosnian Other

Bosnian historian Todor Kruševac (1960, 449) describes the Austro-Hungary period as rapid *Europeanisation* of the whole country and “a transformation in which the old guilds-dominated, feudal society had become a modern bourgeois society,” growing to some 59 000 inhabitants at the time of the Empire's collapse (Čelić 1991, 48). In retrospect, one can only speculate how exotic Sarajevo would have looked to the Austro-Hungarian expatriates and officials, with its “oriental urban morphology and spatial-social practice founded on a pre-capitalist mode of production and a [predominantly] Islamic worldview” (Zatrić-Šahović and Šabić- Zatrić 2016, 438). Some insights can be gleaned from the study of historiographic sources and travelogues on Bosnia and Herzegovina in English by Omer Hadžiselimović (1989), who asserts elsewhere that the “picturesqueness, Orientalism, and romance would dominate the American travellers' vision of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their writings about it [since 1897], during the following four and a half decades” (Hadžiselimović 2002, 27).³⁶ He argued that “in trying to capture the old, curious, and quaint, the writers also *promote* ingredients of a culture that for them was very

³⁶ For more detail, see Hadžiselimović's book *Na vratima istoka: engleski putnici o Bosni i Hercegovini od 16-og do 20-og vijeka*, in translation from English to Bosnian by Zulejha Riđanović (1989).

strange and appealingly distant,” and in doing so, some of them made it “even more novel and still further away” (Hadžiselimović 2002, 36).

Contemporary Austrian scholarship by Ruthner (2018, 8) and others, demonstrate that this orientalising attitude strongly informed the policies and practices of Austro-Hungarian officials, in which “Bosnians were (re)presented and formatted as Other”(Feichtinger and Heiss 2013). Overtly or not, Bosnia seems to have been considered as the Empire’s “little Orient” (Ruthner 2008).

As new research shows an example of such attitude, satirically articulated one hundred and forty years ago, at the very start of Occupation (Feichtinger 2018, 307), in the cartoon on the cover page of the *Winer Wochenzeitschrift* from 28 July 1878 (von Frecksey 1878, 123, Abb. 1). It depicted the Occupation led by the Fieldmarshal (Feldzeugmeister) Joseph Phillipovich von Phillipsberg on horse, accompanied by two barefoot and scantily dressed females, impersonating Balkan odalisques. The drawing by the Hungarian cartoonist Laszlo von Frecksay (1844-1916) had effectively captured and presented the essence of the concept of *orientalism*, which would be published by Edward Said (1978) exactly one hundred years later. Similar, often exaggerated or staged appearance of the local folk, but usually fully clad or veiled, would appear in old photos and postcards from Bosnia after the Occupation (Prstojević 1992).

The Austro-Hungarian administrators, often with a patronising attitude, “saw themselves as missionaries of a cultural revival [...] [designed to] [...] end the backwardness and particularism [...] that bedevilled Bosnia’s peoples” (Donia 2007). Their significant influence manifested in a mixture of Central European cultural references, most apparently displayed through new urban space and architecture, in a

variety of *historicist* styles, which were deemed appropriate for modernising the centre of the newly acquired province (Donia 2007; Harrington et al. 2018, 143-58).

The 40-year period of Habsburg rule brought about the political and economic system with significant changes in land management and use, spatial organization and scale of developments. Several modern infrastructure systems were built, including water and sewerage supply and the electrical power supply network. Other improvements included a fire protection service, regulation of the river Miljacka, and the introduction of public transport, initially horse-drawn trams (1885) and then in 1895, electric-powered (Kruševac 1960, 110-119). The novel approach in scale and materialisation of buildings changed the urban morphology, introducing larger scale urban blocks, often formed around inner courtyards, for residential, administrative, industrial and commercial purposes. The built-up area of Sarajevo, a provincial capital under direct rule by the Ministry of Finance in Vienna, grew, encroaching on the older Ottoman period core.

The westward expansion of Sarajevo included the new residential block Marijin Dvor/Mariacourt and the Military Barracks complex on the western outskirts with vacant space, but many other objects were inserted amidst the Ottoman core. Among new administrative and public buildings were the Zemaljska vlada buildings (Government and National Archives), the Club House (adapted for the National Theatre in the 1920s), the City Hall/*Vijećnica*, the Sharia Law School (Dimitrijević [1991] 2010, 49-51) and the Catholic Cathedral. The impact of this wave of construction can be examined by locating these buildings on the historic map from 1900 (**Fig.3.5**), contrasted with the enlarged section of the Ottoman core on the contemporary urban heritage map (**Fig.3.6**).

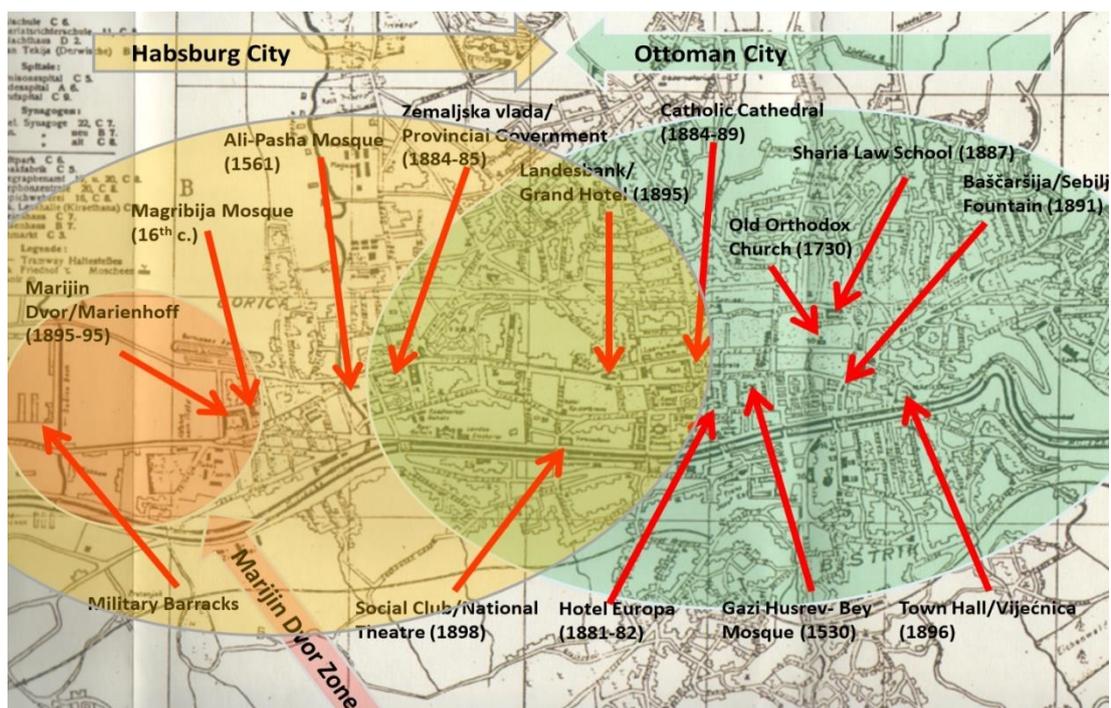


Fig.3.5 The western expansion of Sarajevo, from Ottoman to Habsburg City, annotated by Selma Harrington, on the “Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung” (part), Sarajevo: Verlag der Buchhandlung B. Buchwald & Comp., 1900 (Source: ZZPRKS 2000, 33).

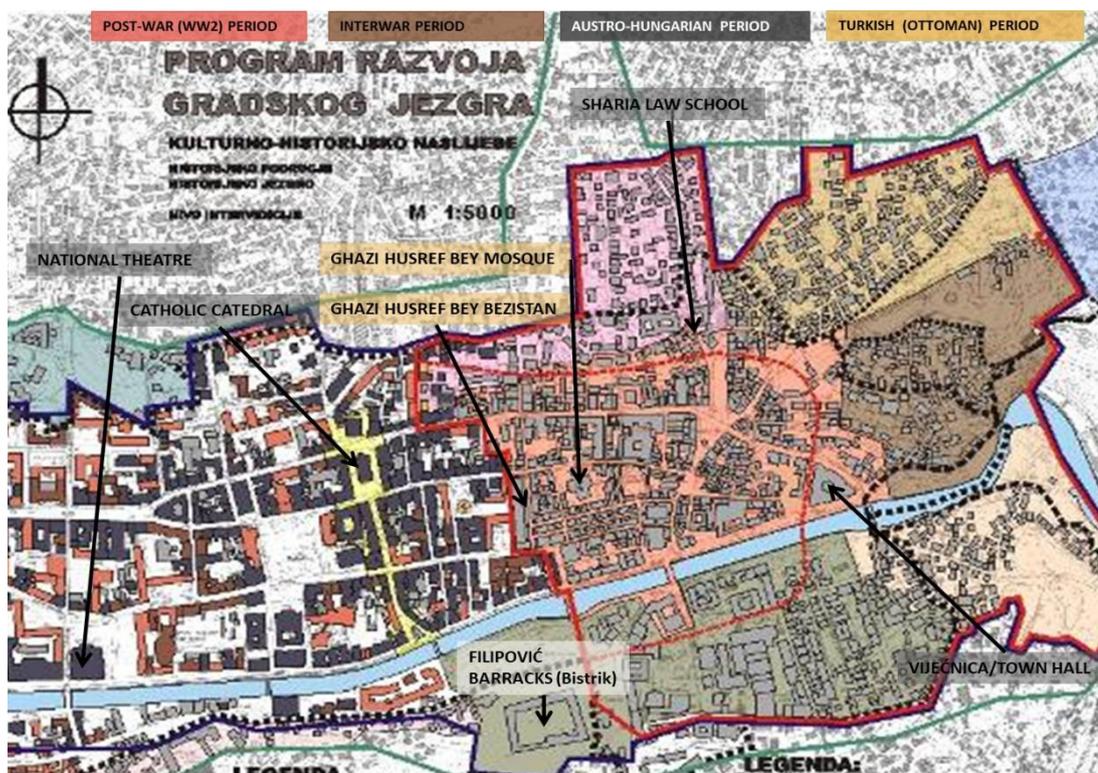


Fig.3.6 Enlarged part of the historic core of Sarajevo, annotated by Selma Harrington, on the Urban map titled “Kulturno-historijsko naslijeđe. Historijsko područje-historijsko jezgro. Nivo intervencije” (Source: ZZPRKS 2000, 58).

The original organic narrow street and housing pattern from the Ottoman period shows alignment with the natural terrain, and reflect the structure and qualities of the family life of the time.³⁷ In the Austro-Hungarian period, a “street becomes a public area in which different events take place[...] [U]niform cubes of objects, of almost the same heights, with the only accents appearing within the stylistic indicators of the style of the object or the whole as such,” comprise the architectural blocks framed by streets (Žuljić 1991, 104).

Krzović (1987) defined three stylistic developments of architecture during the Austro-Hungarian administration as *historicism*, *secession* and *search for Bosnian style*. He asserted that, for the first thirty years, the interventions in the built environment ignored the values of the existing built heritage. Only after the completion of major buildings and urban zones in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was felt that the approach was wrong. Anecdotally, a Dutch minister reprimanded architect Josip Vancaš, while visiting Sarajevo around 1900:

[I]n Bosnia, there is too much foreign style in building and too little appreciation and use of the vernacular Bosnian style of building. If you, architects continue to ignore the local craft and to favour foreign codes, it will be boring travelling the world, as each city will look the same (Cf. Krzović 1987, 225).

While this might have advanced the case of vernacular, it also asserted the colonial perspective, a theme of revived interest among contemporary scholars. Thus,

³⁷ The earliest study on the traditional building in Bosnia was published in 1887, by Edmund Stix, a Head of the Construction Department of the Provincial Government in Sarajevo. The foundation of the Zemaljski muzej in Sarajevo in 1888 and its Ethnography Department enabled first documenting, collecting and research on the Bosnian-Oriental house (Ćurčić 1929), and other studies of the 18th c. residential culture (Bejtić 1974) (Arnautović 1984, 124). The architect Dušan Grabrijan (1942; cf. Čelić 1970, 77-94) undertook a structural analysis of Sarajevo’s urban fabric and house, while the scale model of the Ottoman Sarajevo, made by Husein Karišik (1949 – 1953), under the guidance of the historian Hamdija Kreševljaković, is exhibited in the Museum of Sarajevo.

following Paul Rabinow's studies (1992, 176) on the "application of architecture" in French Maghreb as part of the colonial projects, Maximilian Hartmuth considers "the tendencies in architecture and/or among architects" as a three-stage process:

(1) a deliberate transplantation of European styles and buildings to alien locations; (2) attempts for a cultural contextualism in the form of Neo-Islamic architectural styles quoting monumental examples of religious architecture; and (3) reorientation to local traditions in residential architecture, following a revived interest and appreciation of this previously misunderstood and neglected heritage (Hartmuth 2015, 171-172).

The most common forms of *historicism* in Bosnia, neo-renaissance, neo-gothic, pseudo-Moorish and romanticism appear in parallel. For example, the first Provincial Government building, today the Presidency of BiH, designed by architect Josip Vancaš and built between 1884-85 in a neo-renaissance style, was modelled on the 15th-century Florentine palazzos Pitti and Rucellai (Krzović 1987, 15). Situated on the main Ćemaluša Street (Maršala Tita Ulica), the building forms a closed urban block with an inner courtyard. The Catholic Cathedral (1884-89), conceived in a neo-Gothic style by the same architect, is closer to neo-Romanic in proportions (Krzović 1987, 14). **(Fig.3.7a)**. At the same time, the Sharia Law School,³⁸ designed by Karel Pařík and built in 1887, is one of the earliest examples of the pseudo-Moorish style, as well as Vijećnica (Town Hall), designed by Alexandar Wittek and completed in 1896 by Ćiril Iveković. Krzović (1987, 26) likens the latter style to "wrapping of the conventional European structure and function with the decorative Moorish cloak"³⁹ **(Fig.3.7b)**.

³⁸ Today the Faculty of Islamic Sciences, corner Ćemerlina and Sagrdžije ulica.

³⁹ Author's translation summarised from the Serbo-Croat original: "[D]ekorativni pseudomaurski elementi razvijeni su preko uobičajenih oblika evropskog porijekla-tako da su structure, organizmi i funkcije samo kostimirani, zaognuti plaštom donesenim s maurskih trgova."



Fig.3.7a The earliest structures built in Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo in *historicist* Styles, clockwise from top left: the Catholic Cathedral (1884-89); Zgrada Zemaljske vlade I (1885), both by architect Josip Vancaš ; Social Club (today National Theatre) (1898), by architect Karel Pařík; and Hotel Europe (1882) owner Gligorije Jeftanović; Annotated by the author (© Selma Harrington).



Fig.3.7b (top left to right): Sharia Law School (City Museum) (1887), architect Karel Pařík; (bottom): Vijećnica (1896), architects Aleksandar Wittek and Ćiril Iveković, all in Sarajevo; Annotated by the author (© Selma Harrington).

Echoing the trends from Vienna and Otto Wagner's school, the elements of *art nouveau* and *secession* appear in the architecture in Bosnia at the turn of the 20th century, with variations in decoration, materials and façade details. One such example is a residence for Joshua D. Salom in Sarajevo, designed by Josip Vancaš (1901) with the resplendent floral ornamentation on the front façade accentuated by the elevated central bay window with arched reveals and domed attic space. In contrast, Vancaš's later project, the Post and Telegraph Offices in Sarajevo (1907-10), shows some critical distancing from the imported styles, with a "reduced secessionist repertoire [...] and a noticeable influence of [...] Otto Wagner's Post-Sparkasse in Vienna" (Krzović 1987, 130). At the same time, Jan Kotera, a former student of Wagner, designed the Bank Slavia building (1911), as an example of the early functionalism, expressed in the purest geometric forms and the rationality of construction (Krzović 1987, 135) (See **Fig.3.8**).



Fig.3.8 (left) Joshua D. Salom's Palace (1901), Obala Kulina Bana; (middle) Main Post Office Sarajevo (1907-10), Obala Kulina Bana, built in 1913; both designed by Josip Vancaš; (right) Former Slavia Bank, Obala Kulina Bana, designed in 1911 by architect Jan Kotera (built in 1913) (© Selma Harrington, March 2020).

In his book *Sarajevo: A Biography*, Robert Donia (2006, 114), suggests that after a while, the influences from the imperial metropolis began to mutate into the unique Sarajevo variations, evident in the conceptualisations of the so-called

“Bosnian Style” in architecture by Josip Vancaš, Josip Pospišil, and others (Krzović 1987; Kurto 1998; Hrasnica 2003)

The search for the Bosnian Style signalled, on the one hand, the rejection of historicism led by the intensive study of the local vernacular ensembles and culture of living, and on the other, the sensitivity and alignment with modernist tendencies in larger European centres. The projects and writing of Josip Pospišil stand out as he actively advanced the contextual approach and preservation of the uniqueness of heritage, thus foreshadowing the structural link between the volumetric functionality of the Bosnian proto-modern and later postulates by the leading modernists.⁴⁰ The Bosnian Style is evident predominantly in the residential architecture of its period (Fig.3.9).



Fig.3.9 (left) Hadin Alipasha's Vaqf building, architect Josip Pospišil (1910); (right) Mehmed-Bey Fadilpašić's Residence, architect Rudolf Tönnies (?) (around 1910) (©Selma Harrington, March 2020).

⁴⁰ Architect Josip Pospišil (Nahošovice 1868- Sarajevo 1918) was a contemporary of Adolf Loos (Brno 1870-Vienna 1933), who after following Otto Wagner for a time, became an anti-ornament radical. Pospišil's interest and study of the Ottoman vernacular in Bosnia preceeded Le Corbusier's (1887-1965) travels to Orient. See more in Krzović (1987, 225-246), Kurto (1998) and Hrasnica (2003).

The latest research (Ruthner, et al. 2015; Ruthner and Scheer 2018), among others, examines the *orientalising* building styles in Habsburg Bosnia and Herzegovina through the post-colonial lens. Using a comparative perspective and analogy, Maximilian Hartmuth (2015, 172) is set to rebuke, what he arguably sees as “the widespread view,” that “*the Austrians* hav[e] pitilessly destroyed old Sarajevo for their view of a Central European town.” He takes issue with some more recent Bosnian “nostrifications” of Habsburgs’ architecture, giving the example of Baščaršija Square. He explains how the Square, having been cleared and adapted after a fire, got a new fountain in 1891, built as “a masterly copy of an intricately ornamented Ottoman *sebil*,”⁴¹ and therefore incorrectly claimed as Ottoman, and by implication [more] Bosnian (Hartmuth 2015, 174). Might this be interpreted as scolding of contemporary Bosnians for misappropriating and misunderstanding the cultural sensitivities expressed in the past by the Austro-Hungarian authorities, and a case of a home-grown Habsburg nostalgia? In fact, the published research and active engagement in the preservation shows plenty of evidence (Krzović 1987; Spasojević 1984, Dimitrijević 1991; Kurto 1998; Hrasnica 2003), that the professional circles in Bosnia and Herzegovina consistently acknowledged the values of Austro-Hungarian built heritage, seen “as an integral part of identity and beauty of our city” (Čelić 1991, 49).

Hartmuth (2015, 155) challenges the more recent Bosnian writing (Bublin 2005) on the *Pseudo-Moorish* style (Vijećnica, Šerijatska gimnazija), wishing to dispel the notions that this was specifically designed for Bosnia; or that the churches were mushrooming while Muslim architecture came to a standstill. Poking at

⁴¹ Sebil: Water fountain (Turkish); designed by architect Aleksandar Wittek.

“recurring myths,” Hartmuth offers an interesting interpretation as to why the Austro-Hungarian administration preferred Arabic styles of building for Bosnia and suggests that the Ottoman architecture from the classical period (16th c.) “aimed at *perfection of mass and proportion rather than ornament*” (Hartmuth 2015, 157).⁴² In his view, such qualities must have been difficult to reconcile with a “façade architecture” of the late 19th-century mainstream and he concludes that rather than being a style of the government, the architectural Orientalism in Bosnia was merely a product of capitalism (Hartmuth (2018, 173).⁴³ This assertion has yet to be tested from the post-colonial perspective by a further debate in the region.⁴⁴

3.2 Interwar Modernism (Moderna) (1918 - 1941)

The end of World War I in 1918 brought a significant redrawing of the political maps of Europe. Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and according to Donia (2006, 155), the “orphan of the

⁴² My italics

⁴³ Hartmuth (2018, 13) also points to the absence local discourse on the reception of the Turkish “Other,” detecting that the Bosnian gaze is firmly directed to the west despite the *long durée* Ottoman legacy. The comparative study of the work and influence of the Turkish architect Sedad Eldem (Bazdogan et al. 1987) and his contribution to post-imperial modernization in contact with the local Ottoman vernacular could enrich the regional discourse. Eldem’s architectural formation on the emerging Western modernist ideas, coupled with the practice, teaching and research in the post-Ottoman Turkey, would be a worthy counterpoint for the contextual analysis of the challenges facing the emerging indigenous modernist architects in the post-Habsburg Yugoslavia and remains to be explored outside of this Thesis.

⁴⁴ The revision of Bosnia’s Habsburg architectural heritage is a welcome distraction from the past stereotypical assassination narratives about the Archduke Franz-Ferdinand, Gavrilo Princip and Mlada Bosna group, World War I and the end of Empire. The narrative of the assassination in 1914 and its site has become a place of memory (Nora 2001), perpetually reframed for contemporary use. A source of fascination, academic curiosity and travelogues (West [1942] 2006; Dedijer 1966; Fabijančić 2010; Butcher 2014), this remains a subject of often opposed international and regional interpretations, in line with the local politics of memory (Harrington 2015; Harrington 2016).

collapsed Empire.” During a twenty-three year period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Sarajevo was effectively downgraded to a regional centre in the new monarchy led by the Karađorđević dynasty (Donia 2006, 155-156). The new Kingdom favoured development of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, as urban centres of its constitutive peoples while failing to grant similar autonomy to Sarajevo’s City Council (Donia 2006, 157). By delaying the Council elections (Brkljača 2004, 233-251), it stifled the city’s ability to manage its own affairs. As a result, the Council operated for two years as an interim body (1919-1920), with the majority of delegates from the Democratic Party, and despite the uncertainty, it proved to be resourceful and pragmatic. Continuing the success of the four-way voting practice after the Habsburg period, representatives of the Orthodox, Muslim, Catholic and Jewish communities, according to Donia (2006, 167), had hopes for a more secular and unified city than before. However, studies of this period (Wachtel 1998, 76; Banac 1984, 404; Bigelow 1974, 157-172) show that this was complicated due to the autocratic centralism of the Kingdom, as well as a stream of the Greater-Serbian ambitions (Majstorović 1980, 21)⁴⁵, which went against the interests of Sarajevo.

Sarajevo became a “forgotten city” (Donia 2006 175), with little investment in its infrastructure. In the party speech in Sarajevo in 1927, the Yugoslav Muslim Organization’s President, Mehmed Spaho (1883-1939) complained that for seven or eight years there were no new railways, nor roads, nor was there a single large building built in the city:

⁴⁵ In the contribution to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) series on cultural policies, titled *Cultural policy in Yugoslavia: self-management and culture*, Yugoslav author Stevan Majstorović (1980, 21) wrote about the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: “Instead of the desired community of free and equal nations, conceived by the most progressive minds from all over Yugoslavia, it became centralized monarchy influenced by the hegemonic aspirations of the ruling class of the largest (Serbian) nation.”

The state spends almost nothing here, and yet it takes full taxes, perhaps more than in other parts. Against such an injustice, which affects especially Bosnia and Herzegovina, we raise our voice and demand it to be reversed (Donia 2006, 175; Cf. Spaho 1927).⁴⁶

Donia (2006, 190) singles out a few new buildings in Sarajevo, among them: the Great Sephardic Temple (today Bosnian Cultural Centre building) in Branilaca Sarajeva Street, the *Neboder*/Vakuf Skyscraper in Ferhadija Street and Credit Bank (today Central Bank BiH) in Titova Street. He notes that Sarajevo's boundaries hardly changed since the Habsburg period, and that several residential complexes were built close to the Marijin Dvor area, in a modernist manner (Donia 2006, 190), which relates to the Crni Vrh development. Significantly for the architectural profession, having operated from various premises since the foundation in 1889, the High Technical School, moved in 1936 into the purpose built new structure in Marijin Dvor, considered at the time as exemplary for the whole country (Kebeljić 1991, 104) (**Fig. 3.10**).



Fig.3.10 High Technical School (1936), Zmaja od Bosne ulica, Sarajevo (©Selma Harrington, March 2020).

The political instability of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia culminated with the King's suspension of the constitution in January 1929, which imposed a drastic

⁴⁶ Author's translation from the original in Bosnian.

unitary system and a new territorial division of the country into nine *banovine*,⁴⁷ arranged “to cut across the old borders of the constitutive elements of the Yugoslav state” (Malcolm 1994, 168-169). As a result, Bosnia and Hercegovina was divided between four: Vrbaska, Drinska, Zetska and Primorska, each of which incorporated parts of Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Dalmatia respectively, thus erasing its geographical identity “for the first time in more than four hundred years” (Malcolm 1994, 169). Under the shadow of the rising toxic threat from German and Italian fascism, this arrangement was further modified in 1939 by the so-called historic compromise between Serbs and Croats, which absorbed more Bosnian territory.⁴⁸

Due to the generally negative view of this period during socialism, some of the achievements of the Sarajevo modernists have been unjustly overlooked and such trend is only slowly being reversed (Kadić 2010; Štraus 2010; Ugljen Ademović and Turkušić 2012). An extensive survey in the *Architecture in Kingdom of Yugoslavia/Arhitektura u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji (Sarajevo 1918-1941)* by Predrag Milošević (1997), albeit peppered with occasional politicised argument and claim, provides a comprehensive material for (re)affirmation of the architectural significance of this period. Advocating the cause of the (previously undermined) *kultura graditeljstva/culture of building* in the Kingdom, Milošević particularly condemned the perceived, but unsubstantiated, “non-Serb and non-Yugoslav

⁴⁷ Malcolm (1994, 169) explains the naming of the new territorial units *banovine* (plural), as only a token gesture to Croats in the Kingdom, derived from the old Croatian term *banat*.

⁴⁸ Local historians Levntal (1952), Balić ([1968]1992), Dedijer et al. (1974), Redžić (1998) and Redžić (2005), among others, studied this difficult and complex war period, which Malcolm (1994, p. 174) defines as “the story of many wars piled one on top of another,” which has so far obscured the analysis of urban development of the period.

Sarajevo circles,” as proponents of such attitudes (Milošević 1997, 7-8). However, he elsewhere argued:

[T]he interwar architecture in Sarajevo is a wholesome and defined period in the city’s history and culture of the built environment, which by its many characteristics positions it among more prominent phenomena in this part of Europe. [...] Due to its multiple connections with leading regional and international schools and protagonists, this architecture is inseparable from concurrent developments of the avant-garde European architecture, to which, by all accounts, it belongs (Milošević 1991, 58-59)⁴⁹.

Focused on the architects of Sarajevo, Milošević (1997, 105) asserts that they pioneered the modern movement in Bosnia’s capital and created works on equal footing with their colleagues in other Yugoslav centres. His research traced the roots and sources of influence on the architecture of the period, looking at building activity and typology, at urban development, publicity, and documents on professional formation. He highlights the works of some sixteen prominent authors: Helen Baldasar, Dušan Smiljanić, Mate Baylon, Isidor Reiss, Franjo Lavrenčić, Dušan Grabrijan, Branko Bunić, Lavoslav Pavlin, Evangelos Dimitrijević, Reuf and Muhamed Kadić, Juraj Neidhardt, Jahiel Finci, Leon Kabiljo, Emanuel Šamanek, Ivan Moravec.

Milošević’s (1991, 34-35) research and contacts with architect Mate Baylon, “one of the founders and most prolific modernists in Sarajevo,” uncovered a controversy from the early 1970s. It relates to the review “Architecture of Yugoslavia in XX Century” written by Belgrade architect Mihajlo Mitrović for the Larousse Encyclopaedia (1971-1973; Cf. Milošević 1991, 35), which in Baylon’s view “expressed a complete bias or ignorance about the ‘Sarajevo Modern’ and Bosnia and Herzegovina respectively.” Among other, Mitrović’s review for the

⁴⁹ Author’s translation from the Serbo-Croat original.

Larousse Encyclopaedia undermined this period of architecture in Sarajevo describing it as “veiled in Prague eclectic”⁵⁰ and irrelevant in shaping the modernist aspirations, which caused a considerable reaction from the original protagonists of Sarajevo’s interwar modern movement. Architect Dušan Smiljanić⁵¹ (1973; 1974, 13) condemned the review as “superficial” and “utterly irresponsible,” claiming also that his Logavina School building from 1927 was the first building of Sarajevo’s early modernism. The School was close to the old mahalas and its massing and proportion show sensitivity to the surrounding streetscape, while the design is influenced by the Czech functional constructivism (**Fig. 3.11**).



Fig.3.11 Primary School (1927), Logavina ulica, architect Dušan Smiljanić (© Selma Harrington, March 2020).

The same year, *Kuća Damić* was built in Radićeva ulica with the first application of the continued horizontal ribbon-glazing (Milošević 1997, 137),

⁵⁰ Author’s abbreviated translation from Serbo-Croat: ...”predratna arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, koja je bila pod simbolom praške eklektike nije nimalo uticala na težnje da se slede savremene arhitektonske koncepcije...” (Mitrović 1971; Cf. Baylon 1974, 257).

⁵¹ Dušan Smiljanić (Trnovo 1985-Sarajevo 1973) who studied architecture at High Technical School (today Technical University) in Prague, taught at High Technical School in Sarajevo since 1926 and practiced as architect.

designed by Smiljanić and Helen Baldasar (Kadić 2010, 14; Štraus 2010, 19). With Helen Baldasar's design for the Crveni krst (Red Cross) building in Kranjčevića ulica in a manner of Czech cubism and a hint of an ocean-liner design style, these objects signalled that by the 1930s, Sarajevo's Modernism would be in full swing (Fig. 3.12).



Fig.3.12 (left) Damić Residence (1927), Radićeva ulica, architects Dušan Smiljanić and Helen Baldasar; (right) Crveni krst (1929), architect Helen Baldasar (© Selma Harrington, March 2020).

3.2.1 Bauhaus and the Bosnia Connection

A more complex reading of the Interwar period brings to the fore the works of the first generation of indigenous architects who trained abroad at the epicentre of new thinking on architecture and urbanism, and their social role. New regional research has tracked the international students of Bauhaus⁵² from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Slovenia (Vinterhalter 2015), who like many other young intellectuals attained education in other European centres. Within the collaborative project *Baunet*⁵³, Aida Abadžić Hodžić (2015, 24-39) revealed a previously almost

⁵² A German Art school Bauhaus was founded by Walter Gropius in Weimar and operated from 1919 to 1933 (en.wikipedia.org n.d.).

⁵³ *Baunet*: the collaborative project with partner institutions from Croatia, Austria, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2015.

unknown work and significance of architect Selman Selmanagić (1905-1986). Born to a prominent family in Srebrenica, Selmanagić was the only architect from the Kingdom who completed the study at the Department of Architecture in Bauhaus, graduating in 1932. Young Selmanagić was influenced by Hannes Meyer's teachings, on "design for masses, based on the everyday human needs" and a culture of team work in Bauhaus (Abadžić Hodžić 2015, 29-30). Having qualified, he worked as practitioner and pedagogue and completed major urban and architectural projects in Palestine during the British mandate, then worked in Turkey and in Germany.

The exhibition "Arhitektura izvan četiri zida/Architecture Beyond Four Walls" (Abadžić Hodžić 2015) in Sarajevo, showed Selmanagić's impressive portfolio for the first time in his home country. It included his student projects, work with Students' collective (under L. Hilberseimer and M. van der Rohe), free-lance work with Richard Kauffmann in Palestine, film set designs and records of his anti-fascist activism in Berlin. He participated in the post-war reconstruction of Berlin (under Hans Scharoun), engaged in furniture and exhibition design, and became Head of High Arts School /Kunsthochschule Weißensee (KHB) in former East Berlin (Abadžić Hodžić 2015). He frequently visited Yugoslavia in his later years, and designed several projects for his family in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ The exhibition and publication illustrated a fascinating professional trajectory of Selmanagić. He died in Berlin and was buried at a family plot near Srebrenica, in the vicinity of the Memorial Centre Potočari, erected to commemorate the victims of the 1995 massacre, and partly built on the land donated by Selmanagić family.

3.2.2 Central European Influences in the Interwar Practice

Milošević's book (1997) points to the formative influences and connections which Bosnian architects gained in Prague, Vienna and other professional centres, many of whom took with them a spatial experience of a unique built environment and a solid foundation at the High Technical School (1889)⁵⁵ in Sarajevo.

The architectural studies in Vienna at the time could be pursued either at the High Technical School⁵⁶ or the Academy of Fine Arts,⁵⁷ but it could be argued that both institutions had an embedded prevalence of art over technical component in architecture thus shaping the culture of the building (Milošević 1997, 44), and casting a long shadow of academism over some individual practices. Quite the opposite could be said for the Prague architectural education, which led to an engineering degree.

Czech capital Prague was recognized for its intellectual openness by many, including Richard Neutra (1892-1970), soon after the independence from Austria-Hungary in 1918.⁵⁸ At the time, a bitter polemics raged between the Club for Old Prague and Czech Cubists who opposed the "Wagnerism" and modern constructivist tendencies seeking to retain the integrity of historic city, and an avant-garde intellectual Karel Teige⁵⁹ (1900-1951), a radical opponent of historicism (Janković 2007, 35). Teige's ideas were directly implemented by Adolf Loos and Jan Kotera, who with the previously mentioned Slavia Bank announced the arrival of

⁵⁵ Founded in 1889 during the Austro-Hungarian rule, the School is one of the oldest of its kind in former Yugoslavia (Kebeljić 1991, 101).

⁵⁶ Hochtechnische Schule Wien (1815)

⁵⁷ Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien (1692)

⁵⁸ However, according to Sayer (2014, 27), its "extraordinary vitality as a modernist centre between the wars" was subsequently actively obscured.

⁵⁹ As a prominent architecture theorist, Teige taught in Bauhaus for a while in 1930 (Zusi (2014,102-124).

constructive functionalism to Sarajevo. However, even Teige later grudgingly credited the architects from the Club for Old Prague for successfully promoting the cubist architecture and its interpretation of the baroque genius loci of Prague (Janković 2007, 36-37). In parallel, after the Brno Exhibition of the Weissenhof housing schemes in Stuttgart, the construction of the residential district Babe (1928-32) in Prague commences, as a model of perfect housing, based on the urban plan by Pavel Janak (Janković 2007, 38).

Students from High Technical School of Architecture in Bosnia could not access the existing schools of architecture in three other centres in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia unless they completed gymnasiums (Milošević 1997, 41). Architecture School in Prague (Česke Vysoke Učeni Technicke)⁶⁰ was a preferred destination over Vienna and had the advantage of training through another Slavic language. There was also a comparable dynamics of life in the post-colonial society confronted with the accelerating urbanisation and industrialisation. Upon return to Bosnia, young architects were eager to engage locally, combining the new functional aesthetics with progressive social ideas.

One such opportunity in Sarajevo, initiated through the open architectural competition in 1932, was the construction of the *Željezničarska kolonija/ Railway*

⁶⁰ Muhamed Kadić described the impact of the School: “All former Prague students of architecture were under the strong influence by former Wagner’ student Engle, Janak, Vavra as teachers, and Kotera and Chochol as practising architects. Antonin Engle, professor of history and theory of architectural design and urbanism, made the deepest impression [...] Only later in practice, when faced with the fundamental architectural tasks, we realised his significance and greatness [...] which has instilled much of the essential philosophical thinking, design discipline, balance and responsibility in approaching the architectural brief” (Janković 2007, 41); (Author’s translation from the Bosnian original).

*Workers Colony Crni Vrh*⁶¹ north of Marijin Dvor zone, a major development at the time, with some ninety-three sites designated for individual housing. Despite the fact that the first prize was not awarded, a large number of proposals which featured at the exhibition, and the many positive reactions recorded in the press, elevated this initiative to the level of the modernist residential visions in Stuttgart's *Weissenhoff* or Prague's *Baba* residential quarters (Milošević 1997, 239-240). The project was funded by the Railway Workers Housing Coop and envisaged new traffic routes, with regulation of Kalemova and Zadrugina ulica/Street, and the definition of Kranjčevićeva Street. They were lined with individual villas, incorporated in the greened slope, "which can be considered a spatial rarity in the context of the urban and architectural stagnation of Sarajevo in the interwar period" (Ugljen Ademović and Turkušić 2010, 235).

The skilful massing and internal layout which takes advantage of the orientation and maximises the potential of the sloping terrain are the key features of these residential units. The traditional right to light and sunlight is honoured in the urban concept, with the rational plot use and a balance between public (street) and private (garden and villa), as an original contribution to the modernising trends in the international practice (Commission to Preserve National Monuments BiH 2012) (**Fig.3.13**). The distribution and organization of internal space echoes with the house

⁶¹ The residential colony was financed by the Railway Credit Union (founded in 1923), and Housing Cooperative (founded in 1925) with the task to alleviate the social poverty of railway workers. The urban parcellation of Crni Vrh consisted of 93 separate sites (parcels). The design of the individual buildings involved the prominent proponents of architectural modernism in the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia: Dušan Smiljanić, Franjo Lavrenčić, Bruno Tartalja, Danilo Kocijan, Franc Novak, Mate Bajlon and Stjepan Planić. The planning structure of this residential zone has mainly been preserved, and it is significant that the regulatory urban plans after World War 2 respected it. The whole residential ensemble was added to the list of National Monuments by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments BiH (Službeni glasnik BiH broj 46/12 2012).

typologies for workers explored both by Loos and Le Corbusier, which the architect Dušan Grabrijan juxtaposed on the Bosnian and Macedonian vernacular house development during his work in Sarajevo (1929-1945) (Grabrijan 1938; 1973).

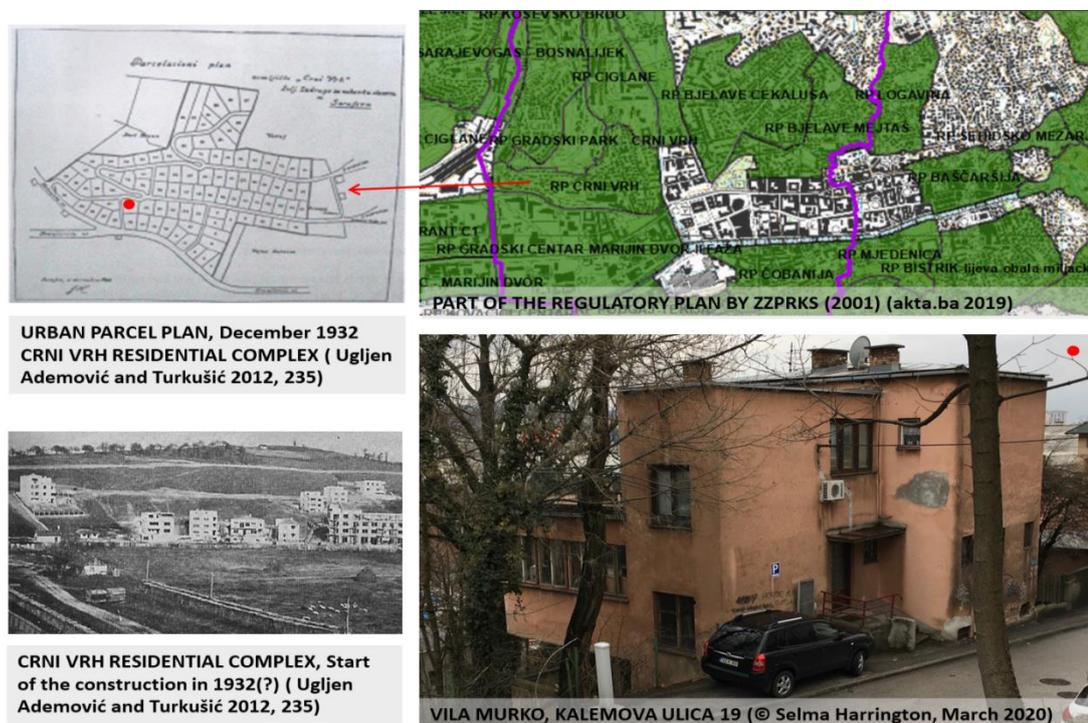


Fig.3.13 (top left) Urban parcel plan of the Residential ensemble Crni Vrh built between 1933-39;(top right) part of the Regulatory plan 2001; (bottom right) Sarajevo Vila Murko, Kalemova ulica 19; (bottom left) View to Crni Vrh at the start of construction; All adapted and annotated by Selma Harrington).

Among other houses in Crni Vrh, architect Mate Bajlon⁶² designed one for his own family, cleverly utilising the southerly aspect and view, with a private back garden connected by a walkway suspended above the ground level, and with an enclosed south-facing roof terrace (Rustempašić et al. 2013, 62-63). Unfortunately, the subsequent modifications after World War II have completely destroyed the original characteristics of this finely crafted modernist design. During his work in Sarajevo (1928-1941), first in the Directorate of Railways and then in City Authority

⁶² Mate Bajlon (1903 Kaštel Kambelovac-1995 Beograd) graduated in 1926 in Vienna High Technical School and worked briefly with Professor Clemens Holzmeister.

as a Chief Architect, Baylon designed and oversaw completion of a significant number of industrial, educational, commercial and residential buildings, and a number of private villas in 1930s (Milošević 1991, 60-62).

3.2.3 Collegium Artisticum

The end of the inter-war period was marked by the foundation of a multi-disciplinary association Collegium Artisticum,⁶³ influenced by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (Likovna enciklopedija Jugoslavije 1984). This was a unique grouping in the Kingdom, operating as a section of the Sarajevo Philharmonic, with membership comprising artists, architects and theatre professionals like the composer Oskar Danon, artists Vojo Dimitrijević and Ismet Mujezinović, choreographer Ana Reiss, engineer Emerik Blum, and architects Jahiel Finci and Mate Baylon. They were interested in a synthetic theatre as a form of a performative merging of all artistic expressions, similar to the aspirations of Russian and Czech avant-garde artists and organizations (Milošević 1991, 60-61). The Collegium Artisticum⁶⁴ was banned by the authorities in November 1940. Progressive and left-leaning intellectuals and artists continued to gather under the patronage of Society of Engineers, and it's Secretary-General, Slaviša Vajner and after the German advance and dissolution of the Kingdom, many joined the partisan resistance movement,

⁶³ The association was inaugurated by holding a Veče (Music Soiree), Movement and Folk Poetry in October 1939, followed by two more events, organized in the premises of Sokolski Dom. The first one was dedicated to Bosnian countryside and the second included several socially orientated theatrical performances (Milošević 1997, 273-274). Dušan Grabrijan wrote about the architectural component within the exhibition on Bosnian countryside, discussing for the first time the characteristics of the rural house (Čelić 1970, 27).

⁶⁴ In 1975, inspired by the original Collegium Artisticum, the art gallery with the same name was established in Sarajevo (Milošević 1991, p. 61).

while some perished in the Nazi-style concentration camp Jasenovac (Milošević 1997, 274-275).

3.2.4 Reuf and Muhamed Kadić – The Prague Connection and Beyond

The work of two brothers, Reuf Kadić (1908-1974) and Muhamed Kadić (1906-1983), deserves more attention. Separately and in collaboration, they realised a significant number of projects in Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia which spans across the Interwar to the Socialist period, and whose versatility and impact has only recently been re-examined. The magnitude of their work in Sarajevo can be gleaned by visiting the numerous buildings and residential schemes dotted around the central areas and oldest parts of the city (**Fig.3.14**).

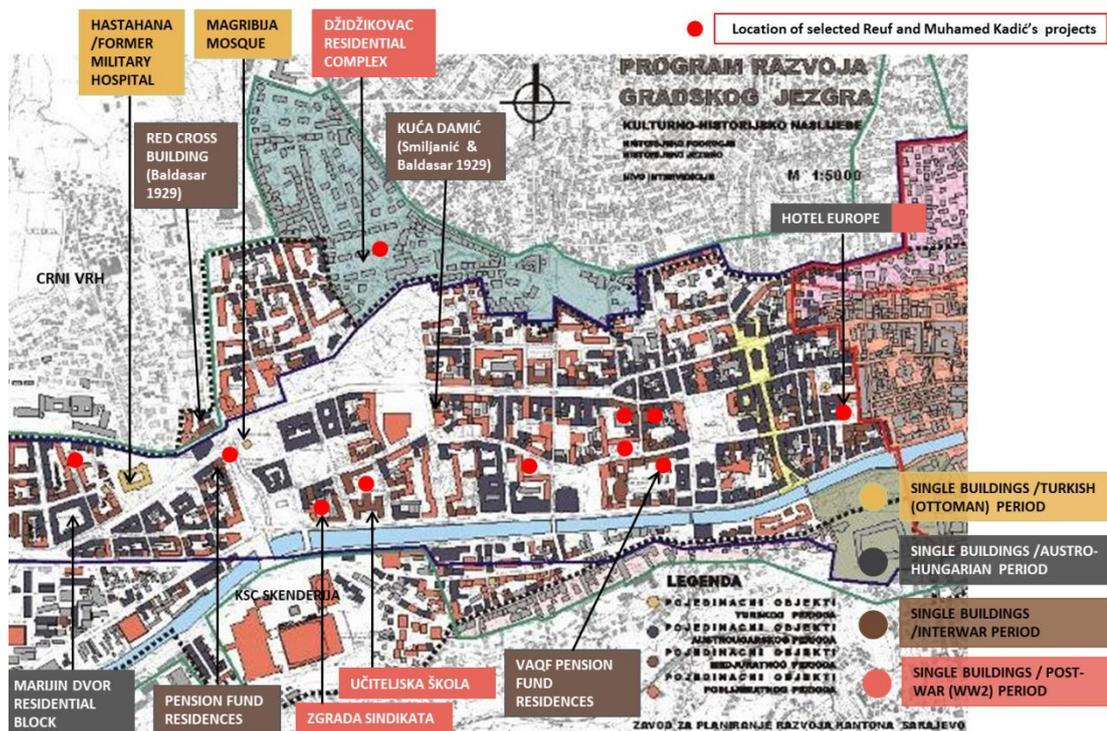


Fig.3.14 Enlarged central part of the Austro-Hungarian historic core of Sarajevo with heritage categories and selected locations of buildings designed by Reuf and Muhamed Kadić, annotated by Selma Harrington, on the Map titled “Kulturno- historijsko naslijeđe. Historijsko područje-historijsko jezgro. Nivo intervencije” urban map. (Source: *Program razvoja gradskog jezgra Sarajeva*. Sarajevo: ZZPRKS 2000, 58).

Both brothers attended the Sarajevo's High Technical School after which they enrolled to study at Prague School of Architecture (Česke Vysoke Učeni Technicke v Prazi), Muhamed in 1926 and Reuf in 1927. The political turbulence in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the period of dictatorship (1929-1935) affected the length and continuity of their study in Prague and shaped their political orientation and engagement, marked by hardship and clashes with authorities (Janković 2007, 15-23; Kadić 2010, 17).⁶⁵

In 1934, Reuf obtained a full degree in architecture, with very good results, as the first qualified Bosniak architect, at the time when the "Prague School" emerged as one of the leading centres of European modern architecture" (Kadić 2010, 15-17). Upon return home and completion of compulsory military service, Reuf worked as the head architect and technical director of the Vakuf (Vakf, Waqf) Directorate⁶⁶ from November 1935 until August 1942.⁶⁷ For seven years during which he worked for the Vakuf Directorate in Sarajevo, Reuf Kadić designed and oversaw the construction of some fifty buildings, from residential, office and institutional

⁶⁵ Due to the association with the liberal students' movement in Prague, Reuf's passport was withdrawn by the Kingdom's authorities, forcing the interruption of his studies (1930-1931), which were later resumed (Kadić 2010, 17). Muhamed, who actively opposed the dictatorship and led the actions of the left-wing students association "Matija Gubec," was expelled from Prague in 1930 and spends some time undercover and on the run in Vienna, Paris, Brussels, Seraing and Liege, continuing the anti-regime action, until 1935. After the assassination of the King Aleksandar Karađorđević, the situation somewhat softens in the country and Muhamed returns to legalise his status and to serve the conscription until 1936. He worked successfully with Dušan Smiljanić in Sarajevo until 1938 when he receives the permission to resume and complete the studies in Prague, graduating in 1939 and returning to work with Smiljanić (Janković 2007, 22).

⁶⁶ Islamic Endowment/Charity Trust

⁶⁷ After two arrests and detentions by the Nazi-led authorities, he left Sarajevo for Varaždin in Croatia, where he worked in the construction industry until the end of the war (Kadić 2010, 17). Similarly, due to the anti-fascist underground work Muhamed suffered detentions and eventually escapes from Sarajevo to Mostar and Dubrovnik, from where he joined the partisans in 1944, only to be assigned to the engineering section of the Anti-fascist Liberation Council (ZAVNOBiH) in Jajce (Janković 2007, 22-23).

structures (orphanage, schools and student accommodation), to mosques and religious schools.

Between 1936-40, Muhamed co-authored several residential buildings with Dušan Smiljanić, including the House Zečević (1937) at corner Mehmed Spaho and Dalmatinska ulica, with quality of massing, proportion, scale and detailing (Janković 2007, 49).⁶⁸The following year, he wins a competition for the mixed-use urban infill residential building Vaqf Hadži Idriz and oversees it building in Titova ulica. The same year, 1938, Muhamed and Reuf collaborate on the design for two smaller residences along Logavina ulica, Ćurčić House and Kapetanović House, both constructed within the existing streetscape, with cantilevered first floor and ribbon windows stretching around the corner, which would become their signature elements (Fig. 3.15).



Fig.3.15 (left) Ćurčić House, corner Logavina and Čemerlina ulica; (right) Kapetanović House, Logavina ulica, architects Reuf and Muhamed Kadić, both from 1940 (© Selma Harrington, March 2020).

⁶⁸ This project was included in the Yugoslav architecture exhibition at the World Exhibition in Brussels, 1966 (Janković 2007, 49).

In 1940, Reuf registered architectural practice with brother Muhamed. Their collaboration continues on several exceptional residential projects for collective and individual use, characterised with the generosity of spatial organization, rationality of construction and innovative use of materials. Here their functionalist Prague training facilitates the interpretation of the local context. The small residential block Vakuf Čokadži Hadži Sulejman in Bistrik (1939) at the north end of the Austro-Hungary period square maximises the expression of cubism (**Fig.3.16**).



Fig.3.16 Vakuf Čokadži Hadži Sulejman in Bistrik (1939), architects Reuf and Muhamed Kadić; (left: photo from Kadić 2010, 46); (© Selma Harrington, March 2020).

The glazed corner loggias on all sides, elevated over a semi-recessed glazed ground level and with a set back at the fourth-floor level, visually defies the structural logic creating a hovering effect, “as if anticipating some most contemporary solutions” (Janković 2007, 53). At the same time, the size, proportion and position of glazing signal a new openness to the square and public, as a novel feature in Bosnia, but the later interventions and lack of maintenance have undermined the integrity of the design.

Similar façade treatment, with characteristic fenestration and a ceramic tiles finish, appears on several other residential buildings. The large glazed corner loggias and ribbon fenestration on a mixed-use six-storey residential structure at the corner

of Ferhadija and Ćemaluša ulica, Vakuf Hovadža Kemaludin-Mekteb (1940), maximise the daylight on a tight location. The generous apartment layouts introduced novel utilities: a telephone connection, a centrally supplied gas for built-in kitchen range and bathroom hot water storages (Kadić 2010, 86-88; Službeni glasnik BiH 2012, 38/12). The same year Muhamed Kadić won a competition for design of the Pension Fund Residences⁶⁹ and completed the project with Reuf in 1942. Developed above a recessed glazed commercial ground level, this complex mixed-use structure sweeps around the corner of Hamza Humo and Titova ulica, with elegantly sculpted semi cylindrical set-back above the first floor which emphasised the functional change from the public to private at the upper residential floors (**Fig.3.17**).



Fig.3.17 (left) Vakuf Hovadža Kemaludin-Mekteb (1940); (right) The Pension Fund Residences (1941-42), architects Reuf and Muhamed Kadić (© Selma Harrington, March 2020).

⁶⁹ Coinciding with the hundredth anniversary of Muhamed Kadić's birth, Štraus (Štraus 2006, 3) called for the attention to his versatile but neglected work. On the initiative from the Faculty of Architecture where Muhamed Kadić worked since 1948 until his retirement as a Professor in 1973 (Janković 2007), the Pension Fund building was declared a National Monument in 2008 (Kadić 2010).

Designed mainly for retired couples, the apartment units vary in size and benefit from the east-west orientation, which allows for daylight deep into the functionally connected circular flow of rooms. The internal glazed partitioning and openings allow for flexible use and adaptability (Službeni glasnik BiH 2008, 36/09).

A single-family dwelling, Kopčić House (1939) in Savfet Beg Bašagić Street is a skilful integration of a modern structure within an older residential suburb of Sarajevo (Kadić 2010, 60; Janković 2007, 51-52) which foreshadows the critical regionalism. The composition and materialisation are inspired by the Bosnian vernacular house with a modern interpretation. The street-level stone wall shelters the entrance and the ground level, while the upper floor, a solid cube with hollowed corners and a ribbon window, rests on almost invisible pillars, creating a floating effect (**Fig.3.18**).



Fig.3.18 Kopčić Family House, Savfet Beg Bašagića ulica (© Selma Harrington, March 2020).

Reuf Kadić's design for Vakuf Hovadža Kemaludin – *Neboder*/Skyscraper in Ferhadija Street in 1939, the first of a kind, was the tallest building in Sarajevo at the time. It completes the urban block demarcated by the previously constructed Vakuf Hovadža Kemaludin – *Mekteb*. The original design for the Vakuf - *Neboder* was envisaged as a five-storey high elongated office wing, with a fifteen-storey high corner residential tower⁷⁰, some 60 metres high in total, and it could possibly have been the pinnacle of the architect's work, had the original design been respected (**Fig. 3.19**).



Fig.3.19 (left) View from Titova ulica to Vakuf Hovadža Kemaludin-*Neboder* (1940-47), Ferhadija ulica, architect Reuf Kadić; (Insert: photo and graphic simulation of the original design (Kadić 2010, 54); adapted by the Author); (right) View from Ferhadija (© Selma Harrington).

⁷⁰ At the time, architect Dušan Grabrijan strongly argued against the skyscraper on this location, describing it as “a forced effect, of American origin, and nothing in common with our ambiance” (Čelić 1970, 126). However, the Vaqf who owned the site, decided to develop it which also meant the demolition of the existing mosque and adjacent park (Grabrijan 1940; cf. Čelić 1970, 125-128).

The construction of Neboder commenced in 1940, but only a rough skeleton was completed before the start of World War II. The works restarted in 1947, but the original designs were altered, while Reuf Kadić was excluded from decision making, and another architect appointed to oversee the completion.⁷¹

The collaboration between Reuf and Muhamed continued after World War II when both of them were assigned various tasks during the post-war reconstruction of infrastructure, housing and industrial objects. In 1946, Muhamed was assigned to design and oversee the reconstruction of Velika realna gimnazija⁷² in Sarajevo, which was designated to accommodate the Teacher Training School, but whose central block was destroyed by the bombing. The completed adaptation shows Muhamed's principled modernist approach instead of a historic replication. The new central block is raised to form a canopied recess above the ground level entrance, with a rhythmical ribbon fenestration on the façade, which subtly connects with the original side wings of the School, aligned at the level of the parapet to soften the addition of an extra floor (**Fig.3.20**).

⁷¹ Emir Kadić's son, an engineers who lives in Canada, speculated: "Consequently, the structure became about 10 metres 'shorter'. These changes may have been adopted because of a lack of money or, possibly, it was at the time politically inopportune for Sarajevo to be the first city in the former Yugoslavia with such a 'prestigious' structure (Kadić 2010, 56).

⁷² Originally designed by Karel Pařík in neo-classicist style for the Franz Josef Gymnasium and built in 1906, Obala Kulina bana ulica in Sarajevo (Janković 2007, 61).



Fig.3.20 Velika realna gimnazija (1906) central block reconstruction (1946), architect Muhamed Kadić (© Selma Harrington, March 2020).

Soon after, Sarajevo's local authority published a call for design of the urban and architectural design of the housing colony "Džidžikovac," conditioning that the proposal must include the method for the winter construction. Reuf and Muhamed Kadić won and in 1947 when the development commenced, Muhamed described the method of demountable "scaffolding enclosures" which would allow non-weather-dependent construction (Janković 2007, 62). Their proposal consisted of three rows of interconnected blocks, perpendicular to the sloping terrain, along which they cascade dropping vertically at one storey-height. The architects paid particular attention to the internal organization of apartment type suitable for working families. This meant that instead of "a petit-bourgeois salon or a dining room," the central area included a generous family room (28 ms sq.) with sunny aspect via low-parapet French windows, a bedroom (20 m sq.) and kitchen (12 m sq.). Utilities like bathroom, toilet and storage were grouped around a service lobby which led to the kitchen. Each apartment has a two-and-a-half metre wide and five metres long terrace for summer use and various house chores usually performed outdoors. These terraces connect every two adjacent blocks at each level (Janković 2007, 62-63). This

“exceptional architectural undertaking and a new type of land-use” (Kadić 2010, 38) are a direct application of the Kadić brothers’ Prague training, exemplified by “ascetic pure cubic forms, laid down in three rows along a slope, interconnected with generous terraces, partly freed up the ground level, propped with columns” and complemented by a “continuous flow of green planting along and beneath the residential pavilions” (Štraus 2010, 31) (**Fig.3.21**).



Fig.3.21 Residential Complex Džidžikovac (1947), architects Reuf and Muhamed Kadić, (© Selma Harrington, March 2020).

Reuf Kadić retired from architecture practice rather abruptly in 1950 and took up position as Director in the High Technical School in Sarajevo⁷³, also working in other managerial roles until his retirement in 1967, followed by his unexpected death in 1974 (Kadić 2010, 18).

⁷³ Zlatko Ugljen (2010, 7-8) wrote: “At that time a number of architects from Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia came to Sarajevo to help. In truth, their scope and creative capacity was not at Reuf Kadić’s level. Nevertheless, for some reason the most significant public and residential buildings that were designed and built at that time were given to them. At the same time, a Technical Faculty with an Architectural Department was formed in Sarajevo. In spite of the shortage of teaching staff, there was no place there for Reuf Kadić. “

On the other hand, Muhamed Kadić became a Professor at the Faculty of Architecture⁷⁴ in Sarajevo where he worked since 1948 developing the curricula and expertise in industrial architecture. His doctoral study included substantial research on the Bosnian rural vernacular house, culminating in the book *Starinska seoska kuća u Bosni i Hercegovini/ Ancient rural house in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Kadić 1967).

The scope and impact of the work by Kadić brothers in the inter-war period and beyond are still understudied in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their urban interventions and architecture demonstrate the vitality of the finest principles of early Modernism adapted to the local context. This has been in some cases recognized by awarding the status of the national monument to a few, but many are by large neglected and demand much more attention.

3.2.5 Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt – The Corbusian Connection and Beyond

The attention and research of work by architects Dušan Grabrijan (1899-1952) and Juraj Neidhardt (1901-1979) appears to have more traction among the contemporary scholars due to their interest and publications on in the Bosnian Ottoman architectural heritage (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957; Grabrijan 1973; Grabrijan 1984). Studied previously by Čelić (1970) and Kapetanović⁷⁵ (1988) and they continues to attract new scholarship (Alić and Gusheh 1997; Alić 2010; Zatrić - Šahović and Šabić - Zatrić 2016; Krzović and Premerl 2019). Grabrijan, a Slovene who studied architecture in Ljubljana under Jože Plečnik, and after that at the École

⁷⁴ Founded initially as the Technical Faculty in Sarajevo, with two departments: Civil Engineering and Architecture, out of which the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism emerged in 1961 (Božović 1991, 109).

⁷⁵ Jelica Karlić Kapetanović completed a doctoral dissertation on the work of Juraj Neidhardt and in 1990 published a book *Juraj Najdhardt-život i djelo* (1990).

des Beaux-Arts in Paris (1925-26), worked at the Construction Directorate with posting to Sarajevo (1929) where he teaches at the High Technical School until 1945 when he returns to teach in Ljubljana. Džemal Čelić analysed the roots of Grabrijan's theoretical position at the intersection of his training with Plečnik,⁷⁶ and his awareness of the course of modern architecture under Le Corbusier's influence. That was triangulated with his experience of Sarajevo in the 1930s, and the lasting fascination with the "still enduring sense of beauty and scale" of its eastern core (Čelić 1970, 9-12). Grabrijan extensively studied the Bosnian Ottoman heritage and was the first to observe and articulate its synergy with Le Corbusier's principles. Between 1936-41 he published a remarkable number of essays and articles, which according to Čelić (1970, 13-14) thematically fall in the three macro-categories: (1) The essays on Bosnian heritage, its qualities and parallels with contemporary architecture; (2) The actual problems of construction in Sarajevo; and, (3) The theoretical-educational essays.

For Grabrijan, the parallels between modern and Islamic architecture are: the truthful use of materials, the principles of skeletal construction, the vertical distribution of space, the use of orientation and natural daylight in urban setting and landscaping, the façade design, furniture design and layout [with built-in elements], and what he calls the spirit of structure or the "Bosnian architectural plastics" (Čelić 1970, 33).

Grabrijan met Juraj Neidhardt when both served the army in 1927. Originally from Zagreb, Neidhardt has studied at the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts⁷⁷ led by

⁷⁶ Jože Plečnik (1872-1957 Ljubljana), a student of Otto Wagner and an admirer of John Ruskin's considerations of arts and crafts.

⁷⁷ Akademie der bildenden Künste der Meisterschule für Architektur (Premerl 2019, 13).

Peter Behrens (Premerl 2019, 10-37). After a year in Zagreb with the office of Lubynski and Holjac, he worked briefly with Behrens and Ernst Lichtblau⁷⁸ when he returned home and worked as freelance architect on many significant and successful competition projects. He works again for Behrens in his Berlin studio from 1930-32 and on his recommendation he joins Le Corbusier's Paris studio "Atelier 35, rue de Sèvres" from 1933-1935. There he enjoyed the creative atmosphere and work with other young progressive architects on many of the large international urban schemes. Neidhardt kept in contact with Grabrijan and upon return to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia with his help mounts in 1936 the first exhibition of his work in Sarajevo, where he finally joins the Sarajevo office of "Jugočelik," as a full-time employee for six years.⁷⁹

Even though on "the eve of World War II in Yugoslavia," Neidhardt found a place to settle and a stimulating company of socially-conscious artists and intellectuals, many of whom were close to the Collegium Artisticum (Krzović 2019, 54-57). His engagement to design housing units and workers' settlements in the Zenica mining and steel basin enabled the fruition of his ideas shaped by the experience of working with leading modernists and the collaboration with Grabrijan. With intense passion and motivation, he studied given sites, lifestyle and needs of

⁷⁸ See more in Krzović (1987, 226-27 and 231; Krzović 2019, 53), who asserts that Lichtblau was the first Austrian architect who designed a modern villa for Bosnia in 1904. This student of Wagner made a study trip to Bosnia and sketched the houses in Jajce, impressed by their simple modernity.

⁷⁹ Some Bosnian scholars assert that Neidhardt's inter-war approach was based on the fusion of functionalist training, experiential formation and "working experience in Jugočelik, a state-owned steel-producing company" (Zatrić-Šahović and Šabić-Zatrić 2016, 437-438). They posit the concept of an "organic metaphor" which they believe Neidhardt developed with Grabrijan through the "architectural-ethnographic research" as a guiding principle focused on the historic core of Sarajevo. Here the authors assert the influence of Yugoslav geographer Jovan Cvijić, as a hypothesis which hovers close to the organicist theories of ethnicity and identity, and possibly an attempt to recast Neidhardt's and Grabrijan's focus in line with the current explorations in regional cultural conciliation.

the intended users and applied all his superb graphic skill and energy in preparing numerous sketches, drawings and models of the regulatory urban plans and detailed designs. Located in the small Bosnian towns like Ilijaš, Podbrežje near Zenica, Vareš, Breza and Ljubija, these new developments included low-density workers housing units with small gardens and open space. Interpreting the elements from vernacular architecture, Neidhardt envisaged three types of buildings: twin-house with two apartments, four-unit house and six-units house, all situated around a micro-centre with a social club, library, bowling alley, soft and hard landscaping and collective blocks for single-dwellers (**Fig.3.22**).

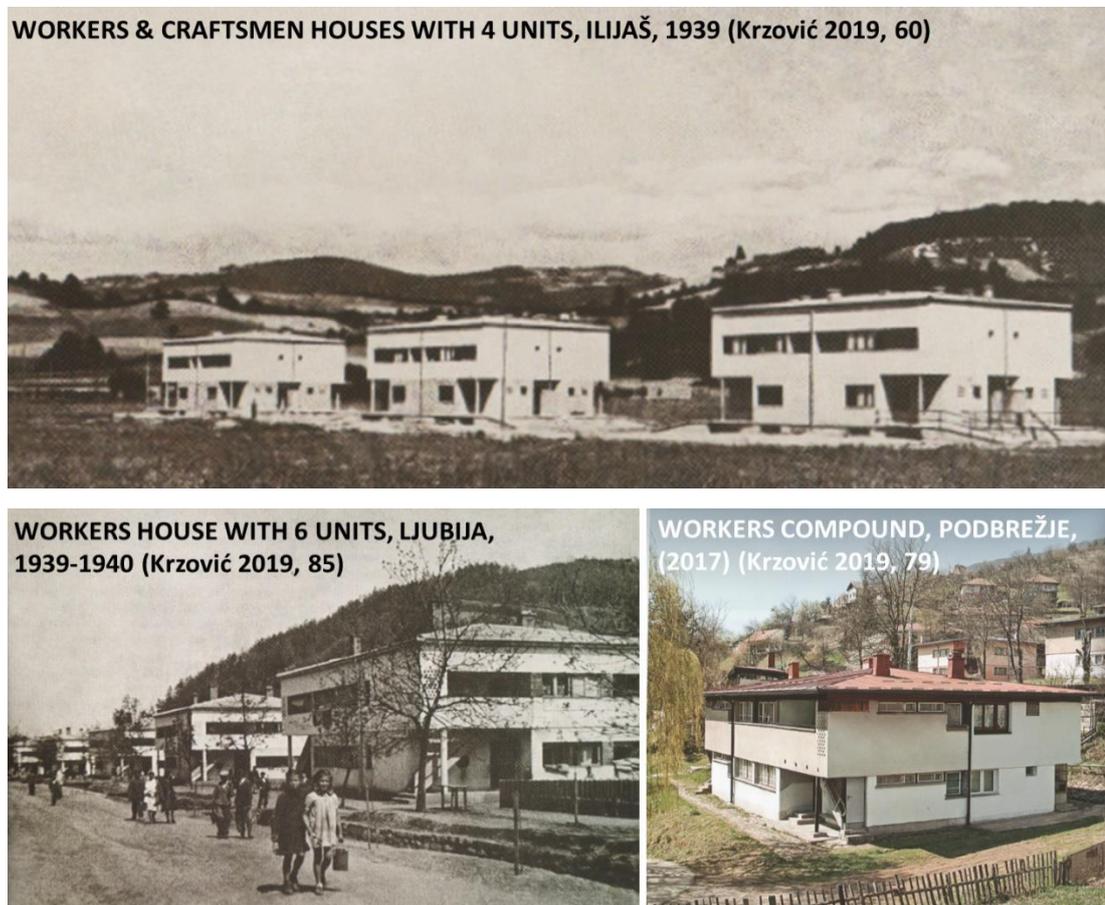


Fig.3.22 Workers Housing Compounds in Ilijaš, Podbrežje and Ljubija, architect Juraj Neidhardt (1939-40) (Krzović 2019, 60-85); Annotated by Selma Harrington.

