

**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY**

**THE CHANGES IN POST-WAR ARCHITECTURAL
MEMORIALIZATION
CASE STUDY: BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

Master Thesis

AHMED JAHİĆ

ISTANBUL, 2016

**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY**

**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED
SCIENCE**

ARCHITECTURE

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Thesis Supervisor: ASSOC. PROF. DR.EMINE ÖZEN EYUCE

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quality and content, as a thesis for the degree Master of Science.

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Ahmed Jahić

ABSTRACT

THE CHANGES IN POST WAR ARCHITECTURAL MEMORIALIZATION

CASE STUDY: BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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The study will focus on monuments and memorials, the two being the main architectural agents of social and individual remembrance. How did the realization that as every manmade object they too are subjected to transitory nature of time affected their design and our position regarding them? Since its fundamental place in the definition of memorials, no study of them can be done without including memory. Our modern obsession with forgetting also made us question and eventually completely overturn the long-standing concept of memory as a database of information of the past. The aim of the study is to see how and to what extent did the changes in society, its perspective on memory, and who or what is being remembered affect form, scale, shape, spatial organization, symbols, materials and other important aspects of post-war architectural memorialization. The case study focuses on Bosnia and Herzegovina and its architectural commemorative practices from the rule of Austro-Hungarian Empire till present day, comparing them to the practices in Europe at the time. The focal point will be the problem of memorialization of the 92-95 conflict and how its unresolved nature affected the memorial designs.

Keywords: monuments, memorials, memory, memorialization, architecture

ÖZET

SAVAŞ SONRASI MIMARI ANITLARIN DEĞİŞİMİ

ÖRNEK ÖLAY ÇALIŞMASI: BOSNA HERSEK

Ahmed Jahić

Mimarlık

Danışman: Doçent Dr. Özen Eyüce

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Çalışmada mimari anıt ve bellek ilişkisi; toplumsal ve kişisel bellek çerçevesinde ele alınmaktadır. İnsan tarafından üretilmiş mimari tüm ürünlerde olduğu gibi, anıtların tasarımı ve insanların bu yapılara bakış açısı da zaman içinde zamanın ruhuna-Zeitgeist, değişmektedir. Modern çağ ile ortaya çıkan unutkanlık hastalığı, geçmişe ait sabit bilgi veri tabanı olarak tanımladığımız belleği altüst etmesi bu durumu sorgulamamıza neden olmuştur. Anıtlar ile ilgili yapılan bir çalışma onlara ait bellek düşünülmeden gerçekleştirilemeyeceğinden, bellek kavramının zaman içinde nasıl değişmiş olduğu da incelenecektir. Savaş sonrasında üretilen anıtların; mimari form, ölçek, şekil, sembol ve malzemesinin nasıl şekillendiğinin araştırılması çalışmanın amacını oluşturmaktadır. Tez çalışmasında özellikle Avusturya Macaristan İmparatorluğu döneminden günümüze olan süreçte Bosna Hersek'te ve aynı dönemde Avrupa'da üretilmiş olan anıtlar ile karşılaştırmalı olarak ele alınmaktadır. Ayrıca, 1992-1995 yılları arasındaki savaş dönemi sonrasında üretilen anıtların bu dönemden nasıl etkilendiği ve bu durumun nasıl okunması gerektiğine dair ipuçları verilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler; anıt, anma mekanları, mimarlık, bellek, anıtlar

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1. INTRODUCTION

Looking at modernity as a fresh start, from the French and American revolutions, from the industrial revolution to the falls of totalitarian regimes in Russia and Germany we notice a story of continuous progress. As the change became ever more rapid, we became anxious about the things we had to leave behind, for progress is always followed by the loss. With traditions losing value and our focus constantly being on the present we started collecting souvenirs, mementos, objects that will trigger a memory. Yılmaz (2010, p. 8) notes that: “memorialization as the reification of the past experience crystallizes the bi-directional relation between memory and architecture in its purest form” The ideas of grandeur and glory have been replaced with democracy and the archetypal form of monuments and memorials, once celebrating heroes and rulers, are nearly abandoned today. We chose durable and noble materials for memorials in order for them to surpass us and resist the nature’s forces but the social framework changes and what was relevant for us may very well be irrelevant to generations which will follow. Carpo notes this by saying that: “Monuments deal with notions and representations of history and time, and their present programs and functions are challenged by changes that have occurred in contemporary philosophy of history.” (2007, p. 52) Most of the monuments and memorials today are commemorating tragic and traumatic events. Unfortunately, society today shows unity and collective effervescence mostly in cases of great tragedies and loss, it too being diminished by time. Memorial culture has brought us to the conclusion that by the act of investing memories in an object or so-called prosthetic memory we may be dispersing them at the same time. (Young, 1993) Architectural memorialization of the Holocaust in Germany originated a new form of monuments. The counter-monument or anti-monument that is place-based, anti-heroic, skeptical, void of politics, and illusions of permanence. One that, that gives way to personal experiences and memory and provokes controversy and discussion.

1.1 SCOPE OF STUDY

Memory, after being on the sidelines of architectural discussions during modernism, experienced a significant rise in the research of its connections to architecture in the last several decades. But the interest is directed more to its role in the perception of

architecture than to, as Alois Riegl calls them, intentional monuments. The works are greatly oriented to the side effects of industrialization and modernism to urban environments. This study will focus intentional monuments, works of architectural commemoration before WWI, between wars, after WW2 and contemporary examples. The research of different types of architectural commemoration will be followed by a research of the historical development of theories of memory. Establishing the major turning point and paradigm shifts in both of the subjects, the study aims to identify if and how did the changes in society affect the form of the monument. In addition, the case study will cover the same time frame in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

The study is divided into six chapters:

- a. The introduction chapter will give information on the selected problem, its identification, scope, limitations, and methodology of the study.
- b. The chapter titled “Memoria“ will focus on the memory, starting from the etymological research of the word memory to its different definitions in various fields of science, from psychology to sociology. Using historical interpretative analysis, this chapter will offer a short overview of how memory was perceived, from Greek philosophers to the present day.
- c. The following chapter, “Monumentum”, after defining the terms of monuments and memorials and cross-referencing their definitions from related works, will be branched into five subsections: before WW I, between wars, after WW II, counter-monument movement, and contemporary memorials. Each of these subsections will offer a short description of the period and descriptive analysis of 2-3 selected monuments of memorials.
- d. The fourth chapter, “Case Study: Bosnia and Herzegovina”, aims to analyze monuments and memorials Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the case of scarcity of representative examples inside present-day borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina such will be provided from inside the borders of kingdoms, federation or countries Bosnia and Herzegovina was a part of at examined period. Following the brief historical background the chapter will be divided into five subsections: before WW I, between wars, after WW II, and after 92-95 conflict. Following

the format of the previous chapter, it will include descriptive analysis of representative examples of monuments and memorials from each period.

- e. With the exception of mentioning some examples not presented in the previous chapters, this chapter, entitled “Comparative Analysis”, will be based on the two tables included in the APPENDICES section. The content will include a comparative analysis of monuments and memorials from respected periods in chapter three and four and cross-referenced to the findings of chapter two.
- f. Lastly, the final chapter, “Conclusion”, will present the discussion on the findings of the previous chapters and hopefully offer a starting point for a discussion on the complexity of the memorial practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the direction it might take in the future.

1.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Given the time and length limitations of the thesis not all aspects of architectural memorialization can be covered. The study will focus on the architectural memorialization in Europe around the two World Wars and lately, on the global war on terror so, unfortunately, some great examples of architectural memorialization have to be omitted. In addition, the political background, connotation, and influence on memorial practices will not be included in the study.

2. MEMORIA

In order to understand and define the concepts of monuments and memorials and the changes in their design approaches, it is essential to take a closer look at memory which is deeply embedded in their meaning. Memory comes from Latin verb *memori*: to be mindful, to remember and The Oxford English Dictionary defines memory as “the capacity of retaining, perpetuating, or reviving the thought of things” and as a phenomenon, memory has been discussed in many areas and quite differently in the course of time. But trying to remember someone is not possible without a situation involving that person and a place where it happened. Even if that place is non-existing for the relevant time of remembrance, giving the context to our memory that place is real. The statement is even more relevant when it comes to remembering an event. For as Halbwachs says: “it would be very difficult to describe the event if one did not imagine the place”. (Halbwachs, 1997 quoted in Truc, 2012, p. 148) This enables us to discuss memory in the terms of spatiality and not just temporality. Today however sciences outside psychology treat memory more as a social rather than personal phenomenon. This recent rise in scholarly interest in memory can be coincided with our own personal preoccupation with memory and more important its counterpart, forgetting. This obsession with forgetting some scientists prescribe to the anxiety caused by modernity. Modernity as a story of progress has brought “a very real compression of space and time” (Huysen, 2003, p. 4). Rapid changes and constant movement forward inherently meant leaving something behind. At the same time in the technologically driven mass media society, it expanded our horizons from local to international. The collection of information from the past ceased to be a selective process and in this state, afraid of forgetting something important, we started clustering large amounts of data. As the numbers of museums, state archives and libraries increased significantly we became ever more reliant on *prosthetic memory*, a memory that Landsberg (2004, p. 175) defines as: “memories which do not come from person’s lived experience in any strict form”. That is perhaps why today we measure memory by gigabytes for the greatest prosthetic memory device we have invented, the personal computer. To better understand the current state of memory we should take a deeper

look into how the theories of memory developed over time and what kind of connections were made concerning its relationship to memory.

The works of Plato and Aristotle show us that memory was held in high esteem in antics. In Plato's *Theaetetus* and Aristotle's *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, in the spirit of the *tabula rasa*¹ thesis, we see memory being compared to making impressions in wax. In addition to prescribing the notion of temporality to memories their manifestations in our minds are said to take the form of images. But the most detailed description of the state of memory we get in the work *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, of unknown authorship, which is the oldest Latin book on *rhetoric*². Dating from the late 80s BCE we can clearly see that memory was essential to rhetoric and it was divided into two kinds:

*"...one natural, and the other the product of art. The natural memory is that memory which is embedded in our minds, born simultaneously with thought. The artificial memory is the memory which is strengthened by a kind of training and system of discipline."*³

Memory, as we can see, was perceived as a storage of information and in the same work, we can find the description of the Art of Memory, an important *mnemonic*⁴ device used by orators to remember long speeches whose invention was attributed to the Greek poet Simonides of Ceos. A person wanting to memorize something should create a mental image of the thing and later place it an imaginary place in a strict order. In order to recollect it, the person goes on a mental journey through that imaginary place remembering things by the order of their mental images. (Yılmaz, 2010) This process of remembering is important to us because it points out to the spatial nature of memory and is the first relation in between the memory and architecture or to be precise, it represents architecture in service of memory. Its importance slowly faded away during the Middle Ages where some form of it was used for reciting prayers.

In Renaissance, together with the revival of antique ideals, we notice the revival of the art of memory such as that of memory theater of Giulio Camillo (1480 - 1544).

¹ An absence of preconceived ideas or predetermined goals; a clean slate.

² The art of effective or persuasive speaking or writing, especially the exploitation of figures of speech and other compositional techniques.

³ [Cicero], Caplan, H. (1954). *Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)*. London: Heinemann. p. 205-25 in Rossington, M., Whitehead, A. and Anderson, L. (2007). *Theories of memory*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. p. 43

⁴ A system such as a pattern of letters, ideas, or associations which assists in remembering something.

Although never constructed, after being lost for centuries it was found and explained by Amelia Yates. It was to be a wooden building, constructed as a Vitruvian amphitheater. The visitor standing on the stage would have a clear view of the auditorium, divided into seven sections, representing then known seven planets, suitable for memories laid in a strict order. It was supposed to contain all the memory of the world, as the accumulation of it was the closest way to the Truth. (Yates, 1966) Memory was considered as a tool of securing a continuum and identity of nations. It is sort of a computer memory whose images are safely stored and organized in such a way that they are opened to be moved through to anyone who wishes it.

In John Locke's essay, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* we see the refurbishment of Plato's ideas, especially that of memory as a storage of information or as he calls it 'the Store –house of Ideas'. (Rossington, 2007) He connects the lasting of the Ideas with two things: firstly, with the impressions made, naming those accompanied by pleasure and pain as the strongest ones and secondly, with the frequent refreshment of those Ideas by returning to the object or actions that produced them. He also draws attention to two flaws of our memory, the loss of Idea and the slow retrieving of the Idea. Mentioning certain Monsieur Pascal, who can recall everything he has ever done, read or thought he calls this ability a privilege. But this memory also has a defect comparing to the omniscience of God, for Pascal can recall Ideas only by their succession. However, with statements like the one that "the Mind has a Power, in many cases to revive Perceptions, which it has once had, with the additional Perceptions annexed to them, that it has had them before."⁵, Locke starts to describe memory more as a function of a mind than a place. (Rossington, 2007)

David Hume, a Scottish philosopher in his book *A Treatise of Human Nature* (first published in parts from the end of 1738 to 1740) compares the notions of Memory and Imagination and strictly distinguishes them by the fact that ideas of memories are more vivid and detailed than those of Imagination, but goes on warning that Ideas of memory may fade out to the degree of being perceived as an idea of imagination while at the

⁵ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1700; first published in 1690) in Locke, J. and Nidditch, P. (1975). *An essay concerning human understanding*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 149-55 in Rossington, Whitehead, and Anderson, *Theories of memory*, p. 75

same time idea of imagination may become so vivid that it can be taken as an idea of memory. (Rossington, 2007)

What we see from both of these texts is that the ideas of the antics are revived and the further development of mutual connection of memory and imagination through images. Moreover, Adrian Forty asserts that Locke's ideas were further popularized by Joseph Addison, an English essayist, poet, playwright, and politician, in his essay "The Pleasures of the Imagination" published in the *Spectator*⁶ (No. 411, June 21, 1712). According to Forty (2000, p. 208) Addison proposes "that pleasure derives not just from sight and other senses, but from the contemplation of what is imaginary". Even though none of the authors mentioned above make a direct connection between the association of ideas, memory, and architecture, we can notice such attempts in Britain and France. There is a strong desire for a good public memory which can be accessed by anyone. Nations are more and more using memory to build identities. The period witnessed a growth in the number of museums, archives, and libraries as institutions in charge of keeping the collective memories. Boyer (1994) notes that in France, both Napoleon I and Napoleon III were aware of the art of memory and their idea of implementing it on a larger, urban scale. She states that Napoleon III assumed that an architectural promenade would "not only to bind his city of Paris into one cohesive unit but to act as a memory walk through the historic monuments and grandiose architectural facades that represented the heroic accomplishments and communal responsibilities of his directorship." (Boyer, 1994, p.14) In *Observations on modern gardening*, a book written in 1771 by Thomas Whately, an English politician and writer, Forty distinguishes a move to an "expressive mode of association, in which natural scenery, without any specific referent, would in every individual evoke particular trains of ideas which would themselves become cause of aesthetic pleasure". (2000, p. 209) The biggest flaw of this theory of aesthetic pleasure deriving from the association of ideas was that it was based on the individual and the quantity and quality of individual's memory. This memory was being obtained through education which was mostly reserved for the upper class of the society. Common people being void of ideas to prescribe to the objects would acquire no pleasure.

⁶ The *Spectator* was a daily publication founded by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele in England, lasting from 1711 to 1712.

John Ruskin, who was the leading art critique of the Victorian era, shines a new light on the relationship between architecture and memory. In his essay *Seven Lamp of Architecture*, published in a form of a book in 1849, together with Sacrifice, Truth, Power, Beauty, Life and Obedience, Locke names Memory as one of the seven categories, “Lamps”, vital and inseparable from architecture. In spite of his approach to memory and history, where the two terms are almost identical, being the same as his contemporaries his understanding of memory shows some significant differences. For Ruskin, whose work was focused on social and political issues, looking at the memory from that aspect is not much of a surprise. He says that “...a time is to come when those stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them, and that men will say as they look upon the labor and wrought substance on them, ‘see! This our fathers did for us.’” (Ruskin, 1849 in Forty, 2000, p. 211) We see here that it is no longer the successive set of mental images we see looking at an architectural artifact as in antics and renaissance but something much more exact, labor. The stones he is talking about are to trigger the memory and provide an insight into human history. This kind of memory tends to be social, not individual. His coupling of poetry and architecture paints us a clearer picture of the nature of social memories at the time. Like poetry, architecture belongs to everyone and no one. Since there is no one to claim it, only one thing is relevant, the thing that is being remembered. It is kind of glorious memory, one closely linked to immortality, reserved for heroes, poets, artists who gain entry to this memory by heroic deeds, astonishing works of art and similar. These are the persons from the past that we can take as role models in times to come.

The constant and rapid change that the industrial revolution brought upon carried within itself a need to sever the connections with the past. It was a new clean start and everything not relevant and immanent to the momentum was to be disregarded. With the start of critical thinking memory and history were slowly fading out of the modernist discourse. With the changes in thinking and the society, theories of memory were also susceptible to changes. For Nietzsche, “a dialectical tension between memory and forgetting, or past and future is essential for what he terms ‘life’” (Rossington and Whitehead, 2007, p. 93) and not forgetting, once seen as a gift from God is now seen equally important to existence. Nietzsche states that: “He who cannot sink down on the

threshold of the moment and forget all past,..., will never know what happiness is – worse, he will never do anything to make others happy.”⁷

French philosopher, Henri Bergson contributes to the subject in his book *Matter and Memory* (1896) with his division of memory into two forms, *motor mechanic*, which we use in everyday repetitive actions and *pure memory*, used for private recollection. With his example of a lesson once learned and any of its successive readings bringing their own individuality by the instances, they occur in, slowly ushers in the notion that memory is susceptible to time and social occasions. (Rossington and Whitehead, 2007)

The connection between memory and architecture in this period is clearly visible in Alois Riegl’s essay *The Modern Cult of Monuments*, originally published in 1903. He starts by defining monuments as “a work of man erected for the specific purpose of keeping particular human deeds or destinies alive and present in the consciousness of future generations”⁸ and continues to make a distinction between deliberate monuments and those which came to be considered as ones due to their historical or artistic value. Just as Ruskin’s works, Riegl’s essay, affects mostly the conservation area and not the immediate architecture since that kind of connection is avoided.

In the years after the First World War, the changes continue in the theory of memory. The importance of forgetting continues to be the subject, in the ‘*A not upon the “Mystic Writing- Pad”*’ (1925) by Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, where he continues to challenge the views of memory as an imprint in the wax and substitutes it for a different system, one of a mystic writing pad that he found on the market. It constitutes of three layers, a slab of wax, a translucent sheet of wax paper, and a transparent celluloid sheet. When a person wants to remember something it is to be written on the top layer so the wax becomes visible through the wax paper and the image is formed on the celluloid surface. The person no longer in need of the image can erase it by lifting up the wax paper of the slab. (Rossington and Whitehead, 2007)

⁷ Friedrich Nietzsche, “On the Uses and Abuses of History for Life” (1874) in Breazeale and Hollingdale, 1997 in Rossington, Whitehead and Anderson, 2007, p. 103

⁸ Alois Riegl, *The Modern Cult of Monument: its Essence and its Development* in Stanley-Price, N., Talley, M. and Melucco Vaccaro, A. (1996). *Historical and philosophical issues in the conservation of cultural heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute. p. 69

In the twentieth century, memory has been the subject of many fields, ranging from art, and philosophy to social sciences. As far as sociology is concerned, Jedlowski (2001, p. 30) says that “its interest in memory logically derives from the recognition of the importance of the temporal dimension in human affairs”. Olick (1999), Jedlowski (2001), Russell (2006), and Truc (2012) trace the usage of the term collective memory to Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and his student Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945). The term ‘*mémoire collective*’ was coined by Halbwachs in 1925 in his book *Le Cadres sociaux de la mémoire*. (Russell, 2006) For Halbwachs memory is “a reconstruction of the past using data taken from the present”. (Halbwachs, 1997 quoted in Truc, 2012, p. 148) According to Olick (1999, p. 335)

“Halbwachs reminds that it is only individuals who remember, even if they do much of this remembering together. Group memberships provide the materials for memory and prod the individual into recalling particular event and into forgetting others. Groups can even produce memories in individuals that they never “experienced” in any direct sense”

Russell describes the memory before Halbwachs as “dependent on the thing that is remembered” and “transcending individual human temporality”. (2006, p. 792-3) This kind of collective memory can be related to immortality, where one gains entry to it with great actions, brave, creative ethical and aesthetical accomplishments. This can be linked to the later Cult of Romantic Hero, where in Western traditions heroes, artists and other exemplary figures from the past serve as models for ethical behavior. For Halbwachs, he states “the question of who remembers and how that happens is central” (Russell, 2006, p. 796). The collective memory now is shaped by the nature and collective experience of a particular group that differs from others and cannot be transferred from one group to another.

Pierre Nora (1989, p. 7) a French historian takes this issue further and gives us the term *lieux de memoire* defining it as a place where

“memory crystallizes and secrete itself has occurred at a particular historical moment a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound with the sense that memory has been torn, but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of embodiment of memory where a sense of historical continuity persist.”

These Places of Memory are to be places where memory and history intersect, merge and create a new narrative which adds a new interpretation to the site. These sites of memory “are created by the play of memory and history, an interaction of two factors

that result in their reciprocal overdetermination”. (Nora, 1989, p. 19) The most important characteristic is the will to remember, on the other hand, interventions of history, time and changes in the society make these places prone to changes and mutations which according to Nora (1989, p. 19) gives way to “endless recycling of their meaning”.

Contemporary thought perceives memory not as a store of information, but as a plurality of functions. What we call ‘memory’ today, Jedlowski, (2001, p. 30) defines as:

“a complex network of activities, the study of which indicates that the past never remains ‘one and the same’, but is constantly selected, filtered and restructured in the term set by the questions and necessities of the present, at both individual and the social levels.”

Today, we can observe the relationship between memory and architecture going in two directions. One that treats memory as a part of perception in architecture and sees it as an important part of experiencing architecture and the other one that explores the relationship deeper on a smaller and direct scale, with intentional monuments. (Forty, 2000)

First one is prompted mainly by Italian architect Aldo Rossi and caused by nostalgic feelings brought upon by modernism and its avoidance of memory that created a rupture in the historical continuity. The city is seen as a collective memory of its citizens and any interventions in it can affect the collective memory itself. That is why in developing new forms of urban architecture it is of great importance to research the existing ones.

The second one deals with memory and architecture more directly, in forms of intentional monuments. Together with Benjamin Walter’s division of history and memory, questioning history as just a distorted version of memories for the interest of the dominant powers caused for more suspicions to arise and make memory in architecture lay dormant except in one field, that of commemorating and remembering the fallen, mostly soldiers in the First World War. Thousands of war memorials were built in the affected countries with nations, for the first time, commemorating casualties of conflicts in this scale. Faced with such a trauma society once again relied upon artifacts to prolong human memory and convey to us the message that forgetting these

many dead is a great danger for the society. In the period between the wars usage of monument and memorials in service of Nazi and Fascist ideologies paved a way in raising suspicions of their meaning and place in the public space. Fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 and unification of Germany ignited the discussion of how to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust. This together with news of new genocides from Rwanda to Bosnia and Herzegovina and most recently, terrorist attacks, made the subject of memorializing posttraumatic events an acute subject. Whitehead (2007) dates this rise of twentieth-century interest in trauma to the end of Vietnam War when soldiers returning home manifested the symptomatology of trauma. Now, realizing the fragile nature of memory and the fact that as every manmade object monuments and memorials as well are subjected to the transition of time and the society they are made in, a search is on for new forms of memorialization. Memorial culture according to Parr (2008) appears in many forms, from Memorial Day, memorials and monuments to a whole industry of memorialization, including exhibitions, museums as well as Hollywood renditions of real-life collective traumas in film.

