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THE ARCHITECTURE OF MEMORY:
SPATIAL READING

_2024_2-3_PART 2

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THE ARCHITECTURE OF MEMORY: A SPATIAL READING

These two SAJ volumes present a series of analyses carried out by doctoral students at different architectural faculties – Belgrade, Ljubljana, Milan, Venice – as related to the theme of the *spatial* reading of memorials built in socialist Yugoslavia.

There are two major reasons (besides an infinite number of minor ones) why this work has been undertaken in this specific way. The first one is merely historical: few international contexts during the twentieth century have dealt with the theme of “the monument” as structurally as the political, cultural, artistic, and architectural milieu of socialist Yugoslavia. On the theme posed by the historical moment – the memory of national sacrifice during the bloody and lacerating war (1941-45) – artists and architects tried to respond by universalising the message of memory, in its purest and most acceptable ethical values. Retracing this experience is essential to understanding the uniqueness of Yugoslavian architectural tradition.

The second reason is methodological: as will be further elaborated in the last paragraphs of this introduction, in order to fully grasp the particularity of Yugoslavia's contribution to the 20th-century practice of memorialisation, it is necessary to analyse and explain the sophisticated spatial liturgy orchestrated by the memorials' authors. These are often spaces constituted by the dialectic interaction between landscape, the artistic/architectural object, and the perceiver and his movement through the memorial. A method, a sensibility, a practice, this interaction was inherent to the mentality of Yugoslavian post-war architecture, and its nuances can only be grasped through *spatial* analysis.

It is necessary to at this point clarify some issues. The monuments considered in these publications are only a drop in the ocean that is Yugoslavian post-war production. However, they belong, from an architectural and qualitative point of view, to a group of probably the most paradigmatic manifestations. They represent merely the tip of an iceberg, one already heterogeneous and heterodox. For better or worse, this small emergent peak, visible to the world, today symbolizes the Yugoslavian memorial phenomena. Far from considering the chosen monuments as exemplary or explanatory of memorial practice in the socialist years, our goal is rather to underline the uniqueness of their spatial design, and to read and explain the specificities of the design technique applied by their authors. Specificities that constitute the reasons, though still untold, for their notoriety.

Another aspect to be delineated is that the spatial reading also serves to strip the monuments of their mystical aura, one imposed on them by recent digital-era and academic trends, and one which often lends itself to a reading of the works at a purely iconic level. In reality, the only way to understand the shapes and their dispositions, and the dialectic dimension of the factors that constitute the memorials, is to immerse ourselves in them. This begins with understanding the historical reasons behind their existence, continues with the concrete physical experience of them, and concludes with sectional drawings, which explain the way the monuments anchor themselves in the landscape.

As demonstrated by recent publications – the monumental *Shaping Revolutionary Memory – The Production of Monuments in Socialist Yugoslavia* and *Spomenička skulptura posvećena NOB-u u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*¹ – and the historiographical work of scholars like Sanja Horvatinčić, Vladimir Kulić, Beti Žerovc, and many others, Socialist Yugoslavia produced a unique experience and culture of remembrance in the post-war decades. It was a reflection of wide breadth and originality, which cannot simply be traced back to a question of self-representation by the political system, and not merely to an incentive for implementing the ideology of “brotherhood and unity” between Yugoslavia's

various national identities. Rather, it stems from the very peculiar historical and cultural elements that characterised the country in the second half of the twentieth century, ones which need to be framed and understood in all their complexity, which the above-mentioned studies and scholars have started to explain.

We are talking about a country that was left in pieces after the Second World War, with over a million victims (out of just over fifteen million inhabitants), torn apart by ethnic and religious conflicts, its economy devastated, and its various infrastructures destroyed by German and Italian retreats and Allied bombings. A country in which disaster, division, and exodus did not stop with the liberation of 1945, but continued marking its territories and its cities until the end of the 1940s. Hunger, reckoning, enthusiasm for liberation, and above all, the need to commemorate tragic events represented the context in which the Yugoslav reconstruction, and its redemption from its mangled past, began. A reconstruction that was solidly founded on the heroic and widespread resistance led by the Communist Party, the only multi-ethnic political and military movement, and the only anti-Nazi-fascist and anti-collaborationist propulsive vector present on the territory. A movement that, in a very short time, managed to mobilise different social classes and the most diverse nationalities that populated the land, whether in urban centres, on the islands, across mountainous territories, in the countryside, or across the Pannonian plains.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the movement chose precisely that dimension of multi-ethnicity and multi-nationality to become the crucial pillar of socialist Yugoslavia. This pillar took root in the collective practice of memorialising the victories, as well as tragedies, of war, which fulfilled a profound need felt by the inhabitants of these territories.

The need to commemorate tragedies experienced during the war characterised all areas of the country, not just urban contexts. Beginning from just a few months following the war, the most disparate symbolic sites of the conflict began to be celebrated, such as those of battles, rallies, massacres, training camps, and famous partisan hospitals. Plaques, epigraphs, and graffiti began to appear, markers that would soon develop into simple figurative sculptures.

As mentioned, these forms of memorialization were not only erected within the urban fabric but, above all, across suburban, rural, island, and mountain areas. In a certain sense, the entire territory – where the resistance was born and took place – became a great memorial system from which it becomes

possible to reconstruct the chronology and spatial arrangement of the events. This is a practice that would characterise almost all of Yugoslavia and very quickly, starting from the 1950s, would encourage experimentation with new types of monuments and commemorative areas, as well as their social and economic roles.

It is through this experimentation that the theoretical reflection and activity of many Yugoslavian artists, architects, and intellectuals enters the picture, and in a completely original way. These figures begin to, through a series of writings, competition projects, and realizations, overturn the memorial practices to which preceding generations were accustomed through previous architectural and artistic traditions. They not only claimed that art can and must conquer new spaces, that art must stop playing an exclusively aesthetic role (and that it instead needs to become a socially engaged art), and that artwork needs to be brought closer to the people (and must get out of galleries, museums, and invade the urban and natural environment), but that architects and artists – with their research – must give a new form to this new type of collective art. At the same time, in this form of art they saw a contemporary version of something that had characterised the visual arts in all their history, but that could not offer the right solution in the crisis years of modernism: a new form for the synthesis of arts, in particular between architecture and sculpture.

And although these experiments were undoubtedly heterogeneous and difficult to trace back to a single design direction, with each of them linked to specific themes and authors, as well as different contexts and dimensions, it is nevertheless possible to trace a peculiarly mutual vein between them. This presents as the search for a renewed relationality between the three founding elements of monumental intervention: the landscape (urban or natural context, where the historical fact occurred), the sculptural-architectural object (or objects), and the user, the subject of the experience of the historical event. These three components represent, in the research of Yugoslav artists and architects starting from the early 1960s, the constitutive ingredients of a spatial assembly, open and relational, which is designed and built to be experienced in time and, more precisely, in space.

The memory – fuelled by a peculiar reflection on the contrast between abstract and/or neoprimitive forms and the natural-real landscape – thus becomes a kinetic, didactic, emotional experience. Thanks to the abandonment of the stylistic features of socialist realism and the use of abstraction (unlike the practices that characterised the other countries of Eastern Europe), it

basically turns into an experience more conceptual than literal, more empathic than scholastic, and more collective than personalized.

The monuments analysed in this issue of SAJ represent a peek into this fortunate and prolific season of landscape art/architecture. This collective work carried out with doctoral students represents, above all from the methodological aspect, a contribution to a more complex understanding of that historical context. The series of “micro-historical” research studies single out a tool – the *spatial* analysis – that extracts (although just for a moment) the memorial from the world of interpretation that traditionally conditions its critical readings. A tool that does not put memorials in the service of politics or intertextuality with other humanistic disciplines, but confronts them with their own essential reasons, those inherent in the works themselves: the *spatial* reason, the dialectic relationship between the elements that shape them. This collection of fragments, which could be expanded indefinitely, has no direct ambition to function as an exhaustive or definitive “history” of Yugoslavian memorial architecture, but rather as a means of getting to better know that world, starting with unveiling the essence of its constitutive details.

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SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE KOSMAJ MEMORIAL COMPLEX: BETWEEN KERNFORM AND KUNSTFORM

ABSTRACT

The paper examines the Kosmaj Memorial Complex using tectonic theory to reveal its architectural, social, historical, and aesthetic values. The analysis explores the dichotomy between Kernform (core form) and Kunstform (art form) to provide insights into the synthesis of structural rationality and aesthetic expression within the monument. The research methodology focuses on spatial analysis, which consists of field surveys, geometric assessments, material studies, and archival investigations. A central aspect of the study is the examination of the interrelationship between construction and structure, emphasising the integration of architectural and sculptural elements. To disclose the complex's spatial and symbolic characteristics, the study emphasises the geometric analysis of the monument's components as well as its materialisation, construction methods, and technological execution. The research further addresses the current condition and use of the Kosmaj Memorial Complex, providing recommendations for its preservation and adaptation. Despite the lack of archival documentation, the methodology demonstrates how fieldwork and systematic analysis can uncover the monument's tectonic values, offering a framework for future studies of Yugoslav memorial architecture. This study highlights the Kosmaj Memorial's significance as a confluence of artistic desire and structural integrity by presenting it through the prism of tectonic theory.

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KEY WORDS

KOSMAJ MEMORIAL COMPLEX
MONUMENT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR IN YUGOSLAVIA
VALUE OF THE MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE
TECTONICS
PROTECTION OF THE MONUMENT

The first relevant information is found in the literature and previous research. In the journal *Urbanism of Belgrade No. 5*¹, information about the competition and preliminary designs was found. Additionally, in the *Spomenik database*², there is a significant overview of historical information about the monument that points to further research. The first part of the paper introduces us to the location of the complex, goes through competition design proposals and finds archival documentation while also defining the problems of obtaining appropriate documentation in future research on Yugoslav monuments of the National Liberation War. The second part of the paper presents a spatial analysis of the complex with the attached author's graphic and photo documentation.

The research aims to find the hidden values of the Monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Unit (Figure 1). Many details and data about the monument are lacking, which is mentioned in only a few places in the literature on architecture in Yugoslavia during the National Liberation War.

The research methodology begins with various analyses, including observations, fieldwork, and mapping. Using tectonic theory, the relationship between form and construction is considered. Additionally, the user experience is compared with postulates of didactic theory, and the form of the monument is analysed using universal topics of contemporary sculpture. Steps in the research process also involve searching for documentation through different institutions, summarising processed information, describing and comparing data, and ultimately drawing logical conclusions and making recommendations regarding the protection and use of the monument complex.

The list of institutions to which a request was sent for any documentation about the monument begins with *the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Belgrade*³, where it is found that the monument is not under any protection, and there are no tendencies to protect it. For more detailed information, *SUBNOR⁴ Serbia* refers to *SUBNOR of the Municipality of Sopot*, where their role in preserving the monument is still unclear. They do not have their archive, but they cooperate with the *Archives of the Municipality of Sopot*⁵, which is also not transparent and up-to-date, posing an additional problem in further cooperation and attempts to find the appropriate documentation. They do not have technical documentation about the monument (they claim that the contractor has it), but they have certain decisions that can serve as input in other institutions. In the *Historical Archives of Belgrade*⁶, within the *City of Belgrade Fund - City Secretariat for Education and Culture*⁷, contracts between the *City of Belgrade* and the *Municipality of Sopot* were found, regulating the financing of the monument, but also mentioning the *Decision on the establishment of committee for the construction of monument*⁸, as well as *Decision on the construction of monument*⁹ that can serve as input in the archives of the *City Secretariat for Urban Planning and Construction*¹⁰ to find technical documentation of the monument. Also, among the documents from the *Historical Archives*, a confirmation was found that the contractor for the monument was the *Construction Company Komgrap*¹¹. Since the company is bankrupt, its archive is not in the *Historical Archives*, so the recommendation is to contact the bankruptcy trustee and obtain permission through the *Commercial Court in Belgrade*¹² to access the archive. This was done, but the request was rejected with the explanation that there is no technical documentation for the monument in the Komgrap Archives. In *the Archives of Yugoslavia*¹³, as one of the last institutions where documentation is sought, only documents revealing the cause of inadequate protection of the monuments of the National Liberation War, including the Monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Unit, were found.



FIGURE 1: Monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Detachment (Unit) [Author, 2021]

1. MEMORIAL PRACTICE AND VALUES OF THE MONUMENT THROUGH TECTONIC THEORY

1.1 Monuments and Memorial Practices in Socialist Yugoslavia

The memorial practices of socialist Yugoslavia present a unique context where political, cultural, and artistic dimensions shaped monumental expression. In Yugoslavia, Spomeniks (monuments) became cultural and political phenomena, intertwining collective memory, identity, and public space¹⁴. As Bojana Pejić notes¹⁵, monuments materialise collective memories and act as sites where state power and societal consciousness converge, transcending commemoration to engage in cultural and political discourse.

The Kosmaj Memorial Complex epitomises the spatial and symbolic innovation of Yugoslav post-WWII commemorative culture and embodies an artistic and ideological heritage rooted in its sociopolitical context. This paper employs tectonic theory—an architectural framework uniting structural, material, and symbolic considerations—to analyse these monuments. Central to this analysis is the dichotomy between Kernform (core form) and Kunstform (art form), offering insights into the synthesis of structural rationality and aesthetic expression.

Post-WWII, Yugoslavia's socialist government sought to memorialise the sacrifices and victories of its multiethnic Partisan forces. These commemorations emphasised “brotherhood and unity,” favouring abstract, modernist styles that universalised the memory of struggle. By the 1960s, modernist abstraction became dominant, eschewing figural representations for monumental forms conveying collective heroism. Monumental production in Yugoslavia served as tools for shaping identity and memory. Initially focused on heroic and dynastic themes, the shift under socialism commemorated the People's Liberation War and revolution. These monuments legitimised ideology by spatialising selective memories of unity, sacrifice, and resistance¹⁶. Heike Karge highlights the dynamic nature of Yugoslav remembrance, involving both state-led initiatives and grassroots participation. This duality reflects the interplay of official narratives and community agency in shaping monuments.¹⁷

Spomeniks symbolised the traumatic experiences of WWII, particularly the Partisan struggle and its ideology. The term evolved to represent the abstract commemorative structures unique to Yugoslavia, balancing universalist aesthetics with local narratives. Unlike socialist realism in other Eastern Bloc countries, Yugoslav spomeniks embraced modernist abstraction for a conceptual engagement with memory. Sanja Horvatinčić emphasises spomeniks as spatial

assemblies integrating landscape, sculpture, and user experience into a narrative of memory.¹⁸ Their locations—authentic wartime sites—and form materialised liberation memories while signalling a vision of socialist modernity.¹⁹ This aligns with Maurice Halbwachs' concept of collective memory, where landscapes anchor shared histories.²⁰

Spomeniks, engaging with their environments, created immersive experiences of memory. They spatialised ideology, blending symbolic and functional elements to perform memory through public interaction. This aligns with tectonic theory's focus on synthesising structure, materiality, and meaning, making it a valuable analytical lens.

1.2 Tectonic Theory and Memorial Architecture

Tectonic theory, rooted in the writings of Gottfried Semper and later expanded in contemporary architectural discourse, examines the relationship between construction (Kernform) and representation (Kunstform). This framework underscores the importance of structural logic and material authenticity while recognising the expressive potential of architectural forms. Tectonics in architecture refers to the artistic expression of construction through structural composition, elements, or details, serving as a way to resist reduction and embody the poetics of construction. It is the transformation of a structural form into an artistic element. In memorial practice, the tectonic approach reveals how Yugoslav architects and artists transformed structural necessities into symbolic narratives, creating monuments that are both materially grounded and conceptually evocative.

Bötticher's concept²¹ of tectonics as a synthesis of materiality, function, and ornament finds resonance in the Yugoslav memorial tradition. For instance, the modernist Spomeniks often utilised organic or geometric forms that abstractly evoked themes of resilience, unity, and transformation.²² These forms transcended figurative representation, aligning with already mentioned Pejić's observation that monuments in socialist Yugoslavia performed rhetoric of power through abstraction and monumental scale. Frampton's focus²³ on the poetics of construction further enriches this analysis. His emphasis on tactile and spatial engagement underscores the experiential dimension of Yugoslav memorials, where users interact with the site, the materiality of the monument, and the surrounding landscape.²⁴ This interaction transforms the monument into a kinetic and immersive experience, aligning with already mentioned Karge's view of remembrance as a practice rather than a static artefact.

2. PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE MONUMENT

2.1 Location

Administratively and territorially, the Kosmaj Memorial Complex is located in Šumadija, near Mladenovac, in the Belgrade municipality of Sopot, in the southernmost part of the territory of the city of Belgrade. Mountain Kosmaj, after Avala (506m), is the lowest mountain in Šumadija, with an altitude of 626m. The memorial complex is located on one of its three peaks - Mali Vis. The entire landscape is covered with dense vegetation. The complex is situated within a protected green zone - Landscape of Outstanding Features “Kosmaj”, more precisely, a natural good of local importance, category III.²⁵

2.2 Historical context

During the Second World War in 1941, armed resistance groups actively opposed the occupation of Serbia. Communist partisan rebels carried out the majority of this organisation. A secret meeting of members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ)²⁶ was held at a mountain lodge at the top of Mount Kosmaj, founding the Kosmaj Partisan Detachment (Unit) by merging detachments from the Kosmaj region and the Sava River region. During the war, the detachment lost hundreds of its soldiers in battles and also participated in the liberation of Belgrade from German control.

In the late 1960s, local committees of the veterans' organisation SUBNOR began to make plans (together with many groups from regional and local communities) for the construction of a memorial complex at the top of Mount Kosmaj in memory of the Kosmaj Detachment and its efforts during the National Liberation War, as well as to honour the soldiers from the region who died during the war.²⁷ After a public Yugoslav competition and several years of construction, the monument was completed in 1971 and remains to this day one of the masterpieces of the combination of sculpture and architecture in the former Yugoslavia.

After the breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, the monuments of the National Liberation War became spaces with specific aesthetic strategies that testify to a certain common past and encourage different universal gestures:

As physical witnesses, these monuments today are not just monuments to the Second World War or the partisan struggle but have become monuments to Yugoslavia itself, to its progressive anti-nationalist and anti-fascist perspective. They continue to maintain an invisible network

*throughout the territory of the former Yugoslavia and remind us of the disruptions and segmentation of the former unified space.*²⁸

In this work, in today's contemporary moment, the goal is to find the universality of the language of these monuments, such as the Kosmaj Memorial Complex.

Considering the memorial and touristic potentials of the monuments today, according to the analysis²⁹, we can distinguish three groups of monuments based on their degree of functionality and one subgroup with a distinct memorial significance, which has also determined a specific way of their planning and arrangement:

1. monuments commemorating the victims of major German offensives;
2. monuments to a group or detachment of fighters;
3. monuments to fighters who fell in the liberation of a city; and
- 3a. monuments at the site of death camps.

The Kosmaj Memorial Complex belongs to both the second and third categories. The second group of monuments has significance ranging from local to regional. For this reason, these places were built to be excursion sites. Monuments to fallen fighters during operations to liberate cities occupy prominent positions above the city or on their approaches and are generally not planned for longer stays by people. Therefore, their functions are reduced to memorial ones, and the space is designed like a park.

3. COMPETITION FOR THE PRELIMINARY DESIGN OF THE KOSMAJ MEMORIAL COMPLEX

The competition organiser was the Monument Construction Committee chaired by Moma Marković. The competition lasted from March to November 1969 and was general, public, anonymous, and Yugoslav. There were 26 entries that met the requirements (two did not). The announcement of the winners and the exhibition of works was held at the Art Pavilion on Kalemegdan Fortress (now the Cvijeta Zuzorić Pavilion³⁰).³¹

The Pavilion is another institution from which documentation was requested for this competition; however, all documentation from this competition was owned by SUBNOR. The Pavilion served only as a space for announcing the winners, so there is no trace of it in the Pavilion. The winning design was under the code MAY [serb. MAJ] (Figure 2), whose authors were the sculptor Vojin Stojić and the architect Gradimir Medaković, both from Belgrade.

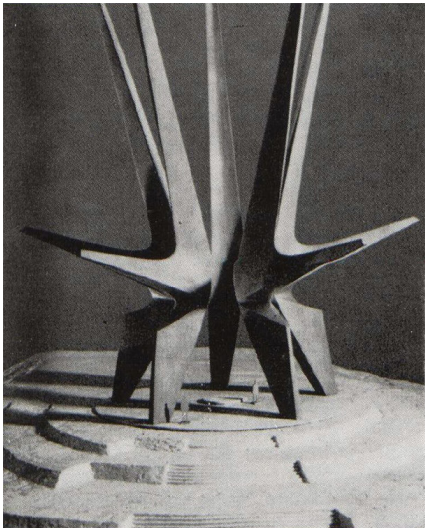
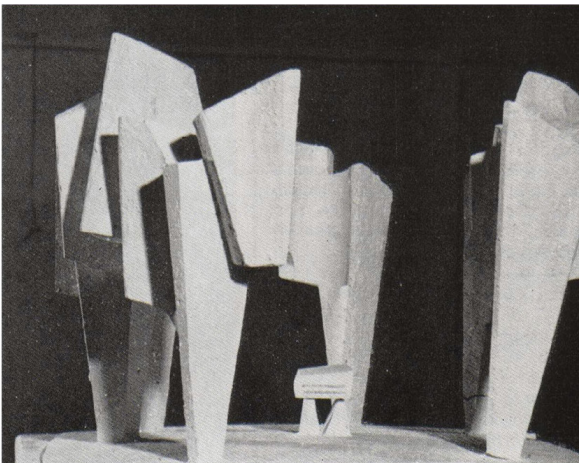
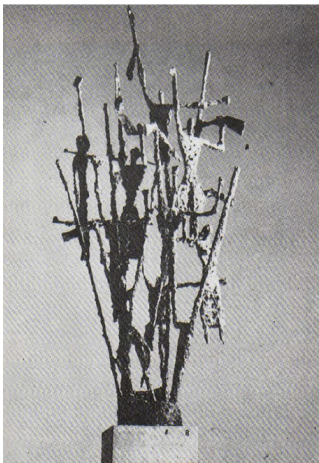
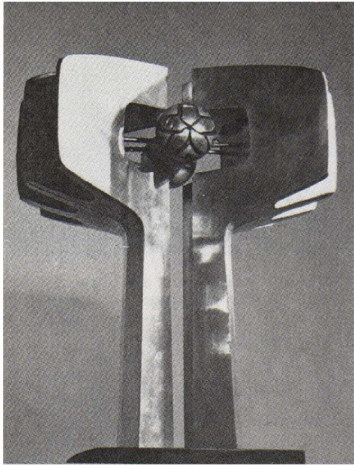
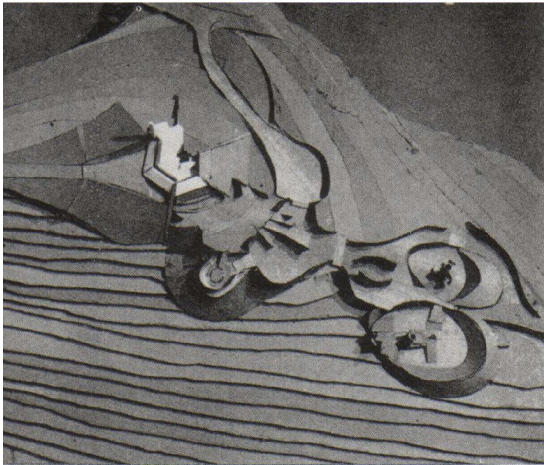


FIGURE 2: Competition works [Urbanism of Belgrade No. 5, 24-25.]
UP: Winning design with code MAY (serb. MAJ)
MIDDLE-LEFT: Work with code JAVKA,
MIDDLE-RIGHT: Work with code SOPOT-Y
DOWN-LEFT: Work with code OATH (serb. ZAKLETVA)
DOWN-RIGHT: Work with code 89000



The jury stated:

...by purely visual means, without narration, (this sculpture) announces the magnificence and character of the (Kosmaj) Detachment. They met, grew up and immediately rushed into battle. The sculpture is so composed that its dynamic movement of mass expresses itself, combining, unifying, then, immediately afterwards, a violent surge, striving upwards and downwards, a radiating and far-reaching action.³²

The second prize was awarded to the work under the code 89000, authored by architect Miodrag Stanković and sculptor Ante Gržetić from Belgrade. The jury emphasised that through sculptural forms close to figurative expression, the authors enabled the monument to be viewed in its values from all sides. Harmony among all elements has been achieved. This solution, it can be said, also seeks form in masses that try to resist gravity.³³

The third prize was equally divided between the two works. For the work under the code OATH [serb. ZAKLETVA], authored by sculptor Nandor Glid, architect Vera Kovačević, and horticulture consultant engineer Petar Pecelj, from Belgrade, the jury highlights that the composition arose from a strong dramatic sense with quality visual language, yet with certain instabilities that undermine monumentality. The solution, which “with its delicate form” or light structure also tries to achieve the effect of levitation, is skillfully done in such a way that the linear elements of the structure depict members of the detachment with flags. It can be said that the solution is of lower quality compared to the others because it did not go the way of abstraction like the others but touched on realistic representation.³⁴

For the work under the code SOPOT-Y, authored by sculptor Jovan Kratofil from Belgrade, the jury noted that the sculptural work is mature and that the author has consistently expressed himself symbolically, but the plateau base of the sculpture architecturally diminishes its value.³⁵

The work under the code JAVKA by unknown authors received a purchase prize. The jury initially did not plan to award purchase prizes. However, it made this decision because of the idea in this work to connect the lives of new generations with nurturing memories of the Kosmaj Partisan Detachment (Unit), making the monument a constantly active factor in the life of the people. The solution emphasises the urban concept and movement within the complex, providing different views of the natural landscape of Kosmaj through changes in levels. The idea of the monument itself is not very clear, so apart from the theme of movement and formation of large gestures in the form of paths and plateaus, nothing else can be concluded.³⁶

This competition's contribution is reflected in competitors' approach to the complex problem: a visual-spatial-synthetic, urban-architectural-sculptural task. There are tendencies towards approaching architecture as sculpture and merging them into one.³⁷

Additionally, interesting fact is that among the competition entries featured in this issue of the journal *Urbanism of Belgrade* [serb. *Urbanizam Beograda*], there is no design by architects Aleksandar Đokić and Momčilo Krković, according to whose urban concept it can be concluded that the current complex was realised. (Figure 3)³⁸ The design itself is conceived so that the plateau is approached by roads that "wind" to form a lyre shape.³⁹ The design for the monument itself is quite rough in its white masses, opposite to the slimness and elegance of the winning design. However, this design was purchased and is presumed to have been adopted for implementation in urban planning, while the design for the monument itself on the plateau adopted the aforementioned winning design by Vojin Stojić and Gradimir Medaković.

4. FUNDING AND PROTECTION OF THE MONUMENT: ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTATION

From the archival documentation from the *Historical Archives of Belgrade*, among the documentation about the Municipality of Sopot, there was found information that the monument's contractor was the *Construction Company Komgrap* and that other companies were also involved such as: *Electrodistribution of Belgrade*⁴⁰, *Water directorate Palanka – Smederevska Palanka*⁴¹, *Road Company Belgrade*⁴² and *Forest Management Company Belgrade*⁴³.

According to the contract between the city of Belgrade, i.e., the *City Secretariat for Education and Culture*, and the Municipality of Sopot, the financing of the monument was defined. Among the archival documentation on financing, information about the formation of the *Decision on the establishment of a committee for the construction of the monument* stands out, as well as the *Decision on the construction of the monument (no. 01-4347 from 5 November 1968)*, which can be used for further research and finding the missing technical documentation about the monument.

UPPER RIGHT FIGURE

FIGURE 3: The urban concept of the Kosmaj Memorial Complex by Aleksandar Djokic and Momcilo Krkovic [Jevtovic Aleksandra. (2018), *Arhitekta Aleksandar Djokic. Doktorska disertacija. / Architect Aleksandar Djokic. Doctoral Dissertation / Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filozofski fakultet. Odeljenje za istoriju umetnosti*, 213.



Предмет: Обавештење у вези захтева

Подноском од 25.08.2021. године који сте доставили Привредном суду у Београду, тражили сте да Вам се омогући увид и копија техничке документације за Споменик Космајском партизанском одреду (из 1971.године).

С тим у вези, обавештавамо Вас да смо увидом у архиву ХК „Комграп“ а.д. Београд - у стечају утврдили да не поседујемо техничку документацију за Споменик Космајском партизанском одреду , услед чега нисмо у могућности да одговоримо на Ваш захтев.



FIGURE 4: Answer of the bankruptcy trustee of the Construction Company Komgrap. Access to the archive through the Commercial Court in Belgrade was rejected.

In the *Archives of Yugoslavia*, within the *Fund 297 - SUBNOR 1947-1973. Commission for Cultivating Revolutionary Traditions*⁴⁴, a report on the problems of construction and protection of monuments of the National Liberation War was found, concluding that this is a crucial issue in the memorial architecture of Yugoslavia that needs to be addressed and that the entire problem has been left to the individual republics to try to solve. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Detachment (Unit) is not protected in any way, as well as why its technical documentation has been neglected, lost, or removed. (Figure 4)

5. SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE KOSMAJ MEMORIAL COMPLEX

The spatial analysis is based on a spatial reading of the path from entering the complex to the plateau and the monument at the top of Kosmaj (Figure 5). The following elements are distinguished:

- 1. first memorial spot (inscribed rock)
- 2. second memorial spot (inscribed rock)
- 3. third memorial spot (inscribed rock)
- 4. plateau with the Monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Detachment (Unit)
- 5. main walkway to the plateau
- 6. side footpath to the plateau
- 7. footpath from the parking lot
- 8. road - bypass around the monument complex
- 9. parking (P)

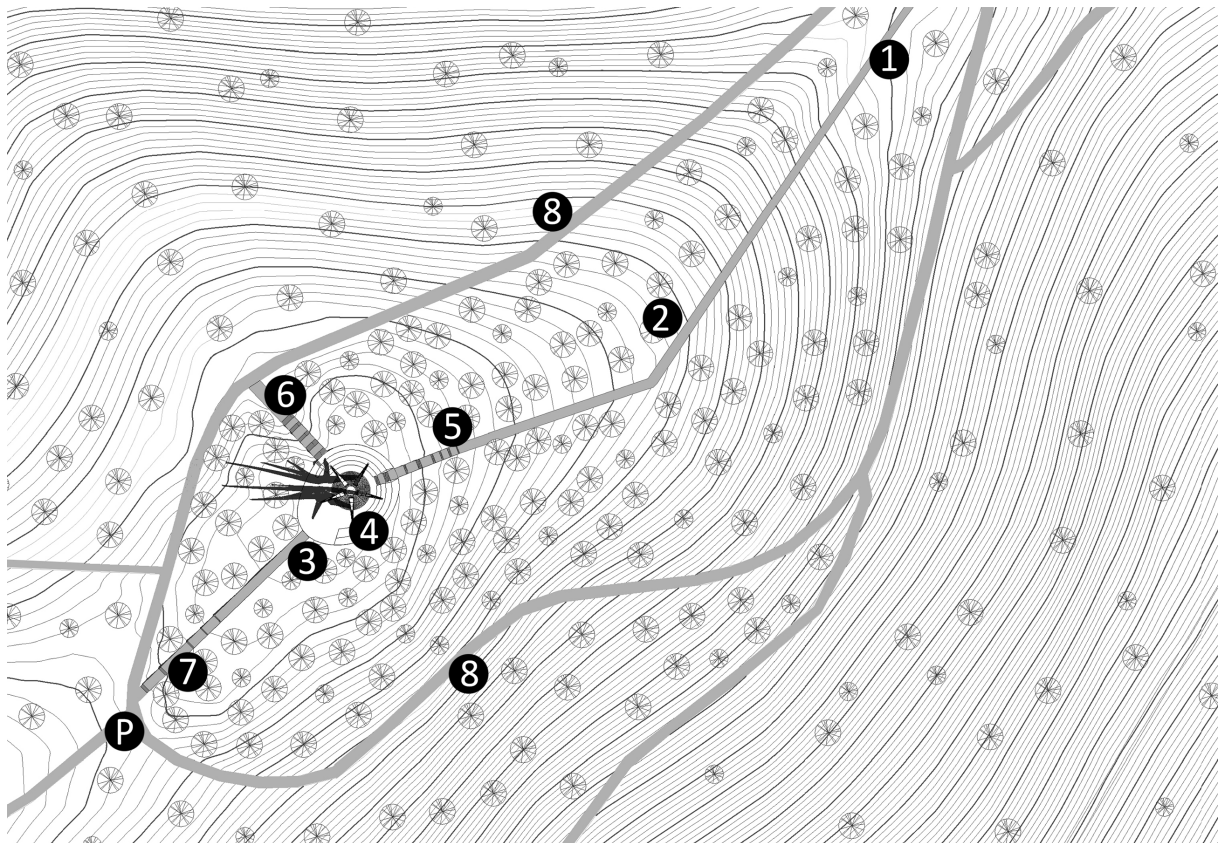


FIGURE 5: Site plan of the Kosmaj Memorial Complex – elements of spatial analysis [Author, 2021]

5.1. Access to the monument

The analysis is based on the comparison of *didactic theory and principles*⁴⁵ with elements of experience. If we talk about *the principle of systematicity and gradualism*, as one of the eight principles within the didactic theory⁴⁶ we can compare the user experience with user education where every more complex human work takes place according to a certain system, in a certain order. This also applies to education. There are four basic rules of progression:

1. from closer to further
2. from simple to complex
3. from easier to harder
4. from the concrete to the abstract.

This logic is the same in the user experience process: conquering and exploring the memorial space. As the user goes through the complex, he is confronted with abstract forms at different positions in the landscape.

The approach to the monument has been analysed from two perspectives: by car and on foot to the plateau where the monument is located. Even from the main road from Sopot to Kosmaj, the monument is seen within the dense vegetation of the mountain. Access to the complex is provided by car, with a turn-off from the Mladenovac-Sopot road. A one-way road, in the form of a bypass around the complex shaped like an elongated ellipse, has been constructed, with a parking lot located at the end of the road or halfway around the “circle” surrounding the complex. Upon arrival at the parking lot, visitors pass through a dense forest landscape, with no indications that the monument complex and plateau are nearby. The clearing where the monument is situated is carefully hidden, creating a psychological sense of unease and anticipation of reaching the monument, as well as uncertainty about whether the correct path is being followed. Certainly, members of the detachment awaiting German soldiers did not know when, where, or what kind of danger would emerge.

As for the pedestrian approach to the plateau and monument, three types of access routes via walkways or footpaths have been established. The plateau can be accessed via the main walkway if cars are parked before entering the complex. Initially, a large clearing is encountered, not indicating the gradual elevation. The paving has been made of rough stone, allowing for areas where boundaries blur with grassy patches. Additionally, signs directing visitors towards the monument or the point at the top, Mali Vis, are occasionally present.

The first memorial spot is encountered among the bushes on the right side, reminding visitors of Tito's speech in 1945 on Kosmaj at the national assembly near Hajdučica. The stone inscription reads:

Here, within reach of Belgrade, Serb sons who did not want to be enslaved but set themselves the task of fighting to the last drop of blood for the freedom of their homeland.⁴⁷

As the movement continues, the forest is entered, perception sharpens, and details are closely observed. On the left side, a new stone boulder, the second memorial spot, is noticed, inscribed with:

With the German occupier's blockade of Kosmaj on 8-9 August 1941, the Partisans escaped one of the first major actions against them in Serbia. Providing heroic resistance to the superior enemy, most of the fighters of the Mladenovac and First Kosmaj Unit broke out of the hoop. Thirteen Partisans, led by their fearless Commander Milan Milisavljević-Žuća, remained forever on the slopes of Kosmaj.⁴⁸

As the path progresses into the forest, transitions from paths to inclines made of rocks are experienced. Stairs occasionally slow the movement, their increasing numbers hinting at the monument's strength and scale. Emerging from the leaves, the monument slowly appears, presenting a mass of movement and stance. The majority of the steps are climbed to approach the plateau, emphasising the significance of the approach – all elements of the monument are observed carefully and at a slow pace.

The side footpath to the plateau is designed to be extremely steep. Rock steps have been incorporated, interrupted by a ramp providing a brief reprieve. The steps have not been separated from the terrain, creating an effect of land art integrated with the surrounding earth. The pedestrian approach further emphasises the tops and movements of the sculpture, viewed from a lower angle. However, the intended visual experience is disrupted by inadequate maintenance of the greenery, where young trees obscure the monument.