Most of the plans for the workers' settlement were only partly developed up to World War II, with only few units added later. However, these interwar projects by Neidhardt are perhaps the most important realisations and evidence of the new design vocabulary, inspired by the modernity of Bosnian vernacular and supported by Grabrijan's theoretical base.⁸⁰ That was triangulated with the new international approaches to workers' house briefs⁸¹ (Grabrijan [1938]; 1973, Čelić 1970, 171-174).

The work by Juraj Neidhardt and his collaboration with Dušan Grabrijan, spans across the first (Interwar) and second (Socialist) phase of architectural modernism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was disrupted by Grabrijan's move back to Ljubljana in 1945 and his premature death in 1952. However, the publication of their influential work *Architecture of Bosnia and the road to Modernity/Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno* (1957) is seen as the culmination of their synergy.⁸²

Endorsed by Le Corbusier's generous foreword, the book conceptually positions the Bosnian vernacular as a source of modernism.⁸³ In it, Grabrijan and Neidhardt argue for the Bosnian Ottoman building tradition, with its human scale and link with nature, to be valued as a "proto-modernity" and a source of inspiration for modern regional architecture, most notably in house design and urbanism.

⁸⁰ At the same time, Grabrijan's review of the early Le Corbusier's publications and sketches (Čelić 1970, 29-36), unpacks the historic cross-references and influence of the Balkans Ottoman house on his concepts of modern architecture based on his voyages to the Ottoman Balkans in the 1920s (Zaknić 1997; Zatrić 2018, 129).

⁸¹ Grabrijan (1938) analysed the studies of workers houses by Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier, which would continue to be a subject of interest for generations of Bosnian architects, particularly in relation to larger residential schemes (Arnautović 1984, 32).

⁸² Only 1000 copies of the book were published in 1957 and the complicated copyright issues prevented further editions (Personal knowledge). The late Dušan Grabrijan's wife arranged for the his original contribution to *Architecture of Bosnia* up to page 318, written in 1951-52 to be published first in Slovene language and subsequently in Serbo-Croat (Grabrijan 1984, 3).

⁸³ Mejrema Zatrić's (2018, 129) critique considers this work as a "subtle subversion of Modern Movement's universalizing logic" while the "claims for the inherent modernity of the Oriental House anticipated subsequent attempts to destabilize Western hegemony in modern architectural culture, epitomized by Bernard Rudofsky's 1964 MoMA exhibition [*Architecture Without Architects*].

In the Bosnian tradition, Grabrijan and Neidhardt recognized the same elements that inspired Le Corbusier during his voyages to the Ottoman Balkans in the 1920s (Zaknić 1997; Zatrić 2018, 129) and tried to articulate a new vocabulary in continuity with it. Grabrijan's review of the early Le Corbusier's publications and sketches (Čelić 1970, 29-36), unpacks the historic cross-references and influence of the Balkans Ottoman house on his concepts of modern architecture. The vitality of the book stems from the comprehensive analysis and rich illustration of the traditional culture of living and building, observed at the level of the city (grad), commercial heart (čaršija), micro-rayon (mahala)house, and house (kuća), with the living quarters (kuća), yard(avlije) and garden (bašča), as the basic urban elements (Krzović 2019,160-169). The book's cover featured Neidhardt's project for a mountain chalet at Trebević, built in 1948, and shortly after destroyed by fire (**Fig. 3.23**).



Fig.3.23 Jacket covers for the original volume *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way to Modernity*, 1957; Reproduced with permission from architect Tatjana Neidhardt.

The design of the chalet “executed with local materials, and influenced by the traditional heritage and Corbusian principles” was considered as one of the examples of the “creative continuity of the international [modern] movement” (Štraus 1991, 20-21). However, it can be speculated whether the pastoral image of a modest-scale timber mountain lodge, inserted in the collage with domestic animals grazing at the front, would have been a resoundingly convincing front-runner on the “way to modernity” in the late 1950s for the young society enthused by modernization, new materials and promises from engineering sciences, which might partly explain Neidhardt’s mixed professional fortunes after the war.⁸⁴

As their work developed during two politically different Yugoslav periods, Australian scholar Dijana Alić (2010) believes that both Grabrijan and Neidhardt became aware of the scepticism by the authorities towards articulation of new architecture deriving from an Islamic tradition, and had modified their approaches accordingly. Alić suggests that the post-war theoretical work by Grabrijan and Neidhardt showed the “astute awareness of the changing perceptions of Bosnia’s Islamic past within the discourses on Yugoslav and specifically Bosnian national identities,” by which they “attempted to overcome nationalist and Marxist resistance to the region’s Ottoman past” (Alić 2010, 259). Alić tracks such modifications by unpacking the principles and contradictions expressed in Neidhardt’s projects for the reconstruction of Bašćaršija⁸⁵ and other urban zones, and finds evidence of the

⁸⁴ For details on Neidhardt’s life and work, see two excellent books by Jelica Karlić-Kapetanović (1990) and Ibrahim Krzović (2019).

⁸⁵ For example, Grabrijan (1940; cf. Čelić 1970, 131-134) argued for the selected demolition of Bašćaršija’s derelict parts whilst retaining the most valuable buildings, and at the same time, he criticised the new proposals that smacked of historicism. When the New Sharia Law School was proposed as a large pseudo-Moorish structure (Čelić 1970, 135-138), Grabrijan condemned it favouring Neidhardt’s proposal, an almost equally intrusive bulk.

“recasting [of the] sources of inspiration,” specifically based on the more distant Bosnian Medieval past. Thus, Alić (2010, 262) believes, they opted to disregard, or else reinterpret, “many significant elements of that [Ottoman] heritage,” in order to avoid an *ethnicised* discourse trap.

However, Grabrijan’s and Neidhardt’s interwar collaboration might be better viewed as the vision to universalise and generalise the values of Bosnian heritage, which only happened to be Islamic and modern at the same time. Two architects effectively adopted a positive Orientalist approach towards the Bosnian Ottoman heritage, refining their positions as necessary, and reflective of own professional maturing. In the overall, Grabrijan’s theoretical framework reaffirmed the significance of Ottoman heritage and together with Neidhardt, through pedagogical work, architectural competitions and practice. It instilled confidence in the value of that heritage to generations of younger architects. Throughout their careers, they advanced the voice of the profession and its role in urban planning, developing the culture of communication and contextual thinking.

Between the 1950s-70s, Neidhardt participated in major architectural competitions and saw the completion of several of his designs for housing and public buildings in Bosnia, among which the collective Residences in Alipašina (former Đure Đakovića) ulica, Faculty of Philosophy and Faculty of Mathematics and Science, together with the Government buildings complex all in Marijin Dvor stand out (**Fig.3.24**). Located at the edges or outside of the historic core, these structures show his craftsmanship in massing and proportion, and experimentation with the Corbusian modernist repertoire, intersected with the playful articulation of the “fifth façade” as a reference to the domes and vaults in Bašćaršija. Having successively

won several competitions since 1955 for the same site, his designs for the Bosnian Government Buildings were awarded in 1976 and completed in 1980 (Štraus 1996, 50).



Fig.3.24 (Clockwise from top left) Residences in Alipašina ulica, Sarajevo (1952-53), architect Juraj Neidhardt (Insert: Krzović 2019, 207); Faculty of Philosophy, Sarajevo (1959-60) (Source: Krzović 2019, 227); Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina Complex (1980) (Insert: Štraus 1996, 50); Faculty of Mathematics and Science (1970) (Krzović 2019, 233); Annotated by the author (Photos 2018 © Selma Harrington).

3.2.6 World War II Period

The political instability of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia culminated with the King's suspension of the constitution in January 1929, which imposed a drastic unitary system and a new territorial division of the country into nine *banovine*,⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Malcolm (1994, 169) explains the naming of the new territorial units *banovine* (plural), as only a token gesture to Croats in the Kingdom, derived from the old Croatian term *banat*.

arranged “to cut across the old borders of the constitutive elements of the Yugoslav state” (Malcolm 1994, 168-169). As a result, Bosnia and Hercegovina was divided between four: Vrbaska, Drinska, Zetska and Primorska, each of which incorporated parts of Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Dalmatia respectively, thus erasing its geographical identity “for the first time in more than four hundred years” (Malcolm 1994, 169). Under the shadow of the rising toxic threat from German and Italian fascism, this arrangement was further modified in 1939 by the so-called historic compromise between Serbs and Croats, which absorbed more Bosnian territory.⁸⁷

The acute and prolonged economic crisis left Sarajevo unprepared for the continued conflict and ensuing occupation in 1941, during which all of Bosnia and Herzegovina was incorporated in a new Independent State of Croatia (NDH). In the first two days of arrival in Sarajevo, the new authorities removed the memorial plaque to Gavrilo Princip, and sent it to Hitler (Kamberović 2005, 14; Savich 2013; Harrington 2013). The new Sephardic Synagogue, constructed in 1929, was broken into and its books and treasures burnt (Malcolm 1994, 175), both acts designed to convey chilling messages to Bosnian Serbs and Jews.

There was little construction activity or urban development during the war period, with some exceptions like the new low-density residential suburbs on the western part of the city, modelled on similar housing schemes from the plains of Slavonia (Croatia), Banat and Bačka (Serbia). These were constructed to house the refugees from Eastern Bosnia (Đelilović 2015, 92), who had fled the extreme

⁸⁷ Local historians Levntal (1952), Balić ([1968]1992), Dedijer et al. (1974), Redžić (1998) and Redžić (2005), among others, studied this difficult and complex war period, which Malcolm (1994, p. 174) defines as “the story of many wars piled one on top of another,” which has so far obscured the analysis of urban development of the period.

nationalist *Chetnik* forces, formed after the defeat of the Royal Yugoslav army (**Fig. 3.25**).

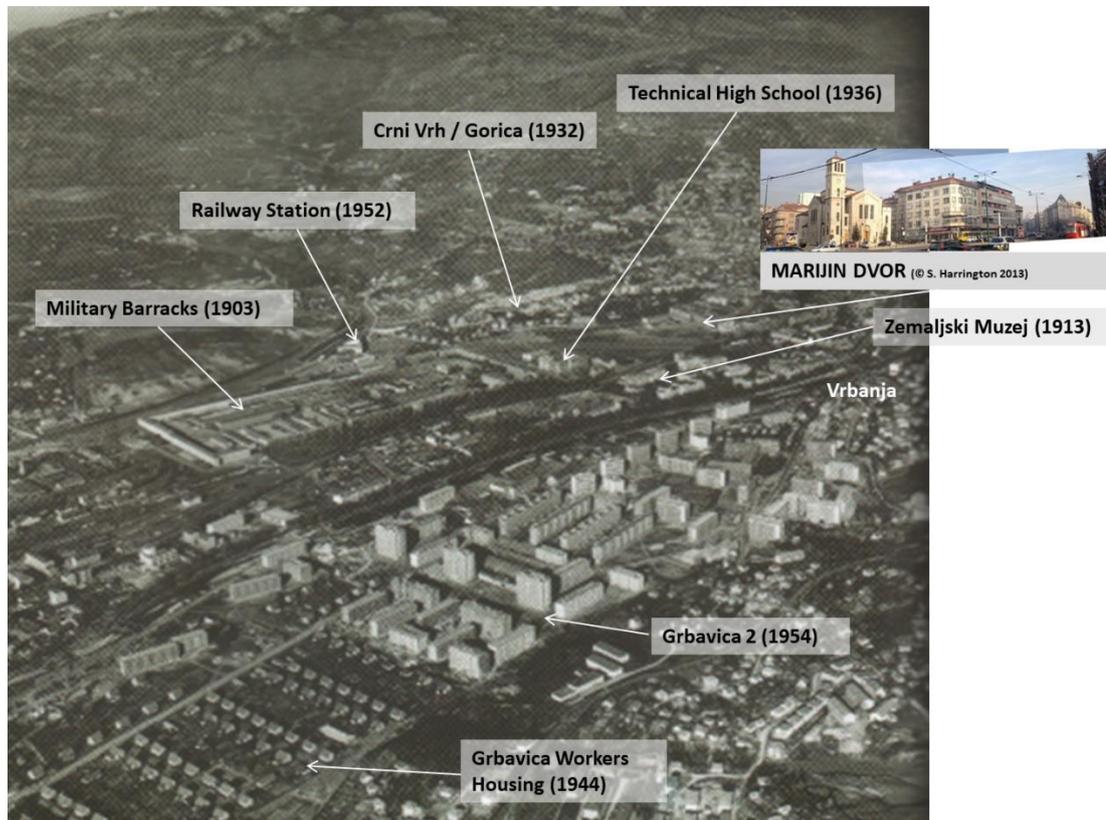


Fig.3.25 Aerial view to Novo Sarajevo and Grbavica Workers Housing (1944); Adapted from Delilović (2015, 92) and annotated by Selma Harrington.

3.3 Socialist Modernism after 1945

This section provides a wide contextual background for the case study central to this Thesis by focusing on the relevant urban and architectural developments of the first two post-war decades up to 1965 in Bosnia. After the defeat of fascism in 1945, Sarajevo became a regional capital of one of the six Yugoslav Federal Republics. The new socialist government enjoyed wide popular support and enthusiasm for the rebuilding of the country ravaged by war. The country entered an

era of industrialisation, by initially mobilising the voluntary youth work brigades under the slogan “brotherhood and unity.” Free education and public healthcare, new housing, employment and commerce, made the city grow and expand further towards the west. The system of governance was different from the communist countries under the influence of the Soviet Union and the centralist type of planning in which Czaplicka (2005, 175-176) analysed the “opposition of socialist modernism to local architectural expression” expressed as the state proscribed artistic style, namely, socialist realism. Yugoslavs sought their own identity and distinction both from east and west, in particular when they declined to succumb to the Soviets.

Thus it can be said that the influence of the “socialist realism” on early post-war architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina is “restrained” and short-lived (Štraus 2010, 34-35). It can barely be traced in a few buildings like the Institute for Hygiene in Sarajevo by Tihomir Ivanović (1952) (Štraus 2010, 35) and the Cultural Centre in Mostar by Reuf Kadić (1948) (Čelić 1987, 148). Ivanović who was assigned to work in Sarajevo as part of the “planned distribution of professional cadre,”⁸⁸ also designed the Šipad Company Headquarters (1956) in the Maršala Tita ulica. This four-storey office block, cantilevered over the elegant ‘v’ shaped supporting pillars possibly mimicks Oscar Niemeyer’s “design vocabulary” (Štraus 2010, 34-35) (**Fig. 3.26**).

⁸⁸ A centralised policy designed to overcome the shortage of available professional expertise at the time.



Fig.3.26 (left) Institute for Hygiene (1952); (right) Šipad Company Headquarters (1956), both by architect Tihomir Ivanović (©Selma Harrington March 2020).

The other designated cadre, Bogdan Stojkov, completed the project of the New Railway Station in Sarajevo (1948-1952) based on the designs by Czech architects Kohout, Prohaska, Hacar and others, who were recalled after the Yugoslav break-up with the Soviets, which might explain why this building is sometimes incorrectly associated with the Socialist Realism (**Fig.3.27**).



Fig.3.27 New Railway Station (1948-52), architects Kohout, Prohaska, Hacar and Bogdan Stojkov (Source: Jamaković 2015, 46; Reproduced with permission from the Author).

3.3.1 The Association of Architects of Sarajevo (DAS) and Magazine ARH No.8

The first two decades of the post-war urban development and reconstruction of Sarajevo (1945-1965) were chronicled in the first issues of the magazine ARH, published by the Association of Architects of Sarajevo between 1963 and 1993⁸⁹,

⁸⁹ The Association was a voluntary network for architects employed in the public enterprises, planning institutes and education and has published a total of twenty-four volumes of ARH up to 1993 (Personal knowledge).

Sarajevo's population then doubled from some 100, 000 pre-war, to around 220, 000 inhabitants and the city extended westwards along the Sarajevo Valley, with pressing housing needs that shaped the new residential zones like Grbavica, Kovačići, Hrasno and Čengić Vila in the Municipality Novo Sarajevo.

According to architect and urban planner Ivan Taubman (1964, 10), the dated and unregulated infrastructure and practices, with inadequate functionality and number of existing public buildings, complicated the development which would meet the needs of a growing population. While the new urban planning applied the “correct” principles and policy of a controlled growth, which aspired to a “parallel and simultaneous modernisation,” it did not resolve the lack of territorial continuity between different parts of the city as illustrated in **Fig.3.28**. The large tract of land occupied by the Military Barracks presented a particular challenge to create a sense of organic flow and continuity around the designated new administrative Marijin Dvor zone.

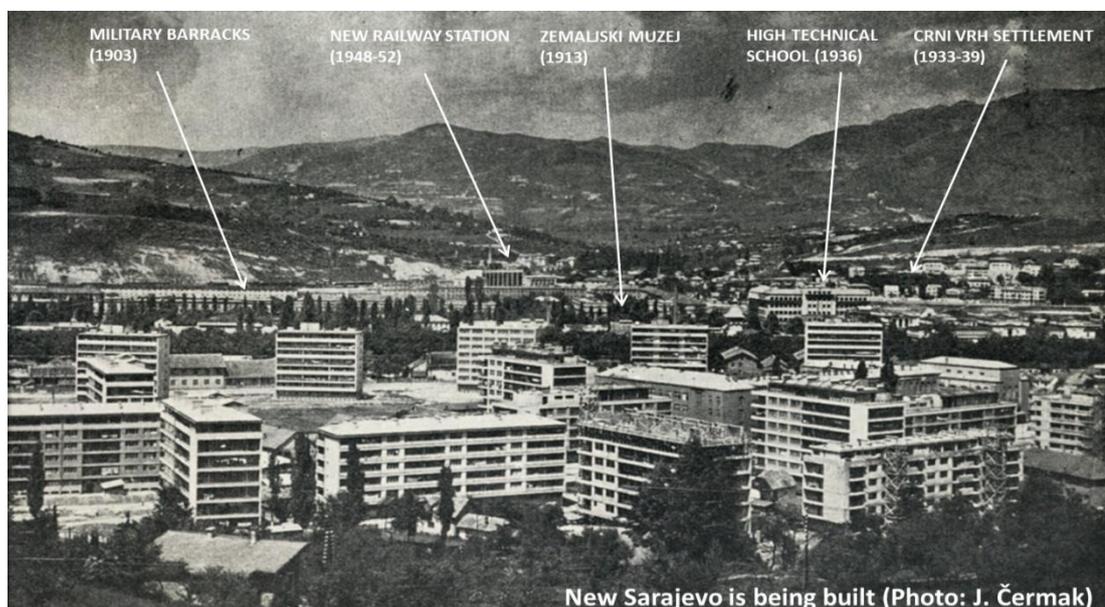


Fig.3.28 “New Sarajevo is being built” (Photo: J. Čermak 1960s); Annotated by Selma Harrington (Source: ARH 2-3(1) 1963, 5; Reproduced with permission from the Association of Architects of BiH).

Much attention was paid to the layers of heritage in Sarajevo understood as “a continuous film ribbon in which every sequence represents an almost completed cycle of the specific period” (Dobrović (1964, 8)).⁹⁰ Architect Vlado Dobrović identifies “the remnants of the war devastation and rapid population growth, complicated by the lack of expertise, experience and organized construction operative” amongst the numerous challenges facing the new socialist society after World War II, (Dobrović 1964, 9).

The magazine ARH No. 8 (1964) features new buildings ascribed to the International style, but its main focus is on the specific briefs and how they blend in the urban composition of the existing surroundings. Much attention was given to principles of urban infill (“plombiranje”),⁹¹ as a decade-long post-war practice of smaller interventions, but equally to the normative articulation of spatial and technical requirements for different types of building (Finci 1964, 4-6). Among the featured buildings are several new head offices of leading Bosnian industrial enterprises (**Fig.3.29**) and the new housing complexes (Grbavica I and II, Višnjik and Koševo) (**Fig.3.30**).

⁹⁰ Dobrović highlights the “harmonious buildings with functional content, “balanced proportions and human scale, as part of the Ottoman period layer, whilst Austria-Hungary left a “strong mark of its highly organized state bureaucracy, building monumental administrative, judicial, financial, educational, cultural and healthcare centres, as evidence of a political concept driven by the goal to strengthen the power and to definitely assimilate Bosnia within the monarchy.(Author’s abbreviated translation from the Serbo-Croat original: “Period turske okupacije obilježen je u Sarajevu brojnim sakralnim objektima, hanovima i hamamima. Harmoničnim objektima funkcionalnih sadržaja, skladnih proporcija i mjerila, kome je uzor bio čovjek. [...]Austrija je ostavila snažan pečat svoje visoko organizovane državne birokratije. Monumentalne palate administracije, pravde i kapitala, prosvjete, kulture i zdravstva predstavljaju očit spomenik jedne političke koncepcije čiji je cilj bio učvršćenje vlasti i definitivno utapanje Bosne u okvire Austro-ugarske monarhije” (1964, 8).

⁹¹ For example as shown in Fig. 3.20, architect Muhamed Kadić, where the infill was made between the two remaining wings of the former Great Real Gymnasium building (1946).

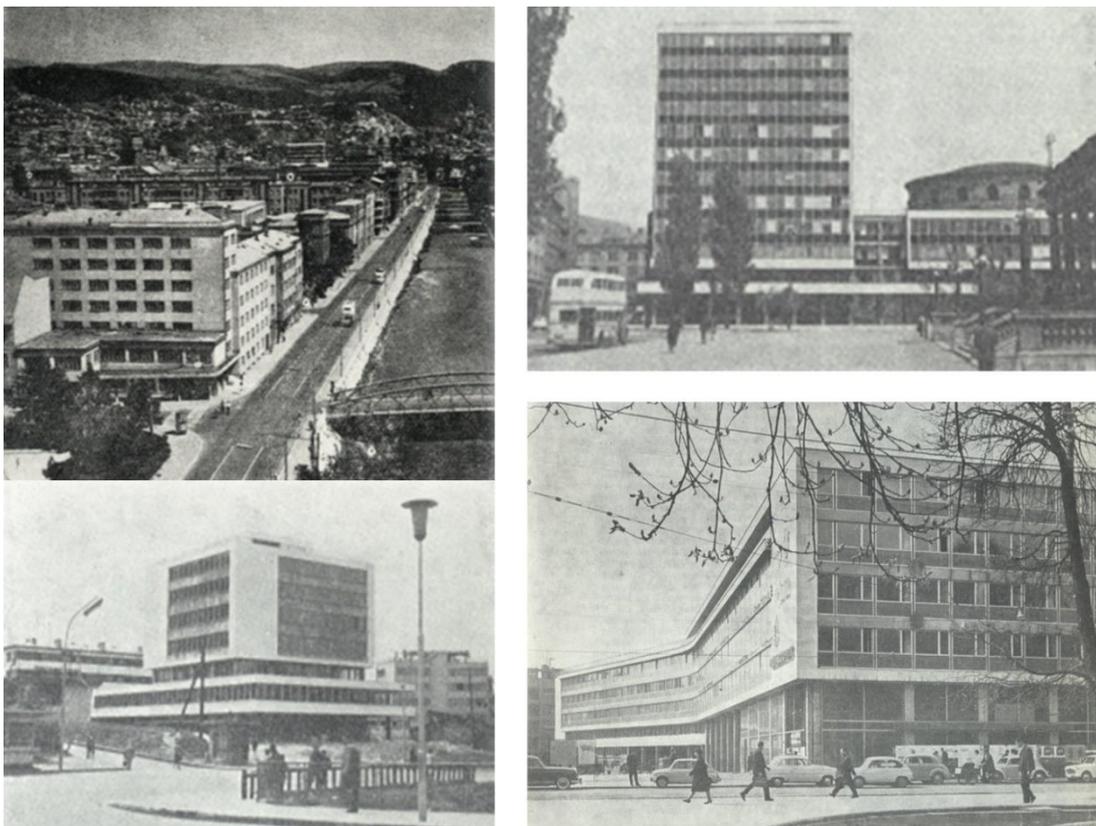


Fig.3.29 Post-war public architecture in Sarajevo: (top left) Zgrada sindikata, Obala Kulina bana; (top right) former Energoinvest Headoffice, Theatre Square; (bottom right); Chamber of Commerce BiH, Titova ulica; (bottom left) former UNIONINVEST Headoffice; adapted by Selma Harrington (Source: ARH 8 (2) 1964, 7-9); Reproduced with permission from the Association of Architects of BiH).



Fig.3.30 New residential areas of Sarajevo: (Left) Koševo and (right) Grbavica; adapted by Selma Harrington (Source: ARH 2-3(1) 1963, 42 & ARH 8 (2) 1964, 6); Reproduced with permission from the Association of Architects of BiH).

The design for the new Sarajevo's Central Graveyard epitomises the Bosnian-style concept of "unity in diversity." Several locations were previously considered, until some 28 hectares of land was identified at the north-east outskirts of the city, in a naturally formed amphitheatre. Having studied the local burial traditions and

layouts of Sarajevo’s older graveyards, the design team created a central structure integrated with the land contours and orientated to the shared open atrium and park. The architect Smiljan Klajić (1964, 42-46) explained that design “emphasised the ideas of collective placing of the dead from different religious backgrounds and none, together in a common necropolis” (Fig.3.31).

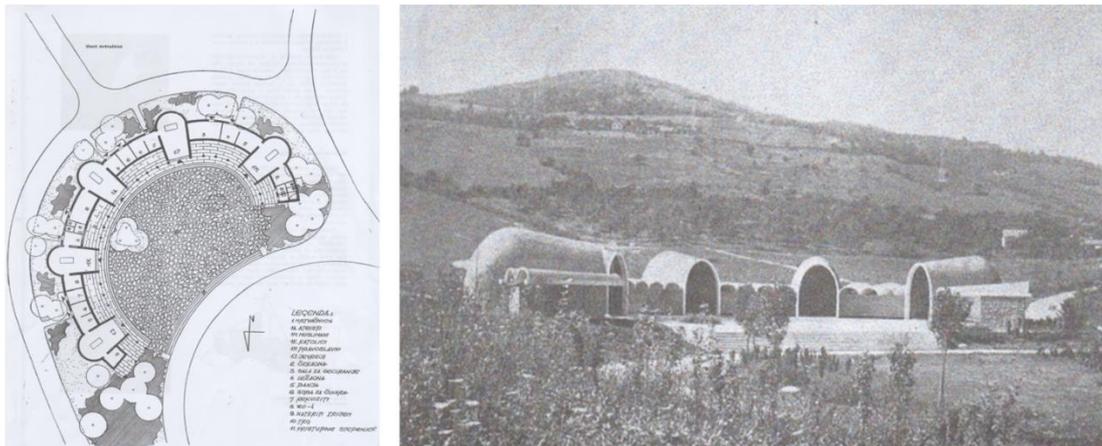


Fig.3.31 Sarajevo Central Graveyard Plan and View to Morgue and Entrance Assembly (Source: ARH No. 8, 1964, 43-47); Reproduced with permission from the Association of Architects of BiH).

Other projects featured in ARH No. 8, include several renovation projects, among which was the adaptation of the Old Sharia School from Austro – Hungarian period into the Sarajevo City Museum. Another more modest structure from the same period, was converted into the *Museum Young Bosnia/ Muzej Mlada Bosna*, designed by Juraj Neidhardt, significantly reinforcing the memory of Sarajevo Assassination, dove-tailed into the Yugoslav foundational freedom-fighting narrative (Harrington 2013), combined with the modernist interpretation of Bosnian vernacular house interiors.

One of the large renovation projects was the 1962 adaptation of the former Temple, gifted by the Jewish Community for the Cultural centre of the *Radnički univerzitet/Workers’ University Đuro Đaković*. There was much symbolism

surrounding the project which repurposed the former place of worship by the community that almost perished under Nazi regime, thus getting a new lease of life.

Two other renovation case studies in ARH No. 8, feature conversions and adaptations of the historic buildings from Austro-Hungarian period into the Museum of Sarajevo City (former Sharia Law School) in 1952, and adaptation of a commercial space into the Muzej Mlada Bosna (now Museum “Sarajevo 1878-1918”) in 1953. These projects illustrate a broad scope of spatial and technical solutions and show versatility of architects who engaged in conservation, design of interiors, furniture and light fittings design and capacity for team collaboration, with sculptors, painters, textile designers, model makers, carpenters, joiners and other craftsmen.

Published two decades after World War II, the ARH No. 8 shows a sense of pride in the reconstruction of the city and the accomplishment of several architectural teams from the new Architecture and Engineering faculty and other public enterprise offices. They all grasped the opportunity to incorporate the ideas of modernism and build, while at the same time showing the sensitivity to the local cultural and historic inheritance amidst the reality of the post-war economy marked by shortages and the political reforms.

3.3.2 Clashes of Ideas at Sarajevo’s Marijin Dvor

New developments extended the city boundaries westwards where a large portion of land between Marijin Dvor building and the Military Barracks from the Habsburg era was earmarked as a new administrative centre, with a potential to bind together the fragmented areas of old city core with its natural extension zone. While the new urban planning instruments were being developed, the authorities organized a

number of open architectural competitions, to test the ideas and urban visions for this zone. In 1955, Juraj Neidhardt's team convincingly won the first award in the competition for the outline urban design with a concept for the new National Assembly building on this location (Kapetanović 1988, 358).

The sensitivity of designs in connecting structures from three different periods like the National Museum /*Zemaljski muzej*, the High Technical School, and the New Railway Station, was particularly commended. The proposed National Assembly building was conceived in two parts, the lower structure with curved massing for meeting halls and a taller section as the high-rise office block, both incorporating the symbolic design detailing inspired by the concept of "urbanism with human scale" and the Bosnian vernacular architecture from the Ottoman tradition. Neidhardt elaborated his concept by showing the composition elements as abstract interpretation of the volumes and forms from the public buildings and houses of the Ottoman Sarajevo: dome, cube, wall and shadow, over-hang, horizontal and vertical (**Fig.3.32**).

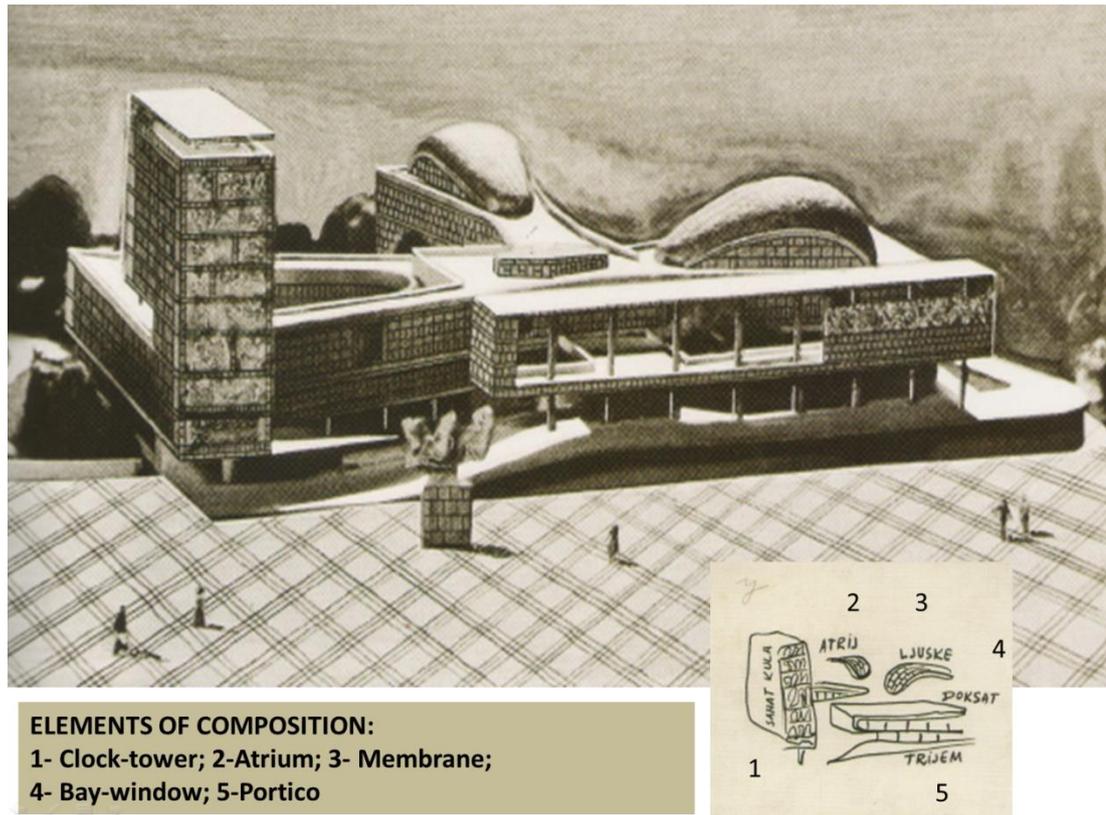


Fig.3.32 National Assembly of the Republic of BiH, competition perspective (1955) (Krzović 2019, 259); Adapted and annotated by Selma Harrington.

Despite being awarded the project, its realisation had been slow to materialise. Numerous alterations had an impact on the overall urban design concept and the project seemed to have been caught between economic restrictions, delayed approval of the general urban plan and other political and professional interference (Kapetanović 1988, 367).

A team led by Ivan Štraus, objected to the essence of the urban design concept awarded to Neidhardt. Neidhardt's focus on pedestrian traffic was criticised, as well as its generosity of open space and an envisaged Central-European feel. Štraus argued for a different approach which would undermine the importance of Neidhardt's "diagonal" towards the new railway station in favour of the longitudinal

East-West traffic, and he emphasised the functional modernist architecture, in line with the international trends of late modernism and post-modernism (Kapetanović 1988, 374). As a result, only some of Neidhardt's visions were realised, including the posthumous completion of Government Buildings (1980).

The new programme for Marijin Dvor was endorsed by the City Urban Council in 1977 (Kapetanović 1988, 368) paving the way for the construction of two new buildings designed by Štraus's team. Equal in stature and directly opposite the Government Buildings, the UNIS company twin towers (1986), head office of the former socialist industrial giant, was triangulated by the Holiday Inn Hotel (1983), a symbol of commercial aspiration and hospitality, changing the spatial references of the area.

The Marijin Dvor urban zone and numerous proposals for its development, highlight the ideological and generational clashes in the first two post-war decades, but also the complexity in which new urban morphology was contingent on attitudes to older heritage, manifested as professional diversification of traditions at cultural and urban level, which continue to this day (**Fig.3.33**).

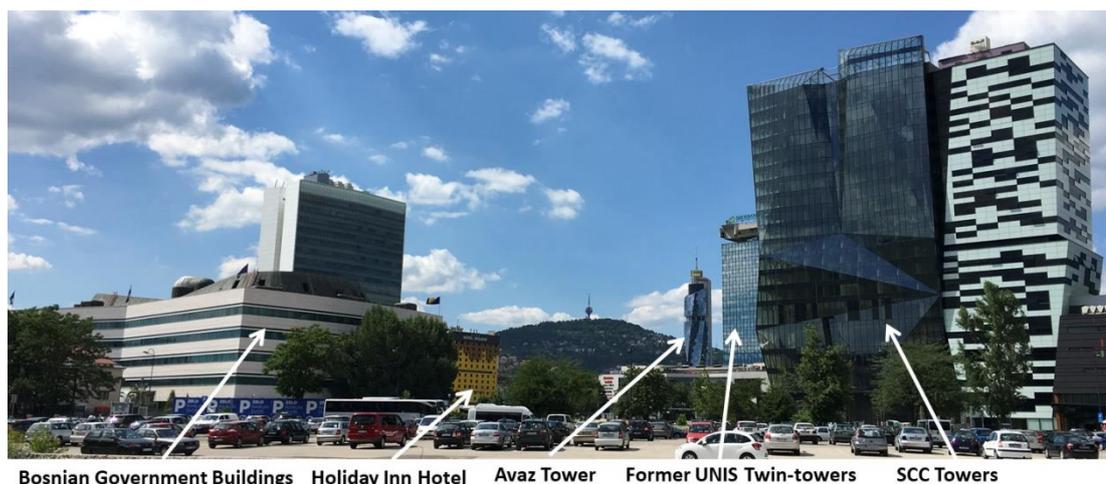


Fig.3.33 View from Miljacka River to the Bosnian Government buildings and subsequent high-rise developments (Photo: Selma Harrington, July 2017).

3.4 Summary

This Chapter has charted the urban and architectural development shaped by the foreign and indigenous architects in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the shadow of the imperial, colonial and modernising trends bookended by two world wars. Against such background, the built environment in Bosnia can be seen as an embodiment of ruptures and dramatic transformations between the successive political systems, the complex legacy of two Empires and several versions of cultural projections of Orientalism. However, it is also evident that the architectural expertise consistently sought to define the relationship, particularly with the Bosnian Ottoman heritage, showing the evolving understanding and sensitivity. This, as part of the internal emancipatory process, at times, resulted in the successful integration of built heritage in the new urban concepts.

Applying Suha Özkan's (1985) analysis of indigenous reaction or adaptation to modernism, as elaborated in Chapter Two, the regional contextualism appears either as *abstract modern-regionalism* or *functional internationalism*⁹² as conceptualised in **Fig.3.34**.

⁹² A functional internationalist, Ivan Štraus, at one time dismissed the "identification with local and regional" (Arnautović 1991, 29). In the interview, he explained to the Author that he considered himself lucky that his buildings were usually located outside of the built heritage zones, which gave him the freedom to design pure and unique forms, unlimited in scale; Author's shortened transcript and translation from Serbo-Croat original: "Složio bih se s Vama da se moj arhitektonski izraz 'otimao' identifikaciji sa lokalnim i regionalnim karakteristikama uz napomenu da sadržaji i lokacije mnogih mojih objekata snose u tome dio 'krivice'. Imao sam sreću da su mnoge moje realizacije izgrađene u ambijentima koji su mi dozvoljavali ono što sam želio: čiste i unikatne forme u dimenzijama koje nisu ničim ograničene. Pa čak ni u Sarajevu ja nisam gradio baš tako često u gradskom tkivu kojem se je trebalo podrediti proporcijama, volumenom, a pogotovo ne oblikovnim elementima kojima su mnogi sarajevski arhitekti na najjednostavniji i neinventivan način mimikrijski ugrađivali svoje objekte u strukturu naslijeđa" (Arnautović 1991, 29).

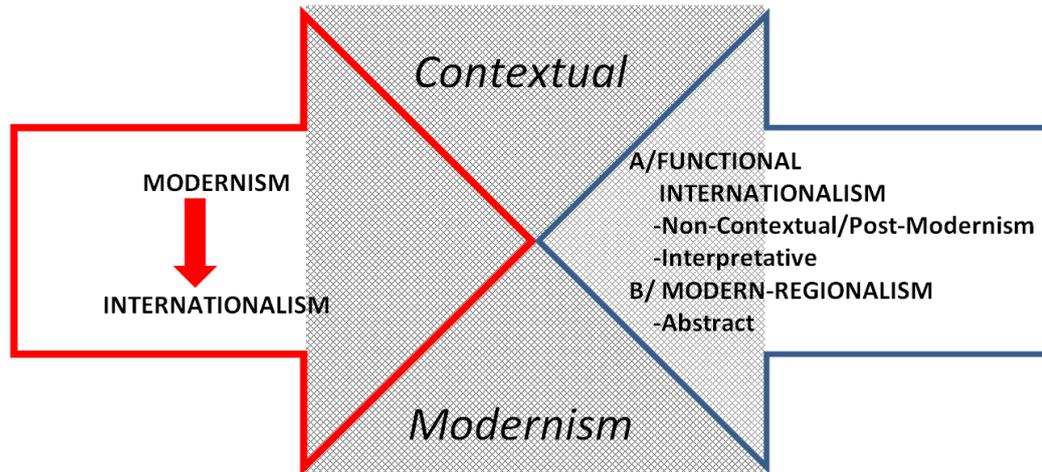


Fig.3.34 Conceptualising the manifestations of modernism and regionalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina, inspired by Suha Özkan (1985), drawn by Selma Harrington.

The internal reaction to the external influence of modernism is predominantly manifested as functional internationalism, and in parallel, albeit modest in scope, as abstract-regionalism⁹³ The differences are subtle and not necessarily exclusive, thus the provisional classification does not signify either a standardised manner of work or a consistent feature of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁹³ Other scholars view this phenomenon through the sense of place, which Ugljen Ademović and Turkušić term the “Bosnian fusion” or “belonging to the place” (Ugljen Ademović and Turkušić 2012, 433-434). For many, both are epitomised in the work of Zlatko Ugljen, most of whose architecture was designed for the hospitality industry or local community in Bosnian towns: Mostar, Stolac, Bugojno and Visoko between the late 1970s and 80s. Many of these were, unfortunately, badly damaged or destroyed during the 1990s war.

Chapter Four: Public History Museums and Architecture

This Chapter examines museum developments, through perceived transformations of their social role from *national* to *public*, their changing spatial aspects and role in place making. Starting with an overview of the precedents from the Western European borderlands, represented by regional museums from the British Isles and its Celtic Fringe,⁹⁴ the focus narrows to selected museums from the former Yugoslav space,⁹⁵ in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The exploration of commonality in political, territorial and administrative ruptures in each specific environment reveals both unique and similar elements and patterns, leading to a better understanding of the formation and curation of the institutional memory and its designated locations. Observing the changing attitudes towards museums and their narratives, the particular emphasis is given to the impact of change on the spatial aspects and architecture of the museum.

4.1 Evolution of Museums and their Role

It has been estimated that some ninety percent of museums worldwide were founded after World War II, generating a significant growth of activity, as well as academic interest and publications on the subject (Fyfe 2011, 33-49). The museum studies are developed within cultural heritage studies, art history and policy, memory and

⁹⁴ The term coined in the book *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* by Michael Hechter (1975), referring to the geographic and cultural space of the United Kingdom and Ireland, as constituted by communities and nations which might define themselves as Celtic (and distinct from Anglo-Saxon): Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, Ireland and parts of Britain.

⁹⁵ This geographical and political space is nowadays usually termed Western Balkans.

identity studies, and to some extent, architectural history. Sharon Macdonald's edited volume, *A Companion to Museum Studies* (2011), provides a general understanding of the current role of museums and the dominant themes, such as heritage and identity, architecture and space, visitors' engagement, globalization, transformations and future forecast.

For the anthropologist Flora Kaplan, the institutional birth of national museums in the West is due to “the mix of early medieval mercantile capitalism and fifteenth-century European global expansion,” but “rooted in the humanism of the Italian Renaissance” (Kaplan 2011, 152). For the art historian Jeffrey Abt, the evolution of the institution is a result of “chance confluences of individual interests and ever-widening social demands” (Abt 2011, 132).

Kaplan argues that the “twenty-first century promises to challenge the identities that came to be assigned and defined by [...] [the nations and museums of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries] as ideas and places, both imagined and experienced physically” (Kaplan 2011, 152). She believes that the twenty-first century museums might become places with more, rather than less controversy, in line “with the fracturing of national identities and contention within nations” (Kaplan 2011, 167). The resulting cultural differences and multiple identities present the challenge for museums when deciding on “subject matter, content and interpretation, [...] beyond the internal question of ‘who is the audience?’” (Kaplan 2011, 168), leaving open the question of future role of museums.

4.2 Fluidity of Heritage and Museum Narratives

The edited volume *Heritage, Ideology and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe: Contested Pasts, Contested Presents* (Rampley 2012) draws some parallels, but also highlights key differences, between countries in Western Europe and those in Central and Eastern Europe with regard to the development of the heritage discourse, and, by extension, the development of museums. The author Mathew Rampley believes that, since the nineteenth century, the British heritage discourse and politics was marked by sentimentalism and a celebration of the Imperial past, transitioning to the twentieth-century heritage as an industry in its own right. This led to a proliferation of museums and heritage centres in the latter part of the twentieth-century. In his view, the British heritage policies were mainly responding and adapting to the changing nature of tourism, education and the dominance of “a commodity culture,” implying that identity as a national characteristic was obscured by the bias of modern consumerism.

Many smaller Nordic nations or countries like Ireland, Scotland or Northern Ireland, which are presently, or have been in the past, a part of a larger political structure, might use cultural heritage to assert the uniqueness, tradition, or specificity, in order to distinguish one nation from another, the smaller culture from the larger one, the weaker from the dominant. Heritage may become an active canvass to address issues that are contested and controversial, allowing new interpretation and creation of new narratives which may better serve present needs.

Northern Irish art historian Elisabeth Crooke observed the trend “away from museum debate and government policy, [where] rural and urban groups are coming

together to explore their history and heritage and forming their own exhibitions and collections” (Crooke 2011, 170). She deemed that some such initiatives address social exclusion and other forms of community breakdown (Crooke 2011, 181), otherwise unresolved by the institutions of the system. The prospects of the United Kingdom’s departure from the European Union, and the fact that the Northern Irish Assembly hasn’t resumed its function at the time of writing, gravely undermine these positive developments.

According to the Danish author Mette Bligaard (2000, 287-298), the traditional monopoly of heritage by the elite, for example, the military, royalty or aristocracy, has gradually been revised to include a broader scope, representative of the present-day culture and different groups in society in museum commemorations, reflecting the wider social and economic changes:

The story of 19th century museology is a tale of how attempts were made to construct historical totalities. On the contrary, the 20th century saw the expansion of the concept of heritage in time and space within the context of museum policy and practice. New museums covering every aspect of human endeavour appear at regular intervals. It is no longer just a question of safeguarding the relics of the past. In anticipation of the future, evidence of present day culture and of contemporary life has found its way into museums (Bligaard 2000, 293-4).

Multiculturalism and the reality of contemporary life marked by mobility of population in Europe and elsewhere challenge the presentation and interpretation of heritage. What used to be a preservation of and protection from “otherness” as dictated by an external influence, has become more and more an internal condition, requiring a redefinition of what and whose heritage is being commemorated and preserved. Bligaard asserts that there is a need to broaden the concept of heritage, beyond its narrow representation of national identity, as hardly any nation today can

claim ethnic homogeneity and nationhood is made up of numerous interacting forces. In fact, in the case of the Danish National Museum, such broader principles have already been reflected in the key policy objectives:

1. To contribute to a knowledge and understanding of and respect for the diversity of cultures across national boundaries;
2. To contribute to an understanding of how peculiarly Danish culture, history and identity are created in the historical context of constant exchange with other countries and peoples;
3. To contribute to an interpretation of Danish nationality [...] [which] can also accommodate new population groups, and form part of their identity (Bligaard 2000, 294-5).

The focus on diversity comes first in this policy, followed by the peculiarity of indigenous culture, framed between the recognition of interchange and accommodation of others. Such a starting position is based on *inclusiveness* and provides a clear template for decision-making in researching, selecting and curating of commemorative themes, forms and practices, with a built-in scope for complexity of approach by museum operatives.

The inclusiveness can be problematic when institutionalised places of memory and museums are devoted to a singular narrative, representative of a single group, a community or a nation. The *singularity of narrative* serves the purpose of enforcing a meaning and an identity of a group, selecting and conveying signs and messages that attract and preserve interest, empathy and support, which speaks either of that group or only to such a group. While this might be useful to a particular group for a period of time, the frozen narrative might also diminish in relevance, and without a reflective revision, it might no longer serve a rapidly developing modern pluralistic society. Frozen narratives often become contested, as this author has argued while examining the Museum “Sarajevo 1878-1918” elsewhere (Harrington

2013, 7-14), or become redundant, as may be the case with former Yugoslav revolutionary narratives.

The Scottish authors McLean and Cooke (2000, 147-159) argue that the places of a singular memory can be transformed into “[the] sites of discursive formation, a space where the ‘legends and landscapes’ of the nation are presented and re-presented and where identities are made and re-made.” This proposition is based on the example of the New Museum of Scotland which is currently showcasing the heritage of the “stateless nation” in a political union with others, in which the current narrative in a state of flux might long remain a “source of debate and contention” (Fig. 4.1).



Fig. 4.1 New Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, by Benson & Forsyth Architects (© Selma Harrington, 2017).

Rampley (2012) suggests that heritage is appropriated differently in Central and Eastern Europe, depending on the path to nationhood taken by each country, given the region's history of foreign rule. Similar to Kaplan (2011), he recognizes the complexity of identity formation in countries with a colonial past, as it involved both struggle with and rejection of foreign dominance and a complex social and ethno-national realignment, which impacted the sense of ownership of symbols and ritualistic representations of identity. The changes of political rule and power, often abrupt, equally resulted in a sudden and revolutionary change of symbols and memory constructs, forcing changes of meaning, status and attitudes toward cultural heritage and its preservation.

4.3 National, Public or History of Other?

The term *public history* emerged some thirty-five years ago in the U.S. among professional historians and history educators, as “a movement, methodology, and approach that promotes the collaborative study and practice of history; its practitioners embrace a mission to make their special insights accessible and useful to the public” (Weible 2008, 1). Given such broad meaning, it seems appropriate to apply the term to the narrative developments in contemporary history museums which increasingly transcend the narrow definitions of national.

Museum professionals already operate in a climate of fluidity which has necessitated more frequent reviews and reflections on the details of museum exhibitions and their messages. The trend of democratising and decentralising the museums is broadening the scope and questioning of what “national” can mean,

necessitating evolution of an institution and a potential redefinition of what a museum is, in line with diversification of its audience: museum public.

The shift of the debate from *What is the Museum about* to *Who is the Museum for*, brings to the fore the concepts of *public engagement* and *public participation*. Museum specialist Graham Black (2012) explains the transformation of museums by *externalisation* of purpose and by self-initiated *collaborative engagement* with users. His colloquialisms: *nationals* and *rock stars of the tourist world* might signify a distinction between public or social history museums, which are usually national museums in public ownership, and brand museums (and their architecture) which might have a varied thematic orientation. But who is *public*?

The sixth wave of European Union enlargements, between 2004 and 2013 (EU Enlargement Fact Sheet n. d.) have incorporated countries whose cultures and practices were unknown and obscured, some of which were often simplistically labelled as Communist, due to the political, economic and societal differences constructed in the Cold War period. The accent on mobility, as a guiding principle of the European Union integration, has enabled the exchange in the academic and educational fields and professional networking, gradually narrowing the knowledge gap between “old” and “new” Europe. However, such exchange is a complex and long-term process, and often disadvantageous to the newer EU member states, which includes countries in the Balkan fringe, with experience of multiple transformations and conflict. Their real and imagined sense of lagging behind can be complicated by various forms of *Othering*, a term borrowed from nationalism and international studies, which “highlights and reinforces similarities among a national collective’s members by emphasizing the Other’s distinctiveness” (Vezovnik and Šarić 2015,

237). For example, a form of Othering could be detected in the interpretations of post-Yugoslav cultural space which emerged during Yugoslavia's disintegration (Vezovnik and Šarić 2015, 238), constructed around the dichotomies of “rational versus irrational, centre versus periphery, and civilisation versus barbarism,” as was discussed in Chapter Two (Vezovnik and Šarić 2015, 238).⁹⁶

4.4 Museum Architecture and Place-making

The oldest museums from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries emerged in large European urban centres and imperial capitals where architecture was usually articulated in a *historicism* style. With a strong belief in the European cultural ascendancy from ancient Greece, these museums were conceived as “home[s] to the muses and [...] shrine[s] to Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory,” set to convey a message about the values and culture of their founders (Saumarez Smith 1995, 243).

For example, the British Museum building from the 1820s, “effectively conveyed the message of an organization of knowledge and its subordination to a universal system of classification, [...] essentially an Enlightenment ideal” (Saumarez Smith 1995, 243). The orderly rhythm of the Ionic columns on its entrance portico directly point to the classical antiquity forms and the role of museum as a “temple of learning [...] [with] the authority of scholarship and admiration for a canonical tradition” (Saumarez Smith 1995, 244). The treatment of

⁹⁶ See also: Dušan I. Bijelić, “Introduction: Blowing Up the ‘Bridge’”, in Dušan I. Bijelić and Obad Savić, eds. *Balkan as metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation* (Cambridge, Mass. 2002, 1-22).

the Museum's interior "as a sequence of large, essentially neutral, public halls [...] [has been] planned to be the same in style and decoration irrespective of the object type they were intended to contain." There was "little sense of individual personality" of the architect in the design of the building, and the architecture, designed by Robert Smirke, was subordinate to the universality of the specific type without regard to the locality or any specific circumstance (Saumarez Smith 1995, 244)

The art historian Michaela Giebelhausen (2011, 223) reviews the history of museum architecture probing into the notion of museum as an instrument to "embody [...] permanence." She challenges Sir Nicolaus Pevsner's claim that no new museum building types had emerged since World War II and revisits his classification which "oscillate[s] between two paradigms: [museum as] monument and instrument."

Turning to modern museum architecture, Giebelhausen traces the departures, fragmentations, and recurrence of the concept of "neutrality" and a modernist "white cube" which came to symbolise museum architecture of the early twentieth-century. Initially conceived as a mode to achieve flexibility of space, this idealised form was transformed into "the notion of the museum as time's arrow," and elaborated by Le Corbusier in his design for the Museum of Unlimited Growth in 1939 (Giebelhausen 2011, 232). The design combined the square and spiral shape to create the building form which could be seamlessly extended in the future following that form. Le Corbusier revisited the same idea in the Museum of the Knowledge proposed for the Ahmedabad Cultural Centre in India in 1951, in a scheme with characteristic *pilotis*

under an elevated cubical spiral volume folded around the central atrium from where the stairs leads to the main entrance on the first floor level.

Le Corbusier's interest in museums was strongly linked to his critique of the French Academy and what he saw as the fossilised relationship with the past, and he argued for a radical change of modes and methods of representation of heritage. Le Corbusier's concern with the dangers of "conflict between permanence and transience" (Arrhenius 2012, 112-137) was scrutinised by architecture historian Manfredo Tafuri (1976, 46-50), as it had a significant practical impact on strategies of urban development in contact with older heritage, in many parts of the world. Essentially, if rigidly applied, Le Corbusier's attitudes to large scale urbanization within older complexes, might have sacrificed the integrity of ensemble to the retention of only select monuments and new development.

While Le Corbusier's museum schemes were not realised, the exhibition space, Neue National Gallerie in Berlin by Mies van der Rohe, opened in 1968 on the western side of the then divided city. Lauded by some as a masterpiece, it was also criticised as indifferent to functional need. Professor Detlef Mertins (2005, 61) described it as "the great glass hall under the levitated grid, a space that was colossal in scale, dwarfing most paintings and sculpture; that was almost entirely open, without walls for mounting art; and that was enclosed completely in glass, letting light and views stream in unless the curtains were drawn." He critiqued the building design as adopted from previous unsuccessful commissions, conceived for a different climate and context, which exposed "Mies's quest for a universal space overriding difference for the sake of sameness and control" (Mertins 2005 , 61).

The terror of sameness, control and neutrality, is probably the reason why the architecture synonymous with the International Style, was gradually abandoned in the West (and elsewhere) after World War II. The rebellion against “neutrality” spread to other art forms, rejecting the aestheticized and depoliticised vision of the art. Giebelhausen (2011, 234) claims that “in the modernist aesthetic, architecture played a subservient and allegedly ‘neutral’ role.”

In contrast, the design for the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York (1959) by Frank Lloyd Wright represented a departure from ascetic forms, and “modulate[d] [...] [the] museum’s architecture [...] into a dynamic form [...] [in which] museum space is reconceptualised as sculpture” (Giebelhausen 2011, 234). This moment, according to Giebelhausen, marked the rise of the concept of “signature building” designed by an international “star-architect,” whereby location, building design and museum fuse into the trademark or brand, stepping into the concept of identity of a place from an increasingly commodifying position.

Giebelhausen (2011, 235) claims that the 1980s brought about a “self-conscious and playful meditation on the building type,” as in Aldo Rossi's unbuilt Museum of German History. Similarly, in the 1990s, Alessandro Mendini with Coop Himmelb(l)au and Phillip Starck designed the Groninger Museum in the Netherlands as a series of structures, each with a personalised architectural stamp rather than a unifying cultural interpretation of the brief.

Whether built as completely new or in combination with the existing historic museums, the twentieth-century museum architecture had often a significant impact on each location, generating a sense of pride, civic duty, sense of belonging and a desire for an active projection of a certain image to the outer world. New museum

buildings, designed by renowned architects began to play an important role in attracting visitors and shaping an identity of a locality, or in architectural parlance, in *place-making*.

For example, *creating places* (Scottish Government 2013) and *place-making* are terms that have entered the government policy documents in Scotland, as well as in the Republic of Ireland. In the Irish case, achieving the quality of built environment is predicated on the “overall process of sustainable place-making, [where] the boundaries, insights and perspectives of various disciplines necessarily and frequently overlap” (Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government 2009, 14).⁹⁷ The need for a cross-over between various disciplines is emphasised, which includes engineering, planning, architecture and related disciplines. A link is made between cultural heritage and social engagement, which brings in the necessary scope for consultation, participation and decision-making.

New museums and cultural quarters are often associated with initiatives by city majors and local authorities, as channels for political and economic ambitions in anticipation that the general public and tourists would be attracted to the spaces designed by some of the world-renowned architectural practices. The museums and their architecture thus often serve as a pivotal part of urban regeneration and reinvention strategy, conveying a message that a city is open for business, tourism and cultural entertainment. One such example, associated with the European Capital of Culture initiative, is the Museum of Civilisations from Europe and Mediterranean (MuCEM), which opened in Marseille in 2013 (**Fig.4.2**). MuCEM complex was designed by architect Rudy Ricciotti in association with architect Roland Carta, and

⁹⁷ The name of the Department has since changed to: Culture, Heritage and Gaeltacht.

connects the seventeenth century Fort Saint-Jean with the new black exhibition cube, clad with a latticework shell made of fibre-reinforced concrete. This is the first national museum of France outside of Paris, whose exhibitions and collections aim to address the cultural encounters, including colonisation and conflict, described by its director as “deep ties and intense exchange” (Delabroy 2013).



Fig.4.2 MuCEM-Museum of Civilisations from Europe and Mediterranean, Marseille, by Rudy Ricciotti with Roland Carta architects (© Selma Harrington, 2012).

In contrast, the latest new museum Louvre Abu Dhabi, in the affluent region of the United Arab Emirates is the latest prominent example of an internationalisation trend, led by the established national museum acting as a global brand. The beautiful new complex of buildings, described as art and civilisation museum, is designed by the French architect Jean Nouvel, and displays the use of the latest climate control strategies and structural elements that make visual references to the Arab vernacular forms. The museum’s website promotes it as a “pioneering cultural project [...] [that] combines the UAE’s bold vision of cultural progression and openness with France’s expertise in the world of art and museums,” describing its building as an “extraordinary architectural feat [...] [and] also a powerful symbol

of the nation's vision and achievements” (Louvre Abu Dhabi n.d.). Effectively, this reads both as a simultaneous superposition and endorsement of a local venture by an established cultural authority, a hybrid creation with a constructed and assumed identity based on synergy between the locality and the international museum brand.

New museum building briefs are relatively rare and cyclical but highly prestigious and prized among architecture practitioners. Such briefs are subject to a lengthy process of development and are most often procured via international architectural competitions. However, more often in the recent past, the new museum developments include renovations and partial reconstruction of derelict sites. One such example is Neues Museum in Berlin, which dates from the nineteenth century. The original building was severely damaged by bombing during World War II and was rebuilt in 2011, based on the winning international competition designs by David Chipperfield Architects with Julian Harrap (Etherington 2009). According to the architects, “the design focused on repairing and restoring the original volume, respecting the historical structure. Both the restoration and repair of the existing building is driven by the idea that the original structure should be emphasized in its spatial context and original materiality – the new reflects the lost without imitating it” (archdaily 2011).

Situated on Berlin’s Museum Island, the building was awarded a prestigious European Union Mies van der Rohe Award in 2011. The success of the architectural intervention here has to be understood through the complexity of the brief and the museum institution which had been associated with a difficult past and Nazi identity, and where the design decisions needed to be carefully balanced between the quality

and condition of the original architecture and the creation of new visual and spatial measures that would convey new meanings and form new symbolisms.

Another recent new museum, the House of European History in Brussels, is located in a mature park near the European institutions. Its collections are displayed in an historic building which was significantly renovated and extended, now comprising six floors. The Museum's permanent exhibition is an ambitious interactive presentation of an evolving and inclusive European narrative, developed through key themes: Accolades and Criticism, Shattering Certainties, Rebuilding a Divided Continent, Europe: A Global Power, Europe in Ruins and Shaping Europe. The Museum's Pocket guide explains the intention of curators "not [to] tell [...] the story of each European nation [...] [but] [i]nstead [...] to explore how history has shaped a sense of European memory and continues to influence our lives today and in the future" (House of European History 2017). In other words, the exhibitions consist of a multiple of open ended narratives shaped around common occurrences, rather than around national meta-narratives, hinting to the possibility and probability of omissions and exclusions and the interpretations from different perspectives.

4.5 Museums from Borderlands and Work with the International Focus Group (IFG)

Modelled on the classical museums in major European (former imperial) capitals, similar institutions were founded and built in the regional centres, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since foundation, these institutions had to adapt to multiple societal changes, caused by modernisation and its implications on industry

and economy. Two world wars caused major political and administrative restructuring, marked by migrations and population mobility, and changes in lifestyle, technology and communication.

In order to investigate current museum and heritage practices, two seminars were organized, one in Glasgow and the other in Dublin in 2017, with a group of international participants acting as an International Focus Group (IFG), composed of architects, curators, heritage and museum professionals from public and private sectors, academia and an EU professional network.⁹⁸ The third event was held in Sarajevo in June 2018, in the format of a Colloquium and lecture with a Local Focus Group (LFG) and experts from architecture, art history, museum practice and heritage disciplines.⁹⁹

As elaborated in Chapter One, the precedent cases were identified in Dublin, Belfast, Edinburgh, Zagreb and Sarajevo. Overall, the IFG was representative of eight institutions and five countries: the UK (Scotland and Northern Ireland), Republic of Ireland, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Belgium (also representing Sweden).¹⁰⁰

The IFG participants were firstly asked to respond to a baseline questionnaire with key questions relevant to the contemporary role of museums (Macdonald 2011). Secondly, they were asked to share their specific institutional experiences in management, care and use of public museums and built heritage and in the academic

⁹⁸ The International Focus Group met twice: first in Glasgow (May 2017), and then in Dublin (October 2017) under the initiative Engage with Strathclyde and co-organized by the Author, with the University of Strathclyde in Scotland and the Office of Public Works in Ireland.

⁹⁹ Co-organized by the Author, supported by the University of Strathclyde, the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the regional office of Cultural Heritage without Borders (CHWBiH).

¹⁰⁰ One of the participants was from the Architects Council of Europe (ACE), which is registered in Belgium. Through participation of the ACE Project Officer, the Maritime Museum in Malmö (Sweden) was included as a case study in the work with IFG.

research on related subjects (**See Appendix IV**). The key questions and discussions evolved around the ethos of the contemporary museum, policy concerning museums and public architecture, built environment, education, mission and research. Each participant addressed a selected key question, supplemented with relevant information about their own institution and expertise.

The presentations and recorded round table discussions provided material for the Executive Summary report (Dimitrijević and Harrington 2017), circulated internally as a working document. The preliminary findings were captured in several key words: democratisation and decentralisation of museum; blending with other functions; and assuming a performative role. Without explicitly elaborating on the notion of *national*, it was implied that this can assume a broader or more flexible meaning, which could potentially embrace shared and contested narratives. On the subject of architectural procurement and building maintenance, there were different cases and experiences of master-planning, visions and life-cycle approaches, with varied challenges to secure funding. Most of the participants agreed that the term *coping museum* is an accurate expression of the current practice and status. It was felt that there was a challenge to quantify cultural vs. technical value of the museum.

The key baseline findings from the first seminar held in Glasgow in May 2017 are summarised as follows (Dimitrijević and Harrington 2017):

Q1. Why museum matters /ETHOS:

Whilst there may not be a consensus on what *national* means and to whom, it is broadly accepted that the presence and symbolism of museums/museum buildings plays a significant role in expressing, representing and challenging identity as well

as contributing to a “sense of place” and “place making.” However, the reading of such sense of place is a matter of specific context and historic period. Projects of renovations and change of use of historic buildings, as shown in the Irish examples demonstrate the conscious effort to bring out symbolism of place and history to the external facades and street walls, reaching out to the passers-by through artistic images and literary references. In contrast, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, the architecture and the continued use of museums which symbolised a specific social project, is often in a state of neglect, and its institutional status problematic.

The attitudes towards collections and exhibitions are fluid and suggest that the museums offer a space for reinterpretation and different viewing of the (past) collections, and that the narratives are evolving in most represented countries. Departing from the older academic/scientific orientation, the engagement with the public is becoming more and more significant for the museums, as demonstrated by the Scottish and Northern Ireland examples.

Q2. Museum and Public Architecture /POLICY:

The reuse and new use of public buildings for museums is a common practice, but it often takes a very long time to reach a consensus or avail of funding for building and for exhibitions. This is frequently linked to politically sensitive narratives and historic periods which tend to be kept unspoken, with consequence to both maintenance of the building stock and creation of a space for display and interpretation of these narratives. Such experience is common to Ireland, Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Herzegovina, albeit in different times and historical context. Examples of citizens’ action show that they can play a significant role in engaging

public authorities in caring for public buildings. Lack of funding may not be a complete deterrent to creative use of museum space and exhibitions, as suggested by the Northern Ireland, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Ireland examples. Innovative forms and use of other media and art forms (theatre, film, music, and digital media) provide good results in generating public engagement and require often less funds than longer-term or permanent exhibitions.

The Scottish experience shows a range of examples, from vernacular buildings which are turned successfully into museums of significance for their respective communities, to iconic buildings like the New Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh.

The example of Bosnia and Herzegovina demonstrates the resourceful use of internal space and status of the building as a powerful example of a coping museum. The Museum building is also a symbolic exhibit illustrating societal neglect and disassociation from its original brief and mission.

Q3. Architecture and space organization/ENVIRONMENT:

The Scottish examples show how museum content contributes to the rejuvenation of whole villages. The museum brief development¹⁰¹ is an important phase, which needs a complex team expertise, including architect, whose coordination capacity is vital in a museum development team. The brief needs to be part of a master-planning, allowing for flexibility and future maintenance programme, with an architectural component included from the start.

The Irish example demonstrated the public control of the architectural process orchestrated through a designated public institution with in-house architectural services, such as The Office of Public Works (OPW). The OPW facilitates the application of a holistic approach to reuse of buildings, even though it might take a long time to complete the project. In such approach, a building is seen as a response (to a brief) and not a statement (of architect's or director's ambition). The architect-led design and decision making process within the public procurement process can be advantageous. It can deliver informed and optimal solutions and use of often preferred "critical reconstruction and restoration" vs. orthodox, "total reconstruction and conservation." Such architect-led processes also assume the ability to handle the complex elements of the brief. These range from the intangible elements of significance and identity narratives linked to the architecture, to the practical design and technical choices and decisions on the use of new (and re-use of existing) materials and elements.

The National Museum of Ireland has migrated to different buildings in time since its foundation. This had impact on the content and method of curatorship, whilst the new extension of the Collins Barracks Museum building shows careful architectural crafting of modern elements and upgrading of the existing building with a focus on the visitor's experience (**Fig. 4.3**).



Fig.4.3 Gillroy McMahon Architects-Interventions to Collins Barracks/ National Museum of Ireland (© Selma Harrington, 2017).

The Ulster museum extension in Northern Ireland shows an amalgamation of old and new in architecture, where “brutalism” meets “neoclassicism,” offering a symbolic reading of the architectural form as heavy and a consequent association with the mood of the time and/or location. It is also noted that this example highlights the dominance of marketing expertise in brief formulation and a lack of foresight about the sustainability at the time when the building was extended.

Similarly, the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, architecturally an iconic building in its original form, would not meet the current criteria for building performance, which have also significantly changed in the last few decades. Coupled with the deterioration of the building fabric, the building does not provide adequate internal comfort for staff and public, especially in the winter season.

Q4. The Role of museum in education and learning/EDUCATION:

Public outreach, visitor surveys and participation are becoming more prominent in the museum activity planning; citizens’ actions and public canvassing play a significant part in promoting the role of museums, as demonstrated by all participants. However, such actions can delay building interventions, as was shown

in the Irish example linked to the 1916 Commemorations and a series of historic buildings in Moore Street, Dublin.