3. MONUMENTUM

The definitions of the words monument and memorials almost overlap, while “monument” corresponds to “a structure or building that is built to honor a special person or event”⁹, “memorial” is defined as “an object, often large and made of stone that has been built to honor a famous person or event”¹⁰. Their Latin roots can be traced to “monumentum”- literally "something that reminds," from monere "to remind, warn"¹¹ and “memoria”- "memory, remembrance, faculty of remembering,"¹², respectively. This meaning that monuments and memorials can be mostly used as interchangeable forms, however, Struken (1997,p. 169) notices a distinction in intent between them.

“Monuments are not generally built to commemorate defeats; the defeated dead are remembered in memorials. Whereas a monument most often signifies victory, a memorial refers to lives sacrificed for a particular set of values. Memorials embody grief, loss, and tribute. Whatever triumph a memorial may refer to, its depiction of victory is always tempered by a foreground of the lives lost“

Nevertheless, boundaries between the two in today’s context of a post -Holocaust world, seem ever more blurred. Young, on the contrary, sees a monument only as a subset of memorials. He treats “all memory sites as memorials, the plastic objects within these sites as monuments. A memorial may be a day, a conference or space, but it needs not be a monument. A monument, on the other hand, is always a kind of memorial.” (Young, 1993, p) Considering these statements, all monuments and memory sites can become memorials, so in the purpose of this study monuments and memorials sites will be analyzed according to Young’s definition. Winter (1995) notes two functions of war remembrance: Memory and mourning. Remembering a war is always a part of the official memory policy as a way of creating and upholding a certain collective identity. Additionally, it has to go beyond memory politics and offer a chance for survivors to mourn their losses. In addition, from his statement that: “to understand war memorials is to see more clearly how communities mourned together” (Winter, 1998, p. 79) it is possible to conclude that in his view a psychological role, enabling individuals as well

⁹ <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>

¹⁰ *ibid*

¹¹ <http://www.etymonline.com/>

¹² *ibid*

as societies to come to terms with and overcome trauma of loss experienced in wars, can be contributed to monuments. Caldas (2015) separates memorials into five descriptive categories: naming public spaces, support informative media, commemorative markers, spontaneous commemorative markers, museum, and abstract commemoration. Naming public spaces such as streets, squares, and public buildings, is the most common form of commemoration. They are usually followed by supportive informative media in form of plaques and panels and in present day digital media. Commemorative markers can be described as any form that carries a reminder of a person's life or death or as Caldas and Gaballero (2105, p. 2) say: “similar to tombstones outside the cemetery”. Spontaneous commemorative markers are usually put immediately after at the scene of the tragedy. In forms of small shrines, wooden crosses, places to leave notes and flowers etc. Museums are institutionalized forms of commemoration, able to host exhibitions, display objects and information and in general offer a more complete experience about one or more victims or heroes. The final one, which will be the focus of this study, is the abstract commemoration, consisting of sculptures, statues and other forms of art and architecture that “evoke meanings to commemorate the subject”. (Caldas and Gaballero, 2015, p. 2)

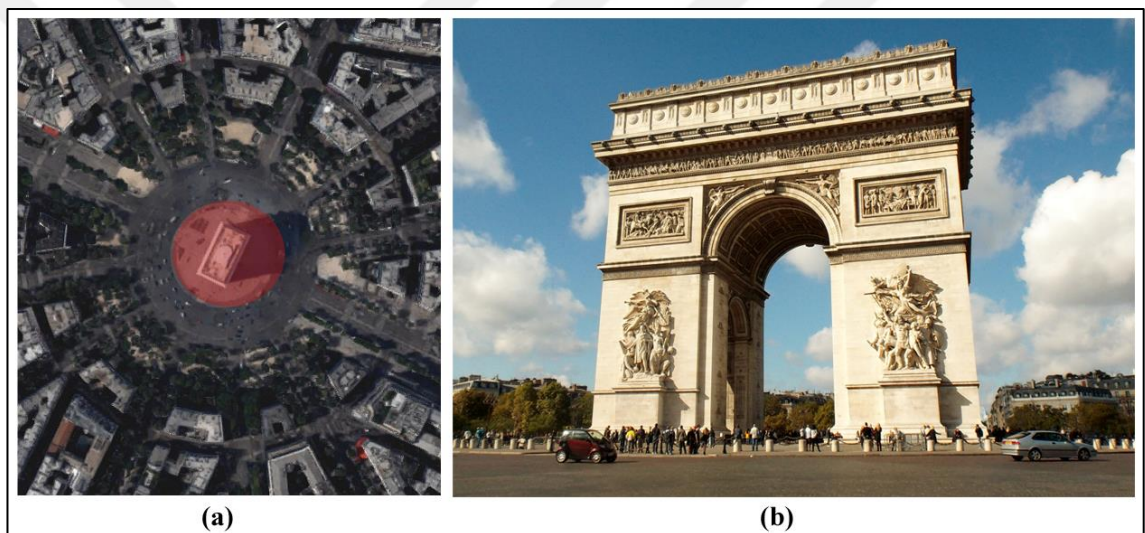
3.1 BEFORE WWI

The cult of personality that started in Renaissance continued on with royalty, generals, poets, writers and philosophers having their monumental tombs luxuriously ornamented and their grandiose statues raised after their deaths. The shape of monuments from this period ranges from equestrian statues, victory columns and obelisks to structures whose forms and compositions take inspirations from Ancient Egypt, Greece or Roman cultures. Bellow we will analyze three monuments: Arch de Triomphe in Paris as the example of triumphal arches, Nelson’s column in London as the example of triumphal columns, and Monument to the Battle of the Nations in Leipzig as the example of large temple-like structures.

3.1.1 Arch de Triomphe de L'Etoile, 1836, France

Triumphal arch as a monumental structure in the form of an arched formal gateway set on an axis, commemorating victory or individuals can be traced to ancient Rome and their survival has been an inspiration for similar structures around the world. As such, Arch de Triomphe de l'Étoile (English: Triumphal Arch of the Star) in Paris was designed by Jean Chalgrin (1739-1811) with a possible reference to Arch of Titus (82 AD) in Rome Built by Emperor Domitian to commemorate his brother Titus' victories. (see Figure3.1b)

Figure 3.1: The Triumphal Arch (b) and its Location (a)



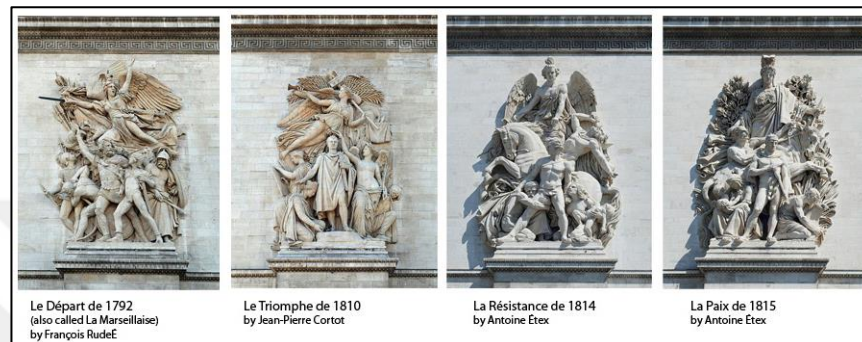
Source: a) <https://maps.google.com/>, edited by the author

b) <http://static.thousandwonders.net/Arc.de.Triomphe.original.7168.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

The monument stands 50 m in height, 45 m wide and 22 m deep, making it one of the largest triumphal arches in the world. The large vault is 29.19 m high and 14.62m wide. As shown in Figure 3.1a its location is very central, at the intersection of 12 streets in modern day Paris. Commissioned by Napoleon I to commemorate his victories in 1806, the arch was completed some 30 years later. The main constructional material is limestone from the quarries of Château-Landon, near Montargis, 100 km South of Paris known for its bright color and carving qualities. The pillars are hollow and there is a staircase that leads to the top of the arch. After the First World War, a tomb to an unknown soldier was added which will be discussed later on in the thesis. The arch is

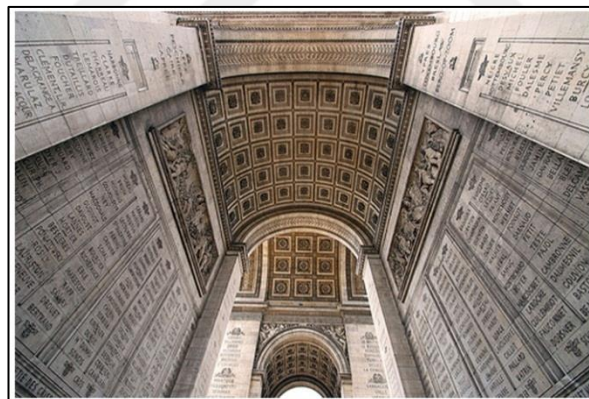
decorated with four big sculptures (see Figure 3.2) which are located on the bases of the four pillars and six reliefs sculpted on the façades depict Napoleon's victories and important events in the French Revolution. On the interior, 558 names of Napoleon's generals are engraved with the names of those who died in battle being underlined. (see Figure 3.3)

Figure 3.2: Main Sculptures on the Arch



Source: <http://europeantrips.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Arc-de-Triomphe-Sculptures.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

Figure 3.3: The inside of the Arch



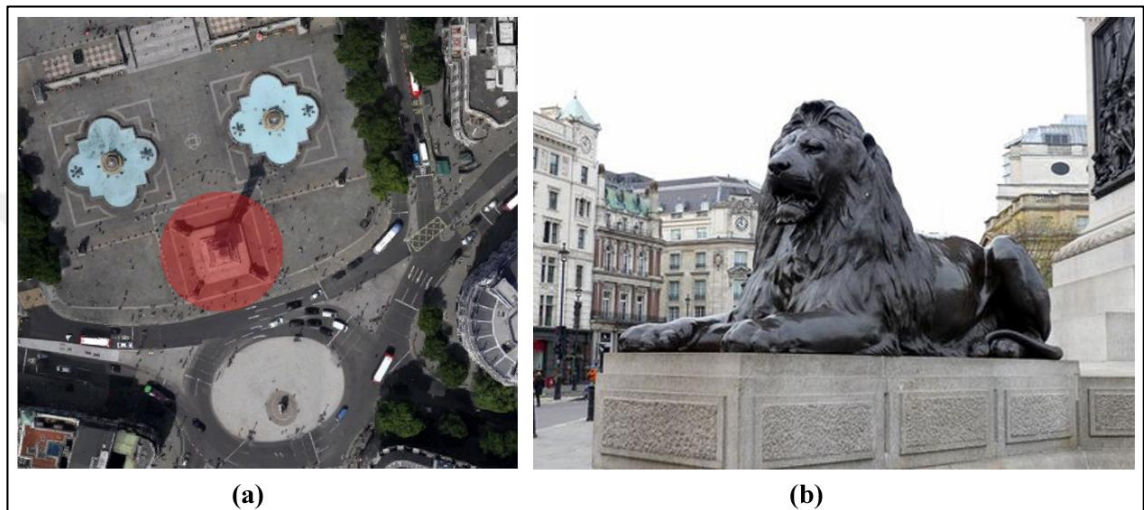
Source: http://farm5.static.flickr.com/4079/4910376197_b31672cd41.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

3.1.2 Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square, 1843, England

The monument as shown in Figure 3.4, commemorating Admiral Horatio Nelson, was designed by William Railton (1800–77) and is located in Trafalgar Square in London. Fluted Corinthian order column is made of granite, containing a staircase leading to the top while its capital is cast in bronze. The base is decorated with four bronze reliefs

depicting Admiral Nelson's four major battles, including the Battle of Trafalgar in which he lost his life. The top of the column is adorned with 5.5 meters high Craigeith sandstone sculpture of the admiral done by Edward Hodges Baily. The sculpture shows Admiral Nelson in uniform with a firm stance and right foot in front with a sword in the left hand resting on the ground as a symbol for readiness to defend the kingdom.

Figure 3.4: Nelson's Column's Location (a) and Bronze Lions (b)



Source: a) <https://maps.google.com/>, edited by the author
b) <http://www.aviewoncities.com/img/london/kveen1075s.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

(see Figure 3.5) Sir Edwin Landseer designed four bronze lions which were added at the base in 1867. (see Figure 3.4) Competition for the design was held two times and proposals ranged from obelisk-like structures to a pyramid-like monument, both very representative examples of antique motifs celebrating victory and eternal life. The column's form as a monument can be traced to Roman Triumphal Columns with Trajan's column being the most famous example. Constructed in 113 AD and located in Rome, Trajan's Column commemorates the victories of Roman emperor Trajan which are depicted on a spiral relief across the column. Comparing the two it is easy to see the resemblance, both are built in purpose of celebration and commemoration and structurally aside from containing staircases, both columns are decorated with reliefs depicting the campaigns and are topped with statues of persons they are intended to commemorate.

Figure 3.5: Nelson's Column (a) and Capitol Detail with the Sculpture (b)



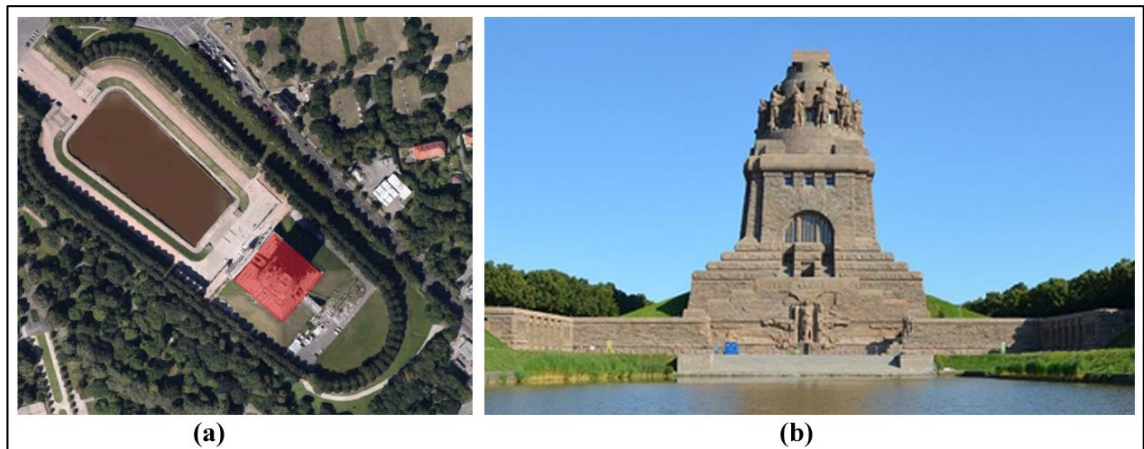
Source: a) <http://www.speel.me.uk/sculptlondon/lonpicn/nelson/nelson5.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) <http://media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-s/05/5a/a6/06/nelson-s-column.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016)

3.1.3 Monument to the Battle of the Nations, 1913, Germany

The Monument to the Battle of the Nations is a monument in Leipzig, Germany, to the 1813 Battle of Leipzig, also known as the Battle of the Nations. (see Figure 3.6) Paid for mostly by donations and by the city of Leipzig, it was completed in 1913 for the 100th anniversary of the battle and at a great financial cost. The monument commemorates Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig. The structure is 91 meters tall. It contains over 500 steps to a viewing platform at the top, from which there are spectacular views across the city and environs. The structure makes extensive use of concrete, although the facings are of granite. The monument is regarded as one of the best examples of Wilhelmine¹³ architecture. It stands on the spot of some of the bloodiest fighting, from where Napoleon ordered the retreat of his army. The monument was constructed over an artificial hill with a pyramidal shape for a clear view of the surroundings. The base is 124 meters square. The main structure, at 91 meters is one of the tallest monuments in Europe. It is composed of two stories. On the first story, a crypt is adorned by eight large statues of fallen warriors, each one next to smaller statues called the *Totenwächter* (Guardians of the Dead).

¹³ The Wilhelmine Period comprises the period between 1890 and 1918, embracing the reign of Wilhelm II and the First World War.

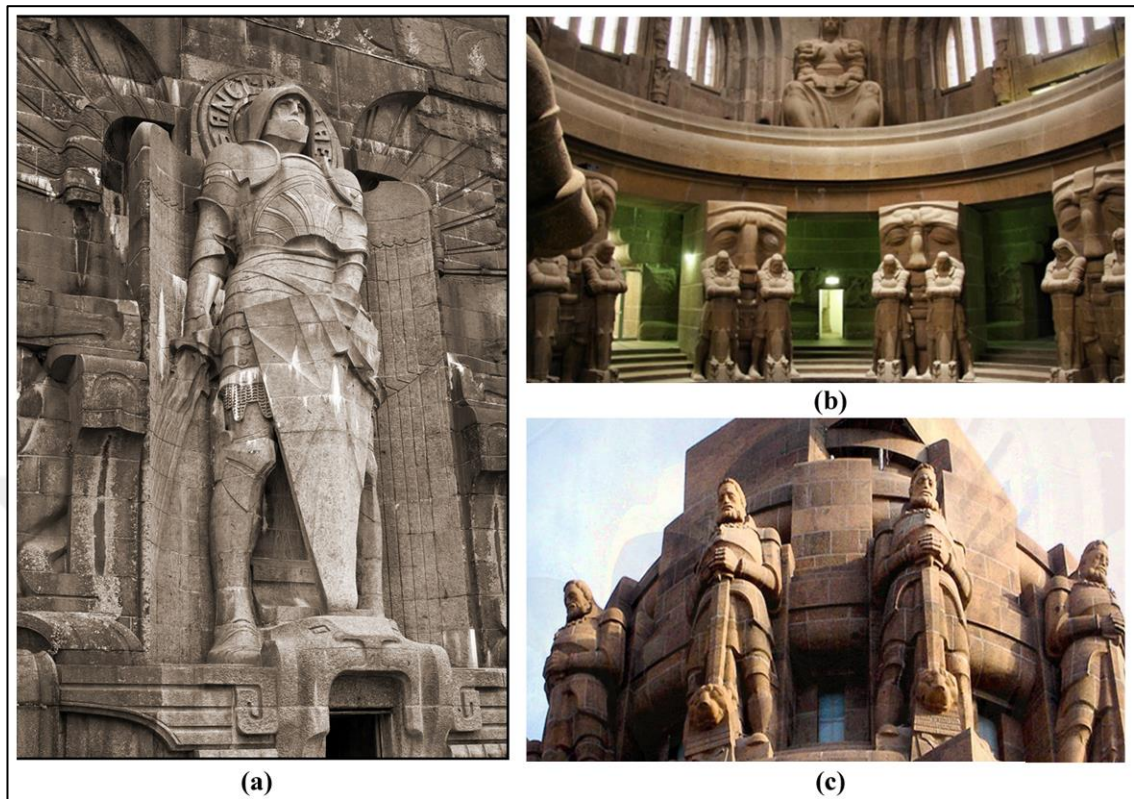
Figure 3.6: Monument to the Battle of the Nations: Location (a) and the Main Edifice (b)



Source: a) <https://maps.google.com/>, edited by the author
b) <http://english.leipzig.de/typo3temp/GB/e4987c509a.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

On the second story, the *Ruhmeshalle* (Hall of Fame) features four statues, each 9.5 meters tall, representing the four legendary historic qualities ascribed to the German people: bravery, faith, sacrifice, and fertility. (see Figure 3.7) The statues of the monument were sculpted by Christian Behrens and his apprentice Franz Metzner. The cupola is decorated with primitive Germanic shapes, inspired by Egyptian and Assyrian sculpture. Schmitz also planned to create an accompanying complex for ceremonies that would include a court, a stadium and parade grounds. However, only a reflecting pool and two processional avenues were ultimately completed. Surrounding the monument are oaks, a symbol of masculine strength and endurance to the Germanic people of antiquity. The oaks are complemented by evergreens, symbolizing feminine fecundity, and they are located in a subordinate position to the oaks. The 12 meters main figure on the front of the memorial represents the archangel Michael, considered the "War god of Germans".

Figure 3.7: Sculptures of Archangel Micheal (a), Totenwaachter (b), and the Dome (c)



Source: a) https://c1.staticflickr.com/9/8350/8228173062_ffb03b88ea_b.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) <http://freimaurer-wiki.de/images/thumb/a/ab/VSL800px.jpg/500px-VSL800px.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).
c) <https://i.ytimg.com/vi/sA8cgkjr0-o/maxresdefault.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

3.2 BETWEEN WARS

Before WWI, there was no tradition of nations commemorating casualties of war. The sheer size and number brought a new social phenomenon and a shift in ways nations commemorate conflicts. Promptly after the war memorialization started, mostly in the Great War cemeteries but soon followed with a range of memorials across the affected nations. Most were done in established styles such as classicism with fewer religious symbols, rarely with the personification of death but one of a brave soldier poised with freedom and ready to die for his country. It is estimated that around thirteen million men died in the First World War making it the most massive conflict in human history to that point. Until then the war dead did not have their separate cemeteries. If buried, at all, they were buried in mass graves and commemorated far away by monuments dedicated to their generals and kings and immortalized by poetry and prose. War

cemeteries that spread around Europe even before the end of the war were “essentially the result of the unprecedented number of fallen”. (Mosse, 1988, p.81) The cemeteries were often accompanied by a monument and a new form of memorialization was on the rise, the “Tomb of the Unknown Soldier”. As Winter (1995, p. 28) notes: “commemoration was a universal preoccupation after the 1914-1918 war” and indeed countries after the war organized commissions and issued guides concerning war memorials. This section will provide further analysis of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Paris and London, together with the Whitehall cenotaph, the Monument to the March Dead in Weimar, Munich War Memorial, and Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the Somme as the example of war cemeteries.

3.2.1 The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

All these war cemeteries located in most cases outside the nation’s borders and dispersed across Europe could not provide the nation with a central point for commemoration, mourning, and official ceremonies. This goal was provided by the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, a new form that was developed in England and France and then eventually spread around Europe. (see Figure 3.8) For the first time, a common soldier, not the general nor the prince or kings were the central points of commemoration. After the war, France buried an unknown soldier inside the Arch de Triomphe and England did the same in Westminster Abbey. As explained by Mosse (1998) the process of selecting the body was also similar, a mother of a killed soldier would be randomly selected and presented with a certain number of unidentified bodies of soldiers of which she would choose one to be buried in the monument. This way individual identity was now symbolically replaced with an unknown one. However, since the Abbey was in no capacity to receive large amounts of people for official ceremonies a cenotaph, as shown in Figure 3.9, was designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens in 1920 located in a prominent location in London. It is an elegant, elevated sarcophagus like structure made out of Portland stone and void of any decorations, except the carved wreath on every side and a flag pole stand on one. There were also no religious or victorious symbols which gave room for different associations and emotions. Italy also unveiled a Tomb to an Unknown Soldier in 1920 as a part of the Altare della Patria

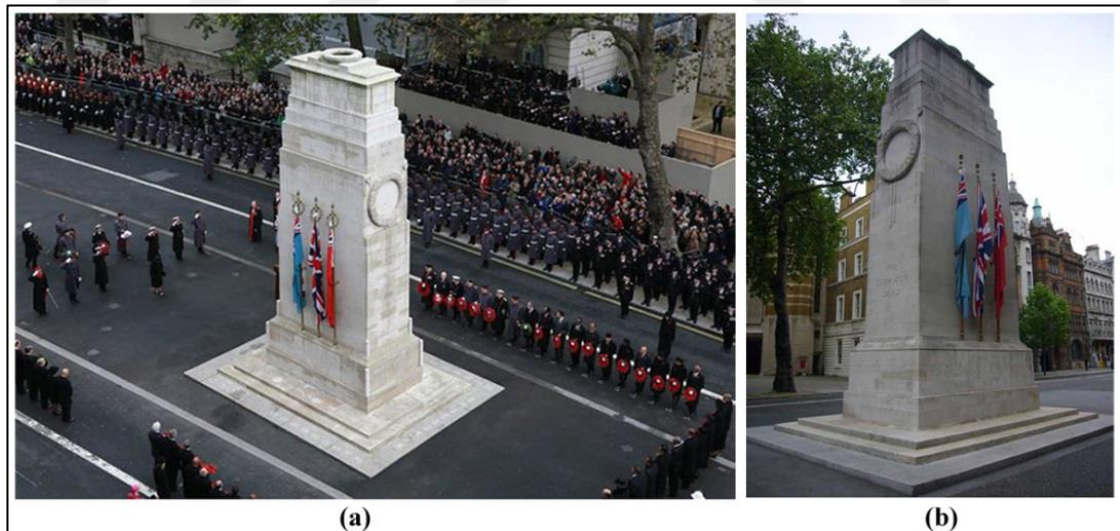
Monument in Rome, built to celebrate the unification of Italy and the first king Vittorio Emmanuelle.