The footpath from the parking lot has been designed with unique features compared to the others. Initially, a series of stairs overcame significant height, transitioning to a gentle ramp and flat terrain before reaching the plateau. The path is further emphasised and paved at the plateau's edge. At first, the monument appears as a vague stone mass, but details become clearer with proximity, creating the effect of the monument emerging from the ground. The tops and length of the elements amplify this impression. On the right side,

before reaching the plateau, the last of the three memorial spots (inscribed rocks) is noticed, commemorating the formation of the Kosmaj-Posavina Partisan Detachment (Unit). The stone reads:

On the second of July 1941, the Kosmaj/Sava-area Partisan regiment was formed at this place. At the end of July, this regiment expanded to become two regiments of Kosmaj and Sava. In all four years of the war, within the gates of Belgrade, the rifle of freedom never ceased to fire. Over 5820 fighters and allies of the resistance died for freedom, of which 3411 young men and girls (along with 16 fighters from this regiment) were proclaimed to be national heroes.⁴⁹

5.2. *Form of the monument*

The geometric analysis of the monument or its form's genesis reveals it to consist of five identical elements arranged in radial rotation around an imaginary axis. The cross-section of the monument's lower part, its base, and its branching parts upwards take the form of a regular trapezoid, varying in size with height. (Figure 6). Photographs and on-site measurements have been used to conduct a dimensional analysis of one element. The element is approximately 30 meters in height, with cross-sectional thicknesses ranging from 1.5 to 2 meters, indicating the monument's bulkiness and dominance. Specific radii of curvature and angles formed with the contact surface and between elements contribute to a "sense of defying gravity." (Figure 7)

The plateau itself possesses a geometrically unique design. Viewed in plan, it is egg-shaped with one completely flat portion. The circle beneath the monument is separated by distinct paving, while a section of the plateau in front of the monument is divided into three levels connected by stairs or ramps. The paving beneath the monument is circular and smooth, contrasting with the irregular paving in the rest of the complex. A change in paving emphasises the pedestrian approach from the parking lot. (Figure 8)

In the next part of the paper, a comparison of the spatial analysis of the monument with various universal themes of contemporary sculpture will be presented. (Figure 9)

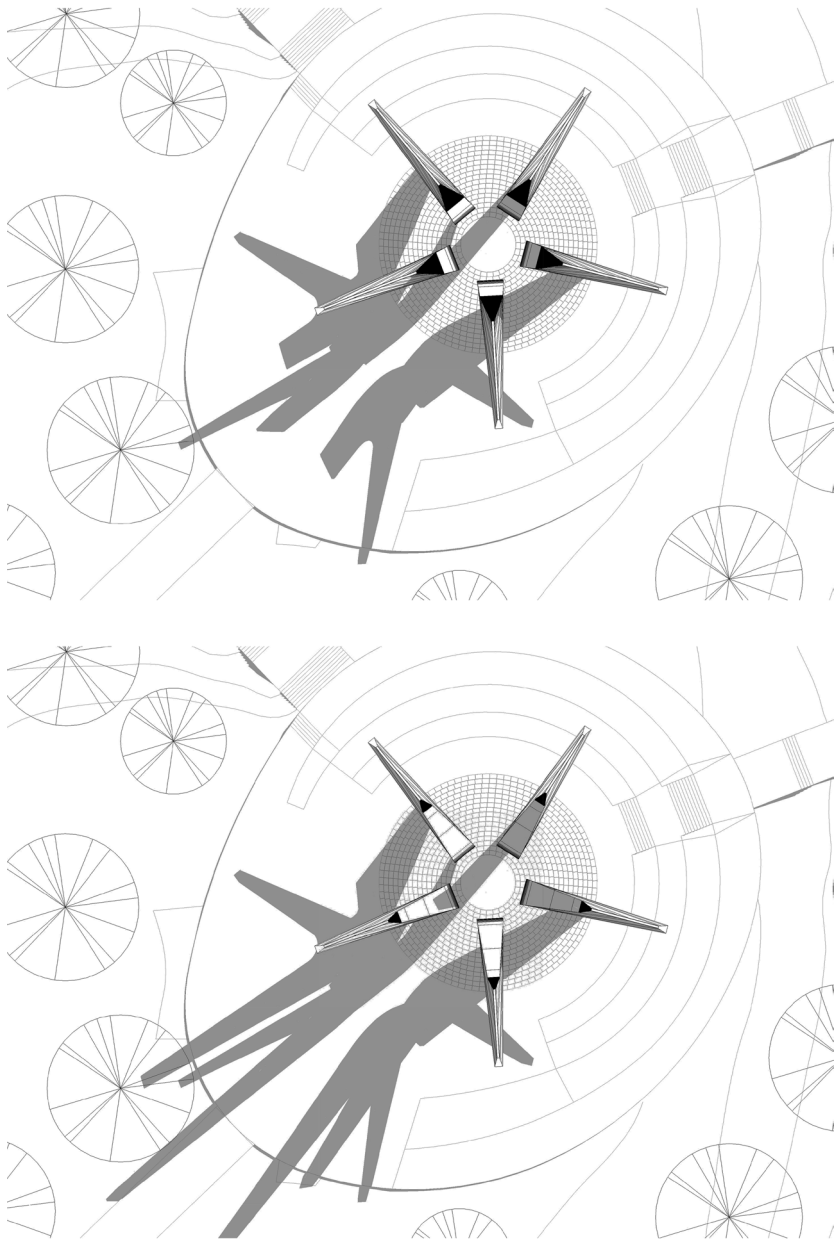


FIGURE 6: The base plan of the monument - trapezoid as a section [Author, 2021]

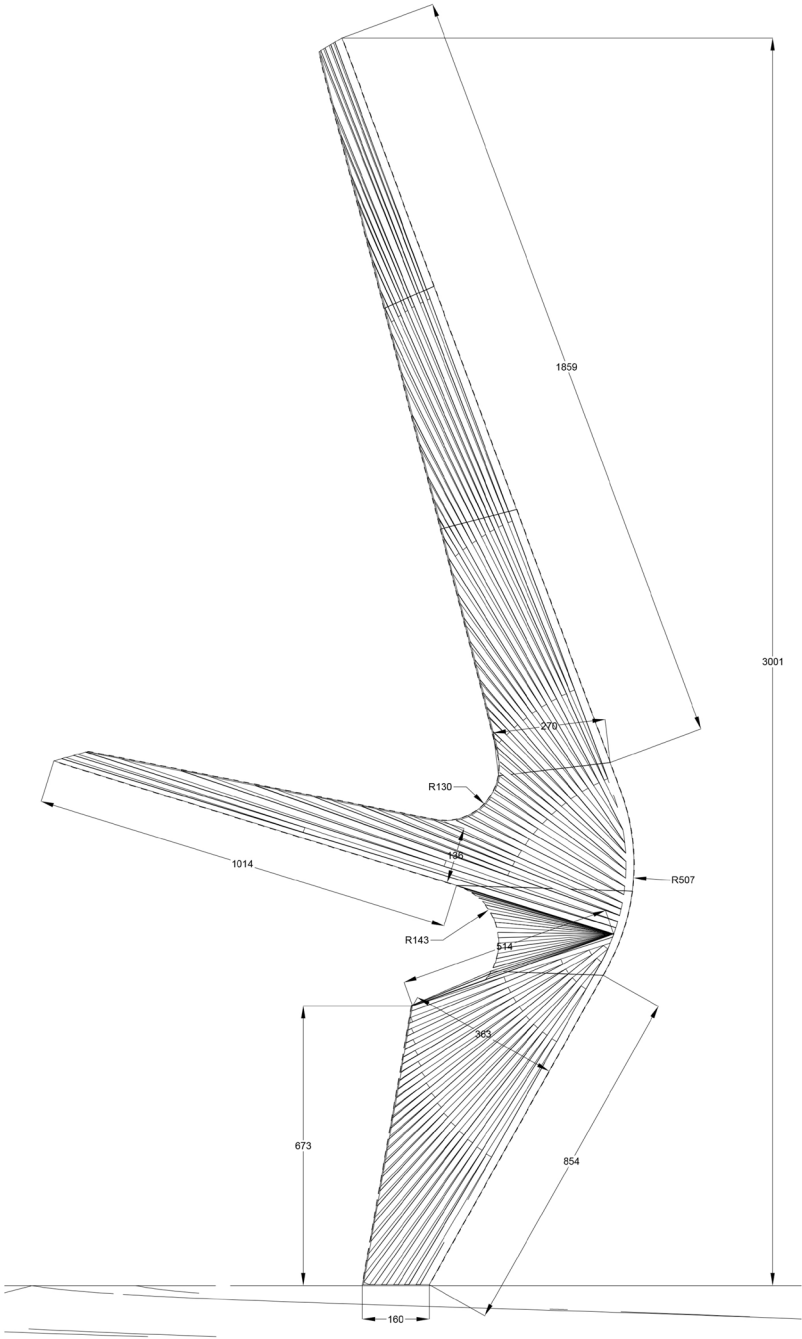


FIGURE 7: Dimensional analysis of the one element [Author, 2021]

The Kosmaj Memorial Complex embodies themes resonant with contemporary sculptural traditions, particularly when examined through universal spatial and conceptual paradigms. Drawing on sources like Rowan Bailey's⁵⁰ discourse on the duality of material and thought processes in concrete sculpture, Michael Kolb's⁵¹ analysis of monuments as spatial-cognitive metaphors, and Rosalind Krauss's⁵² exploration of temporality and spatiality in modern sculpture, we can situate the Kosmaj monument within broader sculptural dialogues.

Spatially, the monument's primary theme is MOVEMENT. Despite the monument's bulky appearance, its slender and independent masses enhance the effect of movement. From a distance, the monument appears as a singular "body" waving or "opening arms," but closer observation reveals independent elements creating a dynamic effect.

The secondary theme is MEMORY, as the complex is dedicated to the victims of the National Liberation War detachment. Memorial elements on the path, combined with the fusion of architecture and sculpture in the main monument, reinforce this theme. Memorial spots by the pathway evoke feelings of insecurity and anticipation, transitioning to liberation upon reaching the plateau, as a reincarnation of the souls of all those killed in that place.

SHADOW is another theme that contributes to the three-dimensionality. Shadows cast by elements at specific times of the day introduce dynamic relationships among the components. The themes of SPACE and VOLUME are reflected in the interstitial spaces between elements, where feelings of confinement, narrowing, and eventual liberation are experienced as visitors gaze upwards towards the peaks.

GRAVITATION emerges as a dominant theme, as one element appears visually heavier at the top, creating the illusion of anti-gravity. While circling the sculpture, different perspectives enhance this effect, especially when contact with the ground disappears from view.

SURFACE and TEXTURE are also notable themes. Rhythmic surface treatments create dynamism throughout the sculpture, while the motif of sun rays radiating from an imagined centre among the elements contributes to the sense of unity.



FIGURE 8: UP: Emphasised pedestrian approach in paving, DOWN: Regular paving of the circle under the monument [Author, 2021]

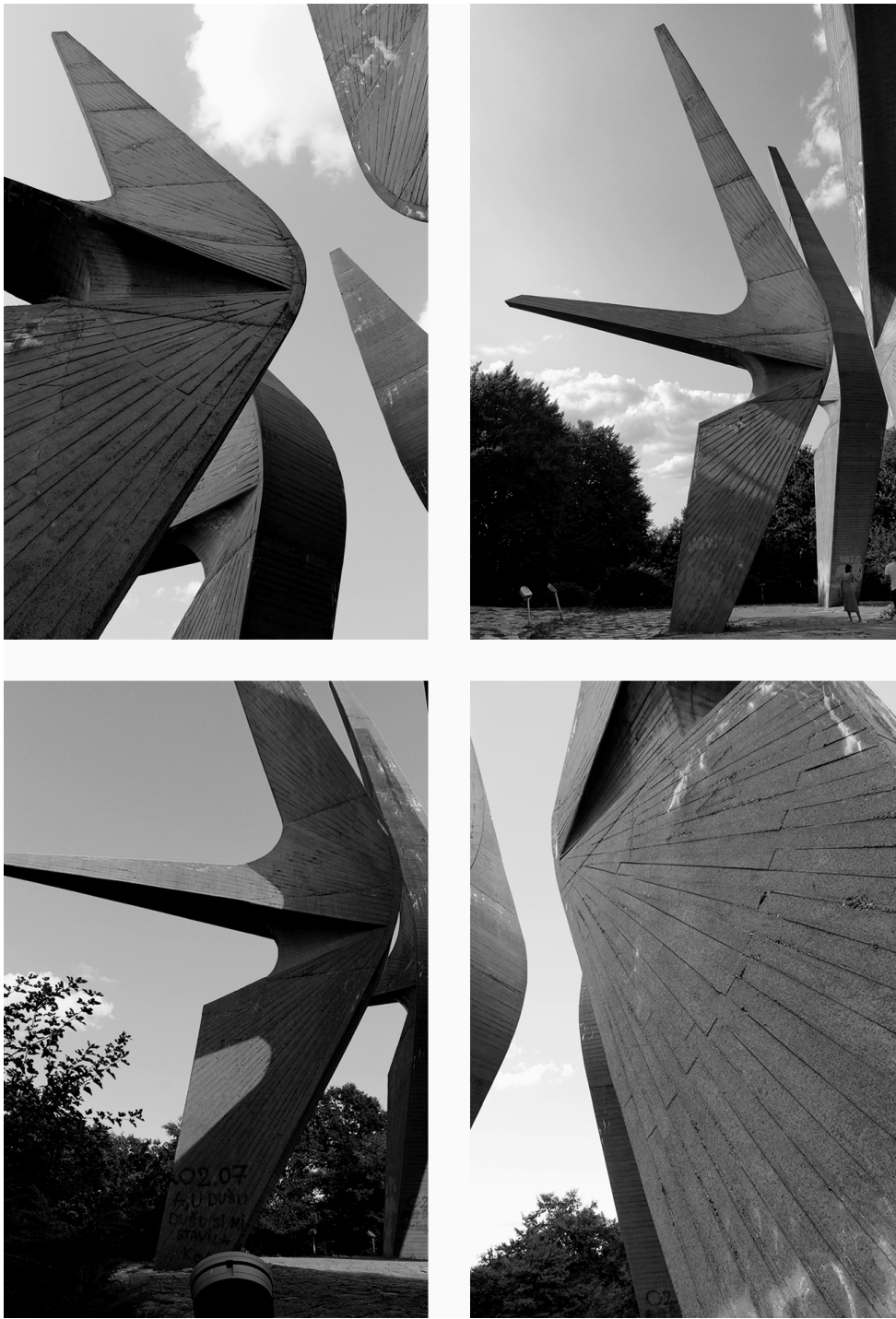


FIGURE 9: Spatial analysis - themes of MOVEMENT (UP-LEFT), GRAVITY (UP-RIGHT), SHADOW (DOWN-LEFT) and SURFACE (texture) (DOWN-RIGHT) [Author, 2021]

5.3 *Tectonics of the monument: Kernform and Kunstform*

The Kosmaj Memorial Complex exemplifies the tectonic interplay and dichotomy between Kernform and Kunstform. Its structural framework—rooted in construction’s physical and material realities—is elevated by its symbolic gestures, which resonate within the surrounding natural landscape. The monument’s abstract forms evoke notions of resilience and transcendence, while its spatial configuration fosters an immersive, almost ritualistic engagement with memory.

Its bold geometric forms, integrated with the natural topography, and its concrete structure—robust and enduring—demonstrate a Kernform that anchors it within the physical landscape and respects structural integrity and material logic. This structural rationality is not merely functional; it symbolises the enduring legacy of Yugoslav resistance and solidarity. Simultaneously, its Kunstform manifests through abstract symbolism, evoking themes of resilience and unity where the abstract composition of the memorial’s sculptural elements invites interpretive engagement and emotional resonance. The tension and harmony between these aspects create a spatial assembly that engages the user experientially, aligning with the tectonic theory’s holistic perspective. This duality reflects the broader Yugoslav approach to memorialisation, where abstraction served as a means of universalising memory and fostering collective identification.

Tectonic theory emphasises the expressive potential of materiality, assembly, and construction. Monuments of socialist Yugoslavia, through their innovative use of concrete, steel, and abstract geometries, exemplify a synthesis of technical and aesthetic values. For instance, the Kosmaj Memorial’s radial composition and tall elements reflect the dynamism of socialist progress and the solemnity of wartime sacrifice. Here, the Kernform can be understood as the monument’s structural and functional core, anchoring it within the landscape and memory. The Kunstform, meanwhile, manifests in its visual and experiential qualities, inviting viewers to engage with its symbolism and spatial presence.

The analysis uncovers how the Kosmaj complex integrates its core structural principles with its artistic aspirations by employing tectonic theory. The dynamic relationship between its load-bearing elements and its symbolic language of abstraction reflects a broader Yugoslav ambition to universalise memory while grounding it in the specificity of place and material.

Also, from another point of view, memorials could be considered relational assemblies. The spatial logic of the monuments of socialist Yugoslavia aligns with tectonic principles by emphasising the interrelation of landscape, monument, and user experience. These monuments create a “spatial assembly” designed for temporal and spatial engagement. Here, the Kosmaj Memorial Complex integrates its sculptural-architectural elements with the surrounding natural environment, encouraging movement and reflection. This kinetic interaction transforms the monument from a static object to a dynamic site of memory, resonating with Pierre Nora’s concept of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) as spaces where collective identity is constructed and contested.⁵³

The spatial configuration of memorials further illustrates their tectonic values where design often incorporates the natural topography, fostering an interaction between the monument, its surrounding landscape, and its audience.⁵⁴ For example, the Kosmaj Memorial’s placement atop a hill leverages the terrain to enhance its visibility and symbolic resonance, creating a dialogic relationship between the site and its viewers.

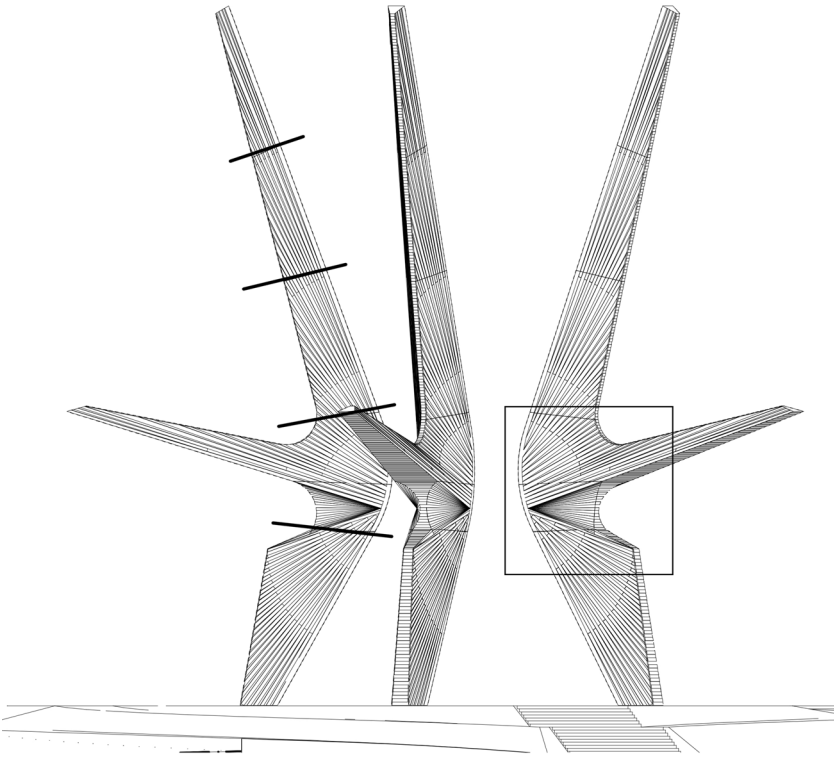
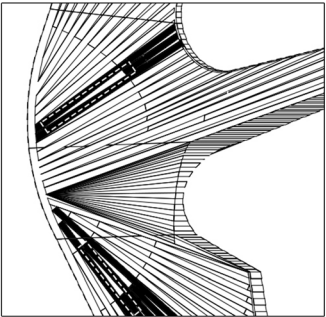
These memorials’ kinetic and relational qualities also highlight their departure from static monumental traditions. Visitors are not merely passive observers but active participants, engaging with the monument through movement, reflection, and imagination. This participatory dimension aligns with tectonic theory’s focus on the experiential impact of built form.

In detail, the way the monument is positioned on the plateau reflects the idea of placing the monument in the natural landscape, its position, role, and message. The construction inside the monument is not visible - the reinforcement and foundations help with stability, “carry” the elements and form their meaning as *Kernform*. While the size and arrangement of the five elements dominate the structure of the monument, the unnoticed change in the rhythm of lines in the relief of the elements remains in forming the meaning of *Kunstform*.

By observing the individual element of the monument, one can see the relationship between sculptural and architectural treatment, or the “imaginary boundary” that separates the two treatments. The base of the element is extremely architectural, with sharp-edged forms, as well as the top and upper part of the monument where clean edges dominate. In the middle, there is a highly sculptural expression in the form of an accent, where, again, a “boundary” is formed between architecture and sculptuality using different radii of curves and edges.

Additionally, its construction technology is specific to this monument. To cast such long and high slender structures, “interruptions in concreting” were inevitable, which could be seen as clear and visible lines, yet carefully integrated into the sculpture and architecture of the entire monument. The surface treatment of the concrete is also extremely dynamic, so the formwork installation technology was a real challenge to achieve the effect of the “sun” and its rays dominating the texture of the entire monument. It is assumed that between two formwork boards, another board was placed to form a triangle, and another board was placed over them for attachment. For this reason, the triangle is protruded by the thickness of the board, which contributes to the relief. (Figure 10)

FIGURE 10: “Interruptions in concreting”, Detail: Formwork installation technology form [Author, 2021]



5.4 Current state of the monument

The monument is in a rather neglected state, although there are elements of restoration and maintenance, as well as a tendency for further use and promotion. For example, the monument is an emblem of the Municipality of Sopot.

Media interest in the monument varies over time, sometimes being extremely high. It appears in different films, including “The Hunger Games: Mockingjay Part 2” and “Ghost in the Shell.” There are also tourist tours, as well as a techno festival in 2018 that attracted a large number of young people.⁵⁵

The space of the complex is maintained, as evidenced by the mowed green areas, as well as the trimmed bushes and trees, along with the mentioned lacks where greenery disrupts the views and sight of the monument. However, the nighttime illumination of the entire complex, as well as the monument itself, suggests that maintenance of this space does exist, and there are good elements. The illumination of the paths involves the original lampposts from the 1971 design, which contributes to the authenticity of the space. The illumination of the monument on the plateau is regulated by new point LED sources, with a warm light colour (presumably around 3000K), placed around the monument. One criticism is their positioning and the way the monument is illuminated. They are placed so that each light source illuminates one element equally, creating a monotony in the lighting without dynamism. During the observation of the night lighting, one light source was not working, creating a situation where a much more dynamic variant was displayed, with even the unlit parts of the monument participating in its composition and contributing to a much greater sense of three-dimensionality.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Analysing the Kosmaj Memorial Complex through the dual lenses of memorial practice and tectonic theory reveals how Yugoslav memorial practices synthesised structural logic and symbolic expression. By navigating the interplay between Kernform and Kunstform, these monuments transcend traditional dichotomies of representation, embodying the universal, specific, enduring, and ephemeral. The Kosmaj Memorial Complex, as a case study, embodies this synthesis, offering a profound example of how tectonic theory can illuminate the unique values embedded within these monumental forms. This approach enriches our understanding of Yugoslav monuments and offers broader insights into the role of architecture and art in shaping collective memory and identity.

In the hope of finding the missing technical documentation of the monument, the monument itself stands on the edge of time as an indelible trace of a historical story. The crucial missing part could help reveal the intentions of the authors and the monument as a whole, hidden in the steel behind the concrete, defining its *Kernform*.

The Kosmaj Memorial Complex bridges local historical specificity with universal themes of contemporary sculpture. Its spatial configuration, material choices, and temporal resonance align with broader sculptural practices, showcasing its significance as both a cultural artefact and a participant in the global language of monumental art. By leveraging frameworks from Bailey, Kolb, and Krauss, the Kosmaj site underscores how monuments articulate collective memory through an interplay of form, material, and embodied experience.

Also, this paper contributes to further research and considerations of the adequate approach and scholarly interest in researching this type of specific monuments from socialist Yugoslavia, which would be based on a comprehensive understanding of the specific social, cultural, and ideological circumstances that defined the character of memorial sculpture in that historical period, especially the most vulnerable memorials dedicated to the National Liberation War.

In the domain of protection, the priority in the future needs to be consideration of the preservation of this place as a whole, since the Kosmaj Memorial Complex is not protected. The decision must be between the culture of memory, protection, active maintenance, and further use of this space.

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NOTES

- 1 Journal *Urbanism of Belgrade No. 5* [serb. *Urbanizam Beograda, br. 5*] published in 1969 by the Town Planning Institute of Belgrade
- 2 Comprehensive online resource for the most significant and notable abstract and modernist World War II monuments built in Yugoslavia. It was set up in 2016 by writer, history hobbyist and travel enthusiast Donald Niebyl – source: <https://www.spomenikdatabase.org/>
- 3 serb. Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda
- 4 Union of War Veterans of the National Liberation Wars [serb. Savez udruženja boraca narodnooslobodilačkih ratova]
- 5 serb. Arhiv Opštine Sopot
- 6 serb. Istorijski arhiv Beograda
- 7 serb. Fond Grada Beograda - Gradski Sekretarijat za obrazovanje i kulturu
- 8 serb. Odluka o obrazovanju odbora za izgradnju spomenika
- 9 serb. Odluka o izgradnji spomenika
- 10 serb. Gradski Sekretarijat za urbanizam i građevinske poslove
- 11 serb. Građevinsko preduzeće Komgrap
- 12 serb. Privredni sud u Beogradu
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- 26 serb. Komunistička Partija Srbije (KPJ)
- 27 Spomenik Database, *Kosmaj Memorial Complex*. (n.d.). Accessed March 20th, 2024 at <https://www.spomenikdatabase.org/kosmaj>.
- 28 Kirn Gal i Robert Burghardt. „Jugoslovenski partizanski spomenici: Između revolucionarne politike i apstraktnog modernizma.” *Pregled postjugoslovenskih istraživanja* 2, 1 (2012): 19:
- serb. Kao fizički svedoci, ovi spomenici danas nisu samo spomenici Drugom svetskom ratu ili partizanskoj borbi, već su postali spomenici samoj Jugoslaviji, njenoj progresivnoj antinacionalističkoj i antifašističkoj perspektivi. Oni nastavljaju da održavaju nevidljivu mrežu širom teritorije bivše Jugoslavije i da podsećaju na poremećaje i segmentaciju nekadašnjeg jedinstvenog prostora.
- 29 Garača Vuk, Svetlana Vukosav, Milan Bradić i Jelena Tepavčević (2019). Planiranje, opremanje i vrednovanje spomenika NOB-a u Jugoslaviji. [Planning, furnishing and evaluation of National Liberation War monuments in Yugoslavia]. *Arhitektura i urbanizam*, (49), 60-69. <https://doi.org/10.5937/a-u0-24074>
- 30 serb. Umetnički paviljon „Cvijeta Zuzorić“
- 31 Stojanović Bratislav (1969). Konkurs za idejno rešenje spomenika kosmajskom partizanskom odredu. [Competition for the preliminary design of the Kosmaj Memorial Complex]. *Urbanizam Beograda*, br. 5, 24. Accessed March 20th, 2024 at https://www.urbel.com/uploads/Urbanizam_Beograda/UB5.pdf

32 ibid, 24:

serb. ... čisto likovnim sredstvima, bez naracije, (ova skulptura) saopštava veličanstvenost i karakter Odreda. On se sastajao, narastao i odmah nezadrživo hitao u borbu. Skulptura je tako komponovana da svojim dinamičnim kretanjem masa izražava jedno združivanje, sjedinjavanje i odmah zatim silovito bujanje, stremljenje u vis i u stranu, jedno značenje i dalekosežno dejstvovanje...

33 ibid, 24.

34 ibid

35 ibid

36 ibid

37 ibid, 25.

38 Jevtović Aleksandra. (2018), *Arhitekta Aleksandar Đokić. Doktorska disertacija*. [Architect Aleksandar Djokić. Doctoral Dissertation] Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filozofski fakultet. Odeljenje za istoriju umetnosti, 158.

39 ibid, 213.

40 serb. Elektro distribucija Beograd

41 serb. Vodoprivredno preduzeće Palanka – Smederevska Palanka

42 serb. Preduzeće za puteve „Beograd“

43 serb. Preduzeće za gazdovanje šumama „Beograd“ (danas Srbija Šume)

44 serb. Arhiv Jugoslavije. Beograd. fond 297. SUBNOR 1947-1973. Komisija za negovanje revolucionarnih tradicija.

45 Meyer Hilbert. (2002). *Didaktika razredne kvake*. Zagreb: Educa

46 Poljak Vladimir. (1991). *Didaktika*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

47 serb. Evo ovdje, na domaku Beograda, sakupili su se srpski sinovi koji nisu htjeli da budu robovi nego su sebi stavili zadatak da se bore do poslednja kapi krvi za slobodu svoje otadžbine.

48 serb. Blokadom Kosmaja nemački okupator je već 8-9. avgusta 1941. izveo jednu od svojih prvih značajnijih akcija protiv partizana u Srbiji. Pružajući herojski otpor nadmoćnijem neprijatelju većina boraca mladenovačke i prve kosmajске čete probila se iz obruča. Zauvek je ostalo na padinama Kosmaja trinaest partizana na čelu sa svojim komandirima Milanom Milosavljevićem Žućom.

49 serb. Na ovom mestu 2. jula 1941. formiran je Kosmajsko-posavski partizanski odred. Već krajem jula od ovog odreda nastala su dva nova – Kosmajski i Posavski. Za sve četiri godine rata, ovde na kapijama Beograda, nije prestala da puca oslobodilačka puška. Za slobodu je palo 5820 boraca i partizanskih saradnika, među kojima 3411 mladića i devojaka.

- 50 Bailey Rowan. (2015). Concrete Thinking for Sculpture. *Parallax*, 21(3),
241–258. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13534645.2015.1058884>
- 51 Kolb Michael J. (2019). *Making Sense of Monuments: Narratives
of Time, Movement, and Scale* (1st ed.). Routledge. [https://doi.
org/10.4324/9780429427756](https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429427756)
- 52 Krauss Rosalind. E. (1977). *Passages in modern sculpture*. New York:
Viking Press.
- 53 Pejić Bojana (2012). Yugoslav Monuments: Art and the Rhetoric of Power.
- 54 Horvatinčić Sanja. (2012). The Peculiar Case of *Spomeniks*.
- 55 Spomenik Database, *Kosmaj Memorial Complex*.

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'THE PLACE WHERE I BECOME WE' A REVIEW, COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS, AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT OF THE MEMORIAL COMPLEX TO THE FALLEN FIGHTERS OF LJEŠANSKA NAHIJA

ABSTRACT

This paper provides a review of the memorial complex dedicated to the fallen fighters of Lješanska Nahija in Podgorica, designed by architect Svetlana Radević. It examines the technical and design aspects of the complex, with attention to key elements such as the approach plateau, enclosing wall, threshing floor, Amphitheater, and Torch. The analysis includes the dimensions and materials used in the construction of the memorial. The design evaluation is based on the author's construction drawings, observations, and impressions, as well as an interpretation of competition drawings. Additionally, the paper explores the aesthetic experience and interpretation of the sculptural and architectural components within the memorial. The study incorporates the author's photographs of the monument, alongside archival documentation related to the competition, including the proposed design, jury minutes, and correspondence. The paper also offers a comparative analysis of the Lješanska Nahija memorial complex with monuments, including the Jasikovac memorial by architect Bogdan Bogdanović, and works by Svetlana Radević, such as the memorials in Farmaci, Zlatica, and 'Duvanski kombinat'. In conclusion, the paper discusses the state of the memorial complex, its underutilisation, and proposals for revitalisation through initiatives for restoration, inclusion in a regional cultural route, and realisation of the original greening concept.

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KEY WORDS

SVETLANA KANA RADEVIĆ
MEMORIAL COMPLEX
LJEŠANSKA NAHIJA
BARUTANA
MONTENEGRO
NATIONAL LIBERATION WARS
CVJETOVI/FLOWERS

1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Collective memory, as a social phenomenon, architecture and art create an unbreakable bond that aims to preserve cultural and national identity. Architecture and art generate complex social and historical narratives through monumental design. Through shaping — form, essential values and messages make them readable for the observer over time. Because of this, memorials are an integral part not only of the national identity and perception of the value of a place but also of the collective memory, spirit of the people, tradition, and history of each community.

The seventies of the twentieth century in the territory of the then Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were suitable grounds for announcing a large number of competitions to create memorial complexes and objects, as well as cultural facilities such as memorial homes and revolutionary homes. At competitions, the best solutions were chosen among numerous participants, and the citizens themselves most often participated in the realisation of these facilities. In addition to citizens' contributions, certain socio-political groups and institutions also participated in the construction of ambitious projects, such as the memorial complex dedicated to the fallen fighters of Lješanska nahija. The culmination of the construction of monuments and buildings of monumental character in Montenegro took place in the seventies, with the realisation of the first prize-winning solution at the general Yugoslav architectural and urban planning competitions, as a product of the socio-economic development of the country (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia).

The monument to the fallen fighters of Lješanska nahija was built in the area of the local community of Barutana, on the Podgorica-Cetinje Road. This monument is dedicated to all those who lost their lives in the liberation wars that were fought from the First Balkan War to the Second World War. The monument, in addition to the modest buildings of the House of Culture, the infirmary, the store and the school in the immediate vicinity of which it is located, was supposed to represent not only a symbol of the national liberation struggle but also a centre for a dozen villages in the surrounding area. Furthermore, what is most important is the symbol of 'modern urbanity' of the space where it is located (Stamatović Vučković, 2014).

Today, this and other monuments created during the period of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are decontextualised from the social and economic circumstances in which they were built. Their symbolic meanings, the messages they convey, and the legacy of the people's liberation struggle and

anti-fascism. They are increasingly seen out of context as ‘grandiose futuristic’ forms. The modernist idea of a universal language of form was completely pushed aside. Forms through which a specific event is materialised fit into the landscape of a specific location without a dominant cult of personality.

Monuments must be used, they were created with that idea in mind — development of local communities, development of tourism in underdeveloped areas, preservation of culture and memories. Now, according to Professor Dubrakva Sekulić, they must be used even more intensively due to connection with the recent past, in which space was not seen as a commodity.

2. BIOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW AND ARCHITECTURAL WORK OF SVETLANA KANA RADEVIC

Svetlana Kana Radević (1937, Danilovgrad – 2000, Podgorica) studied architecture at the University of Belgrade from 1955 to 1963. At the time of earning her degree in architecture, she concurrently completed studies in art history, attending both faculties simultaneously. She furthered her expertise in Paris and later in the United States. She obtained her master’s degree at the University of Pennsylvania in the studio of Louis Kahn (1972-1973) and spent six months in Japan in Kisho Kurokawa’s studio (1987). She also stayed in Moscow, engaging in design projects (1995-1997). In Yugoslavia, she worked in a design office in Podgorica (1963-1974) and later declared herself an independent artist (1974-1983). She was employed at Invest-Inženjering in Podgorica (1983-1990) and operated her architectural studio, ‘ARS21’ (1990-1994). Afterwards, she returned to being an independent artist until her passing (1994-2000).

She became a member of the Russian Academy of Architecture and Construction Sciences on April 22, 1994. In 1967, she was awarded the federal ‘Borba’ prize for architecture for her work on the ‘Podgorica’ hotel in Podgorica, which made her the sole awardee of this prize in Montenegro. She received ‘Trinaestojulska nagrada’ in 1968 and the ‘Oslobođenje Podgorice’ award (1991-1992) for the ‘Kruševac’ business centre in Podgorica (1992), which she co-authored with her sister Ljiljana Radević.

...Svetlana’s works are characterised by the “competition experience” – a high level of freedom in form, contemporary materials, or older ones strategically placed to seem newer than new through the ever-renewed experience of space, without insisting that it must please everyone (Markuš, 2008, author’s translation)

Kana Radević was a frequent participant and winner of invitational and general Yugoslav competitions. Her most notable works are the Hotel 'Podgorica', the Hotel 'Zlatibor', the building of the Lexicographical Institute, the business centre 'Kruševac', the memorial complex at Barutana, and others.

Professor Dr. Slavica Stamatović Vučković, in her essay 'Kosmološki zapisi: spomenici u Jasikovcu i Barutani', believes that Svetlana Kana Radević's architecture is characterised by the influence of both modern and Japanese architecture, but also pronounced sensibility for the regional context, as well as the successful transposition of traditional architectural elements into a contemporary architectural expression, which is noticeable in most of its buildings (Podgorica hotel, 1967; Mojkovac hotel, 1974, etc.).

Three notes Svetlana Kana Radević left on her works are presented, relating to the 'Podgorica' hotel, a residential-business building in Petrovac, and the Bus Station in Titograd, an indication of her personal approach to form, material, and ambience.

Hotel 'Podgorica': The project decisively rejects domestic schemes based on the tradition of the international style and opts for a functionally and perceptively new concept. The high degree of merging with the landscape is not decisive, achieved by inclining volumes that follow the contour of the terrain, or by using river pebbles as the actual material in the treatment of both exterior and interior. Crucial, it seems, is the use of the wall as a traditional motif in shaping space in visual expressiveness. The concept of the wall and the incorporation of the building into the terrain create the authenticity of the imagination of a sculpturally resolved interior space (Mladenović, 1986, author's translation)...

Residential-business building in Petrovac on the sea: This is the first building in Montenegro, and I am convinced also in Yugoslavia, that affirms the specific expressiveness of reinforced concrete. The building possesses the cubicity of local construction and transposes artistic interest in interventions at corners and around openings. However, the way of transposing the local artistic language, interpreting elements, and the aesthetics of concrete make this building a typical representative of the style later defined by Banham as the new brutalism (Ibid., author's translation)...

The bus station in Titograd: Plasticity and expressive concrete have given aesthetic content to pronounced structural elements. The curved

concrete roof follows a sequence of refined proportions and details in the final chord (Ibid., author's translation).

Significant works of Svetlana Kana Radević: Hotel 'Podgorica', Podgorica (1967); Residential-business building, Mojkovac (1969), Bus station, Podgorica (1968); Residential-business building, Petrovac (1968); Memorial monument in Duvanvski kombinat, Podgorica (1972); Hotel 'Mojkovac', Mojkovac (1968-74); Park 'Zlatica', Podgorica (1974); Memorial complex in Barutana, Podgorica (1980); Hotel 'Zlatibor', Užice (1981); Kindergarten, Cetinje (1988); Interior of the 'Studio 5' café, Podgorica (1989); Lexicographical Institute, Podgorica (1984-89); Business center 'Kruševac', Podgorica (1991, S. Radević, L.J. Radević); Architectural-urban solution for the eastern part of the 'Kruševac II' block, Podgorica (2000); Conceptual project for several buildings in the Jaz settlement center, Budva, as part of the 'Southern Adriatic' project, UN development program; Buildings in Moscow.

3. THE COMPETITION AND SELECTION PROCESS FOR THE MONUMENT TO THE FALLEN FIGHTERS OF LJEŠANSKA NAHIJA

The monument to the fallen fighters of Lješanska nahija in Barutana is the materialisation of the winning design from the public republic competition in 1975. The competition jury, appointed by the Committee for the Construction of Monuments to those killed in liberation wars, consisted of the following members: architect Tupa Vukotić from Titograd, architect Vasko Đurović from Titograd, graduate engineer Spomenka Mijović from Titograd, and academic painter Mijo Vujošević from Titograd. Three sessions were held before the final decision on the competition winner of the competition was made.