The Ulster Museum exhibitions and investigation into “The Troubles”¹⁰² attempt to provide a safe space for examination of contested narratives, inviting the public to learn on their own, even though some visitors’ feedbacks can query the exhibitions which “take no stand” in displaying the complex past. There are definite similarities between the Ulster Museum and the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, both in the contextual parallels of their narratives, as well as in the approach to public outreach.

The observation related to the National Museum of Ireland suggests that “overthought,” expensive and complicated exhibitions are not necessarily seen as educational or a successful way of communicating clearly with the public. It has been repeatedly suggested that “more can be achieved with less,” in other words, that a well-thought-out and well-designed exhibition can be mounted at a relatively low cost.

With regard to museums as “places of learning,” the ways of assuring the quality of learning and measure of the learning outcomes were mentioned, but not discussed at length.

Q5. Transformations, changing sensibilities and the future of museums / TRENDS:

There is a trend of democratising and decentralising the museums and broadening of the scope and/or meaning of what “national” means. The curatorship in Ireland

¹⁰² “The Troubles” is the term commonly used on the island of Ireland to describe the turbulent period of civil unrest, ethno-nationalist conflict and violence in Northern Ireland between the late 1960s and the signing of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement, 10 April 1998.

underwent a transition from initially being led by traditional male-dominated academia (1980s), to an educationalist mode, and finally, overtaken by marketing-led museum programming (1990s). The current curatorship is driven by expertise from cultural and museum studies. It has been suggested that “context is everything,” which shifts the curators’ focus from displaying the objects, towards creation of innovative narratives and exhibition concepts.

All of the participating institutions contextualised their current programmes within various commemorative exhibitions on World War I, which targeted both international and national audiences (National Museum of Ireland 2015). Co-organized with the Council of Europe and led by the British Council,¹⁰³ the exhibition “World War I and Bosnia and Herzegovina” (Hašimbegović 2015) involved inter-entity cooperation between National and University Library of Republika Srpska in Banja Luka and the History Museum in Sarajevo, a significant fact in the local context of complex inter-entity relations (**Fig.4.4**). The exhibition coincided with war of words in local media related to the Sarajevo Assassination narrative during the Centenary commemorations (Harrington 2016). It also revealed a previously unknown archival material and artefacts, such as the bronze Pieta sculpture, a fragment removed from the original Monument to Murder in 1917 (Hašimbegović 2015, 155).

¹⁰³ The Exhibition was part of the project *Connecting Creatively* presented by the British Council “aimed specifically at reinventing the practice of museums and galleries, including the advancement of their collaboration with schools.”



Fig.4.4 Poster for the exhibition “World War I and Bosnia and Herzegovina at National and University Library of the Republika Srpska; Photo taken in the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo (© Selma Harrington, June 2014).

The museums from Belfast and Sarajevo highlighted the programming of the exhibitions for specialised audiences and events, to address contemporary equality

and minority issues for LGBT and Roma communities, and others. A general trend that emerges is blending of other functions with the traditional museum, as a way to increase public engagement. This is embedded in the policy goals and was also illustrated in many Scottish examples (Museums Galleries Scotland - MGS 2015). There was a consensus that a future role and shape of museums will be defined by the changing social functions which build on the cultural and educational interests of the public (Dimitrijević and Harrington 2017).

4.6 Bosnia and Herzegovina: Early Museum Practice (1878-1918)

The European-style museum practice and institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina developed shortly after the Habsburg occupation in 1878, when the country was placed under direct rule by the Joint Finance Ministry in imperial Vienna for forty years, until the end of World War I in 1918. The first museum in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the *National Museum/Zemaljski muzej/Landesmuseum*¹⁰⁴ in Sarajevo, founded in 1888. Its mission was to record, collect and preserve the heritage of the Province, carried out with close supervision by Joint Finance Minister Benjamin von Kallay. This implied that the Museum followed the Austro-Hungarian practices and attitudes to cultural heritage, which during the nineteenth century acquired almost a cult status (Arrhenius 2012), both in the Habsburg Empire and in Germany. At that time, the principles of recording and documenting were developed and the groundwork was prepared for theories of restoration, conservation and

preservation that had huge influence on the foundation of modern heritage practices (Rampley 2012).

However, the approaches differed between the two countries, as a result of a different composition of their territories and population. The official German policy was formulated to secure the integrity of German national heritage within its national territory, and therefore the institutions associated with national heritage had a mission to shape the national identity. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which in addition to the two named nations, encompassed a number of other territories inhabited by mainly Slavic populations, had to adopt a more complex approach.

The Austro-Hungarian heritage policy was significantly shaped in Vienna by the Inspector General for Monument Protection of Austria-Hungary, Professor Alois Riegl (Arrhenius 2012, 92-111). Riegl is credited for a significant contribution to the development of modern art history and theory (Reynolds Cordileone 2014) and the preservation of monuments. According to Rampley (2012, 2-3), Riegl was aware of “the multi-valent nature of architectural monuments [in the Monarchy] [...] [in which] there were only a few cases where a single group—or ethnicity—could lay sole claim to being the heirs of a particular site or structure.” This implies, at least at expert level, an element of sensitivity and openness when dealing with the heritage of subjected communities, the extent of which deserves further examination. Even though this is not explicitly followed through in the Thesis, it is reasonable to state that Riegl’s attitude to heritage may have at least indirectly influenced the cultural policy of the Monarchy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as examined in Chapter Three.

The Bosnian museum curator Krunoslava Topolovac (1982, 9), reflected on the *National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina/Zemaljski muzej*, some hundred

years later, with a Marxist post-colonial *tone of voice*. She highlighted the significance of the foundation of the Museum Society in Sarajevo in 1884, as the first initiative for organized care of cultural heritage and gathering materials for the museum collections.¹⁰⁵ In Topolovac's (1982, 9) view, the Austro-Hungarian authorities had an interest in local traditions as a means to exploit the natural wealth of Bosnia and Herzegovina. While they supported the initiative, the foundation of the Museum was initially steered towards an arts and crafts profile, due to the particular interest by the Joint Finance Minister von Kallay. By 1888, when the Museum was formally opened and declared a state institution, its conceptual structure reflected what was preferred by the locals (Topolovac 1982, 9). Consequently, the Museum comprised Departments of Archaeology (Prehistory and Antiquity), Natural Sciences and Ethnography. When it moved to the purpose-built premises in 1913, it was equipped with a Library, appropriate staff offices, conservation workshops and storage space.

The location for the new Museum building was identified at the western edge of Sarajevo, in the vicinity of the Military Barracks (**Fig.4.5**). Based on the design by Czech-born architect Karel Pařík, the new Museum complex included four pavilion-type buildings, arranged around an interior botanical garden, Pařík, who was employed in the Building Department of the Provincial Government (*Zemaljska vlada*), designed the Museum in "a late Historicist" style, in keeping with the Central

¹⁰⁵ The Museum Society in Sarajevo comprised 500 members of local intelligentsia, among them were Muslims, Croats, Jews and Serbs, and voluntary contributions by the Society and local citizens were instrumental in providing initial finance and space, for expert staff recruitment, and for the preparation of first collections (Topolovac 1982, 9). At the same time, in Croatia, which was also part of the Empire, on the initiative of the local Arts Society led by Isidor Kršnjavi, a similar museum was founded in 1880 in Zagreb, as *Museum for Arts and Crafts/Muzej za umjetnost i obrt*, with an adjoining school, (Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža n.d.).

European museum traditions, which were extensively studied while preparing a brief for Sarajevo's complex (Dimitrijević 1991). This was considered a style appropriate to the urban visions and status of the city as a provincial capital in the Empire.



Fig.4.5 National Museum /Zemaljski muzej, Sarajevo (© Selma Harrington, 23.10.2015).

There is some debate about the status of the museum, given its original name *Landesmuseum*, which might literally be translated from German as *museum of the land*: Muzej zemlje-Zemaljski muzej, where land refers to a defined sovereign territory. The American historian Robert Donia considered the Museum's status as Provincial (Donia 2007, 6) or Regional (Donia 2004, 4), while here the *National* is used in the spirit of its state significance and outreach.¹⁰⁶ This is not a matter of semantics, as the question of status serves the contemporary domestic politics, with

¹⁰⁶ This positioning of the Museum in Sarajevo is also in line with its inclusion and description in the EU funded project EuNaMus, European National Museum: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen (Lozić 2011).

repercussions to the state funding of cultural institutions, as will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Four years after the *National Museum* moved to its new premises, World War I broke out, followed by the demise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Museum continued with its public function while under the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and through World War II, then under the Yugoslav federal socialist state, and through to the 1990s war, to date. In recent years, the Museum was closed on and off due to a lack of funding, and reopened in 2015 following a public campaign (Kujundžić 2012). Like the other six institutions associated with the socialist period, the national Museum has been in a legal and financial limbo since the 1990s war, receiving only partial and limited government support, as will be explained in Chapter Seven.

During the contemporary campaigns to resolve the funding of national institutions in Bosnia, Austrian art historian Maximilian Hartmuth (2012) attempted to build a case for preservation of the Museum by focusing on its architecture as evidence of its stature (and status). In his view, the institutional significance of the *National Museum* and its purpose-built structure, was a “most ambitious example of early museum architecture in a vast region between Budapest and Athens, Vienna and Istanbul,” and has been extraordinarily overlooked (Hartmuth 2012, 194).

The revisions of local views of the Austro-Hungarian period show signs of Austrophilia,¹⁰⁷ in contrast to various forms of disenchantment expressed in socialist Bosnia. However, Yugoslav and Bosnian historians (Kruševac 1960; Juzbašić 2002; Kamberović 2013) consistently stress the colonial nature of economic and social exploitation during the Habsburg rule, in contrast to what the imperial power might

¹⁰⁷ Ruthner (2018) cites an allegedly frequent saying in Bosnia after the collapse of Austria-Hungary: “Ode Švabo, ode babo! /With German gone, the Father has gone!”

have seen as the “civilising mission.” That is corroborated by Donia’s insight into the patronising element of Habsburg officials who “saw themselves as missionaries of a cultural revival [...] [designed to] [...] end the backwardness and particularism [...] that bedevilled Bosnia’s peoples” (Donia 2007, 1). However, he believes that the *National Museum* epitomises the Habsburgs legacy, which left Bosnia a significant cultural centre for preservation, research and learning with “combined [...] functions of archive, library, museum, scientific institute and archaeological research” (Donia 2007, 6).

The original permanent exhibition in the Ethnography Department of the National Museum shows the domestic life of an affluent urban Muslim family in a replicated interior décor from a Sarajevo merchant house, as a glimpse into the distant Ottoman past. Together with the replica of a traditional courtroom setting with mannequins in period costumes, it all evokes the bygone lifestyle, power and prestige of the Bosnian elite. The exoticism of Ottoman Bosnia imbued in these largely unchanged displays as cultivated during the Habsburgs’ rule, triggered a new interest for reading of this European “Little Orient” (Ruthner 2018) by many Austrian and international scholars, as discussed in Chapter Three.

4.7 Yugoslav Museums of Revolution (1945-1990)

In 1963, a new modern purpose-designed building was completed on the western flank of the National Museum, across from the Military Barracks, in stark formal contrast with its older neighbour, and hearkening back to Le Corbusier’s and Mies van der Rohe’s work (**Fig.4.6**). It provided a permanent home to the Museum of

Revolution in Sarajevo, which is further examined in Chapter Five. The Museum was founded in 1945, with the task to collect, document and commemorate the country's anti-fascist and national liberation struggles during World War II (Leka 2010), as the second of a series of similar institutions in other republics of socialist Yugoslavia. In 1993, it was renamed as the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is discussed in Chapter Seven.



Fig.4.6 Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo in 1960s (today the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina) (Digital record of the photograph, adapted by Selma Harrington, from personal archive of the late architect Edo Šmidih).¹⁰⁸

Museums of revolution were considered as a unique form of history museums (Ivanuša 1986, 26-29). While their general thematic focus was on the national-liberation struggle and partisan movement, their collections were conceived to highlight the local and regional (“grass-root”) participation in “building of a new society,” or as expressed in today’s terms, “construction of collective memory” (Hašimbegović 2017, 8).

¹⁰⁸ The Author interviewed the late architect Edo Šmidih at Architecture Faculty Zagreb on 23 June 2015.

With inclusion of the history of regional labour movement to the revolutionary narratives, the museums were aiming to contribute to the over-arching social Yugoslav foundational narrative. According to Croatian art historian Dolores Ivanuša (1986), the idea of forming such new institutions was already present during the national-liberation war and anti-fascist resistance, signifying confidence in the unique character of the revolutionary movement. Hence, the foundation of first such museums dates back to 1945 when the new Yugoslav state was formed, with the Museum of People's Revolution of Croatia, founded in October 1945 in Zagreb as the first of a kind (Ivanuša 1986, 29), and the Museum in Sarajevo, in November the same year, as the second. By the mid-1980s there was already a string of such institutions within each Yugoslav Republic, organized in regional networks of Revolutionary and Homeland Museums/*Zavičajni muzeji*.¹⁰⁹

The Yugoslav museums of revolution could be analysed from the perspective of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), as coined by Laurajane Smith (2006). However, American scholar Joel Palhegyi argues that the Revolutionary and Homeland museums “should not be considered solely a political endeavour” (Palhegyi 2018, 31), but also as cultural institutions with a role in education, scientific research, networking and local employment. Such museums were rooted in the “notion of a Yugoslav ‘third way’ of socialist practice” which “theorized practices to democratize museum spaces,” applying the “Marxist historical materialism as the main methodology for processing and presenting material culture” (Palhegyi 2018, 30-31). Palhegyi believes that they developed an engaged museology as a living practice and as an academic discipline, which “successfully

¹⁰⁹ Palhegyi (2018) suggests the term *Native Place Museum* as an English translation of *Zavičajni muzej*; My own preference is the *Homeland museum*.

traversed the ideological borders of the Cold War” (Palhegyi 2018, 32). This new research suggests that Yugoslav museums, as educational institutions, follow the broader transformations of East European museology after 1945, despite the fact that they seldom challenge or subvert the exhibited official narratives (Bádescu et al. 2018).

The level of centralisation of former Yugoslav cultural policies and the extent of pressure to forge a common identity through “Yugoslavism,” is a subject of contemporary debate which interrogates the present condition in the region (Lozić 2015, 308-329). For example, Lozić (2015, 313) challenges the somewhat simplistic assertion about “very little [cultural] cooperation” among the Yugoslav republics (Wachtel 1998, 148) and related claim of the fading Yugoslavism (as a cultural and identity-forming policy), since the 1960s.

The evidence to the contrary can be found in the proceeds of the Yugoslav/international scientific conferences and papers published in the *Zbornik radova* (Almanac) of the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo (1975-1984), which are discussed in Chapter Five. They illustrate an intersection of professional, cultural and political aspirations, enabled within a decentralised Yugoslav system of self-management, with a relative freedom at regional level from a top-down dictate. The interaction across Yugoslavia and with international museum experts, show the level of reflection on the current condition and role of science and profile of technical and scientific expertise, aiming to chart the future of museums of revolution, in an evolving society and market economy models.

For example, the Czechoslovakian museologist Zbyněk Z. Stránský,¹¹⁰ (1984, 9-32) observed the trends of divergence between scientific work and museum practices, in a manner which resonate with Habermas' preoccupation with the shared understanding and structural differentiation (of Lifeworld). Stránský is considered the “father of scientific museology” which is rooted in social science and he founded the School of museological thinking in Brno (Brulon Soares 2016), which aimed to connect museum practice to a specific theoretical system.

Stránský (1984, 10-15) was interested in a comparative analysis of the relationship and evolution of science in museum and museum practice, based on the study of the classical museum models. He explained the weakening of the initial closeness of science and practice in the later part the nineteenth century. As a result, in his view, the science about museum retreated to the domain of explicative, to the realm of discovery and laboratory, while the museum practice became descriptive and focused solely on the collection. Both had repercussions on the quality of interpretation and representation of the collections. Comparing research on this subject by other authors, Stránský credited the Yugoslav author Edib Hasanagić¹¹¹ and his study “Scientific and Professional Work in History Museums-Definition and relationship” (Hasanagić 1980, 79-90), as a contribution to the diversification of approaches to museum activities and “the elevation of museology, as part of the scientific work of the museums” (Stránský 1984, 16-17).

¹¹⁰ “Zbyněk Zbyslav Stránský (26 October 1926 - 21 January 2016), was a Czech museologist, considered as “father of scientific museology”. Between the years 1960 and 1970, he was responsible for one of the first attempts to structure a theoretical basis for museology, when directing the Department of Museology of the Moravian Museum, in Brno. With the support of the museum director, Jan Jelínek, he founded a School of museological thinking in Brno, aiming to connect museum practice to a specific theoretical system” (en.wikipedia.org 2019).

¹¹¹ Edib Hasanagić was a Yugoslav museologist and the first Director of the History Museum of Serbia in Belgrade (Matović 2013), founded in 1963.

4.8 Croatian Modernist Chameleon

Behind elegant and ordered volume at the centre of the elevated polygonal terrace which dominates The Square of Victims of Fascism in Zagreb,¹¹² the House of Croatian Artists beholds a fascinating story of architecture acting in service of the symbolic and real aspirations, values and politics of the society shaped by several radical changes (**Fig.4.7**). The history of the building and its adaptations are unique (**See Appendix V**). Originally designed as a House for the Society of Croatian Artists, it has undergone a series of repurposing interventions and modifications, which completed a full circle by bringing the building recently back to its original use.



Fig.4.7 House of Croatian Artists /former Museum of Revolution, Trg žrtava fašizma, Zagreb (©Selma Harrington, 14.06.2018).

Completed from 1934 to 1938, its architecture is aligned with the early period of modernism. It was conceived by the renowned sculptor Ivan Meštrović (1883-

¹¹² In Croatian original: Trg žrtava fašizma.

1962),¹¹³ and described as “a unique exhibition space in the world of its time” (Pavičić, 2008). Its circular pavilion embodies a “pluralism of styles (proto-rationalism, modern classicism, creative eclecticism),” synthesising diverse traditions, from antiquity, neoclassicism to modernism, while monumental and ascetic at the same time (Pavičić, 2008). Envisaged initially with an open central atrium, the central space was covered during construction with a reinforced concrete dome (19 m in diameter and 6 mm thick) in which several glazed prisms were inserted to allow daylight in the central interior space.

The first exhibition in the House of Fine Arts opened on 11 December 1938, showcasing the work of the Society of Artists on its sixtieth anniversary, with the title “Half a Century of Croatian Art.” For a short period after that, the Society took ownership of the property, which changed with the outbreak of World War II, the disintegration of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and emergence of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) (Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika n.d.), aligned with Nazi Germany. In 1941, the Head of Croatian Independent State/NDH Ante Pavelić decided to convert the House of Fine Arts into a mosque, courting the Bosnian Muslims when the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina was annexed to the NDH. The interior of the original building was adapted to perform Islamic religious ceremonies, based on the designs by architect Požgaj, while three minarets were to be added to the exterior, designed by architect Planić. With the addition of a new entrance

¹¹³ Meštrović studied in Split and Vienna, where he was influenced by the Secession movement. He was inspired by the national-romanticism and integration of epic folk elements in art, which he applied in his early works. He was a supporter of Yugoslavism and Yugoslav identity, which he actively promoted through the Yugoslav Committee formed towards the end of Austro-Hungarian rule in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Cf. Banac 1984, 204-205).

canopy, benches and circular water-fountain, the works were completed and the mosque officially opened on the 18 July 1944.

After the defeat of fascism in 1945 through the national liberation movement, Croatia was incorporated in the socialist Yugoslavia as one of its republics. In 1949, the Museum of National Liberation was moved into the building and the minarets were demolished. Two years later, based on designs by architect Vjenceslav Richter, two new galleries and a staircase were added to the central hall, but the new works on the central dome completely eliminated the egress of natural daylight. The formal opening with the permanent exhibition inaugurated the Museum of Revolution on 15 May 1955.

The paper “Revolutionary Curating, Curating the Revolution: Socialist Museology in Yugoslav Croatia,” by Joel Palhegyi (2018, 17-36) is an excellent study of the institution and the period, which dove-tails with research on similar institutions in other parts of former Yugoslavia (Harrington et al. 2018, 143-162). Palhegy (2018, 17) explains the process of “socialisation” of museums through object-based displays of contemporary history, as methods of “memorializing the founding myths” and legitimizing “the socialist state by exhibiting and narrating the local history and culture of the region within the larger trajectory of socialist Yugoslavism.” Accordingly, contemporary history was interpreted by Museum workers through the Marxist framework, which they understood as a vehicle to “narrate [...] the contemporary ‘building of socialism’ (*socijalistička izgradnja*) [...]; [...] as a means to eternalize the *Partisan* resistance [...] for a new generation of Yugoslav youth [...]; and [...] as a way to further connect with the general public” (Palhegyi 2018, 23-24).

He highlights the fact that “federal policy mattered a lot in the realm of economics and politics” but that policies concerning culture, education and science were “predominantly crafted at the republic level” in line with an increasing decentralisation (Palhegyi 2018, 18). While this allowed expertise to dominate in shaping the Croatian museology as practice and as academic discipline, there was an active exchange with other Yugoslav centres and contribution to the affirmation of the Yugoslav “founding myths.” The knowledge exchange was also preoccupied with visitor experience and innovative forms of advertising, chiefly developed by Antun Bauer, “one of the most influential figures in Yugoslav museology, and co-founder of the postgraduate programme for museology at the University of Zagreb (Palhegyi 2018, 20).

In the 1990s, there was already an anticipation of institutional transformation of the Museum of Revolution in Zagreb. According to Dubravka Čaldarović Peić (2008, 109), the revolutionary collections were seldom on display, which might imply a discomfort and a rejection of socialist Yugoslav heritage in the new Croatian identity formation, or even a discrete political interference. The new exhibitions were based on reinterpretation of the collections, by inclusion of previously missing narratives, such as the “liberal-civic movements and religious worldviews, civil war 1941-1945, Independent Croatian State (NDH), post-war state centralisation and social bureaucratisation...” (Peić 1990, 63). According to Ivanuš and Purčić (1990), the turn of attention to the collections of War Museum and the Archives of the NDH signified the liberalisation of Yugoslav society and its authorised narratives, demonstrating readiness to face the dark heritage of the past inter-ethnic (World War II) conflict, and to question identities. However, such themes also opened up the

potential for selective misappropriation and political manipulation, which helped fuel the new conflict in the processes of power-positioning and Yugoslav disintegration in the early 1990s.

The Museum of Revolution of the Croatian People was decommissioned as an independent institution when it merged with the History Museum of Croatia on 31 May 1991. According to Palhegyi (2017, 1059) most of the staff lost their jobs after the restitution of the building to its previous owners and when the collections were transferred to the new premises. At present, the revolutionary collections are inaccessible to the public. While the History Museum waits to relocate to a new historic building, earmarked for that purpose, the lack of adequate space and the fact that it operates in a number of other locations in Zagreb, are quoted as reasons for not exhibiting the original permanent collections (Croatian History Museum n.d.).

4.9 Northern Ireland: Curating the Heritage of Conflict in the Ulster Museum Belfast

The parallels between the *Balkans'* conflict and Northern Ireland have already been explored, with some renewed actuality in the current European political context, which points to the role of heritage and its use by the public and in public space, while coping with conflict. The traction has increased with the prospects of the UK exiting the EU and possible reinstatement of an international border in the island of Ireland, coupled with the paralysis in resuming the work of the power-sharing Northern Ireland Assembly.

In the book *Dissonant Heritage: The management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996, 219-221), have coined the term

dissonant heritage, referring to the power of the imagined past to hold people back. They discuss the three approaches towards conciliation: “an ‘inclusivist’ approach that seeks the incorporation of all perspectives into a ‘patchwork quilt’ of heritage; a ‘minimalist’ approach which seeks ‘to avoid dissonance by developing only those [...] themes which are common to all’; and a ‘localization’ approach” that promotes or provides implied (unspoken) acceptance of heritage messages (Hall 1997, 497).

Susan Macdonald (2009) is also preoccupied with the disruptive potential of heritage use, and argued for the need to first recognise the existence of “difficult heritage” in her book *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond*, as a step which was often omitted by the state-sponsored museums and memorials.

The book *The Past is a Foreign Country-Revisited*, by David Lowenthal (2015) delves into the situations when heritage is instrumentalised as a conflict between “us” and “them”, in order to understand at what stage it becomes contested due to inclusion or exclusion. Mullan (2018) traces back the evolution of conflicting heritage concepts to Paul Ricoeur (1995) and his plea for the “ethic responsibility to the past.” Based on work by Kearny (1996) and Hall (2008), who argued for inclusion of the marginalised [narratives] into the mainstream, Mullan reiterates the need for the “plurality of reading” and “openness to reinterpretation and reappraisal of the narratives of the past” (Mullan 2018, 35; cf. Kearney 1996).

In their book *Heritage after Conflict: Northern Ireland*, Elisabeth Croke and Tom Maguire (2018) investigate how heritage is negotiated in Northern Ireland after the signing of the Belfast/*Good Friday Agreement* in 1998. They observe the “insistent outworking of history in the present” (Croke and Maguire 2018, 2) and

the recurrent potency of imagined heritage “for making or contesting claims on territory and resources for [...] identity,” by the dominant identity blocs (Shirlow and McGovern 1997). They see the two-fold deployment of heritage, firstly as a continuation of conflict by other means, and secondly, as a medium for conflict resolution and transformation. Interrogating the practices of dealing with the spatial legacy of the conflict in Belfast city, Henriette Bertram (2018, 7) posits that “a systemic policy approach” is problematic not only between members of the former conflicting parties, “but also between those who need commemoration and preservation and those who pursue policies of normalisation.”

In the same edited volume, Paul Mullan (2018) explores concepts of *heritage as a product of modernity* and a response to uncertainty in a time of great challenge, and as a *process of selection and use of past for the present purpose*.¹¹⁴ The process of editing the past, based on appropriation by specific social groups, is manifested in making choices of what will be remembered and what will be forgotten, which results in an “imagined heritage,” whose inherent inclusions and omissions inevitably signify inequality and injustice.

Mullan’s (2018, 37) study of the use and interpretation of heritage in Northern Ireland highlights the case where the “community engagement is rooted in division,” based on divergent narratives of the past both by the Nationalist and Unionist communities. He analyses recent remembrance events designed to acknowledge the difficult past, in which the official authorities¹¹⁵ invested a significant resource with

¹¹⁴ My italics.

¹¹⁵ This refers to the power-sharing Northern Ireland Executive, established in May 2007 and funding provided by the UK’s Heritage Lottery Fund, much of which has been spent on heritage infrastructure projects, museums, cathedrals and other.

the aim to engage communities and thus rediscover some hidden and forgotten heritage, from buildings to specific traditions.

He looks at the policy shift since 2006, when heritage began to be seen as an important part of the current political project, and to the initiatives which echoed the government policy framework *A Shared Future* (Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister 2005), designed to engage the polarised communities in what became known as the *Decade of Commemorations*¹¹⁶ on the island of Ireland (Mullan 2018, 39). The Centenary of World War 1 and its wide international dimension provided a broader context for the region's own gaze to the complex past, so that the planning for the Decade began to be seen as "a potential template for handling the challenge of events that were still in the living memory." More importantly, one of the first outcomes was the creation of the set of *principles for remembering in public*,¹¹⁷ rooted in historic research rather than reminiscence, which Mullan (2018, 40) lists as follows:

1. Start from the historical facts;
2. Recognise the implications and consequences of what happened;
3. Understand that different perceptions and interpretations exist; and
4. Show how events and activities can deepen understanding of the period.
5. All to be seen in the context of an "inclusive and accepting society" (Mullan 2018, 40).

Supported by the Community Relations Council (CRC), the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), the Northern Ireland Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (DCAL)

¹¹⁶ According to Mullan (2018, 39), one of the first mentions of the Decade of Commemorations was made by the then Irish Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Brian Cowen (2011), during his speech in University College Dublin in 2011, when he presented the vision for the Decade in which 'the entwined narrative could emerge from the "separate histories-British and Irish, orange and green, republican, nationalist, unionist, (and) loyalist."

¹¹⁷ My italics.

and the Republic of Ireland Minister for Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht (DAHG), the principles for remembering in public were applied in a number of projects.

A series of lectures and exhibitions was held in the Ulster Museum, which displayed two highly symbolic documents side by side, the Ulster Covenant and the 1916 Proclamation (Mullan 2018). The Ulster Museum revitalised its modern history gallery, curated by William Blair, who described the approach to remembering with an emphasis on “shared history” and “shared future,” mindful of the risk of potential presentation of history tailored to fit such “aspirational agendas” (Mullan 2018, 42; cf. Blair 2016). According to William Blair (2016, 193), this was overcome by the “necessary external challenge within the interpretative planning” provided by the academic research. The apparent compliance by the Ulster Museum with the policy documents and guidelines has caused some criticism by historians who warned that “shared history,” while well-meaning, might have been a disguise for mutual antipathy and diverging motivation (MacBride 2014, 38).

The Ulster Museum’s call for participation in “Collecting the Troubles and Beyond”, an evolution of the original exhibition “Troubles,” focused on communities and their experiences. The first “Troubles” exhibition opened in 2009, after major physical renovations to the Museum building, and was at the time criticised as “bland, safe and strenuously non-controversial” and “not the original idea for Northern Ireland’s first permanent gallery dedicated to the 1968-98 conflict” (Meredith 2009). This was hinting to the internal self-censorship (Jones 2010) and exclusion of some controversial exhibits. The exhibition has been further developed since and according to Meredith (2018), “National Museums Northern Ireland

(NMNI) has taken its courage in its hands and given us a show you would actually want to see.”

The opening address by William Blair, Director of Collections is cited on NMNI’s website:

There is no doubt that the traumatic events of the years after 1968 were a divisive period and there are huge challenges in interpreting that contested history [...] For some years now, the Ulster Museum has been working with other museums internationally, from Sarajevo to Beirut, exploring approaches to dealing with contested history and the legacy of difficult pasts [...] Our aim has been to create a gallery that provides a new platform for discussion – one that offers opportunities for people to respond and contribute their own stories” (National Museums Northern Ireland 2018).

The architectural narrative of the Ulster Museum is equally fascinating, as, according to Hickey (n.d.), it “has evolved not only amidst political revolution, but during a time of radical change within architecture.”¹¹⁸ Conceived in response to a 1913 design competition, a winning entry by architect James Cumming Wynnes of Edinburgh was selected to embody this imperial project in line with other similar museums in regional centres of that period. “Conformed to the concept of the museum as a ‘temple’[...] the proposed entrance façade, overlooking the Botanic Gardens to the north, was composed of a giant Ionic colonnade comparable to that of Burnet’s Edward VII Galleries in the British Museum” (Hickey n.d.). World War I postponed the construction for two decades, by which time some of the original ideas for four pavilions around the central courtyard in Edwardian Neo-Classical style, were severely compromised.

¹¹⁸ This has been recognized during preparations for the 2014 Venice Biennale themed “Absorbing Modernity 1914-2014,” while the modernist evolution of the building was first conceptualised at the Belfast exhibition.

The political and economic implications of the War of Independence, civil war, partition and the births of Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State meant that the building only commenced in 1924, and the Museum finally opened on 22 October 1929. By that time its architecture was already outdated and out of sync with the “progressive developments in museum design, and the burgeoning of modern architecture.” Lack of funds, meant that less than half of the original plans had actually been realized, leaving the “unsightly stub ends and an unenclosed courtyard to the Botanic Gardens” (Hickey n.d.).¹¹⁹

In 1964, the new part was added to the Museum in Brutalist style, incorporating the existing structure in “a violent revolutionary outburst,” as described by Rayner Banham in 1966. However, the finish of the exposed raw concrete ‘was carefully designed to harmonise in tone and colour with the existing building’, achieving the “impossible synthesis of the [...] two sharply divergent styles’ of old-Edwardian and Brutalist-modern, with a ‘careful attention to detail” (Hickey n.d.). Several other alterations included the covering of the central courtyard and the major redevelopment in 2006, led by Belfast-based Hamilton Architects. When reopened on 22 October 2009, the Museum revealed a radically transformed interior and additional exhibition space. The Museum’s architecture displays a legacy of modernism and its forceful encounter with the Neo-Classical tradition, as a dominant expression, which is outwardly removed from other ‘spatial heritage of the conflict’ in Belfast (Bertram 2018, 7). At the same time, the architecture conceals the complex

¹¹⁹ The Belfast Municipal Museum and Art Gallery merged into the Ulster Museum in 1962, after which a competition was launched in 1963 to extend the museum. The small practice of Francis Pym from London submitted the winning proposal, which was approved for construction and completed on site, assisted by a 22-year-old Paddy Lawson, from Portaferry, County Down, who became a de facto site architect. The new “design knitted the existing building and the proposed extension together, achieving the complete fusion of old and new, in plan, section and elevation” (Hickey n.d.).

internal narratives, which manifested as *Troubles* shortly after the Brutalist extension was completed (**Fig.4.8**).

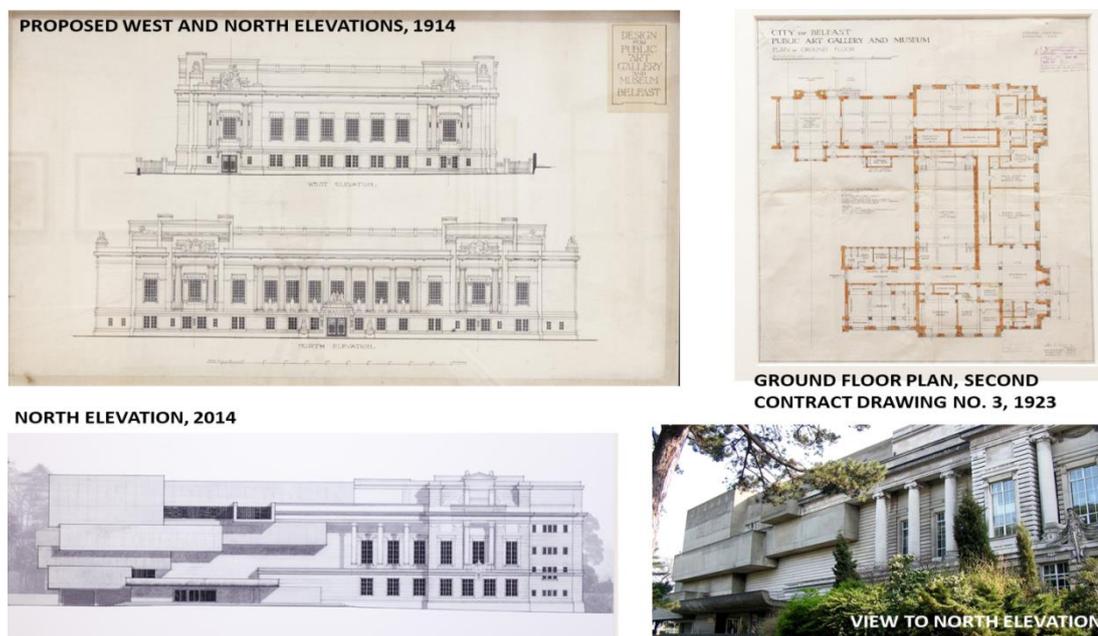


Fig.4.8 Ulster Museum Belfast: original drawings from 1914, 1923 and 2014, and view to north elevation (Hickey 2014, 17-25); Adapted and annotated by Selma Harrington.

4.10 Summary

The evolution of museums from imperial to public institutions reflects changing concepts about heritage, its ownership and presentation and in turn influences the museum narratives and representations. The conventional understanding and status of *national* is shifting in favour of *public history*, a broader term where the museum represents a public space and a platform for display and interpretation of diversified narratives (**Fig.4.9**).

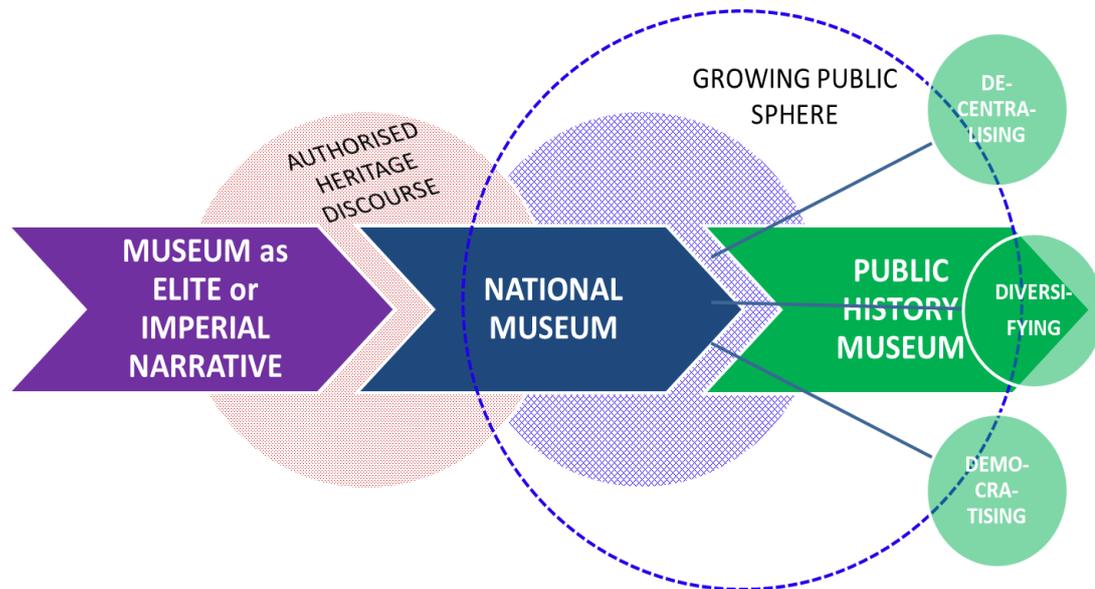


Fig.4.9 Conceptualising museums' development (© Selma Harrington, 2019).

While the terms like *contested*, *difficult*, *dissonant* persist, the current curatorial practices demonstrate the concept of *shareness* (Abdelmonem and Selim 2019) in the way the heritage of conflict is curated between divided or separate communities. New research finds a variety of evidence of “the wake of spatial turn” (Heritage Forum of Central Europe 2019) in museum studies, which means the inclusion of built environment in a cultural discourse. Whether or not a result of “the disciplinary poaching” by humanities (Stanek 2011), the renewed interest in architecture highlights the value of engagement between architectural heritage and social environment.

The historic context is specific to each institution, but the work with International Focus Group confirmed the several common challenges facing

contemporary museums: secure and adequate funding; time sensitive issues and processes; actuality to the public; and response to the changing role of the museum from static and closed institutions to vibrant interactive places. The need to keep up, modernize and expand is dependent on all of the above.

The comparative study of early heritage and museum practices within IFG provided examples of place-making where architecture is contingent of often dramatic societal changes. The museum buildings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, uniquely exemplify the encounters between modernity and tradition, expressed in architecture of a polite distance, residual traditionalism, distinguished regionalism or brutalist embrace.

Chapter Five:

Museum of Revolution, Sarajevo 1945-1990

It might almost be blasphemous to compare this building to Mies' Barcelona Pavilion, however certain elements seem to mirror this iconic edifice. But where other buildings merely copy, this building interprets and repossesses the suspense between glass and stone, constellation of separate volumes, the directional guiding of views and the crispness of Mies' attention to make a building appear segregated from its surroundings and at the same time make a near invisible threshold (Runa Mathiesen, 2014).

This Chapter examines the institution and architecture of the Museum of Revolution (1945-1990) in Sarajevo as a unique product of socialist Yugoslav cultural policies, through primary and secondary literature and field work. After a brief outline of the socialist culture and architectural education, the role and mission of the Museum is investigated in light of the foundational socialist Yugoslav narrative and its reviews in the new scholarly research. This includes a selective analysis of the Museum's research activity, curatorial projects and networking, based on the Museum's periodical *Zbornik radova (Almanac)* (1975-1984).

In parallel, special attention is given to the urban setting and the architecture of the Museum, investigating the historic process of public procurement which commenced with an open architectural competition in 1957. The analysis of previously inaccessible documents from the Museum's archive provides an insight into the consultative process, building brief development and its materialisation on site. This is complemented by the survey of the artistic and curatorial input in shaping the Museum, as a tangible tool for understanding of this period of development of Bosnian society.

5.1 Socialist Cultural Institutions and Architecture Education

The socialist Yugoslav political and economic model was based on Marxist principles, with public ownership widespread in the distribution of labour and wealth which was implemented by institutions and mechanisms of the *socialist self-management system* of governance. This system evolved over a period of time and permeated all aspects of political, social and economic life, in particular after the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Soviet-led Comintern¹²⁰ in 1948 (Ramet 2006, 176; Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012, 28-29).

For former Yugoslavs, the self-management system represented their specific democratic form of governance. The proclaimed goal of the system was to achieve the active participation in decision-making and wealth distribution among the participants of wealth creation, organized in the autonomous “associations of work,” which operated and exchanged services in the internal market.¹²¹ The Federal Government of the Socialist Yugoslav State shared and delegated powers to the six Federal Republics and actively supported the process of decentralisation, based on “the Marxist notion of ‘withering away of the state’”(Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012, 28).

The drivers of infrastructural and public space developments in the domain of spatial strategy and land management were the municipal and local authorities as well as large public enterprises or industries that jointly provided investment funding in cooperation with public banks. This enabled urban development to be largely in public control, ownership and use, while being managed by the urban-planning institutions at city and regional level.

¹²⁰ Communist International, the international association of Communist parties.

¹²¹ Personal knowledge.

Cultural institutions and capital projects were often co-financed by the Ministries of Education within each Federal Republic. Culture and sports were considered by the authorities as a way to influence and educate both young generations and the general population. The socialist agenda was to make culture accessible and participatory for “working people” where culture and sport were seen as a means to promote socialist values, as opposed to the more esoteric or elitist traditional practices.

Stevan Majstorović, in his *Cultural policy in Yugoslavia: self-management and culture* (1980),¹²² explains the unique Yugoslav approach to decision-making, in which:

Culture is less and less treated as a sector and more and more as an integral part of the overall creative effort of society, an expression of solidarity and co-operation among people and a link providing interaction between intellectual and physical labour (Majstorović 1980, 30).

Post-Yugoslav writing continues to examine the cultural implications of the Yugoslav distancing from the so-called “state socialism,” including architecture (Štraus 1991, 23; Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012, 32-33). According to Serbian author Bošković (2011, 121-135), the intellectual history of Second Yugoslavia¹²³ underwent a short period of “canonization” up to 1950s which was superseded by a “secularisation” period up to 1972. The “canonisation” refers to the brief period of *social realism*, influenced by the Soviet Union, characterised by the controlled formation and protection of “sacred” ideas, whereby selected individuals and institutions remained above critique and questioning. This generally meant that

¹²² UNESCO’s series of publications on cultural policies.

¹²³ It has become common to refer to the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as First Yugoslavia and the Socialist Federal Yugoslav period, as Second Yugoslavia.

artistic expression was dictated and controlled by party ideologues, reducing the creative outputs to prescribed forms, manifested in architecture and art as classically composed buildings and ornaments, usually with exaggerated monumentality.

The period of “secularisation” in Yugoslavia signifies a time when ideas became the subject of free debate, although, according to Bošković (2011, 121), free debate only applied in the sphere of culture and arts. In other words, Bošković implies that visual arts, design and architecture had a relatively free reign within the political system, which itself remained “canonised.” This can partly be explained by the fact that many left-leaning intellectuals, writers, poets and painters participated in the national-liberation war, which gave them an active role in the foundation of the Yugoslav state, both politically and artistically.

Among architects, some of whom embraced leftist ideas during their training abroad before World War II, the progressive thinking became synonymous with ideas rooted in modernism, and the work of Le Corbusier and other international architects (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012, 36-37). The regard for the pioneers of modernism is visible in a widely-used architecture textbook from Socialist Yugoslavia, the *Contemporary Architecture/PIONEERS / Savremena arhitektura/POBORNICI 2*, by Serbian architect Nikola Dobrović (1963). In a cheering tone of voice, reminiscent of the jargon of the Yugoslav reconstruction and industrialisation period, Dobrović ¹²⁴ (1963, 6) equates the founding Modernists to *freedom-fighters/prvoborci-arhitekti*, ¹²⁵ elaborating on their *heroic* ¹²⁶ roles and ideas.

¹²⁴ Dobrović dedicates separate sections to the works of Le Corbusier, Wright, Gropius, Oud, Perret, Garnier, Poelzig, Behrens, Loos, Sullivan, Wagner, Berlage and van de Velde.

¹²⁵ My italics.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

However, Dobrović also cautions against overstating the role of personalities over social conditions:

The distinctive contribution of these pioneers was in their ability to identify a new design potential and to prepare a new comprehension of the art of building within the conditions of new modern technology and the scientific achievements governed by the economic organizations of their societies. They have shared their own observations or discoveries through projects, built works, by spoken and written word, despite distinct backwardness and organized resistance by the academic taste [which was] deeply rooted among the majority of architects (Dobrović 1963, 6).

For future architects trained in schools of architecture in the socialist Yugoslav regional capitals, such messages conveyed without reservation that the architecture of Modernism was an advanced concept taken up as a revolutionary cause by exceptional individuals, against the mainstream culture. Dobrović (1963, 6-9) attributes to these architects the “progressive views in terms of the social doctrine, regardless of any formal allegiance to a political party.” One can only speculate if the latter might be read as a call for decoupling *professional* from *political*, as result of the loosening of the political control at the time, or a call for dispensation to some who continued to practice during wartime regimes.¹²⁷

In 1950, the First Symposium of Students of Architecture of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ)¹²⁸ was held in Zagreb to exchange information and discuss the practices and curricula of the schools of architecture from the Federal Republics, among academic staff and students. The sample of discussion themes illustrates the preoccupation with the quality of education,

¹²⁷The side notes on the alleged complicity with pro-Nazi regimes by prominent modernists can be found about Le Corbusier and the Vichy government, in Mumford (2000, 7) and Philip Johnson and his active pre-war Nazi-philia, in Blake (1996).

¹²⁸Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ) was the first name chosen for the country in 1945, and later changed to Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ).

benchmarking and solidarity among relatively young schools of architecture in different centres. For example, Serbian architect Jovan Krunić reported on the academic output in Belgrade, while Croatian architect Neven Šegvić from Zagreb, gave an overview of “the contemporary capitalist architecture” (Krunic 1950, 57). Architect Dušan Grabrijan from Ljubljana had an “effective presentation of our cultural heritage,” while Mate Baylon from Belgrade presented a comparative study of pre-war and post-war housing situation. Krunic discussed the aspects of contemporary expressions in architecture based on tradition, using examples from Macedonia. He also compared the outputs of students’ work from Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade, crediting Slovenian students for effective graphic skills and linking practice and study. He critiqued Croatian students for being over-influenced by the western (Corbusian) concepts and not attempting to find local expression. In the end, he praised the energy and skill of Serbian students but underlined the lack of time they invested during their education, concluding that overall their work varied in style, lacked a balanced expression and strayed to excess (Krunic 1950).

Except for the High Technical School, at this time, the third level architecture study was in its infancy, with the Technical Faculty in Sarajevo founded in 1949. The Faculty had the significant input from the faculties in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, which oversaw the selection of the first local academic staff through the Standing Committee¹²⁹ appointed by the Bosnian Government (Božović 1991, 119; Neidhardt 2014, 2). Božović (1991, 110) commented on the three-way influence on Sarajevo’s architecture programme by a “broader Yugoslav space,” all culturally shaped by the same Central European tradition. The influence was implemented by

¹²⁹ Author’s translation from Serbo-Croat original: Matična komisija.

the Standing Committee, with the academic appointments of staff who were trained in Zagreb and Belgrade and the appointments of professors from the Technical Faculty in Zagreb and Architecture Faculty in Belgrade, who taught specific modules for some time.

However, Božović (1991, 110) emphasised that the process and decisions were always a result of a “critical selection,” commensurate to the level of understanding of the priorities and needs of the society for the appropriate profile of architects, but also to the aspirations to keep pace with the international standards of practice and education. Božović believed that during the foundational stage of architecture studies in Sarajevo:

[T]he first generation of lecturers and tutors had a collective awareness of a pioneering task [whose significance for own environment] gave them inspiration, enthusiasm and ambition to overcome the lack of experience, continuity and other shortcomings, which they compensated with dedication and seriousness of commitment (Božović 1991, 110).

The Technical Faculty comprised of two departments: Architecture and Civil Engineering¹³⁰ (Božović 1991, 109). The first-year programmes commenced on 24 October 1949, in the provisionally adapted space at the National Institute for Design of Bosnia and Herzegovina/Zemaljski zavod za projektovanje BiH, in Skenderija Street (Božović 1991, 119). The following year the Technical Faculty moved to the former Orthodox Seminary at Trg Oslobođenja, until a purpose designed new building was completed in the Koševo suburb in 1961 (Neidhardt 2014, 3).

Led by the first Dean, Aleksandar Trumić, the programme curricula were

¹³⁰ Later, the Department of Mechanical Engineering was founded in 1958 and the Department of Electrical Engineering, in 1960. These departments of the [Poli] Technical Faculty gradually developed into separate Faculties with numerous specialist programmes, among which the Architecture and Urbanism Faculty in Sarajevo was formed in 1961.

prepared by the newly appointed staff, among whom Jahiel Finci (the first Vice-Dean), Muhamed Kadić, Dušan Smiljanić and Emanuel Šamanek, all qualified in Prague. They were joined by Milorad Radonjić, who partly trained in Vienna, and Juraj Neidhardt, a graduate of the Viennese Academy of Architecture. It was fortuitous, according to Božović (1991, 109), that the “generation of high-calibre experts, with practical and creative skills gained at the sources and intersection of traditional and modernist movements,” helped shape the programme in the new Sarajevo Faculty of Architecture:

Certainly, it can be asserted that the influences and traditions of the Central European architecture education, in particular the “Prague School”, were instrumental in laying the foundations of Sarajevo’s architecture studies (Božović 1991, 110).¹³¹

At the same time, from the very beginning there was:

[A]n awareness of another tradition, tradition of building, residential culture, relationship to natural environment, neighbourhood and urban organization, specific for this multicultural space [...] which at the end of 1950s began to manifest as a characteristic ‘Sarajevo School’ (Božović 1991, 110).

Since the foundation, the Technical Faculty and the University of Sarajevo enjoyed the support of the highest organs within the Bosnian Government. There was a general sense of pride in becoming the university centre by which “the [Bosnian] Republic acclaimed an important cultural attribute of its sovereignty” (Božović 1991, 111). However, general enthusiasm was in contrast with the “hyper-politicised, ideologically narrow reality,” in which the educational institutions were targeted by the consistent negative administrative, political and economic campaigns, up until

¹³¹ Author’s translation from Serbo-Croat original: “Stoga, sasvim sigurno se može tvrditi da su uzori i uticaji tradicije srednjoevropskih arhitektonskih škola, posebno praške, bili od velikog značaja u postavljanju temelja studija arhitekture u Sarajevu” (Božović 1991, 110).

the 1980s, which practically abolished the autonomy of the University. Božović's critical analysis of the development of the Architecture Faculty in Sarajevo deserves more attention outside of this Thesis to better understand the impact of political, economic and societal trends in Bosnia and Herzegovina on its educational institutions.

5.2 Foundation and Mission of the Museum of Revolution, Sarajevo

The legal foundation of the Museum of National Liberation (later renamed Museum of Revolution) in Sarajevo was ratified in the National Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on 13 November 1945, some six months after the liberation of the country from fascists (Kaljanac 2010) (**See Appendix VI**). It defined the Museum as a national institution to be overseen directly by the Ministry of Education of the National Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Article 1), funded by the Government (Article 3) (Službeni list Federalne Bosne i Hercegovine 1945). The rules for internal organization and work of the Museum were within the authority of the Minister for Education (Article 4) (Službeni list Federalne Bosne i Hercegovine 1945).

The content, wording and timing of the above law, highlights awareness and determination to mark liberation as an epic popular accomplishment, even though it took more than a decade to have a fully functioning Museum in place.

Between 1950 and 1967, the Museum was renamed the Museum of Peoples Revolution (MNR), after which the name was shortened to Museum of Revolution. By all accounts, the Museum had a modest output in its first decade, as it suffered

from a lack of professional expertise and adequate premises to house its offices and archives. It was at first located in two rooms in the Ethnographic Department of the National Museum, with Professor Osman Pelja as Director and sole employee until 1947, when a writer Sait Orahovac was employed to undertake field visits and collect museum materials (Leka 2010, 7). The first exhibition “National Front during the Struggle and Reconstruction” was organized in July 1949 on the premises of the House of Gymnastics in Sarajevo (Leka 2010, 8-9).¹³² The problems with adequate staffing continued up to 1956, when for more than a year, only an acting Director was in charge of the Museum.

However, the Museum continued to organize exhibitions in other public institutions in Sarajevo, displaying mainly a selection of photographic records from the liberation war in other parts of Yugoslavia and from commemorations of the liberation of the city of Sarajevo. From 1958 to 1964, to commemorate major World War II battles on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, several major exhibitions were prepared:

“Kozara”, “Sutjeska”, “The Invasion of Drvar”, “The Struggle of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) 1919-1941”, “The Course of the Yugoslav Communist Youth League (SKOJ) in Bugojno”, “The Fifteenth Anniversary of Liberation of Sarajevo”, “The National-liberation Struggle (NOB) and Revolutionary Personalities”, “The Uprising of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Peoples”, “Yugoslav Writers Fallen in the National-Liberation Struggle (NOB)”, “National-liberation Struggle in Artwork”, “Božidar Jakac¹³³: Partisan’s Graphic”, “Testimonials of Anti-fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) and Regional Anti-fascist

¹³² Author’s translation from Bosnian/Croatian/ Serbian: exhibition title “Narodni front u borbi i izgradnji” held in the Fiskulturni dom (FIS).

¹³³ A Slovenian artist and a friend of Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito, who created his numerous portraits during the Yugoslav partisan war and after the national-liberation.

Council of National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBiH) (Leka 2010, 9).¹³⁴

The narratives of battles, remembered by their *toponyms*: Kozara, Sutjeska, Drvar, commemorate significant turning points in the partisan resistance and defeat of Nazi troupes and collaborators, in the form of monumental artistic structures in respective locations, which is a subject of considerable academic and public interest lately (Mačkić 2016; Horvatinčić 2018). At the time, the Museum of Revolution presented these themes through the touring exhibitions which were shown “in almost every place in Bosnia and Herzegovina” (Leka 2010, 9), to inform, promote and educate the public about the Peoples’ Revolution.

Only in the early 1960s, did new professional curators, historians, art historians, architects and photographers join the ranks of Museum staff. This coincided with the project to build a new Museum building in which a permanent exhibition could be housed. The appointment of a new energetic and politically astute director, Dr Moni Finci (1914-1984) signalled the beginning of a more prosperous period for the Museum (Leka 2010, 9-11).

Thematically, the collections of the Museum concentrated on the Medieval Bosnian State period, the history of the Workers’ Movement in Bosnia, the National Liberation war 1941-45 / Narodno-oslobodilački rat (NOR), the Socialist Revolution, and the Post-war Socialist development up to the 1960s. This orientation remained unchanged until 1992 (Leka 2010, 12-16). The Museum also commissioned artwork

¹³⁴ Author’s translation from Bosnian/Croatian/ Serbian: *Zemaljsko anti-fašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Bosne i Hercegovine (ZAVNOBiH)*; *Zemaljsko* refers to the land, Bosnia and Herzegovina in the same way that similar Councils were formed (and named) for other Yugoslav republics during the national-liberation war, therefore here it is translated as *regional*, rather than *national*.

by renowned Yugoslav painters and sculptors, depicting the themes of National Liberation and collected other art with social themes. Today its collection comprises some three thousand works created between the 1930s and early 2000s. Among them are the works of artists who perished during World War II in the Jasenovac concentration camp, such as the collection of thirty-two drawings and watercolours by Daniel Ozmo and three sculptures by Slavko Bril (Hadžirović 2010, 37-38).

From the 1970s, the Museum was tasked to establish, lead and support a network of regional memorial institutions throughout Bosnia, as well as to develop collaboration with similar institutions in Yugoslavia and internationally. This resulted in an exchange of thematic exhibitions on the Revolutionary or Workers' movements,¹³⁵ which was in line with the general concept of Yugoslav Museums of Revolution and Homeland Museums, as discussed in Chapter Four.

Despite defined general headings: *National Liberation, Renewal, Workers' Movement* and *Socialist Development*, the Museum's experts gradually widened the scope of collecting, beyond defined periods, but much of this material remains in obscurity. As Leka puts it, the "ideological-political pressure of the interested social-political communities" resulted in the permanent exhibition to be "frozen" for almost thirty-five years, "at the level of the original attitudes of the time it was created" (Leka 2010, 16), up until the war in the 1990s.

¹³⁵ Among other, the cooperation and exhibitions exchange included The Peoples Republic of China, Cuba, Austria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Romania and Bulgaria (Leka 2010, 15).

5.3 Museum's Zbornik radova (Almanac)

Since 1975, the Museum continuously organized conferences which were documented in the periodical *Zbornik radova* (Almanac), published between 1975 and 1990, totalling eleven volumes (Leka 2010, 13).¹³⁶ Among the contributors were prominent Yugoslav museologists, most notably Anton Bauer (Zagreb), Edib Hasanagić (Belgrade) and Dušan Otašević (Sarajevo), as well as international experts from other socialist countries, including Zbynek Z. Stránský (Czechoslovakia).

The *Zbornik radova* thematically covered the development of museum theory, practice and specific projects under the headings: Museology and Museum function, Articles, Reviews, Critical Commentaries and Documentaries, with recurring topics on the *museum exhibit* and its objectification or subjectification, and the examination of *present museum* and its impact on *future museum*.

The latter volumes show preoccupation with the perceived general crisis of museums (Bauer 1981/82) and the critique of existing practice (Hasanagić 1981/82), suggesting solutions to develop specific contemporary themes, focused on economic conditions, civic engagement, evolution of political parties and the Workers' Movement. In Bauer's view, the museum stagnation was attributable to:

[I]nadequate condition for the protection of museum collections, lack of working space, professional crisis due to inadequate structure of expertise and absolute lack of technical expertise, internal academic, scientific and professional deficiency, communication fatigue towards the public; negative attitudes to funding of culture; lack of active promotion and educational work of museums (Bauer 1981/82, 17-18).

¹³⁶ Number twelve of the Almanac was prepared for print in 1991, but its publication was prevented by the war (Leka 2010, 13).

Bauer was active in the work of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and participated at its General Assembly in 1980 themed “The Responsibility of Museums for World Heritage.” Inspired by that, he called for a change in local practice, to move from “passivity” at work towards the establishment of a formal Museum Network (Bauer 1981/82, 24-27).

Other contributors to *Zbornik radova* also began to realise that the public interest in the Museum of Revolution and its thematic focus was diminishing, and that the ossified revolutionary narrative could no longer engage the rapidly changing society and economy. It looked as if the authorised heritage narrative was locked in a box and out of sight. According to Leka (2010, 16), the Museum of Revolution staff acutely felt the need to change its course and to broaden the scope of their collections and research. Thus began a move to change the concept of development to a history museum. While such initiatives were initially explored with the authorities of the Bosnian Republic, the transformation and name change was officiated only in 1993, during the war (Službeni list 1993).

Initially designated for heavy industry, steel-production and exploitation of the natural resources like coal, timber and hydro-power, in the 1970s and 1980s, Bosnia and Herzegovina have been changing from an underdeveloped Federal Republic to an industrialised and inter-connected space, driven by successful mergers within its timber manufacturing, motor, electronics, food and military industries. This impacted on the profile and cultural identification of its workforce, which was also changing through a higher level of education and a relative prosperity. The new confidence and participation in a general emancipatory process is evident in the

visual art and design production which peaked in the years prior to the Fourteenth Winter Olympic Games (ZOI) (1984).

New Bosnian research is beginning to chart the wider cultural context of the 1980s, but more detailed studies are needed to fully understand the generational change and transformation of society which made the revolutionary narrative less attractive and disconnected. It is possible to deduce that while the narrative remained frozen, active reflection was taking place elsewhere. For example, in his book *Museum in Exile* (2015), Bosnian design scholar Asim Đelilović, includes an image of a life-size “Self-portrait with Medal,”¹³⁷ by the renowned artist and former partisan Ismet Mujezinović (1907-1984). The artist is depicted looking at a mirror with a medal piercing his bare chest, which bleeds for “the world that has betrayed the revolution and ideas of equality, brotherhood and social justice” (Đelilović 2015, 117). This may signify that the artist’s generation which actively participated in the revolution, became disillusioned with it as early as in the mid-1960s and early 1970s.

In contrast, the masterfully conceived series of graphics for various sport disciplines at the Winter Olympic Games (ZOI '84), designed almost two decades later by Ismet’s son, Ismar Mujezinović (1947-), project an exuberant message of a modern society engaged in the international arena (Đelilović 2015, 222-225).

It is a matter of speculation on what course the Museum of Revolution might have taken, had there been no rupture which effectively destroyed a potential for its reflective transition. The 1990s war created a vacuum, in which the Museum’s

¹³⁷ The portrait is created between 1966-1970 and a part of a large collection held in the International Portrait Gallery in Tuzla, the artist’s home town.

situation was akin to a personal trauma, and its response to it was matched to *fight, flight and freeze*¹³⁸, which will be examined further in Chapter Six.

5.4 Museum and the City

The Museum of Revolution is situated in Marijin Dvor, described as the “location [where] the city comes out of its natural amphitheatre of the Sarajevo valley and extends towards the broad [...] [flatland] in a linear form, as a city planned according to the principles of modernist urbanism” (Ugljen Ademović and Turkušić 2012, 233). At the time of construction, Marijin Dvor would become a notional centre of Habsburg Sarajevo, anchored and named by the large residential rental block Marienhoff /*Marijin Dvor* /Maria Court. Further to the west, the Filipović Military Barracks marked the westernmost city boundary while a Tobacco factory complex, occupied the southern flank. But, with the exception of the four pavilions of the *Landesmuseum*/National Museum [*Zemaljski muzej*], discussed in Chapter Four, and the officers’ pavilions closer to the river Miljacka, a large vacant area between Marijin Dvor building and the Military Barracks remained largely unchanged up until the end of World War II, as discussed in Chapter Three (**Fig.5.1**).

¹³⁸ The terms used in mental health science to describe human responses to traumatic situations (van der Kolk 2014, 29-31).

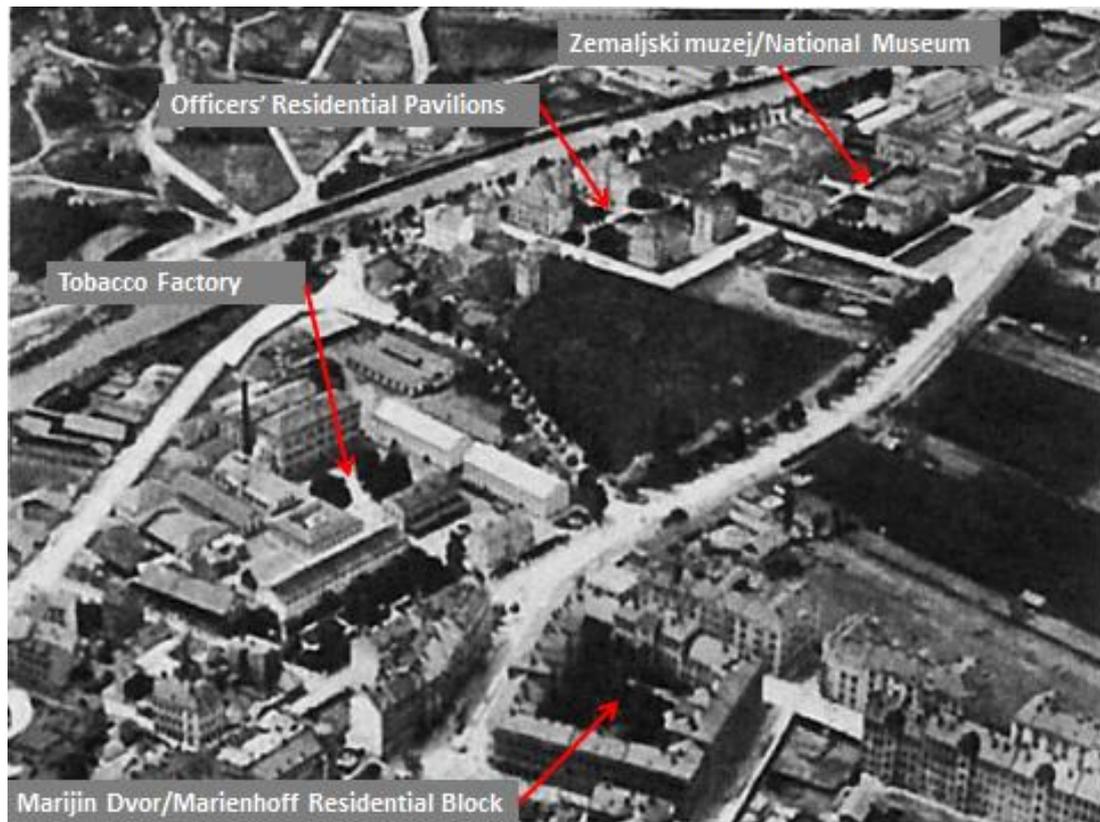


Fig.5.1 Aerial view to Marijin Dvor zone, Sarajevo 1939, annotated by Selma Harrington (Source: Ugljen Ademović and Turkušić 2012, 235).

This had significance for selecting a location for the Museum of Revolution, which the architect Juraj Neidhardt, in his earlier studies, situates next to the National Assembly, at the southern end of the diagonal road which ends at the New Railway station to the north (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957, 409-410). This would have literally located the institution right under the eyes of the Bosnian Government and would have completed the envisaged traffic direction via Vrbanja Bridge across the river.

In the meantime, the authorities in charge of the Museum of Revolution development were keen to provide its small staff and growing collections with a permanent home and considered a number of possible adaptations of various existing buildings, none of which proved to be suitable. The Committee of the National

Council of the City of Sarajevo finally approved funding for the purposely built structure in December 1952 (Leka 2010, 11).

Neidhardt's Fourth Marijin Dvor zoning plan in 1955 fixed the location for the Museum of Revolution to the west of the Zemaljski muzej, opposite the Military Barracks/Kasarna Maršala Tita, along today's Ulica Zmaja od Bosne (Kapetanović 1988, 359; Ugljen Ademović and Turkušić 2012, 239) (**Fig.5.2**). It is worth noting that one of Neidhardt's radical proposals envisaged the relocation of the Military Barracks, which would have altered the plot ratio and the potential spatial zoning, but the idea did not materialise. Under the umbrella of the Union of International Architects (UIA),¹³⁹ an international urban design competition for Zones "C" and "C1" Marijin Dvor was launched on the 1st January 2000, centred on the revitalization of the Military Barracks quadrant (Zavod za planiranje razvoja Kantona Sarajevo, 1999). Upon the deliberations, the International jury have not awarded the first prize and the subsequent interventions have not significantly addressed the rejuvenation of urban form on this location.

¹³⁹ Union of International Architects (UIA), a global professional network of architectural associations and professional bodies.