Figure 3.8: Tombs of the Unknown Soldier in Arch De Triomphe De l'Etoile (a) and Altare della Patria (b)



Source: a) <http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-0P9UGxUYK1A/VFu8RjwPuxI/AAAAAAB1Cc/Vw0eVOq6as0/s1600/61407108.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) <http://i35.tinypic.com/33vk8sm.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

Figure 3.9: Whitehall Cenotaph

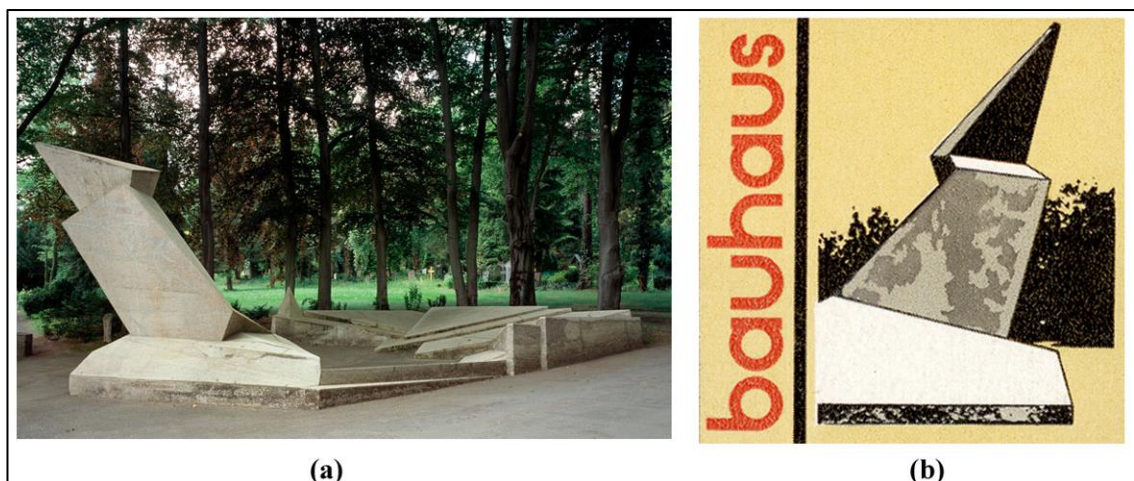


Source: a) http://www.e-architect.co.uk/images/jpgs/london/london_building_aw050507_334.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) <http://i3.mirror.co.uk/incoming/article7552196.ece/ALTERNATES/s615b/Cenotaph.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

3.2.2 Monument to the March Dead, 1922, Germany

The monument was designed by Walter Gropius in order to commemorate the victims of a failed coup in March 1920 in Germany. The monument built in the spirit of the Bauhaus movement was proclaimed as degenerate art, a term used by the Nazi to describe modern art, and destroyed in 1936. (see Figure 3.10) Initially designed to be made out of limestone the lack of funds influenced the decision to make the monument in concrete making it one of the earliest examples of concrete monuments. (Forty, 2005, p. 82) The form of the monument can be understood easier from Gropius's motto for the competition which was "Lightning bolt from the bottom of the grave". It is a very expressionist monument; its concrete base is a rectangular shape with one opened corner. The form starts at the edge of the concrete base rising with sharp surfaces wrapping around the corners as gathering points for the surfaces to fully rise as lightning bolt at the opposite corner becoming a marking reference for the cemetery it has been built in. (see Figure 3.11) Looking at the monument from a larger perspective even though it is rather small in size, around 10 meters in each direction one is tempted to see it as a model of an urban space with clear divisions on three sides and opened entry at one, giving personal space for remembrance and contemplation with a clear reference to the cemetery. It was carefully rebuilt in the original state in 1946.

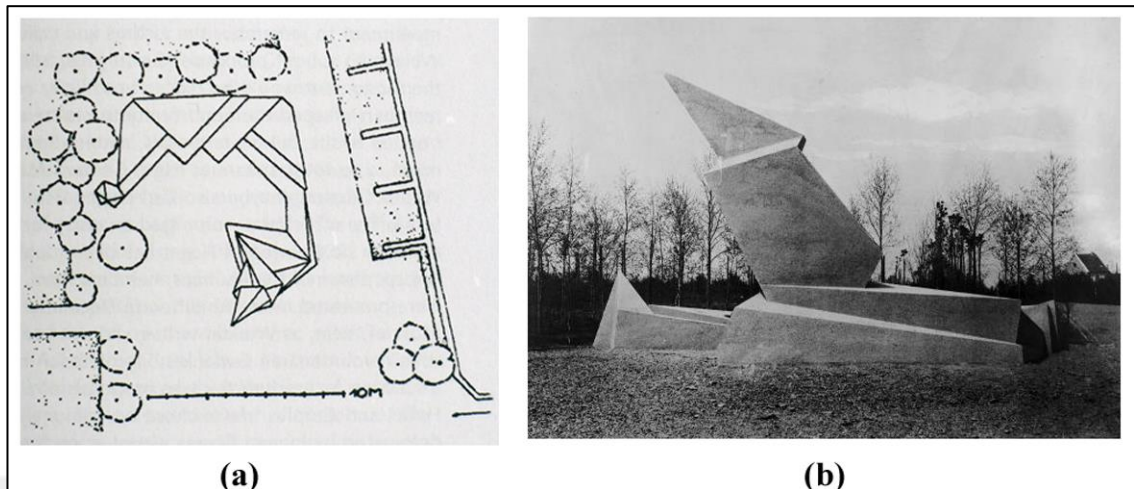
Figure 3.10: Monument to the March Dead



Source: a) https://rosswolfe.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/il_fullxfull-330003812.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

b) <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/15/36/46/1536468dabf75445243995ec31f51b05.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

Figure 3.11: The Plan of the Monument to the March Dead (a) and the Original State (b)



Source: a) http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-lusfy9bBdT4/UVhx1Dh003I/AAAAAAAAA3s/cnWWCRd1qJI/s1600/march_memorial_01.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) http://kilgour.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/A62KCW_800.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

3.2.3 Munich War Memorial, 1926, Germany

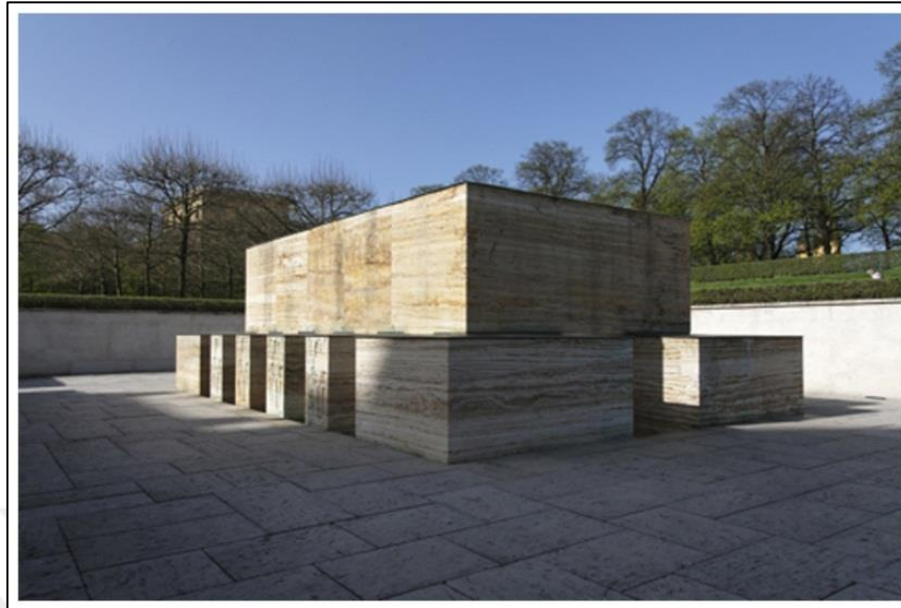
The Munich War Memorial (German: *Kriegerdenkmal*) in the Hofgarten stands in front of the Bavaria State Chancellery and was built to commemorate the German soldiers killed in WWI. (see Figure 3.11) Architects in charge of the design were Thomas Wechs and Eberhard Finsterwalder. The reliefs were done by Karl Knappe while the sculpture of the dead soldier and its base were done by Bernhard Bleeker.

Figure 3.12: Munich War Memorial's Location (a) and Inside of the Crypt (b)



Source: a) <https://maps.google.com/>, edited by the author
b) http://www.birk-ecke.de/files/d300s_unterwegs_muenchen_05.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

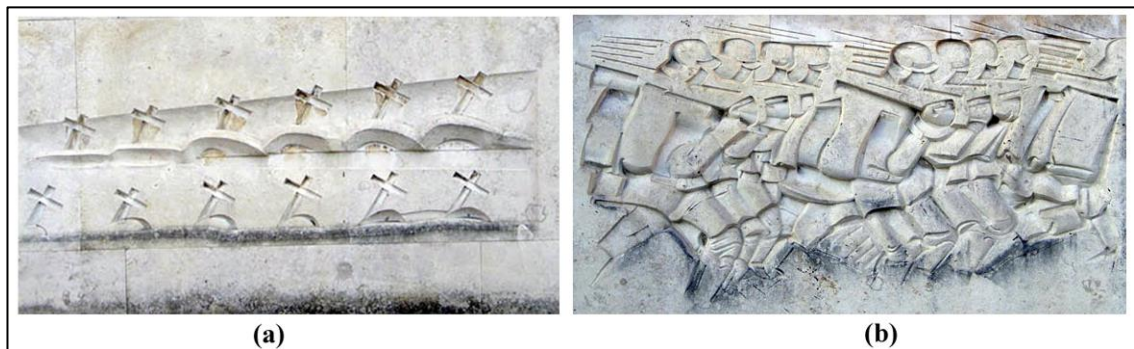
Figure 3.13: The Limestone Blocks Covering the Crypt



Source: http://stadt-muenchen.net/bilder/denkmaeler/denkmal/krie/kriegerdenkmal_01_6.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

The sunken atrium of the memorial is accessible by four separate flights of stairs. In the center of the atrium, a massive limestone structure hides the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. As seen in Figure 3.12, the crypt is made out of 12 blocks of stone that support the 2 meters thick roof block. Outside invisible tomb is accessed by narrow stairs allowing only one person to descend making the experience more intimate and personal. The crypt is said to have been inspired by the tombs of medieval knights or princes seen in German cathedrals. The relief on the north wall, depicting soldiers marching is countered by the one on the south wall depicting rows of graves in a military cemetery. (see Figure 3.13) As Michalski (1998, p. 86) concludes: "they can be seen as a subtle critique of the war". In the original state, names of soldiers fallen in combat were also inscribed, but due to sustained damage after WWII, it was rebuilt without them and a new plaque stating: "For the commemoration / of the 22.000 killed in action / 11.000 missing in action / 6.600 casualties of the aerial warfare / in the city of Munich / 1939-1945") was added.

Figure 3.14: Reliefs on the Wall of the Munich War Memorial

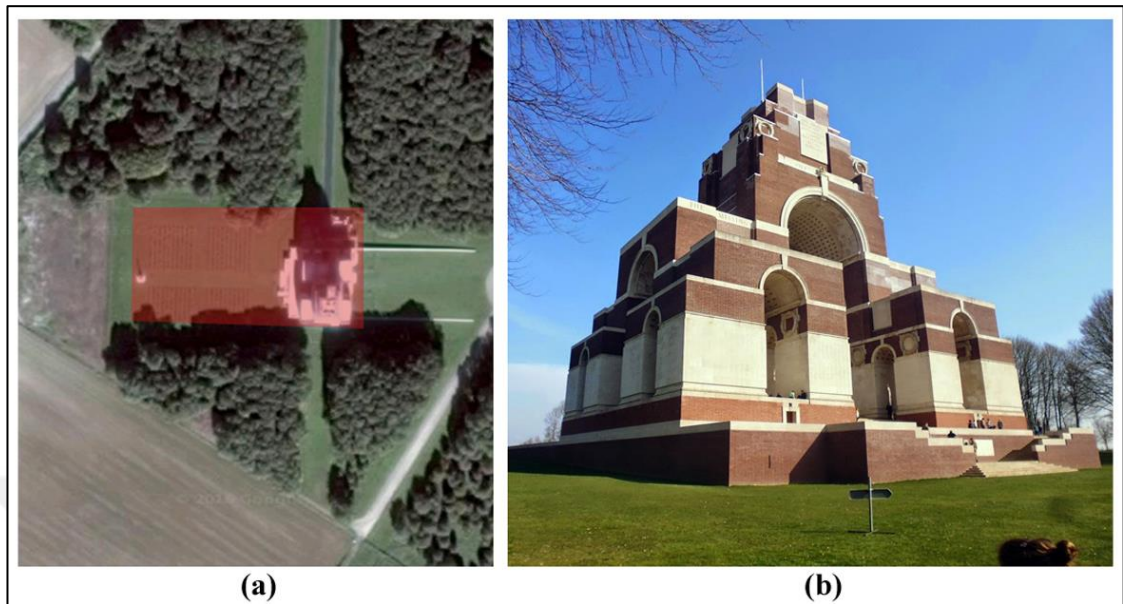


Source: a) <http://www.lietz-ii.de/index/m4g.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) <http://www.lietz-ii.de/index/m2g.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

3.2.4 The Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the Somme, 1932, France

The memorial commemorates 72,246 British Empire servicemen missing in the Battle of the Somme in 1916 and the cooperation of British and French armies. The impressive memorial designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens dominates the landscape on the place of the battle. (see Figure 3.15) Two symmetrical cemeteries of 300 British, on one side and 300 French graves, on the other side symbolizing the common fight, can be found on the West side of the Memorial. (see Figure 3.16) It is designed as a complex form of a memorial arch consisting of interlocking of four arches increasing in size in four stages and on all four sides. The reference to Arch de Triomphe can be misleading as Geurst and Lutyens (2010, p. 413) say: “Whereas in Paris, the heroic deeds of Napoleon's army were celebrated, Thiepval commemorates the casualties of the struggle that did not have a winner.” The complete height of the memorial built from Portland stone and brick above its platform is 43m. The design leaves the elevated platform of the memorial with 16 large pillars which hold the plaques with the inscribed names of the missing soldiers. (see Figure 3.17) Stone of Remembrance holds the central space of the memorial. Designed also by Sir Edwin Lutyens it is one of the standard features of Commonwealth War cemeteries. Insisting on a secular nature it is a rectangular stone of golden proportions placed on a three-stepped platform with the phrase “THEIR NAME LIVETH FOR EVERMORE” inscribed in the foreground.

Figure 3.15: The Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the Somme, Location (a) and the Main Structure (b)



Source: a) <https://maps.google.com/>, edited by the author

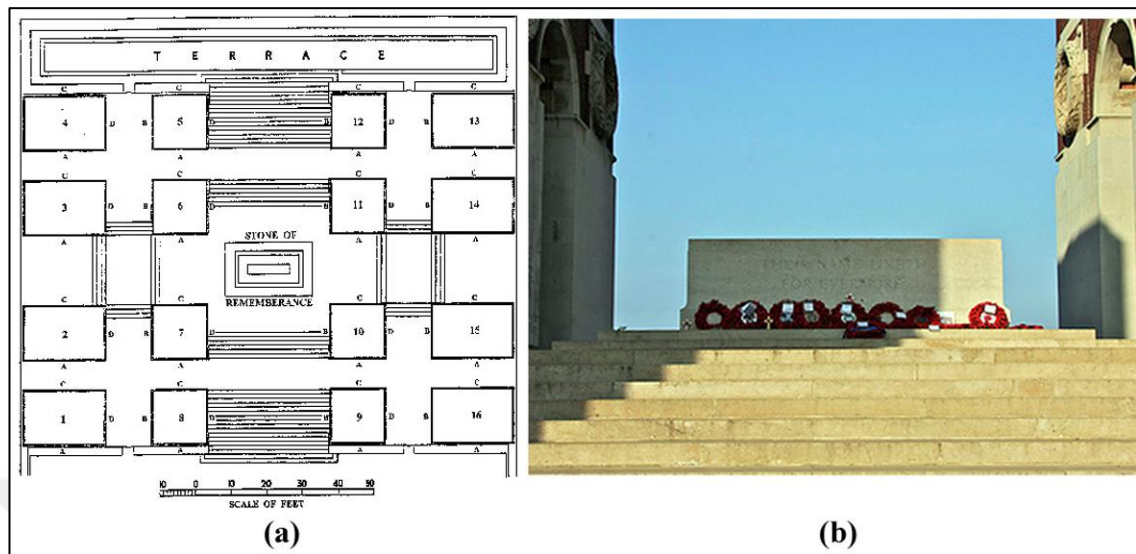
b) http://www.familyadventureproject.org/wp-content/uploads/Thiepval-A%C2%A_Brophotudio.fr_-1024x683.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

Figure 3.16: The French and British Cemetery in Front of the Memorial



Source: <http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-acDkm0OVGxk/U1vgcK9DH-I/AAAAAAAAIP4/8J7IWSKm69Y/s1600/P1010978.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

Figure 3.17: The Plan of the Thiepval Memorial (a) and the Stone of Remembrance (b)



Source: a) http://farm7.static.flickr.com/6164/6194761831_ddf303b583.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).
 b) http://www.kinnethmont.co.uk/1914-1918_files/cemetery-plans/thiepval-mem-plan.htm (accessed 5 June 2016).

3.3 AFTER WWII

In years during the are in after war cemeteries from WWI were expanded and cites of atrocities, such as Nazi labor and death camps were more or less preserved in the state they were found. Now for the first time, there was a great number of civil casualties and old forms could not be used. In the beginning, priority was given to the destroyed cities in need of restoration while at the same time the discussion arose on how to commemorate something as Holocaust. Memorials were starting to get perceived as a transitional form between architecture and sculpture and demanded more than one function, that of preserving memory but rather projects that would incorporate that memory in community life. In this section three memorials will be analyzed: Memorial to the Martyrs of the Ardeatine Caves near Rome, as a Holocaust unrelated memorial, and two Holocaust Memorials, Memorial of the Deportation in Paris and Proposal for the Memorial for the Six Million Jewish Martyrs in New York.

3.3.1 Memorial to the Martyrs of the Ardeatine Caves, 1949, Italy

The memorial (Italian: *Monumento ai Martiri delle Fosse Ardeatine*) is dedicated to 335 innocent Italians, taken at random and executed by the Nazi troops as a reprisal for a partisan attack in Rome. The event has taken place at a quarry near Rome and after the executions, the site was set with explosives causing a partial collapse of the quarry.

Figure 3.18: Memorial to the Martyrs of the Ardeatine Caves

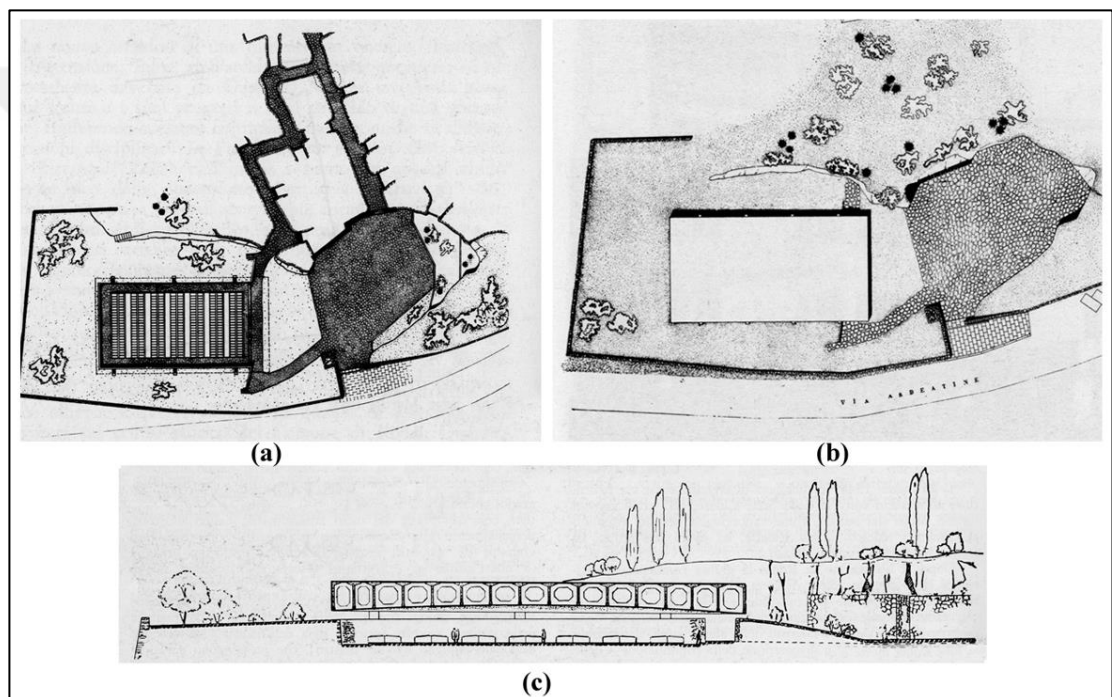


Source: <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/9e/08/3c/9e083cb3580b577a22ee481b658e0a6c.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

The design was carried out by a group of architects and artists. Mario Fiorentino, Giuseppe Perugini, Nello Aprile, Cino Calcaprina, and Aldo Cardelli (architects), Mirko Basaldella designed the gates at the entrance to the memorial and the cave which was sealed off for security reasons and Francesco Coccia who is the author of socialist realist sculpture outside the memorial. (see Figure 3.18) The memorial was officially opened in 1952. The design of the memorial as shown in Figure 3.19 is very site specific since the caves could not be used for the memorial for structural safety reasons. Passing through the gates the visitor enters the underground tunnel, the same path the victims took and reaches the burial ground where 335 granite sarcophaguses were placed in a 1.5-meter deep pit and covered by a single monolithic slab 50 meters long and 25 meters wide. The slab is detached from the ground leaving a fissure to filter the light as to emphasize the contrast between dark and light, death, and life. This delicate

play of light results in an interior space where the visitor perceives and feels all the weight of the slab or metaphorically the “tombstone” which inside conceals a reinforced concrete structure that rests on six pillars. (see Figure 3.20) The structure was covered by concrete casting and later chiseled to give a stone texture and monolithic appearance. (Forty, 2005, p. 89) The idea seems very simple, one of a unique, monolith tombstone for victims with different age and social status, this was represented by the debated socialist realist sculpture statue outside representing a child, a young and an old man.