The jury discussed their decision-making process and working method during the first session on February 29, 1976. A review of all the submitted competition works was carried out by all the present members, which at that time consisted of seventeen people. It was concluded that a total of four submissions were submitted to the competition, of which two were invited, and two were submitted voluntarily. The entries were coded as 'Zavičaj', 'Cvjetovi', '1975', and '12-45'. During this session, the entries were examined, and all of them were determined to meet the required quality standards.

The second session was held on March 14, 1976. Nineteen members were present, and a discussion was held on the submitted competition works. It

was determined that the entries did not meet the required criteria and that the competition should be repeated. At the end of the session, it was concluded that the final decision on repeating the competition would be made at the third session.

The third session was held on March 21, 1976, and had twenty members representatives of the City of Titograd Fighters' Association. The idea of repeating the competition was rejected. However, a decision was made that if the jury has suggestions regarding the change or improvement of the selected competition work, it must be accepted in order to achieve a better final solution for the memorial complex. The jury singled out two competition works as the best — the work 'Cvjetovi' and the work '1975'. A specific priority was given to the work '1975', but after voting the priority went to the work 'Cvjetovi' by Svetlana Kana Radević. The selected work required certain changes that the jury suggested: that the figure of the 'torch' be more prominent and more dominant in the overall composition of the monument and that the possibility of enriching the ground floor parts in the form of symbolic figures of fighters be re-examined.

Cash prizes were awarded to the participants of the competition. To the uninvited, two thousand five hundred dinars for work under the code 'Zavičaj' - M.Sc. professor Dragoljub Bata Vukčević, Sutomore and the work '12-45' by architect tech. Bogić Vukčević, Titograd. Prizes of five thousand dinars were awarded to the invited participants of the competition for the participation of Arch. Slobodan Slovinić, Titograd and M.Sc. to architects Svetlana Kana Radević, Titograd. Svetlana Radević was awarded another five thousand dinars for the first prize for the work under the code 'Cvjetovi'.

It is important to add that thanks to newly discovered documents from the State Archive in Podgorica, it is possible to determine that Svetlana Kana Radević submitted her competition entry as early as October 1975. The entry included a monument project with a maquette, which was lost and later found. At the time of preparing the competition, Svetlana Radević was in New York, and the entry was submitted to the consulate, to a certain Mr. Vuković. (Figure 1, Figure 2) Kana informed the Committee for the Construction of Monuments to the Fallen in the Liberation Wars telegram about the situation in which she found herself as one of the invited members of the competition. Colonel of the Yugoslav People's Army, Mitar Djurišić, was in charge of finding the lost conceptual design with the maquette on the New York-Titograd route because otherwise, there would be a re-announcement of the competition due to its irregularity.

UPPER RIGHT FIGURE

FIGURE 1: Documents/Letters; Source - State Archives of Montenegro, Podgorica, CG DA 2 POD - AO Podgorica

Explanation: Part of the correspondence between Svetlana Kane Radević, the Committee for the Construction of the Monument, and the appointed colonel of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), found in the State Archives of Montenegro. Other documents found during the collection of materials for this research include an announcement of the competition, a jury report, a request for approval for the construction of the memorial complex at Barutana, and correspondence with the consulate. In the announcement of the competition document (State Archives of Montenegro, Podgorica, CG DA 2 POD - AO Podgorica), the Committee for the Construction of the Monument to the fallen residents of Lješanska nahija is instructed to adopt the conceptual solution under the code 'Cvjetovi' and negotiate payments to all competition participants; In the jury report document for the selection of the conceptual design for the memorial to the fallen residents of Lješanska nahija in the liberation wars of 1912-1945 (State Archives of Montenegro, Podgorica, CG DA 2 POD - AO Podgorica), the number of held sessions is recorded — three sessions during the year 1976, as well as the number of received competition entries, their codes mentioned in the text above, the opening of competition envelopes, and the initial observations of the expert jury; In the document Request for approval for the construction of the memorial complex at Barutani sent to the Committee for the Construction of the Monument to the fallen residents of Lješanska nahija, it is defined what documentation needs to be submitted to initiate the process of issuing a permit for the construction of the memorial complex.

Druže Mitre,

Molimo Vas da preduzmete sve potrebne mjere da se zagubljeni projekat spomenika sa maketom, koji je poslala Svjetlana - Kana Radević pronađete.

I pismom i telegramom Svetlana Radević nas je obavjestila da je projekat predala u naš konzulat u Njujorku drugu Vukoviću još oktobra mjeseca 1975. godine.

Kako projekat ni do danas nije stigao to smo telefonskim putem urgirali preko Saveznog sekretarijata za inostrane poslove, ali nijesmo uspjeli da mu udjemo u trag.

Osimom da je pristigao samo jedan projekat od povratih projektanata to ukoliko ne pronađemo projekat drugarice Radević, morali bismo raspisati ponovni konkurs što bi znatno usporilo akciju kako prikupljanja podataka tako i same izgradnje spomenika.

Radi iznjetog molimo vas da preduzmete sve mjere kod naših kolega u Sekretarijatu za inostrane poslove da se ta pošiljka pronađe.

Us ovo pismo Vas šaljemo i ovlaštenje u ime Odbora.

Drugarici vas pozdravljamo.

ODBOR ZA IZGRADNJU
SPOMENIKA

ODBOR ZA IZGRADNJU SPOMENIKA
POSREDOVANJE U PROMETU
U BUDUĆNOSTI
11-8-1976
BARUTANA - TITOGRAĐ

OVLAŠĆENJE

Ovlašćuje se MITAR DJURJIĆ, pukovnik JNA, da može u ime i za račun ovog Odbora stupiti u kontakt sa Saveznim sekretarijatom za inostrane poslove u cilju pronalaska projekta sa maketom koji je poslat diplomatskom poštom.

Projektant Svjetlana Kana - Radević svojoj idejni projekat sa maketom spomenika koji treba da se podigne na Barutani predala je drugu Vukoviću u naš konzulat u Njujorku još oktobra mjeseca 1975. godine.

Drug Vuković je obavjestio naknadno, a Radević nas telegramom da je predmetna pošiljka otpremljena sa diplomatskom poštom sa Jugoslaviju.

Kako predmetna pošiljka ni do danas nije stigla ovom Odboru to molimo Savezni sekretarijat za inostrane poslove da izadje u susret drugu MITRU DJURJIĆU, da se ova pošiljka pronađe.

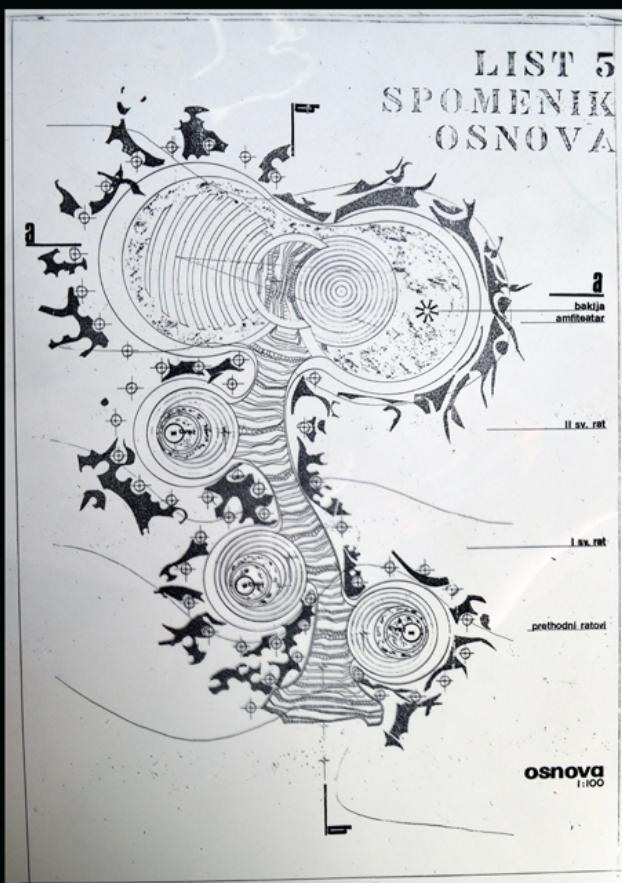
Ukoliko je potrebno molimo da o trošku ovog odbora uspostavite telefonsku vezu sa konzulatom u Njujorku i to sa drugom Vukoviću u pružanju podataka za pronalazjenje pošiljke.

ODBOR ZA IZGRADNJU
SPOMENIKA

DOWN LEFT FIGURE

FIGURE 2: Photograph of the drawing "Sheet number 5" floor plan of the monument; Source: Faculty of Architecture, University of Montenegro, Legacy of Kane Radević

Explanation: For 'Sheet number 5' and 'Sheet number 6' (not included but are part of the research and show cross-sections and views of the memorial complex) found in the legacy of Svetlana Kane Radević during this research and collection of materials, it is believed that they are part of the submitted competition work 'Cvjetovi'. However, this cannot be asserted with certainty.



4. CONSTRUCTION OF THE MEMORIAL COMPLEX

The Barutana Monument is the most significant monument complex in architect Svetlana Kana Radević's work. She applies modern materials (reinforced concrete) and stone cladding with very simple textures that alternate and follow the basic design forms. Although the complex is separated from the landscape itself, the choice of materials allows the author to connect to the existing ambience and atmosphere of the place. The following is a technical description of the monument's main elements on the construction drawings.

Access Plateau (Figure 3)

According to the competition solution, the approach to the access plateau was conceived as a space accessed from the parking lot, which contained about thirty-three parking spaces (the parking lot was never constructed). The access plateau is circular and consists of two steps made of hewn stone slabs 60 centimetres wide and a central part 2 meters wide made of crushed stone. The area of the plateau was built according to the competition plan, with the central part foreseen by the design as a crushed stone filling, which was not constructed, but the entire plateau is covered with stone slabs.

Wall (Figure 3)

A continuous undulating wall frames the entire complex. The wall is lined with irregular broken stone in cement mortar and, in certain lower parts, with inclined anchored stone slabs 3 centimetres thick. The joints of the stone cladding are noticeably emphasised. The cross-section of the continuous wall contains compacted soil, a 15 centimeter cobblestone pavement, grout, and crushed stone in cement mortar. The height of the sloping wall within the complex varies on average from 1 meter to 3 meters.

Plateaus – Threshing floors (Figure 3)

Within the Barutana memorial complex, there are three 'threshing floors' (the First World War, the Second World War and the Balkan Wars) treated in the same way in the material. All 'threshing floors' are circular and accessed by two steps. The stairs are covered with 30 centimetre stone slabs and grouted with crushed stone. In the section, the stairs contain rammed earth, 15 centimetres of cobblestone, 70 centimetres of rammed concrete, 20 centimetres of cement mortar and 30 centimetres of stone slabs. The central part of the plateau is filled with crushed stone 15 centimetres below which the earth is compacted. Within the 'threshing floor', there is also a stone 'kolo', 45 centimetres high,

with a concrete foundation and provided lighting. In the central part of the ‘threshing floor’ (but not the central one) is a stone ‘flower’ made of seventeen vertical stone shapes of different heights (the tallest is 1.35 meters on average).

FIGURE 3: Photographs; Source: Personal archive
Explanation: The first photograph above shows the Access plateau; The second shows the continuous wall and the Historical path; The third shows a detail of the paving of the access plateau of the memorial complex; The fourth depicts the Threshing floor of the Balkan Wars.





FIGURE 4: Photographs; Source: Personal archive

Explanation: The first photograph above shows a view of the Amphitheater; the second depicts the view from the Threshing floor of the Second World War towards the Torch; and the third shows a view of the Torch.

Amphitheater (Figure 4)

The Amphitheater shares the primary position with the ‘torch’ in this memorial complex by surface area and form. It extends in ten rows, arched one above the other. Seats, i.e. the pillows, have a dimension of 50 centimetres and are located at a centre distance of 65 centimetres.

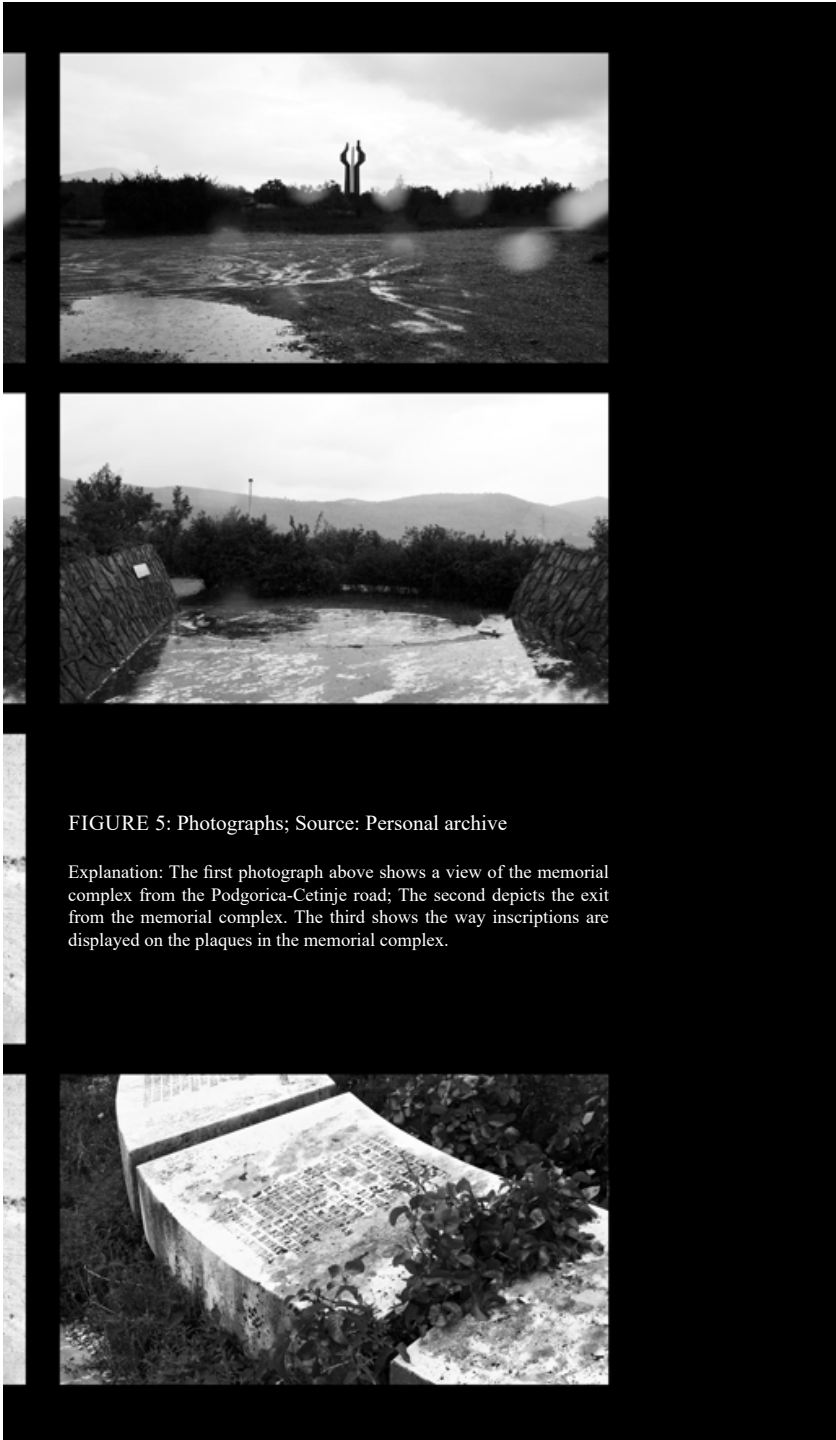


FIGURE 5: Photographs; Source: Personal archive

Explanation: The first photograph above shows a view of the memorial complex from the Podgorica-Cetinje road; The second depicts the exit from the memorial complex. The third shows the way inscriptions are displayed on the plaques in the memorial complex.

All cushions are treated the same way — concrete painted with white cement, and concrete foundations. The seat joint is a thin, arched concrete beam on the ground. The surface under the seat is treated with crushed stone under which the earth is poured. The total number of seats is two hundred and eight.

Torch (Figure 4)

Eight concrete elements arranged in a circle form the 'torch'. The height of these elements varies from 11.20 meters to 12.35 meters. The elements were cast in wooden formwork, and traces of wood are still visible on the monument today. All eight elements have a common concrete foundation. The 'torch' is positioned in a circle covered with crushed stone above a layer of compacted soil. The shape of the circle is not complete, but the intention of the author is discernible at the base (in the drawing). Within the area of the 'torch', there is also a plateau — a circular proscenium. It is elevated one step from the 'torch' and two steps from the stage. The stage is covered with radially placed stone slabs. An exact description of the materials of this space does not exist in the drawings.

5. DESIGN AND EXPERIENCE OF THE LJEŠANSKA NAHIJA MEMORIAL COMPLEX

The Lješanska nahija monument is accessed by a macadam road, which takes only a few minutes after turning off the main road Podgorica - Cetinje. The monument, more precisely the 'torch', as the highest element of the memorial complex, can be seen already from the main highway because its height manages to dominate the wild vegetation that surrounds it. It is possible to access the memorial complex only from one side, the entrance, because the whole area is surrounded by a stone wall — the border.

At the very entrance to the memorial complex, we encounter two pyramidal walls (in their frontal appearance) and an entrance staircase with a plateau. The design of the entrance staircase differs from the others in the complex. It is called the access staircase and seems more stable than the others. The treads are very wide, designed at a right angle to the front of the staircase, and comfortable to walk on. The other staircases are referred to as staircases of the historical path and, with their steeper shape, metaphorically tell the story of the difficulties the victims faced. Today, on the side walls of the entrance plateau are boards with inscriptions about the project author (black board) and those for whom the memorial complex was built (white board). The project does not foresee the subsequently added boards present on the monument today. The inscriptions specified in the project are located on the frontal parts of the walls

and are made of a different material. (Figure 5)

Moving further from the entrance plateau, one steps onto a stone path bordered by walls and elevated by three steps in relation to the entrance plateau. On this part of the path, which is also the main line of movement, as well as every moment of being at the memorial complex, the 'torch' element is always visible. The lateral spaces — spaces of wars — are partially perceived while moving through the complex. Three memorial spatial units (Balkan Wars, First, and Second World Wars), which the author refers to as 'threshing floors', are treated in a similar manner in terms of design.

The first 'threshing floor' dedicated to the Balkan Wars is approached from the right side, in relation to the main line of movement, while the other two, dedicated to the First and Second World Wars, are on the left side in relation to the main line of movement. The 'threshing floors' are made of stone, surrounded by circular stone walls, and are very intimate, aesthetically refined, and highly atmospheric. Each 'threshing floor' contains a 'kolo' with its 'sun' within itself. The 'threshing floors' are at different elevations, and the 'torch' is visible from each one. The lowest 'threshing floor' is dedicated to the Balkan Wars, while the highest one is dedicated to the victims of the Second World War. The 'kolo' in each 'threshing floor' consists of low stone slabs inscribed with the names of the fallen, symbolically representing the circle, a traditional dance that here alludes to the dance of the dead. Entering the 'kolo' — is impossible since it is a closed circle. Inside the 'kolo', there are scattered groupings of shaped vertical elements of various sizes, which Professor Slavica S. Vučković symbolically interprets as 'high life and ideological aspirations and the premature ("cut off") death of freedom fighters'. These 'flowers', as the author names them, always have one highest element in them, rectangularly hollowed out, which is a real frame in itself. Through each 'threshing floor', the movement is circular as if the author is guiding the visitor around the 'kolo' or introducing them to it, from which all the names of the fallen must be read. (Figure 6)

After passing through all the 'threshing floors' along the historical road and stairs, you reach a crucial point that encapsulates three elements distinct in form, function, and atmosphere. From the main line of movement, on the right is the 'torch', about 12 meters high; centrally is the stage, and to the left is the Amphitheater. This space is the highest within the memorial complex and is shaped by three circles. The central spatial vertical — the 'torch' always visible in the space — is composed of eight elements treated almost identically in shape. Symbolically, these elements can be interpreted in various ways, from raised arms to the sky to a group of fighters. Nevertheless, the author labels

them as the ‘torch’, metaphorically celebrating life. The Amphitheater, located on the opposite side of the complex — and directed towards the stage and Torch distinguishes this memorial from others and highlights Svetlana Kana Radević as the architect. This space is not only carefully designed but also sculpturally shaped. The ‘cushions’, as the author calls them, are meticulously



FIGURE 6: Photographs; Source: Personal archive
Explanation: The first photograph above shows a view from the historical road of the Threshing floors — Balkan Wars, First and Second World War; the second depicts the historical road; the third depicts the Threshing floor of the First World War; and the fourth photograph, bottom right, shows one of the 17 stone obelisks in the ‘flower’ — the tallest one that frames the Torch.



designed and convey a universal message that seems to have been crucial to Svetlana Radević. This is the 'Place where I become WE.'¹

Svetlana Radević understood the atmosphere as a crucial and intricate element of the environment — space. She skillfully integrated the natural surroundings into the memorial complex in such a way as to create a seamless connection between the existing landscape and the structure itself and vice versa. (Figure 7)

The author of the Barutana memorial project resolutely includes the immediate environment in shaping the memorial complex. She projects the function, form, and nature in the project of the monument on Barutana with equal attention. Along the wall, which frames the entire complex, it is planned to plant cypress trees at a distance of about 3 meters. However, this field treatment was never carried out. With such a clear pattern and shaping of the existing landscape, one gets the impression that the author is sending a certain metaphorical message.

One can only imagine what impression the tall, elegant cypress trees would make — their fragrance, shadows, and sound. Strong sensory and emotional connections would also be established between the user and the space. By planting cypress trees, the role of metaphorical and symbolic aspects of the memorial complex, and not only the form built according to the project, would be further strengthened. The ambience would be complete — fully immersed in the existing landscape, making the atmosphere even more vibrant. In this sense, the designed landscape's characteristics can have an extremely stimulating effect on the relationship that the viewer's internal experience establishes with the monument as a whole.

6. ARCHITECTURAL PARALLELS: CONNECTIONS BETWEEN BARUTANA AND EARLIER WORKS BY SVETLANA KANA RADEVIĆ

The creation of Barutana's memorial complex was preceded by two works, similar in form, which Svetlana Kana Radević built in the years before. The first is a memorial monument located in the 'Duvanski kombinat' in Podgorica, built in 1971, and the second monument in Zagorič Park, also in Podgorica, built in 1972. (Figure 8, Figure 9)

The common and crucial motif for all three monuments is the wall or border. In each complex, it surrounds, encapsulates, and gathers what is inside. At the Barutana monument, the wall is high (up to 3 meters), while in the 'Duvanski kombinat' and Zagorič Park, it is low, almost level with the ground. However,



FIGURE 7: Photographs; Source: Personal archive

Explanation: The first and second photographs above show views from the bottom of the Torch; the third depicts a view from the Amphitheater towards the Torch and the fourth shows traces of the formwork on the Torch.



UPPER LEFT FIGURE SET

FIGURE 8: The first and second photographs above are from the Legacy of Kana Radević at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Montenegro. The third photograph is from the Internet - @lanasato

Explanation: The first photograph above shows the project – Duvanski kombinat, Podgorica; The second shows the project in Zagorič Park, Podgorica; The third shows the Barutana memorial complex from the air.



DOWN RIGHT FIGURE SET

FIGURE 9: Photographs; Source: Architectural Faculty, University of Montenegro, Legacy of Kana Radević

Explanation: The first photograph above shows the project – Duvanski kombinat, Podgorica; the second shows the memorial complex at Barutana; the third shows an unnamed monument designed by the author.

this element is fundamentally interpreted the same way in all three objects — an undulating line in the landscape. The material used by the author in the design is the stone.

The floral pattern, which Professor Slavica Stamatović Vučković interprets as part of the Montenegrin national costume, is an evident stamp that the architect left with every design of the monument. Circles of large diameters that intersect and touch carefully are often visible only from the base. In motion, they create the feeling that you are guided to a certain place.

The stone horizontal cylindrical elements cut at the top in the Lješanska nahija monument and rectangular elements of varying heights in the 'Duvanski kombinat' monument are a common design element that occupies a crucial place in both structures. Kana Radević symbolically refers to these elements as 'flowers' in the Lješanska nahija project.

The memorial complex to the shot patriots in Farmaci (Podgorica), built in 1982, has an amphitheatre designed very similar to the one in Barutana. Its similarity is reflected in the way the auditorium is designed. The seating areas are stone and very carefully designed. At the Barutana monument, they are symbolically and anatomically adapted to the user. At the same time, in Farmaci, they are very similar to the flowers that have become Kana Radević's signature. The most significant difference between these two amphitheatres is in the atmosphere and the tactility that the user has with the base while sitting. A visitor sitting in the Amphitheater on Barutana keeps his feet on crushed stone, while in Farmaci he walks on concrete. These subtle differences — tactile and sound — are crucial to experiencing the atmosphere of these two memorial complexes. (Figure 10)

The additional uniqueness observed in the architecture of Kane Radević, according to Slavica Stamatović Vučković, is the theme of ornamentation — patterns. It serves as a connection between the memorial complex in Lješanska nahija and the Jasikovac monument by architect Bogdan Bogdanović. The pattern of these two monuments is always perceived as two-dimensional. In Barutana, it is visible only from the air, while at the Jasikovac monument, it appears as inscriptions on the sarcophagus. The pattern is not a mere decoration; it refers to the culture and tradition of the Montenegrin people (part of the Montenegrin national costume) and is an 'innate internal record that needs to come out, primarily narratively, sometimes directly...' (Stamatović Vučković, 2014).

7. CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

The monument to the fallen fighters of Lješanska Nahija is currently located in a rural part of the Podgorica region, in a rather isolated area. Access to the monument is difficult, as the roads for both vehicles and pedestrians are unpaved, and the surrounding area remains poorly maintained. The entire complex is inaccessible and neglected, with no proper signage to guide visitors. The monument is not adequately illuminated despite the presence of damaged streetlights installed in previous periods. The stone coverings, which are the predominant material of the monument, have deteriorated, making the space highly vulnerable to further damage and decay.

Despite these shortcomings, the monument's social significance is recognised, particularly through its dominant function as an amphitheatre. Today, the space hosts events, mostly of a musical nature, highlighting its potential for social engagement and cultural revitalisation, even though it is underutilised and neglected.

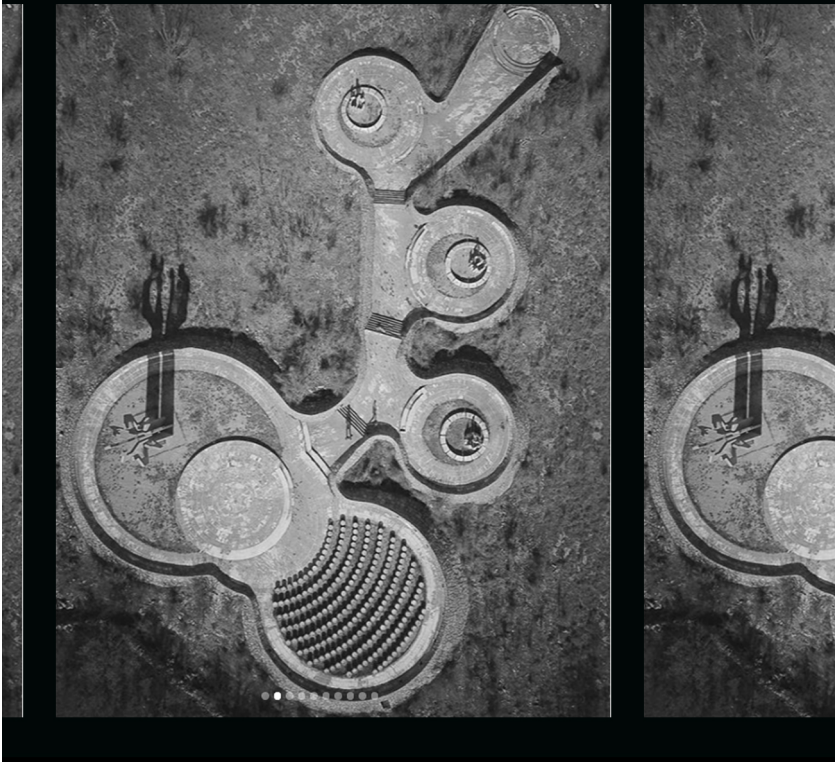
An important proposal for the future of the monument is its inclusion in the cultural route of Southeastern Europe. This initiative aims to mark, assess, and restore monuments and memorials dedicated to World War II. 'The project is designed to contribute to the growth and competitiveness of the six Western Balkan economies (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia, and North Macedonia), as well as to promote a shared regional cultural and adventure tourism offer.' (Stamatović, 2019)

Another initiative concerns the greening of the monument itself. Although significant attention was given to landscape design in the competition project and during implementation, with areas marked for planting cypress trees, this idea has yet to be realised. Instead of the planned vegetation, the complex is overrun with wild plants. The implementation of this original concept would significantly enhance the monument's visual and functional value, contributing to its revitalisation and social activation.



FIGURE 10: Photographs; Source: Explanation: The first photograph above is from Vladimir Mako's book – 'Spomen obilježja na teritoriji grada Podgorice'; the second photograph is from the Internet - @lanasato

Explanation: The first photograph above shows the project of the memorial complex for the shot patriots in Farmaci, Podgorica; the second photograph shows the Barutana memorial complex from the air.



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In a video interview with RT CG1, TV archive the author states 'Public space, a space of encounters, communication, and atmosphere, are the most important pillars of this memorial complex. An ethical and aesthetic act of authorship that evokes a sense of collective and belonging.'

FRAGMENTS OF MEMORY: THE IDEAS THAT SHAPED THE “OCTOBER 14TH” MEMORIAL PARK IN KRALJEVO

ABSTRACT

The “October 14th” Memorial Park complex in Kraljevo marks the place of one of the biggest tragedies that occurred on the territory of former Yugoslavia during the Second World War. The paper analyses the unrealised and partially realised conceptual solutions for the Memorial Park complex in Kraljevo and explores how this place of remembrance has changed over the years. The focus of the research will be directed toward the genesis of the idea of a memorial complex and how it evolved from a monumental design with significant spatial interventions to a simpler spatial solution characterised by a smaller number of artificial elements. To achieve this, the conceptual solutions for the Memorial Park will be presented, namely the project of Bogdan Bogdanović from 1963 – as the first conceptual solution that was planned to be implemented, and the project from 1970 by the author team Krunic and Kovačević – as the solution that was finally chosen to be (partially) implemented. The planned spatial compositions of the two solutions will be considered in relation to the contemporary appearance of the complex and one another.

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KEY WORDS
MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE
KRALJEVO OCTOBER
NOB MONUMENT
BOGDAN BOGDANOVIĆ
SPASOJE KRUNIC
YUGOSLAV HERITAGE

The "October 14th" Memorial Park complex in Kraljevo, also commonly referred to as the Camp Cemetery (*Lagersko groblje*) or the Cemetery of the Shot (*Groblje streljanih*), is located on the site of the former rolling-stock factory complex where several thousand civilians were shot dead in the fall of 1941. The Cemetery changed its appearance several times in the post-war period, and by the mid-1960s, it had become a place where memorial events were held. (Krejaković & Novčić, 2015) The plan to turn the area into a Memorial Park also emerged at this time, when it was decided to incorporate the area where the civilian shooting occurred with its immediate surroundings, shaping it into an urban memorial complex. (Ristić, 2003) In the years that followed, several conceptual solutions for the complex have been proposed by the architect Bogdan Bogdanović, but none of them have been implemented. In the mid-1970s, a competition was announced for the conceptual design of the Memorial Park with a monument dedicated to the victims of the events that occurred in October 1941 (Ristić, 2003). The existing memorial complex represents a partial realisation of this award-winning solution.

The focus of this paper is directed towards the analysis of the spatial genesis of the Cemetery of the Shot memorial site, from the initial designs to the national competition and, finally its contemporary appearance. The main part of the research is therefore directed towards the analysis of the unrealised designs for the memorial complex, where the focus was directed towards the conceptual solution from 1963 and the original appearance of the award-winning project from 1970, designed by architects Spasoje Krunić and Dragutin Kovačević. Through the paper, the current state and spatial characteristics of the existing complex will also be analysed to find the relationship between the planned, executed and spontaneously created spatial fragments. We will also re-examine whether some of the newly incorporated spatial components of the Memorial Park represent a way to subsequently complete the conceptual design that was never executed to its full intent.

The paper is mainly based on the review of preserved archival material, where primary source analysis was the main method applied, and observation done through field research of the existing complex.

To create a better understanding and reconstruct the spatial composition of the design from 1963, the simulation method used for the purpose of conducting this research was done by the author of this paper through the data found from preserved historical sources. The paper also presents data collected during an interview with architect Spasoje Krunić, one of the authors of the 1970 conceptual design.



FIGURE 1: Cemetery of the shot before 1950 (left) and after 1950 (right). (Source: Ristić, 2003)

1. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND OVERVIEW OF THE SPATIAL GENESIS OF THE CEMETERY OF THE SHOT

The Cemetery of the Shot is the former rolling-stock factory complex site located on Gradička kosa in Kraljevo. During the Second World War, the factory was turned into a prison camp by the German army, where several thousand civilians were shot dead in October 1941. Although the exact number of victims has been debated, initial records attest that around 6,000 people were buried within the complex of the current memorial park (Ristić, 2003), while more contemporary research on this topic approximates that at least 2,190 victims perished within the factory complex (Dražković & Krejaković, 2011). The executed were buried in four square-shaped trenches, alongside a number of rebels and other citizens who lost their lives in the fight against the occupying forces. In this way, the two burial mounds on the site were formed, and their position has remained unchanged. After the end of the war, another burial mound was formed next to the existing mounds – the Partisan Cemetery (*Partizansko groblje*), where the bodies of fallen soldiers were laid. (Ristić, 2003)

Until the beginning of the 1950s, the space represented a cemetery of an informal spatial character (Figure 1). The area of the burial mounds was later partially formalised and spatially organised, as shown in Figure 1, with the inclusion of stone pillars, chain fencing and a memorial plaque marking the vicinity of the tombs. (Ristić, 2003) At the end of the 1950s, the initiative to turn the site of the October 1941 tragedy into an urban memorial site

became more potent and prevalent. (Ristić, 2003) The job of conceiving the first design propositions for the complex was entrusted to the architect Bogdan Bogdanović in the 1960s. After these design propositions did not come to fruition, a competition was held in 1970 to find a more suitable solution for the spatial composition of the site. The execution of the project of the Memorial Park began in 1971 based on the winning design. Through the years, additional spatial elements were incorporated into the memorial site, shaping its contemporary appearance.

2. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF SPATIAL MEMORY THROUGH RELATED RESEARCH

The Memorial Park in Kraljevo is a memorial site of the national liberation struggle (*Narodnooslobodilačka borba* or NOB) with specific cultural and historical significance, as it carries with it the memory of one of the greatest tragedies that occurred on the territory of former Yugoslavia. The executions that took place in Kraljevo, locally referred to as “Kraljevo October”, are a very current topic that is still being researched by the local research community. However, the Memorial Park complex itself wasn’t a significant research topic within the field of architecture and urban design, with a small number of published works focused on understanding the spatial relations of the executed project and an even smaller number of works that strive to “revive” the unrealised conceptual solutions for the memorial park. The existing research on the topic primarily focuses on analysing and recording the historical events and consequences of “Kraljevo October”. It is important to note that while the historical “genesis” of the space to its present appearance was recorded thanks to the research conducted within the historical discourse, when it comes to the first propositions for the conceptual design of the space by the architect Bogdan Bogdanović there is a noticeable lack of relevant primary and secondary sources that record the character and evolution of the design. One of the more significant research works concerning the 1970 competition design was conducted through the doctoral dissertation of Dijana Adžemović-Andelković at the Architectural faculty at the University of Belgrade published in 2017. The author of this work focuses on the symbolic motifs of the conceptual design of the executed project of the Memorial Park as part of a multiple case study (Adžemović-Andjelković, 2017). Our research aims to build upon this analysis through a systematic presentation of the existing and planned aspects of the constructed complex. The symbolic qualities of the environment are used to understand the spatial design of the place, whereas the spatial and functional elements of the environment represent the main focus.

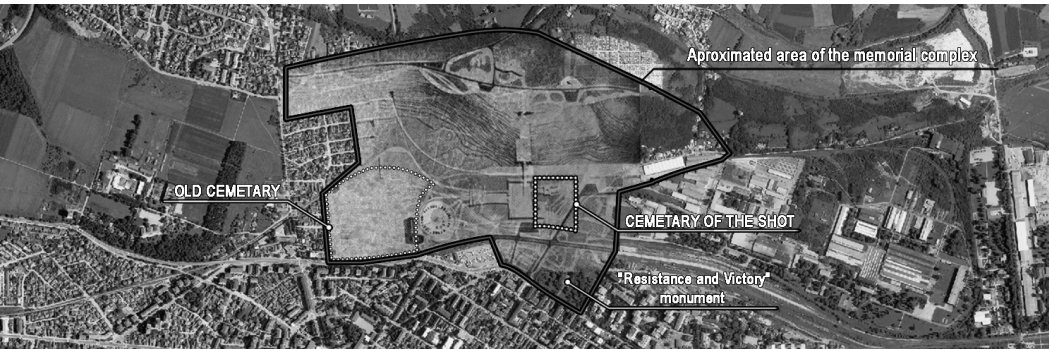


FIGURE 2: The approximated vicinity of the memorial park designed in 1963 in relation to the current urban fabric of the city of Kraljevo (Source: Author)

3. BOGDAN BOGDANOVIC'S VISION FOR THE MEMORIAL PARK COMPLEX

Bogdan Bogdanović gave the initial conceptual solutions in the form of two design proposals for a Cemetery of the Shot Memorial Park complex. Based on one of the solutions, as recorded in *"Ibarske novosti"* in 1963, it was planned to place monolithic monumental elements, i.e. "boulders with certain symbolism", at the very top of Gradička kosa (*"Monumentalni park i oktobarske svečanosti"*, 1963), while the position of the existing graves was to be maintained. More detailed information and graphic documentation that gives a clearer understanding of the character of this first design proposal have not been preserved according to the knowledge of the author of this paper. The other design solution by Bogdan Bogdanović, created in collaboration with architects Borko Novanović and Ranko Radović (*"Bogdanovičev projekat spomen-groblja"*, 1966), was to be implemented in 1963 based on the decision made at official local municipal and commemorative meetings (Krejaković & Novčić, 2015). This solution proposed to connect the space of the Cemetery of the Shot with the Old Cemetery in Kraljevo while also forming a connection with the park complex where the already built monument to "Resistance and Victory" was located (Krejaković & Novčić, 2015; Ristić, 2003). In this way, a unique spatial and functional unit would be created on an area of approx. 70 ha, making the park area almost the same size as the urban centre of the city of Kraljevo (Figure 2).