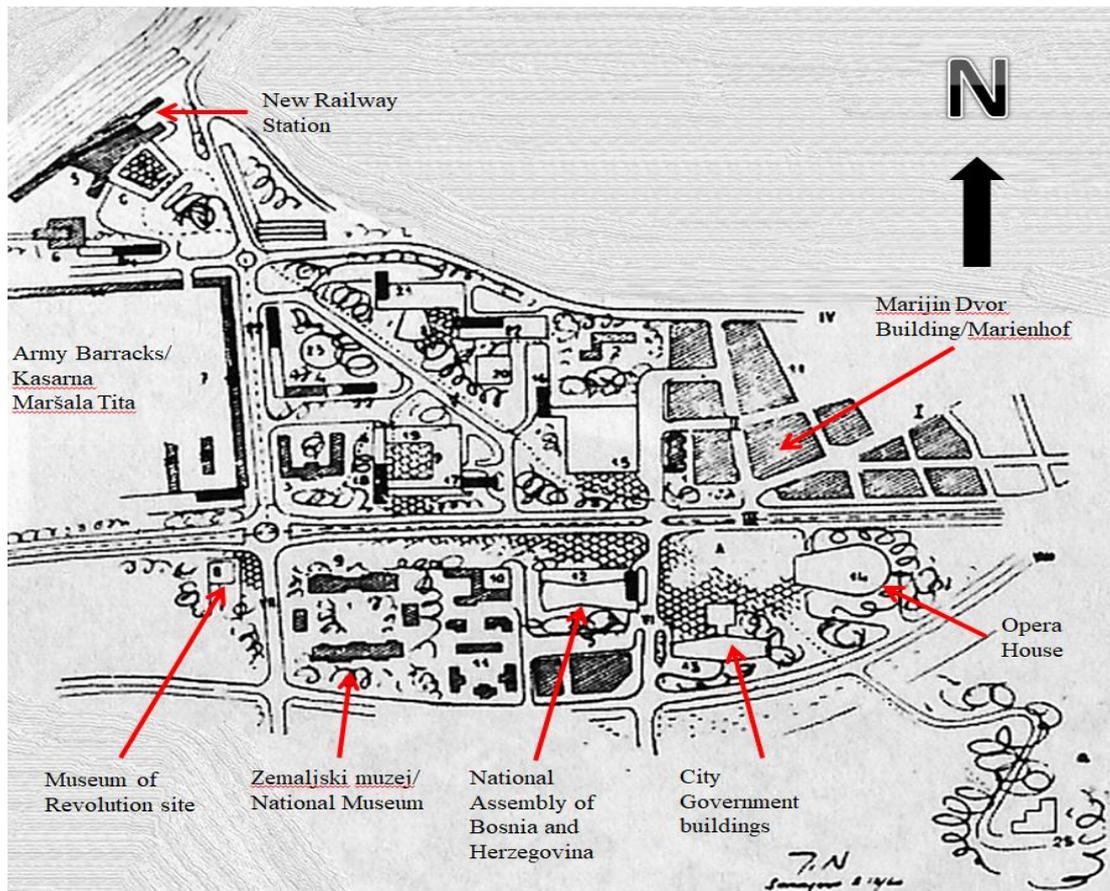


Fig.5.2 Competition project for urban development of Marijin Dvor Complex, 1955, Architect Juraj Neidhardt, annotated by Selma Harrington (Source: Kapetanović 1988, 359).

It can be speculated that the definitive selection of the Museum's site had potentially unintended consequences, as it fell outside the administrative boundary of the Municipality Centre, into the Municipality of Novo Sarajevo. As a result, the Museum was peripheral and outside of several local area plans, which might have impacted on its inclusion in later developmental priorities and funding.

5.5 Planning and Brief for the New Building¹⁴⁰

In 1955, the Museum of Revolution formed a Construction Committee (Građevinski odbor) composed of external experts and Museum staff members to develop an outline building brief and programme.¹⁴¹ The notes of the meeting with the agenda “The Discussion on the investment programme for the Museum of Peoples’ Revolution,” record the following:

1. Museum library needs to be located near the curators’ unit.
2. Museum storage to be divided by themes and to combine archival collections and other requisites. The largest storage should be for the theme of armed struggle, the rest can be smaller.
3. Avoid having too many documents in the exhibition space, as that is tiring for the visitors. The key elements of specific topics need to be highlighted in museum display, accompanied by the relevant documents. The documents can be separately presented in albums or in contemplation areas, where the visitors can study them separately. The exhibition can be developed over two storeys, with a break-out area between floors, or if the building is not on two storeys, this can follow one of the themes (for example “Armed Struggle”). The exhibition space should be developed in 12 halls, according to themes, with exception of one area dedicated to temporary exhibitions. Connectivity could be around the central theme “The Uprising”.
4. The Entrance Hall needs to be ceremonial, impressive, and it can contain the busts of the members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (CKKPJ) and the Supreme Command /*Vrhovni štab*.
5. The cinema projection room needs to have a separate entrance.
6. There is no need to provide an apartment for the security guard or messenger.
- [7] Provide space for the Club of Museum Workers, connected to the cinema projection space.
- [8] Provide [an emergency] shelter for visitors and staff of the Museum.

¹⁴⁰ In June 2017, the author had access to the previously inaccessible records documenting the Museum’s preparation and planning phase for the new building in the 1950s and 1960s. This gave an insight into the public procurement process of the new purpose-designed space for the Museum of Revolution, opened with a major exhibition in 1964.

¹⁴¹ Author’s translation from the original in Serbo-Croat; Meeting, held on 7 July 1955, 11.00 to 13.00, was attended by Professor A. Babić, Dr Benac [archaeologist], H. Grabčanović [politician], Lj. Mladenović [ethnologist/historian], [M.] Baldasar [architect], and M. Krstić. Notes taken by V. Terzić (Source: HMBiH Archive, File Holder 772/2-1958, dated 15 XII 1958).

[9] The lighting of the exhibition space needs to combine natural and artificial light, and in particular, the north-facing light is preferable and south-facing needs to be avoided.

[10] The Competition projects and the outline designs of the exhibition

The tentative program of delivery would be:

By 15 July 1955 preparation of the programme

By the beginning of September 1955, finalize the location

By 15 December 1955, the completion of the competition documents

Around 20 September 1955, the first meeting of the Jury

By the end of September, the Call for competition announcement

Around 20 December 1955, the Jury meets, to discuss the competition entries, to announce the awards and authors.

By the end of December, the exhibition of the competition entries.

The tentative plan of the construction would be:

In 1955, the preparation of the building programme and the Call for the Architectural Competition

1956- Completion of the Main project and Bill of Quantities

1957, 1958, 1959, the construction of the building and preparation of the [permanent] exhibition

1960- Mounting of the Museum exhibition (HMBiH Archive [1958])

(Fig.5.3).¹⁴²

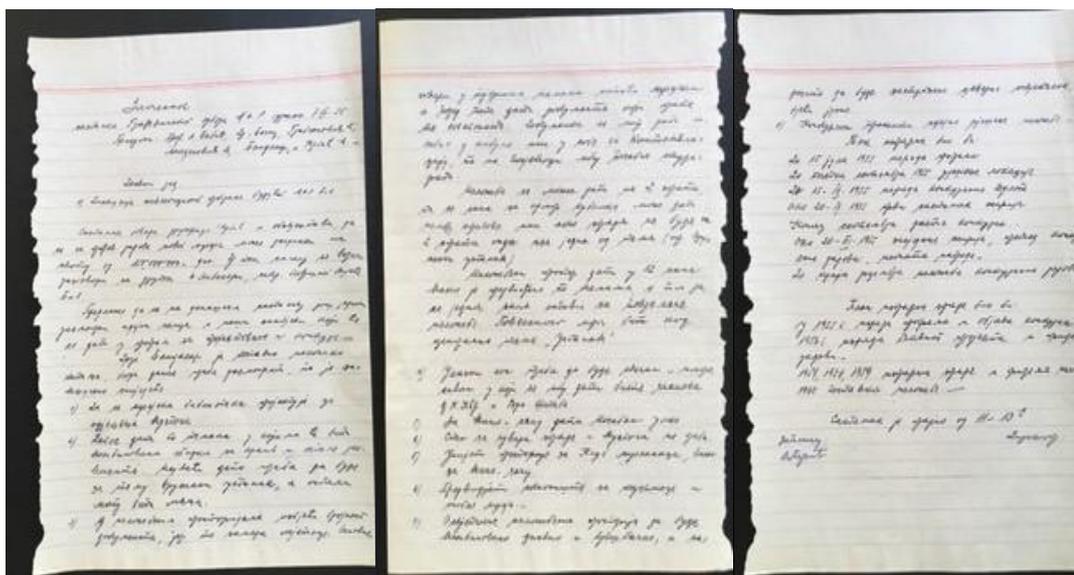


Fig.5.3 Minutes from the Construction Committee Meeting of the Museum of Revolution, 7 July 1955 (Source: HMBiH Archive, File Holder 772/2-1958, dated 15 XII 1958).

¹⁴² Hand – written notes, Author’s translation from Serbo-Croat original; Sequencing from the note is corrected in square brackets from the Item [7] onwards (Source: HMBiH Archive, File Holder 772/2-1958, dated 15 XII 1958).

However, the tentative programme prepared in 1955 (**Fig.5.4**) took more time to materialise than envisaged. The Call for Competition was published in 1957 (Leka, 2010:11), the winning entry was awarded in 1958, followed by signing of the contract on 15 December 1958 between the Museum Director and the design team represented by the Metalprojekt Zagreb, who were appointed to complete the designs for the building.¹⁴³ As the site for the new building of the Museum of Revolution was already secured in 1958, its Director gave instructions for site clearance to the “Standard” Enterprise, which previously operated from the ancillary structures on site.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Author’s translation from the original in Serbo-Croat to English from the Folder 772/2, dated 15 December 1958 (HMBiH Archive).

¹⁴⁴ Contract between the Museum of Revolution of BiH and “Standard” Sarajevo for the site clearance (HMBiH Archive, File 788-4/58, dated 19 December 1958).

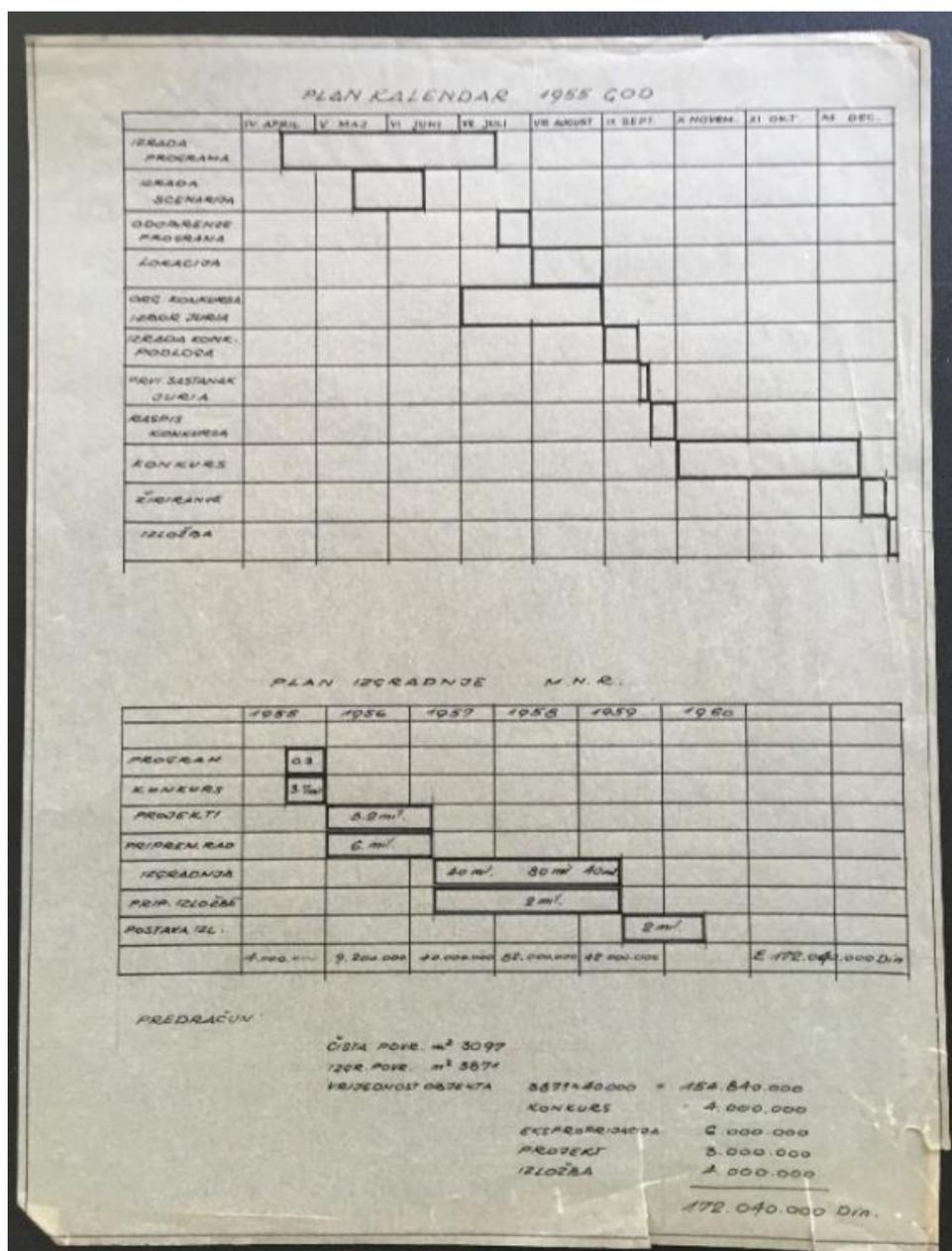


Fig.5.4 Plan Calendar for 1955, showing outline programme and plan for building of the Museum (Source: HMBiH Archive).

According to late architect Edo Šmidihen,¹⁴⁵ at the time of the competition the authorities in charge of the Museum were not sure what would be exhibited in the relatively small area of some 3000 square meters planned for the Museum. However, the timeline for the architectural competition and the indicative spatial requirements

¹⁴⁵ Interview conducted and recorded by the Author at the Architecture Faculty Zagreb, 23 June 2015.

for the exhibits from 1955 (Fig.5.5), were likely to have informed and expanded the architectural competition brief.

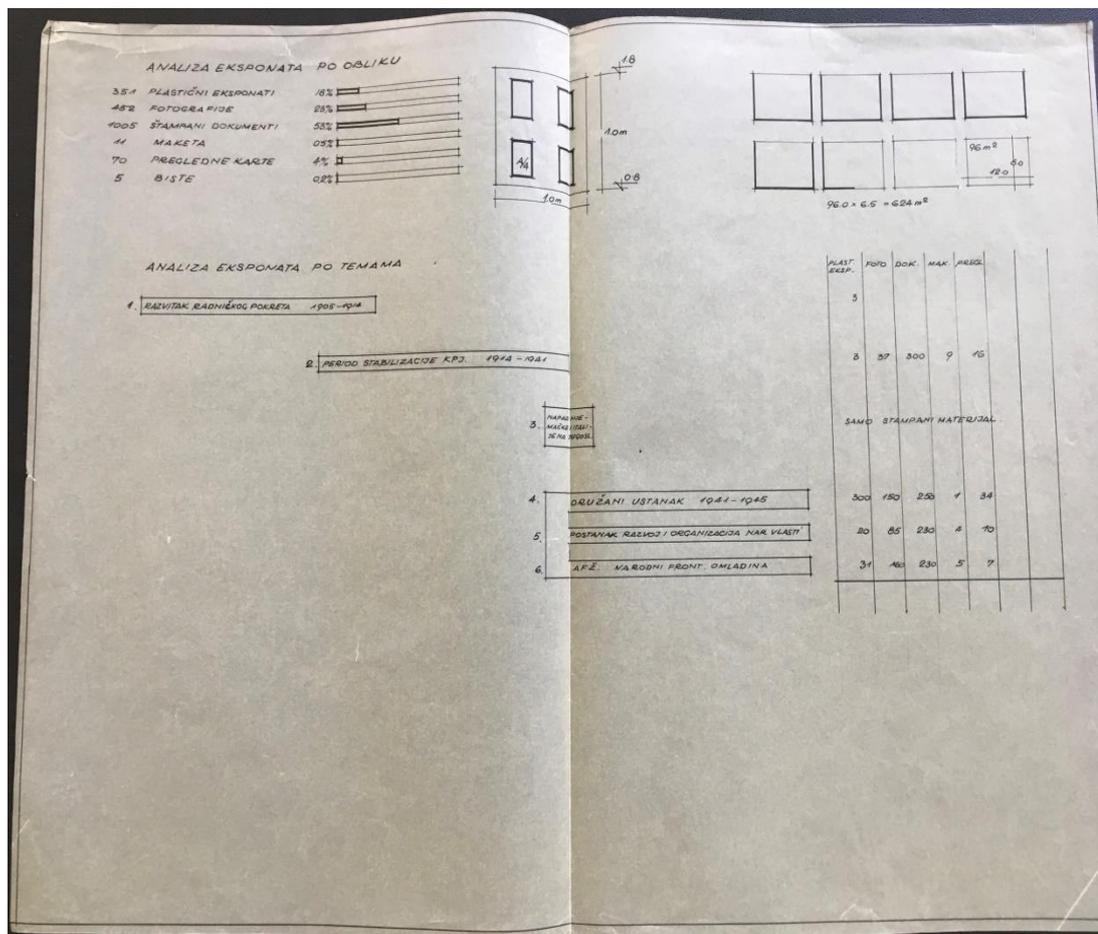


Fig.5.5 Analysis of the Exhibits according to Form (Source: HMBiH Archive, File holder 772/2-1958 dated 15. XII 1958).

The records of the preparation of the Investment programme in 1958 are sparse at present. This is attributed to architect [Mirjan] Baldasar with a hand-written note pointing to the reduced Second phase and indicating that the originals were with Professor [Jovan] Korcka at the Architecture Faculty Sarajevo.¹⁴⁶

In parallel with the subsequent progress of the construction on site, the records show detailed planning and preparation by the Museum staff for the first

¹⁴⁶ Hand written notes, dated 1958 (HMBiH Archive).

thematic exhibition, with the itemised specification of collections, such as paintings and sculptures, library and documents, collections of photography, other Museum artefacts of different sizes, military arsenal, personal objects and other items.¹⁴⁷

5.6 The Architectural Competition

The competition to design a building for the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo was publicised in the daily papers in all capitals of the Yugoslav republics, among them *Borba* (Serbia) and *Vijesnik* (Croatia) and Sarajevo's daily *Oslobođenje*, in 1957, which attracted a number of submissions from other Yugoslav centres. After the Jury deliberations a decision was made in 1958 to award First Prize to the team of architects from Zagreb, Edo Šmidihen, Boris Magaš and Radovan Horvat, with the following report:

The massing and spatial layout of the building in relation to the overall urban concept is correctly solved. The differentiation and connectedness are the key characteristics of this concept. The internal circulation is reduced to a minimal level. The Ground level of the building represents a very successful solution with its contemporary spatial-visual articulation. The size and architectural form of the external exhibition space are successfully integrated with the building. The visual accessibility and museological value of this external exhibition space is evident. [Other] exhibition space and the proposed system of illumination are very successful. The architectural composition is [very] convincing. Overall, the spatial organization and the three-dimensional composition is an optimal solution to the given brief. The cost estimate is within the provisional budget (ARHITEKTURA 1958, 96-97) **(Fig.5.6)**.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Folder: *Ugljen Ing. arh. Zlatko, Ugovor, zapisnici, izvještaji*, Muzej narodne revolucije, dated 14 June 1962; RE: Design of the equipment for the Museum Archive and Collections, addressed to Ing.arh Zlatko Ugljen (HMBiH Archive, File 512-1/62).

¹⁴⁸ Author's translation from the original in Serbo- Croat: "Analiza ocjenjivačkog suda nagrađenih radova. Prvonagrađeni rad: Postava objekta po dispoziciji i volumenu u vezi s urbanističkim rješenjem

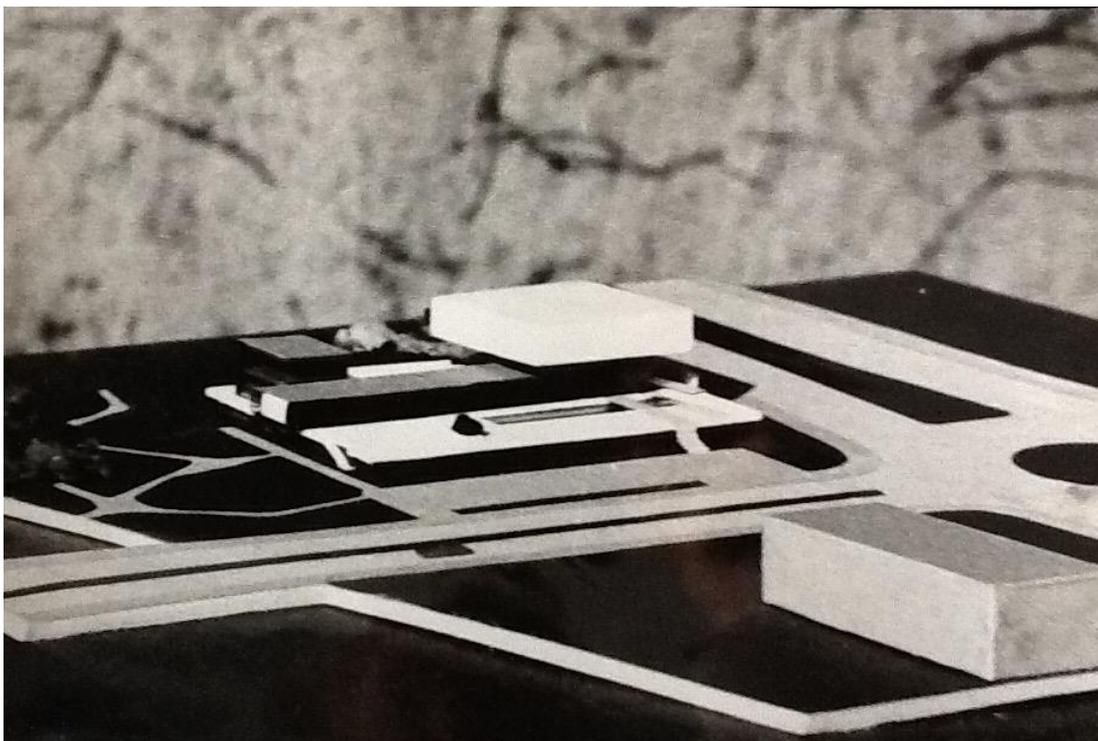


Fig.5.6 Model of the Winning Entry in the competition for design of the Museum of Revolution building in Sarajevo, 1958 (Author's photo from *Arhitektura* [1958, 18]; courtesy of late Edo Šmidihen, 23.06.2015).

Second prize was awarded to Jahiel Finci and Lujo Schwerer, with Ivica Komšić (**Fig.5.7**), and Third prize to Ivan Štraus and Tihomir Štraus, with Zdravko Kovačević (**Fig.5.8**), all from Sarajevo. Three compensatory awards went to two teams from Zagreb and a team from Sarajevo.¹⁴⁹ Remarkably, the awarded entries

cijeloga prostora pravilno je riješena. Radnja je provedena cjelovitim suvremeno- inžinjersko-arhitektonskim postupkom. Diferenciranost i povezanost glavne su karakteristike ove zamisli. Komunikacije su svedene na minimum. Prizemlje objekta svojom prostorno vizualnom komunikativnošću predstavlja veoma uspješno suvremeno rješenje. Dimenzije i arhitektonsko rješenje vanjskog izložbenog prostora sretno su uklopljeni u objekat. Preglednost i muzejska vrijednost vanjskog izložbenog prostora je očita. Izložbeni prostori s predloženim sistemom rasvjete veoma su uspješni. Kompoziciono arhitektonskim rješenjem postignut je uvjerljiv izraz. Dispozicionim i plastično- kompozicionim kvalitetima u cjelini radnja optimalno rješava postavljeni zadatak. Cijena koštanja objekta ne prelazi predviđenu svotu” (ARHITEKTURA 1958, 96-97).

¹⁴⁹ II Prize: ING arh. Jahiel Finci and ING arh. Lujo Schwerer, model by Ivica Komšić, all from Sarajevo; III Prize: ING arh. Ivan Štraus, teh. arh. Tihomir Štraus, Consultant ING arh. Zdravko Kovačević, model: Slavko Maksimović and photographer Boris Osim, all from Sarajevo; I Compensation: ING arh. Grozdan Knežević, ING arh. Milivoj Papić i ING arh. Stanislav Kiš, all from Zagreb.

bear similarities, which is illustrated in a strong modernist manner in response to the brief.

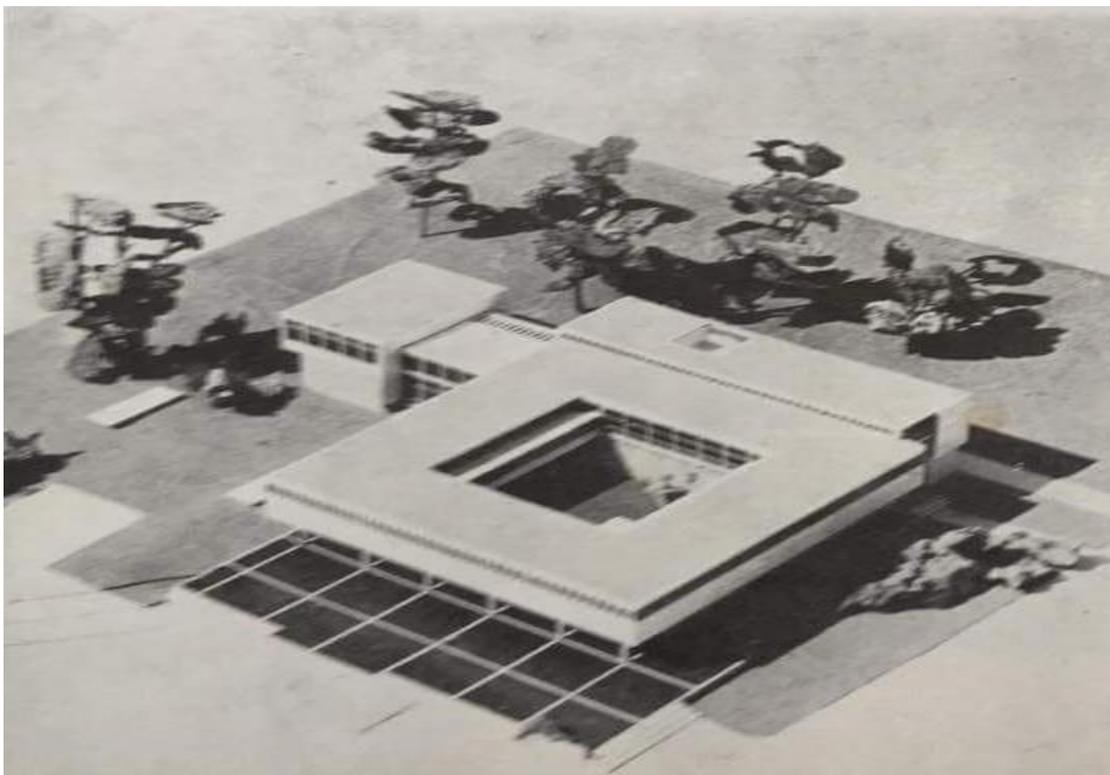


Fig.5.7 Model of the Second prize in the competition for design of the Museum of Revolution building in Sarajevo, for Jahiel Finci and Lujo Schwerer, model by Ivica Komšić, all from Sarajevo (Author's photo from ARHITEKTURA [1958, 96-97]).

II: COMPENSATION: ING arh Zdravko Bregovac i ING arh. Vjenceslav Richter, both from Zagreb
III COMPENSATION: ING arh. Zdravko Ćuk i ING arh. Zdravko Likić, both from Sarajevo
(ARHITEKTURA 1958, 96-97).

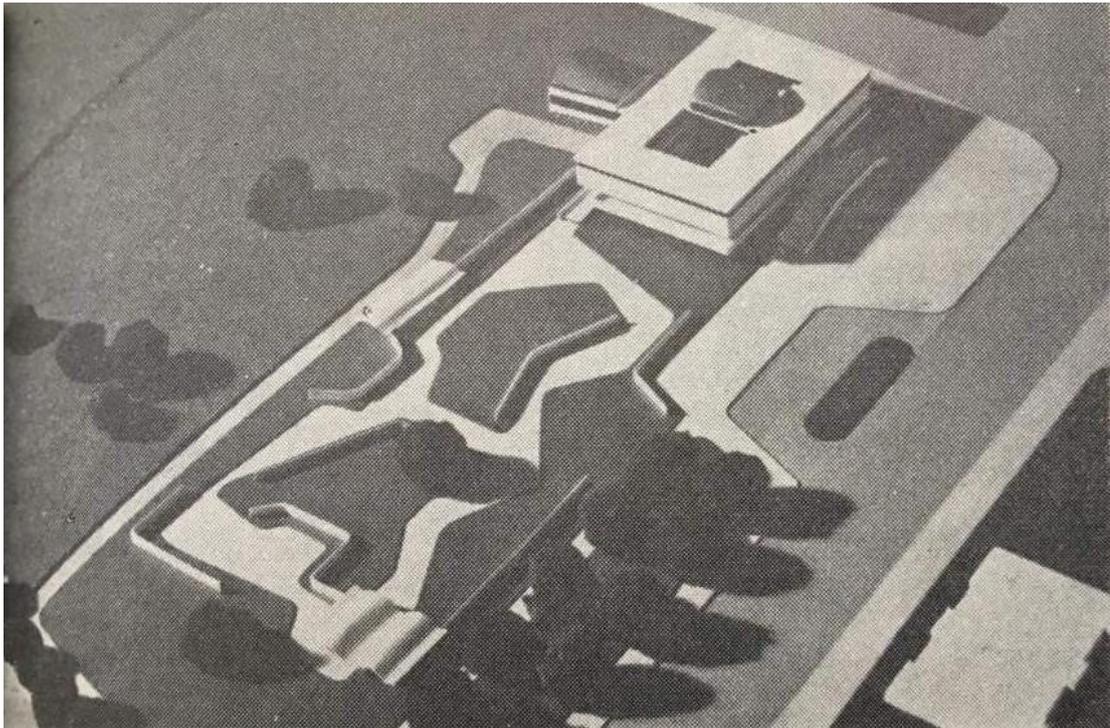


Fig.5.8 Model of the Third prize in the competition for design of the Museum of Revolution building in Sarajevo, for Ivan Štraus and Tihomir Štraus, from Sarajevo (Author's photo from ARHITEKTURA [1958, 96-97]).

5.7 Architecture, Architects and Materialisation of the Building

In July 1959, the Ministry for Industry and Construction fast-tracked the approval for a revision of Phase I of the Design/Working Drawings¹⁵⁰, but imposed a cost-saving exercise itemising the areas for revision of the original provisions, including the following:

- flat roof drainage details and water-proofing;
- mechanical ventilation in the administrative area and the main exhibition area (the Cube);

¹⁵⁰ Sekretarijat za industriju i gradjevinarstvo Izvršnog vijeća Narodne Republike Bosne i Hercegovine; Letter, No. 13-1301-1/59, dated 11 July 1959, addressed to the Museum with a Resolution and approval of the revision on the Phase I of the Glavni projekat/Working drawings (HMBiH Archive).

- provision of single-glazing instead of double-glazing as in the original design;
- provision of shared central heating for the administration and lecture rooms;
- further analysis was required to determine the type of glazing for the lecture rooms and café;
- examination of the horizontal foul water drainage (Sekretarijat za industriju i gradjevinarstvo 1959, 11 July 1959).

The technical reports from the Museum's archive, which have not been studied here in detail, indicate that the revision was based on the reports by three experts from the Architecture Faculty in Sarajevo.¹⁵¹ The cost-cutting measures were necessitated by economic constraints, but it is most likely that the implementation of the revisions had a profoundly negative impact on the quality of the construction of the Museum building,¹⁵² which falls short of today's building standards and requirements of the building fabric performance.

Further correspondence in 1961, between the Museum Director and Institute for Building Construction Zagreb, shows concerns about the central heating and ventilation system. Citing an independent report from engineer Nurija Pašić, the technical details of the proposals were queried, flagging the lack of coordination between the services engineer and the architects, specifically with regard to the location of the radiators.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Folder titled: Important Documents/Važnija dokumenta vezana za izgradnju zgrade Muzeja narodne revolucije u Sarajevu, Item 13. Izvještaji izvjestilaca prilikom revizije projekta, odnosno Inv. Programa Muzeja Nar. Revolucije; Izvještaji: Ing arh. Jahiel Finci, Prof Ing Stojkov and Prof D. Smiljanić (HMBiH Archive).

¹⁵² This is corroborated during the interview with Adisa Džino, Director of Cultural Heritage without Borders (CHWB) Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Sarajevo on 30 May 2019. CHWB is in the process of mapping the previous interventions to the Museum building, related to latent defects and other.

¹⁵³ Letter from the Museum to Institute for Building Construction Zagreb, No. 844-1/61, dated 14 November 1961 (HMBiH Archive).

As a public institution, the Museum of Revolution had a separate service contract with the Bosnian Government Public Investment Service,¹⁵⁴ which was responsible for the technical implementation of the construction process, to undertake building inspection and supervision, to commission and approve the completed works and to procure the necessary equipment. Such records are not examined in this work, with the exception of the limited correspondence from the Museum's Archive. This exclusion applies to the records by the Main contractor Vranica from Sarajevo, as well as the Interpublic from Zagreb, who were responsible for the construction of interiors of the main exhibition area.

The construction phase took almost four years to complete, but once finished, the elegant and restrained mass of the Museum stood out against the humble background of industrial single-storey structures further to the west, and the National Museum [Zemaljski muzej] to the east. The two museum buildings contrast but also complement each other. They historically symbolise two radically different architectural visions, exemplifying the evolution of museum concepts, practice of collection, preservation, representation and commemoration of the historic material.

The architectural composition of the Museum of Revolution building consists of three main volumes placed perpendicular to each other on a raised terrace over the basement storage areas and a concealed internal courtyard. The opaque white cube of the main exhibition hall dominates over an elongated single-storey steel and glass prism for temporary exhibitions and circulation, flanked by a two-storey administration block and an inner courtyard enclosure to the rear of the building. The

¹⁵⁴ Author's translation from Serbo-Croat original: "Servis za poslove republičkih investicija društvenog standard u Sarajevu".

schematic keyed plan and section illustrate the functional distribution of space in the building, as shown in **Fig. 5.9**.¹⁵⁵

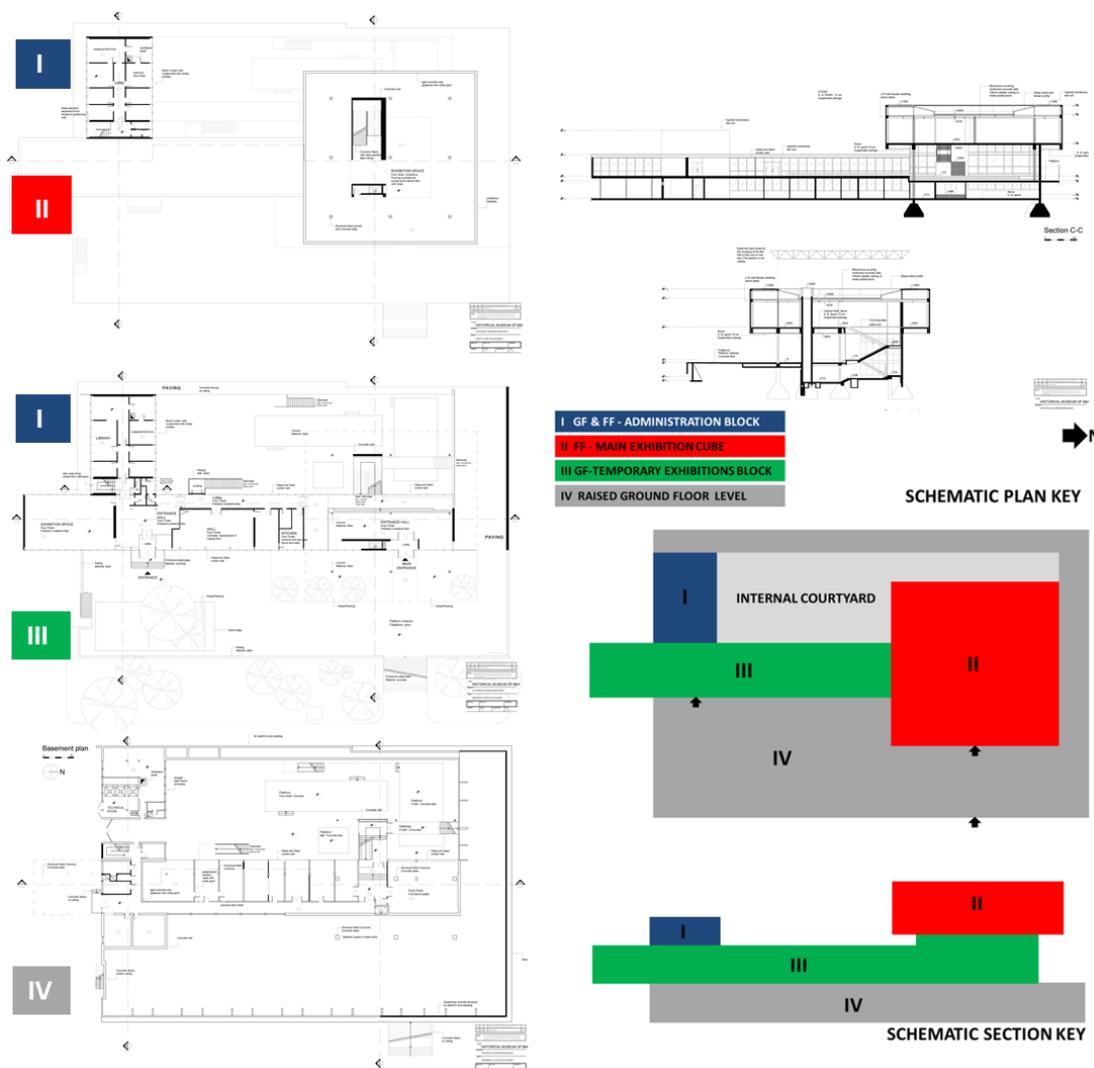


Fig. 5.9 Museum of Revolution: Plans (left top to bottom: FF, GF, Basement), Sections and Schematic plan and section key; Adapted and annotated by Selma Harrington (Source: GCD Group Student project 2014, Author's archive).

The sequence of working drawings from 1959, with exceptions of the conceptual section drawing from 1957 and undated site plan, explain the more

¹⁵⁵ The copy of AutoCAD drawings prepared by the students of the AF Sarajevo in 2012-13 was edited by various student groups at the Griffith College Dublin as part of the academic requirement.

detailed allocation of space in the Museum building, as annotated in the **Fig.5.10**; **Fig.5.11**; **Fig.5.12**; **Fig.5.13** and **Fig.5.14**.

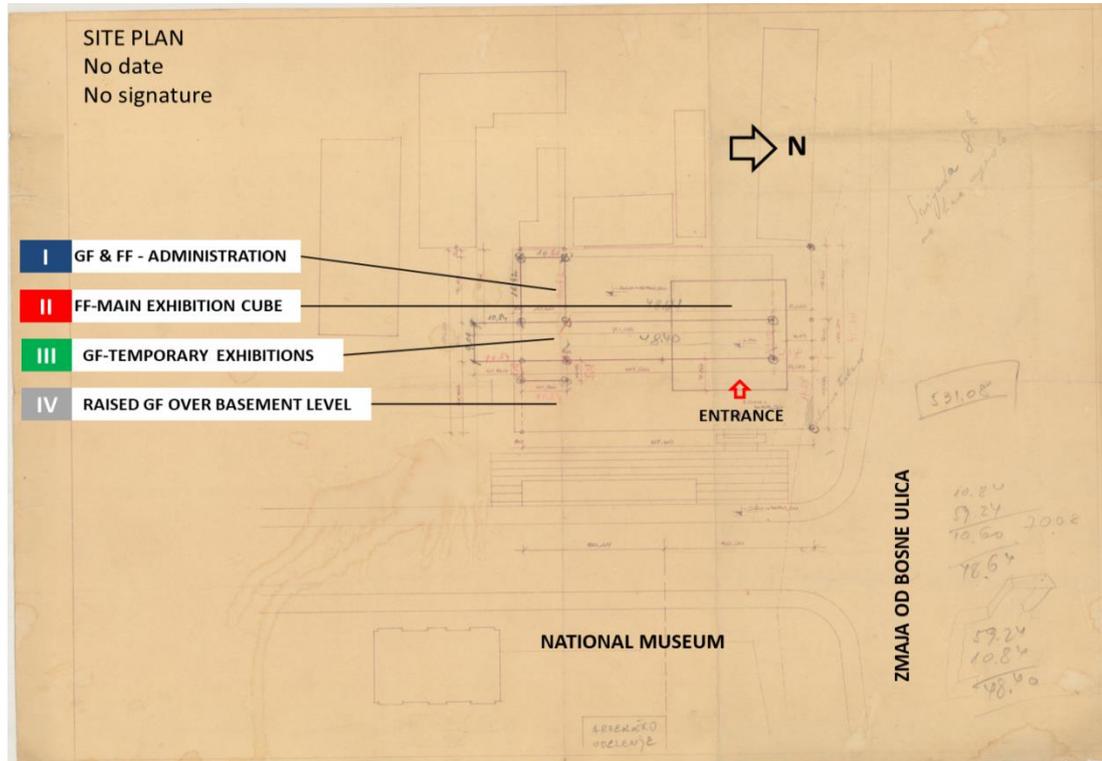


Fig.5.10 Museum of Revolution: Site plan; Annotated by Selma Harrington on the scanned copy of the archival working drawing (AF Sarajevo, courtesy of Dr Aida Idrizbegović Zgonić).

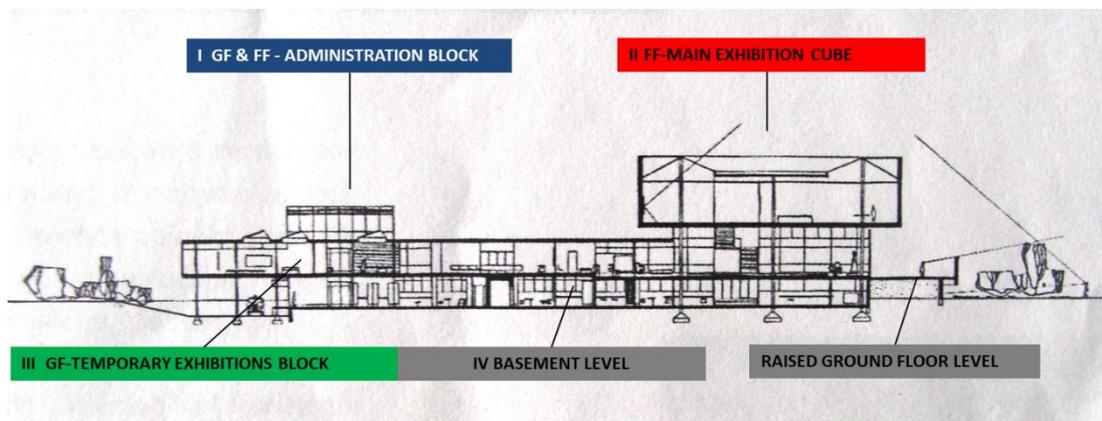


Fig.5.11 Museum of Revolution: Longitudinal section, competition drawing; Adapted and annotated by Selma Harrington (The Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina, courtesy of Dr Adi Ćorović).

BASEMENT PLAN

Dated 25 November 1959

Signed by Ing Vrkljan Zvonimir, Ing Boris Magaš, Ing Edo Šmidihen, Ing Radovan Horvat

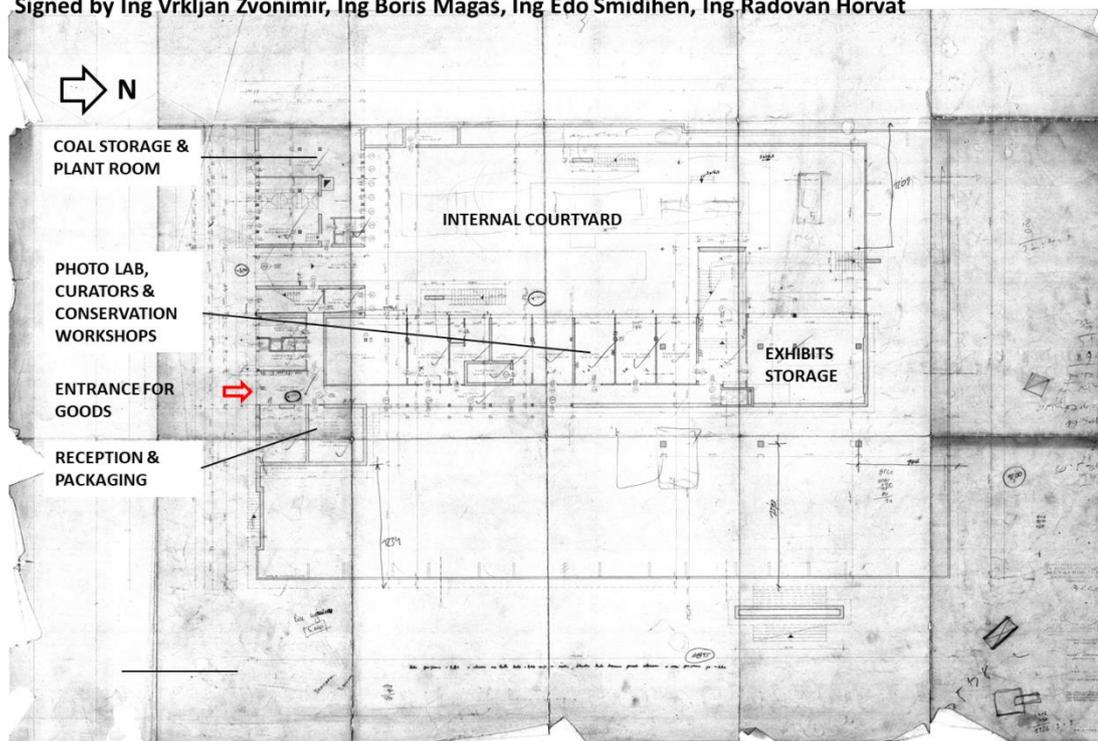


Fig.5.12 Museum of Revolution: Basement plan; Annotated by Selma Harrington on the scanned copy of the archival working drawing (AF Sarajevo, courtesy of Dr Aida Idrizbegović Zgonić).

GROUND FLOOR PLAN –WORKING DRAWINGS ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

No Date

Signed By Ing Vrkljan Zvonimir, Ing Boris Magaš, Ing Edo Šmidihen

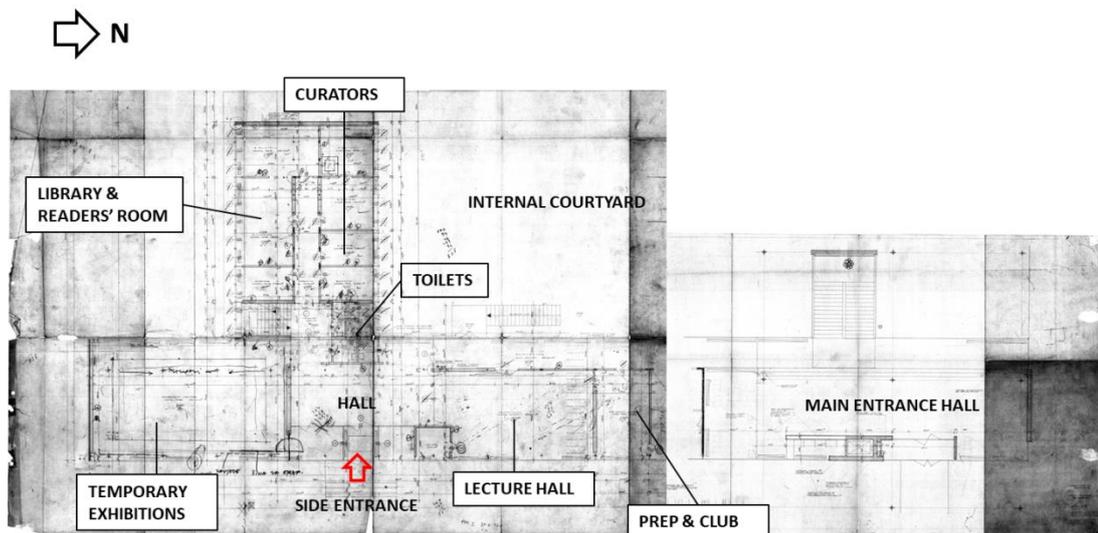


Fig.5.13 Museum of Revolution: Ground floor plan; Annotated by Selma Harrington on the scanned copy of the archival working drawing (AF Sarajevo, courtesy of Dr Aida Idrizbegović Zgonić).

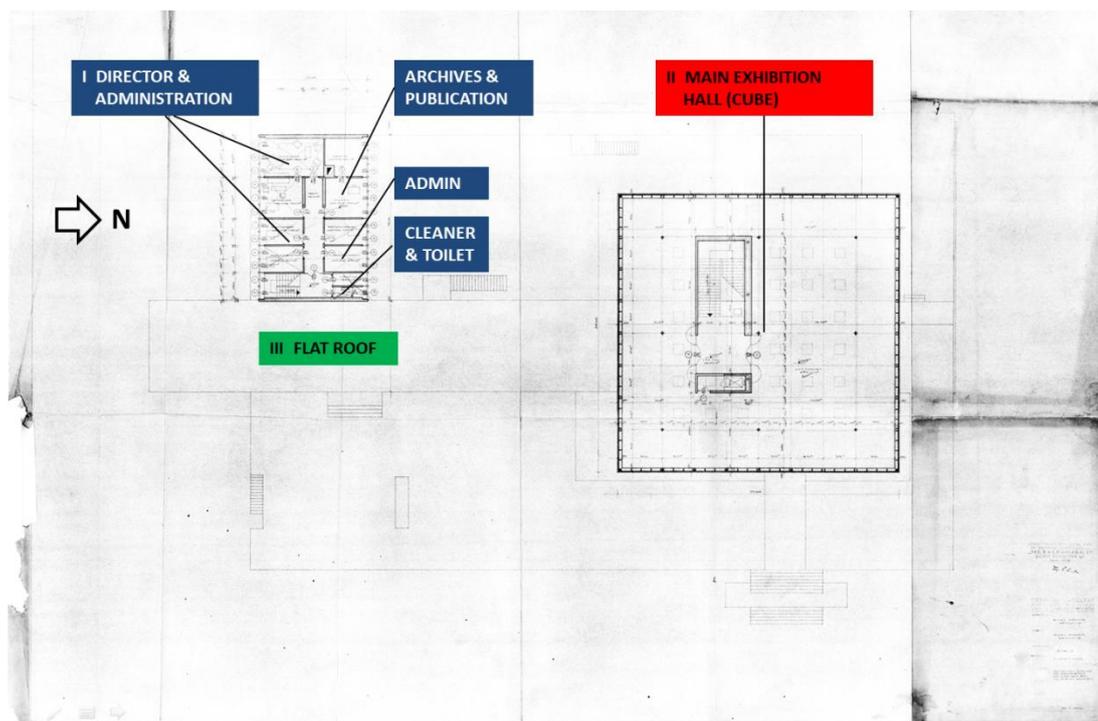


Fig.5.14 Museum of Revolution First floor plan; Annotated by Selma Harrington on the scanned copy of the archival working drawing (AF Sarajevo, courtesy of Dr Aida Idrizbegović Zgonić).

Museum’s staff architect Zlata Ugljen-Babajić (1975, 66) writes about “the solid floating volume of the main exhibition space, as a commanding design accent for the area. Such pure form bears a prominent sign of times: the discipline and a sense of harmony which triumph over the chaos of a rapid urban development.”¹⁵⁶ The main Cube is supported by nine evenly distributed cross-shaped columns, which allow for strong cantilevers at each side. This forms a suitable canopy which accentuates the entrance to the building (Ugljen-Babajić 1975, 66) (**Fig.5.15**).

¹⁵⁶ Author’s translation from the original in Serbo-Croat.



Fig.5.15 Museum of Revolution building completed in July 1963 (Source: The Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina, courtesy of Dr Adi Ćorović).

The 1950s are considered to be a “golden age” of the Architecture Faculty Zagreb, infused with ideas of modernism, taught by enthusiastic tutors who styled themselves on the original pioneers. Boris Magaš began his career as an assistant and tutor at the Faculty in Zagreb, first at the Department of Design led by Professor Vinko Turina and subsequently at the Department of Architectural Theory, headed by Professor Andro Mohorovičić, both of whom had a fundamental influence on Magaš’s intellectual formation (Žunić 2014, 9). According to Magaš, his mentor “Turina was Le Corbusier, Kauzlarić was Frank Lloyd Wright, Albin was Bauhaus. The fourth was Mohorovičić, as a pillar of theory” (Žunić 2016, 48).

Even though Magaš went on to design much larger building complexes, he was invariably associated with the Museum of Revolution, his early work. But, by

his own account, he rarely mentioned it. On one occasion, he had cheekily claimed that the Museum of Revolution competition was a “napkin sketch” (Žunić 2014, 14). He went on to accomplish an impressive portfolio of projects as well as a successful academic career and acclaim, as one of the most important Croatian architects of the twentieth-century. His early theoretical interests are articulated in his unpublished doctoral thesis from 1977, and show his preoccupation with the distinction between *intellectual* versus *emotional* approach in creative architectural design process and the conditionality of the process within a social and historical power base.¹⁵⁷ Here Magaš develops a complex and broad framework, in dialogue with ancient civilisations and anthropomorphic tectonics, and he articulates the elements for analysis of architecture based on three principles: direction, proportion and structure (Žunić 2014, 14; Magaš 1977, 30-52). Examining the nature of creativity and the dynamism between the intellectual and emotional forces, Magaš exposes the conditionality of the architectural practice within a social and historical power base.

Whilst written in a somewhat difficult impressionist style, his analysis and language show the influence of the philosophy of *dialectic materialism*, for example when he states that “based on the manifestations of architecture and its elements brought about in the world of shapes by the intellectual and emotional components of human consciousness, it is possible to define the characteristics of the system of

¹⁵⁷ According to Žunić (2014), Magaš uses terms “intelektualno (intellectual),” instead of “rational” and “senzibilno (emotional)” instead of “emotive;” the exact translation to English is difficult as both terms in Serbo-Croat are already Slavenised versions of the Latin originals, hence I have used the terms “intellectual” and “emotional.”

power that enables the human practice of architecture” (Magaš 1977, 125).¹⁵⁸ In a later interview, his approach seems close to the critical regionalism, when he says:

In relation between architecture and urbanism... there exists only one: architecture within a defined urban tissue or more precisely, environmental fabric...All architecture must be born out of the fabric that surrounds it, or, not to oversimplify, architecture forms and shapes such fabric in reverse. That does not mean that architecture is subordinate or connected with that tissue in a vulgar way, but rather that by its very existence and agency, it models that tissue, forming it and giving it a new quality (Boris Magaš 1980; cf. Salopek 2017, 153).¹⁵⁹

Magaš’s professional position might have been shaped by the principle *Form follows power*, to paraphrase the early modernists mantra *Form follows function*.¹⁶⁰

This becomes clearer in an interview from a post-Yugoslav period, when he said:

I was twenty-eight when we won the competition. Look, I can freely say now that I am a child of *endehasia*,¹⁶¹ [...] formed during the Independent State of Croatia. Of course, there were many things wrong at that time, but I certainly defend the values which existed at the time. The upbringing I have received at that time was based on honour and duty which are fundamental qualities with which I can live and work. And then a regime [change] came, which was alien, not because the intentions of equality among people, but because of the way it had functioned, which left an enormous harm to the environment where one had to live. When I designed the museum, I held a lecture at the faculty and said: ‘This is not a monument to any power or any party. It is a monument to those who have remained honest and who have suffered. I

¹⁵⁸ Author’s translation from the Croatian original: ...“na osnovu arhitektonskih manifestacija sa svim elementima koje u svijet oblika unosi intelektualna i senzibilna komponenta ljudske svijesti, mogu se okarakterizirati osobine sistema vlasti koji upravlja arhitektonskim djelovanjem čovjeka.”

¹⁵⁹ Authors translation from original in Croatian: “[O] odnosu arhitekture i urbanizma [...] postoji samo jedno: postoji arhitektura unutar odredjenog urbanog tkiva ili da budem precizniji, ambijentalnog tkiva [...] Svaka arhitektura mora izlaziti iz tkiva koje ju okružuje, odnosno, da ne simplificiram, ona reverzibilno i oblikuje i formira to tkivo. To ne znači da se ona podređuje ili nadovezuje na tkivo u vulgarnom smislu riječi, nego da upravo svojim postojanjem i djelovanjem modelira to tkivo, formira ga i donosi mu novu kvalitetu.”

¹⁶⁰ “Form follows function” phrase is mostly attributed to Frank Lloyd Wright, who was an assistant to Louis Sullivan, and may have adopted it from his original quote “form ever follows function” (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Form_follows_function; Cf. Sullivan 1896, 403–409).

¹⁶¹ Colloquial expression signifying the Nezavisna Država Hrvatska/Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945).

don't know what is the prospect for this building, but I know that it will outlive all of us.'[...] Other component is a design one, a theme of intention to create a modern architecture. [...] I have confronted the *socialist realism* with the effective and purest moment of the western abstract expression which distances itself from the vulgarisation of the notion of building, characteristic for *socialist realism* (Boris Magaš Arhitekt 2011).¹⁶²

The late architect Edo Šmidihen (**Fig.5.16**), co-author of the Museum of Revolution project, was involved in the site implementation and spent some time in Sarajevo during the construction phase. He prepared working drawings for the administrative block of the building, ground floor exhibition space and basement archives, whilst Magaš concentrated on the main exhibition block, nicknamed the Cube.¹⁶³



Fig.5.16 Architect Edo Šmidihen (1930-2015) (Photo: Selma Harrington, 23.06.2015, Zagreb).

¹⁶² Author's translation from Croatian original: "Imao sam 28 godina kada smo dobili natječaj. Gledajte, danas slobodno mogu reći, ja sam dijete endehazije. Formiran sam za vrijeme Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. Naravno da mnoge stvari iz toga perioda ne branim. Ali sigurno branim vrijednosti koje su tada postojale. U tom vremenu sam primio odgoj u kojemu su čast i dužnost temeljne vrednote s kojima mogu živjeti i raditi. A onda se događa režim koji ti nije blizak, ne zbog načina funkcioniranja i enormnog zločina koji je u svijetu načinio, a ti moraš živjeti u takvoj situaciji. Kada sam napravio muzej, održao sam predavanje na fakultetu i rekao: 'Ovo nije spomen niti jednoj vlasti niti jednoj partiji. To je spomen onima koji su ostali poštene i koji su stradali. Što će biti u perspektivi s tim objektom, to ja ne znam, ali će nadživjeti i mene i vas'.[...] Druga je komponenta oblikovna, tema htijenja stvaranja jedne suvremene arhitekture. [...] Ja sam se socijalističkom realizmu suprotstavio efektivnim i najčišćim momentum zapadnih apstraktnih izraza koji izlaze iz vulgarizacije pojma građenja što je socijalistički realizam sa sobom nosio."

¹⁶³ The Author interviewed late Edo Šmidihen on 23 June 2015 at the Architecture Faculty Zagreb.

Šmidihien served his Army conscription period in Sarajevo and was familiar with the city. He believed that the Museum building was the first application of the “curtain wall” façade in Yugoslavia. But the economic conditions and the shortages of materials, necessitated adjustments so the façade of the administrative block was made from standard timber profiles, cut to look like steel (**Fig.5.17**).



Fig.5.17 Museum of Revolution-view from west to the Administrative block (Author’s photo of the original from late Edo Šmidihien’s personal archive, 23.06.2015, Zagreb).

On the anniversary of the building’s completion in 1964, Šmidihien gave a salutary speech during the modest inaugural opening of the Museum and he said:¹⁶⁴

To realise the building concept [on site] was an exceptional challenge both for us architects and for the contractors. Engineer Ročić was an extremely

¹⁶⁴ Author’s translation from the original Serbo-Croat text, copy of personal record obtained by courtesy of Edo Šmidihien, 23 June 2015 at the Architecture Faculty Zagreb: “Realizacija tako koncipiranog objekta postavila je pred nas projektante, a osobito pred izvodjače, izuzetne zahtjeve. Razradjujući projektni elaborat, arhitekta Magaš i ja smo imali u inženjeru Ročiću kao konstrukteru, neobično senzibilnog pratioca naših arhitektonskih htijenja. Medjutim situacija sa izvodjačkim snagama bila je daleko nepovoljnija i čini mi se da nam je upravo nepoznavanje mogućnosti izvodjača u ono vrijeme, dalo snage i odlučnosti da provedemo našu arhitektonsku zamisao do kraja. Ili možda je to bio i mladenački zanos pun vjere u mogućnosti, zanos neopterećen skepsom koja se dobije tokom prakse” (Šmidihien 1964, 2).

sensitive accomplice as constructor of the design vision by Architect Magaš and me. However, it was much less favourable with the construction team, and it seems to me that it was precisely our lack of awareness of the contractors' limitations that gave us strength and determination to pursue the materialisation of our design. Or perhaps, it was the optimistic confidence of youth still unburdened by scepticism which comes with experience (Šmidihen 1964, 2).

Šmidihen gave credit to the clients and their determination to procure the project via architectural competition, as well as the confidence to appoint the young and inexperienced architects' team, which was unusual at that time. In the end he said:

I believe that the value of architectural object depends on readability of authors' intentions and artistic positions, and therefore it is up to every-day observer to evaluate and experience our architectural-spatial ambitions and find in them the qualities which need to become a part of a shared ownership between author and user, today and tomorrow (Šmidihen 1964, 3).

The photo records from the construction progress are sparse, but Šmidihen kept a copy with an undated advanced progress record of the structure (**Fig.5.18**). The construction was completed in July 1963, but according to the Museum's records,¹⁶⁵ there were defects, such as leaks through the glazed roof of the Cube, leaks of other glazed facades, leaks above two entrances, the subsidence of the terrace and a noisy ventilation system. These were attributed in part to the incorrect or sub-standard workmanship and materials, and addressed in a detailed response by Šmidihen, with instructions for remedial works.¹⁶⁶ Subsequent correspondence continues to refer to similar defects during the repeated external inspections, the return of subcontractors, remedial works and solutions, throughout 1964 and 1965.

¹⁶⁵ Meeting held on 17 October 1963, File No. 971-1/63 (HMBiH Archive).

¹⁶⁶ Letter by Zavod za Gradjevne konstrukcije Zagreb, No. 99/63, dated 26 October 1963, signed by Edo Šmidihen (HMBiH Archive).



Fig.5.18 Construction progress of the Museum of Revolution building in Sarajevo (Author's photo from the late Edo Šmidihen's personal archive, 23.06.2015, Zagreb).

The Main contractor raised the issue of the client's (or client's representatives) choice of stone for the external cladding by Kamen Pazin, Croatia, which "is not suitable to our climatic conditions, as it is not frost-resistant, as was confirmed by the Institute for Materials Testing in Sarajevo," nor had it adequate capping details.¹⁶⁷ This was counter-claimed by the stone supplier, who blamed the poorly prepared substrata and concrete, and provided a laboratory testing from Zagreb.¹⁶⁸ Such correspondence continued for a while, until a compromise was reached on the contractual and financial responsibilities for remedial solutions, which are not examined here.

The review hints to some less fortuitous elements of the urban composition of the building and some omissions in the execution of details, referring to the open exhibition space at the back of the building. Šmidihen (1964) explained this in his speech during the opening ceremony of the Museum, regretting that the urban plan had remained incomplete, in a scheme in which the building was conceived to define

¹⁶⁷ Letter by the main contractor "Vranica" to the Museum, signed by the Technical director Ing Božidar Žabčić, dated 9 August 1965. (Museum Stamp No. 882-2/65, dated 10 August 1965 (HMBiH Archive).

¹⁶⁸ Letter by "Kamen" Pazin dated 6 July 1965. (Museum Stamp No. 737-4/65 dated 9 July 1965 (HMBiH Archive).

the end of the planned city square.¹⁶⁹ He called for the urgent rectification of Vojvode Putnika Street (today Zmaja of Bosna), to finalize the space at the Museum's entrance.

Close to the completion of the construction, a review in ARHITEKTURA magazine (V.T. 1962, 16-17), accompanied by conceptual drawings (**Fig.5.19 & 5.20**), rhetorically poses questions “beyond the standard technical appraisal,” “if the completed building fulfilled its general and human scale requirements, related to time, brief and some aesthetic and composition presuppositions of the new understanding of architecture.”

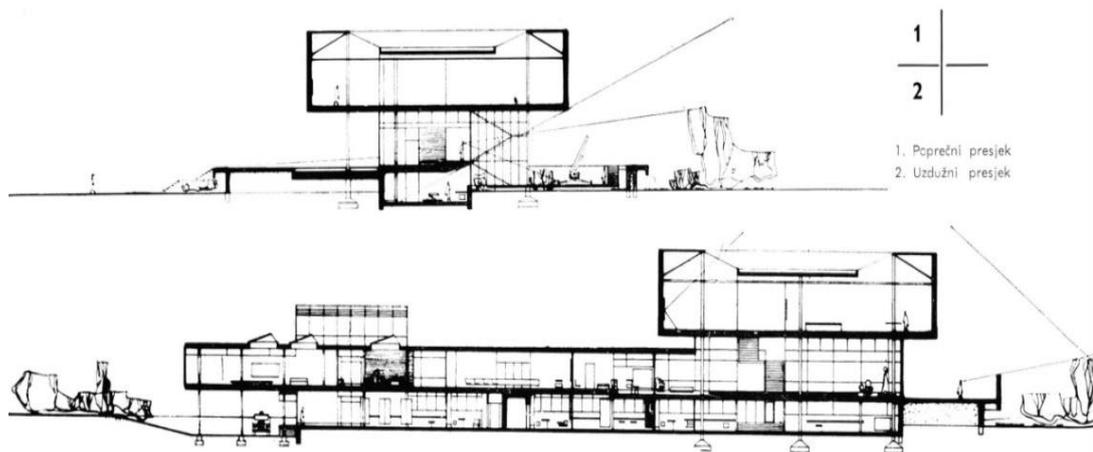


Fig.5.19 Museum of Revolution, Conceptual section drawings. Architects Boris Magaš, Edo Šmidihen, Radovan Horvat (V.T. 1962, 16-17; Scanned copy courtesy of the Architecture Centre AF Zagreb).

¹⁶⁹ The Author obtained a copy of the speech from late Edo Šmidihen, during the interview on 23 June 2015, at the Faculty of Architecture in Zagreb.

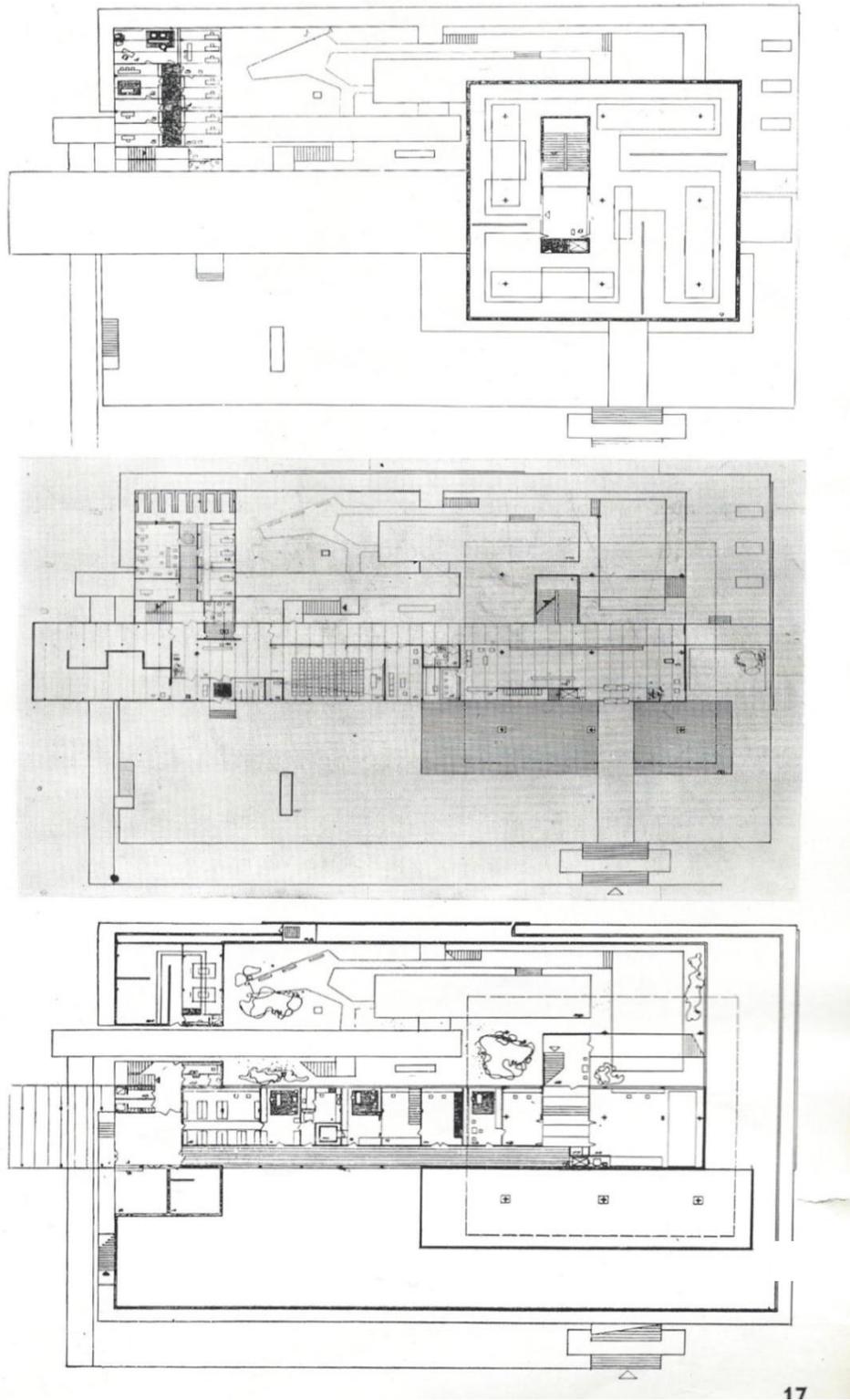


Fig.5.20 Top to bottom: First floor, Ground level, Basement plans of the Museum of Revolution, architects Boris Magaš, Edo Šmihlen, Radovan Horvat (V.T. 1962,17; Scanned copy courtesy of the Architecture Centre AF Zagreb).