Figure 3.19: Plan (a), Situation (b), and Section (c) Drawings of the Memorial to the Killed In Ardeatine Caves



Source: a) <http://www.archidiap.com/beta/assets/uploads/2014/09/Planimetria-generale-definitiva.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).
 b) <http://www.archidiap.com/beta/assets/uploads/2014/09/Planimetria-generale5.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).
 c) <http://www.archidiap.com/beta/assets/uploads/2014/09/Sezione-longitudinale2.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

Figure 3.20: Interior of the Memorial, Iron Gate (a) and the Tombs (b)

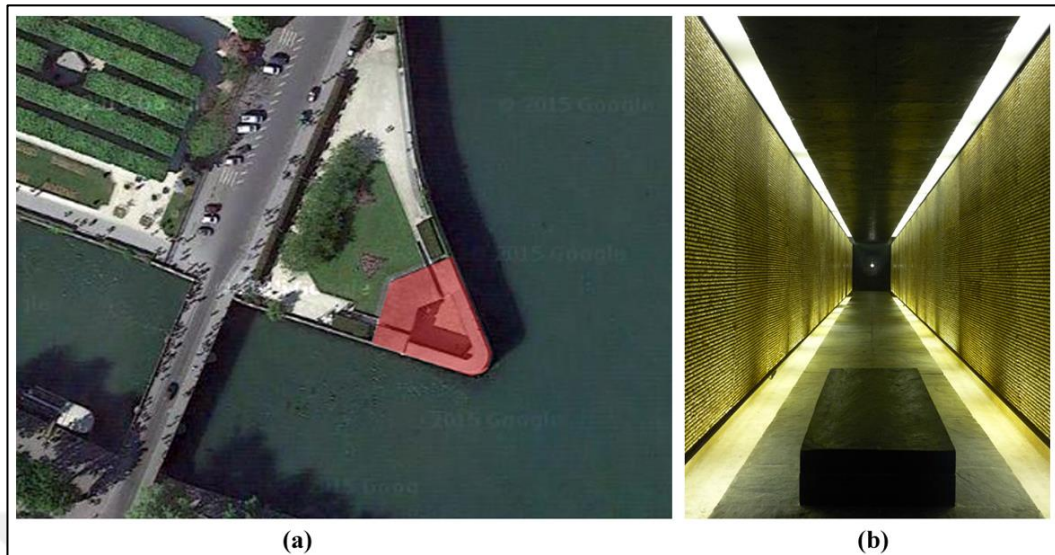


Source: a) <http://www.gioannicarrieri.com/historical-paths/fosse-ardeatine-roma/tombe-fosse-ardeatine-roma.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) <http://www.gioannicarrieri.com/historical-paths/fosse-ardeatine-roma/cave-massacre-ardeatine-fosse.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

3.3.2 Memorial of the Deportation (1962), Paris

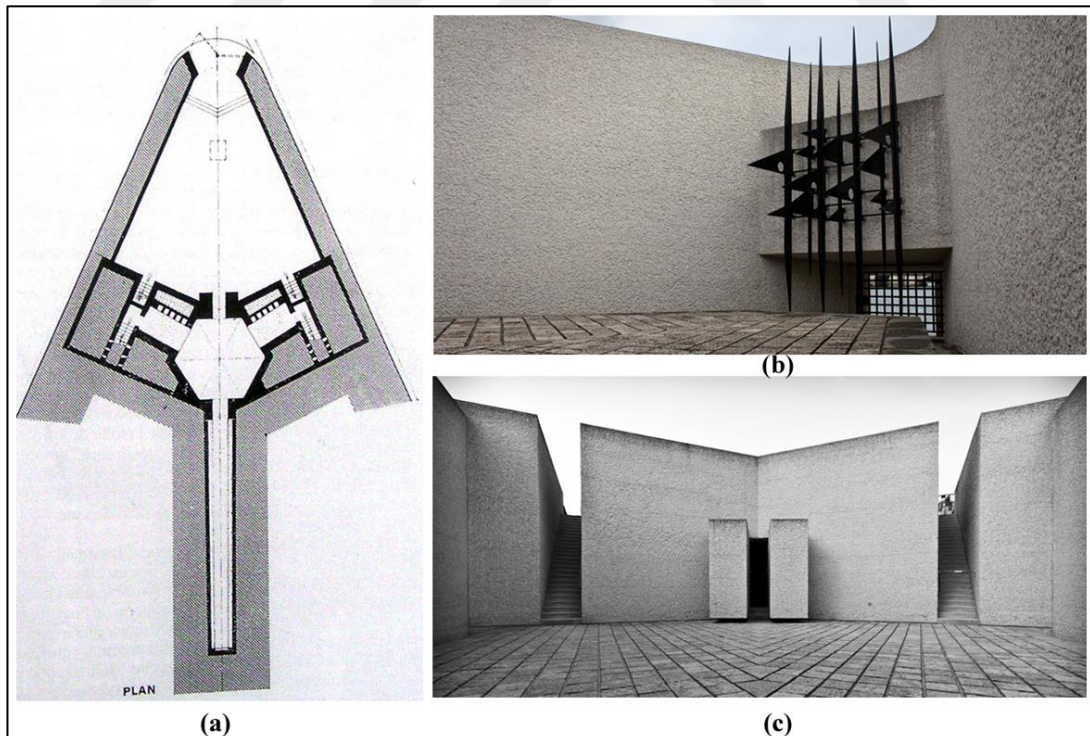
Memorial of the Deportation (French: *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*) is located in Paris at the eastern tip of the Ile de la Cite (see Figure 3.21) and it is dedicated to the 200.000 people deported from France to the Nazi concentration camps across Europe. It was proposed in 1953 and completed in 1962 in accordance with the designs done by the French architect Georges-Henri Pingusson. Barely visible from the outside except for the low concrete wall with the inscription, the sunken triangular-shaped square is accessible by two very narrow and steep staircases. Here Pingusson uses a sort of sensory deprivation, cutting the visitor off from the elements. The 4 meters high walls are made of concrete and the paving is stone. Between the two staircases, marked with two concrete blocks there is a small opening that leads to the dimly lit hexagonal crypt, containing the ashes of an unknown deportee. From either side of the crypt, two small galleries contain soil from the various camps and the remains of an unknown deportee. The crypt opens up to a long and narrow corridor with 200,000 glass crystals in the walls representing the deportees killed in the concentration camps. On the opposite side of the axis, at the tip of the triangular-shaped square is a small opening with iron grille overlooking the river Seine. (see Figure 3.22)

Figure 3.21: Location of the Memorial of the Deportation (a) and the Interior (b)



Source: a) <https://maps.google.com/>, edited by the author
b) http://blog.sevenponds.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/deportation1_xl.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

Figure 3.22: The Plan of the Memorial (a), Window Overlooking the Seine (b), and the Entrance to the Crypt (c)



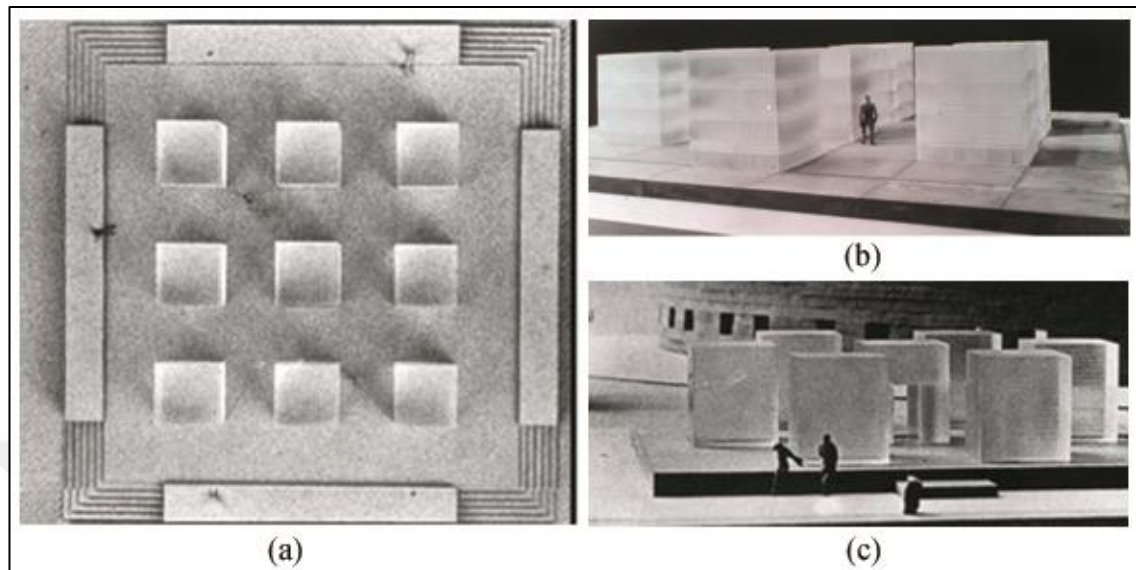
Source: a) http://l.bours.free.fr/portfo-lio/images/20130306230619_img_8959.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) <https://dinneratmidnight.files.wordpress.com/2010/11/paris-23.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).
c) http://p4.storage.canalblog.com/43/76/496193/89919529_o.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

By its architecture, the memorial recalls some of the characteristic aspects of the concentration camps: imprisonment, oppression and especially the impossibility of escape. In memorial terms it is considered success by Forty (2005) who describes it as: “not a protrusion, but a declivity; not an object but a void – and when you are in a void there is nothing there to look at apart from yourself, the sky the water, and the unbroken surface of the concrete wall”. (Forty, 2005, p. 92) Hornstein (2011, p.31) quotes Pingusson, the architect of the memorial saying that: “The expression of this monument is purely architectural, no sculpture was judged necessary, only the complete bareness speaks, as well as the only elements, air, water, earth, and fire.”

3.3.3 Proposal for the Memorial for the Six Million Jewish Martyrs, 1967, USA

In 1967 upon Philip Johnson’s recommendation Louis Kahn accepted the charge of designing a memorial from The Committee to Commemorate the Six Million Jewish Martyrs in New York. By the end of 1968, his proposal was ready and exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. His design included a low platform on which 9 glass blocks (3.6x3.6x4.5) were to be distributed in a 3 x 3 grid. (see Figure 3.23) There were to be no inscriptions, symbols, color or any other kind of differentiation between the blocks. Godfrey, (2003, p. 126) quotes Ada Louise Huxtable, The New York Times’ architecture critic, saying that: “Mr. Kahn’s solution is a cool, abstract, poetic, powerful and absolute statement of the unspeakable tragedy. It could rank with the great works of commemorative art in which man has attempted to capture the spirit, in a symbol for the ages”. However, during the exhibition, the proposal received the equal amount of bad criticism from the Jewish community for its positivist approach, lack of symbols and for being too calm and non-accusing. (Godfrey, 2003, p. 127) In an attempt to ease the critics Kahn did alter the original scheme by changing the number of blocks to 6+1, where six silent blocks were to be centered around one, a chapel that would be inscribed and accessible. The work on the project stopped in 1974 with the death of Louis Kahn.

Figure 3.23: Models of Louis Kahn's Original Proposal for the Memorial for the Six Million Jewish Martyrs (a), (b) and its Altered State (c)



Source: a) <https://classconnection.s3.amazonaws.com/1416/flashcards/678373/png/presentation-014-034.png> (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) <https://classconnection.s3.amazonaws.com/1416/flashcards/678373/png/presentation-014-034.png> (accessed 5 June 2016).
c) http://archweb.cooper.edu/exhibitions/kahn/images/illustrations/essays02_03.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

Even though not executed this is one of the first designs of Holocaust memorials featuring completely abstract forms and what is interesting is its usage of glass and light and the interplay of the two giving new meaning to the memorial. Godfrey (2003, p. 129) quotes Kahn explaining the memorial saying that: „Changes of light, the seasons of the year, the play of the weather, and the drama of movement on the river will transmit their life to the monument."

3.4 COUNTER-MONUMENT MOVEMENT

Originating in Germany after WWII, the movement sees monuments as an instrument of totalitarian regimes and denies the presence of any imposing, authoritative social force in public spaces. Rejecting the traditional forms and reasons for them, they fear that the more we encourage monuments to keep our memory for us the more forgetful we get and that the first impulse to memorialize might be coming from the desire to forget them. Young (1993, p. 30) describes the motives as:

“not to console but to provoke; not to remain fixed but to change; not to be everlasting but to disappear; not to be ignored by passers-by but to demand interaction; not to remain pristine but to invite its own violation and desanctification ; not to accept graciously the burden of memory but to throw it back at the town`s feet.”

This section will feature analysis of four counter-monuments: Monument Against Fascism, War and Violence—and for Peace and Human Rights in Harburg, Monument to the Aschrott-Brunnen in Kassel, Jewish Ghetto Memorial in Krakow, and the most famous one, Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin.

3.4.1 Monument Against Fascism, War and Violence—and for Peace and Human Rights, 1986, Germany

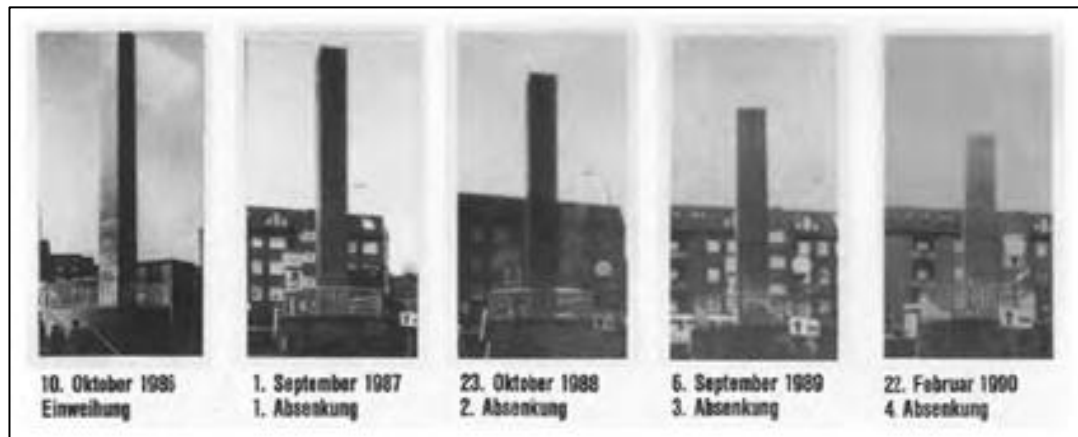
The design of the monument shown in Figure 3.24 is credited to Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz and it consists of a twelve meter high, 1x1m square column covered by a layer of dark lead. The artists preferred a location beside a shopping mall in the suburb of Harburg to a location in a park offered by the city. Visitors were invited to leave their signature on the column. (see Figure 3.25) Next to it an explanation in seven languages was offered by the artists saying:

“We invite the citizens of Harburg, and visitors to the town, to add their names here next to ours. In doing so we commit ourselves to remain vigilant. As more and more names cover this 12-metre tall lead column, it will gradually be lowered into the ground. One day it will have disappeared completely, and the site of the Harburg Monument against Fascism will be empty. In the end, it is only we ourselves who can stand up against injustice.”¹⁴

In the period of 7 years, the monument was lowered 8 times. All that is left of the monument is a small glassed opening where the column once stood and the plaque with the artists’ invitation.

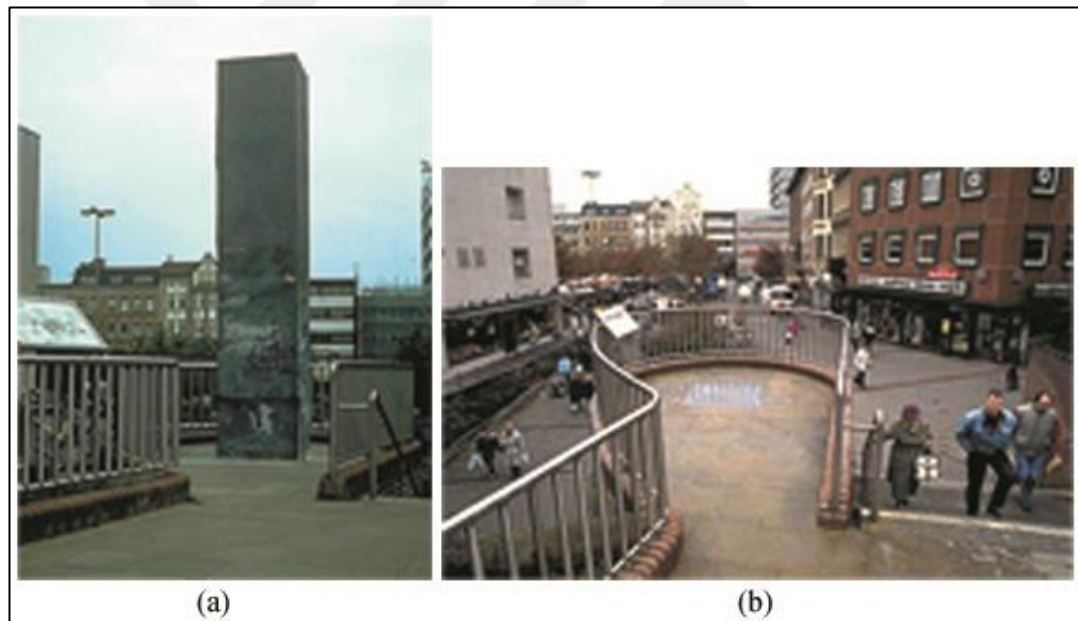
¹⁴"Jochen Gerz - Official Website Of The Artist". Jochengerz.eu. N.p., 2016. Web. 22 Aug. 2016.

Figure 3.24: Stages in Lowering the Monument Against Fascism



Source: <https://realtimescities.wikispaces.com/file/view/memorial.png/276401770/memorial.png> (accessed 5 June 2016).

Figure 3.25: Writtings on the Monument (a) and the Monument's Trace After the Lowering (b)



Source: a) <https://warmemorial.files.wordpress.com/2007/02/dissepering.jpg?w=500> (accessed 5 June 2016).

b) <https://studiotosituation.files.wordpress.com/2013/07/gerz5.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

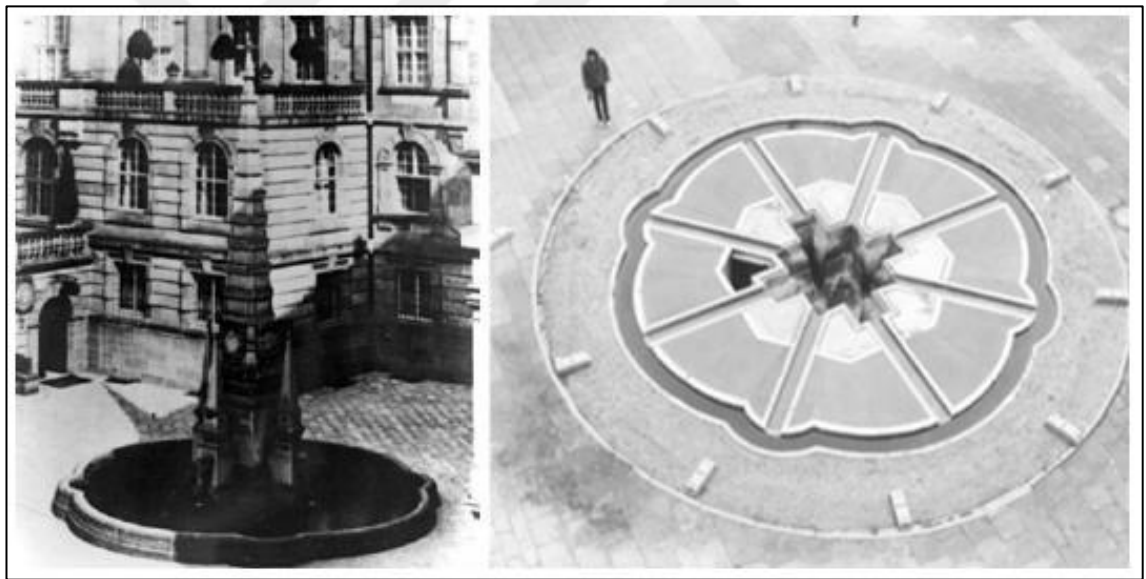
3.4.2 Monument to the Aschrott-Brunnen, 1989, Germany

In 1908, Sigmund Aschrott commissioned architect Karl Roth to design a fountain in front of the new city hall building. This sandstone, neo-Gothic, obelisk-shaped fountain

became one of the city's landmarks. (see Figure 3.26) Because of Aschrott's Jewish background, the Nazi regime ordered its destruction in 1939. In 1986 Horst Hoheisel's proposal for its commemoration was accepted. To him replicating it or designing something else in its place for him would be a fabricating or ignoring the past. So his vision of commemorating absence was reproducing it once more. The exact negative space of the fountain was to be lowered to the ground and the only sign of the fountain on the ground would be its former layout with glass through which one could see and hear the water around the fountain. (see Figure 3.27) The fountain is still there in the same place but its point now deep in the ground as if a wound or how he explains it:

"I have designed the new fountain as a mirror image of the old one, sunk beneath the old place, in order to rescue the history of this place as a wound and as an open question, to penetrate the consciousness of the Kassel citizens—so that such things never happen again."¹⁵

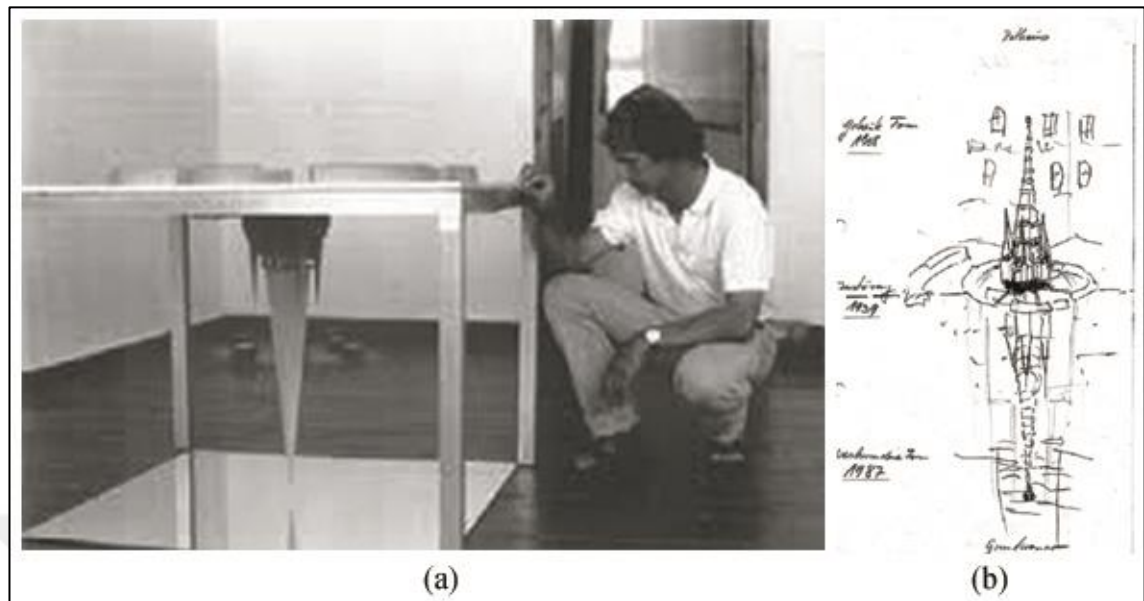
Figure 3.26: Aschrott Fountain, Then and Now



Source: <http://piron.culturecenter-su.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/07-Horst-Hoheisel.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

¹⁵ "Hoheisel & Knitz - Aschrott Fountain [Kassel 1985]". *Knitz.net*. N.p., 2016. Web. 22 Aug. 2016.

Figure 3.27 The Artist with the Model (a) and the Sketch of the Project (b)



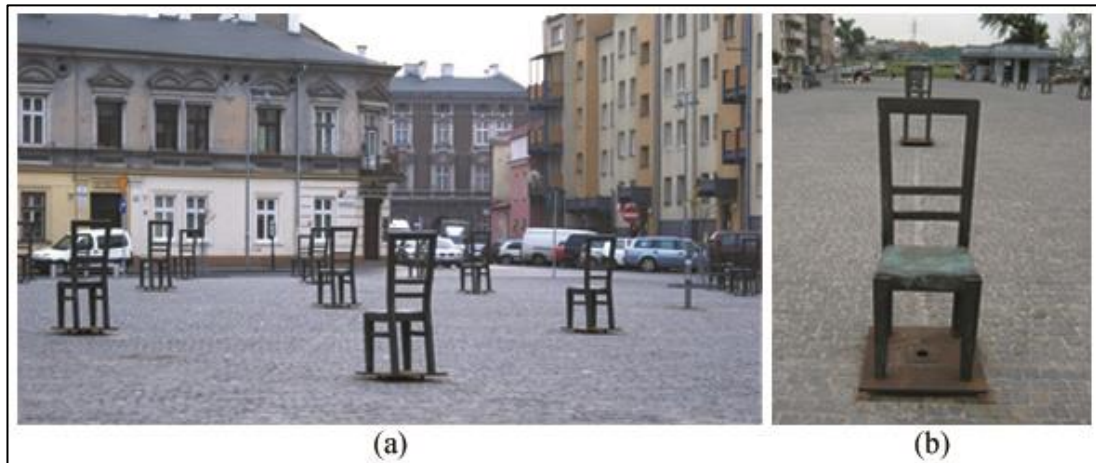
Source: a) <http://www.knitz.net/images/projekte/aschrott-entwurfszeichnung.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) https://encrypted-tbn3.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcQ0HCsSvQgfvDJBpouL-tGGOdKhREc48_UBcvzIJTp7cCn1xJSP (accessed 5 June 2016).