The conducted analysis deals with the character and spatial composition of this second conceptual solution, focusing mainly on the area that corresponds to the space of the Cemetery of the Shot and its immediate surroundings.

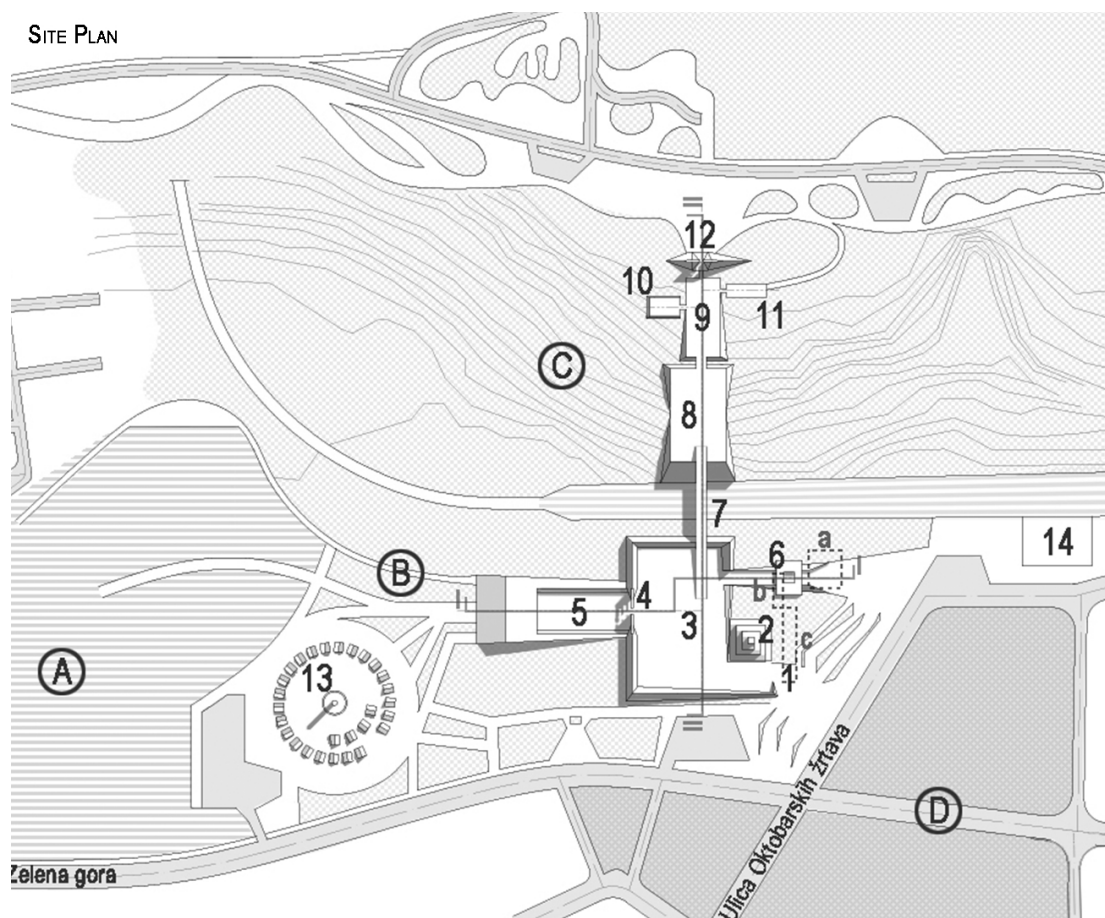
The spatial composition of the memorial park project from 1963 is based on the preserved material that records its appearance. The level of detail is consistent with that shown through the available archival documents.

3.1 Analysis of the Spatial Composition of the Memorial Park

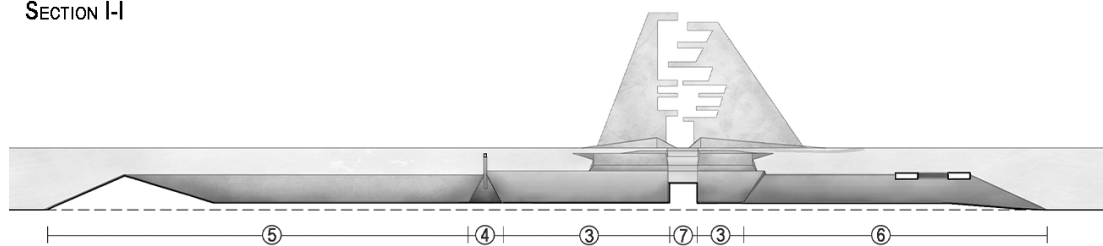
The 1963 design for the memorial park was a multi-layered spatial intervention that included, among other things, the shaping, spatial marking and redefinition of the burial mounds, the creation of a pedestrian footbridge, the formation of a gathering plateau, a complex network of pedestrian pathways, and construction of a massive monument at the top of Gradička kosa. The spatial composition of the memorial park can be divided into four main spatial units: the Old Cemetery area kept in its entirety with minor spatial changes would make up the western part of the complex (Unit **A**), the Cemetery of the Shot on the south side of the old railway route where the memorial space and the grave mounds are located (Unit **B**), the Gate of Freedom on the northernmost side of the old railway route located on the top of Gradička kosa (Unit **C**), and the park area with the “Resistance and Victory” monument on the southeast side of the complex (Unit **D**). The spatial disposition of the four spatial units is indicated in Figure 3. The use of concrete and steel was planned for the formation of the artificial segments of the Cemetery of the Shot and the Gate of Freedom spatial units (*“Bogdanovičev projekat spomen-groblja”*, 1966).

The main access to the spatial unit of the Cemetery of the Shot was planned on its eastern side, where a new road that is an extension of today’s Oktobarskih žrtava Street would form a direct connection between the central city square and this part of the memorial complex (Unit **B**). The park within which the “Resistance and Victory” monument is located would be expanded to neighbouring blocks, where a network of geometrically defined pedestrian paths would be created (Unit **D**), connecting to the area of the Cemetery of the Shot (Unit **B**). On the site where the modern-day Ložionica building is located (intended for the storage of wagons and locomotives), we can see that a smaller group of monuments (**13**) was planned to be arranged in a circular form with an obelisk in the middle. From the access area to the Cemetery of the Shot (the eastern side of Unit **B**), a visual relationship is noticeable between this vertical memorial element and the other most prominent memorial element – the Gate of Freedom. One gets the impression that the role of the obelisk was to interconnect the paths of the different spatial segments and direct the visitors to follow the route that leads to the Old Cemetery (Unit **A**).

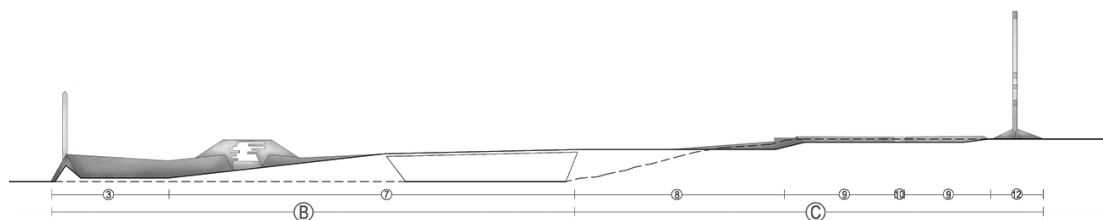
SITE PLAN



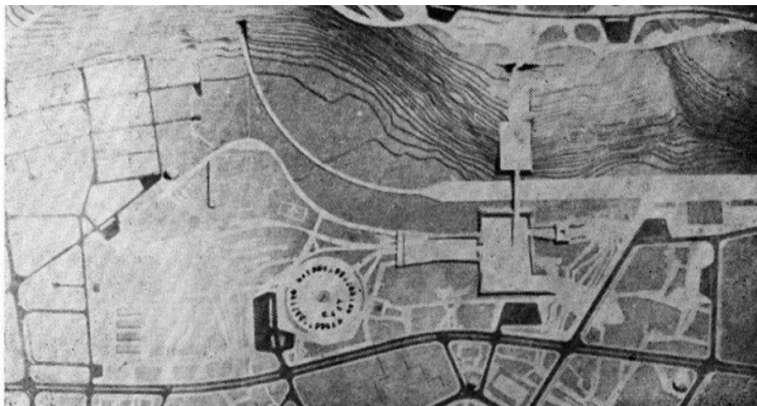
SECTION I-I



SECTION II-II



PRESERVED PHOTOS OF THE MODEL



LEFT FIGURE

FIGURE 3: The reconstructed spatial composition of the 1963 conceptual design is shown through the site plan and sections, as well as the preserved photographs of the original model. (site plan and sections source: Author; lower left photo source: "Monumentalni park i oktobarske svečanosti", 1963; lower right photo source: "Bogdanovićev projekat spomen-groblja", 1966)

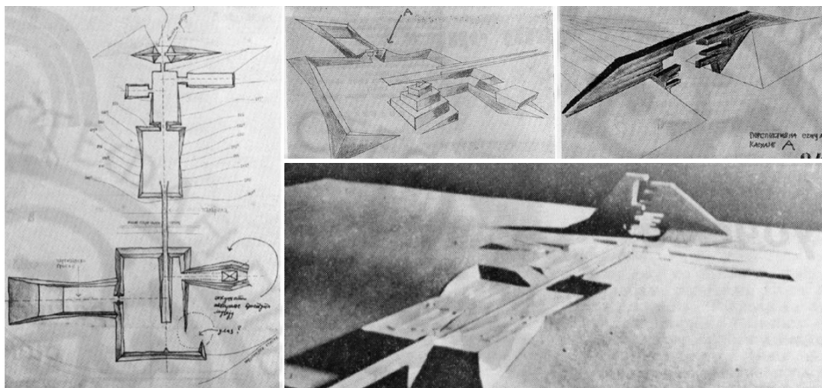


FIGURE 4: Preserved working sketches of the memorial complex design from 1963 and preserved photographs of the original model showing the upper plateau area with the Gate of Freedom monument. (Source for all: „Bogdanovićev projekat spomen-groblja”, 1966)

The tombs' area was to be made from concrete and shaped into a rectangular plateau enclosed by concrete embankments, with a visually clearly marked entrance (1) next to which a small concrete pyramidal monolithic element would be placed (2). The plateau was planned to be made up of three segments surrounded by embankments (3, 5, 6). This area is spatially displaced in relation to the position of the existing burial mounds (positions indicated on the site plan in Figure 3 by dashed lines - a, b, c). However, it visually corresponds with their form and spatial disposition to a certain extent. Based on the preserved pictures of the working sketches of the project (Figure 4), this entrance area was to incorporate the Partisan Cemetery (5) as well as the entrance to a museum (6), the position of which was most likely planned on the eastern side of the complex (14). The entrance to the Partisan Cemetery is visually marked by a small gate (4) (Figure 3 and Figure 4). To the knowledge of the author, the spatial characteristics and design of the museum itself were not worked out in detail through the conceptual design.

The central element of the rectangular plateau is the pedestrian footbridge (3) that spans over the railway and connects the Cemetery of the Shot (Unit B) with the northern part of the complex and the slope of Gradička kosa on the top of which the Gate of Freedom would be located (Unit C).

The central axis of the footbridge path aligns with the central axis of the main monument, directing visitor movement and gaze directly towards the spatial culmination of the memorial complex. This area of the memorial park is made up of four smaller spatial segments (8, 9, 10, 11) that are “cut into” the slope of the terrain and are partially enclosed by concrete embankments. Based on the preserved documentation (Figure 3 and Figure 4), it is possible to remark that the entrance area of the concrete plateau is characterised by shallow cuts (8) that had a specific symbolic characterⁱⁱ. The areas connected to this access plateau (9, 10, 11) proportionally correspond to the spatial elements of the main entrance area, with one central and two smaller plateaus.

The culmination of the entire memorial complex was supposed to be a grand monument – the Gate of Freedom, planned to reach a height of 25 metres (“*Bogdanovićev projekat spomen-groblja*”, 1966). Details of the construction of the monument itself have not been preserved according to the knowledge of the author of this research paper. The appearance and characteristics of the monument can be evidenced by several photographs of the model of the memorial complex from the 1960s (Figure 3 and Figure 4), on the basis of which it is possible to determine its deconstructed trapezoidal form. A fluid network of pedestrian paths branches out from the monument on its northern side. The free form of these paths is in direct contrast with the sharp and rectangular character of the pedestrian paths located at the foot of Gradička kosa.

3.2. Concluding Considerations

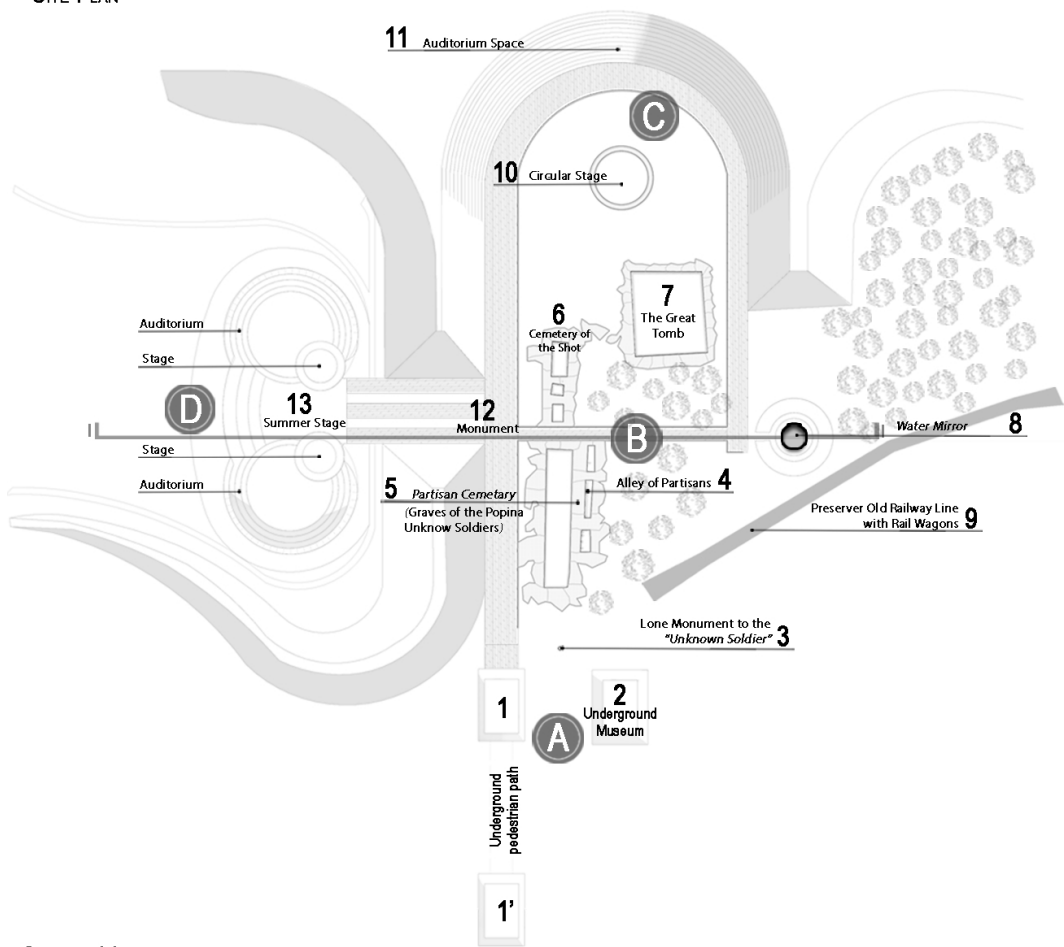
Bogdanović’s project from 1963 represented a grandiose spatial intervention whose construction would have permanently changed the character of the city’s urban fabric. The space of the Cemetery of the Shot itself would lose the formal character of a cemetery, the memory of which would be evoked through the symbolic spatial elements of the complex. The author’s specific design intentions can be read clearly through the project. The assumption is that the goal was to make the Gate of Freedom monument distinctly visible from different parts of the complex with its prominent spatial disposition on the very top of Gradička kosa. In contrast, the visitors would have limited views of their immediate outer surroundings at the Cemetery of the Shot area due to the concrete embankments of the entrance plateau. The primary and secondary pedestrian paths are clearly emphasised, where the smaller monuments at the entrance to the sub-unit of the Partisan Cemetery and the planned Gate of Freedom can be clearly seen from the main entrance area of the re-envisioned burial mounds.

The pedestrian paths are equiangular and rigid in the lower area enclosed by the concrete embankments and in the upper plateau area located beneath the monumental gate. This order dissipates into a fluid network of irregularly formed structures after passing the Gate of Freedom. Furthermore, we can conclude that the goal was to emphasise and direct pedestrian movement upon entering the spatial unit of the Cemetery of the Shot towards the main monument structure in a way that spontaneously directs visitors to approach it from the south side, where the central gap of the Gate of Freedom could clearly be seen even from a distance. Due to the disposition of the pedestrian routes, the main monument's planned character and the terrain's very morphology, the gate structure could be viewed from a different angle from a few secondary paths of the lower areas of the complex. The absence of planned high vegetation is noticeable in the immediate surroundings of the concrete plateaus, concrete embankments, and pedestrian footbridge. This would result in creating an overall view that would have no focal obstructions created by non-artificial elements whose position was not carefully determined throughout the project's design. Due to the absence of documentation that directly testifies to the author's intentions behind the symbolic meaning of individual elements and the memorial space as a whole, we can only speculate on the symbolic messages that the memorial park was to convey.

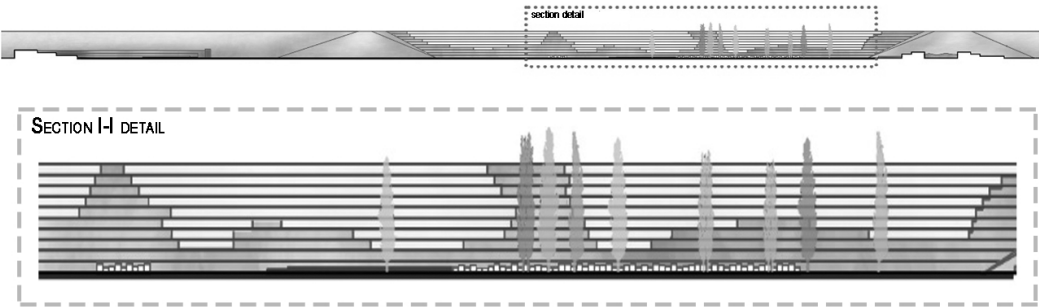
4. THE COMPETITION OUTCOME AND THE EXECUTION OF THE WINNING PROJECT DESIGN

The 1963 solution for the memorial park was never carried out due to the lack of financial resources for its full implementation. Due to this, the Municipal Assembly of Kraljevo and the Association of Architects announced a competition for the Memorial Park that would encompass a memorial cemetery. A general Yugoslav competition for the project of the Memorial Park complex in Kraljevo was announced in 1970 with Bogdan Bogdanović at the head of the jury (Jelisavac-Katić, Lojanica, & Mako, 2017). The competition defined the necessary spatial elements and the functional program of the new memorial park, such as the spatial structure of the burial mounds and the Partisan Cemetery, a monument, a memorial museum, a memorial plateau, and the entrance area to the complex. (Ristić, 2003) The first prize was awarded to the author team Spasoje Krunic and Dragutin Kovačević (Figure 5), while the second place remained vacant, as a result of which two third prizes were awarded. (*Žiri doneo odluku*, 1970) The two designs awarded with third place can be seen in Figure 6. Construction of the first prize-winning solution began in 1971 (Ristić, 2003). However, the design has not been fully implemented to this day.

SITE PLAN



SECTION I-I



PRESERVED PHOTO OF THE MODEL



LEFT FIGURE

FIGURE 5: The reconstructed spatial composition of the winning conceptual design from 1970, shown through the site plan and sections and the preserved photographs of the original model. (site plan and sections source: Author; bottom photo source: Adžemović-Andjelković, 2017)

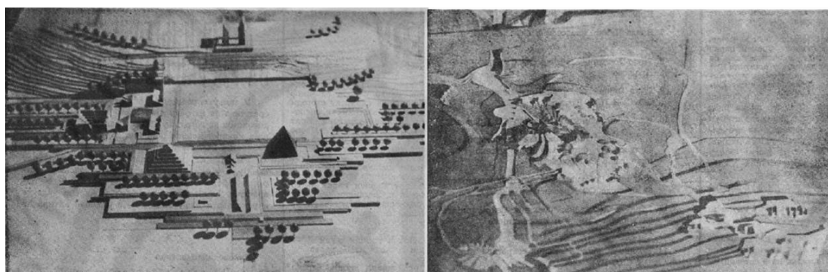


FIGURE 6: Preserved photographs of the two third-placed designs for the Memorial Park competition of 1970, the works of author Voltera Ravnikara (left) and author team Miše Davida, Aleksandra Drndarskog i Miroslava Simeunovića (right) (Source: “Žiri doneo odluku”, 1970)

4.1 Analysis of the Spatial Composition of the Prize-Winning Design

The memorial park complex occupies an area of around 12 ha. It is made up of four smaller spatial and functional units: the access area of the underground pedestrian path with an underground museum complex (Unit A), the area of the Cemetery of the Shot (Unit B), the amphitheatre area with a circular stage (Unit C), and the Summer Stage area (Unit D). A monument made of reinforced concrete and polished aluminium (12) was also initially planned and designed for the competitive solution by the same team of authors. The disposition of these spatial units can be seen in Figure 5.

Through the planned underground pedestrian path (1' - 1), which was to pass under the railway line, access to an underground museum (2) was planned. Based on the words of the author Spasoje Krunić, the conceptual solution had only determined the position of the museum space. The architectural character of the underground building was never defined. The primary pedestrian path made of granite and slate stone slabs emerges from the entrance area. The main access path extends straight to the amphitheatre, following a semicircular arched route in the amphitheatre area, then continuing along a parallel route. This path delimitates the stage area (10) and the burial mounds. This main path is perpendicularly cut by a secondary path that cuts the whole complex in half. This other path connects the area of the Summer Stage (13) – a small theatre space with two smaller stages and auditorium spaces and the “Water Mirror” (8) – a circular water surface that is positioned next to the old railroad tracks where a row of railway wagons was supposed to be placed (9). The paving

of the primary and secondary paths was to be executed in the same fashion, made from slabs with rectangular bases of different dimensions arranged in an uneven rhythm. The intersection of the two routes is accentuated by the arrangement of stone slabs that penetrate at a straight angle into one another. The stone slabs were planned to emerge from the grassy terrain, merging into the environment's natural elements. Both pedestrian routes lead to the burial mounds, whose immediate surrounding is paved differently.

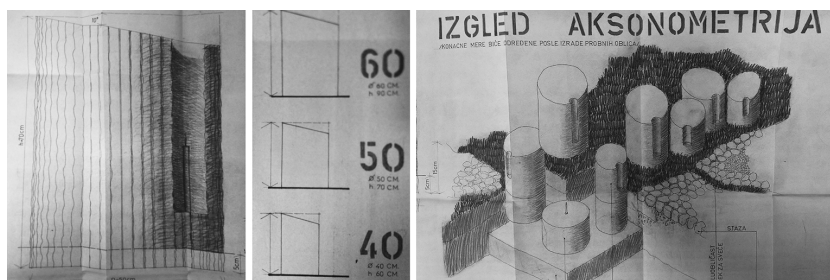


FIGURE 7: Final design sketches of the marble monoliths from the graphical documentation of the execution project for the memorial park complex. (Source: Archival fond of the Municipality of Kraljevo)

The paving around them is arranged in a “Turkish cobblestone” fashion and made of red stone and ground stone in cement mortar. A clear contrast between the regular forms of the central footpaths and the more fluidly formed paving around the burial mounds was intentionally emphasised. In this way, the authors wanted to create an area of “careful movement” around the Cemetery.

The burial mounds kept their original positions, and their vicinity is marked by rows of cylindrical marble monoliths (Figure 7) that separate them from the space intended for pedestrian movement. These monoliths are up to 90cm high, have an uneven structure with shallow, evenly spaced horizontal incisions, and their design was to carry a particular symbolic message. They represent the trunks of trees cut in their prime and are the leitmotif of the conceptual solution (Krunić, 2019). There are three distinct types of differently sized marble structures with the same over-arching character, all positioned in an uneven rhythm around the burial mounds. The elements are not only intended to separate and emphasise the space of the burial mounds but they were also planned to have a specific interactive role. On each of the individual elements, there are cavities intended for candles to be placed by visitors of the Cemetery. This type of subtle intervention sets this memorial park complex apart from other memorial complexes from this period, which were generally characterised by the absence of any sacral motifs at the time of their construction.

At the entrance to the complex, there is a solitary monument that marks the more isolated “Tomb of the Unknown” (3), surrounded by the same type of marble monoliths. Walking further along the main path, the visitors come across the Partisan Cemetery space, where the graves of the unknown soldiers of Popina are located. This unit is characterised by a long rectangular tomb (5) and individual monolithic structures in the Alley of Partisans. The monoliths lined up in the row of the Alley of Partisans are of a different shape and height than the other marble monoliths in the complex (as shown in Figure 8), and they are marked with the names of fallen soldiers and distinguished citizens of Kraljevo (4). Further along the path at the other side of the horizontal pedestrian axis one encounters the area where three smaller tombs and one separate marble monument (6) would be located. The Summer Stage area was to be bordered by earthen embankments that separated it from the central region of the Cemetery of the Shot (Unit B) and the railway. This area is made up of two smaller auditoriums with a circular stage (13), and has a symmetrical spatial disposition.

The largest burial mound within the Memorial Park is the Great Tomb (7), located right next to the amphitheatre (Unit C). The amphitheatre area comprises of a stage (10) and an auditorium (11) formed on the slope of Gradička kosa. The natural slope of the terrain was used for its design.

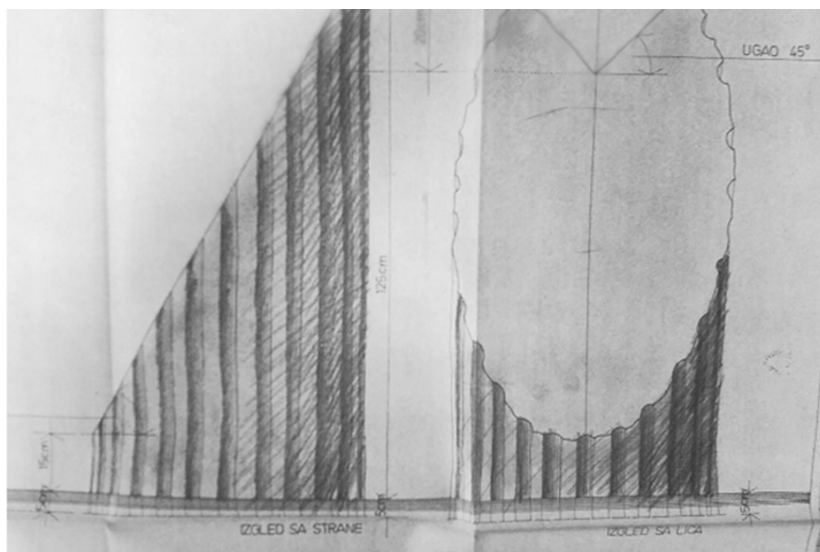


FIGURE 8: Final design sketches of the marble monoliths for the Alley of Partisans of the execution project for the memorial park complex. (Source: Archival fond of the Municipality of Kraljevo)

The auditorium is made of blocks of white marble and grey slate stone with earth packed over it. From a distance, a rhythm of these elements of different colours visually emerges, corresponding to the uneven character and the rhythm of the monoliths around the burial mounds.

4.2 The Current State of the Memorial Park – Relationship Between the Executed and Planned Design

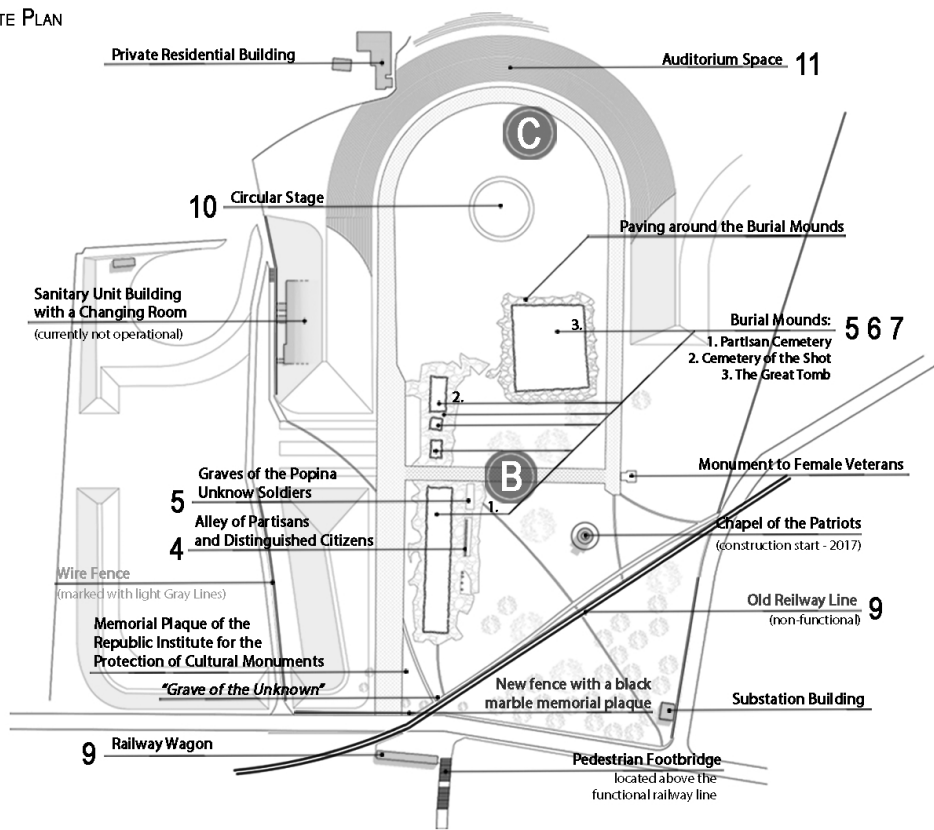
The existing Memorial Park is located on Gradička kosa, encompassed by Industrijska Street on the south side, a football field on the west side, Blažičeva Street on the northwest side, and Stadionska Street on the east side. Residential buildings and forest and agricultural land can be found on the northern side of the complex. The main spatial elements of the executed design can be seen in Figure 9.

The area of the amphitheatre and the burial mounds were the focus of the execution project. The paving of the memorial park was the topic of a separate execution project. Through the project, a sanitary unit building with a changing room was added in the final design and built into the earth embankment on the western side of the complex. The space of the amphitheatre was not fully realised as per initial plans due to a residential building that protrudes into the space designated for it, which already existed at the time when the execution of the project began and could not be moved (Krunić, 2019). As a result, the auditorium's form could not be fully executed at its very top area. Access to the complex is possible from Industrijska Street, with the path being separated from the central urban areas of the city by a railway line. The space has direct pedestrian access thanks to a footbridge that was built before the construction of the memorial park began. The space around the burial mounds, the paving, and the marble monoliths' positions were implemented according to the initial project design in every way. The planned monument located at the intersection of the primary and secondary pedestrian routes at the entrance to the Summer Stage area was not implemented. Based on the words of the author Spasoje Krunić, the idea of incorporating a monument was abandoned shortly after the decision to implement the conceptual solution was made, and there is no documentation that records it in more detail.

RIGHT FIGURE

FIGURE 9: Depiction of the contemporary site plan and modern day photographs of the “October 14th” memorial complex (Source: Author, 2019)

SITE PLAN



CONTEMPORARY PHOTOS OF THE SITE



The underground path with the museum, the Summer Stage, and the Water Mirror represent the important conceptual design elements that were never realised. Based on the author's words, there were also several poplar trees on the site before the construction of the complex, and it was decided that they should be incorporated into its spatial composition.

Unfortunately, the trees were cut down by mistake just before the start of the construction work. At the request of the author of the conceptual design, Spasoje Krunić, the remains of the trees were burned, and the resulting charred sawdust was then incorporated into the space around the marble monoliths as an additional element of the spatial scenography. (Krunic, 2019) The charred sawdust has been dispersed over time, and none remains at the current site. Based on the field research, it was established that the primary and secondary pedestrian routes, and most of the paving around the burial mounds have almost disappeared over time due to lack of maintenance, thus having lost their original form. As a result, the separation between the area of the primary walkway and the space of "careful movement" has been lost, along with the distinct spatial articulation of the clearly defined and coordinated pathways for pedestrian movement. New poplar trees were later planted on the site in the area between the graves, however, based on the field research, it was determined that there are none left within the complex. Currently, the presence of high vegetation is mainly limited to the southern sections of the complex along Industrijska Street. The row of wagons that were planned to be placed on the former railway line were also left out from the executed design, but one wagon can be found on the south side of Industrijska Street in the area next to the footbridge.

A chapel with a circular base built in 2017 (also the work of architect Spasoje Krunić) was the latest addition to the complex. The chapel was initially supposed to be placed where the Water Mirror from the original concept design was located. The chapel was meant to represent a symbolic fragment of the unrealised water surface, intended to invoke the original spatial composition of the memorial park design (Krunic, 2019). As the Monument to Female Veterans was already incorporated in this exact position in the years before the construction of the chapel began, the position of the chapel was moved to a different location. The interior of the chapel has not been completed and the building is currently not in operation.

4.3 Concluding Considerations

The executed project's structural elements and landscape design were shaped by the relationship between the unplanned fragmentation of the wider spatial composition and the planned rhythmic character preserved from the conceptual design. The constructed components of the award-winning solution are characterised by the absence of strong artificial vertical elements, which were planned to be replaced by the presence of tall vegetation. The monument structures in the form of marble monoliths are positioned in an uneven rhythm, forming a unique spatial composition with the paving, which also lacks a regular rhythm due to its materialisation and composition. A contrast was created between the harmonious and fluid form of the planned design and other elements of the landscape that were incorporated after the construction of the complex. However, the desired and planned disharmony is still evoked, forming the unique spatial harmony visually achieved through the materialisation of each element. The unusual spatial disposition of each marble monument helps to create the perception of a continuous physical border around the burial mounds when viewed from a distance. Moving along the main pedestrian route gradually breaks the illusion of the uninterrupted border, fully dispersing when approaching the graves, emphasising the scattered character of the individual forms and their monolithic nature. A similar impression is obtained when entering the space of the amphitheatre, where one can gradually make out the individual stone blocks that make up the auditorium when approaching it. The Alley of Partisans is an exception, as the elements are seen as individual spatial structures, even from a distance, due to their different shape and larger dimensions.

The "October 14th" Memorial Park represents a project that was formed through the incorporation of spatial symbolism through all its planned elements. Through the earthen embankments, the aim was not only to emphasise the boundaries of the vicinity of the complex but also to separate it from its surrounding environment by creating visual and sound barriers. The space was envisioned to be a place of peace and contemplation, which corresponds to and is befitting of a space of memory (Krunić, 2019). The area of the Summer Stage, which was never built, was supposed to be separated from the area of the burial mounds by the embankments not only to create a secluded space to host smaller cultural manifestations but also to form a separate space of peace and rest (Krunić, 2019). The marble monoliths of different dimensions are shaped like cut trees; symbolising lives cut short before their time, whereas the slender poplar trees were meant to form a contrast in relation to them that would emphasise this message. The dark red stone paving around the burial

mounds was placed there to evoke the spilled blood of the innocent victims (Jelisavac-Katić, Lojanica, & Mako, 2017; Krunić, 2019). The Water Mirror that was supposed to be built was meant to carry with it the message of the fluidity of life and its various flows. The symbolic function of this element was supposed to be echoed through the incorporation of a new chapel building in its place (Krunić, 2019). The memorial park project was designed with a clear spatial message that was meant to capture the feeling of the cycles of life, death and rebirth. This was achieved directly through the positions of the pedestrian pathways within the memorial complex, and the character of the functional units to which they lead. The primary path of pedestrian movement and its circular route direct visitors to keep returning to the area of the burial mounds. This effect was also supposed to be emphasised through the secondary pedestrian route. The Water Mirror was planned as the culmination of the symbolic message of the environment, as it is located at the final intersection of the two pathways. Motifs of life's impermanence, its different flows, and ultimately, rebirth that can be achieved through the memories that remain with those who outlive us, are aimed to be simulated within the memorial site. This is highlighted through the created parallel between the space of change, celebration and visitor interaction (Unit **C**), and the space of eternal peace and rest (Unit **B**). The marble elements are the main leitmotif of this spatial connection between the living and the dead, which is achieved through the interaction of the visitors with the space itself.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The complex of the Memorial Park, built on the site where the tragedy of October 1941 occurred, represents a national monument of exceptional cultural importance. The complex changed its appearance several times after the end of the Second World War, as did the very idea of the possibilities of its spatial design. The conceptual solutions analysed through this research differ fundamentally in their spatial design, demonstrating two approaches to shaping memorial spaces. An overview of specific design aspects that showcase some of the differences and similarities between the two proposed conceptual designs is shown in Table 1.