The author answer is jubilant: “the young ones have conquered the time and the necessary knowledge of the synthesis,” followed with the exaltation:

Museum of Revolution... Not only that it exceeds the standard architectural composition schemes, but it embodies the truth of its time and its content. If the Revolution is considered to be a beginning, a departing point for something New in the temporal and human span, then the building of the Museum reflects that New and merges with it into One, into the simultaneous unity” (V.T. 1962, 16).¹⁷⁰

The review also points to the “internal interventions of different authors in the same space,” and that “a building [should be] an inseparable unity of exterior and interior architecture” (V.T. 1962, 16). In fact, as Magaš later mused, after the structural completion the architects were not involved in either the design of the interiors or further detailing, contracted to others. This might explain why Magaš seldom referred to this project and recalled it “more as an abstract phase” of his architecture (Žunić 2014, 14).

Šmidihien believed that the Museum building gave significant rise to the spread of architectural Modernism in the post-war (WWII) Sarajevo. He never collaborated again with Magaš, who he considered to be “a lone wolf,” who preferred to have full control of his projects as a single author.¹⁷¹

Regardless of the difficulties experienced during the construction, the architecture of the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo was enthusiastically received by local and international professional audiences at that time. The French

¹⁷⁰ Translation from the original in Serbo-Croat, by Selma Harrington: “Muzej revolucije... Ne samo da je on odskočio od uobičajenih shema arhitektonske kompozicije, on je u svom elementu dao istinu svog vremena i svog sadržaja. Ako Revoluciju treba smatrati početnom ishodišnom tačkom nečega Novog u vremenskom i humanom dijapazonu, onda je zgrada Muzeja odrazila to Novo i stopila se s njime u jedno. U simultano jedinstvo.”

¹⁷¹ Author’s recorded interview with the late Edo Šmidihien, 23 June 2015.

international architecture magazine *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* featured in 1964 “Musée de Sarajevo, Yugoslavie,” with a short description of its mission and space (Žunić 2014, 42-43). Štraus (1991, 50-53) opined that the Museum was one of only five buildings of architectural merit in the twenty-year period after the end of World War II in Sarajevo.¹⁷² The Museum building is repeatedly referred to as a “manifesto of pure architecture,” in particular in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Roš 2004). “[Its] hovering solid mass containing the permanent exhibition - the Cube, became a leading visual accent of the surroundings, projected onto the dense screen of the park greenery, which will replace the existing industrial buildings in the future” (Ugljen 1964, 17) (**Fig.5.21**).



Fig.5.21 Museum of Revolution, 1963; Adapted by Selma Harrington (Leka 2010, 10; HMBiH Archive).

This “hovering” image persists in memory and salutary words by Andrija Mutnjaković (2016, 23) who writes: “A crystal clear monumental exhibition cube hovers over the prominent glazed ground level base prism, which provides support as

¹⁷² Among the “significant five”, Štraus includes: Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo (1959), designed by Juraj Neidhardt; Museum of Revolution (1963), designed by Boris Magaš and Edo Šmidih; The Chamber of Commerce of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1962), designed by Milivoj Peterčić; Energoinvest Headquarters (1962), designed by Živorad Janković; and Jugobanka Office building (1966), designed by Zdravko Kovačević and Milan Kušan (Štraus 1991, 51).

a reflection of a creative endeavour in which glass dematerialises loadbearing, thus materialising an *apotheosis* of the [very] essence of architecture - [which is] overcoming gravity by architecture of free invention.”¹⁷³ However, Zlata Ugljen Babajić, from the user’s perspective and post-occupancy experience of working in the new building, politely hinted at its apparent incompleteness and inadequacies, writing in the *Zbornik radova*, on the thirtieth anniversary of the Museum:

[F]rom the Museum entrance to the exhibition, the museum material undergoes a complex process which is impossible to complete without certain conditions: the necessary working space for the professional staff, catalogued archives where every object is accessible daily, and the correct functioning of the ancillary services.

[...]

[C]onsidered dialectically, and not simplistically, the massive growth of international museums, architecturally attractive, with contemporary exhibition space and collections is a logical development. Such museums and their ancillary services became a real small ‘factory’. Instead of small and dark basement workshops, and poorly lit archives, a modern museum requires the fully coordinated alignment of the ancillary space with the core of the museum: the visitors’ space.

[...]

With the above in mind, within the material restrictions, the first phase of the Museum of Revolution of BiH was completed, based on the contemporary museological principles within a modern architectural form (Ugljen Babajić 1975, 65-69).

But Ugljen-Babajić’s mature appraisal of the new Museum building was overlooked and overshadowed by the exclusive focus by other reviewers on the form of the building. She correctly highlighted that the Museum was envisaged as part of the large square connecting the National Assembly building, the Faculty of

¹⁷³ Author’s translation from Croatian original: “[I]znad naglašenog kvadra podnožja lebdi kristalno čist monumentalni kvadar muzejskog prostora podržan ostakljenim prizemljem kao odrazom onoga kreativnog htijenja gdje staklo dematerijalizira nosivost, ostvarujući tako protagonističku apoteozu biti arhitekture-ovladavanje gravitacije arhitekturom slobodne invencije.”

Philosophy and the Zemaljski muzej (National Museum), with only its first phase completed. The unsigned and undated drawings from the Museum's archive (**Fig.5.22 & Fig.5.23**), show the second cube, indicating how this planned second phase might have looked, and what Ugljen Babajić (1975, 68-69) refers to as the need to “maintain the structural clarity.” In any case, she describes the additional space needed to curate and display the material from the post-war period (WWII), which was only outlined in the original exhibition space. She highlights that the existing ancillary services have “the compressed capacity,” with insufficient space for the photo laboratory, preparatory and other workshops, central heating and ventilation plant, shower and changing rooms for personnel, inadequate for the future development of the Museum.

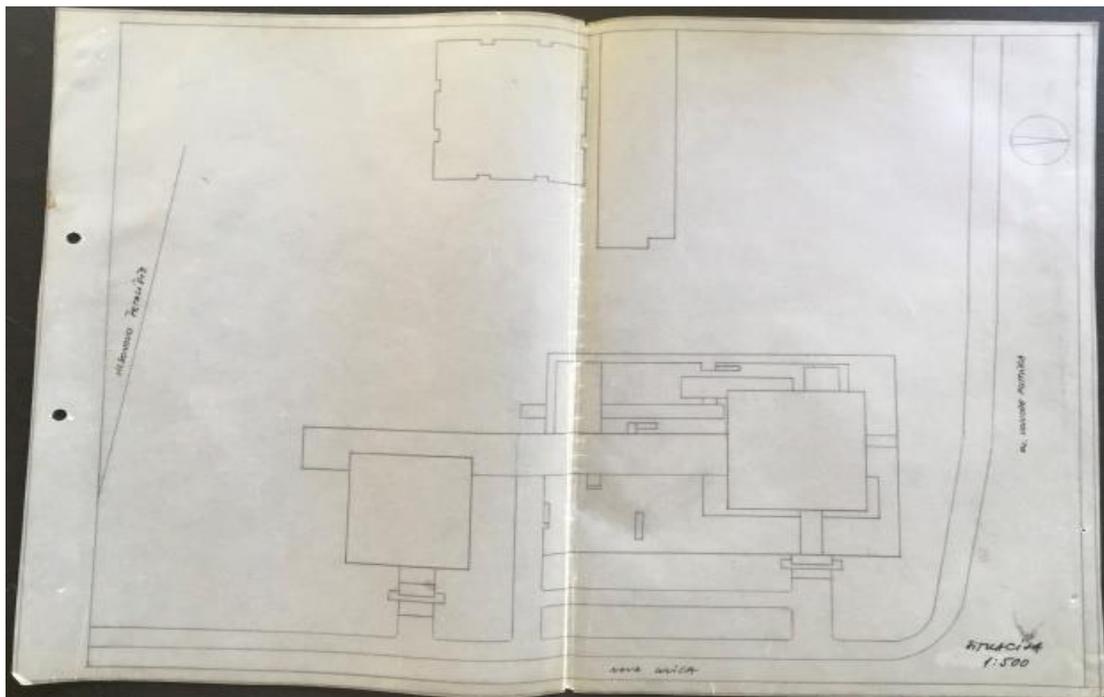


Fig.5.22 Unsigned drawings: proposed Site plan of the Museum with a second Cube (Author's photo from the HMBiH Archive).

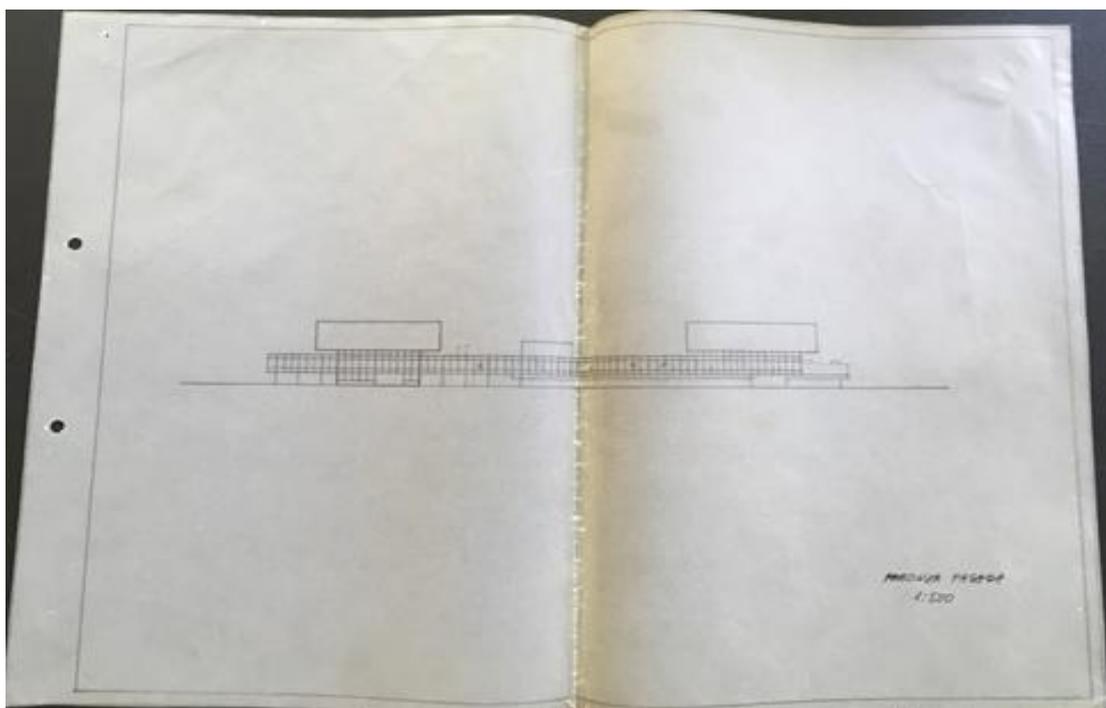


Fig.5.23 Unsigned drawings: proposed East elevation of the Museum with a second Cube (Author's photo from the HMBiH Archive).

The second phase and other plans for the sculpture park in the open space of the Museum's terrace have never materialised. Instead, there were smaller interventions around the main entrance, on the raised terrace and in the back courtyard, with the hard landscaping inspired by the local vernacular materials, such as the insertions of the cobbled stone paths and surfaces, based on Zlatko Ugljen's design.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ According to the informal interview with Adisa Džino Šuta, Director of the Cultural Heritage Without Borders (CHWB) Bosnia and Herzegovina in the History Museum of BiH in Sarajevo on 30 May 2019, the assessment of the historic landscaping around the Museum is currently being prepared, complementary to the project Keep It Modern, a Getty Foundation Grant 2018.

5.8 The Interiors, Exhibition Space and Artwork

The ground level exhibition space and interiors were designed by local architects and artists, with Zlatko Ugljen as lead designer and others who worked in close consultation with the Museum Director and curators. Endorsed by the Museum's Director Moni Finci, Ugljen initiated that a group of prominent local painters, sculptors and architects be gathered to discuss the collaboration on interior design and to form an *expert artistic collegium* which will discuss the thematic exhibition "AVNOJ 1943-1963."¹⁷⁵ In parallel to the construction works, the Museum decided to mount a temporary thematic exhibition to coincide with the completion of the building and the twentieth anniversary of Liberation, while a permanent exhibition was planned for 25th November 1966 (Leka 2010, 12; Pištalo et al. 1982, 49).

The permanent exhibition display included the historic narrative of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1878 up to the 1960s, which is mapped on the outline design drawings by Đuka Kavurić (**Fig.5.24**). A meeting on 6 October 1962 revealed that the definitive programme was still at the conceptual stage, while the November deadline was looming. The letter of 23 November 1962 confirms the formation of the Expert artistic council, whose members would receive a stipend for their work on reviewing the concepts for the thematic exhibition "29 November 1943-1963."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ AVNOJ- Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia; From the Notes of the meeting held on 18 June 1962 in the Museum, with the list the participants: Moni Finci, Museum Director, Ognjen Vukelić, Museum curator, Ing arh. Zlata Ugljen, Ing arh. Milan Kušan, Ing arh. Duško Džapa, Ismet Mujezinović, painter, Vojo Dimitrijević, painter, Branko Subotić, painter, Mirko Ostoja, sculptor (Unable to attend). (Folder: *Ugljen Ing. arh. Zlatko, ugovor, zapisnici, izvještaji*. (Notes of the Meeting in Muzej narodne revolucije on 18 June 1962) (HMBiH Archive).

¹⁷⁶ Notes of the Meeting in Muzej narodne revolucije on 23 November 1962, File: *Ugljen Ing. arh. Zlatko, Ugovor, zapisnici, izvještaji*; (HMBiH Archive).

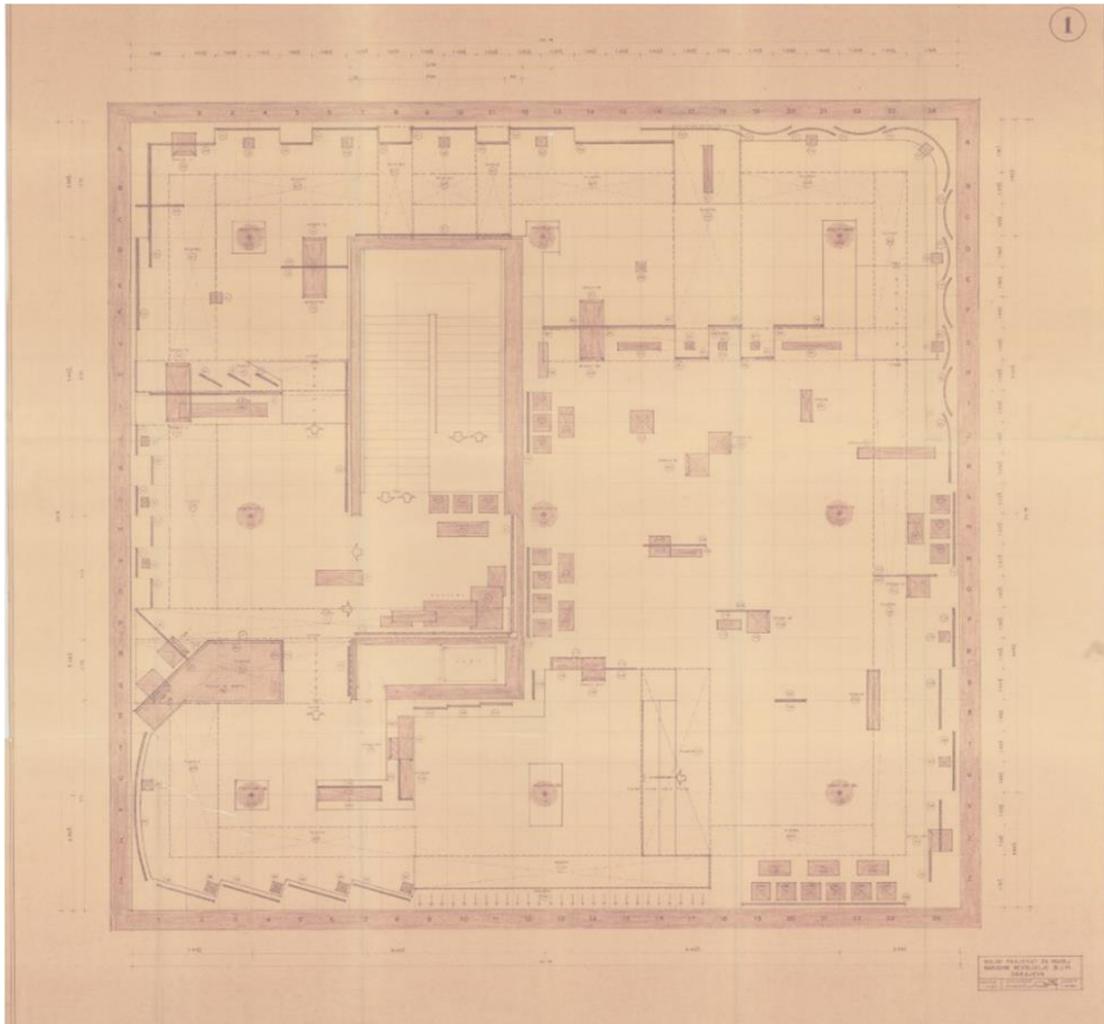


Fig.5.24 Main Exhibition Hall design by Đuka Kavurić (Courtesy of Dr Aida Idrizbegović Zgonić, Architecture Faculty Sarajevo, 2014).

Notes from the meeting demonstrate the motivational skills of the Museum's Director Finci, when he highlights the significance of the project and updates on his collaboration with Zlatko Ugljen as the lead architect for the ground level interiors (**Fig.5.25**). Finci stressed that the building itself is already a monument and that the completion of its internal space and exhibition area had to be in keeping with the overall architectural design and museological requirements. This provided an opportunity to bring together the work of Museum curators and the external experts.



Fig.5.25 Small Museum Hall, with the original custom made furniture designed by Zlatko Ugljen (Photo: Selma Harrington, October 2016).

The monthly meetings continued throughout 1962 to further the work on the thematic exhibition and interiors at ground floor level and to develop detailed lists of exhibits for the designers. The designs for the main exhibition space in the Cube and the Main entrance hall were prepared by the architect Đuka Kavurić, who made several progress presentations involving the Expert Artistic Committee, appointed by the Museum, which took place from the end of 1964 up to the end of 1965.¹⁷⁷

The official opening of the permanent exhibition was held on the 25th November 1966, a day celebrated to mark the Bosnian Republic sovereignty proclaimed in 1943 during World War II (Leka 2010, 12) (**Fig.5.26a & Fig 5.26b**).

¹⁷⁷ Records of Meeting minutes of the Expert Artistic Committee between 25 November 1964 and 29 November 1965; Letter from the Museum director thanking the External Committee, dated 14 May 1965 (HMBiH Archive).



Fig.5.26a - Permanent Exhibition in the Museum of Revolution (Leka 2010, 10).



Fig.5.26b- Permanent Exhibition in the Museum of Revolution (Pištalo et al. 1982, 50).

A modest brochure was also published, with a description of the exhibition content, based on the historical development “of modern revolutionary movements since 1878 until the beginning of the 1960s” in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Muzej Revolucije Bosne i Hercegovine Sarajevo 1964) (**Fig.5.27**).

In 1975, on the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Museum, Director Boro Pištalo reminisced on the visit by the Yugoslav President Marshal Tito in 1969, and his comment “how the brotherhood and unity of our people was forged in blood here on the soil of Bosnia and Herzegovina,” which the exhibition clearly conveyed, and he expressed the hope that this will inspire young generations to safeguard that legacy (Pištalo 1975, 240). In his speech, Director Pištalo announced that the Museum is preparing to curate the themes of the post-war period, “without waiting for the competent decisions by the political bodies and self-management organs about the construction of the second phase of the Museum” (Pištalo 1975, 241). This might be interpreted as the plan to thematically broaden the narrative, but also might hint to a sense of being neglected by the authorities.

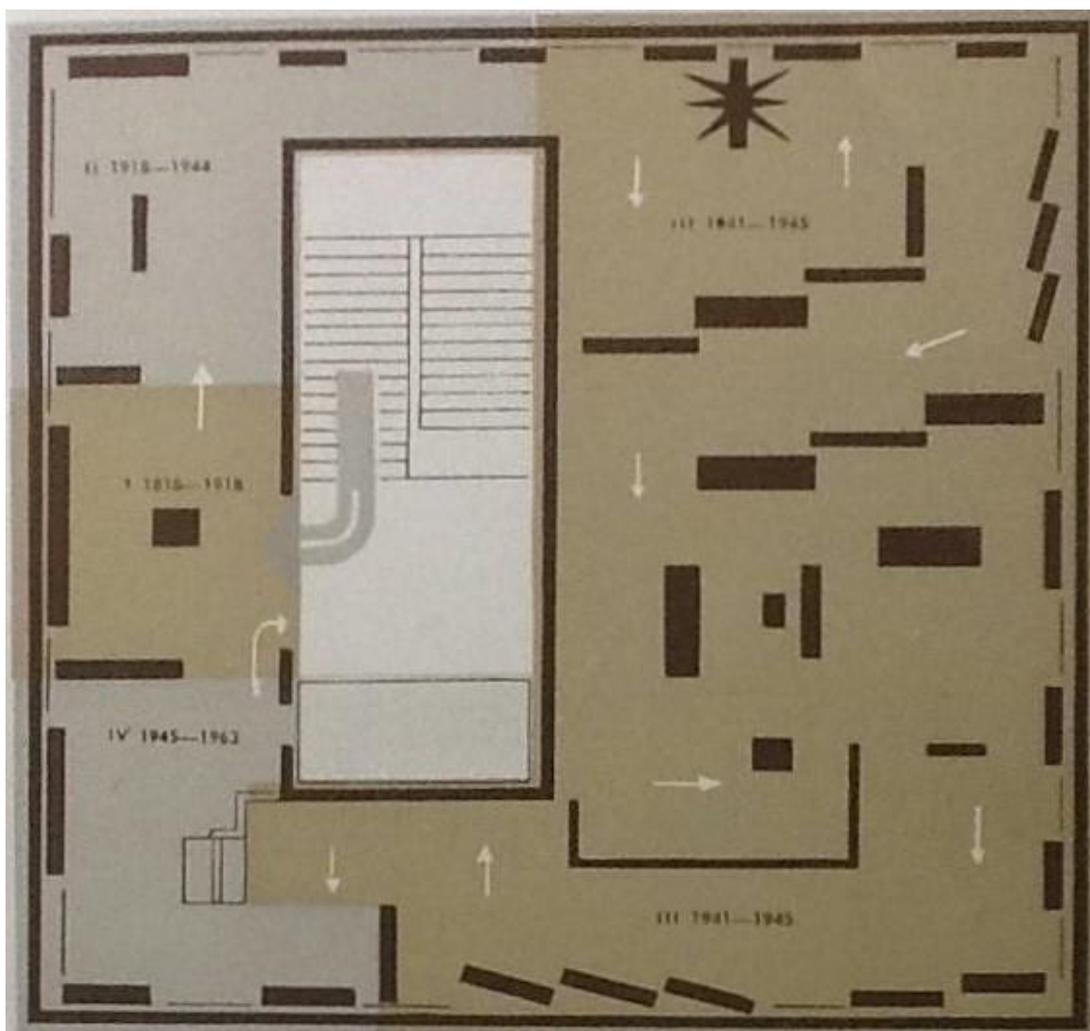


Fig.5.27 Main exhibition layout from the Museum Brochure, 1964, image adapted by Selma Harrington (Author's photo of the original from the late Edo Šmidihen's archive).

Director Pištalo claimed that “even though [the Museum’s] primary interest is the revolutionary development of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is completely natural that these should be observed within the general Yugoslav revolutionary movement” (Pištalo 1975, 239). The symbolic representation of that framework was evident in the entrance hall of the Museum building, on the large stained-glass triptych integrated in the glazed partition and designed by Vojo Dimitrijević (**Fig.5.28**).



Fig.5.28 Stained glass triptych screen in the entrance hall of the History museum/former Museum of Revolution by Vojo Dimitrijević. (Photo: Selma Harrington, October 2016).

The slogans on each panel of the triptych relate to the periods of Yugoslav (and Bosnian) history are as follows:

- (left) *Bolje grob nego rob / Better grave than slave*, when the slogan was used in popular demonstrations in Belgrade, Sarajevo and other towns after the Nazi attack on the Kingdom and division of Yugoslavia,
- (middle) *Smrt fašizmu, sloboda narodu / Death to fascism, freedom to people*, partisan's slogan used during the national liberation struggle,
- (right) *Tuđe nećemo, svoje ne damo / We will not take from others, we protect our own*, as reaction to post-war disputes and realigning of borders with Italy around the city of Trieste.

5.9 Remedial and Renovation Proposals

The already mentioned shortcomings of the building fabric, such as roof leaks, central heating problems, subsidence and stone defects of the external entrance platform, prompted the Museum management to commission a number of projects for remedial works, as funding for the promised second phase never materialised. Amongst others, a most comprehensive proposal was prepared in 1986, by the Bosnian firm UNIONINVEST-UNION IZGRADNJA, signed by Ivica Prolić as Project Architect (**Fig.5.29**). The design envisaged additional Museum space at Basement level, located below the front terrace, with improvements to services, and received approval by Boris Magaš and Edo Šmidihen, but the project did not go ahead. In October 1991, a new project for the Reconstruction and Conversion of the Power plant was prepared by UNITHERM and the Museum applied for funding in December of that year to the Public Fund for Culture of the Education Ministry of Bosnia and Herzegovina, citing a budget of approximately 8 million dinars.¹⁷⁸ As hyperinflation and other calamities raged in Bosnia and throughout Yugoslavia, the tender was only valid for one week, so the project never went ahead.

¹⁷⁸ This is approximately the equivalent of € 3, 7 million (<http://www.fxtop.com>).

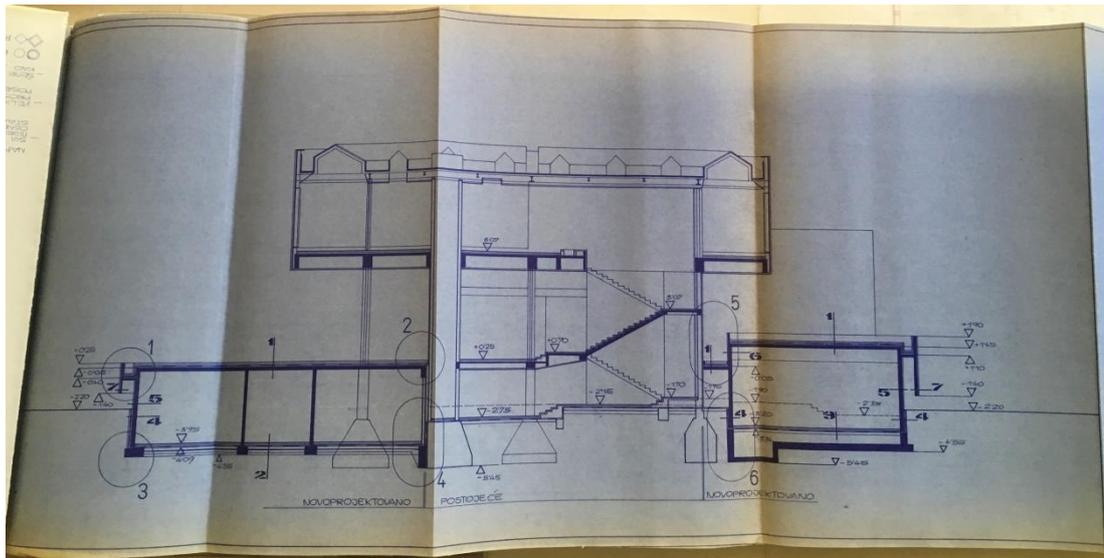


Fig.5.29 Renovations and Extension Project, prepared by UNIONINVEST-UNION IZGRADNJA in 1986 (Author's photo from the HMBiH Archive).

5.10 Summary

The building of the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo was a result of an orchestrated effort by the Museum management, endorsed by political leadership to mobilise the creative potential of local and regional architects, artists and curators in the production of an architectural structure conceived to symbolise the most progressive and most technically advanced expression of its time. This was a clear but respectful statement, alongside and in contrast with the first Bosnian museum, *Zemaljski muzej*, with a legacy of a colonial project representative of a classic museum type (**Fig.5.30**).

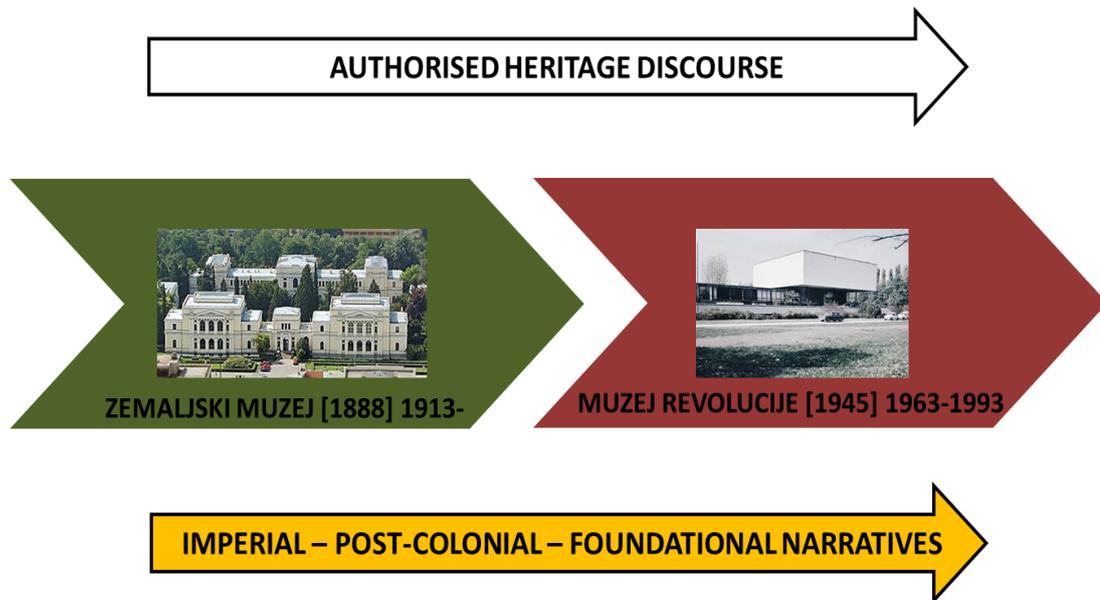


Fig.5.30 Conceptualising the Bosnian museums development within the *authorised heritage discourse*, inspired by Laura Jane Smith (2006) (©Selma Harrington).

The Museum of Revolution brief and its building provided an opportunity for collaboration between professionals from Sarajevo and Zagreb, firstly via an open architectural competition and secondly, in the process of construction and preparation of the permanent exhibition. The process was somewhat privileged because of its specific and symbolic function, but equally adapted to the reality of economic, technical and human limitations. The completion of the building structure almost perfectly manifested the tensions between the “base and super-structure,” to use the Marxist turn of phrase, and the dichotomy between the ambitious articulation of Modernist architecture and the restrictiveness of available material, skill, attention to detail, diligence and finance.

Albeit in a different scale, while articulating the essence of modernism within the “renewal and reconstruction” phase of Yugoslav enthusiasm, the formal composition of the building resonates with proto-modernism of a Bosnian house. But

like many other examples of Modernist Architecture, the poor quality of built fabric synthesises the common shortcomings: over-emphasis of form and composition over detail, material and general use.

Far from perfection suggested by its puristic form, the Museum building was the product of resourcefulness and compromise, a mixture of ambition and idealism, professional positioning, inexperience, slack standards and inadequate funding. This meant that the customisation of the new methods, materials and details to the local conditions was insufficient and approximate, propelled by the determination to accomplish and show results. Like the society, the architecture of the building remained “a work in progress,” a phase one, whose phase two never materialised. The shortcomings of its physical structure, which already manifested during the construction stage, continued to occur without remedy. A substantial renovation proposal in 1986 was not realised, and the Museum’s “state of un-finish-ness” resumed until economic and political upheaval eventually engulfed the whole country in the war.

Chapter Six:

Destruction of Heritage and Cultural Resistance 1990-1995

Historical memory is replaced by the heroic affinity of the present with the extremes of history - a sense of time wherein decadence immediately recognises itself in the barbaric, the wild and the primitive. We observe the anarchistic intention of blowing up the continuum of history, and we can account for it in terms of the subversive force of this new aesthetic consciousness (Habermas and Ben-Habib 1981, 4).

This Chapter examines the targeted destruction of cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, seeking to understand its endurance and the complexity of preservation and reconstruction in a conflict and post-conflict period, during which the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo abandoned its original authorised heritage narrative. The study focuses on the local voices and activities of the Association of Architects of Sarajevo (DAS), undertaken through the documentary analysis of three volumes of the professional magazine ARH (Architecture, Urbanism and Design), the project and exhibition “Warchitecture,” and through selected accounts of the protagonists, which were obtained through structured interviews. These are corroborated with excerpts from two wartime journals on the siege of Sarajevo, with reports from fact-finding missions by foreign experts, and triangulated with an analysis of the Bosnian Government’s renewal strategy measures, published during the war.

6.1 The Olympic City

The lingering Olympic after-glow found Sarajevo unprepared for the dramatic political and economic events in the late 1980s, which led to the collapse of the Yugoslav Federation. According to Donia (2006, 276), its citizens were open to the

changes initiated by the fall of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe but expected with optimism, a peaceful transition towards democracy, economic transition and coexistence in their own country. The drive for privatization of the economy was already in train, so that employees of the publicly owned enterprises were offered companies' shares and co-ownership, even though such processes often favoured management with close links to the political establishment.¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, the political decentralization was followed by growing dissent in Yugoslavia and the Central Committee of the Communist party (Duraković 2004, 27-102), fueled by extreme nationalism and alarming separatist tendencies. The hyper-inflation, breaches of contracts between public enterprises, currency and trade wars between Yugoslav Republics, were in train to destroy the economy, institutions and the capital of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The large -scale spatial developments in this period signify the overall industrial, societal and cultural push to overcome the real and perceived underdevelopment of Bosnia and Herzegovina and highlight its contribution to the Yugoslav social, economic and political system. This is well illustrated in the "*Fifteen Years of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Architecture*" (1987) which Ivan Štraus considered as exceptional.¹⁸⁰ He book-ended it with the opening of the Cultural and Sports Centre Skenderija(1969) in Sarajevo and the Sports Hall Zetra (1984) at the Koševo suburb, one of many infrastructural and sports facilities for the 14th Winter Olympic games

¹⁷⁹ Personal knowledge.

¹⁸⁰ Štraus (1987, 6-26) believed the overall architecture and urbanistic scene in the country benefited from the five enabling factors: (1) a new need to broaden the scope of public buildings; (2) a need to rebuild a city of Banjaluka after the catastrophic earthquake (1969);(3) confidence of the public procurement system in the proven quality of local architectural expertise; (4) a capacity accomplished by the Bosnian construction industry to undertake the technologically complex tasks; and (5) a proven track record by the Bosnian designers demonstrated in a large number of projects and competition awards across Yugoslavia and abroad.

(Fig.6.1). This two-decade period up to the 1990s merits much more attention but is not further investigated here other than to briefly contextualise the lead up to the war.



Fig.6.1 (left) Cultural and Sports Centre Skenderija (1969), architects Živorad Janković and Halid Muhasilović (Ćemalović 2018); Great Sports Hall ZETRA (1982), architects Lidumil Alikalčić and Dušan Đapa (Štraus 1987, 89); Adapted and annotated by Selma Harrington.

The 14th Winter Olympic Games in 1984 brought Sarajevo into the international limelight with a mighty “crescendo” (Donia 2006, 273). A significant number of sports, residential and public facilities built for the games, enhanced the city and brought new confidence and energy to its population. The facilities built for athletes were planned for future reuse, such as the apartment settlement Mojmiilo or many new hotels (**Fig.6.2**).¹⁸¹ The University Hospital got a new Maternity Block, while the street frontages in the city centre got a face-lift with the façade renovations of the Austro-Hungarian heritage.

¹⁸¹ For example: Hotel “Igman” designed by Ahmed Đuvić (1983), Hotel Holiday Inn designed by Ivan Štraus (1983), Hotel Vučko by Zlatko Ugljen (1983), Zetra Sports Hall by Lidumil Alikalčić and Dušan Đapa (1984), all severely damaged or destroyed in the war.

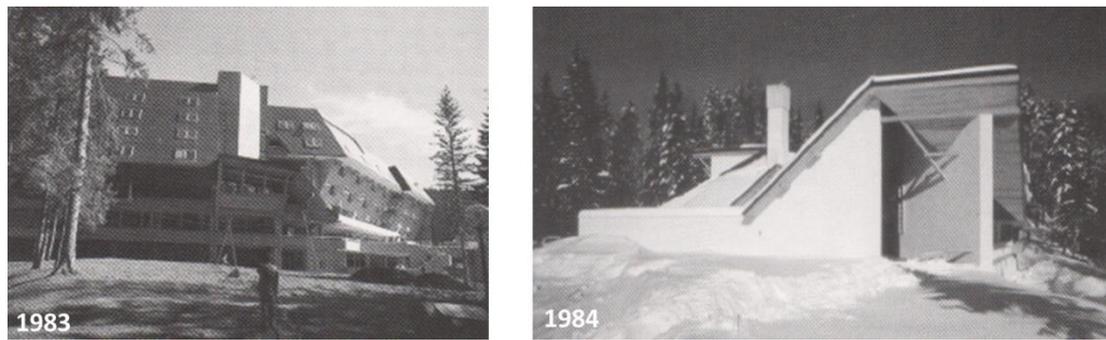


Fig.6.2 (Left) Hotel Igman at Igman Mountain (1983), architect Ahmed Džuvčić; (right) Hotel Vučko at Jahorina Mountain (1984), architect Zlatko Ugljen; both destroyed in the 1990s war; Photos adapted and annotated by Selma Harrington (Štraus 2010, 106-07).

The provision of housing by the Public Sector continued to be an important generator for urban interventions, some of which also had to address the building without permits. Responding to the practical briefs but mindful of the concurrent international trends, considerable professional attention was given to the building of the more affluent residential suburbs, such as Koševsko Brdo, Ciglane, Breka (Fig.6.3).

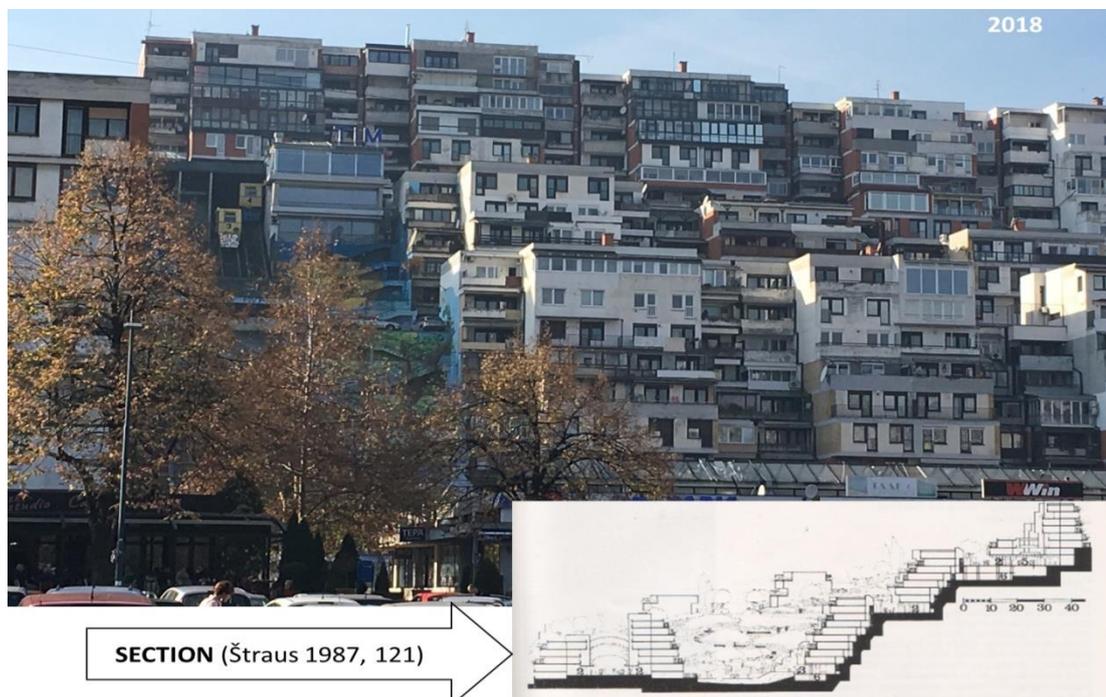


Fig.6.3 Ciglane settlement (1987), architects Namik Muftić and Radovan Delale (©Selma Harrington; Insert adapted from Štraus [1987, 121]).

Other residential developments in Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad municipalities, such as Hrasno and Naselje Solidarnosti (Solidarity Residences), as well as Payton (Ilidža) and Dobrinja settlement, all located along the flat Sarajevo Valley also merit a separate study.

6.2 The 1990s in Sarajevo and the Association of Architects (DAS)

In the early 1990s, the Architects Association of Sarajevo (DAS) had been busy mobilising its wide membership to revive the magazine ARH, with the production of two content-rich volumes published in May (No. 22) and November 1991 (No. 23) (**Fig.6.4**).¹⁸² It was a generational opportunity to reflect on the accomplishments and it was announced as “a big [step] for us, for our city and for our Republic” (Milošević 1991, 2), almost mirroring the mood of the first editions of ARH.

The Association had a successful collaboration with Sarajevo municipalities and the City Assembly, the Planning Institute, museums and galleries, local and international cultural institutions, in organizing promotional exhibitions and exchanges with other centres like Ljubljana, Zagreb and Piran (Trenk 1991, 3-4).

¹⁸² The only two issues of the ARH magazine from 1991 were published during the term of Presidency of architect Zlatko Trenk and the Chief Editor, architect Predrag Milošević.



Fig.6.4 Cover of the ARH Magazine No.22, May 1991 and No. 23, November 1991 (DAS/Society of Architects Sarajevo; Author’s personal archive, reproduced with permission of the Association of Architects of Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The same year, supported by the Museum of the 14th Winter Olympics (*Muzej ZOI*), an international seminar “Architecture between art and market” was held in Sarajevo, during which an idea was launched to create the Museum of Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Pirnat-Spahić 1991, 7; 26-27).¹⁸³ The theme for the proposed next conference was to address “The architectural encounters between East and West”. Other important topics were the privatization of practices and necessary transformations in the Association to create the Chamber of Architects, which followed similar trends in the economy. The privatization of the

¹⁸³ Only a few months later, she wrote in the ARH No. 24: “The Museum [...], the youngest cultural institution in the town became the first (but, unfortunately, not the last) victim of the Serbian culturecide and urbicide in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that option of force and rejection of a democratic and civilized political dialogue which should mark the end of the 20th century (Pirnat - Spahić 1993, 56).

economy implied a potential loss of small but secure public funding for the Association from the Ministry of Education. The uncertainty and the danger of the chaotic outcome of the political and social changes were acutely felt:

To survive, we need money. Money means work, markets, profit, human resource, professionalism, influence, space and marketing. Do we want and can we have that? How to retain independence? (Trenk 1991, 4).

Trenk's musings echoed the concerns not only of the architects but of the whole Bosnian society, as the political and economic situation in Yugoslavia was already tense (Malcolm 1994, 223). In contrast to other republics, there were fears among different population groups that the asymmetric break-up of the Yugoslav Federation could potentially lead to a semi-colonial status of the Bosnian republic (Duraković 2000, 31-32), highlighting the country's "in-betweenness" within Yugoslavia.

6.3 Articulating the Destruction of Cultural Heritage 1992-1995

The works by British historian Noel Malcolm's study *Bosnia: A Short History* (1994) or the military memoirs *Witness to War Crimes* (2018) by Irish Colonel Colm Doyle, provide detailed insights into this difficult period of Bosnia's history. The start of the war and the siege of Sarajevo (1992-1996)¹⁸⁴ was played out in front of the TV cameras near the National Assembly and Government buildings opposite of the Holiday Inn Hotel, which will become synonymous as the "Sniper Alley" (Burns 1992) where the aggressors aimed to break the city in half (Silber and Little 1995, 253-257; Duraković 2004, 204-205).

¹⁸⁴ For more details, see the FAMA Collection with the Virtual Museum of the Siege of Sarajevo, at <http://www.famacollection.org>, accessed 11.06.2019.

The first-hand journalistic account by Silber and Little (1995, 256-257) claims that the 2nd May 1992 was “the day that Karadžić’s forces tried to implement, by military might, his plan to divide the city into separate Muslim and Serb quarters,” and cut Sarajevo in half. According to the authors, Karadžić “wanted a Berlin Wall” so that the “extreme east of the city, the narrow winding streets of the Turkish old town, together with the neighbouring nineteenth-century Habsburg quarters, were for Muslims and Croats.¹⁸⁵ Everything to the west of Marijindvor - including most of the city’s twentieth-century industrial and commercial infrastructure, and most of its residential capacity - was to be inhabited exclusively by Serbs”(Silber and Little 1995, 257).¹⁸⁶

This difficult period from 1992 to the end of 1995¹⁸⁷ shaped the collective memory of Sarajevo as a place of the longest modern siege in Europe which targeted its social and urban fabric, aiming to scar, destroy, polarise, traumatise and dismantle the achievements of the previous generations. From within, it was understood as a revolt of anti-modern, and persistently, presented as such in many home-grown artistic and cultural projects since the war (FAMA Collection n.d.) International authors like Riedlmayer (2002) echo what Habermas and Ben-Habib (1981, 4)

¹⁸⁵ Ironically, Sarajevo’s creative collective, most known for the satirical television series Surrealists’ Top Chart/Top lista nadrealista, its association with the Bosnian punk group Zabranjeno pušenje and a multi-media genre “new primitivism”, have almost prophetically anticipated the divisions of the city and the country’s descent into destructive chaos. The group was active from the mid-1980s till 1991. See <https://www.glas.ba/2019/05/09/veliki-trenuci-pop-kulture-dan-kada-je-rodjena-sarajevska-top-lista-nadrealista/> (assessed 19 September 2019).

¹⁸⁶ The same day, the front line was brought “into the heart of the city”, giving Karadžić’s forces “control of Grbavica and part of the neighbouring district of Hrasno. For the duration of the war, they “occupied the suburbs of Nedžarići and Mojnilo, [...] [and] a strip of residential territory near the airport” and effectively “cut off the suburb of Dobrinja from the rest of the city – a siege within a siege” (Silber and Little 1995, 258).

¹⁸⁷ The siege effectively lasted until February of 1996, as Sarajevan’s were not allowed to leave the city until then.

sought to explain as the neoconservative tactics of projection of causes “onto the plane of subversive culture and its advocates:”

This systematic assault on culture can be explained an attempt to eliminate the material evidence - books, documents, and works of art - that could remind future generations that people of different ethnic and religious traditions once shared a common heritage and common space in Bosnia. The goal of nationalist extremists is to create a religiously and ethnically “pure” future, based on the premise that coexistence is - and always was - - impossible. The continued existence of a heritage that speaks of a history characterized by pluralism and tolerance contradicts this premise, which is why, amidst an ongoing armed conflict, such efforts were invested in destroying the relics of Bosnia’s “impure” past” (Riedlmayer 2002, 117).

Despite the growing body of literature on the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is vagueness about the extent and impact of “the first significant destruction of European cultural heritage during conflict since the World War II” which the recent edited volume by Helen Walasek et al. (2015, 2) stands to correct. Based on the extensive field work and study, the book shares insights into the scope and nature of the destruction, the role of international professional expertise, the scope and selection of the post-war restoration, as well as roles of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and other international agencies and NGO’s. It discusses the local initiatives and the impact of the Dayton Peace Accord, in light of the provisions of Annex 8 which linked heritage with the return of refugees, and the way heritage was included in the workings of The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

Walasek is critical of external attitudes concerning the conflict which might explain its course and the protracted duration:

[A]n image of Bosnia was constructed which was to have a critical impact on Euro-Atlantic decision-making. It was an image mediated by the activities and influence of an energetic Serb lobby which sought to present the conflict

on their terms, combined with a carefully–nurtured confusion as to whether the war was a civil war or international in nature. Viewed through the lens of racist representations and pejorative stereotypes of ‘the Balkans’ as a cauldron of ‘ancient ethnic hatreds’ (Campbell 1998, 90-91), this image was infused, too, with the growing Islamophobia of the early 1990s which had a negative effect on international relationships (including relationships with UNPROFOR¹⁸⁸) for Bosnia-Herzegovina’s legitimate and legally recognized government-usually characterised as ‘Muslim’ and as one of the ‘warring factions.’ An additional ingredient in this representation was a relativist insistence of the equivalence of the three main parties in the conflict in respect of atrocities, human rights abuses and destruction of religious and cultural property committed, despite considerable evidence to the contrary (Walasek 2015, 10).¹⁸⁹

In contrast, some earlier analysts focus on the post-Cold War “ethnic” recast of the East-West division (Hammond 2004, 181) through the “clash of civilisations” lens (Huntington 1993, 30-31). In Hammond’s view, that recast was successfully exploited by local nationalists in former Yugoslavia on different sides, as well as by the international media, and as a result views were formed that “some of the ethnic groups were close to, if not part of the West,” while the Orthodox Christians and Muslims were left “on the wrong side.”

Hammond was critical of the “journalism of attachment” and “advocacy journalism”, by war reporters like Martin Bell and Christiane Amanpour, suggesting their bias in favour of the Bosnian Muslims, which was according to him, demonstrated by downplaying their military actions against other groups. Hammond goes on to suggest that the “liberal, left-of-centre writers” were pushing for more intervention in the war by the Western governments, because they saw “Bosnia as a

¹⁸⁸ United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) set up for Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina after the start of conflict in former Yugoslavia.

¹⁸⁹ Walasek points to a number of other authors who support her description of the official international opinion-forming on the conflict in Bosnia, such as: Hodge (1990); Conversi (1996); Campbell (1998).

model of multiculturalism and tolerance,” and a romanticized and idealized “Western-self” (Hansen 1998, 172). Hammond (2004, 184) cites other instances where the media demonized Serbs, “sometimes in the crudest terms,” and cites a cartoon [which] portrayed them as apes in combat gear, and concludes:

When advocacy journalists and committed intellectuals went to Bosnia in search of a cause, they hoped to offset the lack of moral purpose and cohesion in their own societies (Hammond 2004, 186).

Comparable examples could be found in the wartime editions of the Bosnian press, where cartoons encapsulated the popular mood about the aggressors and vented frustration with various unsuccessful international peace plans drawn up for the partition of Bosnia. As the war progressed, the features of an enemy character created by one of the Bosnian *Oslobodjenje* daily cartoonists, Hasan Fazlić ([1991] 2010), evolved from human to porcine, exemplifying the progressive demonization of other.

In parallel, other examples demonstrate how Bosnians were trying hard not to blame and offend Bosnian Serbs, as many of them were colleagues, friends, neighbours and family. During his testimony at The International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) the mayor of Sarajevo (1994-1996) Tarik Kupusović (FENA 2017; ICTY. org 1996, 372-379), makes the distinction between “Karadžić’s Serbs” and some forty-thousand Bosnian Serbs who shared destiny with others in the besieged city.¹⁹⁰

However, as the conflict and the blockade escalated, it proved more difficult to resist the need to clearly point to the provenance of the aggressor. An initial

¹⁹⁰ Bosnian Serbs took an active role in the defence of the city, among others, most notably Dragan Vikić, a former Special Police Commander and a retired General Jovan Divjak (Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina), who both live in Sarajevo.

pejorative identifier *papak/pig's trotter*, referring to an uneducated rural dweller, changed back to the World War II name *Četnik/Chetnik* for the enemy, as the shelling intensified and the anger and resentment grew (Štraus 1995, 84).

The indignation is palpable in the words of architect Neđad Kurto, who wrote in the wartime edition of ARH No. 24:

It is a reasonable assumption that *urbicide* doers find their spiritual satisfaction probably in their repulsion of towns. [...] I admit that naming the aggressor may not be quite accurate, but to me it seems rather reasonable. The term "Chetniks" is already a historic term, but Chetniks were Serbs and the brutality of their methods is identical. I have no information that any strata of that people have disassociated themselves from all this (except for so few individuals that they cannot be considered even as an embryo of a group, or an occurrence), so I do not think I am wrong (Kurto 1993, 32).

Writing about the fate of the Jewish heritage in Sarajevo at the time of the intensive attacks in 1992, architect Mirko Ovadia said:

[T]he Jews have built a great number of important structures, sacral, public and residential buildings which have become an intricate part of the tissue of Sarajevo, as similar with their individual people or families. [...] [The Jews have either built or contributed to the construction of a great number of buildings, many of them shaping the patterns of town and streets, designed by well-known local and international architects. The destruction of these in the war is the same as [the destruction] of the town as a whole, which means random and very often tragic, the same as with human beings. We must not forget, however, that destruction is continuing, while the civilised world is vacillating (Ovadia 1993, 39).

Arriving in the United States following his evacuation from Sarajevo, Professor Omer Hadžiselimović wrote:

I AM A BOSNIAN MUSLIM. Or, I *happen to be* a Bosnian Muslim. I am a Bosnian Muslim only because I am not French, Arab, or American. My best friends back home in Sarajevo were a Serb, a Croat and a Jew. I did not choose them to balance politically or ethnically my private life. My friends *happened* to me. During the war in Sarajevo, where I was until February 1994, my wife and I used to leave our 9-year-old daughter with a Serb

woman, a neighbour in our apartment building. We did it because our daughter liked that woman best of all. She felt safest there when Chetniks (Serb nationalist) shelled the city (Hadžiselimović 1995, 19).

6.4 Records from the Siege

“War to and in the city is the war against the people of the city,” wrote Armina Pilav (2012, 26), but the city, “although unsafe, itself became a survival resource.” She described the resourceful repurposing of the peacetime structures for shelters and general public uses, the transformation of open green areas into urban vegetable gardens (Arnautović-Harrington 1997, 42-43) and cemeteries, cutting of trees for firewood to heat and cook, and the whole new purpose of road signage to alert on danger from snipers.

One of a group of architecture students who visited Sarajevo in 1997, observed the “merciless logic” and the dematerializing purpose of an artillery shell:

[It] hits the side of a house; its impact breaks through a wall or a window, the subsequent explosion blows the whole side of the house, or takes the roof off, and the damage is the result of a precise equation depending on the trajectory of the shell, the angle of impact, the yield of the explosion, and the physical properties of the construction elements of the house, the brittleness of bricks and mortar, the elasticity of steel or timber or the density of concrete, the only material to provide a degree of protection” (Helsing Almaas 1998, 14).

The UN report (Commission of Experts for the Security Council 1994, 43-49) gathered data on the structure and location of forces in and around the city, identified to location and nature of artillery, frequency of shelling, the patterns of systematic targetting and random shelling, and their link with political events. Conducted as a law-of-war study, the UN report found it “reasonable to conclude that a prima facie

case exists that persons on the Serbian side deliberately attacked civilians and, therefore, committed a war crime” (Commission of Experts for the Security Council 1994, 47). It concluded that “[m]ost of the war crimes in Sarajevo have involved attacks on civilian persons and objects and destruction of cultural property” (Commission of Experts for the Security Council 1994, 48).

“I come from a destroyed country,” wrote Dževad Karahasan (2012, 87), a Bosnian theatre director and writer, dwelling on the “military aesthetics,” engineered in 1992 by the rapid strike which immediately changed the shape of the city. Architect Ivan Štraus (1928-2018) added more details:

[Today the] mortar slaughter in always busy and lively Vase Miskina street. [...]The street is red from blood. [...]Bosnia and Herzegovina is being destroyed, people are killed either with a knife or by mortar, mostly children. As a result of that madness, the hatred towards Serbs is becoming immense and impossible to dispel either with reason or persuasion, or appeal to civility, or pointing to the fact that Serbs are also being killed in Sarajevo by the same mountain savages, and that they are also active in the Territorial Defence” (Štraus 1995, 95).

Štraus, who recently retired from practice and planned to write, lamented at his wartime predicament:

This journal was supposed to be a chronicle of building, about architecture and my modest input in its creation, but instead from page to page, it turns into a register of barbaric destruction. So only yesterday “the liberators” destroyed or burned the headquarters of Water supply / Vodoprivreda, Electricity supply / Elektroprivreda, Social Insurance / Socijalno osiguranje, Emergency medicine / Hitna pomoć, and a whole section of craft centres, residential areas, followed by churches, mosques, schools, crèches, cultural centres, partially UNIS buildings and Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The residential areas of Dobrinja, Mojnilo, Vojničko Polje, Sokolovića Kolonija, Hrasnica and others will not be recognizable from the destruction by the “mountaineers liberating their people (Štraus 1995, 83).

A few days later, the Olympic sports hall Zetra was destroyed, and then the Maternity hospital was bombed. Despite the heroic action by the staff to evacuate everyone, four new-born babies died in their incubators, due to failure of the reserve power generator, which was disabled as a result of internal sabotage (Štraus 1995, 91-92). This depressing list continued, to include the artillery attack and fire in the UNIS twin-towers, designed by Štraus and his team:

At three o'clock in the morning: a shock! [...] It hurts. I am aware that it is a drop in the suffering of the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina [but] I looked at them with an immense sorrow, while all the moments of the construction and my pride flashed in my mind like a film, and tonight [one of them] burns like a big torch (Štraus 1995, 97).

6.5 The “Warchitecture” Project

The work of the Association of Architects of Sarajevo (DAS) continued in the early years of the war due to the efforts of members like Boran Hrelja and Igor Grozdanić, Secretary Duška Nađ and many others (ARH No. 24 Warchitecture 1993, 9). As the Association's offices in Skenderija were damaged, architecture firm DOM provided space for meetings (ARH No. 24, Warchitecture, 1993, p. 9). The Association was reconstituted as a representative union of all architects of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in due course.

The Association decided that all wartime activities would be carried out under the title “WARCHITECTURE”, a project which included the publication of magazine ARH No. 24, Warchitecture,¹⁹¹ the exhibition and a supplementary

¹⁹¹ Chief Editor of the 1993 ARH edition was the architect Said Jamaković.

catalogue of the damaged and destroyed buildings subtitled “Sarajevo Urbicide.” Other similar activities were partly supported or co-opted as the official activities of various city and government units (ARH No. 24, Warchitecture, 1993, p. 9) (Fig. 6.5).¹⁹²



Fig.6.5 Cover page of the ARH Magazine No. 24, WARCHITECTURE and the supplement WARCHITECTURE. SARAJEVO URBICIDE, containing a photo survey of damaged buildings (Association of Architects DAS-SABiH, 1993) (Author’s personal archive, reproduced with permission of the Association of Architects of Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The ARH No.24 (1993, 10-19) opened with a tribute to ten deceased colleagues, the civilian victims of the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁹³

¹⁹² These included the Special Unit for Cultural Heritage Rescue of the City Civil Defence and the City Assembly and the Architectural Unit of the Commission for Cultural Heritage Rescue and Protection.

¹⁹³ The “In Memoriam” commemorates the deceased: Mirsad Fazlagić (1950-1992), Amra Leto-Hamidović (1956-1992), Vesna Bugarski (1930-1992), Emir Buzaljko (1952-1992), Zoran Bajbutović (1935-1992), Slavko Cindrić (1936-1993), Kemal Saltagić (1931-1992), Joško Gačnik (1952-1992), Nikola Nešković-Kićo (1932-1993), and Munira Saltagić (1937-1993). At the time, three colleagues were wounded: Sanda Jakšić, Sabahudin Špilja and Alija Serdarević (ARH No. 24, Warchitecture 1993, 9).

Other contributions address various aspects of the impact of war on the city, country, people and buildings. Among them, Chief Editor Said Jamaković (1993, 8) describes the overwhelming horror, Head of University Medical Centre Arif Smajkić gives a preliminary assessment of destroyed and damaged healthcare facilities (1993, 69), architect Ivan Štraus bids farewell to Belgrade colleagues (1993, 86), and architect Ljiljana Šulentić (1993, 85) contemplates the poignant significance of war for the disability access issues. Architect Miroslav Krajtmajer (1993, 83) gives some practical guidelines for “winterization” of damaged structures.

The urban planner Vlasta Žuljić (1993, 105) looks at the future of the city, the significance and a potential post-war exploitation of the “Maršal Tito” Barracks,¹⁹⁴ imagining a careful transformation of this highly valuable complex into a connective tissue between the historic core and New Sarajevo suburbs from the Socialist period.¹⁹⁵ While Žuljić (1993, 104-105) argues for preservation of urban block building patterns from the Austro-Hungarian period and for keeping the integrity of the historic (Roman and Turkish) traffic alignment, architect and planner Željko Jovanović (1993, 107) clutches on to the rules of professional programming while considering the “war [as intrusion] in the process of spatial planning.”

¹⁹⁴ The Army Barracks were one of the locations in the play-off between the former Yugoslav Army troops while stationed there, and the emerging Bosnian defence authorities, the details of which are well laid out by Silber and Little (1995, 245-268).

¹⁹⁵ This has been partly addressed after the war, by an international competition for urban design ideas, organized by the Canton Sarajevo Urban Institute and endorsed by the Union of International Architects in 1999. The program included the development of a University campus with a mixture of cultural and commercial content (Zavod za planiranje razvoja Kantona Sarajevo 1999). The new developments here include the Embassy of the United States (FENA 2010) and a partial reuse and adaptation of the badly damaged former barracks as the University of Sarajevo Campus, with several several faculties, National and University Library and The Oriental Institute (Oslobođenje 2017).

The contribution by architects Sabahudin Špilja and Borislav Ćurić (1993, 82) outlined the project “Map of Sarajevo City Destruction,” the principles and method for data gathering and the scope of cultural and historical information required for each surveyed building. They highlighted the fact that most of the information up to then had been presented as “sensationalist news” and that “the real scale of destruction” had not been fully appreciated. They were hoping that the Map project “would speak more convincingly about heavy destruction and suffering of the city and the republic” and this appears to be the first formal articulation of the project WARCHITECTURE, which would take a form of a touring exhibition and a supplementary publication under the same banner (Špilja and Ćurić 1993, 82).

The supplement to ARH No. 24, Sarajevo Urbicide (Ćurić et al. 1993),¹⁹⁶ gave an overview of the damaged buildings in Sarajevo, categorised in the four historic periods: Contemporary/Post-War (1945-1992), Modern/ Between Two Wars (1919-1941), European/Austria-Hungary (1878-1918) and Oriental/Ottoman (up to 1878). The contributors to the WARCHITECTURE project worked free of charge, preparing articles, drawings and photographs, while architects Ahmed Kapidžić and Hasan Ćemalović made a great effort in publishing the magazine (ARH No. 24, Warchitecture, 1993, p. 9), including a version in English.

The damaged buildings were surveyed on each location, and illustrated with a short description and photograph, accompanied by plans which were marked to show the location and type of artillery hits and damage.¹⁹⁷ A selection of this material

¹⁹⁶ The WARCHITECTURE Exhibition Project authors are in alphabetical order: Borislav Ćurić, Neđad Delija, Igor Grozdanić; Mirsad Hadžirović, Nazif Hasanbegović, Boran Hrelja, Aida Kaluzović Mandić, Ahmed Sadiković, Darko Sefić, Sabahudin Špilja (WARCHITECTURE 1993).

¹⁹⁷ Architect Hasan Ćemalović corroborated and explained this in a structured written interview with the Author, dated 19 June 2019. His wartime assignment, with two other colleagues from DOM

related to the Contemporary architecture segment is shown in **Appendix VII (Fig. 6.6 to 6.23)**.

The research has tracked three participants, known to the author as colleagues from the Association of Architects in Sarajevo (DAS), two of whom were instrumental in ensuring the support for the realisation of the WARCHITECTURE project and one who worked directly on preparation of the exhibition material. They have all agreed to respond to the structured questionnaire, which was received in Bosnian and translated to English by the Author (**APPENDIX II**).

Asked about the aims of the project, Respondent A had this view:

The aim of documenting the events was to present [heritage destruction] to the world, and show the genocide that citizens and buildings of Sarajevo were exposed to. We have naively thought that the world does not know what is happening in the besieged city. When I contacted [diplomat and journalist] Hajrudin Somun, who was then close to the President [of Bosnia and Herzegovina] and gave him letter to convey to the world, he laughed and said that everyone knows everything, but that they pretend not to. You have to understand that we could hardly comprehend such inhumane thought that the whole world is looking at the killing of civilians and the destruction of cultural monuments in a European city, and that nothing is done about it, apart from verbal condemnations.

Respondent B had this explanation:

[We wanted] to show objectively and demonstrate to the rest of the world the level of systemic destruction of all aspects of life of a newly emerged state. We wished to present facts about the historic development of the city, its diverse architecture (in terms of functionality and historical periodisation

Enterprise was to maintain the work and undertake the survey of damage for the Zavod za izgradnju grada/Institute for the City Construction, with a team of architects from the Association. During this work, the idea for the exhibition came about and the collected material was first exhibited in Sarajevo, following which, with the approval of the wartime authorities it was decided to support sending the exhibition abroad. Most of the architects who conducted the survey and worked to prepare the exhibition, accompanied it to different destinations abroad and stayed out of the country. Ćemalović also had an opportunity to leave but felt that such departure would have compromised the integrity of the project and instead opted to stay and help promote the project and the work of the Association of Architects from Sarajevo.

*from four periods), followed by the information on the destruction of individual buildings and urban ensembles. This included a full picture of the physical damage, as well as the architectural assessment of each structure. Working in a group for me represented a form of reaction to the aggression, brutality of attack and crimes committed here between 1992-1995. It was an emotional reaction and a way to contribute to the defense of the principles of peace, multiethnicity, multiculturalism, preservation of identity against ignorance and nationalism. I enjoyed working with colleagues, proud of my small part in resisting the misfortune and the attack, amidst a terrible pressure, sacrifice and attempt to eradicate the spirit of the city. Apart from buildings, every day the citizens and small children suffered.*¹⁹⁸

Asked about other practical aspects of the project, Respondent B added:

The city under siege, war, daily artillery bombing, shortages of everything, so that data gathering was a challenging undertaking. This meant the provision of paper, photo-copying, photography, translations, graphic design for publication and branding, copywriting and drawings to illustrate the destruction of the city and its cultural heritage. One of our colleagues applied his marketing and organisational skills to secure the donations of materials with which the collaborators were "paid" (most often this was in form of flour, cooking oil, cigarettes or material for preparation of the documents). I don't think there was much support either from the local authorities or from foreign observers, but I cannot be sure.