3.4.3 Jewish Ghetto Memorial, 2005, Poland

By the end of 1943, the Nazis have liquidated the Jewish Ghetto and Zgody square, the location of the memorial was full of personal belongings of Jews taken from their home to the ghetto and later on to prisoner camps across Poland. According to the architects, Piotr Lewicki and Kazimierz Latak, it was this image that prompted the design of the memorial. “Chairs, a well with a pump, rubbish bins, tram stop shelters, bicycle racks and even traffic signs, stripped of their everyday practical functions, have acquired a symbolical aspect.”¹⁶ The design features empty chairs made of patinated bronze, corroded cast iron placed all over the square. (see Figure 3.28) Perhaps the chairs were not intended to function as chairs by the initial design but people grew accustomed to them and use them while waiting for the transport and by doing so integrate the memorial with the public space and knowing so or not participate in the memory work of the memorial.

¹⁶ Kraków, Agencja. "Biuro Projektów Lewicki Łatak". Lewicki-latak.com.pl. N.p., 2016. Web. 22 Aug. 2016.

Figure 3.28: Jewish Ghetto Memorial (a) and the Detail of a Chair Element (b)



Source: a) http://www.teresathetraveler.com/uploads/5/2/4/4/5244290/1570992_orig.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

b) http://chgs.umn.edu/museum/memorials/krakow/fullsize/IMG_0126.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

3.4.4 Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2005, Germany

Perhaps the best known and much-discussed counter-monument memorial was designed by Peter Eisenman and Richard Serra who later withdrew from the designing team. The memorial was opened 60 years after the end of WW2. It consists of 2 711 rectangular, concrete slabs or *stelae*¹⁷ of the same dimensions (2.38x0.95m) and various heights (0.2-4.7m). (see Figure 3.29) Distributed in a regular grid pattern on a sloping field viewed from a distance it gives a wave-like impression. According to Nicolai Ouroussoff, an architecture critic for New York Times, the grid “can be read as both an extension of the streets that surround the site and an unnerving evocation of the rigid discipline and bureaucratic order that kept the killing machine grinding along.”¹⁸ The distance between two stelaes is 95cm making the passage wide enough for just one person making the experience more individual. There are no predetermined routes, entrances or exits; the visitor is able to enter on all four sides and choose his/her pathway, making it a very used public space.

¹⁷ Stele is a stone or wooden slab, generally taller than it is wide, erected as a monument, very often for funerary or commemorative purposes.

¹⁸ Ouroussoff, Nicolai. "A Forest Of Pillars, Recalling The Unimaginable". *Nytimes.com*. N.p., 2005. Web. 22 Aug. 2016.

Figure 3.29: Aerial View of Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe



Source: <http://www.zdf.de/ZDF/zdfportal/blob/4096120/1/data.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

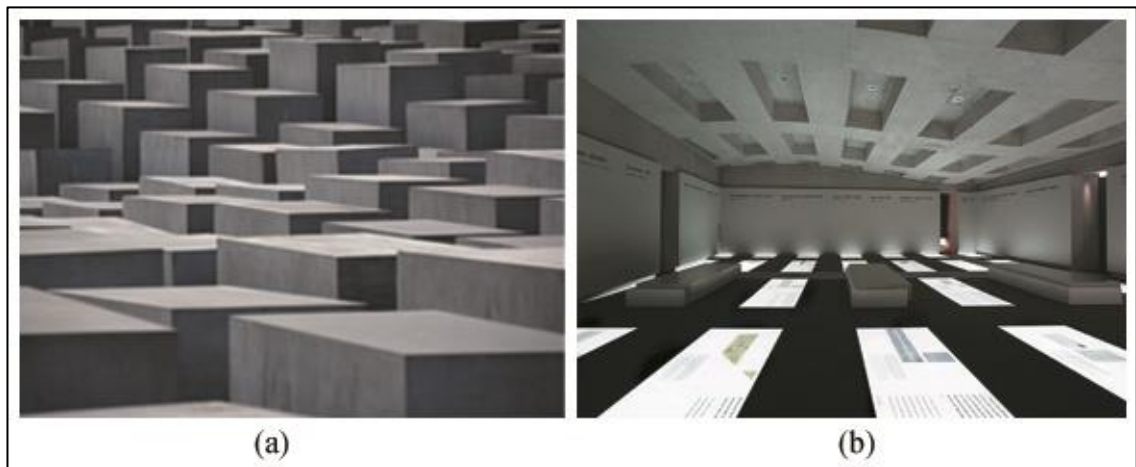
An underground information center houses information, names, personal belongings and other memories that the memorial above refuses to disclose. Design wise it is merged with the over ground memorial as its ceiling reflects the steles above. (see Figure 3.30)

Eisenman describes the memorial as following:

”In this monument, there is no goal, no end, no working one’s way in or out. The duration of an individual’s experience of it grants no further understanding since understanding is impossible. The time of the monument, its duration from the top surface to the ground, is disjoined from the time of experience. In this context, there is no nostalgia, no memory of the past, only the living memory of the individual experience. Here, we can only know the past through its manifestation in the present.”¹⁹

¹⁹ Seemann, Uwe. "Stiftung Denkmal Für Die Ermordeten Juden Europas: Peter Eisenman". *Stiftung-denkmal.de*. Web. 22 Aug. 2016.

Figure 3.30: The Concrete Stelai (a) and the Underground Museum (b)



Source: a) http://orig13.deviantart.net/7580/f/2014/122/a/1/memorial_to_the_murdered_jews_of_europe_berlin_by_mako204-d7gsynq.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) http://www.kardorff.de/sites/www.kardorff.de/files/projectimages/ort_der_information_3.jpg?1306506750 (accessed 5 June 2016).

3.5 CONTEMPORARY MEMORIALS

Any discussion on contemporary architectural memorialization practices should start by analyzing Maya Lin's groundbreaking design of Vietnam Veterans Memorial. A rise in the revision of history can be noticed also, with memorials being built to commemorate victims of past apartheid, segregation, extermination, military dictatorship, and totalitarianism. Unfortunately, the current state of affairs shows us that the world is in a new war, the war against terrorism that has taken lives around the world and the other two examples that will be discussed are memorials done for the victims of terror attacks in Madrid and New York.

3.5.1 Vietnam Veterans Memorial, 1982, USA

Memorial honors members of the U.S. armed forces who fought, died and were unaccounted for in Vietnam War. It is located next to the National Hall already containing Lincoln and Washington Memorials. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Wall, the initial and most known part of the memorial was designed by Maya Lin. (see Figure 3.31) However, two memorials, The Three Servicemen and Vietnam Women's Memorials were added later. The wall resembles a V-shaped wound cut into the ground with its two sides each 75 meters long. They are sunk into the ground and rise from 20

cm to the highest point, where they meet, being 3.1 m high. The grass is covering the wall at the top giving it a symbolical meaning of a healing wound. 58,307 names, stripped of their military ranks are inscribed in a chronological order in highly reflective black granite. (see Figure 3.32)

Figure 3.31: Aerial View of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial



Source: https://thealzblog.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/aerial_view_of_vietnam_veterans_memorial2.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

It is one of the first memorials to feature minimalistic design and its abstract nature has caused much controversy which resulted in the adjacent sculptures being added. In an article in the Washington Post from 1982, she describes the wall to be "... like opening up your hands. It's not so threatening. You're using the earth, asking people to come in, protecting people from the sounds of the city and in a way that's no more threatening than two open hands."²⁰

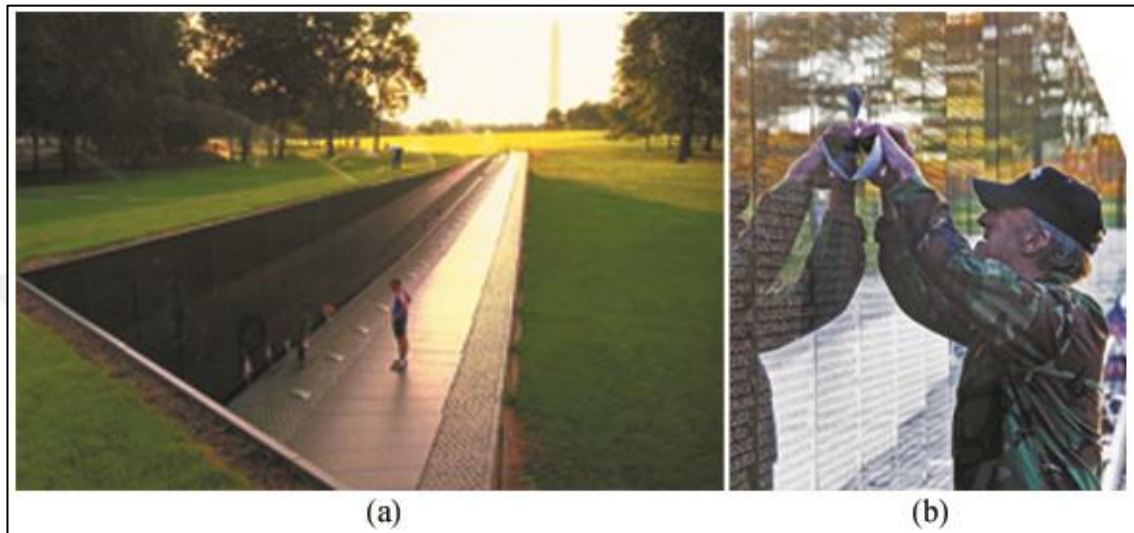
Struken (1991, p. 133-134) discusses the different meaning to different groups of visitors saying that:

"To the veterans, the wall is an atonement for their treatment since the war; to the families and friends of those who died, it is an official recognition of their sorrow and an opportunity to express a grief that was not previously sanctioned; to

²⁰ "Maya Lin And The Great Call Of China". *Washington Post*. N.p., 1982. Web. 22 Aug. 2016.

others, it is either a profound antiwar statement or an opportunity to rewrite the history of the war to make it fit more neatly into the master narrative of American imperialism.”

Figure 3.32: The Wall of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (a) and Tracing of the Name on the Wall (b)



Source: a) <http://cp.art.cmu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Vietnam-memorial> (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) http://media1.popsugar-assets.com/files/2013/11/11/767/n/1922398/3187ea90e850af9c_187654881_10.xxxlarge_2x/i/veteran-traced-name-fallen-soldier-Vietnam-Veterans.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

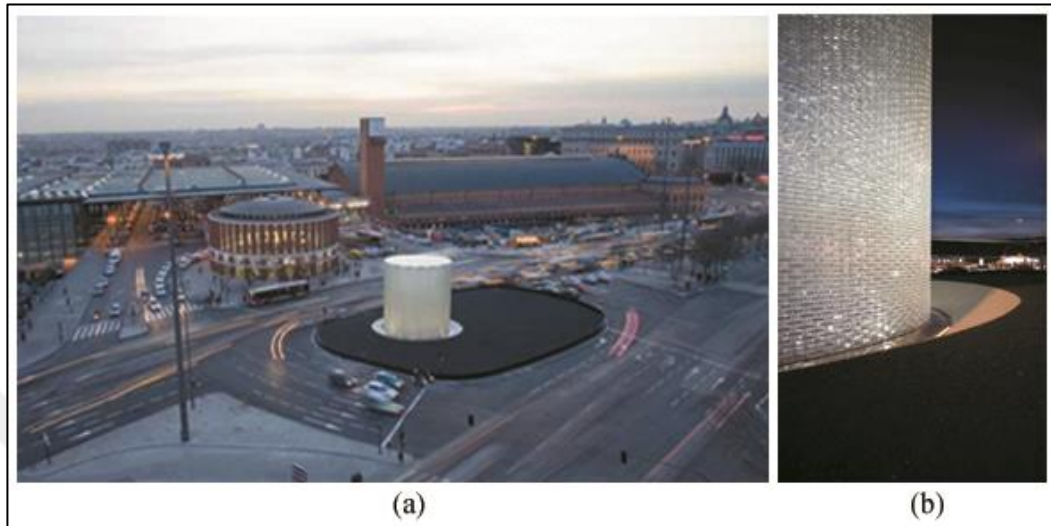
3.5.2 Monument to Madrid-11M Victims, 2007, Madrid

The competition for the monument shown in Figure 3.33, commemorating victims of Madrid Atocha Station terrorist attack was won by Spanish firm FAM Arquitectura y Urbanismo in 2004 and was officially inaugurated in 2007. Next to the train station where the attack took place a large 11 m high, a cylindrical tower constructed out of glass bricks arises from the ground. Beneath it, there is a chamber whose doors bare the inscribed names of the victim of the attack. The blue chamber contains only one bench and its sole source of light is the glass tower above. The pressurized air in the chamber inflates a large plastic film inside the tower with messages of condolence and support made in the aftermath of the attack. (see Figure 3.34) The architects describe the interior void as “remembrance atmosphere space”²¹, while the geometrical abstraction and the

²¹ "Monumento 11M : Estudiosic". *Estudiosic.es*. N.p., 2016. Web. 22 Aug. 2016.

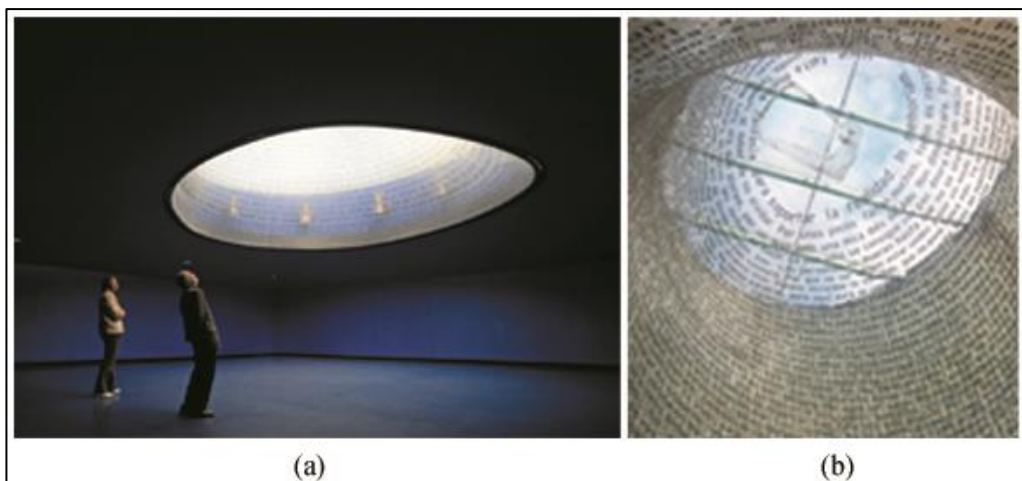
light illuminating the messages above seem to somehow capture human virtues of hope and healing.

Figure 3.33: Monument to Madrid-11M Victims (a) and the Glass Tower (b)



Source: a) http://www.e-architect.co.uk/images/jpgs/madrid/atocha_monumento_madrid_fam181207_1.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) <http://c1038.r38.cf3.rackcdn.com/group1/building3383/media/monumento%2022.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).

Figure 3.34: Interior of the Monument to Madrid-11M Victims (a) and the Messages Inside the Cylinder (b)



Source: a) <http://blogs.ft.com/photo-diary/files/2014/03/Spain.jpg> (accessed 5 June 2016).
b) https://c1.staticflickr.com/3/2738/4424488922_9b597a9a29_b.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

3.5.3 National 9/11 Memorial, New York (2012)

Michael Arad's (Handel Architects) and landscape architect Peter Walker's winning proposal is titled *Reflecting Absence*. The central points of the memorial are the foundations of the destroyed WTC towers. The foundations are covered in black granite and using a cascaded waterfall into a smaller square at the center he prevents the visitor from seeing directly into it. (see Figure 3.35) His choice of portraying absence is a void as well. Names of victims from the 2001 and 1993 attacks are cut into panels on the edges of both pools. Trees are planted on the plaza around the two and will continue to grow and eventually define the footprints of the WTC towers. The memorial plaza is designed to be a mediating zone between the city and the memorial. It opened and welcoming and actively engaging mourning visitors as well as other local residents and tourist. Between the two foundations is an adjacent 9/11 Memorial Museum, shown in Figure 3.36, in charge of documenting and commemorating lives of every victim of the attacks.

Figure 3.35: Aerial View of the National 9/11 Memorial



Source: http://65.media.tumblr.com/679732168a5a7a45e0f0e68118e20afb/tumblr_nuucxyKO7z1u1vx0eo2_1280.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

Figure 3.36: The Reflecting Pool (a) and the Interior of the Museum (b)



Source: a) <https://bjornandannette.files.wordpress.com/2014/06/wp-9-11-memorial-museum-22.jpg?w=1024> (accessed 5 June 2016).

b) http://assets.nydailynews.com/polopoly_fs/1.1794708.1400250369!/img/httpImage/image.jpg_gen/derivatives/gallery_1200/9-11-memorial-museum.jpg (accessed 5 June 2016).

4. CASE STUDY: BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

4.1 BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The region of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina as shown in Figure 4.1 was first inhabited during the Neolithic followed by the Illyrians during the Bronze Age. By 9 AD the Roman Empire conquered the whole region. In following centuries this exchange of hands continued with Ostrogoth, Huns, Byzantine Empire and the Slavs. In 1463 with Ottomans conquests reaching further into Europe the Kingdom of Bosnia was invaded and conquered by Sultan Mehmed II. Together with immense changes in country's political and social landscape, the process of Islamization brought monumental changes in the cultural aspects as well. At the height of the empire's power, thanks to its geopolitical location Bosnia witnessed an extended period of prosperity with Sarajevo and Mostar thriving as regional trade and culture centers. By the late 17th century the decline of Ottoman Empire made Bosnia its most western point leaving it vulnerable to attacks. Following the end of Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 on the Congress of Berlin held in 1878 Austro-Hungarian Empire was allowed to annex the country. During the forty year occupation as a part of modernization process new infrastructure, administration, educational, and cultural edifices were built in the dominant architectural styles of the empire. In the following years as a part of the defensive strategy, new military structures were constructed all over the country. On 18th of June 1914 the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand together with his wife Sofia were assassinated by Gavrilo Princip, a Serb nationalist youth. The event is seen as the spark that would later ignite the First World War. With the dissolution of the empire after losing the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina became a part of a newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians, which in 1929 became known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. With the start of WWII, the kingdom was invaded by Nazi forces and Bosnia was ceded to the Independent State of Croatia, a Nazi puppet regime state. In 1943, partisan under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito proclaimed the Democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with Bosnia and Herzegovina as one of the six states. By the end of the war, the communist government

was established and the country renamed as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with Josip Broz as president until his death in 1980.

Figure 4.1: Map of Bosnia And Herzegovina with Neighboring Countries



Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/europe/bosnia_herzegovina_pol97.jpg

Under the doctrine of “brotherhood and unity” nationalism was set aside and as an important buffer zone during the Cold War countries presence was overall peaceful and prosperous. With Tito’s death nationalism was on the rise again and Yugoslavia started

to break down on its republic's borders. Following Macedonia, Slovenia and Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina held a referendum and on March 3rd, 1992 and declared independence which was fully recognized by the U.S. and most European countries on 6 April 1992. An armed conflict broke out after the proclamation of independence and ended in December 1995 with Dayton Peace Agreement. The figures suggest that around 100,000 people were killed during the conflict and over 2.2 million people were displaced. During the conflict, in the town of Srebrenica, the first act of genocide on European soil after WW II was committed against the Bosniak population of the town in July 1995. In accordance with the Dayton Peace Agreement, Bosnia and Herzegovina is now organized into two entities: Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Srpska with District of Brčko. (see Figure 4.1)

4.2 BEFORE WORLD WAR I

Considering the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina was under Ottoman Rule for more than four hundred years which was organized under Islamic rules, where any representation of human figure is not allowed it is easy to conclude that there are no examples of intentional monuments that can be found in the western society at the time. What is significant to mention in this context is the institution of *waqf*²², through which a range of buildings such as mosques, schools, hospitals, etc. was entrusted for people to use. They usually carry the name of the founder and in this way the memory of them is sustained. From the two monuments analyzed in this section, the first one, in Sarajevo was built and destroyed during WW I and the other, in Belgrade, while commissioned before the war was realized only after.

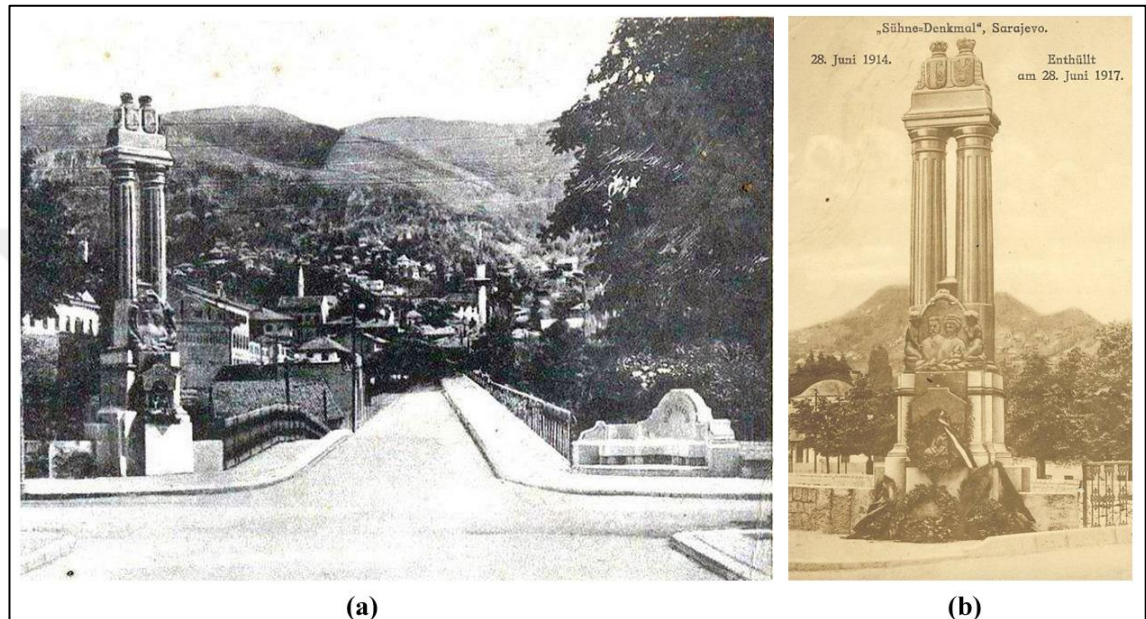
4.2.1 Atonement Monument in Sarajevo for Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Sophie Duchess of Hohenberg, Sarajevo, 1917

Although the rise of museum culture with the National museum in Sarajevo, amongst others, being built in 1909 in neo-renaissance style by the architect Karel Pařík is evident, the Austro-Hungarian Empire did not leave many intentional monuments. The Atonements Monument, commemorating Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife

²² *Waqf* an Islamic endowment of property to be held in trust and used for a charitable or religious purpose

Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg, assassinated in Sarajevo, was designed by Hungarian sculptor and professor of architecture Jenő Bory (1879-1959) who as a soldier During World War I was appointed as an official war artist in Sarajevo for what he received the Order of Franz Josef.