Bogdan Bogdanović's solution represented a more monumental approach that involved a significant spatial intervention, the construction of which would have permanently changed the city's entire urban area by creating a unique memorial park unit. With its grand design and unique elements, a partial view of the complex would be ensured from even a great distance throughout the city. Through this spatial contrast, the place where one of the most significant

historical events in the settlement's recent history has occurred would be strikingly emphasised. The design is characterised by a large number of artificial and strict forms, the absence of high and low vegetation in certain parts of the complex, a smaller number of accentuated vertical elements, and a clearly directed visual focus towards the central motif of the space in the form of the Gate of Freedom. The space can be considered in multiple layers through the inter-spatial relations of the planned elements of the landscape design, where the perception of its entirety is possible only from the highest points of the memorial park. Implementing this design would have made it possible to permanently evoke fragments of memory through both compact and dispersed elements of the urban fabric of Kraljevo.

Aspect	Conceptual Solution	
	Conceptual design from 1963	Winning design from 1970
Scope	The memorial park would have connected the areas of the Cemetery of the Shot with its wider surroundings – the Old Cemetery in Kraljevo, the park complex around the "Resistance and Victory" monument, and the slope of Gradička kosa	The winning design encompasses the area of the Cemetery of the Shot and its immediate surroundings
Scale	Approximated area at least 78 ha	Around 12 ha
	The maximal height of monument: 25 m	The maximal height of monument: 1.25 m
Movement and Circulation	The pedestrian route to the main monument is distinct and linear, with small branching paths that return back to it. The secondary paths are complex, divergent, intertwined, and without a singular destination. There is no clear circular path spanning the entire complex.	The primary and secondary pedestrian paths are interconnected and circular, with the burial mounds area being their point of convergence. The paved area around the mass graves can be seen as a third path designed for "careful movement".
	Contrast created through path geometry	Contrast created through paving materialisation
Spatial Subdivision	Achieved primarily through the use of concrete structures	Achieved primarily through the use of natural elements (earth mounds, trees, natural stone paving)
Spatial Composition	Dispersed composition made out of compact elements (with a substantial area left completely untouched)	Compact composition made out of individual dispersed elements
	Use of natural terrain slope as a significant design element	Use of natural terrain slope as a significant design element
Main Functional Subdivisions	Park Area, Main Memorial Site Area (with Partisan Cemetery, Gate of Freedom, and smaller monuments), Museum, Old Cemetery	Cemetery of the Shot (mass grave area with marble monoliths), Partisan Cemetery with smaller monuments, Auditorium with Stage Area, Summer Stage Area, Underground Museum
Memorial Elements	Memory is invoked through the symbolism of the built environment and the impactful scope of the proposed design	Memory is invoked through the symbolic elements of the built environment and through the relationship between the living and the dead that the space aims to facilitate through their "direct" interaction
	Grand overarching monument and dispersed smaller monumental structures	Subtle monumental structures
	Complete spatial revision of the mass burial site	Full preservation of the existing mass burial site
Symbolic Motifs	Due to the absence of documentation that directly testifies to the author's intentions, we can only speculate on the symbolic messages that the memorial park was to convey	The spatial composition was meant to capture the feeling of life's impermanence and its different flows. It is meant to echo the cycles of life and death, that lead us to rebirth
		Distinct incorporation of traditional spiritual beliefs into the memorial space as part of the design
		Singular spatial elements carry specific symbolic meanings on their own and as a whole

TABLE 1: Overview of specific design aspects

The design of the architects Spasoje Krunić and Dragutin Kovačević is shaped by a different approach, where the aim was to preserve and emphasise the more intimate character of the space. There is no legible desire to see the memorial space from the more distant areas of the city. The memorial park complex is purposefully separated from the wider urban fabric through the installation of earthen embankments. The aim was to create a subtle visual and spatial rhythm, which tends to direct the movement of the users themselves, whose perception of the environment (based on the initial design) was to be gradually formed through the exit from the underground footbridge, and the movement through the complex itself. In this way, the perception of the space can be deconstructed and shaped anew through the observation of individual elements of the memorial area. The project is coloured with clearly legible spatial and visual signals, such as the very design of the marble structures, the relationship between natural and artificial elements of the space, the paving of pedestrian paths that emphasise the care of movement in certain areas, etc. All of these elements serve to introduce the visitors to the memorial character of the environment they have entered. The conceptual solution from 1970 is characterised by more classical formal elements, a compact spatial arrangement broken up partially through the formation of the area around the preserved location of the Cemetery. In contrast, the design from 1963 was characterised by individual fragmented structures with a unique spatial narrative and a more striking design. It is clear that a different approach was used to evoke the memory of a space, most noticeably through the spatial scope of the complex in which we can make out the authors' relationships towards the memorial nature and meaning of these types of spaces.

Finally, it is necessary to briefly review the current state of the “October 14th” Memorial Park. Through unplanned spatial interventions, inappropriate maintenance and unplanned physical separation of the memorial space from its surroundings, a distance was created from its intended design narrative that was meant to transcend a purely commemorative function. The purpose of the memorial park as a place of gathering has remained limited to specific dates over time, transforming this place of remembrance into a place of forgotten aspirations, with its clear spatial messages reduced to conceptual fragments.

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Odluka o izgradnji Spomen-parka u Kraljevu (1960), arhivski fond Skupštine opštine Kraljevo, inventarni broj 317, predmet 06-15735 u Arhivu grada Kraljeva

Grobnice sa stazama u Spomen-parku na k.p. 5341, 5342, 5343, 5344, 5345 i 5346 KO Kraljevo + Projekat (1971), arhivski fond Skupštine opštine Kraljevo, inventarni broj 29/1971, predmet 05-351/441-71 u Arhivu grada Kraljeva

Građevinska dozvola Fondu za izgradnju Spomen-parka Opštine Kraljevo (1971), arhivski fond Skupštine opštine Kraljevo, inventarni broj 45/1971, predmet 05-351/907-71 u Arhivu grada Kraljeva

Vodovod i Kanalizaciona mreža u Spomen-parku + Projekat (1971), arhivski fond Skupštine opštine Kraljevo, inventarni broj 45/1971, predmet 05-351/907-71 u Arhivu grada Kraljeva

Rešenje kojim se odobrava upotreba dela izgrađenog objekta Spomen parka – „Humke streljanih i prilazne staze“ (1973), arhivski fond Skupštine opštine Kraljevo, inventarni broj 36/1973, predmet 351/481-73 u Arhivu grada Kraljeva

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Lokacijska dozvola Fondu za izgradnju Spomen parka u Kraljevu na k.p. 2046 KO Kraljevo (1973), arhivski fond Skupštine opštine Kraljevo, inventarni broj 54/1973, predmet 05-353/163 u Arhivu grada Kraljeva

NOTES

- i The “Resistance and Victory” (“*Otpor i Borba*”) monument by Lojza Dolinar was unveiled on November 29, 1959 (on Republic Day, which also represented the 40th anniversary of the founding of the KPJ and the 15th anniversary of the liberation of Kraljevo) in the park in front of the railway station in Kraljevo and is dedicated to fallen warriors, fighters and victims of fascist terror (Krejaković & Novčić, 2015). A little more than a year after the installation of the monument, an official decision was made at the level of the Kraljevo Municipality to launch the initiative for the construction of the Memorial Park. As the referenced document does not testify to the scope of the planned interventions, we can only speculate at what moment the idea of spatially connecting the Lojza Dorian’s monument and the memorial park with the Cemetery of the Shot was actually developed. From its erection until today, the location of the “Resistance and Victory” monument has remained unchanged within the park near the railway station in Kraljevo, representing an independent entity in relation to the executed project of the “October 14th” Memorial Park.
- ii The character of these design elements and their composition could be determined in future research on this topic in case of additional archival material findings, which were unavailable and considered to have been lost over time at the time this research was conducted.

BETWEEN PLANNED AND EXECUTED – A MULTISCALE SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE MONUMENT PROZIVKA

ABSTRACT

This research delves into the dialogue between monuments and their context, focusing on the Prozivka monument, a socialist Yugoslav monument dedicated to the People's Liberation Struggle. Created by renowned sculptor Oto Logo, the monument was erected in 1977 as a centrepiece in Prozivka, the largest socialist mass housing neighbourhood in Subotica, Serbia. The analysis follows the monument from its conception to the current state and takes a multi-scale approach, examining the monument's relationship with its material and immaterial context, from the urban plan to the level of detail. The study draws on archival materials, including technical documentation, restoration projects, old photographs and newspapers. The paper is divided into two sections. The first section provides a brief biography of Oto Logo, highlighting his notable works, exhibitions and awards. The second section is dedicated to the Prozivka monument, one of Logo's largest creations.

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MONUMENT
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SUBOTICA
OTO LOGO

This research delves into the dialogue between monuments and their context, focusing on the Prozivka monument, a socialist Yugoslav monument dedicated to the People's Liberation Struggle. In general, the monuments of the People's Liberation Struggle refer to thousands of monuments constructed in the second half of the 20th century in Yugoslavia. The monuments aimed at affirming the ideas of antifascism, revolution and “brotherhood and unity” which represented the symbolic core of Yugoslavia. These monuments varied in terms of their commissioning, dedication, and relationship to their locations. They honored a range of subjects, from fallen fighters to civilians, and were often placed on historical sites, such as burial grounds and battlefields, but they were not always tied to a particular event or site, in which case they were connotating broader antifascist themes. Their architectural styles also differed significantly; they ranged from realistic and figurative forms to abstract designs, varying in size from small plaques to extensive memorial parks. Moreover, their placements were diverse—some were situated in urban areas, while others were found in remote natural landscapes like mountains and valleys (Kulić, 2012). Despite this variety, most of these monuments are located at historic sites associated with the Partisan struggle, often outside urban areas in open landscapes (Burghardt, 2012).

Because of their frequent placements in natural settings, memorial parks—which are not unique to Yugoslavia—have proven to be an effective format for commemoration, and were thus often in use. These parks, besides the role of commemoration, had utilitarian functions, often featuring picnic facilities, cafes, restaurants, hotels, museums, or open-air amphitheaters for educational activities and ceremonies (Burghardt, 2012; Horvatinčić, 2015). While monuments can also be found in urban areas, they tend to be smaller, designed to fit public spaces like squares, or take on the utilitarian forms of public buildings, such as schools, museums, bridges, or drinking fountains (Horvatinčić, 2015). Instances of memorial parks within urban settings, like Slobodište in Kruševac, Šumarice in Kragujevac, or the Necropolis at Sremska Mitrovica, are relatively rare, and when they do exist, they are seldom planned concurrently with the surrounding urban areas.

In this context, one could argue that the Prozivka monument is a unique example, as it is not only embedded within the urban fabric of Subotica, but also situated in a mass housing neighborhood, an architectural and urban typology which socialist Yugoslavia is also known and recognised for. The neighborhood, along with the Prozivka monument and the surrounding memorial park, not only share a name, but were also designed and built concurrently as a cohesive entity—a sort of socialist urban *gesamtkunstwerk*. Furthermore, the memorial park was planned as part of a city-wide network that was only partially executed, which greatly influenced the perception and life of the monument. This makes it an intriguing case study that could enhance the understanding of the relationships between monuments and material and immaterial elements of their context.



FIGURE 1: Monument Prozivka in 1979. godine. Source: Međuopštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Subotica. Fotografije Aleksandra Jurige 11. Jun 1979. godine..

The Snop monument (Figure 1), better known by its working name Prozivka is located in Subotica, the northernmost city in Serbia near the Hungarian border. Roughly translated, Snop means sheaf, which corresponds to the form of the monument - a grand bronze stylised sheaf of grain inspired by the numerous

crop fields characteristic for the landscape surrounding the city of Subotica. Over time, the working name Prozivka, roughly translated to roll-calling or summoning (depending on the context), became the name that referred to both the monument and the mass housing neighbourhood surrounding it. The name arose from the competition brief for the memorial and poet Dejan Merковиć's lyrics "Summoned by freedom the dead also live" (Original: Slobodom prozvani i mrtvi žive), which is engraved on the monument in both Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian, as Subotica is a multicultural city and has multiple official languages in use.

The monument was revealed in 1977 as part of the festivities for Yugoslav Army Day, Tito's jubilee and the thirtieth anniversary of the Union of Associations of Fighters of the National Liberation War (hereinafter referred to as SUBNOR, an acronym derived from the original name) in honour of the fallen fighters of the VIII Vojvodina Brigade formed in 1944. The authors of the monument are the academic sculptor Oto Logo and his collaborators, architect Nebojša Delja and academic painter Čedomir Krstić. The monument was conceived as part of the memorial park located in the centre of the newly built mass housing neighbourhood Prozivka. It was supposed to be located at the final part of the promenade that connects the Prozivka neighbourhood in the south of the city with its counterpart, the Radijalac neighbourhood in the north. Such a large-scale urban development, which could even be described as megalomaniac, was not realised in the end, nor was the memorial park, leaving the monument isolated in a neglected lawn and wild crops for the next three decades of its existence (Duranci, 2001).

A short description of Oto Logo's life and works will be briefly presented in the first part of the paper, as he created numerous sculptures and monuments but is still unrecognized, especially in relation to memorial architecture. His thoughts and observations on the topic of monuments will complement the second part of the paper, in which the Prozivka monument will be analysed through the available archival material, which includes technical documentation of restoration projects, given that the location of the original project for the monument is unknown, technical descriptions, newspaper articles, meeting records regarding the competition, design and instalment of the monument and old photographs. The spatial analysis will be carried out on three levels, namely: the city, the neighbourhood and the level of the monument itself with the aim of illustrating the changing physical, socio-economic and political context in which the monument has been placed since its creation until today, thus allowing a complex reading of the interrelatedness between the monument and its surroundings.

1. OTO LOGO

Biography

Oto Jovan Logo was a “silent man. Concrete. In the material. Reduced to the form he seeks.” (Jevtić, 1995, p. 5). He was born in Belgrade in 1931 in a working-class family - his father was a carpenter and his mother an unqualified worker. As a child, Oto spent most of his time alone in his apartment, drawing while his parents were at work. In 1941, when World War II broke out, the Logo family moved to Subotica, where Oto’s father had relatives. They hoped this would give them better access to food during the war due to its proximity to the countryside and crops (Jevtić, 1995).

Despite having a name and origin that fit in well with Subotica, Oto found it difficult to adapt there because he did not speak Hungarian. During the occupation of the city by enemy forces, he was forced to attend school in Hungarian, which made it challenging for him to be a good student. In 1942, he saw his father for the last time before he went to work in Budapest, leaving Oto alone with his mother. Due to these circumstances, Oto had to find work towards the end of the occupation and eventually found a job in a frame factory and later in an artificial flower factory. During an interview, he reminisced about his childhood and stated that his work in these factories, in a way, could be interpreted as something to do with art (Jevtić, 1995, p. 13). Even during this challenging period, Oto drew and painted with great devotion.

After the end of the war, Oto transferred from the civic high school he was forced to attend during the war to the Gymnasium. In 1948, he moved to the newly opened art high school in Novi Sad, where he was introduced to sculpting, specifically working in clay. Before that, he had only seen clay in Subotica in the studio of the old sculptor Almaši Gabor and claimed that it was “love at first sight” (Jevtić, 1995). However, due to the lack of a sculpture department, he enrolled into the architecture department at the school. He studied under the architect Đorđe Tabaković, brother of the painter Ivan Tabaković, whose advice and lessons he said came in handy later in his life. Two years later, he took the entrance exam at the Academy of Fine Arts in Belgrade, but he was not accepted. Just a few days later, he took the Academy of Applied Arts entrance exam, which he successfully passed.

During his time at the Academy, he studied painting under Ivan Tabaković, drawing under Pavel Vasić, and sculpture under professor Rade Stanković. He was particularly interested in stone processing and was fortunate to have Professor Josip Grasi as a mentor, who was responsible for creating the striking

caryatids on the monument to the Unknown Hero in Avala and Meštrović's mausoleum. Oto worked and studied under the tutelage of Professor Stanković with his peers and fellow students Nebojša Mitrić, Nandor Glid, Midorag Živković, and Bogoljub Teofanović, all well-known sculptors today. Despite completing the five-year program in just four years, Oto was one of the few students who had to present his thesis twice. He chose Ivan Goran Kovačić's famous poem "Jama" (Translation: pit), which revolves around the horrors of war, but admitted he struggled to interpret and adapt the poem to "the requirements of applied art" (Jevtić, 1995, p. 21).



FIGURE 2: Portrait of Oto Logo. Source: Salon muzeja savremene umetnosti. (1967). Oto Logo [Exhibition catalogue].

After he graduated from the Academy in 1954, he mainly focused on creating graphics since he did not have a sculpting studio. He worked on his graphics at the "Cvijeta Zuzorić" Pavilion, where there was an exceptional lithography press. During this period, he also made sculptures in his kitchen, between his mother's sewing machine and the kitchen table. Oto recalls this time by saying, "When I was casting something in plaster, I sent my mother to the cinema so that she would not see all those marvels and that mess" (Jevtić, 1995, p.40).

He organised his first exhibition in Subotica in 1945 before enrolling into the Academy with his friends and local artists. He stated that it was perhaps one of the first post-war exhibitions in Yugoslavia. After graduating in 1954, he participated in an exhibition organised by The Association of Fine Artists of Serbia, of which he became a member the following year. He had over 30 individual exhibitions, including 11 abroad he was invited to do. He also went on study trips to Italy and France, where he lived in Paris for a year during 1962/63. Throughout his life, his work was followed by numerous critics such as Denegri, Trifunović, Čelebonović, and Kadijević. He passed away in Belgrade, where he spent most of his life after graduation, on January 4, 2016, at the age of 85. He was buried in the Alley of Meritorious Citizens at the New Cemetery in Belgrade (“Odlazak Velikog Vajara,” 2016).

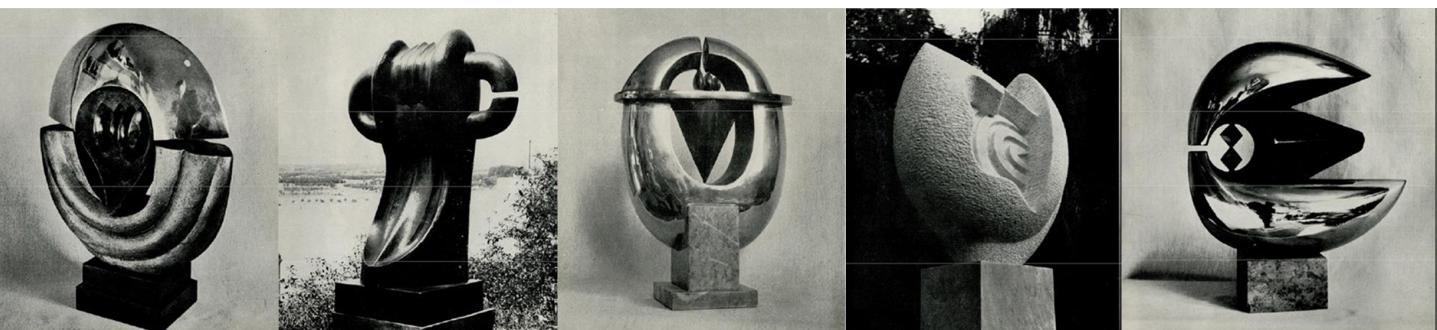


FIGURE 3: Sculptures by Otto Logo. Source: Salon muzeja savremene umetnosti. (1967). Otto Logo [Exhibition catalogue].

Most significant works, exhibitions, and awards

Otto Logo created 1,215 sculptures during his career. Among these, over 500 were busts, 32 were publicly placed monuments, and 35 were graphics (Jevtić, 1995; “Preminuo Vajar Otto Logo,” 2016). The following text will cover the most significant works, independent exhibitions, and awards.

Following the 1954 exhibition at the Art Pavilion in Belgrade, titled “XVIII ULUS Exhibition,” Otto held his first independent exhibition in 1957 at the Gallery of the Graphic Collective, displaying his sculptures and prints. He went on to hold several solo exhibitions in Belgrade over the next few years, including ones at the ULUS Gallery in 1959, the Museum of Applied Arts and Atelier 212 in 1962, and the Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art in 1967. Eventually, he began exhibiting abroad, starting with Sarajevo and Skopje and later expanding to Liège, Brussels, and Zurich in the early 1970s.

Oto also showcased his work in various museums in regional cities such as Zagreb, as well as museums in Oslo, New York, Paris, Geneva, Brussels, and Los Angeles. Among his notable awards is the Golden Pin of ULUS, which he received in 1961, the sculpture prize at the 6th October Salon in Belgrade in 1965, the sculpture award at the exhibition “People’s Liberation Struggle in the Works of Visual Artists of Yugoslavia” in 1966, and the October award of the city of Belgrade in 1967 (Salon muzeja savremene umetnosti, 1967; Likovna galerija kulturnog centra Beograda, 1972).

As this paper primarily focuses on memorial architecture, a few of Oto’s monuments, which best represent the themes he was mainly interested in as an author, will be presented. Oto says about his creative process:

I have always strived to let the theme allow my fundamental sculpting belief to come through - to achieve a form that will entirely independently, without any stories, affect the viewer. So I wanted my sculpture to act in a visual language, with as little context as its name can give. Those themes were - shells, birds, armadillos, cathedrals and portraits of machines (Jevtić, 1995, p. 29)

He created the following monuments, in chronological order: the monument to fallen fighters in Kovačica (1954), the monument to Dragojlo Dudić in Valjevo (1971), the monument to Topolovac in Kragujevac and the Prozivka or Snop monument in Subotica (both in 1977), the monument to the 1941 Battle of Ljiška in Ljig (1981), the Monument to Ivan Sarić in Subotica (1984), the monument to the 1942 Victims of Bojnica in Bojnik, and the monument to Vojvoda Živojin Mišić in Mionica (1988), for which he was awarded the first prize in the design competition, as well as the half-century monument to Jovan Cvijić in Belgrade (1994) located in the Student Park in the city centre.

Although Otto claims that he “approached the problematic of the monument in the same manner, regardless of whether the form should be figurative, realistic or possibly even associative, that is, a sculpture” (Jevtić, 1995, p. 32), it is impossible not to notice that most of the monuments he made are figurative or realistic in form. One of the exceptions is the Prozivka monument, which leans towards what he refers to as the associative form and is much closer to his usual sculptural work (Figure 3). It is important to note that although he may not have distinguished between monuments and sculptures during the creative process, he is aware that “a monument requires more responsibility than easel work” (Jevtić, 1995, p. 33) and emphasises:

In fact, the monument marks an environment. It is known that it is

often pointed out that it is enough to be born in Italy to be talented. That, of course, is not true, but it is true that the Italians are indeed at an advantage. As soon as they go out into their city, they can absorb the endless beauty that is all around them. Thus, the monument is an endless, timeless, aesthetic and didactic object. It serves the constant education of all those who watch it (Jevtić, 1995, p. 33).

2. PROZIVKA - A MEMORIAL REDUCED TO A MONUMENT

The beginning: idea, design competition and unveiling of the monument

The primary intention behind constructing the Prozivka memorial was to pay tribute to the VIII Vojvodina Brigade formed on September 12, 1944, on Fruška Gora mountain. The brigade reorganised in Subotica, and about eight hundred citizens joined it, making up almost half of its fighters. This intention, as well as the core theme of the organised design competition for the monument, can be recognised in the following sentence: "The premise of the Subotica monument, matured in the year of Tito's and our jubilee, is the most humane appreciation of human sacrifice for freedom and independence through the attitude that 'summoned by freedom the dead also live'" (Duranci, 1977, p. 3).

Only invited artists could participate in the competition. The jury for the competition consisted of 10 members: Špiro Mitrić, Antun Milodanović-Dela, Berkeš Laslo, Boroš Đerđ, Bogdan Simendić, Ilija Burzan and Ilija Šujica, all delegates of various socialist organisations in Subotica and respected professor of History of Art Bela Duranci, architect De Negri Karlo, painter Siladi Gabor and academic sculptor Aleksandar Zarin. Before the competition, a discussion was held with the artists to answer any questions and resolve possible objections regarding the competition brief. Artists Ana Bešlić, Nandor Glid and Oto Logo from Belgrade and Gabor Almaši and Ferenc Kalmar from Subotica attended the session, while Peter Čarne and Janez Boljka from Ljubljana did not come. From the jury members, the chairman of the jury, Špiro Mitrić, and member Bela Duranci were present at the meeting (Duranci, 1974b, p. 1)

There were objections to the deadline, the monetary compensation the authors would receive by participating, as well as the monetary compensation for the winner. Nandor Glid, Oto's friend and colleague from the Academy, believed that the number of experts on the jury was in the minority, which presents a good opportunity for another remark by Otto on the importance of responsibility such positions hold:

I have advocated for years - and now I use the opportunity to say it publicly - that I would like, if it were possible, for every monument to have a plaque with the names of the members of the jury who chose

that monument and under what conditions (whether the monument was directly ordered, was there a competition and the like). I believe that then the number of bad or, at least, unseemly monuments would be very small, because juries would show more responsibility (Jevtić, 1995, p. 36).

All the competition works, drawings and physical models were exhibited in the City Museum of Subotica gallery from September 26 to December 6, 1974. Duranci (1977) states that the other competition works also proposed very successful solutions, but that Oto Logo's work stood out because of the symbol of grain tied in a sheaf, which corresponds to the landscape character of Subotica and favours collectivism, which is in line with the socialist ideology of the time - "A substantial ear of wheat on a thin stalk tied in a sheaf takes on the strength that adorns the collective" (p. 3).



FIGURE 4: Photos of the ceremonial unveiling of the monument. Source: Photography collection of the Historical Archive of Subotica F:180.

Oto worked on the design proposal for the memorial site in the summer of 1974, and it was followed by several changes and only partly executed in 1977. Only the monument itself was built thus far, while its environment was left as it was – a neglected grass area, except for the immediate surroundings which were paved. Still, this was considered enough for the unveiling of the monument which was announced on the front page of the Subotica newspaper, stating that it would take place on December 18 as part of a multi-day celebration during the upcoming Yugoslav Army Day on December 22 ("Svi smo mi armija", 1977). The ceremony began with the official session of SUBNOR in the Hall of Sports. A bilingual performance of the poem "Summoned by freedom the dead also live" was performed during the meeting, followed by a musical number "Mother of Freedom" by Petar Varga. He composed a cantata for the choir, orchestra, and reciters, and Istvan Baloga wrote the text in Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian. The poem is directly associated with the monument and an introduction to its revealing that followed the ceremony in the Sports Hall. Ceremonially arrayed soldiers of the Subotica Garrison performed a

salutation platoon, an honorary fire, signalling that the monument could be unveiled (Nikolić, 1977; “Otkriven spomenik borcima revolucije“, 1977). The monument was unveiled by Stipan Kopilović, the secretary of the municipal committee of the Communist League, in the presence of many representatives of socio-political organisations of the Province and citizens of Subotica (Figure 4). The author himself attended the unveiling. On that occasion, a telegram was sent to Comrade Tito with the following content: “On the memories of the battles for freedom, we raise the young generation, on the memories of our battles, we draw inspiration for actions that enrich our socialist self-governing relations” (“Spomenik slobodom prozvanih“, 1977).

After the monument was revealed, Duranci writes:

A cold winter day. Over the frozen ground, barely peaking above the thin veil of fallen snow, grass was sprouting. Like wintry wheat on Vojvodina’s ploughland. Upon this December ambience, rose a bronze, ripe ear of wheat, tied in two sheaves. Behind the monument, a slender crane stands next to the new buildings in Subotica’s new neighbourhood “PROZIVKA” - like an exclamation mark signifying that construction works here are ongoing and will continue, works which are changing the face of the city (Duranci, 1977, p. 1).

Multiscale analysis of the monument

City level

At the city level, the monument was designed as a part of a larger city-wide spatial concept. It was intended to be one of the main landmarks, not only of the Prozivka neighbourhood where it currently stands, but also of the boulevard and promenade that would link the two biggest socialist housing neighbourhoods of the city: the aforementioned Prozivka neighbourhood in the south of Subotica and the Radijalac neighbourhood located in the north. This idea to connect the two neighbourhoods stemmed from the “Directive Urban Plan” drafted in 1952, which proposed introducing two boulevards – one oriented east-west and the other north-south. The north-south boulevard was supposed to pass through the old city centre and connect the existing city park - Dudova forest behind Radijalac and the large People’s Park planned on the outskirts of Prozivka (Mrkić, 2012).

The Radijalac neighbourhood was constructed in the 1960s, based on a concept that originated in 1910, when the first plans for the boulevard were conceived. Over time, the idea evolved in accordance with the changing urban planning paradigms. Instead of the initially planned baroque boulevard aligned with palaces, Subotica got a new promenade named Alley of Marshal Tito, in line with the new socialist ideals of Yugoslavia. The promenade, which is

900m long and 20m wide, is adorned with greenery and is bordered by car lanes and the first residential towers in the city, reflecting the socialist principles of urban planning. The combination of towers and slabs constitutes the spatial framework of the promenade, which is carefully oriented to provide a view of the tower of the Town hall - the pearl of Secession architecture, for which Subotica is well-known, and the symbol of the city (Mrkić, 2012).

The completion of Radialac and the end of the 1960s marked the successful finish to the first half of the large boulevard, and the planning of the second half of the boulevard, which included the Prozivka neighbourhood, began. Subotica's planning institute created the "Detailed Urban Plan for Part IV and IX of the Municipal Community in Subotica", on which Prozivka is based in 1974 and started construction of the neighbourhood in the mid-70s. The concept for the spatial layout of the neighbourhood was similar to Radialac - the buildings were symmetrically placed around a linear public space. Prozivka's public space was planned as a 100m wide memorial park officially named The Memorial Alley of the VIII Vojvodina Brigade. The buildings were constructed from the city's outskirts towards the centre, surrounded by cleared land, rubble, and weeds. However, the distance of approximately 3 kilometres from the outskirts to the city centre proved to be quite an ambitious feat even for the socialist building industry known for its quick and efficient housing construction, causing several departures from the original plan. The construction of this ambitious project halted during the 90's, among other factors, due to the dissolution of Yugoslavia, leaving Prozivka finished only halfway to the centre, separated from it by blocks of unpaved streets and old houses. Due to this isolating factor and the lack of public amenities, which were not built, Prozivka acquired the status of a ghetto among the inhabitants during the 90s (Žombor, 2002; "Prozivka među guskama", 2015; "Slobodom prozvani i mrtvi žive", 2018).

The unfinished part, between the city centre and the built part of Prozivka - today's Prvomajska street, was initially supposed to grow into the Prvomajska promenade. The promenade was envisioned to be lined with residential slabs and towers as a continuation of the mass housing development of Prozivka (Zavod za Urbanizam i Geodeziju Subotica, 1974). The end of the promenade on the Prozivka side was supposed to represent the entry point of The Memorial Alley of the VIII Vojvodina Brigade (Duranci, 1974). However, due to a series of unfinished projects on the city-scale, such as the pedestrian route along Prvomajska Street, the public amenities within Prozivka and the large People's Park behind it, the neighbourhood no longer attracted residents from other parts of the city after the ceremonial unveiling of the monument, leaving it out of sight to most of the city residents. Although the intention was for this monument to be a "living, functional and permanent detail in the structure of the city of Subotica" (Duranci, 1974, p. 3), its integration was not only absent at the level of the city, but also at the level of the settlement itself. (Figure 5)

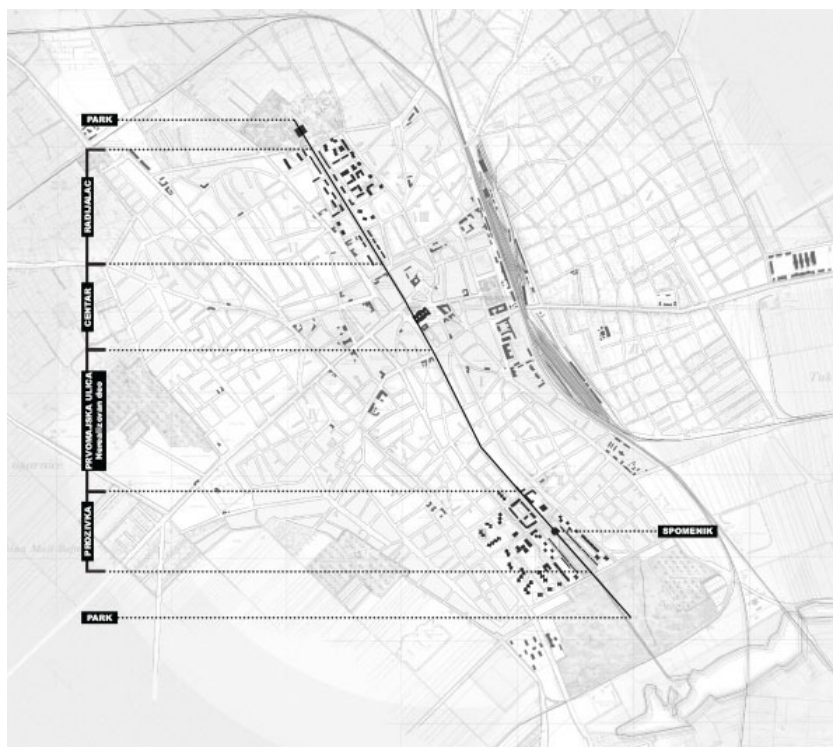


FIGURE 5: Diagram – the position of the monument in relationship to the city and the planned boulevard: Source: Drawing by Dezire Tilingier, 2022.

Neighbourhood level

This notion of the monument becoming a victim of unfinished plans is even more evident on the neighbourhood scale, as the monument is only partly executed and left without adequate surroundings even though it is the focal point of the whole neighbourhood.

The location of the monument within the memorial complex was previously determined by a decision made during a joint session on June 26, 1973, which was organised to address the urban planning of The Memorial Alley of the VIII Vojvodina Brigade “Prozivka”. Unfortunately, like the original project of the monument itself, the location of the urban plan for the memorial park is not known. However, essential information about the spatial conception of the memorial park can be found in textual form in a document that resulted from the aforementioned joint session for the memorial complex. The basic elements of the memorial park include stone cubes, a linear pool, and a vertical structure with space for an eternal flame and a wall with inscriptions at its end (Durnaci, 1973).



FIGURES 6,7: The position of the monument today. Source: <https://gradsubotica.co.rs/prozivka/>, Date of download: January 2022.

Duranci (1973) states that the number of white stone cubes corresponds to the number of people who died during the war from Subotica. The cubes should be placed in order to compose “oases of peace and memory”- in several groups in the grass followed by a gentle unevenness of the terrain and shallow craters, presenting the number of battles the brigade went through, interlaced with footpaths around (p.3). The pool, with a black bottom, would stretch in the central part of the memorial complex from the former Gabrić ćuprija site, which has certain folklore connotations among Subotica’s citizens, to the other end of the memorial alley. Gabrić ćuprija, an old little bridge famous among the people for the custom of carrying the bride across it after the wedding ceremony, was located near the beginning of the memorial alley, but was removed during the construction of Prozivka. It was intended to bridge the pool’s beginning, which would preserve the existing tradition but also provide a slightly elevated viewpoint of the entire memorial complex of an approximate area of about 5 ha (Duranci, 1973, p. 3).

It is worth noting that this textual description foresees a different position of the monument from its current placement. According to Duranci, the monument is located at the end of the linear pool as its crescendo, which places the monument deeper in the park, closer to its end, than its current position at the planned entrance to the memorial park. Moving the monument from one side of the memorial park to the other brought it closer to the position of the former Gabrić ćuprija, which would later, when the idea of reintroduction of the bridge in the park arose, cause a conflict between the two toponyms of the Prozivka neighbourhood (Figure 6, 7, 8, 9).

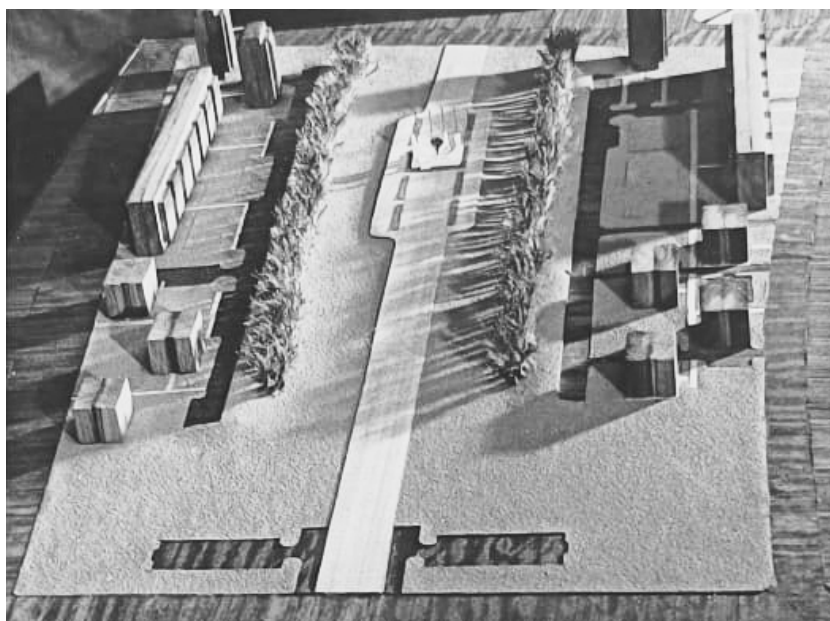


FIGURE 8: The position of the monument in the competition work by Ferenc Kalmar. Source: Gradski muzej Subotice, Zbirka dela jugoslovenskih autora Projekat K256L – konkursni rad Ferenc Kalmarija.