Respondent C provided an additional insight:

My wartime assignment, with two other colleagues from DOM architecture firm was to continue working and to undertake a survey of damage for the Zavod za izgradnju grada/Institute for the City Construction, with a team of architects from the Association. During this work, the idea for the exhibition came about and the collected material was first exhibited in Sarajevo,

¹⁹⁸ Describing daily life, Respondent B added: *Before going to work on a project, I used to make bread for my family, utilising the improvised stove ("fijaker") and upon return, prepare the "dinner". Cooking took hours. Our building block shared a stove fuelled with firing wood from the trees chopped in the yard. In the evenings, I worked on a computer (borrowed from a company that had no work), powered with electricity "stolen" from the army supply. For some time, my father's apartment was home to twelve refugees, people who escaped the Grbavica and Stup suburbs¹⁹⁸. For breakfast, we'd use a tin of tuna (150 g) and spread it on twenty slices of bread. Now when I'm writing, it looks as if I am inventing this, because it seems so incredible, although it was real. But this will explain what a joy it was to escape and to do something purposeful, other than the terrible chores of surviving.*

following which, with the approval of the wartime authorities it was decided to support sending the exhibition abroad. Most of the architects who conducted the survey and worked to prepare the exhibition accompanied it to different destinations abroad and stayed out of the country. I also had an opportunity to leave but felt that such departure would have compromised the integrity of the project and instead I opted to stay and help further promote the project and the work of the Association of Architects from Sarajevo. The Warchitecture project had no foreign support. We were only helped by the French military observers during the wartime elections for the Association leadership. They monitored the elections and helped establish that there were three hundred and thirty architects in the city at the time, which were incentivised to come and vote by a promised gift of a ream of A4 paper and felt-pen markers.

Asked about the accomplishments and outcomes of the project, Respondent A said:

There were some reprints of the magazine “Warchitecture“ in European cities, and it is also available on the Internet. The aim of the project is still active in time and in space and it was never completed when the war was stopped. But the neighbours' ambition to destroy Bosnia and Herzegovina are constantly present. The destruction of the city of Sarajevo is central to such aspiration. With the passing of time, intentions get obscured and it is therefore essential to keep this project in perspective as evidence of a cruel truth.

Respondent B who accompanied the exhibition abroad for two months¹⁹⁹, reflected:

I believe we achieved the objectives. In fact, despite a modest graphic and visual equipment, the exhibition was quality-rich and informative, and it depicted the condition of demolition of built and cultural heritage in a city still under siege. Bearing in mind that it was still a pre-Internet time, without readily accessible information, the exhibition significantly contributed to the spread of information.

I could feel the empathy, bewilderment and discontent of the visitors with the urbicide of Sarajevo in all the cities where the exhibition toured. We held round table events to discuss the destruction. I was personally amazed by some participants who believed that such events could not possibly happen in their environment, which I consider naive.

¹⁹⁹ The record on the travelling exhibitions is unclear, but by the time the Respondent B joined others in Graz, Seville and Madrid (November 1994), it appears that some 15 exhibitions were shown in several European cities.

The exhibition was well received and noted by the media in the host cities. If we consider the general outcome, it can be said that due to this and other information, immediately after the cessation of military actions, many European countries, and cities in particular, joined in the process of reconstruction. Examples are the residential complex Mojmiilo and the Sports Hall "Zetra", whose reconstruction was organized by the City of Barcelona and the International Olympic Committee, while the City of Amsterdam organized and funded the reconstruction of residential area Hrasno.

It was hurtful at times to see that some people considered this as "a Balkan affair" with tradition of conflicts, and were feeling more civilized than us. In a way, I am enriched and wizer in the knowledge that anything is possible anywhere when the political games and interest align, and nationalism is only a justification and means to raise tensions and achieve economic or territorial gain.

Respondent C provided another insight:

I recently recalled that the Croatian artist Jagoda Buić helped us prepare the exhibition by sending the paper for printing the catalogues. During her recent admission to the Bosnian Academy of Arts and Science in Sarajevo, she remembreed the exhibition opening at the Paris George Pompidou Centre where she sat next to the French Minister of Culture...It is a pity that we have no records of the publicity that the exhibition received abroad...

The respondents were asked about other activities and roles they might have had during the war. Respondent A replied:

In March 1993 I was elected to the City government in charge of Urbanism and Communal Works. My [main] activity was distribution of ten million square metres of plastic sheeting - provided by UNHCR, as temporary replacement for windows and roofs, as all windows and roofs were shattered either from pressure or from direct hits by mortars. I was also in charge of the distribution of electrical energy to special priority connections for some 1600 users. [Other task] was planning the locations for night distribution of water to local areas, including the constant rescheduling of times and locations, as water distribution points were constant shelling targets. I was also in charge of identifying new burial areas within a limited space in a besieged city, as the main city cemetery Vlakovo was out of reach. [We also had to] issue certificates for burrials of killed persons, free of charge. Some seven thousand certificates were issued. Cleaning the city depended on the available fuel (kerosine). Many of the so-called donors [made money]

producing feasibility studies about the required amounts of fuel, without contributing much to the actual activity. We arranged for the temporary city waste location, which was removed after the war. With UN representatives we monitored the camps at Igman and Bjelašnica mountains used by UN troops, in order to reduce pollution from this area and contamination of the city's underground water reserves which accumulates there. Every day we held meetings with city government reporting on the current condition and function of the communal systems.

Respondent B reflected on the participation in another exhibition “Sarajevo Dream and Reality,”²⁰⁰ sponsored by The Soros Open Society and exhibited abroad:

I prepared a project “The Reconstruction of the mixed-use Residential and Office block Isak Salom“, a building from 1911, and completely burned in 1992. This was more like fulfilling a dream to design and think about the rebirth of the city, construction and reconstruction, rather than reality. I changed the use of the building to a hotel, and named it the “Press Hotel,“ as a “thank you“ to the journalists and media who conveyed the truth about the city, the struggle of its citizens, children, anyone civilised that was being killed. As there was no existing documentation, I found urban maps in the City's Institute for Planning and drew plans. During the lull in shelling, I spent days going on site and drawing the facades using the technique of measuring as we were trained during studies and in free hand drawing modules. To scale the overall height and the details of the building correctly, it helped to measure the rustic ornaments at the lower parts of the building. Then, in the evening time, after the daily survival routine, I would draw and design on computer in AutoCAD, thanks to the electricity “stolen“ from the army supply nearby. Our windows had no glass, only the plastic sheets donated by the UNHCR, and were overlaid with blankets from the humanitarian aid, so that the neighbours would't see that I was using

²⁰⁰ The project featured architectural works from students and architects during 1992-1994, and was shown in the Georges Pompidou Centre in Paris and then in New York in February 1995. Its catalogue announcement reads: “In circumstances of general destruction, genocide, uricide where the life is reduced to the satisfaction of elementary needs, architects are doing their best to maintain spiritual quality and to direct creative energy to development of the spirit of the city. [...] On the other hand, when you consider the savagery of life in Sarajevo, it seems petulant to complain about meager resources in New York. This becomes painfully clear at a related exhibition, now on view in the second floor gallery of the Department of Architecture and Environmental Design at Parsons School of Design in Greenwich Village. The exhibition, "Sarajevo: Dream and Reality," presents 14 projects by student architects and professionals from Sarajevo that respond creatively to the city's destruction. A wall text describes the conditions under which these projects were produced: no gas or electricity; broken computers, photocopy machines and other equipment; paper shortages; classes reduced to 30-minute sessions held in constantly shifting locations“ (Muschamp 1995).

electricity. It was all a terrible effort, but also a great drive to resist the situation which was enforced upon us.

Respondent B reflected on the international solidarity during the war and on the post-war reconstruction of the residential suburb Mojmiilo /The Olympic Village, citing also the specific data on the buiding types and numbers (not included here):

In the first few months of the war in Bosnia, two City Mayors, Muhamed Kreševljaković of Sarajevo and Pasqual Maragall of Barcelona, twinned the two cities, at the Barcelona Olympic Games in 1992. This (friendship) culminated in 1995 by the formation of District 11 in Sarajevo (as a symbolic addition to the existing 10 districts in Barcelona). During the war destruction many donations with food and other supplies came from the citizens of Barcelona to the citizens of Sarajevo.

A young Catalan photographer Jordi Pujol i Puente was killed by a sniper in the streets of Sarajevo. His colleague journalist Eric Hawck, who was with him at the time, later became a Director of the Embassy of the Local Democracy (ELD/ALD)²⁰¹ Barcelona-Sarajevo which represented the Council/Ajuntament de Barcelona and the EU when undertaking the reconstruction of the Olympic village Mojmiilo. He took over the directorship of ELD/ALD from Carlos Bosch, acclaimed Catalan/Spanish documentary film director, who is the author of the documentary "Sarajevo Roses" about the marks on the pavements left by grenades (later filled with red cement).

6.6 Foreign Experts' Reports on the Destruction of Heritage

In February 1992, the Council of Europe and its Sub-Committee on Architectural and Artistic Heritage of the Parliamentary Assembly (PACE)²⁰² (Baumel 1993, 2 February) turned its attention to former Yugoslavia, as the war broke after the secession and independence of the former republics. It proved frustrating to establish

²⁰¹ Embassy of Local Democracy (ELD), translation in Catalan: Ambaixada de la Democràcia Local (ALD).

²⁰² This is a representation from the national parliaments from 47 member states, founded in 1949, thus preceding the EU and by own account "a Greater Europe's democratic conscience" (PACE n.d., 2).

the facts about the impact of war on cultural heritage due to a general unpreparedness in Europe for such a new situation and “the continued intergovernmental reticence [to take action], both in the Council of Europe and in UNESCO” (Baumel 1993, 2 February).²⁰³ While successful in establishing contacts with the Slovenian and Croatian representatives, this initially failed in Bosnia, which was already under a full blockade and a complete break-down of transport, movement, postal and phone communication throughout the country.

However, the Parliamentary Assembly eventually seized the opportunity to send a fact-finding mission to the area, led by Dr Colin Kaiser (formerly Director of ICOMOS) and Mr Jean-Claude Hatterer (staff photographer of the Council of Europe). Initially limited to the regions of Dubrovnik and Mostar,²⁰⁴ the organization of mission was frustrated by many factors, arising from the circumstances but also from the lack of support from the European Community Monitor Mission (ECMM) (Baumel 1993, 2 February, 1-42).²⁰⁵ Kaiser (1994, 19 January, 16) noted “the perennial silence of most international organisations in the field [...], the very selective press interest in heritage [...] [and] the partisan attitudes of much of the Western press.” The frustrations were much stronger in the field, expressed, for

²⁰³ Jacques Baumel was the Rapporteur to the Sub-Committee.

²⁰⁴ Kaiser described Mostar as “a microcosm of Bosnia-Herzegovina” (1993, 2 February, 32) and the impact of shelling as “[t]he devastation - *beside which the damage in the Old Town of Dubrovnik pales in comparison*” (Commission of Experts for the Security Council 1994, 66-69).

²⁰⁵ Dr Kaiser’s findings were integrated as appendices C and D to Baumel’s report, together with information on the Committee’s visit to Dubrovnik and correspondence regarding Vukovar museums, in the appendices A and B. The report highlights seven critical points for reflection resulting from the annexed mission reports: (1) A cultural catastrophe in the heart of Europe; (2) The wide extent of destruction (in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina); (3) Everything is targeted, but especially the buildings in which men live; (4) Everybody’s heritage is targeted [...] no doubt [...] the massive majority [...] [is] the heritage of Catholic Croatians and Bosnian Catholics and Muslims, [and] there are unfortunately cases of reprisals against Orthodox heritage and Serbian villages [...]; (5) Cleansing: ethnic, cultural, economic; (6) The need for information and enhanced international co-operation; (7) Limitless technical and material needs (Baumel 1993, 2 February, 2-4).

example, in the letter from Azra Begić of the Bosnian Ministry of Foreign Affairs,²⁰⁶ who is pleading the Council of Europe to send an official mission to the country:

There have been no official, cultural missions to Sarajevo from the outside world, and the condition of the cultural heritage in all senses of the term is exceedingly critical here, and gets more critical every day, despite all our efforts on its behalf. We desperately need this kind of foreign mission because we feel our culture has been abandoned by the world (Kaiser 1993, 17 July, 25).

Dr Marian Wenzel, as Secretary-General of Bosnia-Herzegovina Heritage Rescue UK and Roger Shrimplin, as Chairman of the East Europe Committee of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), managed to travel as “the very first international mission for cultural heritage to Sarajevo on 12-18 June [1993]” (Kaiser 1993, 20 September, 10-11). The missions and contact with the local institutions and experts in charge of cultural and built heritage have furnished Dr Kaiser²⁰⁷ with comprehensive and verifiable information on the extent of the catastrophic and obvious cultural cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Kaiser 1994, 19 January, 16-30). The country was controlled by different warring parties whose objective was to carve out separate territories with Mostar, Banjaluka and Sarajevo as main centres.

For example, Kaiser established links with the Department for the Protection of Monuments of Mostar²⁰⁸ learning on the preparation of the exhibition

²⁰⁶ Full title: The Association of International Activities and Heritage Rescue of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Sarajevo. The letter is addressed to Jacques Baumel, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on the Architectural and Artistic Heritage of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council.

²⁰⁷ Dr Kaiser’s reporting had led to his later expert witness role at the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) (REVIEW OF THE INDICTMENTS PURSUANT TO RULE 61 OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE AND EVIDENCE. 1996, 8).

²⁰⁸ Kaiser notes that the picture on the institutional responsibility for protection of monuments was somewhat unclear in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and describes the Department as “a kind of a regional centre, [and] part of the Public Office for the Building and Reconstruction of Mostar”(1993, 2 February, 14).

“Urbicide.”²⁰⁹ The exhibition was first shown in Zagreb in December 1992 and has travelled to Maribor, Ljubljana and Vienna, with plans to be shown in Paris on 24 May-7 June (1993), with inclusion of the photo records of Sarajevo destruction (Kaiser 1993, 2 February, 33). However, he detected an underlying distrust towards “Sarajevo” among the people who previously had professional contacts there.

At the time fighting escalated between Bosnian Government forces (Armija BiH-ABiH) and Bosnian Croat nationalist forces (Hrvatska Vojna Odbrana-HVO) in Central Bosnia, impacting on historic places like Travnik and Konjic, and Kaiser tracks “a group of Bosnian architects from Zenica who are collecting information on the situation on cultural heritage there” (1993, 20 September, 3).

The information from these local contacts reflects the fragmentation of the country and generally shows the resilience expressed through awareness-raising initiatives and other measures to protect the heritage of own region. That is coupled with the growing sense of alienation from the former institutional and cultural system and the formation of new homogenised allegiances intensified by the break-down of communication.

Kaiser’s reporting is engaged and measured, reasoning the findings with reserve and caution while assessing the information from all sources which, as the war escalated, displayed various degrees of nationalistic homogenisation, bias and propagandism. He stresses that the purpose of reporting on “the [widespread] phenomenon of reprisals against cultural heritage” is “to describe the cultural landscape that the war is creating,” without the desire to apportion the blame or

²⁰⁹ Exhibition was based on the survey of 36 buildings with major damage, 30 of which were listed monuments, out of which 18 had burned.

excuse for any side (Kaiser 1994, 19 January, 16)²¹⁰. His method is clear when he details the destruction of the historic town of Mostar, or the dynamiting of the Ferhadija and Arnaudija Mosques in Banja Luka, or the damage to Metropolitanate Building in Sarajevo. The analysis and corroboration of sources, by then sufficiently polarised and in conflict, paints a pretty accurate picture about the fundamental, and in many cases disproportionate,²¹¹ eradication of the heritage belonging to the specific communities, but also highlights the often ignored deliberate targetting of the shared heritage, constructed in the recent past:

[T]he destruction of the cultural heritage that unifies - urban and rural heritage (houses, administrative, commercial and office buildings, parks), museums and libraries, whether they be monumental or not, is equally disruptive of the social cement between Croats, Moslems and Serbs. To compound the problem, in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina much urban and rural vernacular heritage has disappeared since World War II; it has commonly been slighted by the professional conservation community and often not recorded. All physical ties to the landscape and to the recent lived past (and not just the historic, national or ethnic past) have disappeared and continue to disappear in large areas of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and are creating homeless, atomised peoples (Kaiser 1994, 19 January, 26).

²¹⁰ Elsewhere, Kaiser further explains: "These considerations may seem out of place in a technical report, but there is no possibility of approaching the problem of the destruction of heritage in an objective way, or attempting to weigh upon the actors unless these points, which many will find unpalatable, are understood. They must be comprehended for another reason, because vandalism, which is accompanied by what can be mildly termed as "befouling", and often by the killing of civilians, is probably more effective than artillery fire in creating hatreds, and these psychological attitudes will have a strong bearing on the possibilities of restoring cultural heritage after the war" (Kaiser 1994, 19 January, 17).

²¹¹ Dr. Sejdalija Mustafić, the Director of the Institute for the protection of Historical and Natural Heritage, sent a fax on 16th June 1993 to Paris after the first official contact has been made with the cultural heritage authorities in Sarajevo. He presented the "approximate global figures for serious damage done to sacral heritage" of all periods. They included 900 destroyed mosques, another 550 [were] heavily damaged, 100 Catholic churches destroyed and [an] unspecified number of Orthodox properties, among which "several very valuable sacral installations [...] are also destroyed." Kaiser speculated that if the figures for the destruction of heritage are accurate, "the damage done to the sacral heritage of the Ottoman period would far exceed the destruction carried out in both world wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina, [...] [and] it would represent close to the total annihilation of that heritage in occupied zones" (Kaiser 1993, 20 September, 6).

Between 12 and 19 June 1993, on the invitation by the Bosnian Government, Dr Marian Wenzel and Roger Shrimplin visited Mostar and Sarajevo, at considerable personal risk, amidst the siege, shelling and sniper actions (Kaiser 1993, 20 September, 10-11). Wenzel made contact with many curators of the local cultural institutions and their key staff.²¹² That included all national institutions established in the past periods,²¹³ several pre-war cultural associations of specific ethnoreligious communities (Preporod, Napredak, La Benevolencia), and new cultural organizations established since 1992 (Kaiser 1993, 20 September, 10-26).

The key message from Wenzel's meeting with Sarajevo's cultural organizations' on 17 June 1993 was "that it should be somewhere emphasised, that **the destruction is not the result of this war, but rather the objective of the war**, where both culture (monuments) and the carriers of culture and inheritors of culture (women, who had to be a sort of library, educating children about the culture in which they lived, and children) were chosen for annihilation" (Kaiser 1993, 20 September, 25). The Bosnian experts also pleaded that "a distinction should not be made between humanitarian and cultural crimes, and [that] humanitarian aid should have one [additional] aspect, which is an aid to monuments" (Kaiser 1993, 20 September, 25). In other words, for Bosnians, preserving heritage was as pressing as

²¹² One of the Zemaljski muzej staff (since retired), when interviewed by the Author, recalled Wenzel's frequent visits to Sarajevo and her practical assistance. As mentioned in Wenzel's report, seventy of the staff had already left the Museum, so it was very difficult to maintain any routine activity, under frequent shelling, disruptions of utilities and other supplies in the city. There were many other foreign visitors usually escorted by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), who were facilitated by the Government officials to visit the cultural institutions. While received with welcome, some of the visitors were in many ways a disruption, and with few exceptions, they seldom reciprocated with meaningful assistance in the circumstances.

²¹³ These are the National Institute for the Protection of Historic and Natural Heritage, the Town Institute for the Protection of Historic and Natural Heritage, Arts Gallery, Fine Arts Academy, Zemaljski muzej (National Museum), National Theatre, University of Sarajevo and the Institute for History.

saving lives. That was also the expression of expectations for the inclusion, solidarity and protection from the international community²¹⁴ and the utter frustration with the lack of meaningful support, whilst affirming the availability and competence of the local expertise.²¹⁵

When “the usual embarrassing question: “Why doesn’t anyone do anything?” was asked at the same meeting, Roger Shrimplin bluntly answered:

1. Cost. It is known to the UNHCR how many millions of dollars it costs to keep Sarajevo going. Additional efforts to help Sarajevo’s cultural heritage in more positive ways are bound to raise those sums.
2. Heavy manpower. It is generally believed it would take more UN soldiers than anyone wants to provide.
3. In most of Europe, they do not understand the fierceness of hatred being expressed here. This makes people stand back. Wild, ancient hatred can be seen at times between Ireland and England, or amongst the Basques in southern France. But anyone reaching this particular level of fierceness, we can’t understand (Kaiser 1993, 20 September, 26).

Shrimplin’s response effectively projected back to the Bosnians the Orientalist/Balkanist tropes that often informed either decisions or indecisions on part of the official international response to the war. But, from the local perspective, Bosnia was struggling for the physical survival of the culture that was composite and inclusive of Islamic, Christian and Judaic traditions; it was fighting the unwanted war; it was yearning for a cultural recognition on equal footing; and, eager to dispel

²¹⁴ There were particular expectations from UNESCO, as recorded in communication with Sejdalija Mustafić, the Director of the National Institute for the Protection of Monuments, who according to Kaiser, begged that the Council of Europe use its influence and arrange for the General Director of UNESCO to visit Sarajevo, reinforced by architect Mustafa Dizdarević, the Deputy Minister for architecture, spatial planning, urban reconstruction and heritage (Kaiser 1993, 20 September, 25-26).

²¹⁵ Architect Dizdarević asked for urgent assistance with the following (1) Information from occupied areas; (2) Help from experts towards saving what is left [of heritage]; (3) Help from foreign experts to help our experts. We already have groups of people gathered and organized to protect heritage. But they need additional expertise and technical aid (Kaiser 1993, 20 September, 26).

the myths of “ancient hatreds,” but stubbornly defending the independent expression of own culture.²¹⁶

The courageous and tenacious international reporting confirmed the enormity of destruction and a devastating polarisation of the community groups. It showed a disproportionate targeting of the Bosnian Ottoman heritage and Islamic religious buildings.²¹⁷ It also showed that the heritage comprising modern infrastructure and buildings from the post-1945 period was a second target, with the intention to enforce a dis-association of communities from the immediate shared past. Overall, the war-time reporting on heritage has provided important evidence which, in the long run, facilitated the process of international justice, helping to enshrine built heritage within the constitutional rights for displaced persons and communities.

6.7 Institutional Resistance and Renewal Strategies

The Ministry for Renewal of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina organized the major local conference “Strategija obnove/The Strategy of Renewal” in June 1993 in the Holiday Inn Hotel in Sarajevo (Government of the Republic of Bosnia

²¹⁶ Shrimplin added a postscript as he saw it was important to address the questions regarding Bosnia as conveyed to the expert consultants by the local people: “Bosnian consideration of Bosnians being European, whether Moslem²¹⁶ or Christian, seems to us of primary international importance. It was expressed at a meeting of the Bosnian Moslem organization Preporod, that if the Bosnian Moslems needed to choose a government to which they had been formerly allied as a kind of surrogate fatherland, they would choose Austria before Turkey. [...] The European, as well as the Serbian and Croatian press were trying to force a Moslem “Easternness” upon them, seemingly because they would then be conveniently alienated out of the European scene. Few of them, however, would know how to begin being ‘Eastern’ in the way others seemed to require of them”(Kaiser, 1993, 20 September, 27).

²¹⁷ See Helen Walasek’s edited volume *Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage* (2015) for a detailed account.

and Herzegovina 1993).²¹⁸ Even though the symposium took place amidst the communication blockade and uncertain prospects for peace, this ambitious document declared the return of displaced persons as the key element of renewal of all economic and social segments (Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1993, 4-13). The Vice-President of the Government, Hadžo Efendić set the tone for post-war development envisaged not only as reconstruction but also a socio-economic transition in line with the rest of the world. He invited the conference participants to “the continuous flow and selection of ideas, which will be flexible and open for the necessary modifications,” in the interest of all citizens (Efendić. 1993, 3).

A number of contributors from the Architecture Faculty and its commercial arm, the Institute for Architecture and Urbanism, addressed the renewal and reorganization of systems of spatial management, both in urban and rural areas, with emphasis on the protection of cultural heritage and environment, from either a philosophical²¹⁹ or technical perspective.²²⁰ Amra Hadžimuhamedović (1993, 49-50) examined the examples of post-war reconstructions in Genova, Warsaw, Munich and

²¹⁸ The author is grateful to Dr Muhamed Hamidović, an architect and former Director of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of BiH, for providing a copy of this publication.

²¹⁹ Mehmed Bublin (1993, 54-55) elaborated on the existing land use and population spread, the ratio and tendencies of urban and rural settlements, and argued for a poli-centric future development of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Želimir Jovanović (1993, 56-57) looked into the criteria for updating the existing spatial planning documentation, while Vlasta Žuljić (1993, 59-62) analysed the evolution of historic settlements in Bosnia and the way forward. She emphasised that “[o]ne of the key characteristics of this war is the destruction of the urban continuity, history, culture and tradition, in other words, the practice of urbicide upon the towns and villages” (Žuljić 1993, 60) of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Aleksandar Knežević (1993, 63-64) talked about ecology and environmental management, while Slavko Burazor (1993, 90) developed an analytical model for the renewal of architectural structural systems impacted by the war.

²²⁰ Nedeljko Rosić (1993, 91-93) discussed the evaluation of the damaged built environment and heritage, proposing a system of classification by scale, technical scope, priority, sources of finance and providing guidelines for activities related to consolidation and renewal. Miroslav Krajtmajer (1993, 94-96) analysed the procurement of materials, assessment of requirements, options for salvaging and recycling and procurement from other sources.

Nuremberg, as precedents for urban revitalisation, while Zlatan Lazarevski (1993, 51-53) argued for the formation of the state-level spatial planning institution.

The survey of the damage to some 45% of the total housing stock in the city by the public housing enterprise Sarajevostan (1993, 97-98)²²¹ with some practical advice on the damage diagnostics, categories of the urgency of intervention and temporary materials and equipment solutions, gave the real backdrop to the conference.

This gathering was signalling to the international scene the openness and readiness of the profession for business against the backdrop of the Vance-Owen 'peace plan'²²² and the balance of military power which was breaking Bosnia apart. The naïve hope by many for international military intervention or a civilised outcome of the war with a feasible peace was fast fading. The gathering appeared more like a show of resilience, solidarity and dignity of a generation whose professional life suddenly peaked in face of a bleak and uncertain future, in which anything familiar from the old no longer would apply.

6.8 Museum in War, Revolution in Underground

The location around the Museum of Revolution became part of the defence line of the city during the siege (M. Hadžirović 1994, prosinac, 2). The north-eastern aspect was targeted by artillery aiming to carve a future dividing line, whilst the southern

²²¹ From the total of 62,268 apartment units in 4,900 structures in Sarajevo's four municipalities (Stari Grad, Centar, Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad), 27,900 were partly damaged and 1,870 totally destroyed, according to the survey.

²²² For more on this period of war see "The Destruction of Bosnia: 1992-1993" in Malcolm (1994, 234-252).

aspect facing Omladinsko (today Vilsonovo) šetalište,²²³ was in the line of fire from the occupied Grbavica suburb.²²⁴ As a result, the Museum building received several hundred different hits from the aggressors, out of which twenty-three were direct hits on the roof and thirteen of which penetrated into the reinforced concrete construction (M. Hadžirović 1994, prosinac, 2-9).²²⁵

Helen Walasek and Marian Wenzel,²²⁶ who visited Sarajevo in October 1995 to prepare an update on the situation for the Council of Europe's Committee on Culture and Education, reported the following:

Descriptions of actions taken in war must take into account the extreme psychological trauma suffered. People were living and working under continual shelling and sniper fire. There was no water, lighting or heat in museum buildings, whose roofs and windows were shattered. Many lost close relatives, most of their associates had left. And there was the additional factor that those who were attacking them were in many cases friends, neighbours

²²³ The popular tree-lined promenade along the river Miljacka was named Wilson's in honour of the American President Woodrow Wilson after the formation of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1918. It was changed to *Omladinsko šetalište* after the World War II and reverted back to its original name after the war in 1990s (Personal knowledge).

²²⁴ Robert Donia wrote: "The Historical Museum, with its superb library, archive, and artefacts dating largely from the Second World War, was also close to the front line. The comings and goings of its staff members were visible to Serb snipers in high-rise buildings across the river. To discourage direct attacks, staff members wore the blue workers' coats so familiar as the uniform of archivists in socialist Yugoslavia. The strategy worked, and the Historical Museum emerged from the war with little damage to its building and holdings. The Serbs' relative inattention to the Historical Museum may be due to another factor: Serb nationalists are ambivalent about the Partisan resistance movement of the Second World War. They despise its communist elements, but view it as a Serbian uprising that was treacherously betrayed by Tito and other enemies of the Serbian people. Most Serb nationalists did not see the museum's artefacts and documents as inimically hostile to their nationalist point of view" (Donia 2004, 3).

²²⁵ Walasek and Wenzel (1996, 16) corroborate Hadžirović's (1994) technical report: "[There are] 23 holes in roof from direct shell impacts. All glass surfaces to roof broken. All infrastructure installations (heating, lighting, water, telephone) damaged. Windows and roof temporarily repaired with plywood and plastic sheeting. Storage depots in basement suffer from high humidity levels and water damage from broken pipes, all windows were without glass but have been protected with metal-reinforced plastic sheeting. Only a few rooms [are] useable."

²²⁶ The joint Bosnia-Herzegovina Heritage Rescue (BHHR)-Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) mission included Helen Walasek and Marian Wenzel (BHHR) who travelled from Zagreb to Sarajevo on 7 October 1995. The third consultant Robert Child, of the National Museum of Wales, returned on 12 October, while BHHR staff returned on 28 October. A representative of the commercial firm Intertect also visited the Museum in connection with the roof damage and concluded that the roof could not be repaired (Walasek and Wenzel 1996, 4-31).

and former colleagues. Indeed, the staff at the Zemaljski Muzej and Historical Museum are convinced that one of their colleagues directs snipers on the Bosnian Serb side, and believe this is why none of them has ever been hit by a sniper's bullet, though many other people have been wounded or killed near the museums (Walasek and Wenzel 1996, 19 January, 7-8).

Led by the Director Dr Ahmed Hadžirević (1935-2002), the Museum continued working every day, like most other institutions during wartime, even though it lost a large proportion of its original staff, from 45 down to 15 at present (Leka 2010, 64-67).²²⁷

The collections²²⁸ were moved to metal storage containers situated in the courtyard or in the basement areas of the building, which literally and metaphorically stored “the Revolution underground.”²²⁹ According to the current Museum Director, the Museum’s premises were used by the Cultural section of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including some material from the collections, such as the pistol of the

²²⁷ Helen Walasek and Marion Wenzel (1996, 19), who visited the Museum in 1995, reported that the staff included the director, chief curator, administrator, legal officer, cleaner and photographer [ten all together], while some 17 to 19 curators (half subject specialists, half technical) left the Museum. The experts noted: “Staff carried out major repairs to the building themselves, as no-one else was prepared to do this. In full view of snipers in apartment buildings behind the museum, they spent two weeks patching the roof and dug 300 metres of trench to lay a gas line to their basement office. [...] Materials donated by an Austrian firm to properly repair the roof have not arrived as the museum could not afford to pay for transport. At the request of BHHR, the Austrian Cultural Institute in Zagreb has undertaken to ensure the materials are delivered at no cost to the museum” (Walasek and Wenzel 1996, 19).

²²⁸ Since the name and mission change, the thematic focus of the History Museum widened to include the periods since the Slavic arrival to the Balkan Peninsula up to the present-day contemporary independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, citing some 400 000 museum artefacts (Leka 2010, 19), but the process of updating the inventory seems to be on-going.

²²⁹ Walasek and Wenzel (1996, 7-8) surveyed the collections and recorded: “In the Historical Museum [situated like the Zemaljski Museum, directly on the confrontation line], approximately 4% of the paintings collection has suffered shrapnel damage, while around 4% of three-dimensional objects, 0.21% of archival material, 1% of the library and just over 5% of the documentation centre are damaged. The theft of about 10 weapons occurred at the Historical Museum, where over 200 objects were damaged in a break-in with attempt to steal. It will be difficult to determine the exact extent of loss until surviving collections are checked against inventories. It will probably be found that more damage and loss has been suffered by collections simply by being moved during evacuation to storage depots, because of the inevitably poor environmental conditions in which they are stored (most notably, high levels of humidity) and from the lack of packing materials, storage containers and shelving, and being poorly stored.”

partisan commander Vladimir Perić Valter, who died in the final liberation of Sarajevo in 1945.²³⁰

The formal name change from the Muzej revolucije/Museum of Revolution was sanctioned by the Decree on Museum Activities (Službeni list RBiH, br. 13/93 1993), listing the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with the Zemaljski muzej/National Museum, Muzej književnosti i pozorišne umjetnosti/Museum of Literature and Theatrical Arts and Umjetnička galerija/Arts Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as museums of public interest for the Republic (Leka 2010, 18). This was turned into law in 1994 and published in the Gazette (Službeni list RBiH br. 13/94 1994), within a long list of decrees dealing with the transition from previous federal laws, starting with the change of name and omitting the Socialist from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Leka 2010, 18).

During the war, the Museum mounted three exhibitions in different locations in the city (Leka 2010, 59). The “Sarajevske ratne slike/ War photographs” by Danilo Krstanović was opened in July 1993 in the Mak Gallery (Museum of Literature and Theatrical Arts). The following year the exhibition of paintings “Social themes in Bosnian and Herzegovinian art between two world wars” was opened on 31st August 1994 also in Mak Gallery, followed by the exhibition in the Kamerni teatar/The Chamber Theatre opened on 23 November 1994, titled “Dokumenti-slikarstvo-video/ Documents – Painting – Video,” as part of the scientific colloquium “Bosanska Posavina - an integral part of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, past, present, future.” The colloquium was organized by the two civic societies of North-Eastern

²³⁰ Semi-structured interview with the Museum Director, 24 April 2019.

Bosnia-Sarajevo (branch) and Derventa - Bosanski Brod – Sarajevo (branch)”²³¹. The topics and the timing of these exhibitions, show concern with the occupation, continued fighting and blockade of parts of the country.

Helen Walasek and Marion Wenzel²³² visited Sarajevo again in October 1996. They found that the Historical Museum “has made great progress in repairing the interior of its building, entirely through the efforts of staff, who have done all their own plastering and rewiring” and have leased part of the ground floor to a commercial company in return for part-refurbishmen (Walasek and Wenzel 1997, 24 January, 20). The experts evidently discussed the future of the Museum with its staff and observed how the Museum has been actively collecting artefacts from the Bosnian Army, including Brigade regalia and objects made by soldiers.²³³ When several children were killed during a shell attack on a school in Sarajevo, the Museum made a complete record of the incident, “plotting the locations of furniture and objects in the room, and inventorying all the material collected on site (Walasek and Wenzel 1997, 24 January, 19).

²³¹ Translated by Author from the Bosnian original: “Bosanska Posavina, sastavni dio Republike Bosne i Hercegovine - prošlost, sadašnjost, budućnost”, od strane Udruženja Sjeveroistočna Bosna-Sarajevo i Udruženja građana Derventa-Bosanski Brod-Sarajevo.”

²³² Two experts visited different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina on several occasions during war and compiled extensive findings on the situation of museums and other cultural institutions in a number of reports to the Council of Europe’s Committee on Culture and Education.

²³³ Walasek and Wenzel report: “*What do you do with a museum which no longer serves any purpose?* One noteworthy problem which emerged was the future of museums whose cultural *raison d’etre* has disappeared and whose method of interpretation are at severe odds with the new political and social structures. In the main, these are museum[s] which focus on the exploits of the Partisan and Communist era in the former Yugoslavia. Often they are in purpose-built modern buildings and had much money lavished on their displays and facilities. The former Museum of the Revolution in Sarajevo is trying to redefine itself as the Historical Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Staff feels there will be a need after the war to research the history of the country from the arrival of the Slavs to the present and that no other museum fulfils this purpose. The Historical Museum always did in fact cover the history of the country from the Austrian period. The eventual fate of its smaller outposts, such as the Museum of the Battle of the Wounded on the Neretva at Jablanica, which is currently being used as a prison, remains to be seen” (Walasek and Wenzel 1996, 10-11).

These war-time records might be sketchy at present. However, they account for the activity through which the reduced number of Museum staff maintained the continuity of its core work and integrity of its collections, albeit at a subsistence level. That meant adapting to the circumstances and reacting to the actuality of destruction by recognizing its potential for the Museum's mission renewal, as discussed in Chapter Seven.

6.9 Summary

The general picture which emerges from the selected accounts of the destruction of cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, both external and internal, points to some general conclusions:

- The scale of it was unprecedented in the modern European history;
- It targeted the modern infrastructure and buildings aiming to destroy the legacy of a shared culture, and in parallel disproportionately compounded on the Bosnian Ottoman heritage;
- The lack of understanding of *interdisciplinarity* of Bosnian heritage (Hadžiselimović 1995 (Summer), 18-21) from outside and inside, inadvertently led to its *ethnicising* (Herscher 2014 (December), 466), which indirectly fed into the very goals of the war and forcefully fragmented the society along ethnic lines;
- The population, as hostage of the conflict, often felt misunderstood and abandoned by the international community, but at the same time deployed

resourceful survival strategies and engaged in many forms of cultural resistance.

The complexity of transformation from the Museum of Revolution to the History Museum was multiplied by the war, the physical damage and the personnel loss. It can be compared with turmoil when a process of cohesion turns into subversion as illustrated in **Fig.6.24**. The metal composition on the left was part of the first permanent exhibition (1966), a symbol of the revolutionary struggle for freedom. Sculpted from parts of guns, rakes and shovels which point outwards from the consolidated core, it suggested the togetherness of resistance. This is in contrast with the imprint of the explosion of mortar on the pavement, now known as the “Sarajevo rose,” like many created since the shelling of Sarajevo started in 1992 (ANADOLU AGENCY 2015). Filled afterwards with red cement, the roses become alive transforming the sign of destruction into a symbol of resistance and hope.

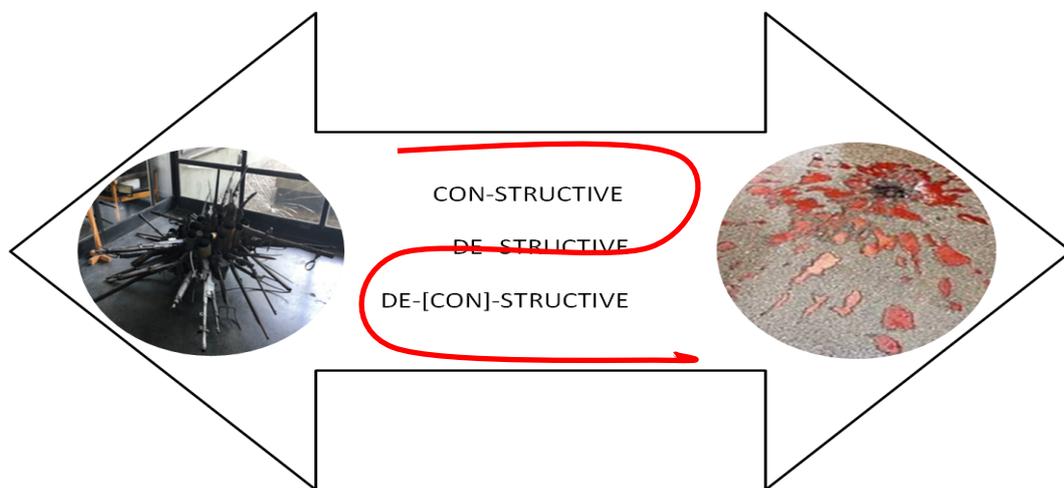


Fig.6.24 Conceptual sketch illustrating the process of departure from and destruction of the shared heritage (Inset left: artwork from the Museum of Revolution’s original collection; Inset right: Sarajevo rose) (©Selma Harrington).

Chapter Seven:

History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1995 to Date)

This Chapter maps the situation of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Dayton Peace Agreement in December 1995, which ended the war. Like other institutions which were founded and aligned with the period of socialist Yugoslavia, the Museum lost its former patronage and was left to navigate through the conditions and complexity of a post-war economy. Contingent on the lack of clarity about its usefulness for the new ethnically polarised authorities and public, the Museum's survival is potentially a test case of resourcefulness and transformation. Observing the selected events, community engagement projects and campaigns by the Museum, to understand and analyse the pattern of resilience and change, the research aims to establish how the activities resonate with and represent the societal developments and how does that define its role. Special attention is given to the engagement and outreach practices through various collaborative campaigns for the renovation of the building and the promotion of the Museum's architecture contextualised within a limited scope of post-Yugoslav, regional and international events.

7.1 Post-conflict Institutional Memory Trends

The violent dissolution fuelled the processes of memory and identity revisions in all parts of the former Yugoslav Federation, manifested through dissociation, denial or reinterpretation of previously authorised narratives, which are channelled into specific directions in each successor state. They can be analysed in the changing museum narratives and in specific cultural projects in the region which

provide an insight into the ways that the cultural institutions of the new Balkan states deal with the Yugoslav past.

7.1.1 Fragmentation of YUGO-narratives

Commenting on the temporary exhibition on the history of Yugoslavia at the Museum of the History of Yugoslavia in Belgrade (Knežević and Panić 2013), German scholar Puttkamer (2016, 799), observed the omission of World War II period from the display. It appears that the team of curators from several regional centres could not agree on the interpretation and found it best to fully exclude the period, as it was too sensitive and too divisive, which is hardly a surprise in a post-conflict landscape of the whole region.

Focusing on Bosnia and Herzegovina, Stefansson (2010, 71) has argued that “in the absence of a genuine spirit of national reconciliation [...] ordinary citizens in inter-ethnic encounters have little room to debate the past and different truths, which leaves collective silence and respectful distance as their only, or at least their preferred, strategy to foster a peaceful co-existence in local everyday life.” The absence of coherent policy of reconciliation at State level means that the institutions and individuals are left to mediate co-existence at everyday situations in an open-ended way, but without direct political interference.

Discussing the lack of consensus on how to present either the Chetnik movement in Serbian museums or the legacy of the Ustasha state in Croatia, Puttkamer suggests that the AVNOJ²³⁴ Museum in Jajce²³⁵, “might be understood as

²³⁴ Antifašističko Vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije (AVNOJ): the ANTIFASCIST COUNCIL OF NATIONAL LIBERATION OF YUGOSLAVIA, constituted in Bosnia and Herzegovina during World War II.

precisely the missing link in the Belgrade exhibition” (Puttkamer 2016, 799). This exhibition showcases experiences of World War II from each former Republic of Federal Yugoslavia, thus, in Puttkamer’s view, the “[p]rovincial Jajce has become a place where these experiences can be told within a national framework without provoking an official response” (Puttkamer, 2016, 799-800). Based on the research into three museums from Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Jajce in Bosnia and Herzegovina,²³⁶ Puttkamer posits that the legacy of Yugoslavia actually endures. He finds it in the “narration and aesthetics,” “residual narratives and practices,” in the ways of telling stories “by means of exhibiting and presenting material objects, relics of the past” without overwhelming the visitor (Puttkamer 2016, 790).

In parallel, observing the museums in two political entities, the Swedish researcher Vanja Lozić (2015) expresses a somewhat different view.²³⁷ For him, the National Museum and the History Museum in Sarajevo “highlight the recent creation of an independent BiH and ostracise BiH-Serbs,” whereas the Museum in Banja Luka “asserts the ostensible distinctiveness of the Republika Srpska and excludes the narratives about BiH as a unified and independent nation-state” (Lozić 2015, 307).

The American scholar Emily Gunsburger Makaš (2012) has traced the gradual change and fragmentation in Sarajevo’s museums since the socialist period, by mapping the post-war thematic narratives. She observed how the museums focused on *periods of ruptures*, such as the Histories of the 1914 Assassination of

²³⁵ Formerly government-funded, the Museum reopened mostly on the private initiative of Veteran Associations with little Government support from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

²³⁶ These are: The History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, The Museum of Republic of Srpska in Banja Luka and the Museum of the Second AVNOJ Conference in Jajce.

²³⁷ The Zemaljski muzej/National Museum of BiH and the History Museum of BiH are arguably the two state (national) museums, but practically under the jurisdiction of the Government of the Federation BiH, while the Museum of Republic Srpska in Banja Luka, established as a regional institution falls under the Government of Republic Srpska.

Franz Ferdinand, the Histories of World War II and the Histories of the 1990s Siege of Sarajevo, thus placing the periods of conflict at centre stage, tailored to each institution²³⁸ She believed that in all of them a highlighted common thread was the message of “self-reliance and clever resourcefulness of Sarajevans who managed to survive the forty-four months they were cut from the rest of the world” (Gunsburger Makaš 2012, 12). In her view, the gaps in Museums’ narratives were created in order to facilitate the endurance of the multicultural message:

[The] multicultural identity today is stressed through some major omissions. In addition to the lack of coverage, World War II, the interwar and communist periods are not discussed in any branch: it is as if Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina were never part of Yugoslavia. This is true in the city’s museums as well as in contemporary historiography in Bosnia and Herzegovina more generally, which has overwhelmingly shifted to a focus on the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman eras as well as the medieval Bosnian kingdom” (Gunsburger Makaš 2012, 13).

Such turn in Sarajevo’s museums to older conflict narratives signifies their usefulness in addressing the more recent conflict, with an effort to diffuse simplifications and false analogies. This was evident during the Centenary commemorations of the World War I (Hašimbegović 2015), which had some ambitions to show progress in connecting polarised communities but have also played to the revisionist tendencies of historic narratives. For example, the evolution of the Sarajevo Assassination narrative showed some general trends: on the one hand, broadening and inclusion (of the plurality) and on the other, hardening and exclusivity (of the singularity) (Harrington, 2015). But that also facilitated some forms of inter-entity participation and collaboration, as discussed in Chapter Four.

²³⁸ Her analysis focused on the Museum Sarajevo 1878-1918/former Mlada Bosna, Muzej grada/Sarajevo City Museum, Jevrejski muzej/Jewish Museum, Zemaljski Muzej, Historijski muzej/former Museum of Revolution.

As Puttkamer observed, “the use of history in building group identity in Bosnia is far from coherent”, and “the museums compete [...] with nostalgic commemorations of socialist Yugoslavia and with equally nostalgic references to the Austrian occupation”, but like “[v]arious civic groups struggle [...] with rather modest financial means” (Puttkamer 2016, 789).

The perceived omission of the Yugoslav period in Bosnian museums might best be observed as the evolving active process of interpreting and reframing the past, in response to the current trends in international curatorship and scholarship. According to Herscher (2014 (December), 465) these trends often “ramif[y] [heritage] into ‘dissonant’, ‘difficult’ or ‘negative’ forms, each advanced as a product of political conflict or violence“ (Cf. Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Meskell 2002; Macdonald 2009). On the other hand, some post-Yugoslav scholars diversify by using terms like “dissonance” (Kisić, 2016) or “elusive” (Blagojević, 2003), to soften or reconcile the conflict through heritage discourse.

7.1.2 YUGO Nostalgia and Regional Collaboration Perspectives

The Bosnian post-war cultural perspective is often permeated with the sense of multiple loss and unspoken impact of destruction, as if still in search to adequately voice the past and engage with the present. The book *Museum in Exile* by Asim Đelilović (2015) contextualises the achievements by Bosnian designers, architects and visual artists, many of whom no longer live in the country. Driven by the realisation that the subject “has never been studied in an organized and planned manner,” he underlines the repetition of ruptures in Bosnian history and presses on to virtually rescue a sizeable Bosnian design diaspora from oblivion (Đelilović 2015, 7-9).

Similarly, Ivan Štraus, in the book *99 arhitekata sarajevskog kruga 1930.-1990.*, reminisces on the “Sarajevo architectural circle” idealising its early heroic “Periclean” stage as free from political or governmental interference, unlike the present state of surrender to a “free for all” construction culture in a new “multi-party, democratic era” (Štraus 2010, 134-137). Reflecting on the period of modernism, Štraus is keen to stress the continuous cultural allegiance of the Bosnian architects to European values expressed in architecture devoid of pastiche or “tri-national heritage trivia,” as manifested in many of accomplished public buildings.

Both authors speak from the acute awareness of the profound changes in the post-conflict period Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a sense of urgency and even desperation to record what previously appeared as concrete, whole and real. According to Stefansson (2010, 62-76), that is almost mirrored in Banja Luka, where he detects the complexity of “polite and ritualised encounters” and “silence [...] [as] both a strategy of bridging difference and marker of difference” between now fragmented communities. Stefansson’s thoughts on post-conflict co-existence are stopping short of giving credit to the “victorious Yugoslav communists” for radical political reinterpretation used to reconcile the conflict after World War II. In his view, they successfully “recast[ed] the meaning of violence in ideological, class-based terms, as a fight between fascists and anti-fascist Partisan forces, rather than as a clash between ethnic groups” (Stefansson 2010, 72).

A Serbian perspective can be illustrated with the curatorial and collaboration concept of the exhibition “They Never Had It Better?” (2015)²³⁹ led by the Museum of Yugoslav History in Belgrade, Serbia and conceived to revive the sense of a

²³⁹ Partnership of several regional institutions from Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the University of Loughborough, UK.

shared experience of life in Yugoslavia (Panić 2015). The project conceptualised some key themes that constituted the Socialist Yugoslav identity, such as Education, Up-bringing of a Socialist Man, Workplace, A Roof Over One's Head, [Annual] Holidays for All, Socialist Consumerism, Social Rights and Rhythm of the Year [Yugoslav Public Holidays]. It included modest exhibits of architecture in its primary role in new urban and rural housing provision and as a manifestation of the advancement in construction and the emerging interior design. The exhibition toured regional capitals,²⁴⁰ with locally sourced and curated artefacts on loan from the public, which expanded the display on each location (Ču.M./faktor.ba 2015). As one of the partners, the History Museum mounted an exhibition in Sarajevo, expanding it with the additional display of artefacts, many of which were on temporary loan by the citizens.

The Museum was indirectly associated with a large project “Šezdesete u Hrvatskoj - Mit i stvarnost / the Sixties in Croatia - Myth and Reality” (2018), if only by the display of the original competition drawings for the Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo shown, in Zagreb. The impressive show of the technological and societal advancements in Croatia in the 1960s featured the culture of living, industrial design, music and advertising (Ledić et al. 2018; Maković 2018). If the Serbian exhibition attempted to reassemble the Yugoslav culture of living by emphasising similarity and inviting proximity, the Croatian attempted to extract own uniqueness, juxtaposing the exhibits within an international political timeline, thus moving further away from the former Yugoslav narrative.

With record of subversive tactics within former Yugoslav culture, the

²⁴⁰ Belgrade, Sarajevo and Ljubljana.

Slovenian artistic group Irwin²⁴¹ (Miller 2007), attracts a renewed interest (Miller 2007, 253-265), from the perspective of post-communist East-West divide. Irwin/NSK's performances were designed to provoke, shock and demystify what they saw as a stale and ignorant inertia of the institutional culture, especially by use of imagery, music and installation with phyllo-Germanic symbolism and insinuations, coined in 1983 as "RETRO-AVANT-GARDISM" (Čufer 2003; Đurić and Šuvaković 2003, 581).²⁴² In contrast to the accusations of destabilising Yugoslavia, they showed much solidarity with Bosnia and Herzegovina, arriving in Sarajevo in 1994 to perform and distribute the symbolic NSK Passports to the besieged citizens. Several of their post-war initiatives centred on the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2018, a joint exhibition between Irwin, the History Museum in Sarajevo and the Museum of Contemporary Art of Republika Srpska in Banja Luka, titled "Was ist Kunst Bosnia and Herzegovina²⁴³ / Heroji 1941–1945," displayed the original portraits of heroes of the national–liberation movement, from the collection of the History Museum in Sarajevo, in both cities.²⁴⁴ In the context of the political complexity of the inter-entity

²⁴¹ The group is a part of the Neue Slovenische Kunst (NSK), an artistic movement which started in the late 1980s in Slovenia by challenging the conventional cultural expression and policy in former Yugoslavia.

²⁴² Some western researchers link Irwin with the concept "time-image", conceived by Gilles Deleuze (1989). Miller (2007, 264) suggests that avant-garde needs to be viewed in such manner, in the "particular qualities and types of time express[ed] [...] [as singular occurrences and mixtures, through particular images, artefacts, spaces, and movements." Unpacking Irwin's "apparent stasis" "in which the revived utopian rhetoric of the past appears to be suspended," Miller looks into their apparent critical negativity and invites to interpret their "retro-avant-gardism" as a "*temporal heterogeneity to the present*," with the inherent possibility for revival of avant-garde itself and "the multitude of ways" it can perform its role in the current culture (Miller 2007, 264).

²⁴³ Author's translation from German: "What is Art Bosnia and Herzegovina / Heroes 1941-1945."

²⁴⁴ A minor controversy was caused by the last-minute withdrawal of portraits by Bosnian painter Ismet Mujezinović (1907-1984) at the request of his family (Personal knowledge from the correspondence from the professional Institute of Bosnian Designers (ULUPUBiH).

collaboration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the exhibition was momentous²⁴⁵ as it pushed the institutional barriers which often frustrate the good-will that exists at professional and artistic levels.

7.2 Cinderella of the Seven “Unresolved” Institutions

In June 1993, in the midst of war, the Museum of Revolution changed its name to the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by special Decree of the Executive Council of the National Assembly of Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Izvršno vijeće Skupštine SRBiH) (See **APPENDIX VIII**). The act delegated the Museum to “systematically research [...], collect [...] and curate [...] museological material [...] and perform [...] the key tasks of museological activity in the field of history of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the Middle Ages to-date” (Leka 2010, 17).

The Museum was described as the institution of “public importance for the Republic” (Službeni List RBiH, br. 13/93). However, as six other cultural institutions from the socialist period which have the status of state-importance, it has lost secure

²⁴⁵ Sarajevo writer Miljenko Jergović (2019) wrote: “The exhibition signifies a semantic turn-around, a return to the beginning, but not the one from the miners’ Trbovlje²⁴⁵ in 1984, let alone from the heroic Jajce and Mrkonjić Grad in 1943, but to the point from which a story of totalitarianism unfolds. While Neue Slovenische Kunst (NSK) emerged in the pre-apocalyptic time [...] this exhibition appears as a reflection of post-apocalypse, as a beginning after the end.”; Author’s abbreviated translation from a longer version in Bosnian/Croatian: “Trideset i pet godina kasnije, nakon što su se temeljito ispretumbale političke okolnosti i nakon što je povijest potekla unatrag, što su Laibach i NSK pozorno pratili, reagirajući estetskim odgovorom na političke podražaje, izložba “Was ist Kunst Bosnia and Herzegovina/Heroji 1941–1945” predstavlja svojevrsni značenjski i semantički preokret, povratak na početak, ali ne onaj početak u rudarskom Trbovlju 1984, a još manje u herojskom Jajcu ili Mrkonjić Gradu 1943, nego na tačku od koje počinje priča o totalitarizmu. NSK su nastali u predapokaliptično doba, obuzeto Fukujaminom obmanom o kraju povijesti, dok se ova izložba doima kao refleks postapokaliptičnog doba, kao početak nakon kraja.”

public patronage which guaranteed the continuity of its operation (FENA 2009).²⁴⁶ Together, these institutions are considered as “unresolved,” due to the administrative and political fragmentation which actively weakens the state and its capacity to fund the public institutions and promotes a three-way-separation along nationalist lines.²⁴⁷ The situation is aggravated by the liberalisation of the economy and general erosion of the public funding for culture.

7.2.1 The Culture Shutdown Crisis and the Turning Point

The Platform Cultureshutdown (2012), a global non-partisan network of Volunteer activists, has advocated the change of the “status quo” of the seven unresolved cultural institutions on the following grounds:

- That the authorities (either state, entity or cantonal) have not to-date taken the founders’ responsibility for the institutions under the Annexes II and IV of the Dayton Peace Agreement;
- That the management structures believe their institutions should be funded from the budget, with a small percentage funded from visitors’ service, and from grant applications for additional projects;
- The Ministry of Civil Affairs of BiH grant scheme “to co-finance seven state cultural institutions” was changed between 2006-2012 into “grant to co-finance institutions and cultural projects in BiH” limited to 350 000KM (approx. €175 000) or 20% of administrative costs, which is prohibitive to normal operations;

²⁴⁶ The seven unresolved institutions are: Zemaljski muzej BiH/National Museum, Historijski muzej BiH/History Museum, Muzej književnosti i pozorišne umjetnosti BiH/ Museum of Literature and Theatrical Arts, Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka BiH/National and University Library, Kinoteka BiH/Cinema Archives, Umjetnička galerija BiH/Arts Gallery and Biblioteka za slijepa i slabovidna lica BiH/Library for the Blind and Visually Impaired.

²⁴⁷ Robert Donia has condemned the deliberate shelling and destruction of cultural institutions in the war, describing these as acts of “obliteration of memory” (Donia 2004, 2). However, he was equally appalled by the “segmentation of memory” in which Sarajevo’s archives, libraries and museums have been either devastated or actively neglected by the political structure (Donia 2004, 3).

- There is no joint programme and plan of operations for the seven institutions, despite endeavours in that direction by their management;
- There has been no joint legal action undertaken by the institutions to date directed at the State (Platform Cultureshutdown 2012, 1-6).

The situation escalated in October 2012 with the closure of the Zemaljski muzej/National museum by its staff, who staged a symbolic protest by barricading the main entrance door and lowering the Bosnian flag to half-mast (tportal.hr/klix.ba 2012). The “Platform Cultureshutdown” advocated the cause of all seven institutions, with the “aim to prevent destruction of cultural heritage that belongs to all people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and enriches the World heritage” (Platform Cultureshutdown 2012, 1). Among the suggestions for resolving the “untenable status quo” were: lobbying the authorities, a unified legal action by all institutions against the BiH State, a call for an adoption of a percentage based system of financing, combined with other sources, and a change in the current modus operandi, including complete or partial merging of similar institutions.

Public pressure was symbolically demonstrated by yellow ribbons at the entrance to Zemaljski muzej with the word “CULTURESHUTDOWN,” reminiscent of similar ribbons used to demarkate danger zones of landmines. In solidarity with others, the History Museum had placed a ribbon around the life-size bronze figure of the former Yugoslav President Tito at its entrance.

After almost three years, the Zemaljski muzej was reopened to the public in September 2015, in parallel to the co-signing of the Memorandum of Understanding by thirty five political representatives from Municipal, Cantonal, Federal and State institutions (balkans.aljazeera.net 2015). Initiated by the Ministry of Civil Affairs,

the Memorandum was seen as a step towards the resolution of funding for the cultural institutions, for a three-year period (2016 to 2018).

While the Zemaljski muzej was closed, the History Museum continued to work and reach out for support from citizens (Huseinovic 2017).²⁴⁸ Reframing the former Communist slogan, which roughly translates: “Bosnia belongs neither to Serbs, nor Croats, nor Muslims, but it belongs to either of them”, the Museum rejected the notion that it belongs to “nobody” and instead declared itself “open for everybody” (Huseinović 2017).²⁴⁹

7.2.2 Funding of the Museum

It can be said that the post-war situation of the Museum is reminiscent of its very beginnings, marked by the “unresolved financing, [with] lack of professional staff and problematic legal status” (Leka 2010, 17), but in a profoundly changed political and economic environment. The allocation of funding for cultural institutions is complicated by partisan politics which permeates the state at all levels. At political level this is characterised by a tri-nationalist bias and internal divergence between

²⁴⁸ As the winter was approaching in 2012, the initiative “Let’s heat the Museum!” invited citizens in and pointed to the exhibition of improvised wartime stoves from the “Besieged Sarajevo” collection. In parallel, an installation made of children’s woollen gloves was mounted on the exposed concrete wall next to the entrance, facing the main traffic thoroughfare. According to the Museum Director, the overwhelming public response boosted the staff morale and reaffirmed the course of resourcefulness and resilience as a way to forge a better future. (Author’s interview with the Museum Director, during the Irish Museums Association Annual Conference in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, 27-28 February 2016).

²⁴⁹ The slogan said: “Bosna nije ni Srpska, ni Hrvatska, ni Muslimanska, nego je i Srpska, i Hrvatska, i Muslimanska.” This was meant to say that Bosnia does not belong exclusively to either of its constitutive nations, but it belongs to all of them. The Museum Director deemed that the original slogan would also imply that the country, and by analogy the Museum, does not belong to anyone (Huseinović 2017).

positions of pro- and anti- state-unity of Bosnia,²⁵⁰ which is the crux of the problem for the cultural institutions of the State.

As an example, the History Museum is an institution under the Ministry of Civil Affairs, but its funding is determined and dependent upon the inter-partisan agreement which can be vetoed by political representatives. Applications for funding are submitted annually to the Ministry of Civil Affairs for specific projects. In effect, all institutions compete for grants, regardless of the fact that some of them already receive a regular annual budget. As a result, applications on a project basis can bring additional income to some institutions, while leaving others barely surviving. As funding is unreliable, the Museums and galleries compete to subsidise their incomes from other sources in order to fulfil their basic functions.

Some insight into the mechanics and scale of funding can be gleaned from the Government Report “Decision on the allocation to co-finance projects by the cultural institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina” (Službeni glasnik BiH, Broj 59/15 2015), dated 5 November 2015. The total budget for Current Transfer and Grants was 2, 197,000 KM (approx. €1, 1 million), distributed proportionally among 169 cultural institutions in the country, out of which the History Museum was allocated 85, 000 KM (approx. € 42, 500).

The Day of Liberation of Sarajevo (6th April 1945) and the Day of Bosnian statehood (25th November 1943), are two annual remembrance events organized by the Sarajevo City Council. According to the Director of the History Museum,

²⁵⁰ Interview with the Museum Director, 6th May 2016.

funding for such purposes was received either from the City or the Cantonal Government.²⁵¹

A proposal to involve the Ministry of Civil Affairs in the work of the Museum and appoint a Board of Directors proved unsuccessful after initial meetings in 2015. Since no overseeing structure is required by the Ministry, the Museum is not obliged to report on its programme of activities, except through funding applications, and therefore it does not publish an Annual Report. Currently, the Museum relies on grant allocations from the Ministry of Culture,²⁵² the Ministry of Civil Affairs, and a monthly support from the Department of Culture of Sarajevo Canton amounting to KM 3.900²⁵³ per month (Šimić 2019).

7.3 Managing Change

While in many ways a disadvantage, the lack of clear patronage and policy guidance leaves the Museum with freedom and flexibility to develop organically and engage freely in shaping its purpose and programme. This has served it well so far attracting both international partnerships and local artistic and civic support. To supplement its income, the Museum runs a café, a souvenir shop and occasionally rents its space for corporate promotions and events. It occasionally benefits from receiving specialised equipment or professional services, at cost or *pro bono*, through various forms of international cooperation.

²⁵¹ Interview with the Museum Director, 06 May 2016.

²⁵² Grant for 2018 from the Ministry of Culture, operational in 2019 amounted to 110,000 KM. equiv. of approx. € 55, 000 or £ 50, 130.

²⁵³ Equivalent of approx. € 1,950.00 or £ 1,777.00.

At the International Focus Group (IFG) workshop in 2017, the Museum Director summarised the current key challenges as follows:

- Adequate positioning of the History Museum within the current political situation in which there is no positive climate for promoting the shared history and heritage;
- The unresolved physical and public ownership of the Museum;
- The Museum's current operating strategies are based on the resourcefulness of its staff, in creating opportunities for public engagement, within which architecture of the building [and its condition] is seen as an instrument for change (Dimitrijević and Harrington 2017).

7.3.1 The Besieged Sarajevo Exhibition

The permanent exhibition “Opkoljeno Sarajevo/Besieged Sarajevo” is at the heart of the Museum's reframed role and mission to record the recent history. It is presented in a pared down space on the first floor of the main exhibition Cube, with authenticity which lets the object speak. It was first opened to the public on 7 April 2003, as an improvised display titled “Survival Skills.” With the support from the Swedish Government it toured abroad under the current title (2004-2005)²⁵⁴ and returned in 2007, to include an expanded display.²⁵⁵ It is occasionally moved around the space to let other events take place.

²⁵⁴ The “Besieged Sarajevo” exhibition was also shown for the first time in Belgrade in September 2018. Presented in the Gallery “Parobrod” and co-organized with the Fund for Humanitarian Rights, “it was an opportunity to make the siege known to the population of Serbia, the majority of whom are unaware of it,” in words of the Fund Director, Budimir Ivanišević (R.E. 2018). The History Museum Director expressed a wish to “let the ordinary people see how other ordinary people fared some twenty-five years ago, in different circumstances,” hoping that the exhibition may open a dialogue about the past (R.E. 2018, 7).

²⁵⁵ Interview with the Museum Director in May 2016.

The main exhibition hall, as a background, particularly before the roof repairs in 2016, is fitting to the theme, as the ceiling tiles in the hall were missing, exposing the light aluminium grid and concrete soffit above, with dated and broken roof-lights. In winter time, without functioning central heating and with the roof leaks when it rained, the visitor to the Museum could truly get a glimpse into life under siege. It could be at first difficult to understand what the exhibition is about, especially to a Western visitor conditioned to contemporary slick visual presentations. To a local visitor, the exhibition might evoke memories of trauma, but also pride at having made it through. It might take a number of visits to fully grasp its devastating narrative, but the exhibition holds attention, invites and provokes the visitor to return (Fig.7.1).



Fig. 7.1 Permanent exhibition "Besieged Sarajevo" (Photo: Selma Harrington, July 2013).

For others, the exhibition “suggest[s] the senselessness of the siege and the innocence and helplessness”, but it is also a demonstration of the will of Sarajevans to resist aggression “by preserving their dignity and maintaining the memory of normal life by ingenious improvising” (Gunsburger Makaš 2012, 11). Some are

fascinated by the unusual exhibits: a plastic crate on wheels, a recycled cardboard lamp pedestal, a remodelled pressure cooker/stove, a “hand-made lamp of cannibalised bicycle parts [...] with the handle of a coffee grinder” (Goodman 2014, 42-57).

Each of these objects are hand made with limited tools and out of necessity, some more skilful and inventive than others. Most of the collected material was either donated by citizens or purchased, while the City administration donated approximately two hundred and one items (Karapuš 2010, 54), all technically processed by the curator Mirsad Zorabdić. Initially, when the war was over, people “got rid of everything that reminded them of it” (Hašimbegović; Cf. Goodman 2014, 57) and nobody wanted to remember it. However, when the call was made to donate objects for the exhibition “Opkoljeno / Besieged Sarajevo”, “hundreds of stoves, ovens, guns and other handmade items” (Goodman 2014, 57) poured in, providing artefacts for a narrative of endurance, resistance and resilience.

The objects are displayed with sparse descriptions and commentary, open to interpretation by the visitor. There are approximately 5,000 exhibits, between the Collections of Archival material, Photography and Three-dimensional Objects (Karapuš 2010, 53-55). According to the curator Amar Karapuš, they illustrate “in the best possible way, resourcefulness and creativity of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the war period” (Karapuš 2010, 53).