Figure 4.2: Atonement Monument in Sarajevo for Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Sophie Duchess of Hohenberg



Source: a) <https://image.jimcdn.com/app/cms/image/transf/dimension=518x1024:format=jpg/path/s5d1351cca33c3a83/image/ef090ad226c9b88cf/version/1448050434/image.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) <http://www.novosti.rs/upload/images/2013//06/12n/reg-spomenik-ferdinandu-U-T.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

It was erected by the Latin Bridge on the site of the assassination and unveiled for the public in a ceremony on the event's third anniversary, June 28th, 1917. (see Figure 4.2) Bory had designed the monument in late secessionist style with three parts: the granite pedestal, bronze medallion of the duke and his wife, and two granite columns topped with bronze crowns. (see Figure 4.3) The column's total height was 12m. Opposite of the columns, a bench was constructed as a viewing point and unfortunately this is the only part of the monument still standing in its original place. After the removal of the monument in the era of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, two symbolical footprints were placed at the site of the assassination together with a plaque, this time, commemorating Gavrilo Princip as a national hero. The context stayed the same with some changes in

the text of the plaque during socialism period but after the last war, the footprints and the plaque were removed and put in the museum on the opposite side of the street.

Figure 4.3: Old Postcard Showing the Monument (a) and the Bronze Portraits (b)



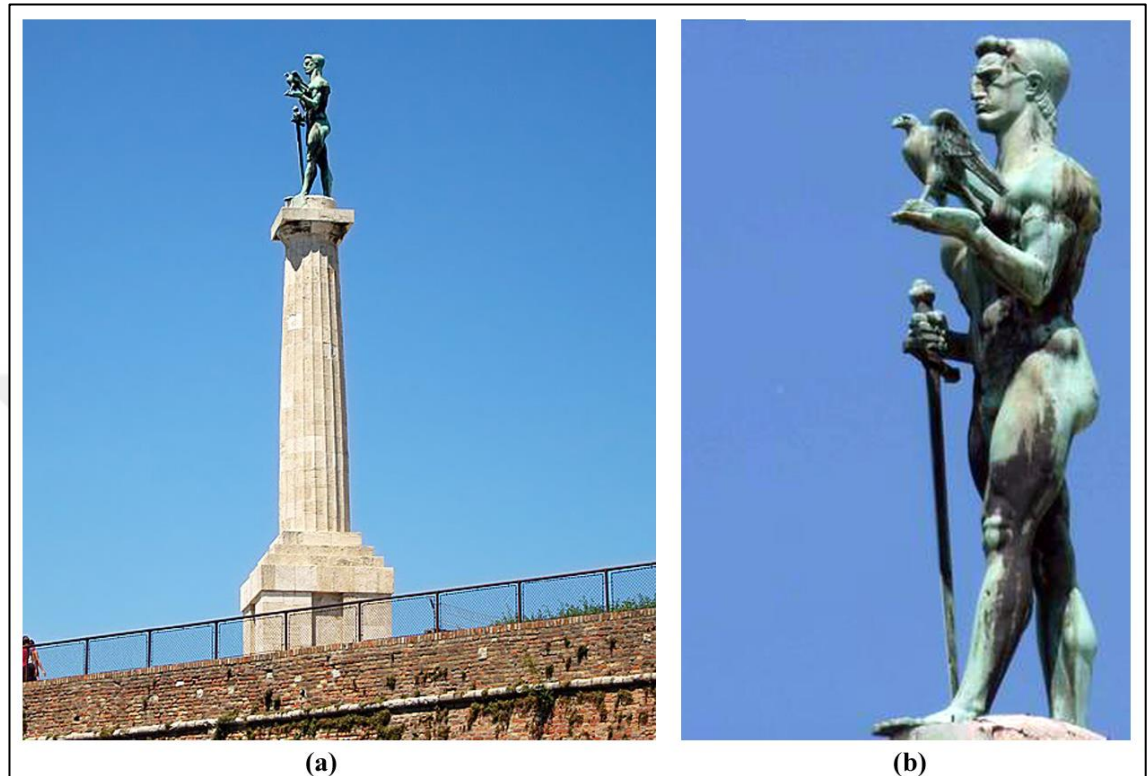
Source: a) http://www.vreme.com/gallery/1208155_1229928_10202078243696960_1812072224_n.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) http://gdb.rferl.org/89C139F4-39A1-404C-8E877BBA508ADD7B_mwdynamic_mhdynamic_s.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).

4.2.2. The Victor, Belgrade, 1928

Since the lack of representative examples of intentional monuments before the First World War in the confines of modern day Bosnia and Herzegovina, we will be analyzing the monument called The Victor, shown in Figure 4.4 and done by a Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović. In 1913 it was commissioned by the Belgrade municipality in order to celebrate the victory in the Balkan Wars. Being that it was implemented after the war in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, with Belgrade as its capital, which Bosnia and Herzegovina was a part of until the beginning of the Second World War it does enter the scope of this study. At the said period, ideas of uniting the south Slavic people start to arise so from some point it can be seen as a monument to a South Slavic hero. This might explain the sculptor's choice to refer to the classic motives and the lack of national symbols which did trigger some negative critics. Even though the monument today stands in a somewhat different form and a different site than originally planned it

can be seen as a prime example of monuments done before the First World War across Europe.

Figure 4.4: The Victor

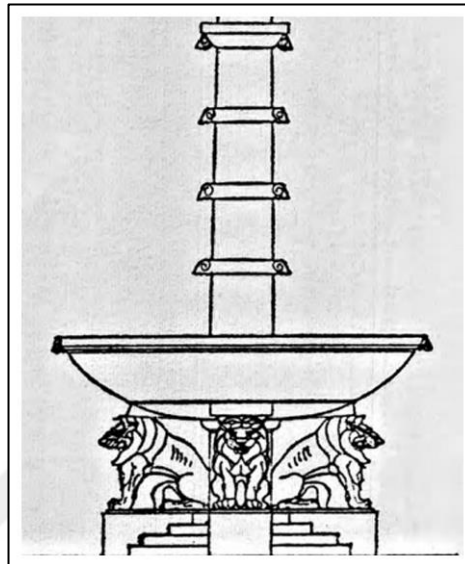


Source: a) <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/38994112.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) <http://secanja.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/spomenik-pobednik-i11.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

The original sketch included a pedestal on which there are four lion figures carrying a basin with a diameter of eight meters. The stone basin on the outside was to be engraved with reliefs narrating the victory in the Balkan wars. In the center of the basin rose a marble Doric column divided into four segments. (see Figure 4.5) The bronze sculpture was cast by the beginning of the First World War but the implementation of the rest was canceled because of the conflict. The sculpture has no religious or national symbols, in the spirit of the renaissance and the revival of ancient traditions; the Victor was portrayed as the mythical hero Hercules, a prototype of the ideal hero and a classical symbol of power through human spirit, personal courage, and muscular naked body. His facial contours are strong, forehead firm and wide, there is neither expression of grief for his fallen compatriots nor joy caused by victory. After the war, in 1927, the

Belgrade municipality revives the project and urges the sculptor Mestrovic to place the Victor on a pedestal at the planned site.

Figure 4.5: Drawing of the Original Concept



Source: http://beogradskonasledje.rs/kd/zavod/stari_grad/images/spomenik_pobedniku/spomenik-pobedniku-3-v.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).

After numerous and heated arguments over whether a nude male sculpture should be in the city center, the monument is publicly unveiled in 1928 on the 10th anniversary of the victory on the Thessaloniki front. The statue was placed on 17.5 meters high Doric column in the Belgrade's highest point, the Kalemegdan fortress.

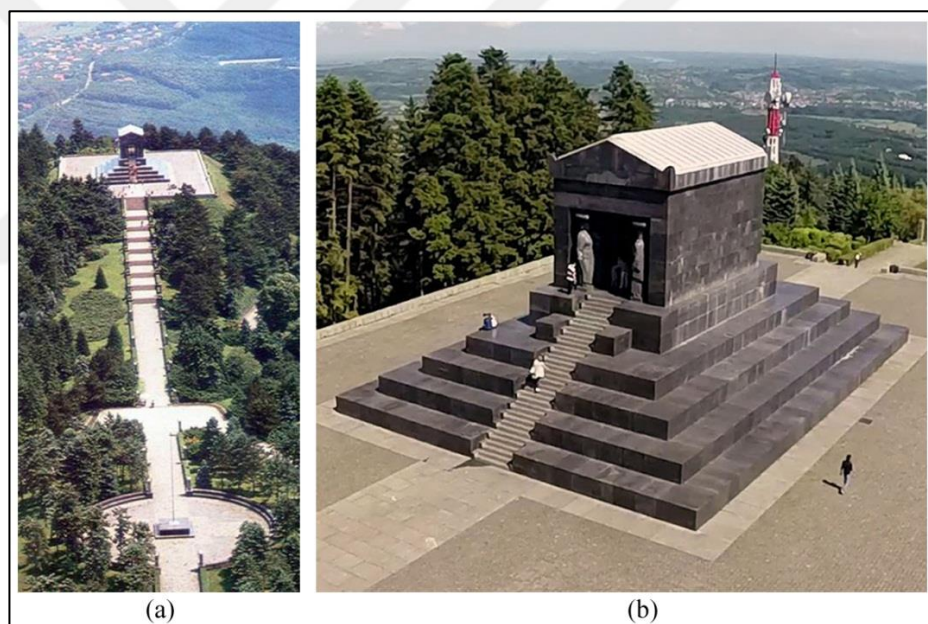
4.3 BETWEEN WARS

As in the rest of Europe, in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (The Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1929) the destruction and the immense loss of human lives in WWI created the need to mourn and commemorate the lost ones. While more than two hundred war memorials and monuments were erected in Serbia there was little to no support for attempts to erect memorials to soldiers fallen on the Habsburg side. (Pintar 2014, cited in Andersen 2016, p. 38) Hence, memorialization of war casualties in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina was reduced to a couple of cemetery monuments such as the Monument to the Fallen Croatian Soldiers in Zagreb's Mirogoj Cemetery. In Serbia, the most prominent example of post-WWI commemoration is the Monument to the Unknown Hero in Belgrade.

4.3.1 The Monument to the Unknown Hero, Belgrade, 1938

In 1922 residents of local villages made a modest monument in the medieval fortress of Žrnov on Mount Avala to an unidentified young Serbian soldier in a form of a stone cross. After more than a decade, according to the wishes of King Aleksandar I Karađorđević and in accordance with the general trend of raising monument to the unknown soldier amongst other allies in the war (since 1920, France, England, Italy, Belgium, Canada, USA), the remains of medieval fortress were raised down to make place for what was to become the most monumental public memorial at the highest point of Belgrade. The king entrusted the project to the Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović, responsible for the monument of the “Victor”.

Figure 4.6: Aerial View of the Monument to the Unknown Hero

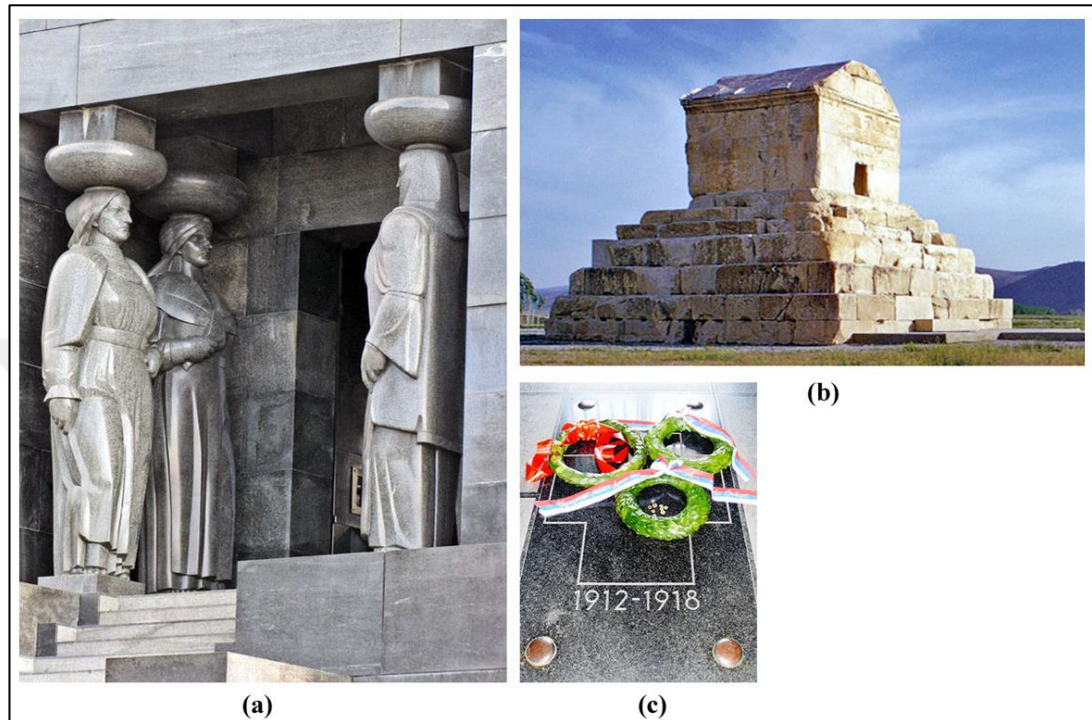


Source: a) http://farm4.static.flickr.com/3108/3173357553_3b97745150_o.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) <http://opusteno.rs/slike/2015/04/avala-spomenik-neznanom-junaku-26681/sp-avala-spomenik-neznanom-junaku.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

Construction began on 18th of June 1934 and lasted for four years. Architectural concept encloses the entire complex of the former site of the medieval fortress. The sculptor Ivan Meštrović was inspired by the tomb of the Persian emperor Cyrus dating to 4th century BC. The tomb’s foundations and the core are made of reinforced concrete and

covered with black granite from Jablanica, a city in Bosnia and Herzegovina famous for its stone quarries.

Figure 4.7: Caryatids (a), Cyrus's Tomb (b), and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (c)



Source: a) <http://az530254.vo.msecnd.net/www/Images/Venues/640/735ce99d-f54f-458a-8db1-8a5854cb51cd.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

b) https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/04/CyrustheGreatTomb_22059.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).

c) http://www.wikiwand.com/hr/Spomenik_Neznanom_junaku (accessed 15 June 2016).

The monument is conceived as a mausoleum, in the classical form of a sarcophagus elevated on the pedestal of the six steps. The tomb with the remains of an unknown soldier is located in the underground crypt and marked with the dates "1912-1918", representing the duration of the Balkan Wars and World War I. It can be accessed by two entrances. On both entrances, we can find four granite *caryatids*²³ in national costumes of the Yugoslav peoples. The caryatids are 4 meters high and carved from the same stone as the tomb. They represent Bosnian, Croatian, Dalmatian, Montenegrin, Slovenian, Serbian, Old Serbian and Vojvodina's women symbolizing mothers of all

²³ A *caryatids* is a sculpted female figure serving as an architectural support taking the place of a column or a pillar supporting an entablature on her head.

the soldiers fallen for the idea of uniting all nationalities in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The height of the monument is 14.5 m, length 36m and width at the foundation is 26 meters.

4.3.1 Monument to the Fallen Croatian Soldiers, Zagreb, 1939

The monument is located in Zagreb's prominent cemetery Mirogoj and was originally erected in 1919, featuring only a white stone with an inscription dedicating it to fallen Croatian soldiers in WWI. A bronze sculpture showing a woman holding a naked body of a young man, presumably her son, a work of two sculptors, Vanja Raduš and Jozo Turkalja was added in 1939.

Figure 4.8: Monument to the Fallen Croatian Soldiers



Source: http://www.hkv.hr/images/stories/Slike05/MIROGOJ_RATNICI/4-Spomenik_palim_hrvatskim_vojnicima_Mirogoj.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).

4.4 AFTER WORLD WAR II

After the WWII Bosnia and Herzegovina is a part of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, where “interpretation and writing of history were dominated by Yugoslavia’s new Communist regime”. (Andersen, 2016, p. 39) Neidhart and Gabrijan (1957, p. 431) state that:

“Up to the recent time, the monuments in the West European sense were unknown in Bosnia. After Liberation, however, the problem of building monuments is more and more actual, and that for many comprehensible reasons. First of all, there are great events of the National Fight of Liberation to be pointed out visible by plastic in

order to immortalize them. At the same time, it is necessary to render them accessible for large people's masses."

In the period after the war until the 1990s several thousand memorials were built. Burghard and Kirn (2014) distinguish two phases in Yugoslavian post-WWII architectural commemoration. The first phase, in the immediate period after the war, from the 1940s to 50s, when many of them were built in local communities, memorials are as simple as plaques listing the dead, busts of National Heroes, and sculptures in realist genre. The second phase, from the 1960s to 80s marks the emergence of the memorial movement known as Socialist Modernism. Monuments built in this period "are not only modernist but also have a very particular monumental and symbolic typology comprising fists, stars, hands, wings, flowers , and rocks". (Burghard and Kirn, 2014, p. 84) Čusto (2008) however, notices another important point. From the mid-70s, mainly as a means of cutting unnecessary spending, there is a tendency for building more modest monuments with functional character. During the WWII Bosnia and Herzegovina was the scene of some of the most important battles on the Yugoslavian front so in this section we will take a closer look into Partisan Memorial Cemetery in Mostar, The Valley of the Heroes Memorial Complex in Sutjeska National Park, and Memorial Park Vrace in Sarajevo.

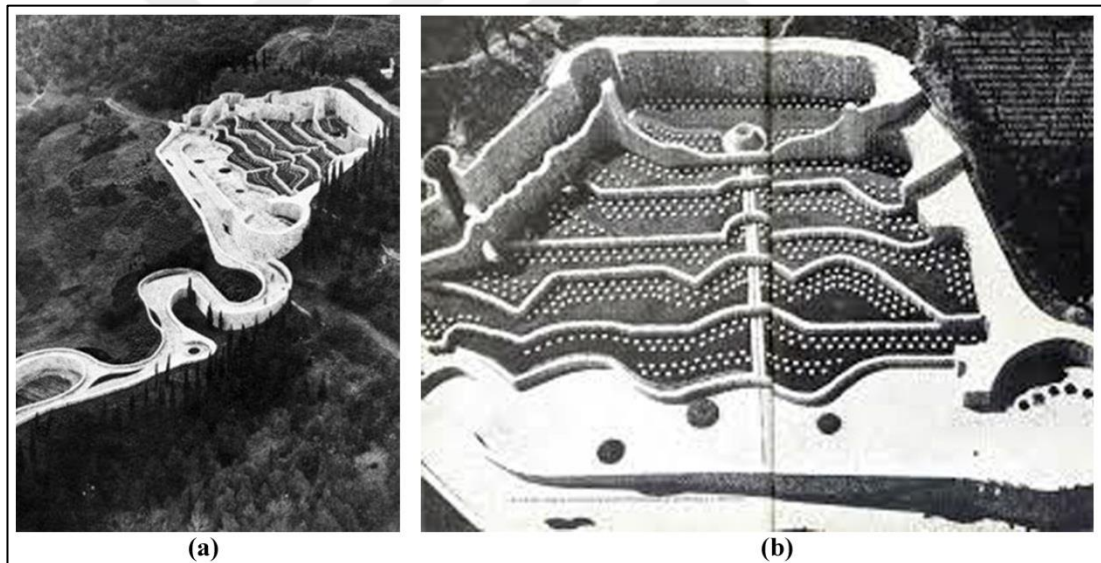
4.4.1 Partisan Memorial Cemetery, Mostar, 1965

In 1959, the city of Mostar awarded Bogdan Bogdanović with a commission to build a memorial cemetery for the fallen partisans. Partisan Memorial Cemetery, shown in Figure 4.9, in Mostar consists of an entrance area, the central area of an amorphous shape with running water and paths, part of a circular fountain with standing water and central, raised area with terraces and access ramp. Throughout the monument organic, amorphous wall structures are interwoven with greenery and water as the primary element of expression. Gently curved pathways guide the visitors to the central area with grave sites which are also formed in a series of 7 irregularly shaped terraces, following the natural slope of the terrain. (see Figure 4.10) In his design, Bogdanović uses elements and forms inspired by the local architecture, Illyrian and medieval necropolis located in the vicinity and the stone pebbles used for the cobbling the

pathways were extracted from the river. By incorporating the stone roof cladding from the traditional Mostar houses donated by the citizens in the complex built from white limestone he managed to transfer the old city's patina to the new necropolis. As a central element of the highest, seventh terrace there is a fountain from which a view of the entire complex and the entire city. One can almost make out the meaning and the desire of the author to present the monument as a personification of the city with streets, alleys, houses and terraces and squares, a city of the dead looking down on the city of the living. Bogdanović (1997, p.38) describes the intent of the design as:

“When I once explained my idea for the monument, I told a grateful audience the story of how one day, and forever after, ‘two cities’ will look each other in the eyes: the city of the dead antifascist heroes, mostly young men and women, and the city of the living, for which they gave their lives...”

Figure 4.9: Partisan Memorial Cemetery

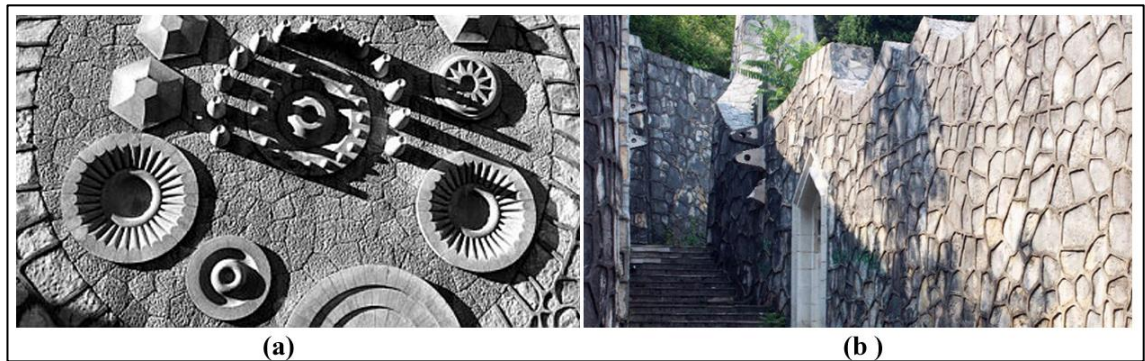


Source: a) <http://www.failedarchitecture.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Partisan-necropolis-1-830x438.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

b) <http://poskok.info/wp/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/dupla4.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016)

The height difference between the entrance and the top terrace is more than 20 meters and the visitor has to walk around 300 meters to get there. There are 810 flower shaped gravestones with the names of partisans killed from every ethnic group in Mostar. The cemetery was intentionally bombed at the beginning of the war in 1992 and its devastation through neglect still continues as shown in Figure 4.11. It was partially restored and reopened in 2005.