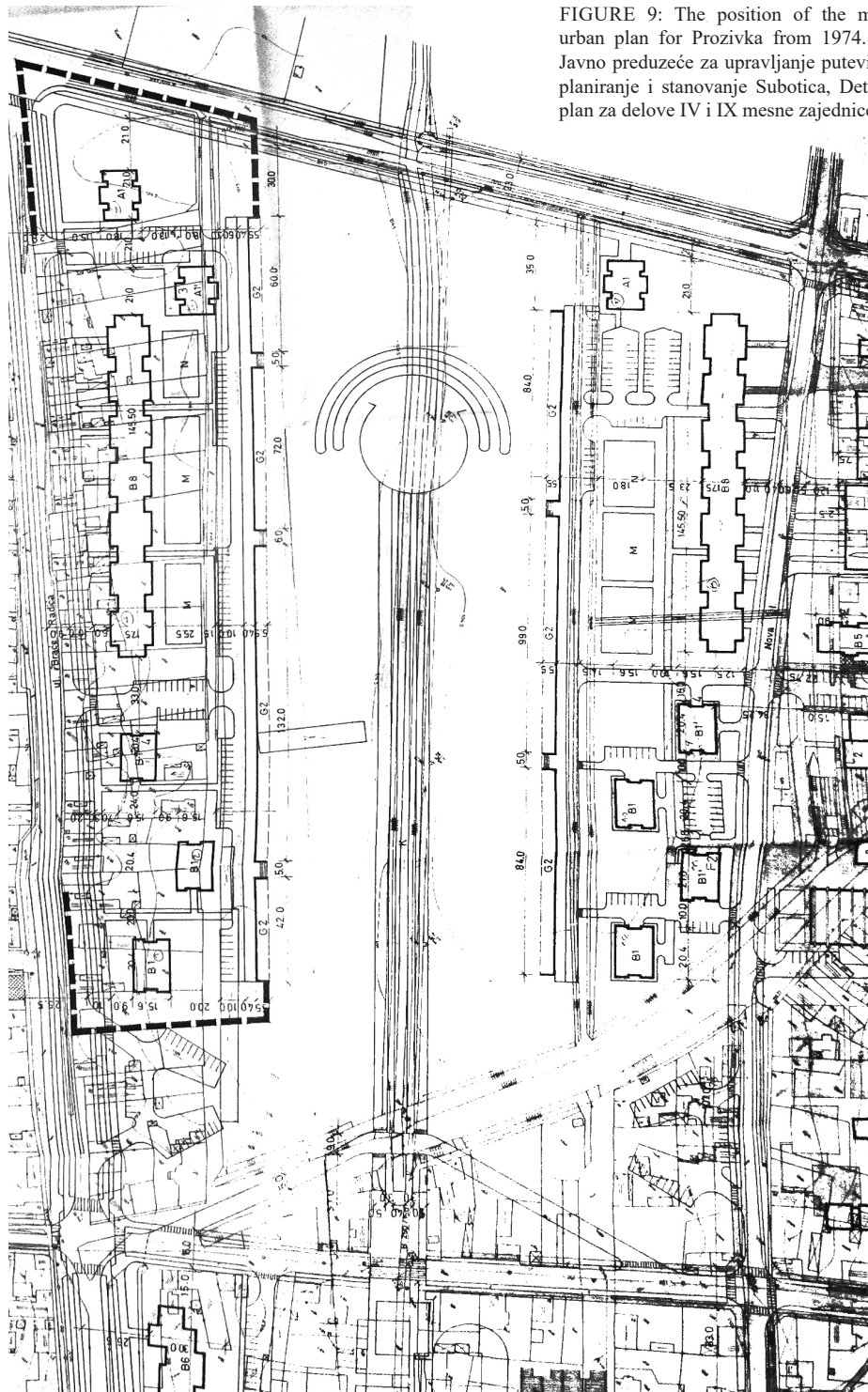


FIGURE 9: The position of the monument in the urban plan for Prozivka from 1974. godine. Source: Javno preduzeće za upravljanje putevima, urbanističko planiranje i stanovanje Subotica, Detaljni urbanistički plan za delove IV i IX mesne zajednice 1974.

Monument level

The spatial analysis of the monument will describe the monument in detail, from its symbolism to its construction and materialism. The monument is a bronze sculpture of monumental form and dimensions, a stylised sheaf of grain, which is placed on a pedestal in the shape of two joined crescents whose ends face opposite sides. The monument is placed in the centre of a circle with a diameter of 842 cm, paved with stone blocks. The pedestal of the monument, measuring 515 x 350 x 155 cm, is made of reinforced concrete, covered with a copper sheet from above, and a stone lining supported on steel anchors. The sculpture is made of bronze and measures 600 x 310 x 550 cm (Figure 10).

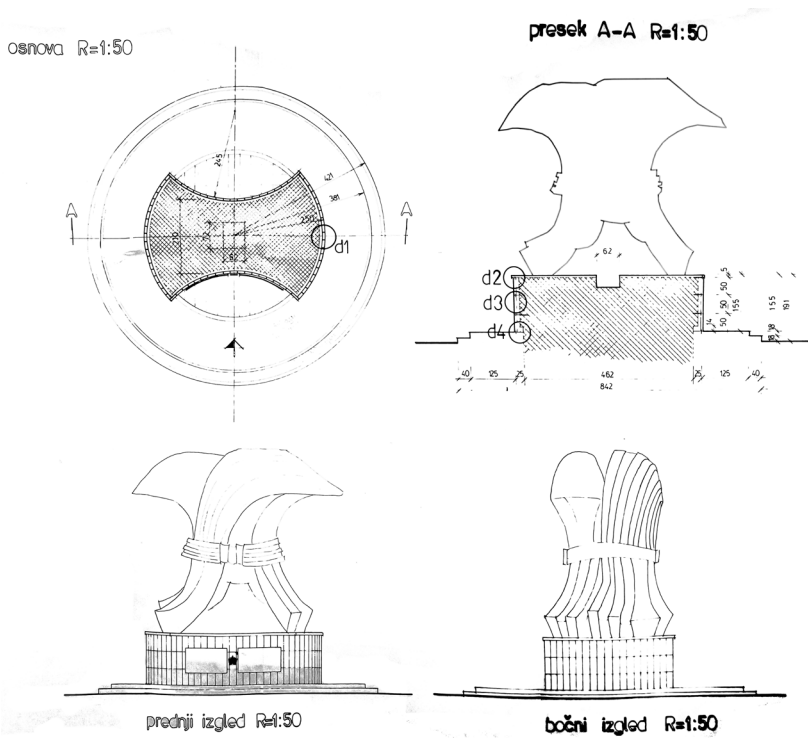


FIGURE 10: Project for the reconstruction of monument Prozivka from 1988. godine. Source: Međuopštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Subotica.

On the front side of the pedestal are placed two groups of bronze letters that write the verses of Lazar Merković: “Summoned by freedom the dead also live,” followed by “To the fallen fighters of the socialist revolution of the municipality of Subotica” in Serbian and Hungarian. Between them is inserted the emblem, the bronze sign of the fighters of Yugoslavia (Figure 11).



FIGURE 11: Original inscription on Monument Prozivka in 1979. godine. Source: Međuopštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Subotica. Fotografije Aleksandra Jurige 11. Jun 1979. godine.

“Even though an agrarian sign” the monument “is shaped as a pure form of modern, technical civilisation”, as Duranci (2001) points out (p. 106). The sculpture is made of two wheats of grain held together by a belt positioned at half the sculpture’s height. The volume of the sculpture is arranged in such a way that below the belt, there are only supports - the stalks of the grain wheats, while above the belt, they become one volume, thus forming a sheltered space between the pedestal and the supports of the sculpture for the placement of the eternal flame, an often used antifascist symbol in Yugoslav memorial architecture. The symmetry and stability of the composition are also reflected in the moment of joining or tying the ears of wheat into a bundle, clearly indicating the balance the two wheats provide to each other, both visually and constructively. The sculptor Otto was greatly influenced by architect Goran Tabaković, under whom he studied architecture in high school. This influence is reflected in Otto’s understanding of the process of constructing the sculpture:

It (the sculpture) requires a masonry system, in the literal sense... It is a long-term work. Among other things, it also takes physical work, construction work. Naturally, in such circumstances, the sculptor has no time for inspiration. He has to deal with what I usually call the construction of a sculpture (Jevtić, 1995, pp. 30, 31).

Even though the mass of the structure is located in its upper part, which is additionally emphasised by the grooves that almost perforate the monument

on its supports and then gradually disappear in the mass of the upper parts of the wheat, the effect of lightness that Durnaci perceives has been successfully achieved:

If we carefully examine this bronze form, we will notice that this considerable mass has an extraordinary, thin and curved movement of life, directed from existence to the top in the form of the letter “S”, visible from two sides. However, from the other two viewpoints, we have a completely different rhythm that firmly imposes itself on us. Moving around these two rhythms, from various points of view, gives a multitude of unexpected experiences (Duranci, 1977, p. 9).

Duranci (1977) believes that playing with the symbol of grain was risky, considering that it is an often exploited motif, but still, the use of this symbol in a plain, grain-bearing region proved to be a wise choice because it evokes a specific emotional connection among the inhabitants of that area. It will be shown in the coming decades that Duranci overestimated the emotional connection of the grain with the inhabitants and that the monument will go through numerous attempts at reconstruction due to neglect and vandalism, leading him to stop this kind of romanticisation of the monument he is prone to and even to propose its relocation if it continues to be a target of dissatisfaction and aggression of the local population. He thinks of closing or limiting access to the monument but admits that in that case, “it would cease to be a monument” (Duranci, 2001, p. 109). Thus, the spatial analysis of the monument will be further explored through the small changes that happened to it and around it in the upcoming decades with the aim of stopping its further vandalization, which resulted from its unsatisfactory implementation on the city and neighbourhood level, but also the apparent inability of the monument to connect to the neighbourhood residents.

Maintenance

Less than ten years after the placement of the monument, in 1986/87, and according to Duranci and Gabrić (2001), even before then, in 1983, there was already need for restoration due to the heavy devastation the monument endured. Demeter (1986) reports on the damage done to the Prozivka Monument and indicates that the large area around the monument seems “extremely neglected and not thought-out” (p. 4), that the surrounding contents have not been implemented and that every single one of the existing light fixtures has been destroyed.

Photographic documentation shows damage to the lower edge of the monument, damage to the covering copper sheet on the pedestal and numerous graffiti on all parts of the monument. It was also noticed that the opening on the upper panel of the pedestal, intended for the eternal flame, is also stuffed



FIGURE 12: The devastation of the monument in 1986. Source: Međuopštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Subotica. Opis postojećeg stanja i ponuda za popravku nastalih oštećenja na spomen kompleksu kod Prozivke.

with garbage (Figure 12). Nevertheless, Demeter points out that “The saddest picture is given by the monument itself, which is a victim of vandalism and the uncontrolled destructive impulses of children from the surrounding buildings, who express their aggressiveness instilled by the inhumane environment and the lack of space to play towards this extremely significant monument” (Demeter, 1986, page 4). In the same year, untamed grass and weeds were removed, broken granite plates on the pedestal were replaced with the same material, dirt, graffiti and cracks were removed, and a bronze plate with a bilingual inscription was installed due to the frequent destruction and disappearance of the individual letters that made up the original text (Figure 13).



FIGURE 13: The inscription on Monument Prozivka after reconstruction. Source: Međuopštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Subotica. Fotodokumentacija 1990. godina

In 1988, a new report on the damage to the Prozivka Monument was drawn up, where it was noted that the monument's surroundings were in a similar state to two years ago, and it repeated almost verbatim the same sentences from the previous report. Minor repairs were carried out again, and the granite stone cladding was replaced with a cheaper, autochthon to the Balkan area, marble called Plavi Tok (Demeter, 1988). Similar reports were drafted in 1989, and the 1990s witnessed two new reports being issued within only a few months. Gabrić (1991) states that all the restoration works have been unsuccessful so far: the stone slabs are broken again, the bronze Fighters of Yugoslavia emblem has been removed, the copper sheet is once more damaged, and the bronze inscription plate begins to fall off due to the corrosion of the screws. The following proposal is presented: "Almost every year such interventions are carried out, so it would be advisable to change the entire pedestal and make it in natural concrete with built-in bronze plates and an emblem" (Gabrić, 1991, p. 1).

After a few years, in 1994, a new restoration project was created. At this moment, the monument is completely stripped, and apart from a shiny but graffiti-written sheaf of grain, nothing remains of the monument. All the bronze plates have disappeared along with the marble cladding, fully exposing the concrete plinth covered with evenly spaced steel anchors that once supported it. After implementing the project, the pathway to the monument and the plateau were finally paved with granite blocks and yellow clinker bricks. Reinforcing wire was attached to the steel anchors driven into the pedestal, the copper sheet was removed and the entire pedestal was covered continuously, without a break between the horizontal and vertical surfaces, with "yellowish" cast terrazzo, thus ultimately closing the opening for the eternal fire (Figure 14). All edges have been rounded to prevent chipping, and the bronze letters have been replaced with text carved in terrazzo and painted bronze. The sign of the fighters was found, cleaned and embedded in the terrazzo coating (Konzervatorski uslovi za restauraciju Spomenika "Prozivka", 1994) (Figure 15).

Otto was well aware of the importance of the composition between the monument and its surroundings, stating that "a monument that stands on a street, in a square or in some other open and frequented space is an extremely important object, for several reasons", primarily because a monument is a "communal problem", around which "communal projects, such as greenery, roads, streets, maybe even a square and the buildings next to it" are being resolved (Jevtić, 1995, p. 33). Yet, despite this awareness about the communal role of monuments the author had, the Prozivka monument found a resolution to its communal problems only just in 2008, 31 years after it was installed.

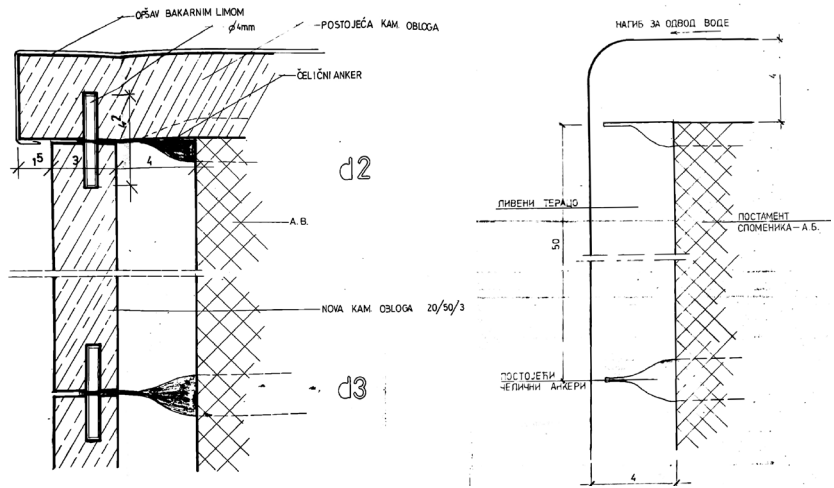


FIGURE 14: Detail of the lining of the postament in 1988 and 1994. Source: Međuopštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Subotica. Projekat rekonstrukcije spomenika Prozivka, 1988. godina and Međuopštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Subotica. Projekat restauracije spomenika Prozivka, 1994. godina.

FIGURE 15: The emblem of Fighters of Yugoslavia. Source: Međuopštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Subotica. Projekat restauracije spomenika Prozivka, 1994. godina.

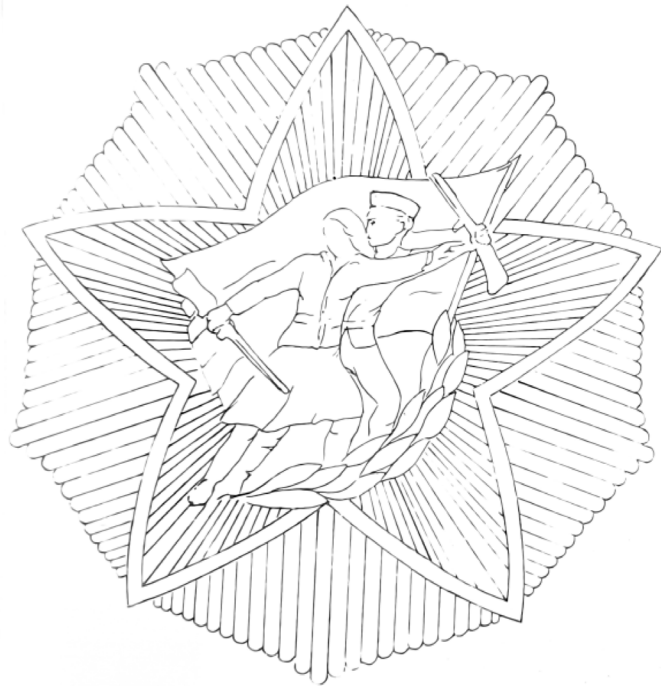




FIGURE 16: The condition of the monument in 2008. Source: Međuopštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Subotica. Projekat sanacije spomenika Prozivka, 2008. godina.

Current state of the monument

In 2008, the monument was restored the last time. Although the terrazzo on the plinth proved more durable than the stone slabs, the blocks on the plateau around the monument, which were not replaced with asphalt as suggested by the conservators, served as a convenient tool to damage the monument. There are recurring problems with graffiti and lighting fixtures (Projekat sanacije spomenika “Prozivka”, 2008) (Figure 16). However, considering that this time the monument was restored for the first time after more than ten years, and not on an annual basis as before, the restorers decided to follow the same approach, in the hope that this time a complete reconstruction, in synergy with the ongoing implementation of the new urban plan for the entire park, will finally give satisfactory and long-term results.

For the first time, not only the immediate surroundings of the monument were treated, but rather the park was treated as a whole, finally leaving behind the lingering, never to be idea of The Memorial Alley to the VIII Vojvodina brigade. The entire area of the park was decorated with paved footpaths, and benches and children’s playgrounds were installed. A horticultural project was devised for the area surrounding the monument, and some of the contents mentioned in the original competition brief for the memorial were finally executed, although they were in no way in line with the initial plan. Gabrić ćuprija was built near the monument as a separate spatial element, rather than in relationship to it, as planned. Essentially, Grabrić ćuprija is a stylised oval pool with a bridge over it, small in size compared to the one Duranci described in his report. In addition to the very postmodern and kitsch style of the bridge, its position directly in front of the monument seems inappropriate in relation to the original idea, when it was modestly interpreted as an integral part of the memorial alley and not the first impression one gets when entering the area. Therefore, the two toponyms, the monument and the bridge, clash because of their proximity, although, there was space for the Gabrić ćuprija in other places nearby, and consequently for more adequate shaping of the surroundings of the monument, which could in some measures incorporate some of the original features from the plan. The Gabrić ćuprija and the newly built residential area on the site of what would have been the beginning of the Prvomajska promenade, if the initial urban plan was executed, do not aesthetically communicate with

the monument or the socialist neighbourhood around it, as is often the case with new urban developments near socialist mass housing neighbourhoods. Still, the biggest pity lies in the loss of an unobstructed view of the monument's striking and recognisable silhouette, once visible from Prvomajska Street, by placing it in the background behind the Gabrić ćuprija (Figures 17 and 18).

FIGURE 17: The view of the monument from the direction of Prvomajska Street before the newly built residential area and Gabrić Cuprija. Izvor: <https://gradsubotica.co.rs/prozivka-medu-guskama/>, Date of download: januar 2022.



FIGURE 18: The view of the monument from the direction of Prvomajska Street after the newly built residential area and Gabrić Cuprija. Source: <https://gradsubotica.co.rs/gabric-cuprija-zatvaranje-gradilista/>. Date of download: July 2022.



3. CONCLUSION

It is evident that even though the monument, or to be more precise, the planned memorial park, was imagined as: 1) an integral part of the city, as it was planned on one of its main axes, 2) the main toponym of the Prozivka housing neighbourhood, carefully planned around it, and 3) as a symbol of collectiveness, it unfortunately failed to put this imagination into practice.

The poor integration of the monument due to its unfinished condition can be read on all three levels of research. The analysis from the city level indicates that the monument was poorly integrated within the wider urban area for two reasons: firstly, it was left unconnected, just like the Prozivka neighborhood, from the city center and secondly, there were no public amenities or spaces that would give reason for people outside the neighborhood to visit it, or pass by it, often enough for it to resonate with a broader group of Subotica's residents. At the neighborhood level, the realisation of only the monument, without a memorial park surrounding it, leaves the monument situated in an untamed grass area. This lack of a proper setting decreases the respect of the structure once intended to serve as the main symbol and landmark of the neighborhood. The monument's inability to assume this role is even more evident today, as its significance is further reduced by the development of the park which took the monument and original plans into very little account. Finally, research at the level of the monument itself indicates that, despite its robust appearance, it has been subjected to decades of vandalism, further underscoring the role it was meant to embody. Continuous alterations made during various repairs have additionally changed the monuments appearance distancing it even more from the original vision.



FIGURE 19: The view of the monument from and its surroundings in 1988. Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HR-HPyGPja4>, Date of download: March 2024.

It is important to emphasise that many different factors stand behind the many years of vandalism and abandonment the monument endured. Additionally, one might question whether the monument would be better placed in a different location, as it has no genuine connection to the site where

it currently stands. Although it was built to honor the fallen fighters of the VIII Vojvodina Brigade which did reorganise in Subotica, its placement in Prozivka is primarily symbolic; it does not mark a significant event, gathering spot, or battle site. This could also be a reason why the residents have never viewed it as significant and contribute to its poor acceptance. It can even be argued that, the monument may be one of those created in the “uncritical affirmation, mythologization, and hyperproduction of places of memory that commemorated the constitutive moments of the political regime: People’s Liberation Struggle, the socialist revolution, and the tradition of social uprising and the workers’ movement” (Horvatinčić, 2015, 37). Still, it must be admitted that some of the blame can be attributed to the ad hoc approach to planning, both in the socialist period and after it, which can be partly recognised as the reason for the monument and park being in such bad shape for decades. One could argue that while the socialist idea was maybe overly ambitious, the post-socialist period was not ambitious enough, as it was not able to, for a long period of time, at least regularly clean the park from garbage, keep the grass cut and install some sturdier lighting fixtures around the monument (Figure 19).

In general, viewed in relation to the original idea and conception of the monument, which itself can not be thoroughly understood due to lack of archival material, the question arises to what extent was it possible to take it into account when planning the park in 2008. Incomplete documentation, the lack of an original project and a large number of changes in the plans and accompanying text documents reduce all attempts to see the original intentions to mere guesswork, and it is necessary to try to find the missing pieces of the puzzle in further research. High ambitions and a large number of changes in the plans, along with the shift in the planning paradigm after the breakup of Yugoslavia, made it almost impossible to react from today’s position, which is politically, economically and in every other sense different from the one in which the monument was created, in a way that will meet all the necessary criteria, adhering both to original intentions and contemporary life.

Although the monument has been in good condition since the park’s renovation, it must be admitted that something has been taken away from it by that renovation. It can be concluded that by changing its environment, to the benefit or disadvantage of the monument, the monument itself has changed in some sense, or at least the way it is perceived. The Prozivka monument is no longer the target of vandal attacks, but thanks to the still unfinished promenade and the decades-long delay in arranging its surroundings, the monument is still not the “living, functional and permanent detail in the structure of the city of Subotica” as it was once hoped it would become, mainly because it was reduced from a memorial park to a sculpture, and could be understood as just one more victim of unfinished modernisations, of a gap between the planned and the executed.

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INSTRUMENTALISATION OF HISTORICAL NARRATIVES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES THROUGH MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE - CASE STUDY OF THE MEMORIAL PARK OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY IN ČAČAK

ABSTRACT

In the socialist context, memorial architecture represented a suitable training ground for the transposition of the new social reality through the historical discourse of the National Liberation Struggles and the revolution, as a framework for a new political mythologised narrative in which the bearers of Yugoslav political symbols, were carefully arranged. The Memorial Park of Struggle and Victory in Čačak is the focus of this research as an urban-architectural space of a natural, spontaneous, and symbolically reflective segment of the development of the monumental culture and identity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Through the implementation of poststructuralist interpretations, the invisible under the visible functions, unintentionally under the intended and dysfunctionally under the functional, were seen, which aimed to form a new ideological system. This case study shows that a world of semiotics can be woven within the autonomous system of architectural language to strengthen the idea of national and collective identity.

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KEY WORDS

MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE
NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES
MEMORIAL PARK OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY
SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
POLITICAL SYMBOLS
NATIONAL IDENTITY

The erection of monuments during socialist Yugoslavia, in which numerous artists, sculptors, and architects participated in their creations, was often aimed at affirming revolutionary values and historical events with a skillfully woven ideological and political dimension. The politics of constructing memories was an indispensable element in understanding the broader social context and aspirations of socialist Yugoslavia under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito. This period was characterised by political stability but also certain tensions between different national groups in the country. The pervasive spirit of anti-fascism and the memory of the Second World War, as well as the ideology of “Brotherhood and Unity”, were key elements that shaped the public consciousness of that time. Accordingly, the monuments were used to enthrone the past with the aim of controlling the future. However, although in most cases they were dedicated to fallen fighters, they were also a means of articulating the spirit of optimism and collective will directed toward a utopian classless society (Musabegović 2012: 20). In this regard, this research will point to memorials and memorial parks, through the case study of the Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory in Čačak, as good polygons for the expression of dominant social narratives with the aim of influencing the culture of memory and the collective through the interpretation of the past through this media.

1. THE ROLE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN THE FORMATION OF MEMORIAL MARKINGS OF THE SPACE IN THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

The establishment and entronement of the public past in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia entailed the elaborate conceptualisation and construction of connected places of remembrance of the Second World War, which was achieved through the construction of memorial places dedicated to the National Liberation Struggle throughout its territory. The use of war conflicts and the People's Liberation Struggle as a narrative for erecting memorial sites is far from unusual, as stated by Wolfgang Hopken: "While collective memory in pre-modern societies was largely based on war experiences, the arrival of nationalism in the late eighteenth century increased its importance, political role and cultural significance of war memories in societies. Wars, whether won or lost, were used by state authorities not only to strengthen national identity, but also to convey officially desired social values and virtues" (Hopken 1999: 190). Narratives conceived in this way were, to a large extent, implemented in memorial places of large dimensions and more impressive solutions in the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, within which, according to the author Sanja Horvatinčić, we see two groups of monuments - places dedicated to civilian victims and places dedicated to heroism, heroism and the victory of Wars of national liberation, that is the victory of the partisan movement.

The first type of narrative commemorated the innocent victims of the occupation and fascist terror and aimed at awakening feelings of injustice and pain during commemorative acts. Examples of this kind of narrative can be found all over the world, and it is especially developed within the discourse of the Holocaust, which has the status of an almost separate genre in the domain of memorial and memorial plastic (Marcuse 2010). On the other hand, memorial sites that celebrated narratives of victory, fallen fighters, and heroism were erected to evoke respect and pride for the common struggle and freedom. Suppose we focus on the places of memory that celebrated the narratives of victory and pride in the common struggle and freedom. In that case, we can see that the narrative created in this way is directly connected to the heroism of the Turks and the people during the Second World War and is recognised as essential for the realisation of direct participation and feelings. Ownership of memory for the whole society. By its nature, the selected narrative provided a wider scope of interpretation and was therefore chosen as a means to implement the idea of "brotherhood and unity", without distortion and potential dichotomies in the understanding of individual histories, which

often link narratives of suffering and struggle for freedom. One of the specific places of remembrance that celebrated the narrative of struggle, fallen fighters and heroism is the Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory in Čačak by architect Bogdan Bogdanović, which was built with the idea of evoking respect and pride for the common struggle and freedom “won by the Yugoslav people for the people of Yugoslavia.”(Jauković 2014: 89)

2. NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR OF YUGOSLAVIA IN ČAČAK

The National Liberation War, or the Liberation War of the People of Yugoslavia, was the armed struggle of the Yugoslav people, led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, for liberation from fascist occupation during the Second World War. The war covers the period from 1941 to 1945, on the entire territory of Yugoslavia. In the historiography of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, this struggle was still called the National Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution. The national liberation struggle of Yugoslavia was a broad anti-fascist front of struggle against the occupier and his associates.

Bearing all this in mind, it is no coincidence that in the city of Čačak in 1934, after realising that there was a threat of fascism, which spread in Europe, following the example of France, the People's Front of Freedom was formed, an organisation that gathered freedom-loving citizens. After the First Enemy Offensive and the fall of the free territory of the Republic of Užice, which included the region of Čačak, one of the most numerous partisan detachments in Yugoslavia with around 3,000 armed fighters retreated to form the Second Proletarian Brigade with only 198 fighters (the Čačak Battalion).



FIGURE 1: National Liberation Movement - on the slopes of Mount Jelica (left), on the main town square (right) (Source: https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Borbe_za_%C4%8Ca%C4%8Dak_1941.jpg, date: June 2019)

The fighters of the Čačak detachment of the People's Liberation Movement and all those who in any way participated in the uprising were exposed to the unprecedented terror of their compatriots from Ravna Gora. Simply put, that was the time when human life was the cheapest. At the end of 1942, an attempt was made to rebuild the Detachment, but due to the terror that reigned in these areas, the fear that existed among the population, and the winter that was just around the corner, that intention was abandoned. Already in February 1943, the Detachment was reformed, mainly from people who had been living illegally until then, and in an unequal battle on March 5, in Ostra, out of 25 fighters, as many as the Detachment counted, 14 were killed and two survivors were arrested and shot in camp at Banjica. A few days before this event, members of the District Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for the Čačak district were arrested in a bunker in Vapa. The detachment was reformed, but it was no longer a large military force, so at the end of 1943 it was attached to the First Šumadija Brigade and left the Čačak region. (Nedović, 2010) As can be seen, the resistance to fascism and its collaborators in the area of Čačak never stopped. Hence, an event woven from victories and defeats, sufferings and misery was an ideal basis for creating memory in Čačak during the period of socialism.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF BUILDING A MEMORIAL COMPLEX AND ITS POSITIONING ON THE TERRITORY OF THE CITY OF ČAČAK

The idea to build a memorial complex in Čačak that would simultaneously celebrate the memory of the National Liberation War and serve as the final resting place for the remains of partisans and civilians killed by the occupiers as a metaphor for national sacrifice was born at the very end of the Second World War. However, several decades passed until the idea took its final form. Already in 1946, the remains of slightly more than 3,000 partisan fighters were transferred to the newly built ossuary at the seat of the city, the former Great Market, and today's Uprising Square. After the thorough removal of the old city core in 1955, two statues of reclining male figures were placed next to the ossuary. However, such a central location, as well as the artistic solution of the memorial itself, were considered inappropriate for their commemorative purpose. Accordingly, within the extensive reconstruction of the city core, which began at the end of the 1950s, the city authorities concluded that the existence of a mass grave in the very centre of the city did not correspond to its purpose and that it devalued the commemorative value of the ossuary and

the value it was supposed to symbolise. Therefore, the People's Committee of the Municipality of Čačak, in cooperation with the expert commission of the veterans' organisation, decided to move the ossuary to a more suitable place. The ossuary was moved to a hill known as Lazović Hill, on an elevation on the outskirts of the city. (Baković, 2016) This procedure shows that the decision on the position of the memorial park represented a deliberate strategy of the ruling structures intending to adequately distribute the bearers of Yugoslav symbols within the city core of Čačak. Accordingly, it is observed that the area of Lazović Hill is located on the linear axis of the urban identity of the Street of Knez Miloš, along which various contents are concentrated, on which other open spaces rely, and which connects various significant points characteristic of the identity of certain parts of the city. (Mihaljević 2010, 8)



FIGURE 2: Moving the ossuary from Uprising Square to Lazović Hill (Source: Author's drawing, date: June 2019)

The decision to move the ossuary from the town square was followed by many years of discussions on how to transform the ossuary into a monumental memorial park, which would include not only the monument with the ossuary but also the natural environment of the immediate surroundings and form an organic whole with the nearby City Cemetery. For this purpose, a special Committee for the construction of a memorial park in Čačak was formed, which included representatives of the Municipality, veterans, and other socio-political organisations. To achieve the widest possible social consensus regarding the future appearance of the memorial complex, the Committee announced a general Yugoslav competition for the conceptual design of the monument and the urban design of the entire area in September 1965. Twenty projects were submitted to the competition, and even if they were all positively evaluated as sufficiently valuable, the project of architects Momčilo Krković and Aleksandar Đokić was taken into account. However, since the awarded authors submitted the same or

a similar project to several other public competitions, the original decision of the Committee for the Construction of the Memorial Park was annulled. After this failed competition, the Board decided to go for a direct agreement with the author instead of expensive and complicated public competitions. Therefore, in 1974, the Committee for the Construction of the Memorial Park entered into a direct contract with the architect Bogdan Bogdanović, so that Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory would officially open in 1980. (Baković, 2017) With the opening of Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory, the area of Lazović Hill very quickly became the main place for marking important dates from the history of the National Liberation War, and the entire complex gained additional importance.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE SPATIAL AND DESIGN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MEMORIAL PARK OF THE STRUGGLE AND VICTORY

For the construction of this memorial complex, a large complex facing the city's northeast side on the slopes of the Jelica mountain was occupied. This green area represents a unique landscape unit, which was chosen for the location of this memorial complex due to its topographic features. (Baković, 2017)

The formation of the position of the memorial park within Lazović Hill is based on the position of the transferred ossuary of fallen fighters. Namely, the ossuary was taken for orientation as the centre or core of the commemoration, drawn in a circular area with an approximate diameter of 110m. Thus formed circular *temenos* (part of the land separated from daily use dedicated to the gods), approximately 3.5ha, is not physically fenced but only optically separated by a circular furrow, i.e. a channel that would turn the inner surface into a kind of symbolic citadel. The space behind this real, physical, or symbolic delimitation is densely forested, and the surface in the circle remains as a kind of a meadow.

It is possible to enter the memorial park from two main roads in the city, both marked with the symbol *U*. The first road, which starts at the end of the city street, is mainly intended for pedestrians. The second one, approximately at the point of the separation of today's car access, is intended for visitors who come by car and bus. The formed entrance gates also represent a demarcation of the psychological rather than the physical order, and it aims to let the visitor be aware of crossing the boundaries of the *temenos*, entering a consecrated space, and preparing to receive the special kind of information that a memorial composition offers. (Documentation of the Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory; document No. 351-442/76)



FIGURE 3: Situational plan of the Memorial Park of Struggle and Victory in Čačak
(Source: M. Radišić, within the project documentation for the construction of Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory; document No. 351-442/76 - archive of the Intermunicipal Historical Archive in Čačak)

Before entering the memorial complex, the visitor passes by the place on the fence, at the location marked with Uv , from which it is possible to see the main motifs of the memorial. In the explanation of the area, this opening is marked as a visual gate and its function has a psychological application, formed by a green frame around the visible image, and it also represents a physical obstacle that would stop visitors from going that way immediately. Passing by the visual gate, one reaches the main entrance, at the location marked with U , to the park, which is marked with a stone block, behind which the path leads to the very centre of the memorial park, i.e. to the site of the ossuary formed by a solemn mound under which the remains of fallen fighters are located. When walking through the complex, the author created footpaths in Turkish cobblestones to emphasise the secular space. By materialising the footpaths in this way, the visitor's movement becomes difficult and slows down, and thus, the visitor is forced to move "step by step" or "one foot in front of another". Determining the movement of visitors in this manner is a very important and decisive element in guiding them to a specific model of behaviour, which the exceptionality of this place requires.



FIGURE 4: Pedestrian access to the memorial park - Entrance to the memorial park (left), Turkish cobbled footpath (right) (Source: Author's photographs, date: June 2019)

Burying with earth and making this mound represents a ritual act that provides eternal peace to the remains of the heroes, marked on the map with the letter g. A four-meter-high tumulus in the shape of an indented pyramid forms a tomb that symbolises this region's prehistoric tradition. Next to the tumulus, a plateau with an architrave gate was created at the place of the burner, intended for commemorative gatherings, i.e., honouring the fallen fighters.



FIGURE 5: View of the mound (tomb) and the plateau with the burner (Source: Author's photographs, date: June 2019)

However, to ensure a proper understanding of the basic significance of the symbol of struggle and victory, it was necessary to point out the huge and conscious human sacrifice; accordingly, only then, behind the architrave gate, is the mausoleum visible at the location marked with km, which dominates the entire landscape of the memorial field. With its physicality, reflected in the use of Jablanica gabbro, it personifies the victory of the revolution and the opening of perspectives for the future. The composition in this manner indicates this conceptual order: after the sacrifice of victory, to the victory and the conquest of freedom and the future.



FIGURE 6: The layout of the mausoleum (Source: Author's photographs, date: June 2019)

The conceptual solution in the memorial park also foresees the construction of an amphitheatre in the location marked with t. Its position is predicted to be behind the mausoleum, where, passing through the forest, one reaches a place of joy and celebration. This object was not realised due to socio-political problems that shook Yugoslavia at the time.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE SYMBOLIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STRUGGLE AND VICTORY MEMORIAL PARK

Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory was created on a semiotic series of gates that were erected to shape the memory of the historical event. The semiotic series is based on three semiotic gates that include: the first gate, which represents the visual contact between the memorial park and the urban centre, creates a narrative representation of the sanctuary; the second gate represents the core of the park itself, i.e. the place of eternal rest for the fallen fighters and the third gate represents the form of the mausoleum itself that creates a narrative representation of the temple and alludes to the transcendent role of ornaments that form a political symbol and cult of death.

Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory is set in a natural landscape on the slopes of Mountain Jelica, close to the urban centre. The positioning of the memorial complex in such an environment represents a very important strategic position, which is based on the ideological construct of a worldview that first appeared in ancient Greece (Acropolis). The spatial composition formed in a circular *temenos* is marked at the entrance with a stone block on which the Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory is carved, which is placed in such a way as to suggest the direction of movement of visitors and the border with secular space. By going around the stone, one steps onto the plateau that at the other end narrows to one side of the staircase, which then leads to a narrow path through a lush forest. Following this path of stone cubes, one will reach a green expanse from which three elements emerge. The first represents the tumulus under which the fighters were buried, the second represents the gate in the centre of the commemoration site, and the third a mausoleum. This semiotic gate is rounded off with a stone block on which the words of Josip Broz Tito are carved, alluding to the return to the public space. The symbiosis of nature (forests and mountains) and the culture of the spatial composition created in this way suggests the exemplary past and national antiquity of the people, which during the period of Tito's Yugoslavia helped to evoke Yugoslav traditions and memories.