The memories of personal experiences of the siege of Sarajevo, expressed through both real and virtual records, represent what might be termed as *a heritage of destruction* and the exhibition is powerful, poignant and inspiring at the same time. Gunsburger Makaš opined that there is a deliberate avoidance of dissent in “a

thematic approach with objects and information grouped under headings such as water, light, food, weapons, communication, hygiene, medicine, sport, and so on” (2012, 11). For Goodman the exhibits conveyed that the city was cut off from normality for almost four years, exposed to constant shelling from the surrounding hills, shortages of electricity, gas, food, water and dependent on, at times “perversely unhelpful” humanitarian aid (Goodman 2014, 55). He quotes how the infamous commander of the Serb-nationalist force, Mladić, famously instructed his gunners: “Stretch their brains!” (Goodman 2014, 55) but, without a film footage and other documentary evidence, it might be difficult to grasp the horror of long-term shelling, destruction and other life-threatening deprivation.²⁵⁶

When in 2017 the Museum organized an international workshop to review the permanent exhibition it took into consideration:

[T]he complex situation of the Museum among seven other cultural institutions with unclear political-administrative status; the fact that interpretations of history and the memories of the 1992-1995 war are *ethnicized*, divided and antagonistic; the fact that there are several other siege or war exhibitions in parallel (Moll 2017, 3).²⁵⁷

Acknowledging the importance of the exhibition and the need “to keep and develop a space which encourages dialogue and constructive approaches of dealing with the past”; the workshop developed several recommendations: (1) to combine the exhibits with “testimonials from persons who used them,” (2) to organize “a clearer structure in different sections,” (3) to add explanatory elements around the objects

²⁵⁶ This has since been addressed by adding an audio corner in which the visitor can experience the sounds from the war and personal stories (Personal knowledge).

²⁵⁷ Workshop “Wake up Europe, Sarajevo Calling-Connecting Local History and International Perspectives,” Co-organized by the “crossborder factory” (Berlin/Sarajevo) and Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft (Munich), gathered curators, historians, educators and architects from the Western Balkans and wider Europe.

and photos; (4) to introduce audio-visual elements; (5) to develop “the international aspects of the siege” such as “civil society actors, municipalities, artists, etc. in various European countries which showed solidarity,” (6) to develop a section “which connects the siege of Sarajevo more explicitly with other (historical and current) events and situations of violence, suffering, resilience and survival” (Moll 2017).²⁵⁸

7.3.2 Temporary Exhibitions

Some of the Workshop’s recommendations are in many ways taken on board through collaboration with other agencies, which have a mission overlap, a thematic empathy with the Museum or educational purpose. For example, an interactive digital animation “Sarajevo Survival Tools”, designed by a group of staff and students from the Electro-technical Faculty Sarajevo created (ETF Sarajevo/Selma Rizvić 2013) was on loan to the Museum for a short period.²⁵⁹ Another important installation, currently on loan to the Museum is an interactive tool “Mapiranje Dejtonskog sporazuma/Mapping the Dayton Peace Accord,” designed by the Bosnian creative collective, FAMA Agency to describe the current Bosnian complicated political organization (**Fig.7.2**).²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Other suggestions relate to continuing with the thematically related educational activities; to integrate it with other narratives of the Museum; to increase interactivity with the public; to connect it with the urban space of the city; to have more workshops and discussions around it; to create a Scientific Research Committee composed of local and international experts.

²⁵⁹ Presentation by Dr Selma Rizvić during the seminar “Architecture-A link between built heritage and culture of remembrance” in April 2014.

²⁶⁰ The FAMA Agency led several cultural resistance projects during the war, most notably the “Bosnian House” and “The Siege Map of Sarajevo.” Based on the extensive material on that period, it launched an initiative in 2012 for the foundation of the specialised Siege Museum under its management and sought a suitable location from the City authorities. This was so far unsuccessful. (Personal knowledge).

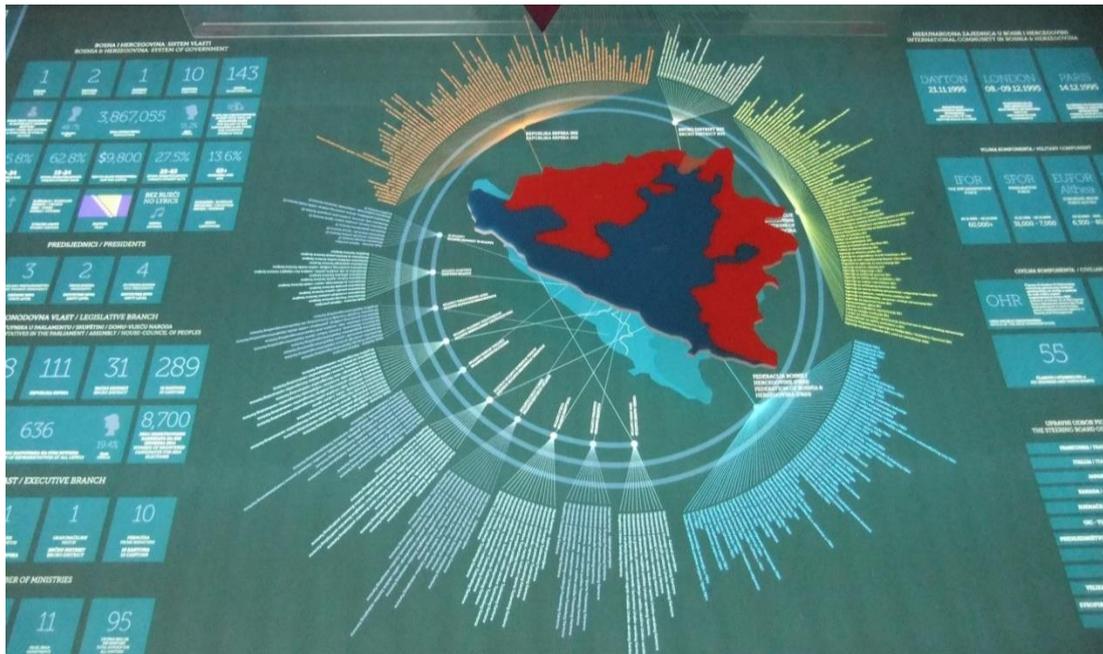


Fig.7.2 “Mapping the Dayton Peace Accord,” FAMA Agency (© Selma Harrington, 2016).

On special anniversaries, the Museum’s temporary exhibitions draw and expand on its original collections, such as the history of the Workers Movement, mounted to commemorate the 1920’s “Husinska buna/Husino Miners’ rebellion” (Radiosarajevo 2014). Similarly, echoing the contemporary concerns with the erosion of status and equality in the workplace (Fokus.ba 2016), the exhibition titled “Dostojanstvo rada / Dignity of Work” was mounted by cleverly using props to form a white tent and to transport visitors to the “better past” (History Museum BiH/Elma Hodžić 2016) (**Fig.7.3**).²⁶¹

²⁶¹ Mounted in partnership with the Sindikat radnika trgovine i uslužnih djelatnosti BiH (STBiH) (Syndicate of commerce and services workers of BiH).



Fig.7.3 “Dignity of Work Exhibition, History Museum of BiH (Photo: Branka Dimitrijević).

Other exhibitions reflect on the minority issues, gender, equality, sexuality, international solidarity and other topics relevant to contemporary life. The collaboration on such projects gives the Museum an opportunity to interact with organizations from other post-Yugoslav centres or with individuals and projects whose international provenance allows for a more open and liberal expression of views which are otherwise discouraged or disregarded by the official politics in the region. One such example was the exhibition and seminar “Zatiranje istorije i sjećanja/Targeting history and memory” organized by the international SENSE AGENCY (2016), which dealt with the crimes against cultural heritage as per the ICTY proceedings, as discussed in Chapter Six. (Fig.7.4).



Fig.7.4 Seminar “Zatiranje istorije i sjećanja/Targeting history and memory”, SENSE AGENCY, History Museum, Sarajevo 12 November 2016 (©SelmaHarrington).

In preparation for the “77 Million Paintings” exhibition of digital art by Brian Eno in 2018 (klix.ba 2018), the larger portion of the exhibition Cube was repainted and transformed into curator’s black box as an ideal background to display work of prominent international and local artists. The latest and major new exhibition of paintings by Safet Zec, the “Embraces,” is a powerful reflection on the human contact in pain and death of the war (**Fig.7.5**). With a clever juxtaposition of a single sculpture from the original Revolutionary collections as message of resilience, the whole display complements the memories of the siege and invites a dialogue between past and present of the city, people and of the Museum itself.²⁶²



Fig.7. 5 Fragments from the exhibition “Embraces” paintings by Safet Zec in the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (©Selma Harrington, March 2020).

7.3.3 Local Synergies and Other Conflict Narratives

Conflict, resilience and survival dominate in many new museums, which are usually privately funded and managed. Two among them closely overlap with the History Museum’s permanent exhibition.

²⁶² Constructed from the radially spread defensive spikes, tools and guns, rooted in a condensed and protected centre, the sculpture evokes a Yugoslav Army defence concept expressed by slogan: “Naša odbrana je kao jež (Our defence is like a sea-urchin).”

The Gallery 11/07/95, occupies upper levels of an adapted historic building in the Fra Grge Martića Square near the Catholic Cathedral, with a well-laid out and designed exhibition based on its owner’s artistic photography from the Srebrenica massacre site and documentary material from the siege of Sarajevo. The second foundation, Muzej zločina nad čovječanstvom (Museum of Crimes Against Humanity) is in the vicinity of Ferhadija Mosque, on the upper floors of the residential block from the Austro-Hungarian period. It is managed by volunteers from the War Veterans Association and displays a collection of personal artefacts, torture weapons and belongings of Srebrenica victims, including the scaled models of three concentration camps which were at the time operated by the Serb-nationalist forces. The presentations differ, but both exhibitions and their poignant *singular narratives* immerse visitors in memory of the genocide, highlighting the message of its silenced victims with a strong emotional impact (**Fig.7.6**).



Fig.7. 6 (left) The “Gallery 11/07/95;” (right) Muzej zločina nad čovječanstvom, Sarajevo (© Selma Harrington, June 2019).

7.4 Post-Dayton National Monument

Back in 1983, the Museum of Revolution building has been included on a cultural and historic heritage inventory list (Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, prirodnih

znamenitosti i rijetkosti Bosne i Hercegovine 1983).²⁶³ Having first been on a Temporary list, the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, declared the History Museum a National Monument in 2012 (Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika 2012, 13). The Commission's decision includes the description and history of the building, and guidelines for its protection supplemented with maps and related legal documents (Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika 2012, 1-17). It also includes the following guidelines for a permanent protection of the monument:

- It is permitted to undertake only conservation and restoration works, maintenance works and other works which aim to preserve the monument, with the permission of the Federal Ministry in charge of environment and building control, and federal institutes for protection of heritage (FBiH)
- It is essential to retain the original authentic form of the building in relation to architectural detailing, colour and finishes, façade treatment, structure of the building and roof form; it is not permitted to alter the characteristics of the building by removing or adding certain decorative elements and architectural details.
- During the conservation and restoration works identical materials and finishing details should be used;
- During any interventions, the authentic appearance of the interiors must be retained;
- Works to the interior of the building are permitted (heating installation and other services) on condition the authentic characteristics of the building are preserved;
- The building can be used for educational and cultural purposes, in a way that shall not endanger the integrity of the building and its meaning in the structure and image of the city (Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika 2012, 2).²⁶⁴

The History Museum lies within the boundaries of the Local Area Plan for Quadrant "C"- Marijin Dvor (2003) and its zoning description is "to be retained"

²⁶³ Based on Article 11 of the Law from 1978 (Zakon o zaštiti i korištenju kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa 1978).

²⁶⁴ Author's translation from the original in Bosnian.

(Zavod za planiranje razvoja Kantona Sarajevo 2011). The Commission's decision reveals that the Museum previously applied for National Monument status in October 2010, and describes the significance of the monument as one with "high contextual and historic value within the residential *ensemble* of Marijin Dvor in Sarajevo, and a distinguished example of a "well-known Zagreb School"²⁶⁵ of architecture and one of the most significant materialisations of the contemporary 20th-century architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond. Despite the poor [physical] condition, [the Museum] still represents a prominent [landmark] in this part of the city" (Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika 2012, 4).²⁶⁶

The brief description of the physical condition cites the problems with waterproofing of the flat roof, risk to the public from stone façade falling,²⁶⁷ as well as from the poor condition of the stone-paved entrance terrace, where some staff members have slipped (Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika 2012, 15). The negative atmospheric influences and the lack of maintenance are listed as specific on-going risks in the Report.

In conclusion, the Commission decided on six specific criteria cited as a basis for the declaration of the Museum as National Monument:

- C. Artistic and aesthetic value-quality of materials, proportions, composition, value of the constructive system
- D. Readability (documentary, scientific, educational value)-work of prominent artist or builder

²⁶⁵ This features repetitively in the texts about the Museum of Revolution and somewhat exaggerates what could be more correctly described as the "Zagreb circle of architects". In the interview with the Author (6 May 2016) architect Ivan Štraus similarly referred to the "Sarajevo circle of architects," elaborated in his *99 arhitekata sarajevskog kruga 1930.-1990* (Štraus 2010).

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ The corrosion has severely compromised the external west-facing glazing frames, with a risk of collapsing, as witnessed by the author during field visit in 2017, when members of staff were slightly injured while trying to fix the problem.

- F. Value for the ambiance-meaning in the structure and image of the city, a building or a group of buildings is part of the area or the whole
- G. Originality-form and design, location and spatial placement
- H. Uniqueness and Representativeness-Work of exceptional artist or builder
- I. Wholesomeness-physical compactness, completeness (Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika 2012, 15-16).²⁶⁸

It is noteworthy that the selected criteria do not include either B-Historic value or E-symbolic value (Commission to Preserve National Monuments 2002), nor does the detailed institutional chronology elaborate on the Museum's cultural mission and continuity of socially purposeful use (ICOMOS [1964], 2)²⁶⁹ as factors in its long-term sustainability. This implies that the Museum is listed exclusively on the strength of its architectural design. A detailed building history is supplemented with the description of the spatial configuration composed of the three blocks and an internal courtyard. With reference to the volumes, materials and the condition, a significant portion of the text is dedicated to the first floor cube with the Main exhibition of the Museum. This central part of the building, which acts as a canopy over the recessed visitors' entrance below, is supported by the slim cross-shaped steel columns and is the key element in the monumentality of the structure and a recurrent motive in all graphic representations of the Museum.

7.4.1 Museum Building Renovation Proposals and Interventions to Date

When discussing the Museum building, the notion of “pure architecture” persists among the experts and visitors, some of whom see “the socialist promise of a bright future [...] still visible, as are its precedents in inter-war modernism” (Puttkamer

²⁶⁸ Author's translation from the original in Bosnian.

²⁶⁹ ICOMOS, The Venice Charter, 1948

2016, 800). The building has been included in some major regional and international architecture exhibitions, such as MoMA's *Concrete Utopia* (2018), *Šezdesete u Hrvatskoj* (2018), and *Unfinished modernisation* (2012). However, in reality, "the hovering white box" from 1960s is but a memory of its original self. Its once sharp edges and smooth volumes are deformed and the whole structure is slowly decaying.

Close up, the building bears bullet scars, marks of severe water damage and suffers from a steady loss of stone cladding, which exposes and compromises the structural concrete and steel. The dilapidation caused by war damage and post-war lack of maintenance is slowly turning the building into an urban ruin which at times seems abandoned (**Fig.7.7 & 7.8**).



Fig.7.7 Courtyard Views to the History Museum from Zmaja od Bosne Street/West elevation (©Selma Harrington, April 2019).

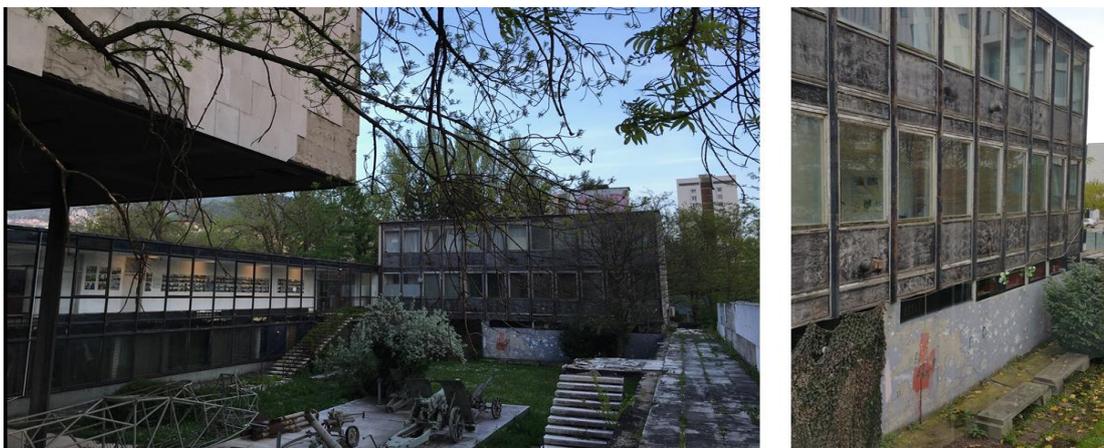


Fig.7.8 (left) Views to Courtyard and the Administration block of the History Museum; (right) North elevation of the administration block (©Selma Harrington, April 2019).

The Museum's street façade is used to advertise exhibitions by placing large banners, one highlighting its permanent exhibition “Besieged Sarajevo” and other periodical events. The banners could be considered as undesirable visual clutter, but they also partly hide the damaged surfaces (**Fig.7.9**).



Fig.7.9 The History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina; (top) View from Zmaja of Bosne Street; (bottom) View to East elevation and side entrance) (©Selma Harrington, October 2016).

7.4.2 Emergency Interventions

During the war, a technical report was prepared by the Architecture Faculty Sarajevo, documenting the physical damage to the building, and specifying some emergency remedial and stabilising work, which was carried out “with a great

personal effort by the Museum staff and professional contractors” (Hadžirović 1994, 1; Walasek and Wenzel (1997, 24 January, 20). The architect Mirsad Hadžirović (1994) proposed and specified further remedial works to the reinforced concrete slab, whose central areas had been pierced by thirteen direct grenade hits. However, the offer of material for repairs from the International Centre for Peace and the Austrian manufacturer “FLEXOPER” (Čaušević et al. 2014, 9), had not come through.

There were several technical reports and partial surveys of the existing building condition in the past (Hadžirović 1994 ; Roš 2007; Čaušević et al. 2014; Commission to Preserve National Monuments 2017), mainly prompted by the dysfunctional heating and leaking roofs.

In 2007, architect Stjepan Roš prepared a report for reconstruction and maintenance works, proposing three phases of remedial works, which prioritised repairs to the flat roof of the main exhibition hall, with full replacement of the roof glazing system. Second phase was to conduct a condition survey, and third, to undertake reconstruction work on the power plant, air-conditioning system and electrical installation. Roš (2007, 1-3) made reference to the emergency works carried out in 1998, which allowed for the temporary accommodation of the ARS Aevi collection of modern art in the exhibition hall. This, he critically appraised as a “necessary improvisation,” which had not resolved either the roof leaks, or the condensation and damage to roof lights above the main exhibition hall.

In 2008, the History Museum adapted the decommissioned plant room in its basement area to accommodate the “Café Tito” (Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika 2012, 14). The alcoves and walls of the Café are adorned with posters, slogans and memorabilia themed on the leading figure of the socialist period, former

Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito (1894-1981). The open area around the Café exhibits the original armoured vehicles from World War II, now restored. Thus the Café acts as an extension of the Museum's exhibition space, a reminder of its original context and a trigger for visitors to provoke "the memory of the experience" (Decelis Grewe et al. 2014, 1) (Fig.7.10).

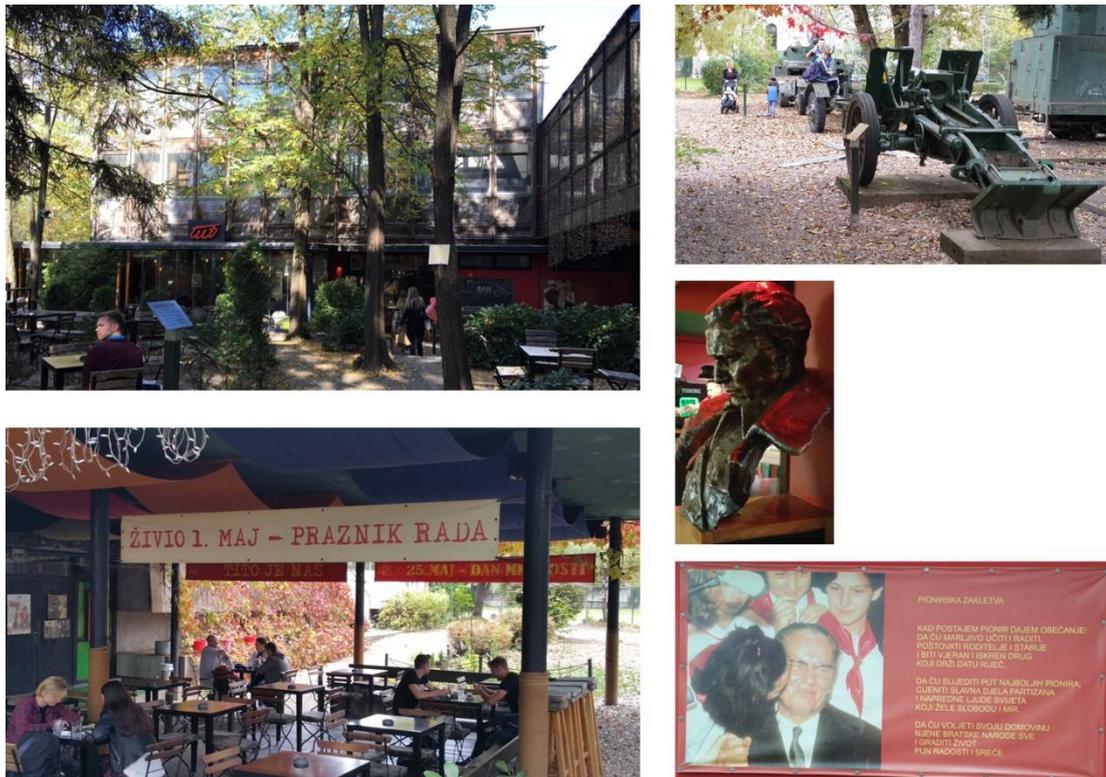


Fig.7.10 Museum's Cafe "Tito," view to the Administration Block and décor (© Selma Harrington, 2016-19).

It took twenty years to finally weatherproof the main exhibition hall in 2014, with support from the Special Fund of the American Embassy in Sarajevo. The works were carried out under supervision by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments.²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ The Commission's report elaborated how the grant of US\$ 69,000 was spent, following the public procurement procedure with separate restricted calls for design services and the construction contract (Commission to Preserve National Monuments 2017, 1-10). After some delays, a team from the

The progressive and most visible ruination of the lower wall along the Zmaja of Bosne Street, with active loss of the stone façade tiles in other areas, have not prompted the authorities into action, so the Museum eventually availed itself of a donation towards repair which introduced a new type of stone tile on the building, which is mildly clashing in texture and colour with the existing (**Fig.7.11**).



Fig.7.11 The History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina: (left) New flat roof finish above the Main exhibition hall, 2016 (Photo: The Commission to Preserve National Monuments); (Right) New stone cladding to the portion of the boundary wall (©Selma Harrington).

Several other smaller interventions inside the building, while very useful for the daily operations, cast some questions regarding the coherence of a long-term view regarding the integrity of the existing building fabric and compliance with the guidelines for the protection of the national monument. While not advocating a rigid approach to the conservation of the Museum, it is necessary to highlight that, in the

Architecture Faculty Sarajevo was appointed to prepare designs for remedial works on the flat roof and roof glazing for the main hall, and the local contractor Neimari to carry out the works, which were completed in August 2016, with an interim delay and retender. The final report submitted to the US Embassy refers to the problems during the works and some shortfalls in the execution and quality of works, due to the inadequately low-cost estimate, a lack of detailed drawings and certification. The proposed new skylight glazing solution was omitted from the project so that only the existing single-glazed roof-lights were repaired. The details of the rainwater evacuation from the flat roof were also altered to resolve the significant water pooling on the existing roof surface.

Museum.²⁷¹ However, the evolution of Piano’s proposals could also be viewed as a studied and respectful integration of the History Museum in the new larger-scale scheme that could potentially resolve some of the problems of the existing building, arguably at some expense for its solitary “White Cube“ status (Fig.7.13).²⁷²

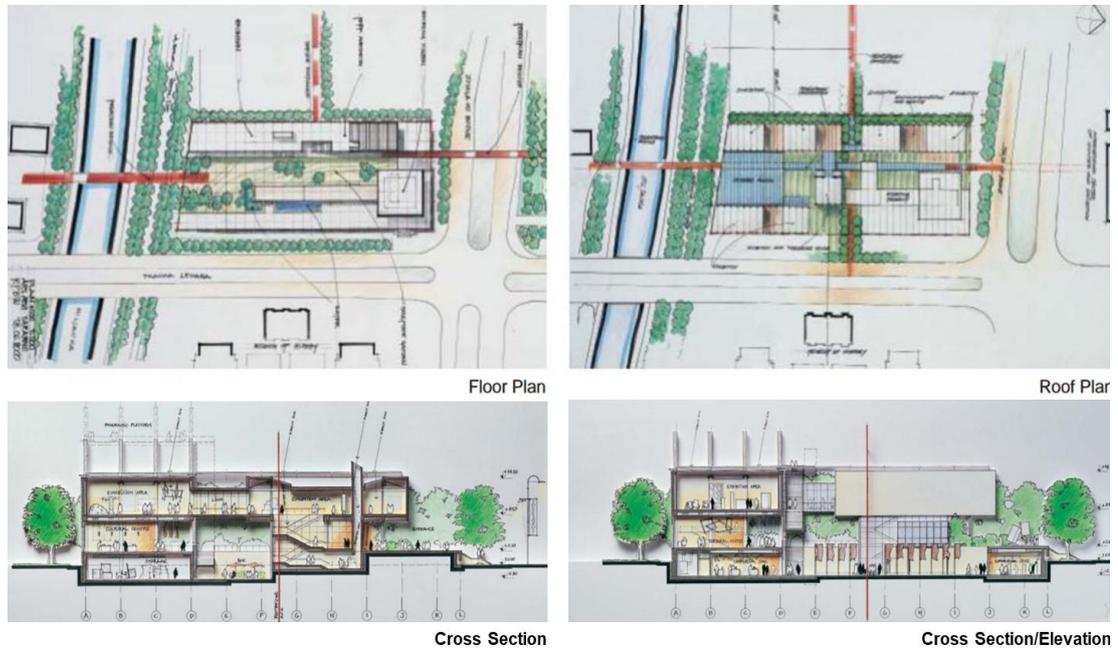


Fig.7.13 Proposed Ars Aevi Contemporary Art Museum in Sarajevo, by RPBW architects; Presented at UNESCO Goodwill Ambassadors Annual Meeting, Tuesday 16 October 2012; Adapted and annotated by Selma Harrington (isusu.com 2013).

7.5 Architectural Campaigns, Engagement and Outreach

The increasing open-door policy by the Museum enabled many local and international educational initiatives inspired both by the architecture of the building

²⁷¹ Piano’s involvement was also manifested with the donation and construction of a pedestrian bridge linking the Vilsonovo šetalište and the left bank of the river Miljacka with Grbavica residential zone.

²⁷² Recent developments suggest that the previous ban on construction on the allocated land has been lifted by the Development Planning Agency of Sarajevo Canton, and the current Mayor of Sarajevo, Abdulah Skaka, has pledged that the Museum of Contemporary Art Ars Aevi will be completed during his mandate (Sarajevo Times 2019). If this project goes ahead, it could be a positive addition to what is already dubbed as “The Museum Quadrant” in Sarajevo, but at the same time, some of the architecture conservation purists might see it as a threat to the integrity of the History Museum’s original setting.

and the symbolism of its permanent exhibition. The Museum's responsiveness and relatively informal and sporadic nature of engagement makes it an attractive project partner to many educators, small practices and cultural institutions.

Many of these contributed to raising the awareness and campaigning, but have seldom provided the detailed conservation input or the in-depth technical proposals. The exception is the Project V Architecture Studio's condition survey of the Museum's atrium, a pilot study for maintenance programming (Čaušević and Dinnen 2017). Others, such as a doctoral researcher from TU Delft, Armina Pilav (2012), who studied urban resilience in the period of the siege, engaged in digitalising part of the art collection of the Museum. The architecture festival "Dani arhitekture," held every spring in the locality, mobilises Bosnian architects to exhibit and discuss, using the Museum's building as the backdrop and symbol of modernism and resilience.

7.5.1 Design Studio Projects GCD with HMBiH

Since 2012, the author's collaboration with the Architecture Faculty Sarajevo and the History Museum led to developing a Design Studio brief in Ireland (2014-2016), which opened the scope for a more detailed study on the building and its future use. Throughout three academic cycles, the brief evolved within the parameters of an Interior Architecture Design Studio at post-graduate level in Griffith College Dublin, as discussed in Chapter One.

The Design Studio group project was conceived to address the cultural context of the Museum's architecture, its physical condition, and reuse and retrofit proposals focused on the interior and exhibition design. These aspects were studied

and analysed across several teaching modules, constructively aligned with the Design Studio. As a result, multiple aspects, from philosophical to technical, were creatively interpreted in the final design proposals, which included the conservation and renovations measures and new exhibition content, thematically connecting the local with international context.

The complex processing of the Museum's history, architecture and existing building fabric was presented through parametric modelling and 3D animation software and integrated into the interiors and exhibition design proposals, sustainable renovation and business proposals (Fig.7.14; 7.15 & 7.16).²⁷³



Fig.7.14 Design Studio Group Project 2013-14; (from top right clockwise) Seminar poster; Interacting with Sarajevo counterparts, April 2014; Working model of the existing building; Work in Design Studio in Dublin (© Selma Harrington).

²⁷³ A group interaction in Design Studio, followed by an optional study trip to Sarajevo, facilitated the experiential learning (Kolb and Fry 1975) while the business proposal component and presentations improved the students' professional competence (Biggs and Tang 2007). Each group project exhibition brief was thematically specific with comparative international dimension of conflict narratives, and every student completed individual assignments analysing the sustainable reuse of the Museum building and adequate conservation measures.



Fig.7.15 Design Studio Group Project 2013-14, with History Museum of BiH, April 2014; (anti-clockwise from top) Longitudinal Section with Courtyard Extension; View to Courtyard Extension from the roof above Ground level; Interiors of the Courtyard Extension (© Selma Harrington).

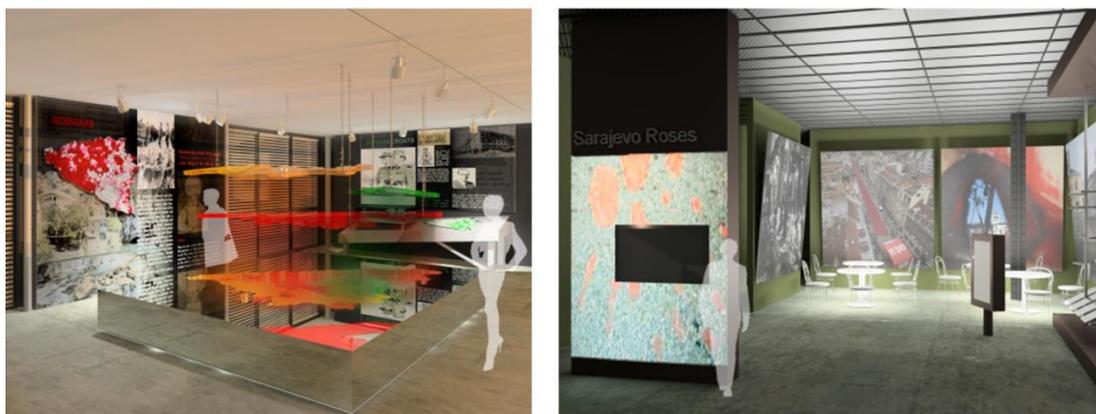


Fig.7.16 Design Studio Group Project 2013-14, with History Museum of BiH, April 2014; Design proposals for the Besieged Sarajevo Exhibition (© Selma Harrington).

The first study visit to Sarajevo organized by the Author in April 2014,²⁷⁴ provided an insight into the existing condition of the Museum to the group of students and teachers from Ireland. As part of the programme, the Seminar

²⁷⁴ This was co-organized by the Author with the History Museum and supported by the Griffith College Dublin and the Architecture Faculty Sarajevo.

“Architecture - A link between built heritage and culture of remembrance,” helped identify among the invited speakers the Local Focus Group (LFG), which continued to engage with the researcher (See APPENDIX II).²⁷⁵

The Design Studio briefs were designed to allow for exploration of the controlled interventions within the Museum boundaries, which would resolve the chronic lack of space and inadequacies of the existing building, taking cognisance of the conservation guidelines and the Museum’s status of National Monument (Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika 2012, 15-16). Therefore students’ design proposals took a broader and more flexible view, observing the principles of material integrity, reversibility and minimal intervention, but exploring the extension and enlargement of Museum space. This resulted in several different options of improvements to the administrative block, ancillary exhibition and storage space in the existing building. Some added more floors to the Administration block, others extended into the internal courtyard (Atrium) or within the basement area, while some utilised the flat roof above the ground levels, harvesting rainwater, collecting solar energy, creating roof gardens and sun-traps, in reflection to the original modernists’ principles. One such proposal is illustrated in **Fig.7.17**.

²⁷⁵ Communication with the LFG continued periodically through correspondence, individual encounters, and via the responses to the questionnaire on the prospects for the renovation of the History Museum. In April 2018, the LFG participants responded to an online survey, designed to triangulate the baseline information gathered during the research phase of this Thesis, focused on understanding the general situation regarding the History Museum as a National Monument. The majority of the eight respondents agreed that local politics, followed by the lack of coordinated action, legislation and funding, were the primary causes for the “unresolved status” of national monuments in Bosnia. When asked to prioritise factors which could improve the status of the History Museum and its restoration, the formation of a Technical Expert team was suggested, followed by the Resolution of the Legal Status and Ownership of the building and conducting a Professional Evaluation of the Condition of the building.



Fig.7.17 Proposed extensions above Administration Block and renovations to the History Museum, within Masters Interior Architecture Design Studio Group project 2015/16, Griffith College Dublin; Adapted by Selma Harrington (Author's archive).

The interior architecture and exhibition briefs were inspired by the Decade of Commemorations and the review of modernisation processes at the Venice Biennale 2014 and took comparative views, with an international dimension. For example, the GCD group Design Studio project 2015/16 examined the independence movement in Ireland and the 1990s war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the historic parallels and motives of resistance, siege, sacrifice and the tunnels of escape and hope (**Fig.7.18**).



FROM DARKNESS TO LIGHT ● MEMORIES OF CONFLICT ● DUBLIN ● SARAJEVO



Fig.7.18 Exhibition and Interior Design proposals for the History Museum, by the Design Studio Group project 2015/16 at Masters Interior Architecture, Griffith College Dublin; Adapted and annotated by Selma Harrington (Author's archive).

The Design Studio benefited from having the History Museum act as a Client, and from the engagement during short study visits and mini-workshops with local staff and students in Sarajevo. Within the educational framework, this three-year process practically applied and illustrated many of the elements which were in the meantime recommended by the Museum's exhibition review group. However, due to time and resource constraints, this rich educational material was only partially presented and conveyed to Sarajevo counterparts, and while it received recognition in Ireland, it remained limited to the academic domain.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ The group student project (2015/16) and the Author (as Named Contributor) was part of "Griffith College Dublin 2016-1916", Exhibit in Intrinsic Design Category (Award for Design Education and Research). In the *Irish Design Awards 2016*, by the Institute of Designers of Ireland, p. 123.

The value and strength of the Design Studio proposals is the user-centred focus on the “inside of the box” (Milligan, et al. 2007) through the perspective of interior architecture and use of parametric modelling and visualisation tools. The international profile of students in the Design Studio and the interaction with local students of architecture, art history and history, contributed to the development of cultural sensitivity and the understanding of the social, psychological and ethnographic components of the creative process. Finally, as much as the “live” Studio project and “community” as an external Client are sympathetic to the educational process (Cerulli 2017; Morrow & McKeogh 2018; Sara 2011; Sara and Jones 2018), there is hopefully a long-term reciprocal effect on the clients and community.

7.5.2 Other Educational Initiatives

In 2015, the ETH Zurich and Urban Think Tank group initiated a project “Reactivate Sarajevo: People’s Museum” followed by the exhibition “Sarajevo Now,” sponsored by the History Museum (Korody 2016, 2; Urban Think Tank 2016).²⁷⁷ The highlight of the project was the exhibition as a special collateral event of the 15th Venice Biennale in 2016, in the Arsenale, which re-launched the concept of the “people’s museum,” and called for a wider “reactivation” of the city of Sarajevo (ETH 2015).

Reflecting on the exhibition in Venice, one of the authors, Alfredo Brillembourg stated:

²⁷⁷ Commissioned by the Bosnia and Herzegovina Switzerland Axis (Matica Bosne i Hercegovine), a non-political and non-governmental organization founded in 1993 in Switzerland as a cultural platform for the Bosnian diaspora and refugees. The word *matica* can be translated to English as synonymous with *current* or *stream*, but *axis* is used here as more appropriate to the meaning.

The building was a physical symbol that conveyed cultural, social, and political scars. In the same way, the Historical Museum in Sarajevo also stands as an anthropological object in which you can read the scars of society. At a political level, it tells a story of abandonment and division. On a social level, it tells a story about the civilians who battled to preserve their heritage. The fate of the museum reflects a crossroads faced by Bosnian society as a whole (Korody 2016, 4).

To mark the 50th anniversary of the official opening of the Museum of Revolution to the public in 1966, within the “Sarajevo Now” project, an Austrian team of architects, Baier Bischofberger prepared a scaled model of the Museum as an architectural installation exhibited in the entrance hall of the History Museum. It showed the proposed measures to protect the building from the negative impact of Sarajevo’s climate by surrounding it with scaffolding platforms and covering it with a transparent weather-proof foil (**Fig.7.19**). Reminiscent of a construction site, this vision vaguely harkens back to the installations and wrapping of prominent architectural objects by Bulgarian-French artist Christo, but in this case with vinyl instead of silk!

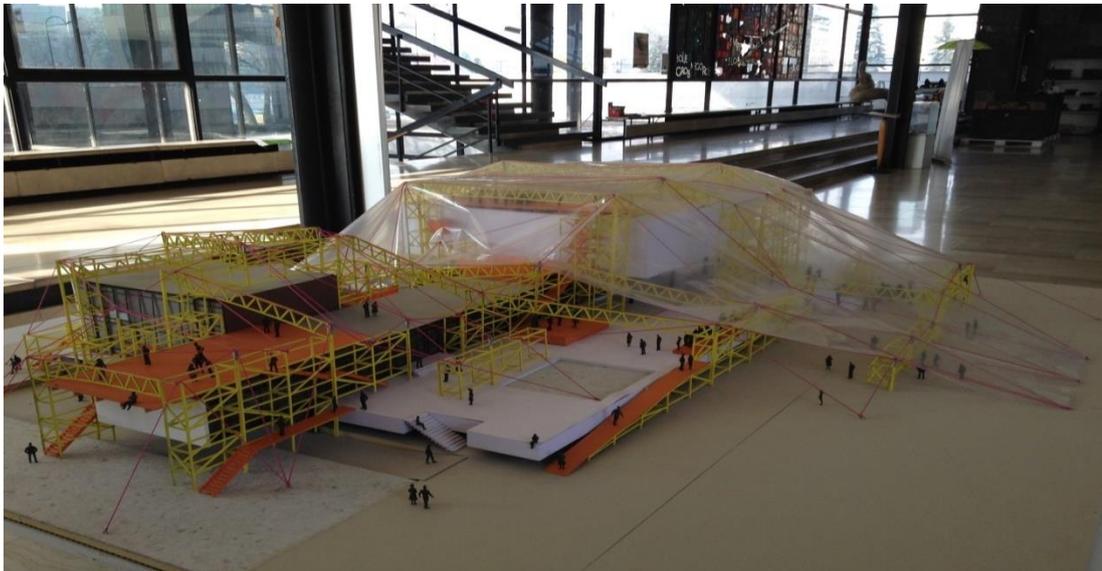


Fig.7.19 Sarajevo Now exhibition, Urban Think Tank & Baier Bischofberger Architects with The History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Photo: Selma Harrington, 17. 11. 2016).

The History Museum's staff were enthusiastic promoting the "Reactivate Sarajevo" project and the scaled design proposal model was hailed as complementary to the current visions as "a temporary measure against further deterioration of the architectural gem" (Radio Sarajevo 2016).

The importance of the occasion and presentation at the 15th Venice Biennale was used to highlight the fact that the Museum is still:

[F]ifty years on [...], as other cultural institutions, a hostage of the political crisis, a national monument whose façade is damaged, without heating, but working, preparing exhibitions, organising gatherings, reflecting the past, imagining a better future... The response to the crisis was demonstrated by opening the Museum to the public and strengthening the links with the community, under the slogan: 'This is your Museum!' aiming to redefine it as an institution which belongs to ALL CITIZENS" (Radio Sarajevo 2016).²⁷⁸

7.5.3 "Keeping It Modern" Project

By the end of 2018, the Museum successfully applied through the locally based Cultural Heritage without Borders (CHWB) for funding from the Getty Foundation under the *Keeping It Modern 2018* competition scheme (The Getty Foundation 2018).²⁷⁹ Announcing the US \$ 130, 000.00 grant, the aims of the project were described as follows:

²⁷⁸ Author's summary translation from a longer original text in Bosnian: "Približava se 25. novembar: Dan državnosti Bosne i Hercegovine i dan na koji je davne 1966. godine NAŠ MUZEJ otvorio svoja vrata građanima Bosne i Hercegovine! Pedeset godina nakon: Historijski muzej BiH je talac političke krize koja je zahvatila i ostale institucije kulture, fasada muzejske zgrade koja je proglašena nacionalnim spomenikom je oštećena, u Muzeju nema grijanja, Muzej radi, pripremaju se izložbe, organiziraju druženja, razgovara se o prošlosti, mašta o boljoj budućnosti..."

Muzej je na krizu odgovorio otvaranjem svojih vrata prema društvu i jačanjem veza sa zajednicom. Muzejske aktivnosti pod sloganom „Ovo je i vaš Muzej!“ su usmjerene prema redefiniciji Muzeja kao ustanove koja pripada SVIM GRAĐANIMA.

²⁷⁹ During the Author's Key note lecture and Seminar with LFG on the 18 June 2018 in the History Museum in Sarajevo, the representative of ICOMOS BiH revealed that their branch highlighted the Museum's plight in the *Heritage at Risk World Report 2014-2015* (National Committee in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2016, 29-31), followed by the preparations and initial communication with the Getty

To ensure the museum's safekeeping, the non-profit organisation Foundation Cultural Heritage without Borders will document the building's history and condition and devise plans for its use and maintenance. The Foundation will also organise a seminar on the conservation of modern architecture for young professionals in the region. The resulting conservation management plan will address how future interventions can incorporate the building's more recent history, including the war damages that tells the history of the siege of Sarajevo and attests to the survival of the city's culture (The Getty Foundation 2018).

Thus far, it is the most promising opportunity to address the physical condition of the building as, according to the External Consultant, an international conservation architect who facilitated the preparation of the application by the CHWB, the main focus is on “a rapid condition assessment and interviews to determine problems.”²⁸⁰

The citation on the architecture of the Museum is a novel interpretation of influences on its design as it for the first time suggests the influence “from the East”, and reads:

Blending characteristics of the International Style with the experimental ethos of Russian Constructivism, the museum was immediately celebrated for its innovative architecture: slender steel columns are all that support an enormous, yet seemingly weightless, reinforced-concrete cube as it floats above a glass-enclosed entry pavilion. A gallery wing extends from the entry pavilion, creating an impressive single-story curtain wall (The Getty Foundation 2018).

A preparatory workshop was planned for spring “to do a very detailed analysis of the problems” but has since been deferred.²⁸¹ A local Expert Steering Committee was appointed to oversee the implementation of the project and includes

Foundation for the inclusion of the Museum in the *Keeping It Modern 2015* competition. The initiative was not endorsed by the Museum's management at the time.

²⁸⁰ The Consultant's responses to the Author's structured questionnaire, 2019.

²⁸¹ Further details about this event were not available at the time of writing.

representatives from the Commission to Preserve National Monuments and the Federal Institute for Protection of Built and Natural heritage. The consultant envisages the full preparation of the conservation management plan by the end of the project, which will incorporate the guidelines “by ICOMOS, DoCoMoMo²⁸², etc.”

The External Expert explained:

The physical survey will be resumed when warmer. It does not match the construction drawings... there were never any as-builts. There was an energy audit conducted (there is currently no heat). And a structural team is looking at the roof that was damaged in the war. There has been limited laser scan and it will be complemented by photogrammetric survey. Complications from nearby US Embassy.²⁸³

This process is evolving and, according to the regional office of the Cultural Heritage without Borders (CHWB), the team from the Mechanical Engineering Faculty in Sarajevo is currently considering the implications of the proposed new geo-thermal heating solutions.²⁸⁴ The decision has been taken to focus on the interventions to the administrative block, which will include the internal restoration works to the original furniture designed by Zlatko Ugljen and a new sympathetic interior fit-out of the public area of the library, to be designed by his daughter, Nina Ugljen Ademović.

²⁸² Docomomo International is a non-profit organization whose full title is International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement, founded in 1988 by Dutch architects Hubert-Jan Henket and Wessel de Jonge (en.wikipedia.org n.d.).

²⁸³ It is possible to speculate if the consultant might be referring to the prohibitive security measures which might have an impact of any photographic survey and recording in the vicinity of the US Embassy.

²⁸⁴ The CHWB Director, Adisa Džino Šuta, confirmed that the limited opening-up works have commenced on the administrative and ground level part of the Museum building. The initial investigations exposed the condition of the existing flat roof detailing and an insufficient gradient of its concrete build-up. Combined with a low parapet wall, this continued to cause rainwater retention and pooling, which compromises the integrity of the roof, and remains a major issue (Interview with the author in the History Museum, 30 May 2019).

While many of the already known facts on the physical condition were updated since the previous reports, at the time of writing, neither the details on the conservation management plan nor other announced activities within *Keeping It Modern 2018* for the History Museum were publicly available, it can only be concluded that the case remains open.

7.6 Summary

The History Museum team continues to operate within the systemic vacuum, colloquially described as “neither in sky, nor on earth (ni na nebu, ni na zemlji)” in which it shares the conditions of the other six national “unresolved” institutions for more than two decades (Šimić 2013; Klix.ba 2020). This is a huge challenge but also a possibility for creative resourcefulness on which the Museum seems to thrive, against all odds. Its communication through media consistently sends a message of resilience and confidence while politely pointing to the chronic lack of official support (Šimić 2013; Klix.ba 2020).²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ In the press interview from 2013, the Museum Director described the activities: “[P]reserving and presenting cultural heritage, providing a professional service to the public, organising exhibitions and active education, through various activities, all aimed to attract visitors of all ages and social profiles. [...] The Museum’s Café and Souvenir shop [...] generate some 20 - 30 % of alternative source income. This has enabled the Museum to attract new audiences and whilst up to recently these were mainly foreign visitors and primary school students, the Museum is now attracting a new clientele. The question of any non-compliance with museum standards, could point only to the lack of state care and funding, which itself defies any standards, regulations and logic (Šimić 2013). As a post-scriptum, marking this year’s International Museums Day on the 18 May 2020, after the two month COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, the Museum reopened to public, announcing the safety access measures with a message: “We mark the occasion both with joy and uncertainty, as our legal status and financing is still unresolved. Mindful of the international crisis, which will also impact on the tourism and museums in general, regrettably, this year we cannot count only on our own ability to provide for the Museum’s survival. Therefore, we are hopeful that we can count on our domestic public, as we do to date, to continue to support the Museum”; Author’s translation from the Bosnian original: "Historijski muzej BiH je sa radošću, ali i neizvjesnošću simbolično obilježio Međunarodni dan muzeja. Pravno pitanje muzeja je još uvijek otvoreno, a sistem finansiranja neriješen. Ove godine, nažalost, nećemo biti u mogućnosti da vlastitim radom osiguramo sredstva za opstanak muzeja jer smo svjesni da će se kriza u turizmu osjetiti i u muzejskom svijetu. Međutim, nadamo se da će domaća javnost, kao i do sada, podržati muzej" (Klix.ba 2020).

The Museum team is asserting its position nationally and internationally by openness to creative networking, by sensitivity to key commemoration themes and by responsiveness and adaptability to various initiatives with a relaxed formality. It draws on and contextualises its original collections locally, when marking the significant dates and in response to contemporary themes. It is engaged in a collegial collaboration with other local institutions and new museums, which is undermined by the chronic underfunding for which all of them compete against each other.

The Museum is an attractive partner for the regional and international institutions which curate world wars and conflicts, as for example, the Museum Jasenovac in Croatia, the Shoah Memorial in Paris, or the Imperial War Museum in London (Šimić 2013). The Museum is changing, reframing the conventional institutional role, through a process similar to many other international museums, as conceptualised in Fig.7.20.

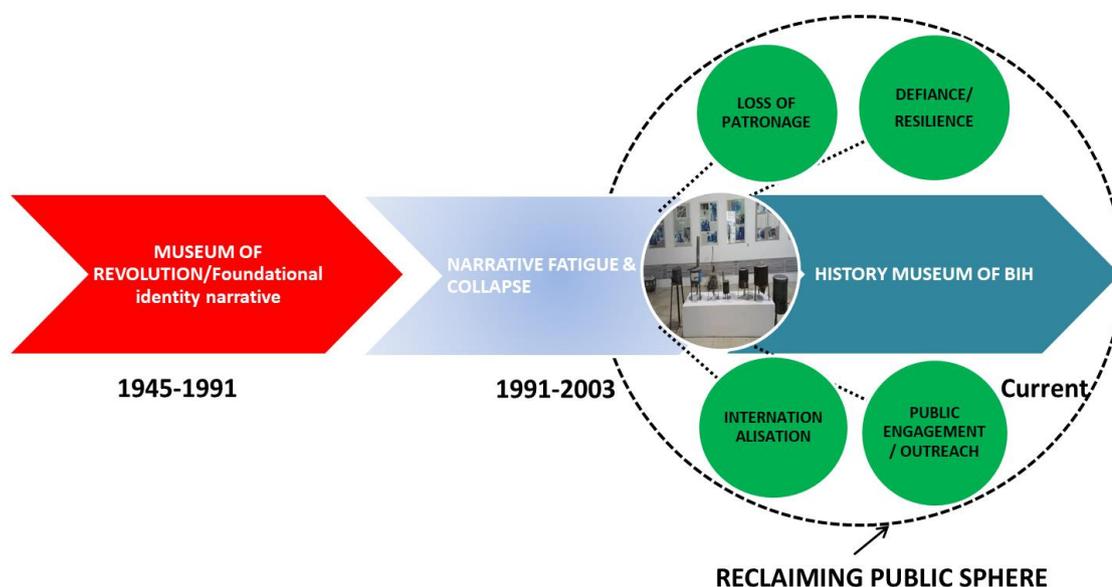


Fig.7.20 Conceptualising the transformations from Museum of Revolution to History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (© Selma Harrington).

Several described architectural initiatives and projects, with an international dimension and a strong local component, managed to highlight the condition of the Museum's building but had an incremental success in implementing any measures to improve it. While waiting for the conservation and maintenance programme as promised within the *Keep it Modern 2018* grant, it is worthwhile pointing to the three distinct directions which have thus far emerged from the selected initiatives:

- (1) Renzo Piano's scheme offered to integrate the Museum building within a larger new scheme which would strengthen the case of the Museums' Quadrant in Marijin Dvor and potentially overcome the invisible and real boundary between two Municipalities and the two compatible institutions: Zemaljski and History Museum. The proposed designs for the Ars Aevi Museum show penetration and connection between the two structures, which in conservation terms could be executed with minimal intervention and reversible detailing.
- (2) The Baier Bishopsberger Architects installation opened the questions of whether the Museum in its current role needs to be "preserved in aspic."²⁸⁶ In other words, is it feasible to keep the brokenness of the structure as an authentic shell for its content, the exhibition of siege, and thus, in conservation terms, preserving the building "as found?"
- (3) Several Irish post-graduate Design Studio group proposals analysed and proposed the additions to the History Museum within

²⁸⁶ I am grateful to Professor Stephen Kite for articulating this analogy.

its boundaries, expanding in the basement and area above and around the Administration block. In conservation terms, these projects combined the restoration of the original fabric with the new, while exploring the zones of contact and applying the principles of reversibility, replacement “of like for like” and a sympathetic new-built, with concern for the integrity of materials, proportions, detailing and overall spatial concept.

Described projects went beyond what the Commission to Preserve National Monuments (2012, 2) prescribed as the permitted type of restoration and conservation works for the Museum building. While it is imperative to preserve the authenticity of form, exterior, interior and materials, this can also be achieved with a skilful architectural intervention which not only could bring the monument back to its original state but could strategically resolve other functional requirements. This research has shown that the original condition of the building continues to be compromised. As a public institution, the Museum has demonstrated extraordinary resilience in performing its function, oblivious to the lack of adequate condition and provision of space for people to work and visit and for collections to be studied and exhibited. It is about time now to recognize its fragility, determination and value, elevate and widen the debate, think “outside the (white) box” and claim its future.

Chapter Eight: Concluding Remarks and Summary Recommendations

This Thesis is centred on the museum transformations and architecture of the modernist period in Bosnia and Herzegovina exemplified by the Museum of Revolution/History Museum in Sarajevo and its context, investigated within the parameters of the five objectives set out in Chapter One. The examination is informed by international cultural revisions of the modernising architectural narratives and transformation of museums, in line with trends of inclusiveness developed in the post-Cold War period in Europe, and following new research interest in the post-Yugoslav space. This chapter summarises the research findings, discusses the limitations and accomplishments of the stated objectives, and provides recommendations for further research.

8.1 Limitations of the Research

Conceived in 2013, the work on the Thesis developed around field research which included several trips on location and in the region, designed to conduct archival search, interviews and several workshops related to the case study. This was combined with the study of selected international precedents, carried out through extensive desk research, literature review and work with the International and Local Focus Groups.

The concept of the Thesis generated interest and facilitated the establishment of a representative International Focus Group (IFG) and Local Focus Group (LFG), comprising architects, museum and heritage experts, who provided baseline data

about the role, relevance and management of similar public institutions. The work with the IFG was limited to two closed group seminars, one of which involved a public session with two keynote lectures, during which the architectural brief development and specific management issues of museums were debated. Much of the potential of the IFG and its combined expertise and experience would require different resources and additional space for further engagement, outside of the Thesis.

The fact that the researcher is domiciled but not living in Bosnia since the 1990s was advantageous when establishing contacts and rapport with the participants of the Local Focus Group (LFG). This had a significant positive impact on access to documents and data gathering, accuracy and corroboration of sources in Sarajevo and Zagreb, during two field trips which investigated the Croatian museums' context, and the genesis of the Museum of Revolution design.

At the same time, the geographical distance and generational gaps occasionally presented a challenge in communication. While the History Museum's management and staff showed extreme generosity, it proved at times difficult to formally engage with other institutional contacts in Sarajevo. However, that was compensated through individual communication, generous response to questionnaires and availability of data from private sources. The scope of archival and documentary analysis was discussed in detail in **Chapter One**.

Guided by the communicative action goals to arrive at a shared understanding, the researcher has two perspectives: as an architectural historian and cultural studies scholar, creating a dialogical discourse among relevant sources, and plotting a middle ground between disciplinary fields, as outlined in **Chapter Two**. This approach is

constructed as a complex cultural matrix and illustrated in **Fig.8.1**.

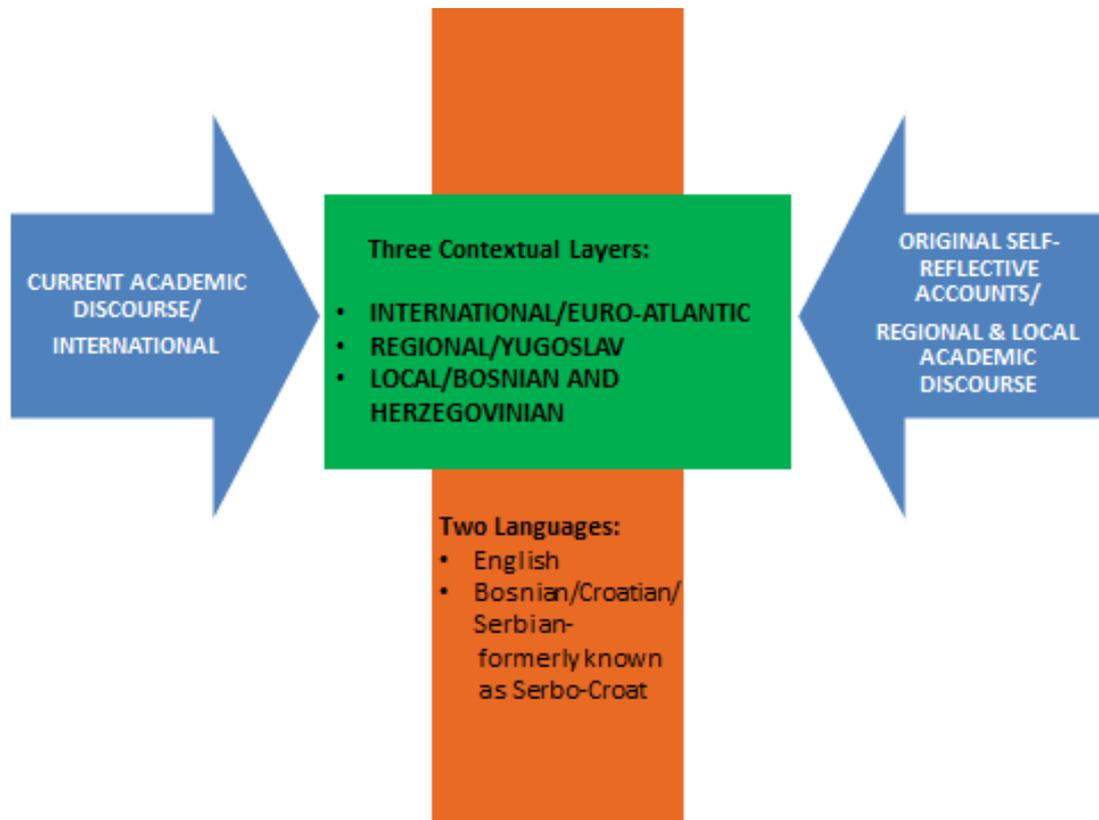


Fig. 8.1 Illustration of the dialogical cultural matrix applied in the Thesis (© Selma Harrington).

The Thesis contributes to heritage studies field and in particular to critical heritage discourse on architecture and museums of the 20th century. By providing the overview of the historic urban and architectural development in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Thesis adds a critical layer for further study of modernisation and its impact on the built environment, as discussed in **Chapter Three**. Whilst Chapter Four focuses on a wider regional context of public history museums, extensive fieldwork in all selected comparable museums was not possible. Instead, the selected precedents are examined in more general terms. Together with the study of regional

modernism, the examination of changes of public history museums' is critical for contextualising the transformation of Museum of Revolution/History Museum in Sarajevo, as elaborated in **Chapters Five and Seven**.

The study of general resistance measures developed during the period of extreme pressure on the cultural and built heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina provides specific evidence of the resilience tactics applied by the Museum, as discussed in **Chapter Six**, and allows for the transferability of findings to other cultural contexts.

While the research focus historically connects Sarajevo and Zagreb, other contextual material from Banja Luka, Belgrade and Maribor merit closer examination. However, due to limited space in this Thesis, such material is only examined when related to the current activity of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Similarly, despite the initial anticipation to elaborate on the generic architectural brief development for contemporary museums, due to scope and space limitations in the Thesis, a valuable data from an international architecture practice specialised in museum design could not be utilised here. Equally, the first-hand material on the management of an Irish National Museum could not be included in the Thesis. The investigation of the work of the professional networks such as ICOMOS, DOCOMOMO, as well as the analysis of UNESCO and different EU initiatives related to protection and care for modernist heritage, remain to be undertaken outside of this Thesis.

8.2 Review of Summary Findings Related to the Research Objectives

8.2.1 Objective 1: To establish a suitable theoretical framework for investigation of a public building (museum) as a symbiotic relation of architecture and its identity-shaping public representation in an urban context, within the international discourse on Modernist architecture (**Chapter Two**).

Inspired by the concept of communicative action by Jürgen Habermas and with ambition to (re)root architecture in the public sphere as a backdrop for social interaction which may lead to a shared understanding, the Thesis positions the architecture discourse amidst several disciplinary perspectives.²⁸⁷ This means that conceiving, articulating, implementing, reading and caring for an object (and complex) resulting from an architectural design is analysed in the Thesis as a set of social actions, whose output provides a measure of quality of the whole process and of its components. To underline the novelty of this approach, a term *blended heritage discourse* is coined and used as a discursive method throughout the Thesis.

A *blended heritage discourse* in this Thesis is applied on a framework which combines the perspectives from museum studies (museology), architectural history of modernism, and critical heritage concept, observed through the lenses of Critical Regionalism, Orientalism and Balkanism. While already recognized in cultural studies and museology, this approach is under-represented within the canons of Western architectural modernism, which this research seeks to amend by turning the attention to under-studied and neglected areas of Europe, including the Celtic Fringe

²⁸⁷ In practice, this might better support the “realist” theories of reconciliation (“thin reconciliation;”e.g. Chayes and Minow 2003, Sampson 2003; Cf. Stefansson 2010, 64), concentrated on a peaceful co-existence in local everyday life through which people rebuild social relations, rather than focusing on “national reconciliation”-“that is, reconciliation at the political or state level”(Stefansson 2010, 64).

and Western Balkans. This is particularly relevant for the process of dismantling the East-West binary in the academic discourse and of acknowledging the achievements of regional modernisms and their unique responses to the particular social, political and environmental contexts, as is the case in many parts of Central Europe.

The Thesis contributes to new knowledge on regional modernisms by investigating primary and secondary sources of literature, by creating a dialogue between international and local sources among relevant precedent cases, contrasting the academic literature in English language with the extensive use of the original sources in Bosnian (Croatian, Serbian) languages. Applied to the case study of the Museum of Revolution, now known as the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Sarajevo, the *blended heritage discourse* is applied to the investigation of the synchronistic heritage process in which the institution of museum and its architecture is observed as a dialog between the public history narrative (intangible) and architecture (tangible), revealing the resilience of the synergy and synthesis between them.

8.2.2 Objective 2: To probe into the contextual modernism in Bosnia and Herzegovina, emerging from its former Yugoslav identity, in light of the East-West binary and the current revisions in the international Modernist discourse (**Chapter Three**).

The research captures the **endurance of preoccupations with the sense of place in modern urban developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina**. The older vernacular architecture and its Ottoman legacy, perceived either as “quaint and oriental” or “proto-modern”, intrigued and provoked many foreign and home-grown architects with a spectrum of interpretative possibilities, which were taken up to articulate the

architecture *belonging to the place*. These attempts range from composite articulation of historicist styles enhanced with the elements of local vernacular, to volumetric translations of vernacular spatial organization into the vocabulary of modernist architecture. Other more abstract architectural solutions are sensitive to the natural configuration and immediate built environment.

As the turn to modernism became synonymous with emancipation, the debates on the regional sense of place **peaked during the Yugoslav socialist period**, in which **architectural expertise** had a **prominent role in societal development** and advancement. It can be argued that the sensitivities to older built heritage were part of the internal emancipatory process during which professional expertise sought to define the relationship with such heritage in order to mediate the modernising present.

The emergence of contextual modernism in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be synthesised by examination of works by four architects, brothers Reuf and Muhamed Kadić, Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt, whose critical application of modernist principles was in practice informed by local context. Their work represents **almost uninterrupted continuity of two stages of Bosnian modernism** (interwar and post-World War II), in which albeit in a different manner, the architects articulated similar versions of **humanising modernism: “arhitektura po mjerilu čovjeka”**.

Such humanising modernism, evident in many other architectural works in Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be standardised as a mannerism, style or a consistent feature, other than presented through a notional classification, similar to Suha Özkan's (1985) guiding classification of modernising regionalisms in parts of the Global South. Following such approach, **the reaction and adaptation to**

architectural modernism in Sarajevo can be generally synthesised in two strands: firstly, as functional internationalism, and secondly, as a variant of abstract-regionalism. Both phenomena can be identified in the individual works of Bosnian architects. The abstract-regionalism, albeit modest in scope, is exemplified in urban proposals, smaller residential schemes and individual housing from the early modernist period, as exemplified by the Brothers Kadić's and Juraj Neidhardt's projects in Sarajevo. During the socialist period, the functional internationalism and variations of post-modernism dominate in the architecture of public buildings, tourism facilities and smaller-scale housing schemes, while a continued exploration of abstract-regionalism can be seen in some of the one-off houses, usually in parts of the older city core, exemplified by architect Zlatko Ugljen's design of a bespoke residence²⁸⁸ on the northern slopes of Sarajevo.

8.2.3 Objective 3: To identify and examine the relevant twentieth-century public history museum function and developments, as international precedents impacted by political, territorial or administrative ruptures of consequence for the architecture of museums, with a view to recognise patterns and specificities; to identify and develop a network of institutional and professional contacts to act as Focus Groups in discerning the current issues of cultural policy and management of built heritage (**Chapter Four**).

This Thesis contends that the conventional understanding and status of *national* has shifted in favour of a broader term *public history* where the museum represents a public space and a platform for display and interpretation of diversified narratives. Specifically, the Thesis investigated Museums and **use of heritage in post-conflict situations, which present unique challenges in addressing the audiences after**

²⁸⁸ As an example: a former Libyan Embassy in Bjelave micro rayon, Sarajevo.

political changes, and need to address, confront and reconcile complex and conflicting narratives. The findings obtained through engagement with the International Focus Group suggest that despite the overt or discreet presence of contested, difficult, or dissonant heritage, more general challenges are common to all museums, such as: securing adequate funding; time sensitive issues and processes; relevance to the public; and response to the changing role of the museum from a static and closed institution to a vibrant interactive place. These factors are likely to instigate renovations and additions to existing museums in order to modernise or expand.

The contemporary museum architecture is recognized as a valuable element in place-making, not only as the unique expression of the location, but also as a potential to attract a wider audience and give a distinct identity to the location. This in turn challenges the austerity and neutrality of modernist concepts of a museum as an architectural “white cube,” once considered as ideal. The architecture of selected precedents from Scotland, Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, provides separate cases to examine traditional national museum briefs and the formal responses to them as unique examples of modernity, while the Yugoslav “museum of revolution,” which emerged after World War II, represents an original concept.

The renewed interest in architecture from cultural studies coincides with the explorations by architecture historians of the role of space and spatial practices in developing a shared experience, in line with the evolution of society and mediation of conflict legacy. Whilst the study of selected museums provided comparable experiences and general consensus about the embedded value of architecture for the

community, this line of inquiry remains a work in progress and further investigations are necessary to establish the measurable quality parameters, relevant to the future (architectural) museum brief developments.

8.2.4 Objective 4: To develop a selected case study by unveiling the complexity of spatial and architectural articulation of the public mission of the former Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo, including its transformation into the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (**Chapters Five and Seven**).

The Museum of Revolution building was an opportunity for collaboration between professionals from Sarajevo and Zagreb, firstly via open architectural competition and secondly, in the process of construction and preparation of a permanent exhibition. The process of its procurement and the support for its operations was relatively privileged because of the Museum's specific function in the post-World War II Yugoslav context, but its course equally mirrored the reality of economic and technical restrictions of the time. The building structure perfectly manifests the tensions between the "base and super-structure" and the dichotomy between the ambitious articulation of Modernist architecture and the restrictiveness of available material, skill, attention to detail, diligence and finance. On a different scale, the building design resonates with proto-modernism of a Bosnian house, at a level with the work of international modernists, corresponding to the "renewal and reconstruction" phase of Yugoslav enthusiasm. It also shares common shortcomings with other examples of Modernist Architecture, due to over-emphasis of form and composition, at the expense of detail, quality of material and quality of use.

Neither the planned second phase, nor several renovation projects, were realised in the period leading up to war in the 1990s. While the History Museum of

Bosnia and Herzegovina changed its name and concept as Museum of Revolution during the war, it operates within a systemic vacuum in a politically polarised country with a weak central government, like the other six “unresolved” State level cultural institutions.

Despite all challenges, the Museum seems to thrive, attracting new audiences and a new clientele. It is asserting its position nationally and internationally by its openness to creative networking, by sensitivity to key commemoration themes and by responsiveness and adaptability to various initiatives with a relaxed formality.