Figure 4.10: Details of the Stonework (a) and the Pathways (b)



Source: a) <http://static.lupiga.com/repository/vijesti/slike/20130217120550groblje2.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) <http://tacno.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/partizansko-groblj-eu-mostaru.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

Figure 4.11: Current State of the Partisan Memorial Cemetery



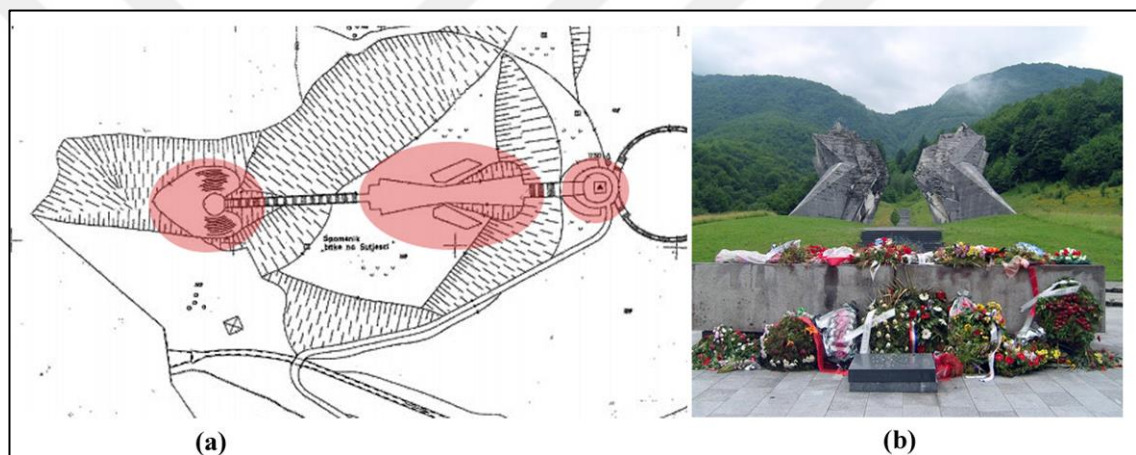
Source: <http://www.qpic.ws/images/uMC68090.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016)

4.4.2 The Valley of the Heroes Memorial Complex, 1971, Sutjeska

The battle of Sutjeska marks a turning point in the Yugoslav front in the WWII. Surrounded by Nazi forces in the mountain area on the border between Bosnia and Serbia partisan forces manage to break through with a lot of casualties. The highest state and political leadership of the former Yugoslavia gave the idea and support for a comprehensive memorial complex. Construction process began in 1968 and it was

officially unveiled by President Broz in 1975. Memorial complex called The Valley of the Heroes is located in the Sutjeska National Park and is comprised of 3 main elements: the ossuary, the monument, and the memorial house. (see Figure 4.12) There are however other, smaller monuments, mostly plaques dedicated to the memory of national heroes at the place of their deaths and a total of 79 of them are scattered throughout the park. (Jokić, 1986) The *ossuary*²⁴ is located underground and it is presented on the surface as a crypt in front of the monument. It contains the bones of 3,301 out of 7.356 partisans killed in the battle. From the crypt, the path leads to the monument.

Figure 4.12: The Valley of the Heroes Memorial Complex



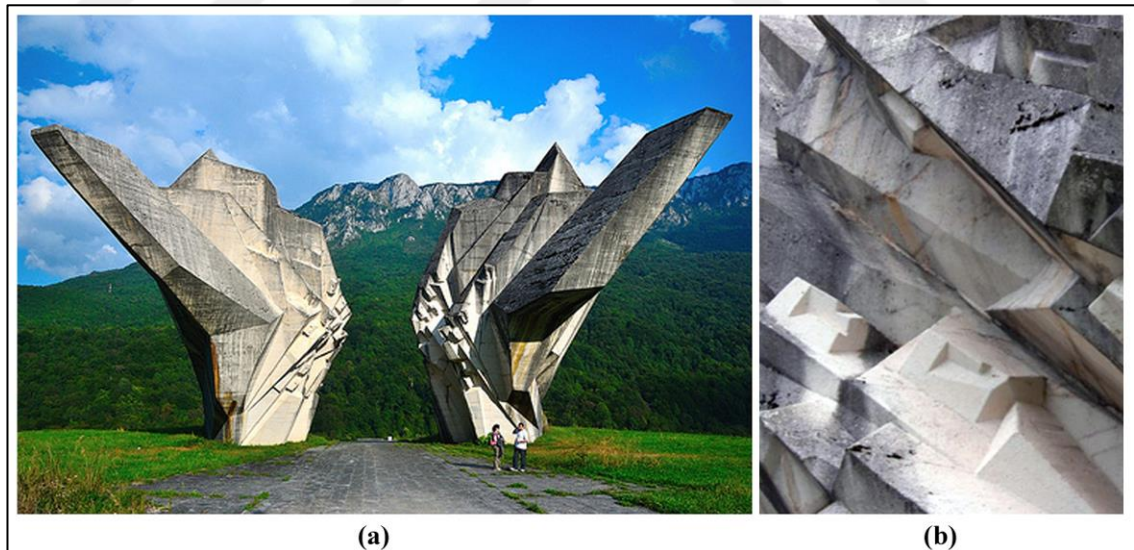
Source: a) http://atrium-katalog.com/uploads/pdf/sr/ekspert_26.pdf, (accessed 15 June 2016), edited by the author
 b) <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/38481741.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

The designer of the monument, shown in Figure 4.13, is renowned artists and sculptor Miodrag Živković. The monument was built from natural materials, resistant to the weather and climate conditions. Basic materials are steel reinforcement, white cement and stone. It impresses with its massiveness and external appearance. It consists of two large asymmetrical blocks made of white cement with the maximum height of 19 meters. They symbolize raw space where the battle took place leaving behind deep canyons and river leading to their snowy peaks of mountains to the victory. Depending on the view and the movement of the visitor the formation of the rocks is constantly

²⁴ An *ossuary* is a chest, box, building, well, or site made to serve as the final resting place of human skeletal remains. They are frequently used where burial space is scarce.

changing. The arms on the monument symbolize the penetration and the space between is a symbol of freedom, the penetration through the entrapment of the Nazi forces allowing the passage of the units and the rescue of the wounded. Passing through the free space of the monument and continuing on the stone cladded path the visitor is led to an amphitheater-shaped element called the Plateau of the Brigades. Semicircle marble blocks are inscribed with the names of divisions that participated in the battle against fascism. The Memorial Home, shown in Figure 4.14, was designed by the architect Ranko Radović and constructed at the same time as the monument. With its steep roofs, it is highly reminiscent of the typical mountain houses in the region. In the interior, the walls are inscribed with the names of 7,376 fallen partisan soldiers followed with 13 frescoes on the theme of The Battle of Sutjeska by Krsto Hegedušić. In the years after its opening it witnessed large attendance, but after the 92-95 conflict that number has drastically decreased and the park suffered the same fate as many other memorials from this period, though largely thanks to his remote location it wasn't severely damaged in the active fighting.

Figure 4.13: Tjentiste Monument



Source: a) http://farm5.static.flickr.com/4148/5000613040_7bb7f9dd15.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/65/Spomenik_Tjentiste_Sutjeska_detalj.JPG (accessed 15 June 2016).

Figure 4.14: The Memorial House



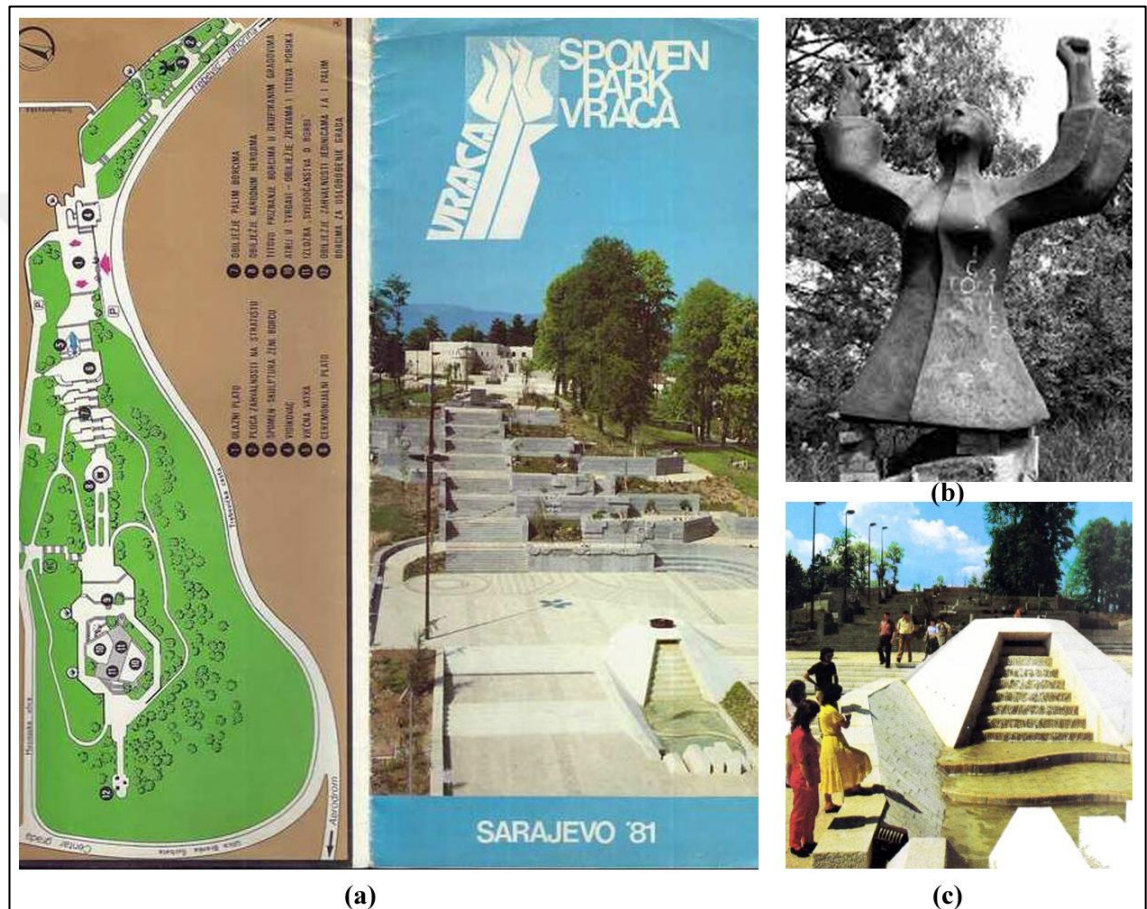
Source: a) <https://i.ytimg.com/vi/hzRPNIfMpmE/maxresdefault.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
 b) <http://depo.ba/media/pictures/2011/12/22/7fbd37a00bfbbca5381945c40ebc78f6.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

4.4.3 Memorial Park Vrace, 1981, Sarajevo

Thirty-five years after the end of the Second World War in a period when building monumental partisan monuments was almost ending, the memorial park in Sarajevo was opened. It was built around the former Austro-Hungarian military fortress. During the Second World War it was used as execution grounds of the Nazi regime. This biggest anti-fascist monument in Sarajevo, shown in Figure 4.15, was officially inaugurated in 1981, one year after Tito's death. The park is located on the last slope of Mount Trebevic just above the newly built part of the city, Grbavica. Chief architect designer was Vladimir Dabrović, the main sculpture was done by Alija Kućuklić and the landscape design was done by Aleksandar Maltarić. (Jokić, 1986) On the entrance plateau on the right side, there is a plaque of gratitude to the partisan together with an ossuary and a statue of the women fighter. The sculpture cast in bronze features an unusual portrayal of a female partisan fighter. Unlike the usual one in a more passive light, comparing to their masculine counterparts featuring weapons and fighting stances this one is portrayed with both her arms raised up symbolizing pride and defiance. It is believed it represents Radojka Lakić a female leader of the city's resistance movement. On the left, using the sloped terrain several cascades arise creating an atmosphere of piety. On the first one, there is a basin with the eternal flame, an often used element in the communist regime. It also includes a fountain with running water dividing the

plateau in two. The upper level is the ceremonial one with a place for official processions. Together with Tito's acknowledgment of the bravery of the fighter names of 2.039 of them fallen in the fight were chiseled in the hard white stone brought from Jablanica.

Figure 4.15: The Memorial Park Vrace: Plan (a), The Sculpture of the Female Fighter (b) and the Waterworks (c)



Source: a) http://images.delcampe.com/img_large/auction/000/211/685/830_001.jpg?v=1 (accessed 15 June 2016).

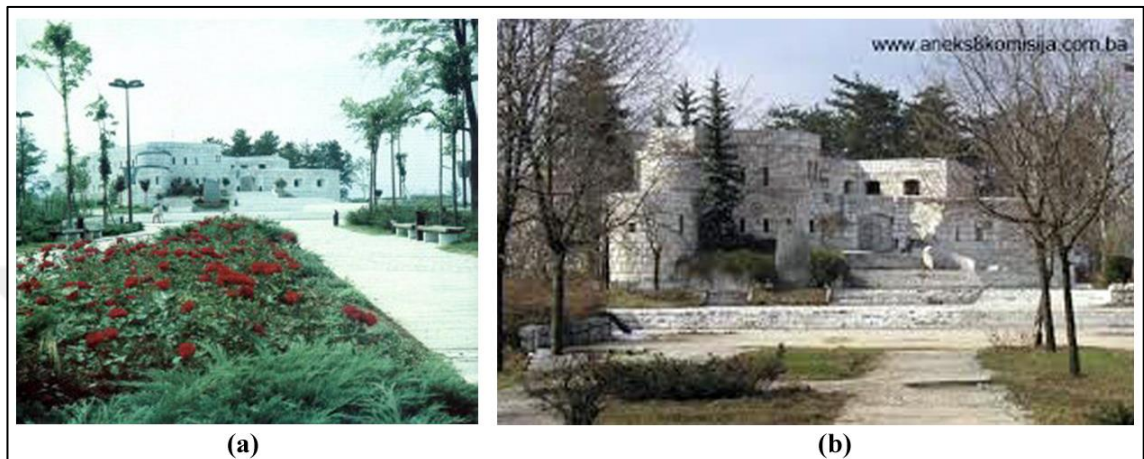
b) http://udruzenjeurban.ba/kulba/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/1044980_187037338131072_1756532947_n.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).

c) <http://www.tacno.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/55277689.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

On the fortress level, the walls of the two atria of the old fort are inscribed with the names of 9091 civilian victims (most of them Jewish) of the Nazi terror. The interior of the fortress was transformed into a museum with a permanent exhibition. Its position overseeing the city turned to its disadvantage during the 92-95 conflict when it was turned into a place where heavy artillery and snipers were placed as a part of the

Sarajevo siege. (see Figure 4.16) With the withdrawal of the occupying forces, it was mined and sustained heavy damages. The statues have been vandalized, the entrance was blown up, the plates with the names of the fallen were removed and the entire infrastructure is missing.

Figure 4.16: The Memorial Park Vrace Before (a) and After the War (b)



Source: a) <http://navigator-upload-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/attachments/files/000/005/877/medium/7fac22206d79b68bd4508fb5b9b8ab50.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

b) <http://mw2.google.com/mw-panoramio/photos/medium/7652589.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

4.5 AFTER 92-95 CONFLICT

The complicated nature of the conflict that engulfed most of the Balkan following the dissolution of Yugoslavia left the three nations living in Bosnia and Herzegovina without an official narrative. Since then they have developed their own but almost parallel narratives. A phenomenon that Vinitzky-Seroussi (2003, p. 32) calls “fragmented commemoration” and defines as the existence of “multiple commemorations in various spaces and times where diverse discourses of the past are voiced and aimed at disparate audiences.” Memorials display an array of national and religious symbols and often beside featuring names of the victims include information on the perpetrators. Taking into account the multiethnic structure of Sarajevo and its victims of the 92-95 conflict the examples analyzed in this section, except of Memorial Center Potocari, are located in Sarajevo (Sarajevo Roses, Memorial for the Children Killed During the Sarajevo Siege, and Sarajevo Red Line Memorial) and in a way stand out of the fragmented commemoration phenomena.

4.5.1 Sarajevo Roses, 1995, Sarajevo

Sarajevo is the city that survived the longest siege in the modern history. During 44 months of siege, an estimate of 50 000 tons of explosives was fired upon the city, leaving 14 011 dead and 46 000 wounded. The shape of the shrapnel left at the spot of the impact has a flower like shape. Sarajevo Rosses are these traces filled with red paint. Even though these traces were present and are still visible on some facades of the buildings in the city, only those on the ground are filled with paint and considered as Sarajevo Rosses. (see Figure 4.17) Technically they are three-dimensional but might appear as two-dimensional as their thickness remains hidden below ground level. They have no text to accompany them, no map pointing to them and no explanation of their origin. As Junuzović (2006, p. 229-230) concludes: “making any conclusions on the nature of their sites and messages they communicate can be rather amorphous and may lead to asking more questions than actually offering answers.” The idea for their design came from a professor of architecture at the University of Sarajevo, Nedžad Kurto.

Figure 4.17: Sarajevo Roses



Source: a) https://static.klix.ba/media/images/vijesti/150512063.2_xl.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) <http://depo.ba/media/pictures/2013/04/06/b98ed8a8086959fe3841d22a0802d5bf.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

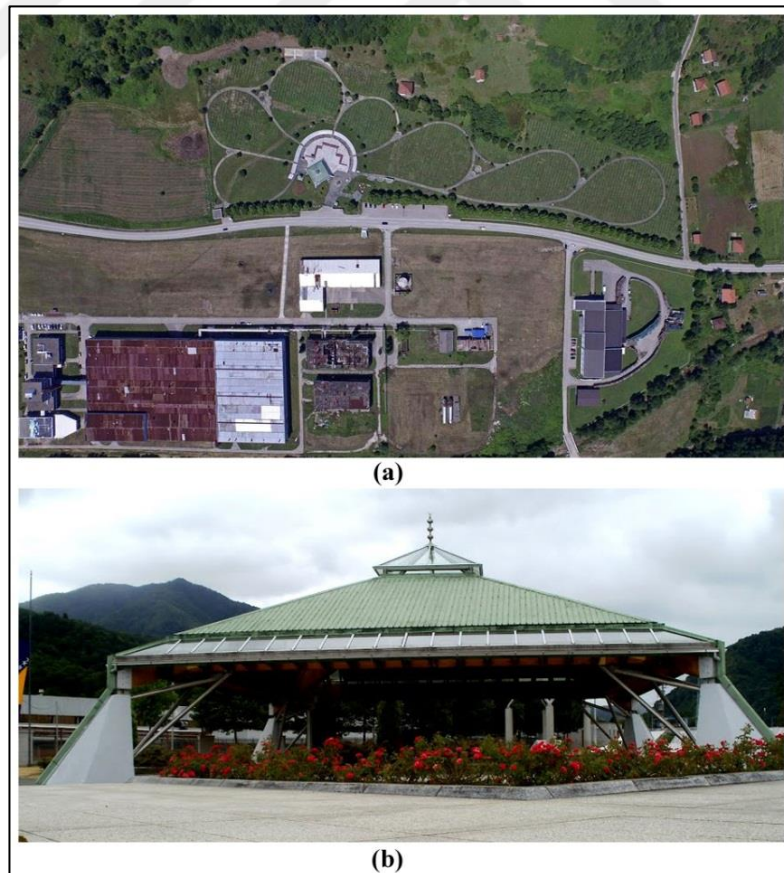
He explains that he did not want to make some “grandiose, soc-realistic monument”, instead Sarajevo Rosses were “not to be overly stimulating and too much of a monument”, his idea was to point on the ground, where the explosions happened. (Junuzović, 2006, p. 242) They can be found at city’s main market, pedestrian zones,

courtyards, and squares around religious buildings, sports courts, and school grounds. Ristic (2013, p. 117) calls them “memorials to violence against multicultural Sarajevo as a socio-spatial assemblage of urban networks, places, flows, patterns, and spatial practices that sustained encounter and mixing with others regardless of their ethnicity.”

4.5.2 Memorial Center Potočari, 2003, Srebrenica

Srebrenica is a small town in eastern Bosnia which was surrounded by Bosnian Serb forces in 92-95 conflict. By a UN resolution it was proclaimed a secure enclave but in July 1995 it was taken by the Serb forces and in the course of 3 days an estimate of 8000 men (from the age 15-70) were executed and their bodies scattered and hidden in mass graves. The memorial center Potocari was built on the site next to UN base (former battery factory) where some of the execution happened. As shown in Figure 4.18 it consists of two parts: the cemetery and the base which is preserved a museum.

Figure 4.18: Aerial View of the Memorial (a) and the Area For Praying (b)



Source: a) Dado Ruvić, Reuters

b) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/75693579> (accessed 15 June 2016).

The cemetery plots have a floral shape and the tombstones are standardized and done out of white marble. In the center, there is an open site used for funeral ceremonies and near to it the central memorial stone with names of the victims inscribed. (see Figure 4.19) The factory is preserved as it was and is now used as a museum and educational center. Perhaps the best description of what a visitor to the center was intended to see and feel is offered by the survivors of Srebrenica:

“...he must, instead of the cornfield, see ten thousand white marble tombstones. He has to lose his breath before this sight. He has to enter the building of the Memorial complex, to see in the cinema hall in order to see a documentary on genocide. He has to visit the photo gallery and see the photographs that testify about the atrocities committed. This site has to make him think. He has to understand who was who. This site must be a symbol of what happened there just as Jasenovac (major place of WW II atrocities in Croatia), Auschwitz and other similar places. So that is never forgotten. That is when we will cope easier with pain. We will live easier with our neighbors and with ourselves. “

(Bilten Srebrenica br. 3, Mezarje Tuzla, 2000 cited in Junuzovic, 2016, p.104-105)

Figure 4.19: The Central Stone (a) and the List of the Victims (b)



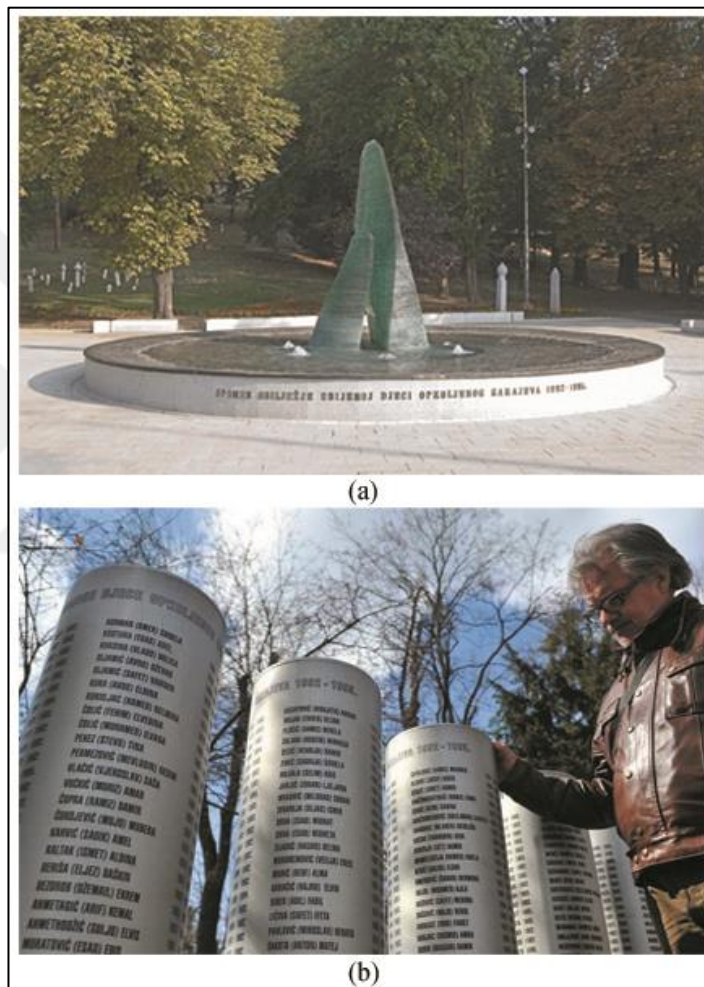
Source: a) <http://www.vijesti.me/media/cache/48/42/484262e936390c9fb91fealc6f71f1c4.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
 b) http://bportal.ba/wp/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/srebrenica_potocari.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).

4.5.3. Memorial for the Children Killed During the Sarajevo Siege, 2010, Sarajevo

The memorial designed by Mensud Kečo aims to preserve the memory of the children killed during the Sarajevo siege. It is located in the main park in the city center and composed out of four elements. The glass sculpture in the middle of the fountain, made

out of two forms symbolizes a mother trying to protect her child. (see Figure 4.20) Water symbolizes purity and passing of the time and runs on the bronze ring of the fountain. The bronze ring is imprinted with footprints of children as the only physical evidence. On the left side of the memorial on a stone pedestal, seven rotating, stainless steel cylinders contain inscribed names of the children.