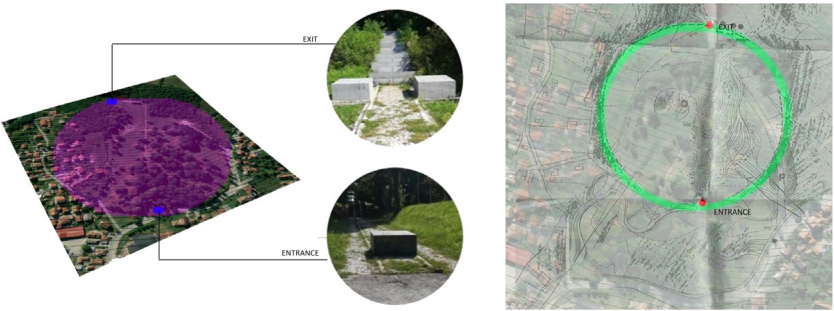


FIGURE 7: Presentation of the first semiotic gate - Sanctuary (Source: Author's drawing, date: June 2019)

The second semiotic gate is the place of eternal rest for the fallen fighters for the liberation of Čačak, formed in simple architectural elements that highlight the inseparable connection with tradition and the past. Using the architrave structure as a burner and the tumulus as a burial place, the author of this building points to the antiquity of the event that marked this space. Positioning these elements in the very centre of the memorial park emphasises the importance of the commemorative ritual in the consciousness of the Serbian people. The architrave gate, which is formed from large pieces of Jablanica gabbro, frames the mound on one side and the mausoleum on the other, the third semiotic gate.

In other words, it creates a specific image for the visitor of being the thin line between death and immortality. The formation of this feeling is influenced by the assembly of stone blocks that have a gap of 1 cm between them, which allows the rays of the sun to shine on the visitor looking at the mausoleum, that is, freedom in the figurative sense.

FIGURE 8: Presentation of the second semiotic gate - Place of commemoration (Source: Author's drawing, date: June 2019)

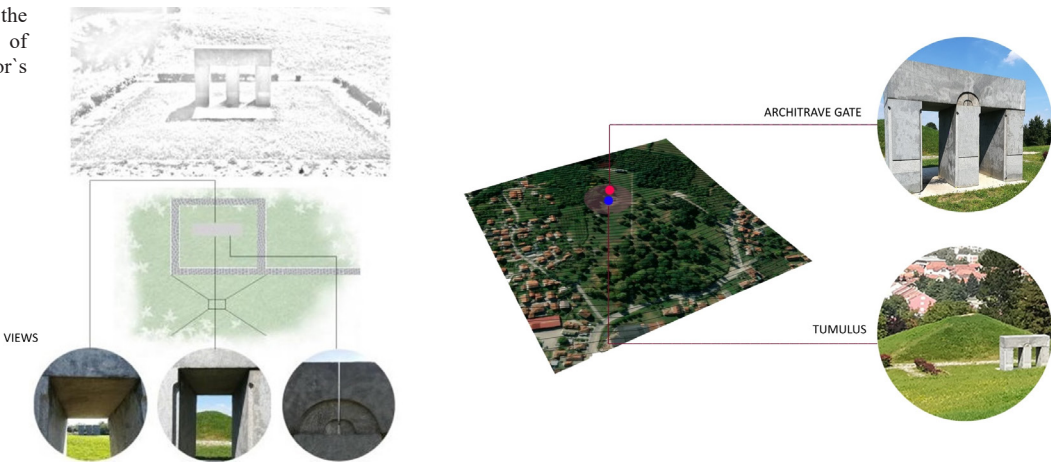
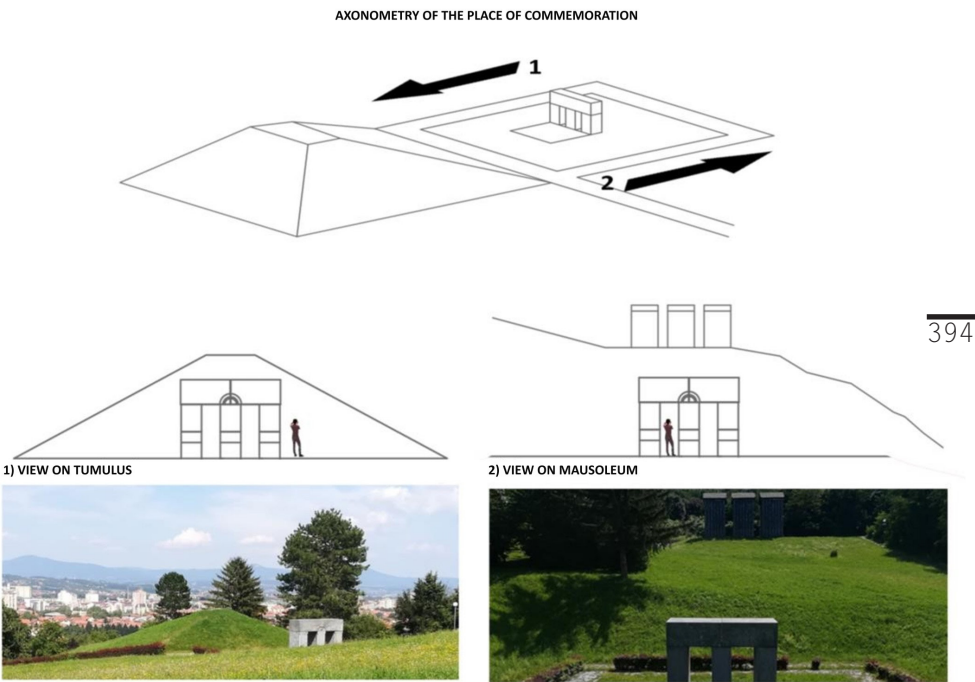


FIGURE 9: Display of the view through the architrave gate (Source: Author's drawing, date: June 2019)



The structure of the mausoleum itself represents the third semiotic gate and the ideological center of this memorial park. The mausoleum is placed on a pedestrian path that has a passage in the form of Cyclopean stairs on both sides. The staircase created in this way with its non-standard dimensions evokes “superhuman” efforts when going through the horrors of war, at the end of which there is light, hope, and ascension to heaven. In other words, their position and proportion leave the impression of the end and the beginning of the sacred path. Based on this, it can be seen that this commemorative monument is being developed on the model of the Greek megaron to express the sublime antiquity of the national identity. The mausoleum is presented in the form of a megaron with three portals and two gaps that enable an alternating experience of darkness and light, which is obtained by the unconventional formation of a triangular gap. By creating this spatial composition, one gets the impression of passing through the horrors of war, a house occupied by demons of evil, at the end of which there is light, a path that rises to the sky, i.e. freedom (attachment 10, view 2). Jablanica gabbro, a blackish granite that simultaneously expresses absolute darkness and light depending on the sun’s rays, also contributes to this spatial experience. As mentioned above, the use of Jablanica gabbro played a special role in the construction of Yugoslavian national identity; this was not the first monument built from this material. The monument first to be built in this material to commemorate the victims of the First World War is the Monument to the Unknown Hero, located on Avala and erected by Ivan Meštrović in 1938. The construction of monuments in this material represented a kind of *petra genetrix* (birth from the womb of the earth) of Yugoslavia, which was supposed to simultaneously maintain the absolute reality, vitality, and light of the Yugoslav idea - just as it was implied by numerous archaic myths based on the belief in a deity born from the very bowels of the earth. The primordial belief in the ultimate determination of national identity by soil and climate rested on such a belief. (Ignjatović, 2006)

The narrative aspects of the mausoleum are complemented by the abstract use of ornaments embedded in the walls of the mausoleum itself, which give the impression of pilasters when viewed from the first gate. The symbols that make up the ornaments represent mythical creatures, more precisely griffins, which were used to create a dignified image of the sacred form in the human subconscious. Using the griffin in his architectural language, the author of this building evokes the dual divine attribute of strength and wisdom, which is included in the overall symbolism of the power of salvation. (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994) This reduction of myth to sign systems allowed this memorial to be used in the formation of the cult of death, which in this context was presented as a model of the primordial cult of freedom and thus strengthened the concept of national identity.

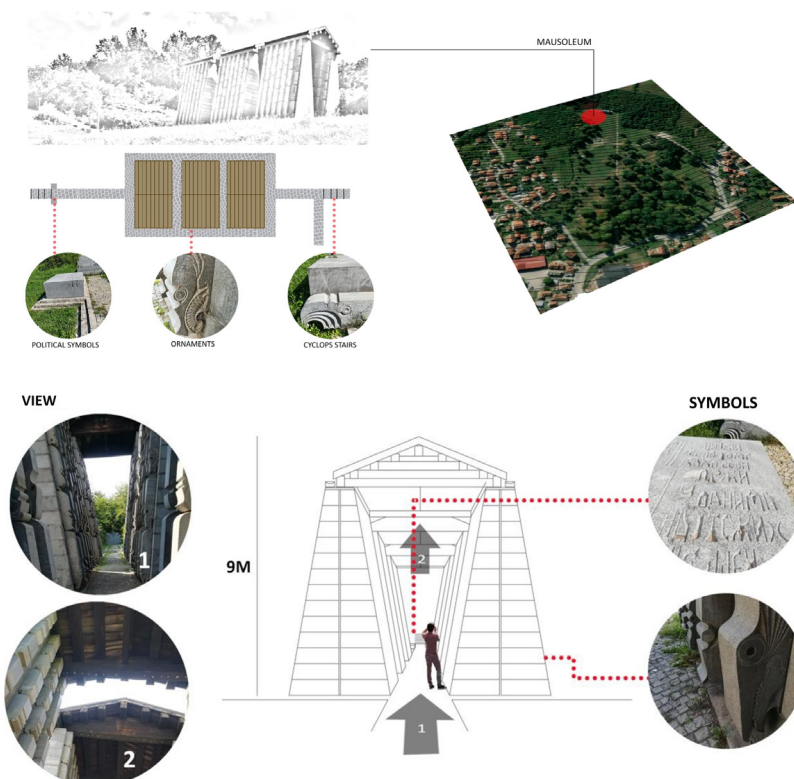


FIGURE 10: Presentation of the third semiotic gate - Mausoleum (Source: Author's drawing, date: June 2019)

In the newly built space of the memorial park, a whole corpus of bearers of new political symbols was arranged, the meaning of which was confirmed by their thoughtful and clean use within the cumbersome and comprehensive system of rituals of socialist Yugoslavia. In addition to the recapitulation of the primordial event and the homogenisation of the Yugoslav social community, based on the presented narrative of the memorial complex, the bearers of Yugoslav political symbols are singled out as an independent entity, representing typical examples of the visualisation of an authoritarian leader - the life-long president of socialist Yugoslavia. Considering this, one can see the classification of political systems with the characteristic power of the leader. This classification is also discussed by Max Weber, who states that the authority of a charismatic leader is based on his unique personal characteristics, and the people, those who believe and follow his charisma, identify and are motivated to a large extent by the leader's goals and visions. Accordingly, we conclude that political power develops primarily through an emotional and

less functional relationship between the leader and the follower. (Ivanji, 2017) Therefore, in the one-party system of socialist Yugoslavia, which had its own ideology, historical thought, and a leader with enormous authority, persistent efforts were made to build a cult figure of the president of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. A cult figure was created and maintained by eulogising the beloved leader, by his omnipresence in the media and branding of objects. Following the above-mentioned, the cult figure of Josip Broz Tito was built as the bearer of the political symbol. This political symbol is the point where the ruling ideology and the individual meet, as presented by the narratives in which the overemphasised idealisation of the leader and the dominance of his authority are observed. Hence, as a symbol of the national spirit, it represents the main constructive element of state arrangements and society. The symbol of Josip Broz Tito as a political symbol in the memorial park can be seen in the words carved into the stone block on the Cyclopean staircase that leads to the exit of the complex. The words are engraved on the granite monolith: *The greatness of a nation is judged by how it holds up in the days of the most difficult trials - Tito.*



FIGURE 11: Josip Broz Tito's quote carved in a granite monolith (Source: Author's photographs, date: June 2019)

According to the meaningful characteristics of the bearers of Yugoslav political symbols, one can see the propagation of the ideology of unity. In other words, the memorial park represents a solid integral factor for marketing and promoting his ideological premises. (Obšust, 2018) According to the aforementioned, it can be observed that the memorial park was created as a frame of a new politically mythicised narrative which, by transposing the symbol onto the mythical plane of the primordial event - the National Liberation Struggle and Revolution, achieves the transition of the symbol from the domain of religion to the domain of politics and thus becomes a tool in the hands of new secular ideologies. (Đorđević, 1986,13)

By building such a narrative, it was enabled the memorial park to become a large part of the symbolic public space of the city of Čačak, which reminded us of the victims whose struggle was an example of martyrdom and courage, in other words, a hallmark of great partisan epics. Viewed in a mythical framework, the goal was to position Yugoslavia as a country large and strong enough to be homogenous in all respects. (Bogdanović, 2019) Taking into account only the catchphrase of Brotherhood and Unity, the state formed a strategy with which it led a diplomatic struggle in an area with distinct multi-ethnicity. However, with the collapse of Yugoslavia and the return of the socialist historical narrative, the memorial complex was neglected in the communal, urban, and mythical sense.

6. PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE MAUSOLEUM

The presented narratives also show different perceptions of the way political power is distributed in the observed context by those who have it and those to whom it is intended, that is, the third dimension of power that exists when people are the subject of domination. (Lukes 2006, 96)

The solution of the entire complex implies the memorial park's very complex, pre-programmed psychological experiences. Not only is one counting on the given landscape values, and not only is one trying to develop and strengthen them, but also every form that is brought into this separated and protected landscape circle must contribute to a deep experience of the humanistic values of people's revolution. Therefore, in order to ennoble the visitor, this landscape must itself be ennobled by the organisation and arrangement of its elements. As displayed in the analysis of the urban planning solution, even entering the complex represents a threshold of experience and enables the visitor to psychologically prepare for everything that is to be seen within the circle. The flow of paths is solved freely on the field itself and the paths repeatedly meet and separate, as it happens with the units of an army in war. There is not just one single path, but many variants of movement that bring everyone to the same place, in front of the final motif, i.e. the mausoleum. Based on the analysis of the formal-structural and symbolic characteristics of the memorial complex, it can be distinguished that the mausoleum was formed in such a way as to allow passage in three directions: one longitudinal and two transverse. Two southern transverse views towards the forest, two northern transverse views towards the city, and two longitudinal ones, of which the eastern one is particularly emphasised and, considering the configuration of the terrain, opens up exceptional opportunities for further spatial-directing procedures. There is also a seventh, the most impressive free dimension of space, the one that opens

towards the sky. In other words, the visitor experiences the opening of the space above him, a specific one, as Elie Faure said about the most beautiful Greek temples, a “revolution of space”. (Vuković, 2012) Accordingly, the goal of the psychological construction of this memorial is to create completely unexpected feelings of an intimate and spiritual experience of the revolution. Put differently, the entire complex represents a complex mechanism, that is, a space with an ideally symbolically - organised reality.

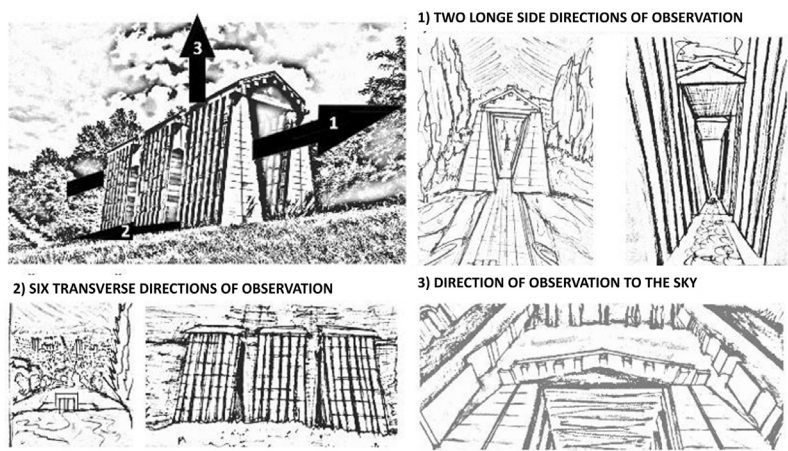


FIGURE 12: Presentation of the psychological construction of space (Source: Author’s drawing, date: June 2019)

7. THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE STRUGGLE AND VICTORY MEMORIAL PARK IN THE 21ST CENTURY

With the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the return of the socialist narrative, the monument complex was neglected in the urban and communal sense, which led to the deterioration of the appearance and organisation of the entire area. Nevertheless, representatives of the still active martial organisations continued to lay wreaths in front of the ossuary, for example during the celebration of the Liberation Day of Čačak on December 3. However, since 2012, a parallel commemoration has been held at the same place, organised by the Ravna gora movement, complete with a church Orthodox service, as part of a wider revisionist wave and the process of equalising the role of the Yugoslav army in the homeland and the partisan resistance movement during World War II. Since then, the system of parallel commemorations held every year has been an occasion for public accusations between ideological currents. Thus, the Memorial Park in Čačak became a paradigm of mnemonic conflicts and the unconquered past in post-socialist Serbia.

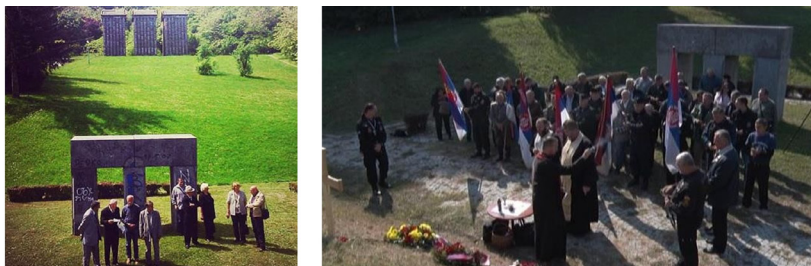


FIGURE 13: Celebration of the Liberation Day of Čačak (Source https://www.ozonpress.net%2Fdrustvo%2Fi-u-cackuobezen-dan-pobede%2F&psig=AOvVaw3lu_8kPc9-iOY1VjLE-iUd&ust=1569617763322150 , date: June 2019)

8. CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

The monuments of the National Liberation War were places of special importance in Yugoslavia, formed as a ritual framework for manifesting the identity features of socialist Yugoslavia. Depending on the size of the battle and the number of dead fighters or residents, monumental monuments were very carefully planned and edited to become places of gathering, education, and memories, as well as rest and recreation for broad sections of society. A critical review of this period reveals a complex dynamic that included political, social, and cultural factors. During the period of relative stability in Yugoslavia under the dominant political scene, these monuments were used to maintain socialist unity. The ideology of Brotherhood and Unity was key in this era, where monuments represented the physical manifestations of this ideal. According to the above-mentioned, the analysis of the semiotic sequence showed that the Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory in Čačak built its narrative on the foundations of re-traumatisation of historical events, which could be perceived in the very name of the monument, which is not dedicated to the victims of the war but to the struggle. By choosing the name, the author's need to send a universal and timeless message about war can be discerned, which, by connecting with the cultural, traditional, and natural context, forms the authentic identity of a society. In addition to the above-mentioned feature of the National Liberation War, it shows the specifics of internal political communication to actualise and homogenise the Yugoslav social community by strengthening the cult figure, subtly woven through the quotes carved at the entrance and exit of the memorial complex. In other words, the issues of national identity are no longer based on an empiricist but on an ideological image in the epistemological view. Consequently, this example of memorial architecture can be understood not only as an integral part of ideological structures and a content of national identity but as a mode of relation to the past and a form of self-awareness that, in a certain period, was built by society.

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VRACA MEMORIAL PARK BETWEEN COMPETITION DESIGNS, BUILT AND CURRENT STATE

ABSTRACT

The Vraca Memorial Park is one of the most recently completed monuments to the Yugoslav People's Liberation War in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The aim of this paper is to analyse individual elements and spatial organisation of Vraca Memorial Park for its typological classification. The objective is to present all values that are considered significant to merit its preservation. Additional comparative analysis was undertaken by contrasting competition entries from 1966 with the implemented project in 1981 by the same architect, Vladimir Dobrović. The results provided insightful information regarding the design alterations, a detailed description of the Vraca Memorial Park, its typological classification and value assessment.

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KEY WORDS

VRACA MEMORIAL PARK
VLADIMIR DOBROVIĆ
MONUMENT TO ANTI-FASCISM
NATIONAL MONUMENT OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN FORTRESS OF VRACA
SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
SARAJEVO

The heritage of twentieth-century architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) is yet to be uniformly acknowledged. This oversight by institutions and the broader community leads to inadequate protection, compromising its authenticity and integrity. This neglect is particularly evident in the widespread destruction of memorial complexes, monuments, and parks, marking a critical point of loss. Many destroyed monuments, and the continuous deterioration of the memorial heritage is partly due to the absence of systematic analysis and typological classification. Some of these monuments are still active places of memory under the protection of the state. Upon examining the List of National Monuments of B&H (LNMB&H), an intriguing paradox emerges: the monuments most prominently featured are those that have suffered the greatest destruction and are in the most advanced state of deterioration. Among the total of 903 listed properties, there are 32 that pertain to the twentieth-century monuments, with half of these, 16 listed properties representing memorial complexes, monuments, and parks (Kahrović Handžić, 2023). These memorials were built between the 1950s and 1990s during the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Their purpose was to honour the resistance and struggle of the people during the People's Liberation War (PLW) and to convey a feeling of unity, forgiveness and reconciliation. It was estimated that 20,000 to 40,000 sites and objects were built across Yugoslavia (Niebyl, 2024). One of 16 listed properties on LNMB&H is Vraca Memorial Park, specific for its location overlooking the city of Sarajevo, its historical importance, and spatial qualities. Its location lies in the Federation of B&H on the border line between the Federation of B&H and Republika Srpska, which adds to its layers of complexity. Despite being recognised as the National Monument of B&H (NMB&H), Vraca Memorial Park is deteriorating, primarily because it has not been subject to appropriate conservation practices.

Previous studies have shown a significant lack of literature on the subject. A few articles touch upon the Vraca Memorial Park, mentioning it as an example among other works of Yugoslav memorial architecture. The main focus of scholars is political sociology and the concept of activist curatorship of Vraca Memorial Park (Cole, 2022), the politics of cultural heritage in B&H

(Dougherty, 2019; Musi, 2015) and the ideology of Socialist Monuments (Dizdarević & Hudović, 2012; Stevanović, 2012). Other scholars focus on the Austro-Hungarian fortress within Vraca Memorial Park and its revitalisation through contemporary design (Imamović, 2018; Jelečević, 2022). When we look at the broader research field in the region, Horvatinčić (2017) made a unique list, identification, evaluation, systematisation and typological classification of Monuments from the period of socialism in Croatia. The research was partially carried out in neighbouring countries, including B&H, to test the application of the research results on a broader region outside of Croatia. Therefore, Horvatinčić (2017) typological framework will be used as a theoretical basis for the typological classification of the Vraca Memorial Park.

Following the literature review, further research was conducted based on the Decision on the designation of properties as national monuments (Decision), declaring the Building Complex - Vraca Memorial Park in Sarajevo an NMB&H. This insight revealed insufficiently researched in-depth analysis of individual elements and systematic in-situ analysis of the spatial organisation of the Vraca Memorial Park. Recommendations from (1991) state that 'this heritage is recent, abundant in examples, wide-ranging and diverse in character, it is less well recognised by official organisations and by the public than other parts of the architectural heritage' of the twentieth century which is why it is of high importance to contribute to its visibility through scientific research. The main objective of this research was to conduct an in-situ analysis of spatial organisation and multifaceted layers of its memorial, social, historical, architectural, and aesthetic values. The aim was to understand the specific conceptual design of Vraca Memorial Park through each element individually and through relationships between them that formed specific spatial organisation. An additional goal was the typological classification of Vraca Memorial Park through the identification of elements that correspond to categories of artistic medium (Horvatinčić, 2017). This comprehensive approach sheds light on the historical evolution and transformation of the Vraca site and highlights the intricate process involved in the conceptualisation and realisation of memorial space. The detailed examination of competition entries underscores the diversity of architectural and conceptual visions for the history of memorialisation. At the same time, the analysis of individual elements and complex as a whole offered insights into how these ideas were ultimately materialised and integrated into the landscape. This scholarly research contributes to a deeper understanding of the multifaceted significance of the Vraca Memorial Park, reflecting on its role in commemorating history and shaping collective memory.

The first part of the paper focuses on the historical and chronological development of Vraca Memorial Park. The second part of the paper focuses on analysing all significant competition entries. The data and design proposals found in issue number 9 of the journal ARH from 1966 were compared with the implemented project and presented at the end of the second part of the paper (Štraus, 1966). The third part of the paper presents an in-situ analysis of individual monuments and the memorial park, including detailed drawings and descriptions of all complex elements.ⁱⁱⁱ

Historical Development

The Vraca Memorial Park is situated in a tranquil area designated for individual housing, positioned south above the Grbavica and Kovačići neighbourhoods, which emerged during the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Vehicular roads on all sides surround the location. To the north, the wooded slopes of Trebević extend, while to the south lie the hilly regions of Petruše. During the Austro-Hungarian period, the 1882 map indicates a *‘Wirthshaus’* (tavern building), greenery, a wooded area, and the textual description *‘Vratca han’* and *‘Schone Aussicht’* [entrance gate to Sarajevo and beautiful panoramic view] (Sarajevo Plan, 1882). In 1889, the Austro-Hungarians constructed a fortress (Commission B&H, 2005) that has persisted to the present day.

During both World War I and World War II, the Vraca area was used as an execution site for both individual and mass executions (Commission B&H, 2005). During World War II, about 103,000 people passed through Sarajevo’s camps, with 24,000 individuals executed in the Sarajevo area. Approximately 16,000 fighters from Sarajevo and its surroundings participated in units of the Yugoslav Army (YA), with 2,039 fatalities (Commission B&H, 2005). The Vraca area became the burial site for those killed during the war, as well as most prisoners killed or deceased in police chambers in Sarajevo. At Vraca, the activists of the People’s Liberation Movement (PLM) were executed, but also those who offered any form of resistance (National newspaper, 1941). After World War II, the Austro-Hungarian fortress was an abandoned military facility, and the rest of Vraca became a symbol of the city’s execution sites and loss, synonymous with the citizen’s resistance and struggle against fascism. The site remained vacant until the monumental edifice of the Vraca Memorial Park was constructed in 1981 (Nisim et al., 1985). Afterwards, it served as a green space offering panoramic views of Sarajevo, utilised as a recreational area, while in time of war, it functioned as a military fortress (Džinić).

Due to its exceptional strategic and dominant position offering an excellent overview of Sarajevo, the Vraca Memorial Park complex served as a location from which the city was bombarded with heavy artillery and snipers during the war from 1992-95. The Vraca Memorial Park was one in a series of positions that formed a siege ring around the besieged city of Sarajevo, equipped with heavy weaponry (Commission B&H, 2005). The entire complex of the Vraca Memorial Park, including the fortress and individual monuments, park areas, and plateaus, has been devastated and is currently in poor condition.

1. COMPETITION FOR THE VRACA MEMORIAL PARK

In 1966, a competition was announced for the design of a Vraca Memorial Park. The park was to include four groups of tombs and an Austro-Hungarian fortress that would serve as a museum. The first group of Tombs of National Heroes of PLW (Monument A) was assigned to 26 national heroes, with each tomb being individual and positioned together in a dominant location within the complex. The designer had complete freedom in choosing the form that an additional architectural-sculptural element, materialisation, colour and finish of the tombs could emphasise. The second group of tombs (Monument B) was assigned to Sarajevo Citizens Killed in the PLW and PLM, with each tomb being individual and large enough to inscribe 2000 names. All monuments had to be uniform in colour, shape and dimensions, with easy access and visibility from pedestrian paths. The third group of tombs (Monument C) was for Fallen Fighters for the Liberation of the City of Sarajevo. According to spatial organisation, it was possible to group individual elements with a memorial stone inscribed with the names of the deceased. The fourth group of tombs (Monument D) for Sarajevo Citizens, Victims of Fascist Terror, was to form one group in a common grave with a memorial stone and inscribed names of 14,000 victims. This grave needed to be connected by pedestrian paths and stairs with an access plateau. The Austro-Hungarian fortress was to be adapted for a museum-informative and a hospitality section of the complex (Djumrulčić & Čolić, 1966).

According to the competition program, the Vraca Memorial Park was not to have the character of a cemetery, nor to be a monument to unknown heroes but to serve as a living monument of gratitude and respect from the citizens of Sarajevo through architectural-landscape-sculptural solutions. The purpose of the Memorial Park was not only a memorial significance but also recreational, where the citizens of Sarajevo could pay tribute to fallen fighters and citizens, as well as use the park daily (Djumrulčić & Čolić, 1966). Conceptualising the memorial park and planning its contents as an integral part of the project

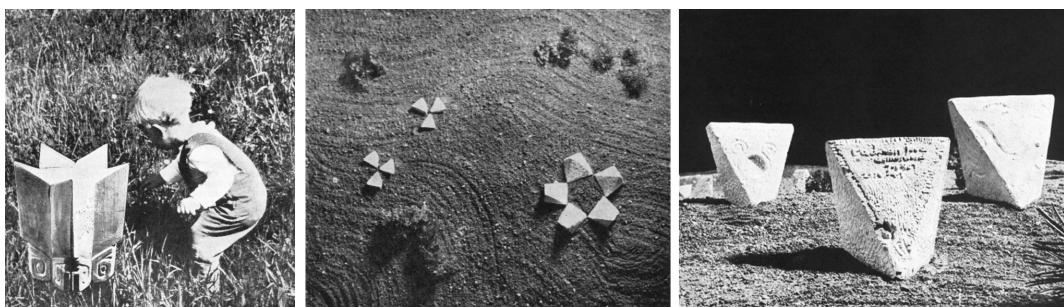
implied an effort to activate and unite the memorial elements of the historically significant place through social practice.

The 1966 competition received 13 entries, with no first prize awarded. One second prize and two third prizes were awarded. Four more design solutions were monetarily compensated (Štraus, 1966). 'None of the authors offered a solution to all problems nor responded to all competition requirements. The second-placed work was the most comprehensively resolved, with all elements of the Memorial Park integrated into a whole.' (Finci, 1966, p. 3). Even though awarded competition entries do not solve all tasks, they have certain qualities that can be combined into unique designs. Jahiel Finci (1966), a professor at the Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning in Sarajevo and president of the jury, emphasised in his opening remarks at the exhibition of competition entries that a more studious approach to further developing the complex, including suggestions from the jury and some aspects from other purchased works, could lead to a satisfactory solution.

Authors of the second awarded competition design were Vladimir Dobrović, with associates architect Zagorka Dobrović, agronomist-horticulturist Aleksandar Maltarić, geologist Nijazija Muftić, model maker Slavko Maksimović, and photographer Gojko Sikimić, all from Sarajevo (Finci, 1966, p. 5). The authors aimed to create a unique park environment, which was recognised by the jury, who concluded that the fortress and the central monument were beautifully articulated. However, the central monument (Figure 1) needed more elaboration. The outstanding quality of the work was the solution of the fortress's atrium with the names of the victims engraved in the existing wall (Štraus, 1966).

FIGURE 1: The design proposal of Monument B, by Dobrović, Vladimir.; Design proposal of Monument B, by Đuvić Ahmed.,

Note. From "The results of the competition for the conceptual design of the architectural-landscape and sculptural solution of the Memorial Park in Sarajevo", 1966, ARH magazine for architecture, urban planning, applied art, and industrial design (9), Association of Architects Sarajevo – DAS, pages 6-11."



Two third prizes were awarded. Sakib Hadžihalilović, Namik Muftić, and an academic sculptor Mirko Ostoja, created the first one.^{iv} The jury agreed that this work offered the best park solution of all the entries in the competition, with beautifully arranged individual markers and most valuable monument positions (Extract from the minutes of the judging panel, 1966). The second third prize was awarded to the competition design created by Milan Kušan and Nikola Nešković with associates Stjepan Malaš, model maker, Fahrudin Logo, photographer (Finci, 1966). Their concept was to design a park with pedestrian paths and freely formed stairs that overcame terrain slopes. The jury opined that the main content of the Memorial Park, Monument D, designed as an underground space of the pit, was a conceptual mistake. The Memorial Park should be devoid of any mystique, and its artistic expression and content should affirm courage and light, not suffering and death (Extract from the minutes of the judging panel, 1966). This raises the question of why it was awarded such a prize despite the negative feedback from the jury. There were also two monetary compensated works one created by Amir Polić, Željko Jovanović, Mehmed Čamo, and Vjekoslav Ugandžić (Štraus, 1966) and another created by Hamdija Salihović and collaborators: Ferid Kasumagić, Franjo Šuster, a model maker, and Džemo Pepo, a photographer (Extract from the minutes of the judging panel, 1966).

Ahmed Džuvić, an architect and collaborator Džemal Pepo, a photographer, created a non-competitive monetary compensated design. The project did not adhere to the competition's propositions, as it proposed to demolish the fortress and build a new museum. The entrance to the complex from the corner of Trebevička and Husinjska streets was deemed unacceptable, as was the concrete fence around the Memorial Park. However, the small grave markers (Figure 1) were of the highest aesthetic quality (Extract from the minutes of the judging panel, 1966). Mihajlo Mitrović from Belgrade created another non-competitive monetary compensated design. The work was evaluated outside the competition as the author changed the traffic flow and expanded the site beyond the specified scope. The basic concept was artistically resolved with sculptural blossoming forms, treated with shallow relief and ornaments reminiscent of medieval tombstones. The jury considered this design as a great example of applying formal visual elements of our heritage to a contemporary monument.

1.1 Comparison of the Competition Entries with the Implemented Project

The competition was organised in 1966 by the City Council, while the complex was constructed in 1981 under the leadership of the Committee (Commission B&H, 2005). Analysing all the entries, one can clearly see the perspective presented by Jahiel Finci regarding the commendable partial solutions of each work to be included in forming the complex's final appearance. Some aspects of the complex were modified in comparison to the competition program. As a conclusion of the competition design review, all differences between the competition and the implemented project are presented in Table 1. This comparison was used as a methodological aid to investigate and understand how much the implemented project deviated from the initial competition designs.

	Competition entries	Implemented Project
Second prize	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Authors: Vladimir Dobrović, Zagorka Dobrović (architect), Aleksandar Maltarić (agro-horticulture), Nijazija Muftić (geologist), Slavko Maksimović (model maker), and Gojko Sikimić (photographer); The markers are freely arranged in the park space; Groupings of markers for Monument B are integrated into the park's landscaping in the form of smaller clusters; Names of 26 national heroes are places within Monument B. A stone cube is planned in the fortress's atrium for an eternal flame; Monument C is located on a flat plateau in front of the fortress and is conceptualised as a fountain (cca 2,000 names). The graves of Monument D are displayed on the fortress walls. (14 000 names) The focus is on the preservation and revitalisation of the fortress. The jury evaluated the entrance part from Husinjska Street as a very well-resolved solution. Throughout the entire project, the idea of a stone flower repeats in the forms (Figure 1). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Authors: Vladimir Dobrović (architect), Alija Kućukalić (sculptor), Aleksandar Maltarić (horticulture). The markers are grouped in the central part of the monument in the form of terraces; Monument B has been excluded from the program. Names of 26 national heroes have been separated as individual Monument A. The eternal flame is located before a ceremonial plateau on the top of the fountain. Monument C is positioned in the central part of the monument in the form of terraces, while the fountain is located in front of Ceremonial Plateau (2,013 names). The graves of Monument D, are located in the same place. (cca 9000 names) The focus remains on the preservation and revitalisation of the fortress. The entrance part from Husinjska Street has been retained. The idea of the flower is completely omitted. The stone terraces contain engraved names and are intermittent with abstract reliefs.
Third prize I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The main highlight of the memorial park is a white cube with a central granite slab, a Monument C. Another cube of similar appearance serves as a Monument B and D. The project boasts the best park landscaping, walkways, and approaches. On the western side, was located the monument marking the victims of fascist terror. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A similar cube form, entirely made of granite, has been utilised for Monument A. The walkways and approaches have been partially adopted. The approach and the layout of the space have been partially retained. However, another Monument of Gratitude to the YA Units for the Liberation of the City was added, outside the original competition requirements.
Third prize II, Procured designs 1, 2 and 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There are no characteristic elements that connect competition to implemented solutions. 	
Procured design 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The work was evaluated outside the competition since the author changed the traffic flow and expanded the site beyond the specified scope. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This expansion, taken from the procured work, was precisely used for positioning the sculpture Žena-borac 'Woman Fighter' in the park environment along with the execution site marker.

TABLE 1: Differences between competition entries from 1966 and implemented project in 1981. Note. Data collected by author, January 2024.

All entries were awarded for certain high-quality partial solutions, which, sublimated into a whole, form a unity that was ultimately not implemented. Design solutions of individual elements and architectural-sculptural solutions that were so praised at the competition were not implemented at all. None of the positions of the monuments are the same, nor is the number of monuments. None of the competition layouts of the complex were implemented (Table 1). The only retained element from the competition entries is the position of the victims' names on the Fortress's walls. The analysis of competition designs and comparison with the implemented project shows a significant difference in the spatial organisation and position of the memorial elements and their forms, decorations, and used materials. The question 'why it deviated to such an extent from the initial design or idea of sublimating more competition designs into one?' remains unanswered. We can only speculate since the process of creation of the monument represented a specific model of public procurement, realised through mechanisms of selection and evaluation, negotiation and compromise solutions, and problems with financial models, which often led to major deviations from the initial project. But also, a fifteen-year gap, from 1966 to the opening of the Memorial Park in 1981, indicates a long pause in design terms, which could be a reason for the completely changed implemented project.

Since there is only one connection point presented in Table 1, it was necessary to conduct a further analysis of the implemented project and the current state of the Vraca Memorial Park. Due to very little concrete data on the reasons for the specific conceptualisation of the monument, a comparative analysis was used to clearly highlight the differences and try to find similarities that would help explain the concept that was clearly presented through the competition work, but not so clearly through the built one. Due to the 'non-overlapping' that is clearly visible in the tabular comparison, an in-situ analysis of individual elements was undertaken, from which an attempt was made to conclude why the elements were positioned in such a way, as well as why there were so many changes in the design when the same architect was the author of the competition and final design.