Beside the permanent exhibition “Besieged Sarajevo,” the Museum addresses other themes of diversity, equality and conflict, with an open door policy. More recently through collaborative projects in the region, the engagement reflects examination of former shared culture and sometimes, nostalgia. Several specialised exhibitions mark the continuity of the anti-fascist narrative, which is exploited in parallel with the contemporary themes of equality, dignity at work and international solidarity, and the narratives of heritage destruction. A discreet inter-entity rapprochement is modest in scope and evident through third-party led projects, while the Museum uses every opportunity to highlight the status of waiting for a full recognition of its State-wide remit.

8.2.5 Objective 5: To examine the context and politics towards the twentieth-century architectural and museum heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina in light of the experience of the targeted destruction in the 1990s (Chapter Six).

The initial research findings necessitated that the Thesis address a period of rupture in the 1990s, during which the Museum of Revolution formally changed its name to

the History Museum of BiH proclaiming a new thematic orientation. The rupture is the main cause of its current challenges, and the same can be said about the whole of society, which has been fragmented by war and is now in a slow process of piecing together its post-war reality. Therefore the Thesis provides an analysis of selected original accounts of the destruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina and gives voice to professionals who witnessed it, through trauma and resilience. The general picture which emerges from these accounts points to some general conclusions:

- about the unprecedented scale of destruction;
- the targeted destruction of the heritage of specific ethnic groups and the heritage of a shared culture, destruction of heritage and infrastructural objects from all periods, with a disproportionate adverse impact on the Bosnian Ottoman heritage (Walasek 2015);
- the impact of ethnic fragmentation of society;
- many forms of cultural resistance;
- the feeling of abandonment by the international community;
- the lack of understanding of the character of *shareness* (Abdelmonem and Selim 2019) of Bosnian heritage which leads to its further *ethnicising*.

The research asserts that the transformation of the former Museum of Revolution had already started before the dissolution of the Yugoslav Federation, when its foundational narrative, and authorised (revolutionary) heritage discourse began to fade. This was exacerbated by the war, during which the Museum suffered from the loss of personnel, physical damage to the building, loss of purpose and patronage, but despite all of that, it continued working.

8.3 Mapping the Investigation Approach to the Key Research Findings

The Thesis brought together multiple perspectives of an architect and cultural historian applied through **observation, participation, practice and reflection**, informed by the principles of action research and the grounded theory, which supported development of the relevant expert network of contacts in LFG and IFG. During the initial educational collaboration (practice), the History Museum was identified (observation, participation, reflection) as a sufficiently complex case which could provide the original material for the research. To overcome the known limitations of the case study method (reflection), as discussed in Chapter One, further fieldwork and archival research was undertaken (practice) and cross-referenced after the analysis of primary and secondary sources (observation, reflection).

For example, the initial action research through observation (field visit) led to the participatory collaboration and practice (students' workshops, seminar and engagement of LFG participants and Museum Staff), which provided the material for reflection that informed the design of the research process (**Objective 1**).

The field work and periodical contacts with LFG participants, as well as desk research and invitation to present (participation, practice, reflection) at the regional conference "Importance of Place" (Harrington 2015, 650) in Sarajevo in 2015 confirmed the necessity, vitality and relevance of investigation into Bosnian modernist architectural heritage related to the case study (**Objective 2**).

Similarly, the field work and contacts with the History Museum, established facts about its international standing and showed that its transformations are in line with other contemporary international museums, which share in common the

emphasis on public outreach and engagement. These observations led to the identification of the precedent museums and heritage institutions, the establishment of the IFG network of contacts and engagement through two interactive workshops, in Glasgow and Dublin in 2017 (participation, practice, reflection) (**Objective 3**). The work with the IFG (and LFG) allowed the researcher to corroborate findings on the general and baseline data (reflection), supplemented by online surveys, interviews and questionnaires. The precedents study of selected museums, their architecture and related discursive analysis (observation, practice, reflection) confirmed the transferability/translatability of the findings to other social contexts.

As the bi-focal approach in the research tracked the symbiotic relation between architecture and museum (observation, reflection), further fieldwork and desk research provided insight into the two distinct periods during which the original Museum of Revolution transformed into the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (**Objective 4**).

In parallel, new literature became available in 2015, publishing expert findings prepared for the international institutions in the field of heritage and conflict, including The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. It became clear (observation, participation, reflection) that in order to understand the extreme attitudes to cultural and built heritage during and after the 1990s conflict (**Objective 5**), the research needed to include that period. The primary and secondary literature was triangulated by interviews with architects and their records from the war (practice, reflection).

In conclusion, the *blended heritage* discursive approach, applied throughout the structured research, allowed for the **shifting of perspective**, while maintaining a

firm gaze **on the discursive field and subject**. This flexibility enabled the research to use the elements of action research, to observe, participate, practice and reflect in order to verify direction and sources and decide on necessary modifications, in order to achieve the stated objectives.

8.4 Contribution to Knowledge

The general contribution of this research is **a new concept of *blended heritage discourse***, as a process which is centred on the case study, in a synchronistic flux. In other words, in **a dialogical relation between the two perspectives of observation**, in this case specifically: **a public history institution and the architecture of the building, combining the perspectives of intangible (memory, identity, representation, conflict) and tangible (place-making, architecture, exhibitions, collections).**

The case study of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina contributes to the development of museology, public history and history of architecture, as it documents, analyses and maps the little-known context and an important part of **the unique process of modernisation within a complex European narrative**. This has been independently corroborated by the inclusion of artefacts from the Museum's "Besieged Sarajevo" permanent exhibition in the House of European History museum in Brussels.

The evidence of **resilience** (Folke 2016, 63) **and transformations** of the History Museum, from the original Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo, demonstrates **the reframing of the "people's museum" concept, by change of representation**

from static to dynamic, and by interchange of temporary exhibition themes from local to global. While in general terms, the Museum's transformation resonates with the strategies of change employed by contemporary museums worldwide, its success and further progress have to be measured against less favourable circumstances exacerbated by the societal conflict and adverse systemic changes.

The Thesis reveals how the Museum develops outreach and engagement with resourcefulness and determination, curating its collections by *sharing of authority with its users* (Black 2012, 219), **in order to reassert its public role, often under an extreme pressure from the lack of State support.** The Museum's unique operational strategy, its permanent and other exhibitions **raise awareness about the immediate past conflict offering a *cognitive experience*** (Black 2012, 147; Doering 1999, 83) and, while distancing from the singular narrative, a connection is maintained with a foundational narrative forged during World War II. The recurring messages of resistance and survival of ordinary people are directed to local and international audiences, coupled with actions to **reach out to the immediate regional audiences and to instigate an *introspective experience*** (Black 2012, 147; Doering 1999, 83) which might mediate societal reconciliation.

By contextualising the Museum and its architecture in the wider region, the Thesis offers a **unique overview of the evolution of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina**, attributing significant merit for shaping and modernising its environment. The architecture, architects and other cultural workers have successfully embraced the advanced practice and scholarship in each historic period, **maintaining an active interest for and inspiration by the older built heritage, and have successfully combined that in the articulation of contemporary**

architecture. Such architecture was informed and shaped by the sense of place and by strong socially driven practices which took advantage of the knowledge of local climate, materials and traditions, configuration and orientation, to produce architecture and urban groupings with human scale and attractive use. Such professional ethos is consistent throughout two periods of modernism in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which produced **exemplary works of regional contextual modernism, true to the highest principles of the early architectural modernism,** for which the building of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina is one such example.

8.5 Recommendations and Suggested Further Work

Existing Building. In line with the findings, and the current fluid situation with the museum building's condition, further research will be required into the specific policy and technical aspects, to discuss and prepare a thorough condition survey, conservation and maintenance plan for the Museum and to discuss its future development. That needs to be set within the guidelines of international professional organizations like ICOMOS, ICOM and DOCOMOMO and in line with the international agreements at the level of Governments, such as Granada and Faro Conventions, concerning the care and protection of twentieth-century architecture, which this Thesis could not elaborate.

Existing Collections. The cataloguing, digitalisation, adequate storing and public access to the Museum's collections are matters of high priority and require adequate staffing, training and equipment, to enable the Museum to support the

increasing public and research interest. The over-dependency on sporadic international initiatives and projects cannot be sustainable in the long run, while the Museum can be caught between various digital humanities projects and short-term publicity projects, underestimating the necessity and resources required to pursue its own long-term strategy for protecting, preserving and enlarging the collections.

Future of the Museum. The current strength of the History Museum is its small-scale operation, forward-looking and open-minded young team, which is revitalising the way traditional museums operate. Its strength lies also in creative networking, sensitivity to key local commemoration themes and topical issues, responsiveness, adaptability and a relaxed formality in communication.

The Museum needs to build on such strengths by following the ethical business principles of the 4 P's: People, Purpose, Process, (while constantly engaging with its) Public. By building the capacity to ensure that the first three P's are in balance, further research is required to understand who the Museum's public is and to develop a measurable set of quality parameters that can ensure adequate engagement. The local networking at the City, Cantonal and inter-Entity levels can capitalise on the international tourists' interest and make an economic impact, which further research could direct. This is related also to the existing regional networking in the Western Balkans/South-East Europe regions, which opens up a plethora of comparative and common themes focused on the heritage diversity and cultural development, vital to the development of the whole region.

Proposal for New Collection of the Twentieth-Century Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the History Museum. The History Museum has established a symbiotic relationship with architecture, through the quality of its

building and the use of architecture as a strategy for the advancement of its position and operations. This synergy can potentially result in the new collection of 20th-century architecture, for which the Museum could provide a logical natural home. Further research could provide the rationale for such a collection and a business case for the History Museum as its custodian.

Towards a Government Policy on Architecture and Built Heritage. The study of the symbiotic relationship between architecture and museum as illustrated by the History Museum case could dovetail into the area of new comparative research on national cultural policies on the built environment, with emphasis on architectural and cultural heritage. With a view to the future relationship of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union, the absence of the Government Policy on Architecture and Built Heritage and domestic usefulness and need for such policy guidelines, could not be underestimated.

8.6 Epilogue

The History Museum's architectural campaigns have raised much international attention, which has since resulted in a grant from the Getty Foundation (2018) promising a comprehensive condition survey of the building and feasibility study for its renovations. In reality, the building's condition remains vulnerable and continues to deteriorate. The Museum operates with a small number of staff, lacking adequate resources to take care of the collections and maintain quality of operations. Expecting by its status as National Institution and National Monument to be funded by the State, it is instead caught in a systemic limbo and partly funded by the Federal

BiH Ministry, Sarajevo City authorities, from project grants and increasingly from international collaboration.

Defying these unfavourable conditions with resilience, the Museum continues to carve for itself a new public mission and is becoming an important platform where different voices can be heard, and diverse projects can be conceived. In a mixture of entrepreneurship, improvisation and resourcefulness, the Museum is trans-morphing from a state-sponsored public institution to a new form of private-public collaboration. Its expanding outreach is signalling the potential to become an agent for an important low-key and low-budget social change which is of critical importance for the progress of what Stefansson (2010) terms: the politely polarized community.

The year 2020 marks the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Museum. What could be said on that occasion? The determination by the political authorities to provide for the Museum, as was the case in 1945, no longer is taken for granted while Bosnia continues to struggle for the unity of vision. But what appears to be persistent and resilient is the determination of individuals and groups that refuse to give in to obstacles and that forge a brighter future, for their institution and their community. If Stefansson's observation that:

“ordinary citizens [...] have little room to debate the past and different truths, which leaves collective silence and respectful distance as their only, or at least their preferred strategy to foster a peaceful co-existence in local everyday life” (2010, 71),

then the Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the one that opens its space and gives voice to these ordinary citizens, with dignity and determination.

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Appendices

APPENDIX I

Participant Information Sheet (and Consent Form)

Name of department: University of Strathclyde- Architecture

Title of the study: MODERNIST IDENTITY, CONFLICT AND RESILIENCE:

Contextualising the Case of the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Introduction

Selma Harrington is a doctoral student at the Department of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering at the University of Strathclyde. Contact details & E mail:

selma.harrington@strath.ac.uk, University of Strathclyde, 75 Montrose Street, Glasgow G1 1XJ, United Kingdom

What is the purpose of this investigation?

The purpose of investigation is to understand the situation in care and protection of built heritage in a post-conflict period, specifically in view of the complexity of status of the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo.

Do you have to take part?

Your participation in investigation is Voluntary and you have a right to withdraw without any detriment.

What will you do in the project?

You will be required to complete a questionnaire and participate in an informal interview, agreed in advance with you on location of choice in Sarajevo, involving typically couple of hours on a number of occasions to be agreed with you.

Why have you been invited to take part?

You have been selected for participation in the research based on your knowledge, expertise and position of influence in the domain either of museum management and study or architecture and built heritage protection expertise.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

The research process which engages you does not foresee any potential risks in you taking a part and does not involve any experimental tests. Should any audio or visual recording be required, your prior consent will be obtained.

What happens to the information in the project?

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee.

The research information will be used solely for the purposes of the PhD Thesis and your rights to the confidentiality and anonymity will be respected. Typically, only the published reference related to your name will be used in the Thesis. Data storage and retention information will remain with the researcher and the University of Strathclyde.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

APPENDIX I (cont.)

Consent Form

Name of department: University of Strathclyde - ARCHITECTURE

Title of the study: MODERNIST IDENTITY, CONFLICT AND RESILIENCE:

Contextualising the Case of the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, up to the point of completion, without having to give a reason and without any consequences. If I exercise my right to withdraw and I don't want my data to be used, any data which have been collected from me will be destroyed.
- I understand that I can withdraw from the study any personal data (i.e. data which identify me personally) at any time.
- I understand that anonymised data (i.e. data which do not identify me personally) cannot be withdrawn once they have been included in the study.
- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
- I consent to being a participant in the project
- I consent to being audio and/or video recorded as part of the project

(PRINT NAME)	
Signature of Participant:	Date:

APPENDIX II
WARCHITECTURE/SARAJEVO URBICIDE-1990S WAR PERSPECTIVE
(Questionnaire) English/Bosnian

Q1. How do you now, from a post-war distance, view the joint project Warchitecture by the members of the Society of Architects of Sarajevo, how long lasted the energy of togetherness, what and when changed?

SH/Pitanje 1. Kako sad sa ove vremenske razdaljine posmatraš taj zajednički poduhvat članova DAS/AAS/SABIH, koliko dugo se ta energija zajedništva održala i šta se i kada promijenilo?

Q2. Could you describe how you gathered the information for the map Urbicide/Warchitecture? How were you supported by the local and foreign officials and military observers in Sarajevo?

SH/Pitanje 2. Možeš li opisati kako ste prikupljali podatke za mapu Urbicide/Warchitecture? Koju vrstu podrške ste imali od domaćih zvaničnih struktura te od strane vojnih posmatrača u Sarajevu?

Q3. What were the aims of documenting the destruction of architectural heritage in Sarajevo and of the exhibitions?

SH/Pitanje 3. Šta su bili ciljevi dokumentovanja rušenja arhitektonskog naslijeđa u Sarajevu i organizacije izložbi?

Q4. Where and when the exhibition travelled during the war and , in your opinion, did it fulfill its aims? What is the measure of its accomplishment?

SH/Pitanje 4. Gdje je i kada sve izložba dospjela u toku ratu i da li su po tvom mišljenju ispunjeni njeni ciljevi? Po čemu se to može zaključiti?

Q5. Describe your (other) professional role/activity during and after the war 1991-1995.

APPENDIX II (cont.)

SH/Pitanje 5. Opiši svoju (drugu) profesionalnu ulogu/ aktivnost tokom i nakon rata 1991-1995.

Q6. Are you involved and how do you view the post-war situation in renewal of destroyed built heritage in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina? What has changed after the war?

SH/Pitanje 6. Jesi li uključen(a) i kako posmatraš poslijeratno stanje u obnovi porušenog graditeljskog naslijeđa u Sarajevu i BiH? Šta se promijenilo nakon rata?

Q7. What else is important for you in reflection to war and post-war period in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina?

SH/Pitanje 7. Šta je drugo značajno za tebe u osvrtu na ratno i poslijeratno razdoblje u Sarajevu i BiH?

APPENDIX III
BUILT HERITAGE PROTECTION - INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE
(Questionnaire)

Web link:

1. Please select the professional description most appropriate to your position?

- Architect
- Museum expert
- Academic/Educational expert
- Conservation Specialist
- Archaeologist
- Historian
- Other (please specify)

2. What activities best describe your work?

- Academic Research
- Organization and execution of exhibitions/events/projects/seminars/exhibitions/lectures
- Management of cultural heritage
- Management of museum/museum network
- Architecture/Design and project management in built environment
- Specialised conservation projects
- Other (please specify)

APPENDIX III (cont.)

3. How is your organization funded?

- From central/local government budget
- From specialised grants

- From private funding
- Mixture of public and private funding
- Other

4. Please select and rank the elements contributing to protection and care of museums as part of cultural heritage, starting from 1,-being the highest value:

- Museum's role in place-making and identity of the locality
- Legal instruments for protection of heritage
- Available professional expertise
- Available funding
- Public interest
- Pressure groups' interest
- Awareness of the value of the heritage

5. Does your organization conduct/commission visitors' surveys?

- Yes
- No

6. Do you have experience in sourcing finance for renovations and reuse of existing buildings?

- Yes
- No

7. Do you have experience in working on trans-national research projects in the field of protection and renovation of cultural heritage buildings?

- Yes
- No

APPENDIX III (cont.)

8. Are you interested in partnering with trans-national teams with view to advance joint projects funding and implementation?

Yes

No

APPENDIX IV-BASELINE QUESTIONNAIRE**“CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES: Architecture and Museum studies”**

KEY FOCUS THEMES FOR PANELISTS	INSTITUTIONAL PRESENTATION
Why museum matters: The key concepts and practices.	University of Strathclyde/ PhD Researcher
The central dimension of museums: Explore the link with identities, especially to national identity.	National Museums of Northern Ireland/ Ulster Museum
Architecture and space organization: Elaborate the visitors’ encounter with museum and its collections.	Museum and Galleries of Scotland
Role of museum in education and learning: Illustrate the ‘interactive’ approaches in modes of exhibit and relationships with the public, professionals and institutions.	History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina
The legal, economic and ethical dilemmas facing museums: Explore the impact of globalization, tourism and identity politics on the current museum practice.	National Museum of Ireland
Transformations, changing sensibilities and future: Who does the museum speak on behalf and to?	Museums and Galleries of Scotland Architecture Faculty Zagreb Researcher
Presentation of the current EU funded project involving museum/museum renovations	The Architects Council of Europe/Maritime Museum of Malmö

APPENDIX V

TIMELINE: The House of Croatian Artists/former Museum of Revolution/former Mosque, Zagreb (Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika n.d.)²⁸⁹

➔ House of Croatian Artists 1933 – 1941

1933. – A decision to build the monument in shape of the building instead of the monument to King Peter I The Great Liberator, in Zagreb, to on the King Peter's Square for use of the Society of Croatian Artists. Ivan Meštrović was commissioned to provide outline design, which was further developed by architects H. Bilinić i L. Horvat. **1934.** – The building works start in August, overseen by I. Meštrović in collaboration with painter J. Kljaković and architects H. Bilinić, L. Horvat, D. Ibler, I. Zemljak, N. Molnar, L. Kalda i Z. Kavurić. **1938.** – Construction completed and consecrated on 1 December by the Archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac. First exhibition opened in the House of Fine Arts on 11 December, titled “Half a century of Croatian art “showcasing the work of the Society on its sixtieth anniversary. **1939.** – The signing of the Statute on the 27th February the in which all administrative, financial and artistic management of the House are transferred to the Croatian Artists Society.

➔ Džamija/The Mosque 1941 – 1945

1941. –In July, the Head of Croatian Independent State/NDH Ante Pavelić brings a resolution to convert the House of Fine Artists in Zagreb into a mosque, followed by the relocation of the Croatian Artists Society „Strossmayer“ on the 20th August. The building of the three minarets commences around the building, with entrance canopy, benches and circular water-fountain based on the designs by S. Planić, while the interior adaptations reflected the new use based on the designs by Z. Požgaj. **1944.** – Official opening of the mosque on the 18th July.

²⁸⁹ An adapted and shortened translation from the original text in Croatian to English, by Selma Harrington.

APPENDIX V (cont.)

➔ **Museum of Revolution 1945 – 1990**

1948. – The Fourth exhibition of the Croatian Artists Society opens on the 21st January. **1949.** – The minarets get demolished. The Museum of National Liberation moves into the building. **1951.** – The adaptation to accommodate the Museum needs commence based on the designs by architect V. Richter. The two new galleries and a staircase are added to the central hall, while the new central dome covering completely blocks the natural daylight. **1955.** – Formal opening of the permanent exhibition of the Museum of Revolution on 15 May. **1962.** – Second permanent exhibition opens in the Museum of Revolution of Croatian People. Smaller internal modifications are completed in the building based on the designs by architect A. Mutnjaković.

➔ **Return of the House of Arts to artists 1990- 2001**

1990. –A. Rašić initiates the return of the House of Arts to artists. **1993.** –Zagreb City Authority brings a resolution on its 9th assembly on 13th October to return the building to the Croatian Artists Society (HDLU), signed by both parties on the 18th January, after which the Society moves out of the Starčević House to the House of Croatian Artists.

➔ **Renovations to the House of Croatian Artists (HDLU) 2001 – 2006**

2001. – In April, the President of the Society R. Šimrak initiates the measures for the renovation of the building. Renovation commences on the 15th July, by removing the earlier inserted mezzanine floor and two staircases in the central hall, based on V. Richter's design in the 1950s.

2002. – The works continue to remove the interventions made during the conversion of the building into the mosque. Based on the designs by A. Mutnjakovića, in the summer, the works commence to renovate and return the original form to the central gallery. All previously added layers to the dome, vault, walls and floor of the gallery are removed, to reinstate the original daylight, removing all external insulation to allow light egress. Towards the end of the year the internal works are completed returning the original smooth texture to walls and ground level surfaces of the middle

APPENDIX V (cont.)

hall. That includes the removal of the mural by the painter E. Murtić from the period of the Museum of Revolution, which revealed the *mihrab* from the Mosque period.

2003. – The cleaning of the dome is completed, as well as the internal fit out of the central area , during which the *mihrab* was preserved, taken out of the wall and relocated outside of the House. *House of Artists Ivan Meštrović*, with the renewed dome and central hall was officially opened by R. Šimrak, A. Vujić and V. Pavić on the 26th April. The exhibition “Light/ Svjetlo“was opened on the same occasion.

2006. – Based on the designs by architect Branko Silađin, the works continue in the basement and parts of the ground floor, with the remaining works expected to continue until the full completion .

APPENDIX VI

MUSEUM OF REVOLUTION in Sarajevo/TIMELINE

Selma Harrington PhD Thesis

DATE	KEY FACTS	DESCRIPTION
1941 -1945 WW2 , THE NATIONAL -LIBERATION AND FORMATION OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA IN JAJCE, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA		
1945	Constituting the Museum of National Liberation (1945-1950) (1950-1967) renamed Museum of National ReVolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (MNR), name later changed to Museum of ReVolution	THEMATIC ORIENTATION: Ministry of Science and Culture BiH reports indicate the periods from 1878 to 1945, period of socialist development and history of workers' movements. COLLECTIONS: Documents, records, art and painting of the national liberation movement and heroes and victims of anti fascist struggle
1952	Funding for the new building secured from the City of Sarajevo	
1955	OUTLINE BUILDING PROCUREMENT PROGRAMME	Brief development by the Museum's Construction Committee
1957	Open Yugoslav architectural competition call for design of the Museum of National ReVolution	
1958	Winning entry announced: Ing Boris Magaš, Ing Edo Šmidihen and Ing Radovan Horvat from Zagreb team; Contract signed between the Museum and „Standard“ enterprise for the site clearance works on the building location.	Reduced Building Programme Total area: 2756 m sq. Contract signed for Idejni projekat/ Outline design drawings („Metalprojekt“ with Architecture, Civil Engineering and Land Surveying Faculty Zagreb-AGG); Investment Programme prepared (M. Baldasar)
1959, 9th April	Construction contract signed between the Museum and Public Business Investment Services of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for construction of the building for the Museum.	Annual Works Budget : 40,000,000 dinars, out of which the Service can invoice 400, 000 dinars. Site clearance by „Standard“ enterprise Sarajevo
1959, 25th November	Tender drawings completed for the Museum of National ReVolution (MNR)	„Metalproject“ Zagreb appointed to deliver working drawings. Ing. Zvonimir Vrkljan, Ing Boris Magaš, Ing Edo Šmidihen and Ing Radovan Horvat signed on the drawings. Edo Šmidihen being primarily in charge in overseeing the works on site.

1961, 17th August	Approval to remove 6 trees and replace upon the completed construction.	
1962	The Technical Commissioning Committee formed for the new building;	Brief development and design proposals for GF levels and thematic exhibition, led by Zlatko Ugljen; Expert Artistic Committee formed.
1963	Building completion in Marijin Dvor	
1964, 25th November	Review of the outline landscape design and outline design for the Main exhibition hall in the Cube	
1964	OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE MUSEUM	THEMATIC EXHIBITION 29 NOVEMBER 1943-1963 ; BROCHURE
1965, 2nd February	Opening of the tenders for the provision for the Main exhibition, per design by Djuka Kavurić; „Interpublic“ Zagreb was awarded the contract.	
1965, 25th February	Meeting of the Expert Artistic Committee of the Museum of ReVolution, composed of Dr Alojz Benac, Professor Vojin Dramušić, architect Džemal Čelić, Idriz Čejvan, Moni Finci, Vuka Finci, Stevo Popović, Ognjen Vukelić, Zlata Ugljen, Brank Obućina, Duško Kojović and Duško Otašević, with two agenda items: to review the outline design for the main exhibition in the Cube;	Čelić's review of the proposal outlines the clashes of the proposed interior concept with the modern architecture of the building and the lack of connectedness between the thematic sectors. Outline designs of the interiors for the events halls, designed by Professor Djuka Kavurić from Zagreb. Absent from the meeting: Arfan Hozić, Mario Mikulić and Professor Husref Redžić.
1965, 1st April	Review of the fitout details designed by Djuka Kavurić.	
1965, 7th April	Meeting of the Expert Committee of the Museum of ReVolution, composed of architect Džemal Čelić, painter Vojo Dimitrijević, Director Moni Finci, curator Ognjen Vukelić and architect Zlata Ugljen	
1965, 29th May	Meeting of the Expert Committee of the Museum of ReVolution, composed of architect Džemal Čelić, painter Vojo Dimitrijević, Djuka Kavurić, Deputy Director Vuka Terzić, curator Ognjen Vukelić and architect Zlata Ugljen, with agenda to review review the final project for the Main exhibition; Djuka Kavurić reports and the proposal is adopted.	The Committee recommends that the linoleum covering be eventually replaced with stone in the Main hall.

1965, 18th September	Meeting of the Expert Committee of the Museum of ReVolution, composed of architect Džemal Čelić, painter Vojo Dimitrijević, Museum Director Moni Finci, curator Ognjen Vukelić and architect Zlata Ugljen., with agenda to review and adopt the outline design concept by Djuka Kavurić, for the Small hall.	
1965, 29th September	Meeting of the Expert Committee of the Museum of ReVolution, composed of architect Džemal Čelić, painter Vojo Dimitrijević, Museum Director Moni Finci, curator Ognjen Vukelić and architect Zlata Ugljen.	Review/approval of the outline design concept for the Museum hall
1966, 25th November	Official opening of the Permanent exhibition	History of BiH from 1878 until 1960s, ('frozen' until 1992)
1971	Work on establishing the network national –liberation museums of BiH museums Zavičajni muzej, Livno Muzej NOB-a, Foča Muzej Kozara, Mrakovica Museum complex, Jesenica Museum of Second AVNOJ, Jajce Museum 25 May, Drvar Muzej Prve proleterske, Rudo Muzej Bitka na Neretvi, Jablanica	Memorial house, Vukosavci Memorial home ZAVNOBiH, Mrkonjić Grad 1941 in BiH, Museum, Stolice Partisan Headquarters and railway, Mlinište Spomen park, Vraca First liberation of Bugojno, Bugojno Life and work of Džemal Bijedić , Muzej Hercegovine Regional Council of KPJ, Ivančići
1967	Zakon o Muzeju reVolucije- Law on the Museum of ReVolution	WORK PROGRAM expanded to include documents on socialist development in B&H, referring to the dominant role of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia;
1975	Periodical publication <i>Almanac</i> (Zbornik radova) inaugurated by the Museum	
1979	9th Congress of Museum Workers of Yugoslavia	
1984 WINTER OLYMPIC GAMES IN SARAJEVO, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA		
1986, June	Tender drawings prepared for the Extension and Adaptation of the Museum of ReVolution	Prepared by „UNIUNIONINVEST-UNION IZGRADNJA“ division, Sarajevo; Project Architect: Ing Ivica Prolić

1990	Zakon o finansiranju potreba i interesa društva u oblasti kulture/Law on financing the needs and social interests in the cultural sphere	Start of the official use of the name: History Museum of BiH
1991, October	Working drawings for the Reconstruction and Conversion of the Powerplant in the Museum of ReVolution	Prepared by „UNITHERM“ Sarajevo
1991, 27 December	Report to the Public Fund for Culture of the Education Ministry of Bosnia and Herzegovina, signed by Director Ahmed Hadžirović,	Funding approval sought for the radical improvement of the heating system and renovations to the building, budgeted at 8,208,703.00 dinars (Tender valid for seven days, due to hyperinflation).
1991-1995 WAR AND DISOLUTION OF YUGOSLAVIA		
1993	Legal Decree on museum activities officiates the name the History Museum of BiH; Legal enactment in 1994.	Exhibiting in other premises: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gallery Mak: Danilo Krstanović-Sarajevo's war pictures, July 1993;
1994	Museum broadens the programme to include periods of arrival of Slavs to Balkan peninsula up to the contemporary independent Bosnia and Herzegovina; Historic scope from Middle Age to date.	Exhibiting in other premises: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social themes in B&H painting between two world wars, August 1994; • <i>Kamerni teatar/Chamber Theatre: Documents-Painting-Video, 1994</i>

APPENDIX VII
SELECTED RECORD OF CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE
DESTRUCTION IN SARAJEVO IN 1992-94²⁹⁰

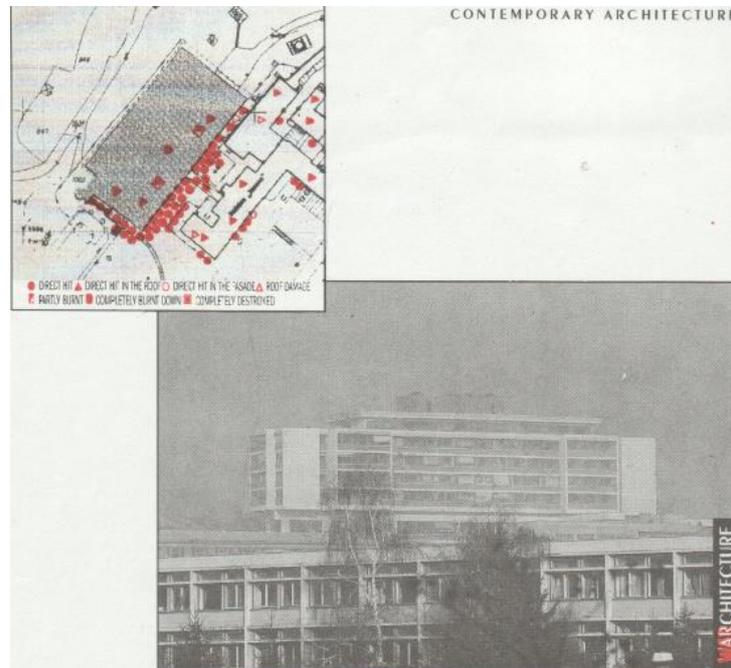


Fig. 6.6 - Sarajevo Maternity Hospital and Clinic “Zehra Mujdović”, designed by Bogoljub Kurpjel, built in 1977 (Association of Architects Sarajevo, 1993).

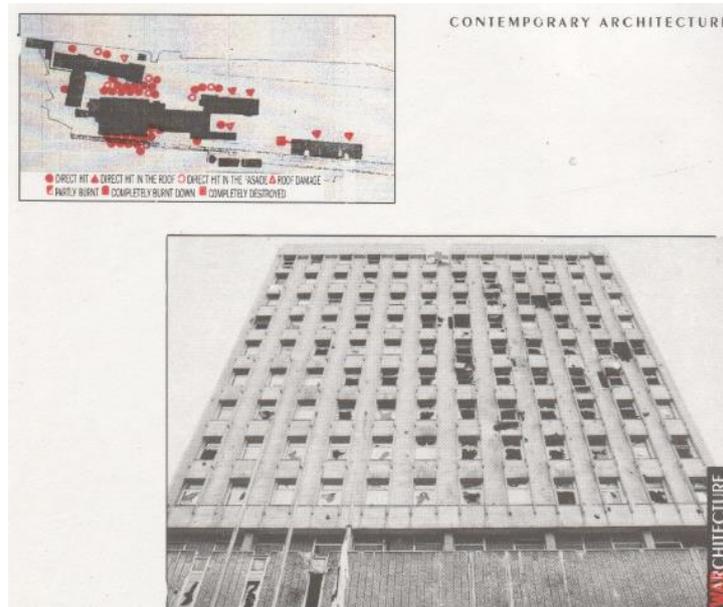


Fig. 6.7 - The Sarajevo State Hospital, designed by team Centropjekt Belgrade, built in 1976-79; (Association of Architects DAS-SABiH, 1992-94).

²⁹⁰ All based on the publication by. “Warchitecture-Urbicide”, Sarajevo: Association of Architects of Sarajevo, 1992/94, reproduced with kind permission from the Association of Architects of Bosnia and Herzegovina and adapted by Selma Harrington.

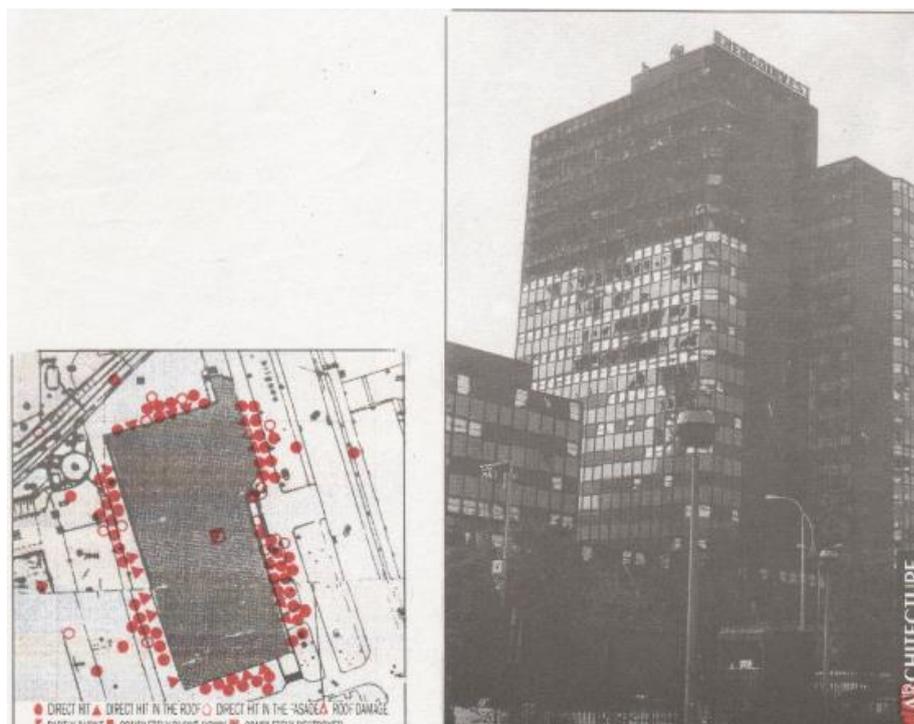


Fig. 6.8 - Energoinvest Headquarters, designed by Alija Serdarević and Sead Arnautović, built in 1982 (Association of Architects DAS-SABiH, 1992-94).



Fig. 6.9 - Oslobodenje Newspaper Head office, design by Ahmed Kapidžić, Kenan Šahović, Mladen Gvozden, built in 1982 (Association of Architects DAS-SABiH, 1992-94).



Fig. 6.10 - Alipašino Polje apartments, designed by Zdravko Likić, Srbislav Stojanović, Šaćir Omerović, built in 1974-79 (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).

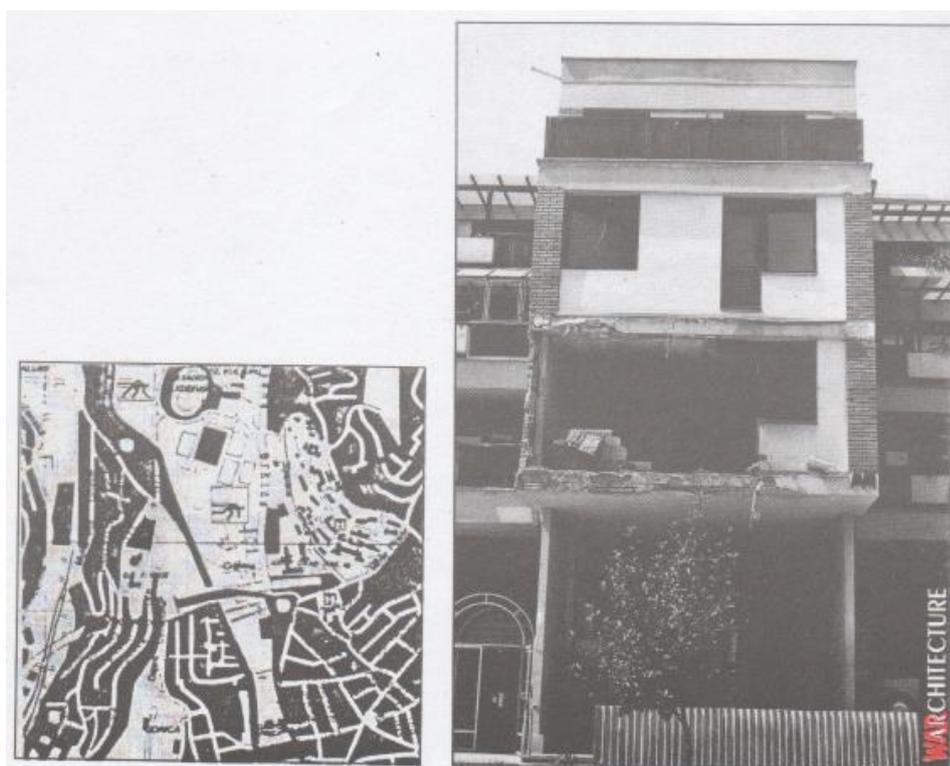


Fig. 6.11 – Ciglane Apartments, designed by Namik Muftić and Radovan Delale (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).

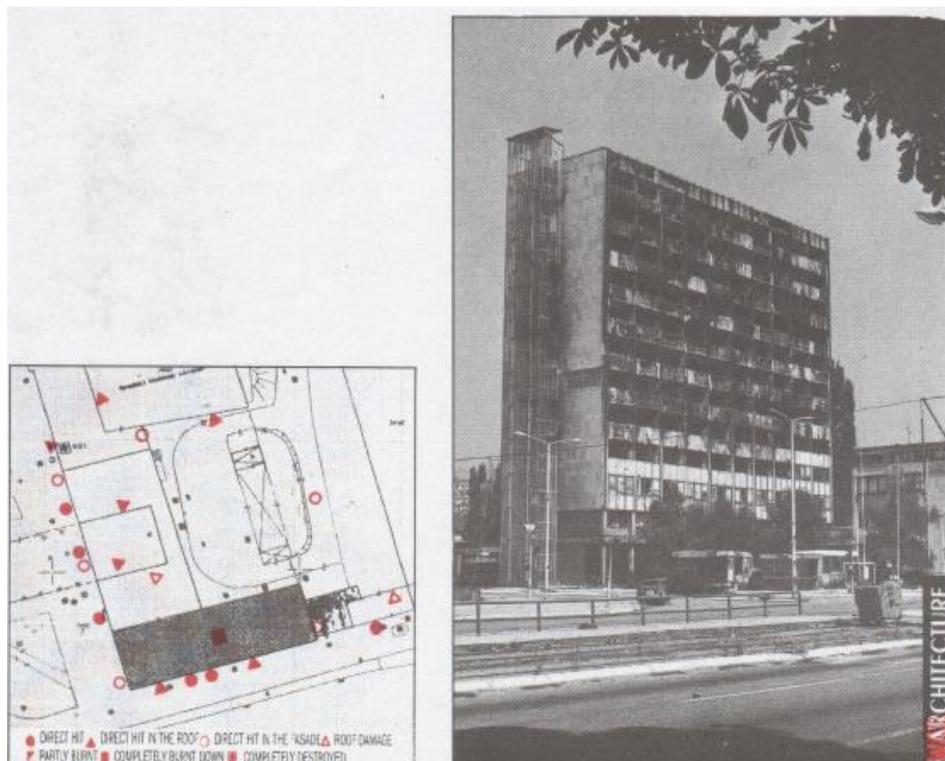


Fig. 6.12 – Pension and Social Insurance Fund, design by Živorad Janković and Esad Daidžić, built in 1960 (Association of Architects DAS SAbiH, 1992-4).

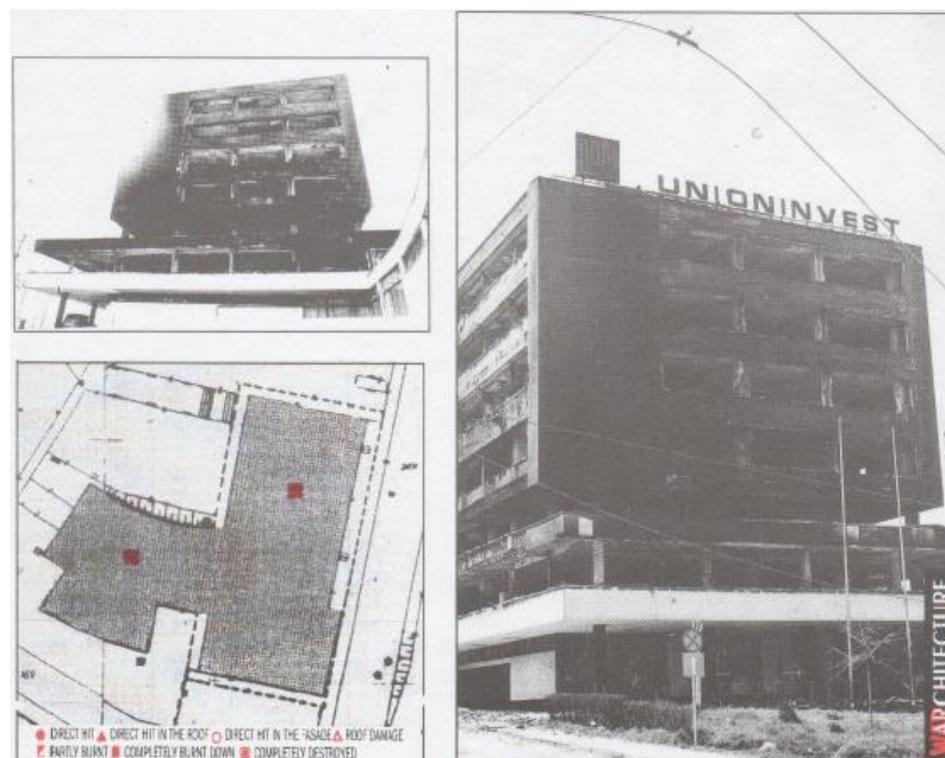


Fig. 6.13 – The Unioninvest Headquarters, designed by Vladimir Zarahović, built in 1963 (Association of Architects DAS SAbiH, 1992-4).

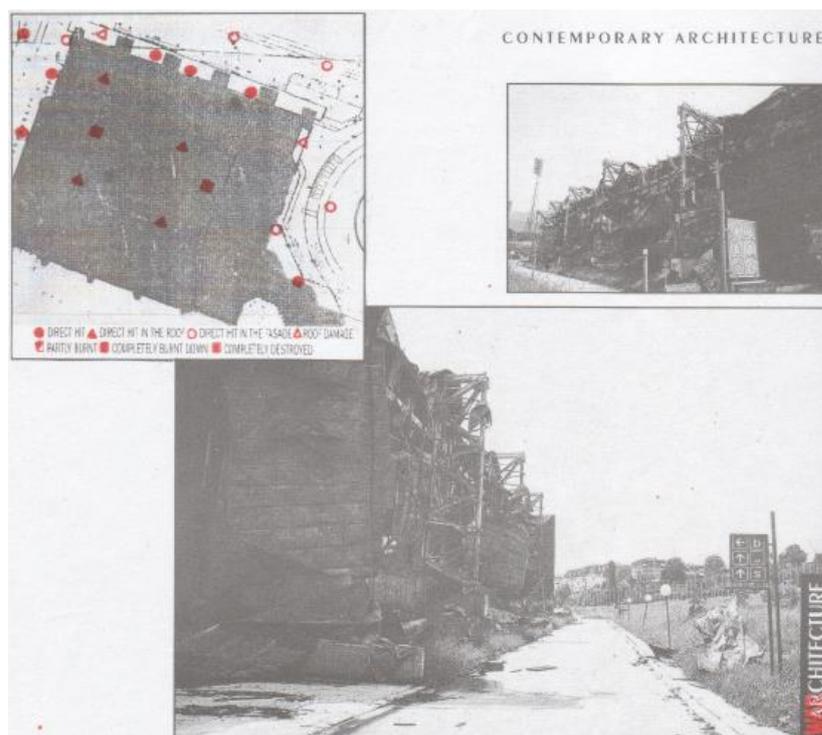


Fig. 6.14 – The Olympics Sports Hall Zetra, designed by Lidumil Alikalfić, Duško Džapa and Osman Morankić, built in 1983 (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).

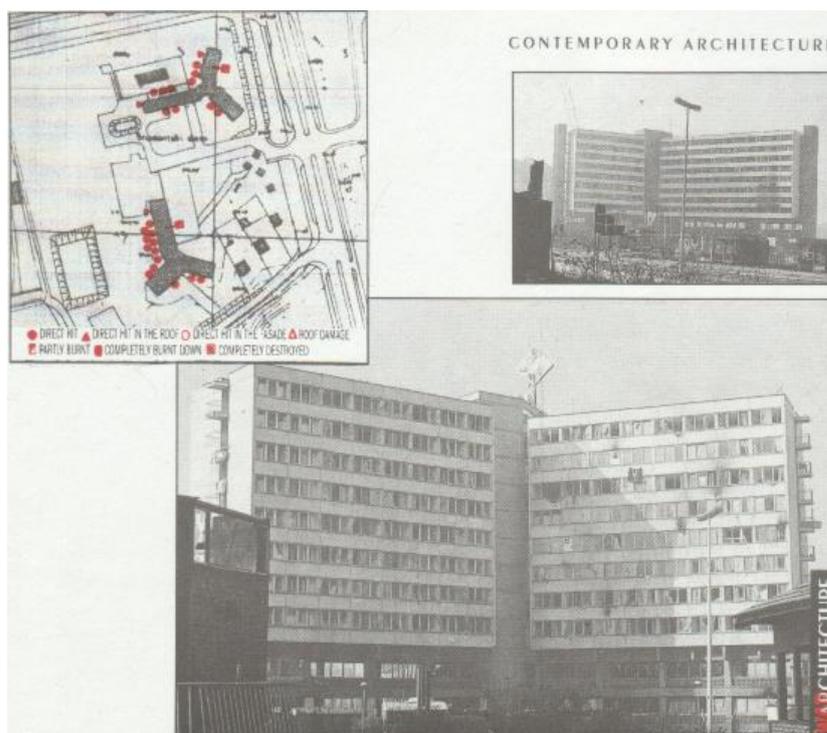


Fig. 6.15 - The Students Accommodation, Pavilion I, designed by Enver Jahić, built in 1971 and 1982 (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).

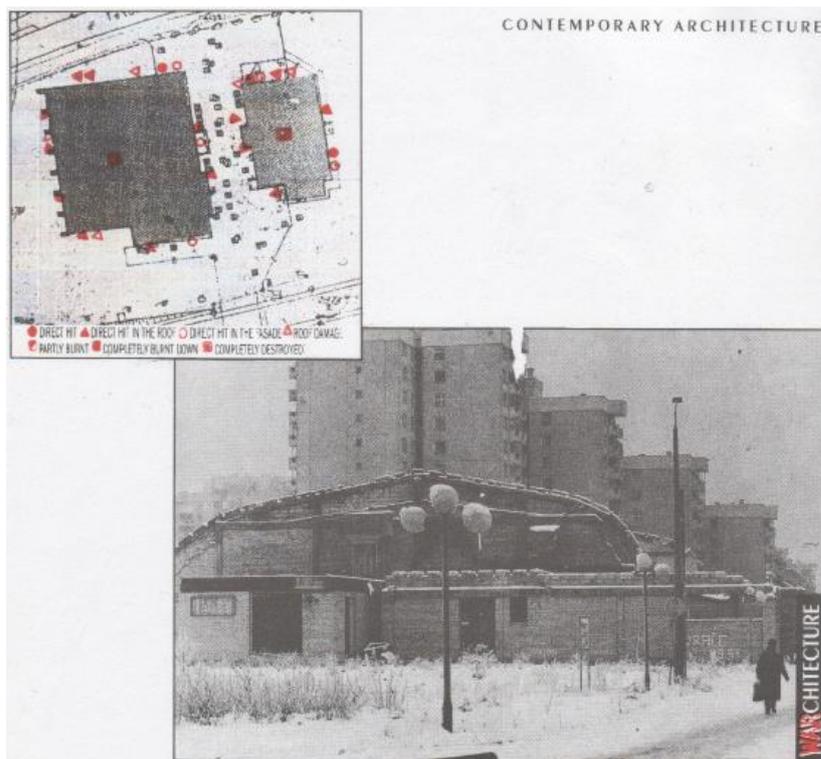


Fig. 6.16 – Sports Hall Mojnilo, designed by Milan Medić, built in 1983 (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).

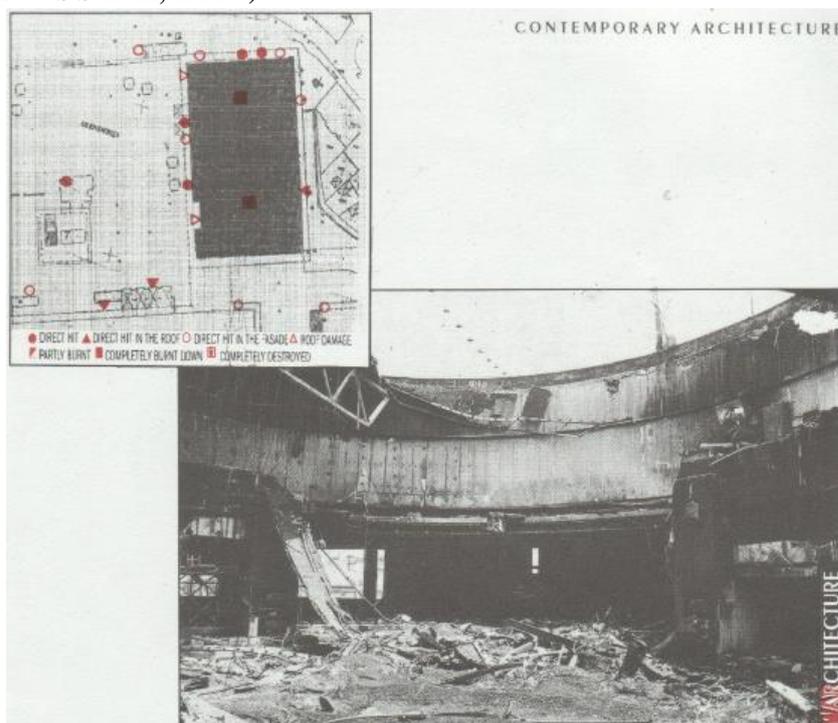


Fig. 6.17 – Cultural and Sports Centre Skenderija, designed by Prof. Živorad Janković and Halid Muhasilović, built in 1969 (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).

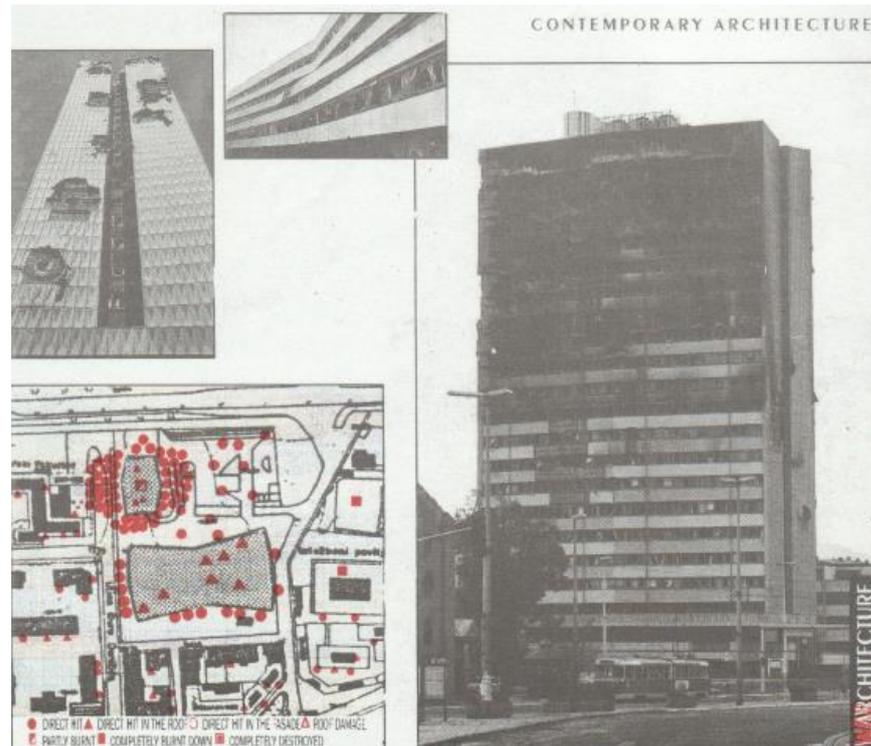


Fig. 6.18 - National Assembly and the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, designed by Juraj Neidhardt, 1974-1982 (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).

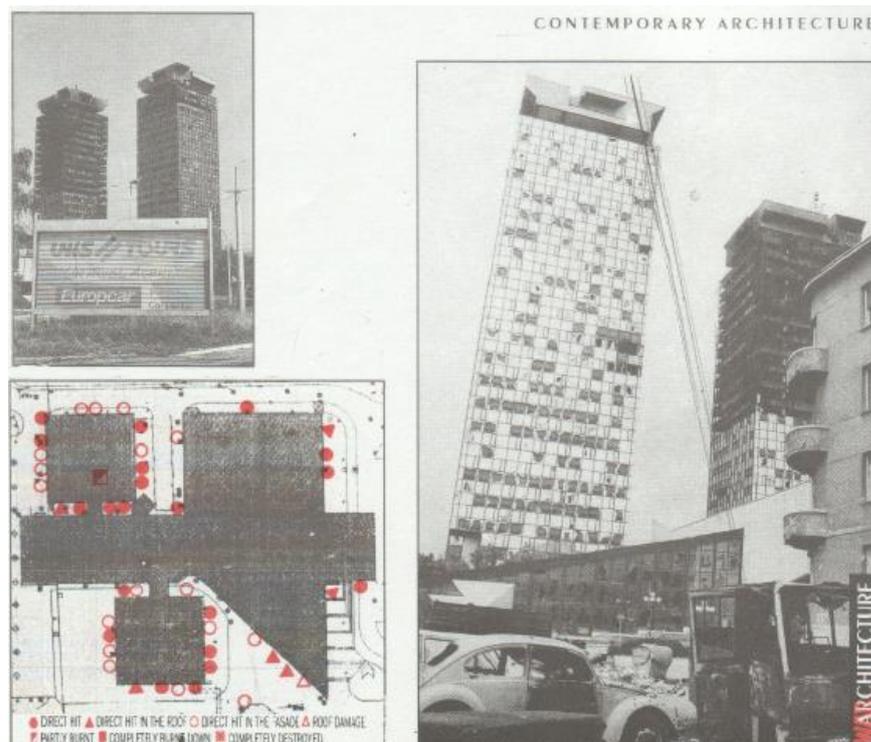


Fig. 6.19 - UNIS Co. Headquarters, designed by Ivan Štraus, built in 1987 (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).

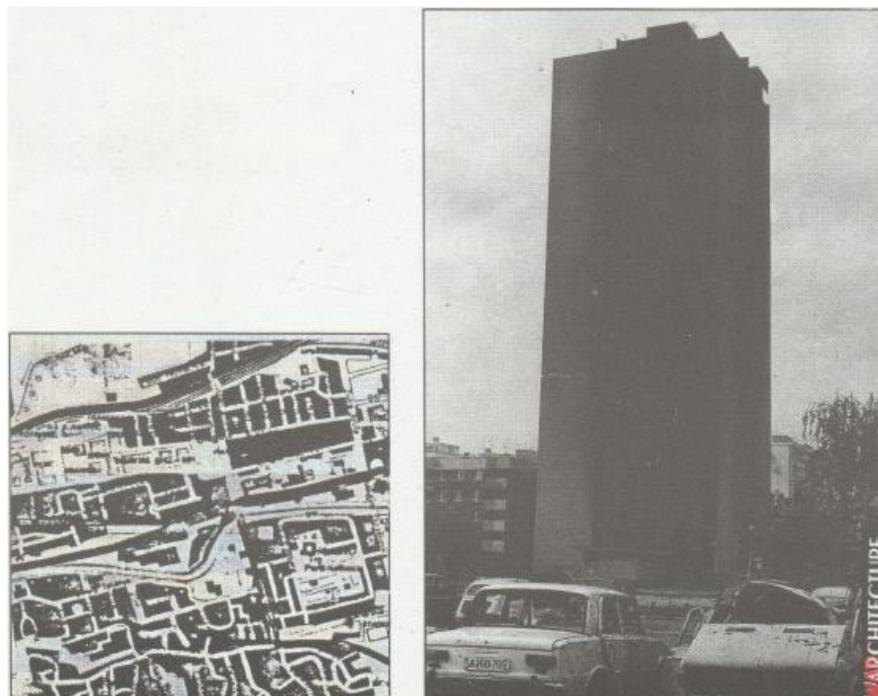


Fig. 6.20 – Mixed use residential block Trg Heroja , designed by Muhamed Jašarević (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).

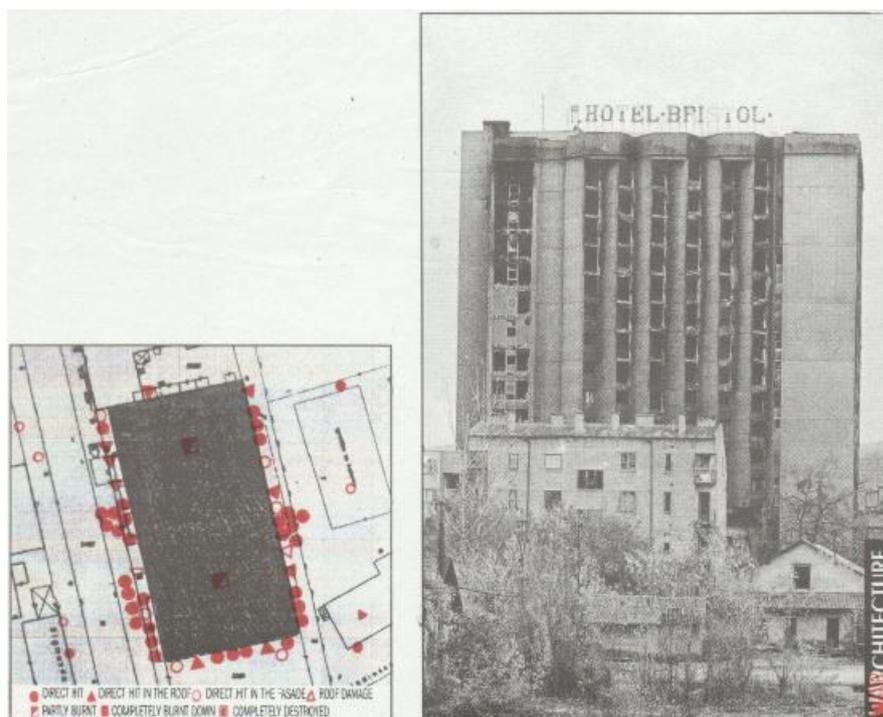


Fig. 6.21 – Hotel Bristol, designed by Vladimir Dobrović, built in 1973 (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).



Fig. 6.22 – Elektroprivreda Headquarters, designed by Ivan Štraus, built in 1978 (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).

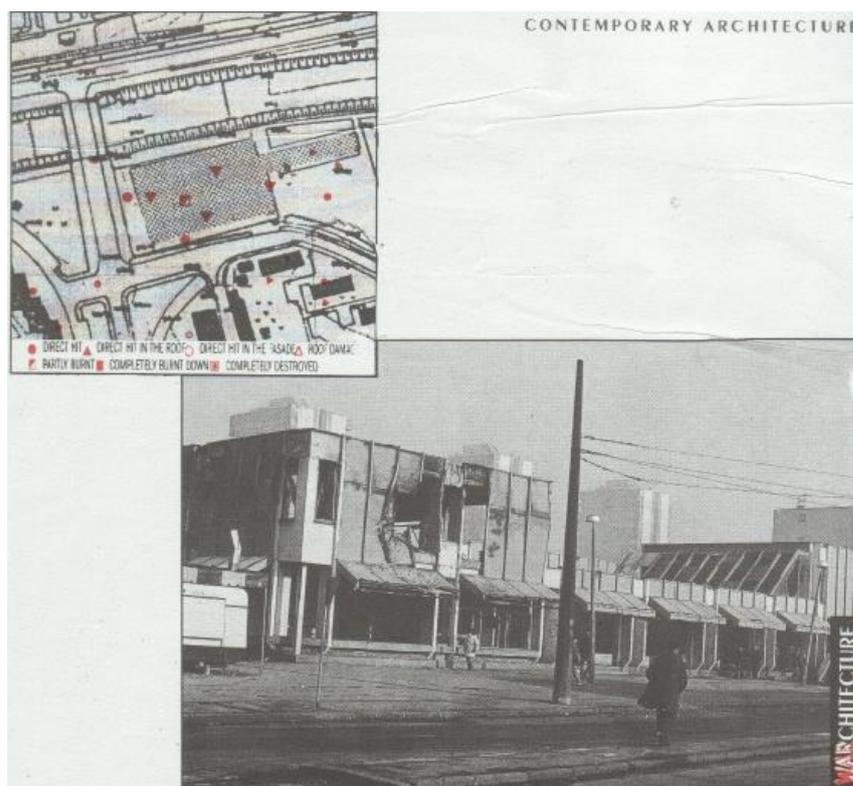


Fig. 6.23 – The Market Centre Hepok, designed by Safet Gališić, built in 1978 (Association of Architects DAS SABIH, 1992-4).

APPENDIX VIII

OTHER MODERNISM:
History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Underpinning the Case of the

PERIOD	KEY FACTS ²⁹¹	DESCRIPTION
1941 -1945 WW2 , THE NATIONAL –LIBERATION AND FORMATION OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA IN 1943 IN JAJCE, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA		
1945	Constituting the Museum of National Liberation (1945-1950) later changed to Museum of ReVolution	Curating periods from 1878 to 1945, period of socialist development and history of workers' movements.
1963 THE MUSEUM BUILDING COMPLETION IN MARIJIN DVOR		
1966	First permanent exhibition curating national-liberation narrative	
1984 WINTER OLYMPIC GAMES IN SARAJEVO, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA		
1990	Zakon o finansiranju potreba i interesa društva u oblasti kulture/Law on financing the needs and social interests in the cultural sphere	Start of the process of name change to the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina/Historijski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine
1991-1995 WAR AND DISOLUTION OF YUGOSLAVIA, FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA		
1993	Legal Decree on museum activities ;	Exhibiting in other premises:
1994	Legal enactment in 1994;	-In Gallery Mak:„Sarajevo war photography“ by Danilo Krstanović, July 1993; Social themes in B&H painting between two world wars, August 1994; -In <i>Kamerni teatar/Chamber Theatre</i> : Documents-Painting-Video, 1994 (as part of Scientific Colloquium of Bosanska Posavina civic societies)
1996	„60 years of fight against fascism“	Exhibition
1997	„50 years of the railway Šamac Sarajevo“; „Bosnia and Herzegovina in postcards“	Exhibition
1998	„Bosnia and Herzegovina: Suffering, memory, birth“; „Time of evil“ 1990-1998	Paintings and drawings by Marian Wenzel; Political caricature by Hasan Fazlić,
2000	„Banknotes of BiH from 1918 until present“	Exhibition
July 2001	60th Anniversary of Bosnian uprising in World War 2	Temporary exhibition focused on resistance to both German occupation and their local collaborators, including Ustaša,

²⁹¹ For detailed list of exhibitions up to 2010, see Leka, 2010: 57-63

Četnik and the Handžar Division		
2003, 7 April	The „Besieged Sarajevo“ Exhibition	
2005	“Bosnia and Herzegovina through centuries”	
2008	Cafe Tito opened	On location of the decommissioned plant room of the Museum
2010	„65 Years of History museum of B&H“ (Kaljanac, ed., 2010)	
2012	History Museum declared a National monument	Decision by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments
2012	Protest re Closure of the Zemaljski muzej/National Museum by the Staff	Culture Shutdown and solidarity
2014	Exhibition „Prvi svjetski rat i Bosna i Hercegovina/The First World War and Bosnia and Herzegovina“, in partnership between the British Council, the History Museum of BiH and others	Catalogue „A onda je odjeknuo onaj hitac u Sarajevu.../And then, in Sarajevo, the shot was fired...“(Hašimbegović, ed., 2015)
2014	„Reactivate Sarajevo“ exhibition at the Venice Biennale/External event	Inn partnership with ETH Zurich Team and Matica Bosne i Hercegovine in Switzerland
2015	Flat roof repairs completed on the Cube	Funded by the Special Fund of the Embassy of the US in Sarajevo
2015	Srebrenica Exhibition	
2016, 31 May	Poster exhibition “Unpacking the History”	By Amer Mržljak
2016	„Zatiranje istorije i sjećanja/Eradicating of History and Memory “, by SENSE, Centar za tranzicijsku pravdu	Supported by Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, The European Commission and the Netherlands MFA
2017, June	26-29 “Wake up Europe, Sarajevo Calling” Connecting Local History and International Perspectives	International Workshop and Report
2017, November	„Museum Architecture Creative Shooting“, by Creative Shooting Team from Zenica, led by Majda Turkić, MA, PhD Candidate	With Forum građana Zenice, Supported by US Embassy in Bosnia and Herzegovina
2017	28 Artefacts on loan to the new House of European History in Brussels	
2018	Repairs to Building	Stone cladding replaced on part of the north wall at street level;
2018	„Besieged Sarajevo“ Exhibition shown in Belgrade (Serbia)	
2018	„Heroes 1945“ exhibition with IRWIN Group (Slovenia) shown in Banja Luka	

2018	Getty Grant „Keep it Modern“ announced	Feasibility Assessment Study for the Renovation
2018	Brian Eno „77 million paintings“ Michelangelo Pistoletto in Sarajevo	International guest exhibitions
2019, 8 March	„Mir sa ženskim licem/Peace with a female face“ exhibition	With female peace movement „Peace with Female face“ and „Forum Civil Peace Service“ (Forum ZED)
2019, 2 April	Marking the World Autism Day	
2019, 8-14 April	Breaking Free: Djeca rođena zbog rata/Born because of war	
2019, 12 April	Panel Discussion “Observing Walls: 1989-2019”, moderated by N. Moll	
2019, 16 April	“Ahmići, 48 sati pepela i krvi/48 hours of cinder and blood”, Interactive narrative	SENSE Centar za tranzicijsku pravdu, supported by National Endowment for Democracy and Forum ZFD

End