2. VRACA MEMORIAL PARK INDIVIDUAL ELEMENTS AND SPATIAL ORGANISATION

The monumental edifice of the Vrace Memorial Park was inaugurated on B&H's National Day, November 25 1981 (Djumrulčić & Čolić, 1966). It speaks to the difficult years of occupation, embodying the courage and dignity of Sarajevans who contributed to freedom. It represents a spatial concept

that guides the visitor through fragments of harsh occupation, struggle, and contributions to freedom, faithfully conveying a sense of courage and dignity in the PLW. It was designed by architect Vladimir Dobrović who altered the competition program by adding: main entrance to the complex, terraces and viewpoints, memorial at the execution site, a ‘Women Fighter’ sculpture monument, northwest entrance to the complex, Eternal Flame with a Fountain, Manifestation Square, Memorial Dedicated to the Resistance Fighters in the City of Sarajevo with Tito’s Recognition to the Fighters in the Occupied Cities, Memorial Dedicated to the Units of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) that Participated in the Operation of Liberating Sarajevo and Memorial of Gratitude. Austro-Hungarian Fortress was adapted for Memorial to the Victims of Fascism with Tito’s message and exhibition ‘Testimony of Sarajevo’s struggle’. All the above individual elements and Vraca Memorial Park spatial organisation are presented in Figure 2, Monument A-D and (1)-(11).

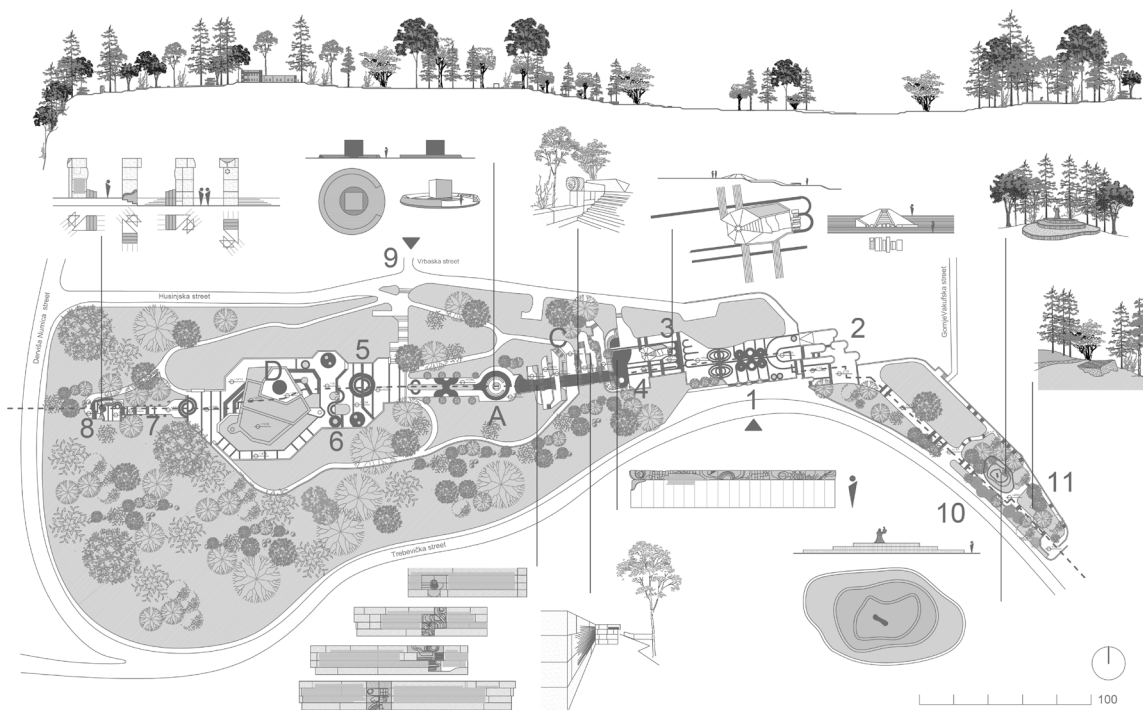


FIGURE 2: The layout illustrating the spatial organisation of Vraca Memorial Park and the current state (February 2024) of the Vraca Memorial Park

Note. Layout created based on field measurements from March 15, 2020. Own work.

When we look at the individual elements that represent the framework for determining the monument typology based on Horvatinčić (2017) four categories of architectural, sculptural, artistic and the category of other elements (auxiliary or utilitarian), the Vraca Memorial Park contains all of the above. In relation to the combination of all listed categories, the Vraca Memorial Park belongs to the fourth fundamental typological group - Spatial type of monument - memorial park (PT/SP). Analysis of individual elements and spatial organisation presented in Figure 2 resulted in systematisation of elements into four categories: architectural (wall structures, plateaus, staircases, access ramps, amphitheatres), sculptural (solid plastic, relief), artistic (mosaic) and category of other elements (memorial plaques, torches, flagpoles, state or ideological symbols - planters, benches, lighting fixtures, fences) in which it is difficult to determine the category that has the function of the main bearer of the meaning of the Memorial Park (Horvatinčić, 2017). Individual elements, connected through the spatial organisation of Vraca Memorial Park with the aim to assemble systematic documentation, will be presented in detail in further paragraphs.

The incoming road 'Trebevička cesta' leads through the Vraca neighbourhood to the **Main Entrance Plateau** (1), which occupies Memorial Park's central and largest space. The rest of the complex extends northeast and southwest. The northeastern part visually appears shorter and lower in height than the southwestern part. The entrance plateau is decorated with stone pavement in the form of circular, semicircular, and linear artistic mosaics that continue through the paving of the entire Vraca Memorial Park. Moving northeast down the stairs, **Terraces** (2) are formed on two levels with semicircular solid stone fences. The fence shape follows the mosaic pattern extending along the entrance plateau. The lower terrace offers panoramic views of the city of Sarajevo and represents the lowest level of the complex. From the lower terrace, paths lead to the northeastern part of the complex in the form of a circular connection that guides visitors to the Execution Site Memorial and the Women Fighter sculpture. The first part of the path, closer to the memorials, leads through a wooded area, while the return part leads behind the memorials along a wall offering panoramic views of Sarajevo. Today, these views are obscured by inadequate construction close to the complex. Near the Women Fighter monument is an ossuary and a large stone slab representing **the Execution Site Memorial** (11), the first element that provides an introductory message to visitors about the execution site, the gravity of the suffering, courage, and struggle.



FIGURE 3: Monument to the Women Fighter
Note. Documented on February 21, 2024. Own work.

The next part of the complex continues the introductory message, referring to the women who perished in the fight and were killed in the Vraca area. Both monuments located on the right side of the complex were not included in the 1966 competition program. Sculptor Alija Kučukalić created the monument to the **Women Fighter** (10), positioned just below the execution site memorial. The sculpture is oriented towards the main entrance to the Vraca Memorial Park, with its back to the city, arms raised high, and fists clenched in a victory stance (Figure 3). Among the victims of fascist terror and genocide there were 4,113 women, while among the fallen fighters, there were 208 women (Šarac, 2001). The sculpture is clad in bronze and placed on a small elevation of three steps in the form of concentric irregular circles. The sculpture's position raises the question of 'why it is turned to the south, back towards the panorama of Sarajevo?' which could be explained, that at the time of its unveiling in 1981, this area was completely clear of tall vegetation, therefore the sculpture was placed high on a hill turned towards visitors in a victory stance, evoking a sense of piety. The current state is somewhat different, so the space is perceived and interpreted differently. The sculpture is completely obscured and invisible from the approach plateau, which poses a problem for understanding the concept of the monument. Also, the sculpture is damaged, and the left raised arm is currently missing, revealing the interior of the sculpture.

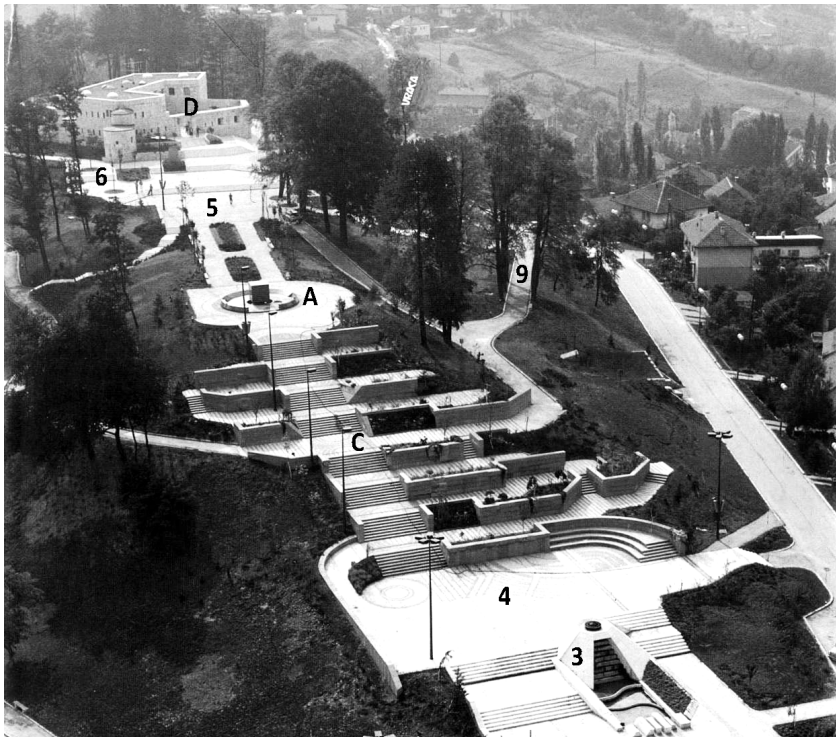
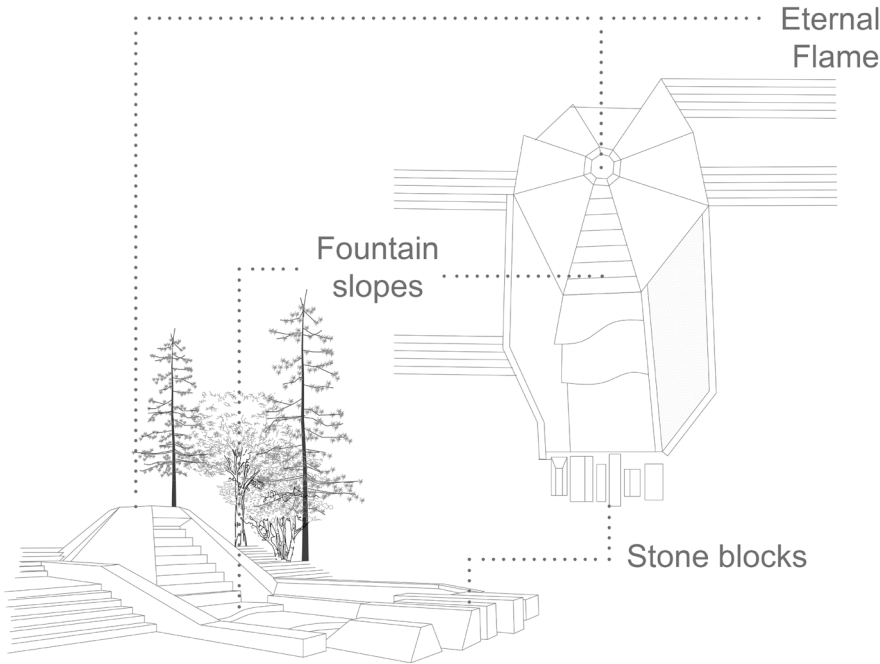


FIGURE 4: A view to the northwest part of Vraca Memorial Park.
Note. From Vraca Memorial Park, by A. Nisim et al., 1985, Directorate of the memorial complex and memorials Vraca, Ivančići and Igman.

FIGURE 5: The Fountain with Eternal Fire
Note. Documented on January 23, 2024. Own work.



On the other side, going southwest, the circular mosaic patterns that stretch from the entrance area towards the Eternal Flame and the Ceremonial Plateau become more complex, emphasising the significance of the plateau. The **Fountain** (3) rises pyramidally with irregularly placed stone blocks on the front, while the back side merges into a Ceremonial Plateau. At the top of the fountain, the **Flame of Eternal Fire** is placed. These are elements that correspond to architectural, auxiliary or utilitarian categories. Water emerges just below the flame and cascades down the steps of the fountain to a smaller basin and disappears at the lower irregularly placed blocks. The blocks are irregular in size, shape, position, and distance (Figure 5). The staircase extends to the right and left of the fountain, framing it towards the Ceremonial Plateau. Water symbolises the massiveness of the suffering, the fire represents the eternity of souls, while the blocks placed at the bottom of the fountain represent the diversity of the victims (children, adults, the elderly, different ethnic and religious affiliations) (Nisim et al., 1985). The fountain is axially positioned, directing visitors towards the Ceremonial Plateau. The fountain is shifted to the right in relation to the axis of the complex, thereby freeing space for unhindered movement towards the main staircase and other elements of the complex.

The **Ceremonial Plateau** (4) represents the widest part of the complex, and it is classified within the architectural category. The frontal granite ceremonial wall contains an engraved message:

The glorious past will be an example to new generations of how the people of a small country, determined to defend their country and their freedom at the cost of the greatest sacrifices, preferred to die rather than kneel in slavery before fascist invaders. Tito.

To the left of the ceremonial wall is a semi-circular ramp, and the first segment of the staircase starts. To the right, the ceremonial wall ends with a semi-circular amphitheatre space. The Ceremonial Plateau serves as a venue for ceremonies commemorating those who fell in battle, heroes, victims, and citizens who contributed to the victory over fascism. The mosaic in the paving forms movement paths for approaching and laying the wreath. The culmination in paving ends with circular forms around Monument A. The frontal wall of the ceremonial plateau is the only wall without inscribed names of victims. Along the alley leading from the Ceremonial Plateau to Monument A, the names of 2,013 fallen fighters of Sarajevo are inscribed on granite walls through seven terraces representing **Monument C** (Figures 6 and 7). A walkway between the granite walls leads visitors stepwise to Monument A. There are granite prisms

with inscribed names on all terraces, and some also feature relief forms. These relief forms, from the most decorative on the ceremonial wall, are gradually reduced to the Monument A, which is completely polished and smooth without any relief. On the terrace walls of the alley, reliefs are placed on the first three terraces and on the fifth, representing a reduction to the Monument A.

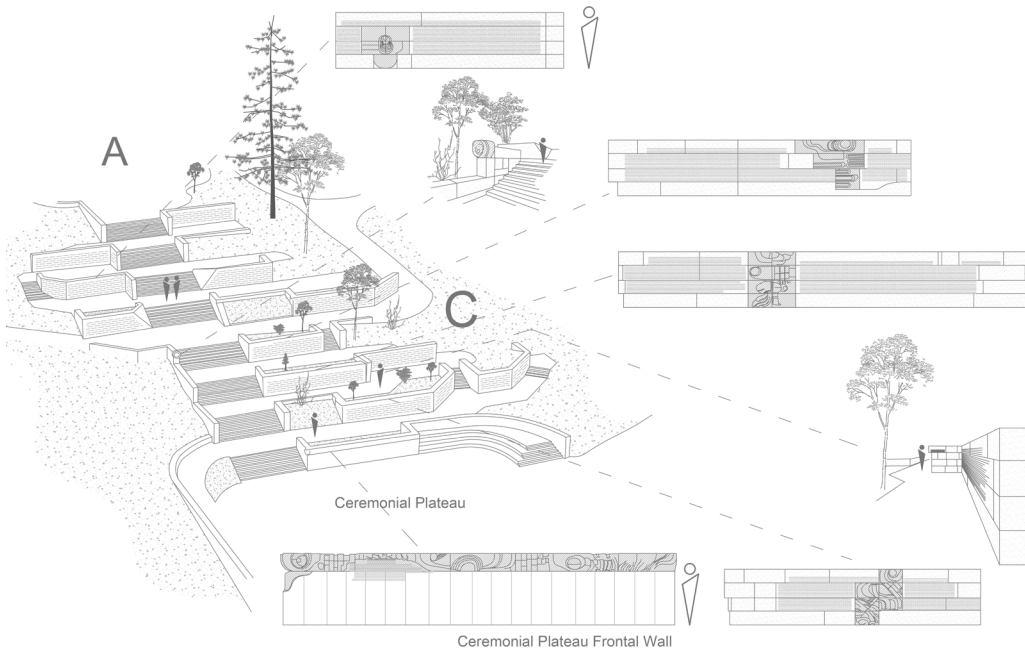


FIGURE 6: The Monument C, seven terraces with names of 2,013 fallen fighters of Sarajevo inscribed on granite walls

Note. Documented on January 23, 2024. Own work.

Passing through all seven terraces with the names of fallen fighters conveys a sense of sacrifice that transitions into a feeling of piety in front of **Monument A**. The names of 26 fallen national heroes are inscribed around the circular edge of the prism. The circular edge on the inside forms seating benches oriented towards the prism. These represent elements of the architectural and utilitarian categories. The prism is square-faced and oriented frontally towards the approaching staircase. The sculptor of this work is Luka Ilić. The unanswered question remains, ‘why two sculptors were engaged on one project?’ especially since the Women Fighter sculpture and the smooth, shiny prism are the only ones in the entire complex that differ in terms of materialisation and design.



FIGURE 7: The relief on the terraces of Monument C
Note. Documented on February 21, 2024. Own work.

From the top of the stairs, it is possible to view the mosaic fully, which blends visually down all the stairs, while on the other side, an axially arranged square leads to the Fortress. This architectural landscape represents the **Manifestation Square** (5), interwoven with trees, greenery and pavement mosaics. In front of the fortress, the mosaic becomes more complex in the form of concentric circles that emphasise the terrain's gradation. Access to this square is also available from the north side via Husinjska Street, which represents a secondary approach to the memorial park (9).

In front of the fortress is a **Memorial Dedicated to the Resistance Fighters in the City of Sarajevo with Tito's Recognition of Fighters in Occupied Cities** (6). The axuality of the Manifestation Square emphasises the importance of the Fortress functioning as a museum (Figure 8). The fortress was revitalised in 1981. The capacity of the Fortress was fully utilised and aesthetically enhanced as a **Monument D**. Both courtyards of the Fortress were inscribed with 9,091 names of victims of fascist terror from the narrower area of Sarajevo, and inside the Fortress was an exhibition 'Testimonies of Sarajevo's Struggle' showing 750 exhibits, reproduced and enlarged photographs, documents, press material, maps, artistic achievements, and three-dimensional objects (Commission B&H, 2005). The names inscribed on the walls represent only commendable solution retained from the competition entries. Due to the active use of the Fortress during wartime from 1992-95 for artillery and sniper fire positions, a significant part of the stone letters of the names of victims of fascist terror located on the fortress walls were destroyed (Šarac, 2001). Today, nothing remains of the letters on the walls, no remnants were found during the in-situ analysis, entire fortress is devastated, including the slab plateau, staircase, and horticulture.



FIGURE 8: The view of the Austro-Hungarian Fortress from Manifestation Square
Note. Documented on February 21, 2024. Own work.

Since the fortress is currently closed, only some visitors approach closer or proceed to the last part of the complex. Behind Fortress, a narrow YA alley continues to the last viewpoint. Along the alley, on both sides, in the natural environment, granite boulders of a specific shape are freely placed. The shape of boulders layered into slices displays inscribed names of **Units and Brigades that Participated in the Liberation of Sarajevo (7)** (Figure 9). At the end of the alley, the last stair block provides an adequate height difference necessary for contemplation of the **Gratitude Memorial (8)**.

It consists of two granite triangular prisms, on whose sides are carved the likeness of Marshal Tito. The double triangular prism is positioned so that its divided form is not immediately revealed upon approach. At first glance, it appears as a cubic prismatic mass with carved elements. As one moves around the monument, parts of its complex form reveal itself. Being the last point of the complex, the paving motifs lead the visitor around the memorial, offering views towards the city and specific views towards the memorial in relation to the terrain's level difference. What is specific about this memorial is its very contrasting design compared to the organic form of the Monument C relief, the Gratitude Memorial's stone boulder, and the motifs in the paving. The organic forms of circular paving elements additionally emphasise the sharp lines of the triangular prisms. The sharpness of the form, the height of the element with the last block resembling a cap, with a carved star, and the likeness of Josip Broz Tito symbolise the general. This monument's verticality emphasises a stance of victory, defiance, and pride of Josip Broz Tito with the inscribed final message.

Nearly 40 years after the Memorial Park was built, the space is visibly compromised by surrounding interventions that inadequately transform the space. These interventions prevent views towards the city, thus losing the function of the lowest level of the complex, terraces, and viewpoints. Over time, vegetation has covered the complex, thereby losing its pronounced and dominant visual characteristics from the first day of opening. Many granite prisms are cracked, parts of paving and walls are missing, access to some monuments is difficult, and finally, the Fortress is locked and unavailable to the public. It is necessary to encourage better knowledge and understanding of this part of the twentieth-century architectural heritage by drawing attention to its qualities and the diversity of its different forms (Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, 1991).

3. CONCLUSION

Vraca Memorial Park represented a symbol of unity and courage of the fighters for the freedom of Sarajevo, a place where many bravely lost their lives, to whom the citizens of Sarajevo should be eternally grateful. Today, Vraca Memorial Park is seen as an unkept, neglected park, with a negative connotation to the war period from 1992-95. The problem of neglect lies in the fact that citizens of Sarajevo, after the last war, have only left the negative side of Vraca in their hearts, and any reminder is painful. The brotherhood and unity, the sense of pride and defiance of the united Yugoslavs in the fight against the occupiers and fascists, felt at the end of the twentieth century, have been lost. Today, only fear and discomfort are felt at the thought of the area from which heavy artillery destroyed the city and took numerous lives of citizens.

The analysis of individual elements and spatial organisation of Vraca Memorial Park led to the conclusion that the complex is sculpturally unconnected. Individual elements are treated separately. The Women Fighter sculpture is part of Alija Kučukalić's sculptural expression and represents a separate part of the whole. Other elements are connected by materialisation, form, and decoration. Another element that stands out is Monument A, both in form and materialisation. Although made of the same material, granite, the memorial is emphasised by the polish of the material. Perhaps the sculptor's goal was to highlight the importance of the heroes, with the form of a sharp-lined cube that floats above the circle being a prominent part of the whole. The fortress is the third element that stands out, and it represents the historical value of the inherited site, the goal of which was its revitalisation.

Through in-situ analysis of individual elements, Vraca Memorial Park has elements of architectural category (Main entrance to the complex, terraces and viewpoints, Memorial at the execution site; Northwest entrance to the complex,

Manifestation Square, Memorial Dedicated to the Resistance Fighters in the City of Sarajevo with Tito's Recognition to the Fighters in the Occupied Cities, Memorial Dedicated to the Units of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) that Participated in the Operation of Liberating Sarajevo, Memorial of Gratitude and Austro-Hungarian Fortress- Memorial to the Victims of Fascism with Tito's message and exhibition 'Testimony of Sarajevo's struggle'); sculptural category ('Women Fighter' sculpture monument); artistic category (pavement mosaics); and the category of other elements - auxiliary or utilitarian (Eternal Flame with a Fountain, benches, lighting). Systematisation of elements through these categories has resulted in the typological classification of Vraca Memorial Park as a Spatial type of monument - Memorial Park (PT/SP) (Horvatinčić, 2017).

Due to very little concrete data on the reasons for the specific conceptualisation of the monument, a comparative analysis was used in order to clearly highlight the differences and try to find similarities that would help explain the concept. This analysis highlighted the existence of several parts of the complex. Each individual element speaks of its contribution to conveying the sacrifice of the fallen and the piety of the citizens. The entrance plateau has lost its expressiveness with a loss of a panoramic view of the city. The Women Fighter monument, obscured by vegetation, is difficult to discern for most uninformed visitors, becoming an unnoticed and ultimately unvisited part of the complex. The large space and axiality towards the Fortress emphasise the importance of its former function. Today, completely left to time, closed to visitors, it represents a boundary that few visitors reach. Because of the appearance and closure of the Fortress, the space feels very repellent and unsafe to visitors, stopping any further movement and exploration of the complex. Only those with deeper interest and prior knowledge contemplate the space behind the fortress. As a result of comparative and in-situ analysis and in accordance with Council of Europe (1991) recommendations for identification and value assessment, it has been concluded that Vraca Memorial Park transcends memorial, historical, social, architectural, esthetical, cultural, educational value as well as values of collective memory, piety and identity. These values merit its eligibility for preservation and revitalisation to be used again as a live and active part of the urban tissue.

This form of in-depth presentation of Vraca Memorial Park contributes to its promotion as a twentieth-century memorial heritage. Following the Recommendation from 1991, this research can be seen as the first part of the protection process, i.e. identification and value assessment as a basis for further elaboration studies. This research can also be used for further comparison of Vraca Memorial Park with other Yugoslav Memorials.

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NOTES

- i The Decision was adopted by the Commission for the Preservation of NMB&H (Commission B&H) (Commission B&H, 2005). Included in the Decision was a list of used literature, marking the second step in the literature research process. The institutions where materials were reviewed in April 2019 and January 2024 included: the Library of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo, where information was found only in the ARH journal (Štraus, 1966); the Archive of the Department for Theory and History of Architecture and Preservation of Built Heritage, Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo where historical maps of Sarajevo were found (Sarajevo Plan, 1882); and the Archive of the Commission B&H where publication of the Committee for the Construction of the Memorial Park (Committee) was found. After persistent requests for documentation review, the material was provided by Commission B&H Chairman, Professor Amir Pašić. This valuable material was thoroughly examined, systematised, and digitally documented. Subsequent research then continued with the archival materials of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural-Historical and Natural Heritage of the Sarajevo Canton (Institute CS). It was noted in the Decision from 2005 that the Institute SC provided additional documentation attached to the application, but no documentation was found. The Decision also indicates that in 2005, the Union of Associations of Antifascists and Fighters of the People's Liberation War (SUBNOR) submitted documentation for the nomination of the Vraca Memorial Park. Further research revealed that the SUBNOR had been reorganised at the municipal level, making it impossible to access the documentation.

Additional documentation was retrieved from the archive of the Historical Museum in Sarajevo including a detailed overview of the thematic-content framework of the exhibition set up in the fortress of the Vraca Memorial Park from 1981 (Nisim et al., 1985). The publisher of the exhibition, Directorate of the Memorial Complex and Monuments Vraca, Ivančići and Igman, is no longer active today.

- ii Valuable insights were gleaned from the literature, notably from issue number 9 of the journal ARH, which provides extensive information on the competition announcement, the expert jury, and details of the competition entries (Štraus, 1966).
- iii As part of the documentation received from the archive of the Commission B&H, the layout of the complex was analysed but found to need to be updated. In February 2020, an extensive recording of the complex was carried out, resulting in the drawings presented in Figure 2. Detailed recording involved photometric captures as well as on-site measurements in order to conduct adequate in-situ analysis. Access to the fortress was completely blocked; however, detailed documentation of the fortress was found in the 1966 competition program from the Commission B&H archive (Technical blueprint of the Austro-Hungarian fortress).
- iv They presented a Monument C shaped as a cube made of polished dark granite, containing a high relief in white marble. Monument B was also designed as an open white cube with a relief on both sides. Monument D was designed as Monument C, an open cube made of black polished granite with reliefs on both sides in white marble (Štraus, 1966)

- v The Sarajevo City Assembly appointed a Committee responsible for the preparation and realisation of the Vraca Memorial Park. This Committee appointed an Editorial team that simultaneously worked on a guide and a specially illustrated publication about the Vraca Memorial Park (Nisim et al., 1985). This publication was of great importance during the research phase and analysis of individual elements and spatial organisation of Vraca Memorial Park.
- vi Vladimir Dobrović began his design career by participating in many Yugoslav competitions (Štraus, 1977). He also participated in developing teaching and education at the Department of Urban and Spatial Planning at the Faculty of Architecture in Sarajevo. In 1964, he became a member of the editorial board of the ARH journal, where he participated in the realisation of 12 issues (ARH 5-21). He was a recipient of the Sarajevo April 6th Award for the Bristol Hotel from 1974 (Štraus, 1977).
- vii Vraca Memorial Park publication was published four years after the inauguration, with a plethora of information, photos, and documents, but without a single drawing, guiding idea, concept, or sketch of the memorial park shown or mentioned. The focus of the publication is on the contribution of fighters and victims of fascism, on memorials and monuments, on terror, and on documentation that confirms it, not on the creative, conceptual, spatial, and aesthetic aspects of the complex. The publication was issued as a guide through the Memorial Park for all visitors.
- viii Alija Kučukalić was a renowned Bosnian sculptor and a unique artist who was one of the founders of the Academy of Fine Arts in Sarajevo. He was the vice dean, head of the Sculpture Department, head of the College for Postgraduate Studies, and president of the Artistic Council of the Union of Fine Artists of B&H (Kučukalić, 2016). The most famous work of the sculptor is Women Fighter. Another significant work symbolising the citizens of Sarajevo is 'Figure on a Chair' (1972-1976), for which he received the Association of Visual Artists of Yugoslavia award. One of his notable works also includes a portrait of Josip Broz Tito from 1977 (Kučukalić, 2018).
- ix After the exhumation of graves at Vraca, a memorial in the form of a granite prism in the centre of a circle was placed above the tomb, while the old tombstones were deposited in the Historical Museum of B&H (Commission B&H, 2005).

A B S T R A C T S : S E R B I A N

PROSTORNA ANALIZA MEMORIJALNOG KOMPLEKSA KOSMAJ: IZMEĐU KERNFORME I KUNSTFORME

Nikola Mitrović

Rad istražuje memorijalni kompleks Kosmaj koristeći tektoničku teoriju kako bi otkrio njegove arhitektonske, socijalne, istorijske i estetske vrednosti. U radu je istražen odnos između Kernform (osnovna forma) i Kunstform (umetnička forma), naglašavajući sintezu strukturalne racionalnosti i estetskog izraza. Metodologija se zasniva na prostornoj analizi, terenskim istraživanjima, geometrijskim procenama, studijama materijala i arhivama. Fokus je na povezanosti konstrukcije i strukture, kao i integraciji arhitektonskih i skulpturalnih elemenata. Istraživanje takođe razmatra trenutnu upotrebu kompleksa i daje preporuke za očuvanje. Rad pokazuje kako terenski rad može otkriti tektoničke vrednosti spomenika, nudeći okvir za buduća istraživanja jugoslovenske memorijalne arhitekture.

KLJUČNE REČI: MEMORIJALNI KOMPLEKS KOSMAJ, SPOMENIK NARODNOJ OSLOBODILAČKOJ BORBI U JUGOSLAVIJI, VREDNOST MEMORIJALNE ARHITEKTURE, TEKTONIKA, ZAŠTITA SPOMENIKA

'MESTO GDE POSTAJEMO MI' PREGLED, KOMPARATIVNA ANALIZA I SAVREMENI KONTEKST MEMORIJALNOG KOMPLEKSA POGINULIM BORCIMA LJEŠANSKE NAHIJE

Jelena Janković

Ovaj rad analizira memorijalni kompleks posvećen poginulim borcima Lješanske Nahije u Podgorici, koji je projektovala arhitektica Svetlana Radević. Istražuju se ključni elementi kompleksa, uključujući plato za pristup, zid ograde, amfiteatar i baklju, sa fokusom na tehničke aspekte, dimenzije i materijale. Rad uključuje komparativnu analizu sa spomenicima kao što su Jasikovac arhitekta Bogdana Bogdanovića, kao i dela arhitectice Radević. Takođe, razmatra se trenutna upotreba kompleksa, njegovo nedovoljno korišćenje i predlozi za revitalizaciju, uključujući restauraciju, integraciju u regionalnu kulturnu rutu i realizaciju originalnog koncepta zelenila.

KLJUČNE REČI: SVETLANA KANA RADEVIĆ, MEMORIJALNI KOMPLEKS, LJEŠANSKA NAHIJA, BARUTANA, CRNA GORA, NARODNOSLOBODILAČKA BORBA, CVJETOVI

FRAGMENTI SEĆANJA: IDEJE KOJE SU OBLIKOVALE MEMORIJALNI PARK '14. OKTOBAR' U KRALJEVU

Tamara Vuković

Memorijalni park "14. oktobar" u Kraljevu označava mesto jedne od najvećih tragedija koja se desila na teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije tokom Drugog svetskog rata. Ovaj rad analizira nerealizovane i delimično realizovane konceptualne projekte memorijalnog parka u Kraljevu i istražuje kako se ovo mesto sećanja menjalo tokom vremena. Fokus istraživanja biće usmeren na genezu ideje memorijalnog kompleksa i kako je ona evoluirala od monumentalnog dizajna sa značajnim prostornim intervencijama do jednostavnijeg prostornog rešenja koje karakteriše manji broj veštačkih elemenata. Predstavljeni će biti konceptualni projekti za Memorijalni park, konkretno projekat Bogdana Bogdanovića iz 1963. godine – kao prvi konceptualni plan koji je bio predviđen za realizaciju, i projekat iz 1970. godine autorskog tima Krunic i Kovačević – kao rešenje koje je na kraju izabrano da bude (delimično) realizovano. Planirane prostorne kompozicije oba rešenja biće razmatrane u odnosu na savremeni izgled kompleksa i međusobno.

KLJUČNE REČI: MEMORIJALNA ARHITEKTURA, KRALJEVO 14. OKTOBAR, SPOMENIK NOB-A, BOGDAN BOGDANOVIĆ, SPASOJE KRUNIC, JUGOSLOVENSKO NASLEĐE

IZMEĐU PLANIRANOG I REALIZOVANOG – MULTISKALARNA PROSTORNA ANALIZA SPOMENIKA PROZIVKA

Dezire Tilinger

Ovaj rad istražuje dijalog između spomenika i njihovog konteksta, fokusirajući se na spomenik Prozivka, spomenik socijalističke Jugoslavije posvećen Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi. Spomenik, koji je dizajnirao poznati skulptor Oto Logo, postavljen je 1977. godine kao centralni element u Prozivki, najvećem socijalističkom naselju u Subotici, Srbija. Analiza prati spomenik od njegovog nastanka do trenutnog stanja i koristi multiskalarni pristup, ispitujući odnos spomenika prema njegovom materijalnom i nematerijalnom kontekstu, od urbanog plana do detalja. Istraživanje se oslanja na arhivsku građu, uključujući tehničku dokumentaciju, projekte restauracije, stare fotografije i novinske članke. Rad je podeljen u dva dela. Prvi deo sadrži kratku biografiju Ota Loga, ističući njegova značajna dela, izložbe i nagrade. Drugi deo posvećen je spomeniku Prozivka, jednoj od Logovih najvećih kreacija.

KLJUČNE REČI: SPOMENIK, SOCIJALISTIČKA JUGOSLAVIJA, OKRUŽENJE, MULTISKALARNA ANALIZA, SUBOTICA, OTO LOGOSLAVIJI, VREDNOST MEMORIJALNE ARHITEKTURE, TEKTONIKA, ZAŠTITA SPOMENIKA

INSTRUMENTALIZACIJA ISTORIJSKIH NARATIVA O NARODNIM OSLOBODILAČKIM BORBAMA KROZ SPOMENIČKU ARHITEKTURU – STUDIJA SLUČAJA SPOMEN-PARKA BORBE I POBEDE U ČAČKU

Ena Takač

Spomenička arhitektura u socijalističkom periodu bila je ključna za oblikovanje novih društvenih narativa o narodnim oslobodilačkim borbama i revoluciji, stvarajući političke mitove koji su nosili jugoslovenske simbole. Spomen-park borbe i pobeде u Čačku analizira se kao urbanistički i arhitektonski prostor koji reflektuje razvoj monumentalne kulture i identiteta Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije. Korišćenjem poststrukturalističkog pristupa, istražuju se nevidljive funkcije spomenika koje su služile formiranju novog ideološkog sistema. Studija pokazuje kako arhitektonski jezik spomenika može doprineti jačanju nacionalnog i kolektivnog identiteta kroz simboliku i prostor.

KLJUČNE REČI: MEMORIJALNA ARHITEKTURA, NARODNOOSLOBODILAČKE BORBE, MEMORIJALNI PARK BORBE I POBEDE, SOCIJALISTIČKA FEDERATIVNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA, POLITIČKI SIMBOLI, NACIONALNI IDENTITET

VRACA MEMORIJALNI PARK IZMEĐU KONKURSNIH REŠENJA, IZGRAĐENE I TRENUTNE SITUACIJE

Lejla, Kahrović Handžić

Vraca Memorial Park je jedan od najnovijih završenih spomenika Narodnooslobodilačkom ratu Jugoslavije u Sarajevu, Bosna i Hercegovina. Cilj ovog rada je analiza pojedinih elemenata i prostorne organizacije Vraca Memorial Parka za njegovu tipološku klasifikaciju. Objekat rada je predstavljanje svih vrednosti koje se smatraju značajnim za očuvanje ovog spomenika. Dodatna komparativna analiza izvedena je poređenjem konkursnih rešenja iz 1966. godine sa implementiranim projektom iz 1981. godine, autora Vladimira Dobrovića. Rezultati su pružili uvid u promene u dizajnu, detaljan opis Vraca Memorial Parka, njegovu tipološku klasifikaciju i ocenu vrednosti.

KLJUČNE REČI: SPOMEN-PARK VRACA, VLADIMIR DOBROVIĆ, SPOMENIK ANTIFAŠIZMU, NACIONALNI SPOMENIK BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE, AUSTROUGARSKA TVRĐAVA VRACA, SOCIJALISTIČKA FEDERATIVNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA, SARAJEVO.



PRIVACY STATEMENT

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Use figures rather than spelled-out numbers for cardinal numbers over one hundred and for all measurements. Form the plural of decades without an apostrophe; “1990s” rather than “1990’s.” Dates should be given in the following forms: “22 October 1946,” “22 October,” “October 1946,” and “1946-51.” Spell out centuries and millennia in full: “twentieth century.”

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