Figure 4.20: Memorial for the Children Killed During the Sarajevo Siege



Source: a) <http://www.mensudkeco.com/ImagesArt/0002.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

b) <http://www.bh-index.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/spomenik-djeca.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016)

4.5.4 Sarajevo Red Line Memorial, 2012, Sarajevo

Not an architectural memorial per se but a temporary installation that took place on the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the siege of the city and was designed by theater

and film director Haris Pašović. (see Figure 4.21) Lasting 1425 days, the Sarajevo siege is the longest siege of a capital in modern history. Pašović used multiplication of one object in order to dramatize the representation of absence. The installation consisted of 11541 red chairs, arranged in 825 rows. Every chair represents one person and 643 of them were smaller symbolizing the children killed during the siege.

Figure 4.21: The Sarajevo Red Line Memorial



Source: a) <http://www.vijesti.me/media/cache/38/35/38358e7e42a8c0648e96809cb29af0b4.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

b) http://ftp.source.ba/local_files/galerijaSlike/Sarajevska%20crvena%20linija%202013%2004.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).

c) http://forum.source.ba/local_files/galerijaSlike/sarajevska%20crvena%20linija%20009.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).

The red line formed by the chair stretched on the main street ending at the Eternal Flame memorial, dedicated to WW2 victims, where the stage has been set up. For the first time, a concert was to be held for 11541 dead people. It was the first time that the

victims of the siege were commemorated. Giovanucci (2013, p.451) describes the memorial as:

“a strong example of Andreas Huyssen’s conjectures about the evolution of memorials. Huyssen explains that society changes and thus the way society memorializes things should change: “A society’s collective memory is... by no means permanent and always subject to subtle and not too subtle reconstruction.”²⁵



²⁵ Giovanucci, Katelyn E. "Remembering The Victims: The Sarajevo Red Line Memorial And The Trauma Art Paradox". MJSS (2013): n. pag. Web. p.451

5. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Using the findings from chapter 2, 3, and 4 a table showing examples analyzed in chapter 2 (see Appendix-1, Comparative Analysis of Post-War Architectural Memorialization) and a table showing examples analyzed in chapter 4 (see Appendix-2, Comparative Analysis of Post-War Architectural Memorialization, Case Study: Bosnia and Herzegovina) were formed. Organized chronologically, together with their plans and sections or elevations, their characteristics are divided into three categories: relation to memory, structure, and viewer/user. They are cross-referenced on a timeline in the bottom with related literature, art, and politic currents.

5.1 BEFORE WWI

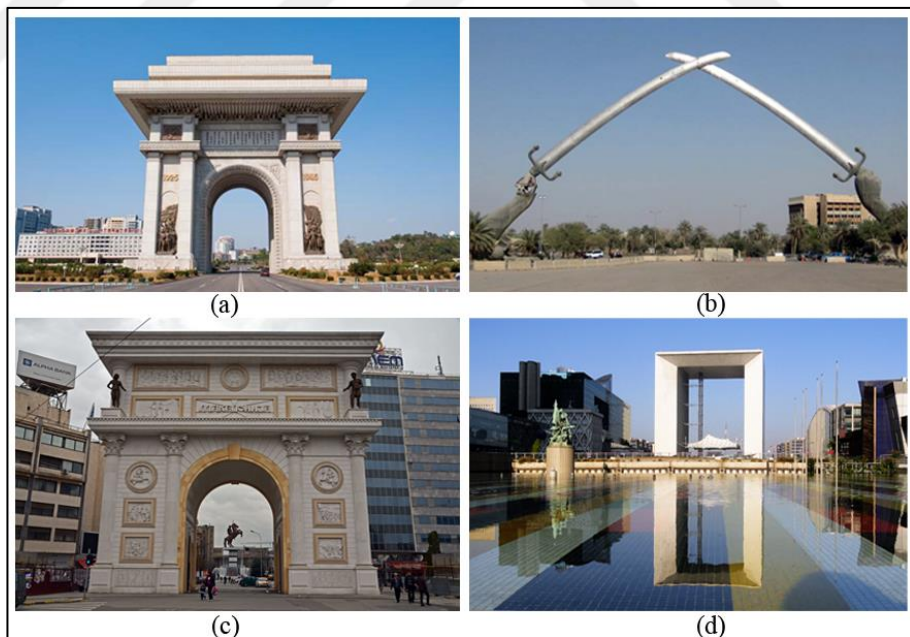
With the romantic period at its peak in 1800-1850 building tombs and memorials became “the most visible public manifestation of political strategies designed to convert memory into history”. (Sánchez-García, 2015, p. 21) This Cult of the Romantic hero can be traced back to the Ancient Greece, Hercules, Achilles and other heroes who have earned their status with great deeds and bravery. It manifested throughout literature at first, and then onto architecture via their final resting places and memorials that followed. Such is the case with Arch de Triomphe in Paris and Nelson’s column in London. The first, dedicated to the Revolution and Napoleonic wars, is located in the center of dodecagonal configuration of twelve radiating avenues; one could say the most central point of Paris and the second, honoring Admiral Nelson, is the focal point of Trafalgar square, named after the naval battle in which Britain’s fleet led by Admiral Lord Nelson defeated French and Spanish fleet, one that cost Admiral his life. Both are done in neoclassical style with clear references to Roman triumphal arches and columns as main architectural forms of commemoration. They are heavily decorated with reliefs and inscriptions of their bravery, accomplishments, and victories. High-quality materials such as granite, marble, bronze and even gold are used and because of their grandiosity and ornamentally construction often halted due to lack of funds. In most cases their monumentality is vertical and raised on a pedestal, expropriating it from the street and pedestrian level as though representing that individual as a role model for the society.

Figure 5.1: Narva Triumphal Gate, St. Petersburg (a) and Triumphal Arch, Barcelona (b)



Source: a) <http://www.saint-petersburg.com/images/monuments/narva-gate/narva-triumphal-gate-in-st-petersburg.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f1/Arc_de_Triomf_Barcelona_2013.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).

Figure 5.2: Triumphal Arches: Pyongyang (a), Baghdad (b), Skopje (c), and Paris (d)



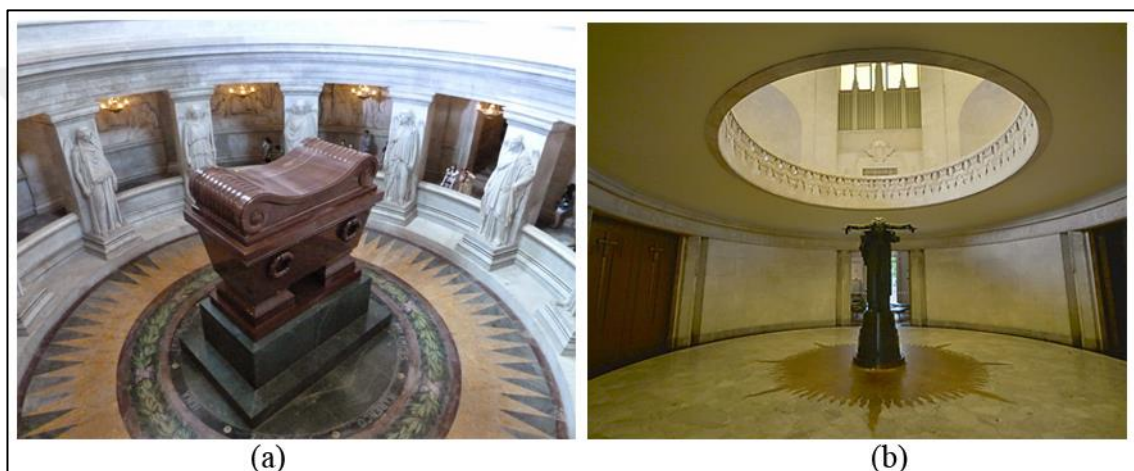
Source: a) <http://media.web.britannica.com/eb-media/44/144244-004-F308F79F.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) http://www.fouman.com/Y/Image/History/Iraq_Baghdad_Qadesiya_Swords.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).
c) <http://www.colinsnotes.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/048-13.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
d) http://static.latribune.fr/full_width/109717/la-defense-paris.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016).

Triumphal arches and columns across were a common theme for commemorating victories like The Narva Triumphal Arch in Saint Petersburg (1814), but also other events, as the main gate for the 1888 Barcelona World Fair. (see Figure 5.1) The practice of building triumphal arches to commemorate war victories remained until today with the second largest triumphal arch (60m) built in Pyongyang, North Korea in 1982, commemorating the Korean resistance to Japan from 1925 to 1945 and 40 meters high triumphal arch called The Swords of Qādisīyah, finished in 1990, commemorating the Iran-Iraq war. However, not all are commemorating wars, La Grande Arche de la Défense, built in Paris in 1989 is a building and a monument celebrating economic accomplishments and most recently, the Porta Macedonia (2012) was built as a part of a controversial government-funded project named "Skopje 2014" with an attempt at giving the capital Skopje a more classical appeal by the year 2014. (see Figure 5.2) In the case of the Monument to the Battle of the Nations in Leipzig, commemorating the victory over Napoleon in Leipzig the monument was built at the exact place of the battle, placing it outside of the urban context. It draws inspiration from the German medieval traditions with the representation of angles and soldiers as German knights. The two-story structure with a large, artificial reflective pool in front dominates the scenery and features a crypt visible from the ground level through a circular opening in the ground, reminiscent of Napoleon's crypt in the church Les Invalides in Paris, done by architect Luis Visconti in 1842. Similar scheme presents itself in Anzac War Memorial in Sydney designed by C. Bruce Dellit in 1934. Sánchez-García (2015, p.30) defines this scheme as an "intention of creating a tension between proximity and distance by preventing access and contact with the central sacred space." (see Figure 5.3) Even if largely diminished, traces of the cult of the romantic hero can be seen in today's culture through an interest in pop stars and sportspersons and statues of celebrities being raised around the world.

Examining the Atonement Monument for Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Sophie Duchess of Hohenberg in Sarajevo and The Victor in Belgrade several similarities with monuments built in Europe at the same period can be noticed. The first monument is built on the site of the assassination, in urban setting hence the place allowed only for vertical monumentality. It is raised from the ground on a pedestal and features plenty of symbolical and representational elements. The Victor in Belgrade was commissioned

before the WWI but realized only after, mostly correlates with its contemporary examples across Europe. Placed on a high ground with imposing vertical monumentality it rules resides over the city. Granite column is raised on a pedestal with a bronze statue of a Homeric Hero holding a sword in one and falcon in the other hand. As a means of unifying several nations under one collective, the sculptor Ivan Mestrovic avoids national symbols and draws inspiration from the prototype of the ideal hero, Hercules.

Figure 5. 3: Dome Des Invalides, Tomb Of Napoleon I, Paris, 1874 (A) And Anzac War Memorial In Sidney, 1934 (B)



Source: a) <http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-RoEpBNo799M/VE5alT644tI/AAAAAAAAZS8/jH0Zbxsyw/s1600/P1060859.JPG> (accessed 15 June 2016).
 b) <https://photos.tripomatic.com/photo/570x380nc/612664395a40232133447d33247d3833343436303338.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

5.2 BETWEEN WARS

It is estimated that the total amount of military and civilian deaths in First World War amounts to 16.5 million, 9.5 million of them military personnel. Never before seen number of casualties, new types of weapons, mass conscription of youth and prolonged trench warfare all left their marks on the WWI memorials. Winter (1998, p. 79) states that “war memorials were places where people grieved, both individually and collectively” Several new types of architectural commemoration practices appeared after the war. First of them were war cemeteries. Before the 19th century, the war dead did not have their own cemeteries and were treated as a collectivity, if buried at all it was in mass graves. According to the Treaty of Versailles, each country was responsible for maintaining war cemeteries on their soil but countries were given permission to

design and build war cemeteries for their citizens. Most of them are located at the battlefields; starting from small, provisional cemeteries (Anzac battlefield monument and cemetery at Gallipoli, Turkey or the Mausoleum of Marasesti in Romania, see Figure 5.4) The Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the Somme, designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens is no exception. The British memorial, built on French soil is Sir Lutyens's interpretation and multiplied abstraction of the triumphal arch. In front of the memorial is a cemetery with 300 (7 identified) Anglo-British and 300 (47 identified) French graves.

Figure 5.4: Marasesti Mausoleum (a) and Gallipoli Lone Pine Anzac Cemetery (b)



Source: a) <http://www.romanianmonasteries.org/images/mausoleul-marasesti.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
 b) <http://www.cwgc.org/dbImage.ashx?id=3933> (accessed 15 June 2016).

A standardized feature in Anglo-British memorials, the Stone of Remembrance, designed also by Sir Lutyens is located at the heart of the memorial. Aside from the unprecedented number of fallen soldiers another problem that arose is their identification, as seen from the numbers at Somme. All these cemeteries abroad and in the home country could not serve as a focal point for the cult of the fallen and collective memory. “The idea of bringing home an unknown soldier from the battlefield to the capital to bury him in its most important national shrine arose simultaneously in France and England.” (Mosse, 1998, p. 94) They were the focus of most war-related ceremonies and to solve the problem of Abbey's capacity Sir Lutyens was in charge of designing a cenotaph in Whitehall, London as a center for Armistice ceremonies. It is done in white marble and void of any national or religious symbols. In years following

the war, countries like Britain, France, Italy and Germany organized commissions in charge of war cemeteries and memorials. Germany resorted to medieval symbolism as seen in the Munich War Memorial (1924-26) imitating medieval knight tombs with a figure wearing modern uniform and weapon. Its sunken plaza, entered by a narrow staircase, safely guards a body of an unknown soldier. As Wittman (2011) notices, the name, with its physical presence was in some measure compensating for the absence of the body and now when not only officers were being commemorated lists of all soldiers no matter the rank were expected to be completed.

Commemoration of the First World War in the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (1919-1929) lately known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had different effects on the nations living in it. The lack of monuments on Bosnian and Herzegovinian soil can be explained by the fact that the commemorative practices of nations fighting on the Austro-Hungarian side were mostly contained to the cemeteries, like Mirogoj in Zagreb. Serbia, however, commissioned many post-WWI monuments in Belgrade. The grandest, following the trend in Europe, is the Tomb of an Unknown Soldier on Mount Avala overlooking the capital Belgrade. Persian inspired crypt, done in black granite is elevated on a five-step pedestal. The monument in Zagreb with a sculpture of a mourning woman holding a Christ-like figure has the atmosphere of sorrow, suffering, and loss while the one in Belgrade is characterized by glory and heroism. However, the usage of symbols of all the nationalities living in the Kingdom through the caryatids “supporting” the structure’s roof, the monument can be seen as “an attempt to re-create First World War memory as a shared Yugoslav, rather than an exclusively Serbian national myth.” (Andersen, 2016, p. 38)

We can see that the focus of commemoration has shifted from heroes to regular soldiers and that unprecedented scale of casualties demanded the emergence of new types of memorials. War cemeteries sprouted on battlefields all over Europe with each nation given the prerogative of designing and upkeep. The design is mostly in established styles although abstraction and simplification are beginning to be used. Keeping in mind different nation and ethnic backgrounds slight avoidance of religious and national symbols can be observed. Monuments and mausoleums built in rural areas tend to dominate the scenery while tombs of unknown soldiers are being incorporated in the

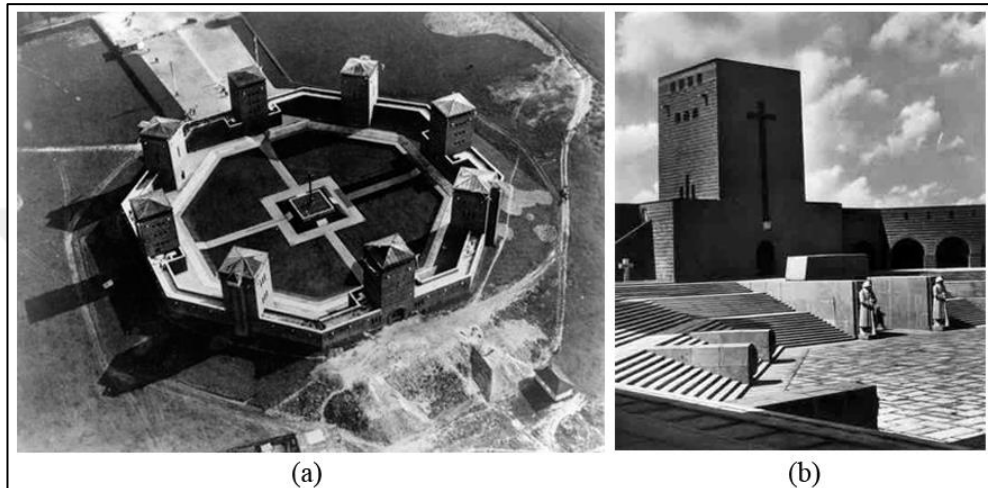
most prominent existing monuments. Noble materials as granite, limestone, marble, and bronze are still being used. The atmosphere is one of grief but still soldiers are portrayed as a youth, full of strength volunteering for the defense of the motherland. Graves, tombs, and crypts are the main concepts of the monuments built in urban areas with the noticeable change from vertical to horizontal monumentality. Visitors are encouraged to interact with the monuments and as for the Munich war memorial, sunken plaza and narrow staircases leading downward give the ambiance of privacy for mourning.

5.3 AFTER WWII

20 years after the end of WWI another disastrous war was upon mankind. It was the deadliest one in its history. An estimated number of more than 60 million people died, with civilian casualty ratio being 60% (40% in WWI). Aside from human casualties, war laid waste and destruction all over Europe. With fallen ideologies, borders redrawn and cities in ruins, this time there was no mass construction of memorials for the dead after the war. Initially, the war cemeteries from the WWI were expanded, a similar situation can be observed with Tombs of Unknown Heroes. The first priority was the rebuilding of the infrastructure and the cities. As the modernity progressed, the years that followed were not keen on intentional monuments. Used by the Nazi and Fascist regimes to promote nationalism and invoke militarism the public grew suspicious towards monuments and their construction. Several of them being destroyed in Italy and Germany after the war, the best example being Tannenberg Memorial, shown in Figure 5.5, in present-day Poland, designed as a fortress for the dead, commemorating victorious German soldiers in the second Battle of Tannenberg in 1914. It was frequently used by Hitler for propaganda purposes. The Polish government removed any traces of it by 1950. The horrors and the shock that Holocaust left behind can be seen in Theodor W. Adorno's often quoted statement that writing poetry after Auschwitz would be barbaric. To normalize everything and repeat the mass memorialization of WWI was seen as dangerous and potentially allowing fascism to continue in some other form. With divided Germany and the two blocks slowly entering the Cold War, monuments that were being built differed in forms and messages they convey. In sphere of Soviet influence, monuments like the Soviet War Memorial in

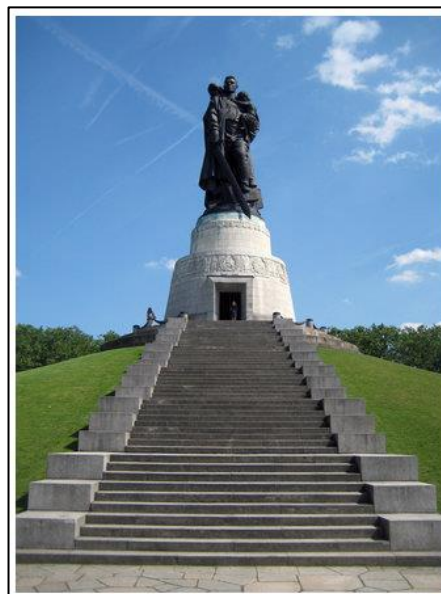
Treptower, where a large statue of a Soviet soldier holding a German child and standing on a broken swastika, were conveying a message of glory and liberation rather than one of grief as their counterpart elsewhere in Europe. (see Figure 5.6) Ardeatine Caves Memorial in Italy is located at the site of the atrocity and its design is a modest one, if any monumental aspect is present, it is a horizontal one.

Figure 5.5: Tannenberg War Memorial



Source: a) <http://sorenm.com/images/buildings/tannenberg-1933-2.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) <http://info-poland.buffalo.edu/classroom/JM/tower.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

Figure 5.6: Treptower Soviet War Memorial in Germany



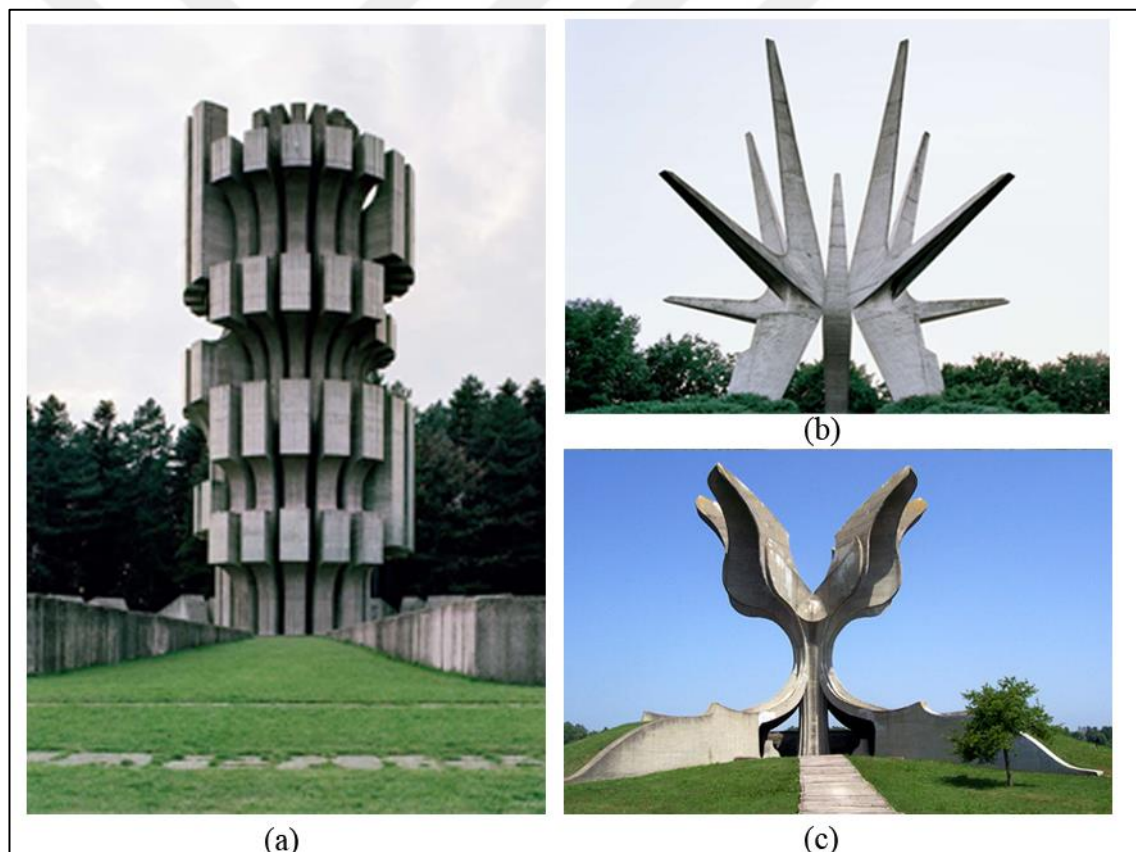
Source: <https://media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-s/01/ef/fa/a1/treptower-park.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).

The delicate play of light of the covering, massive concrete slab gives an atmosphere of serenity to a collective tomb for 335 men. Concrete, in this case, is used for structural reasons and it was pick-hammered to appear as a single stone. Memorial to the Martyrs of the Deportations located on prominent location in Paris, however, features concrete as the main building material. It was a deviation from the conventional monuments at the time. Not an object nor a sculpture but a void in the ground entered by narrow staircases sealing the visitor from the surroundings. Absent of any representational elements, except the crypt, it is completely centered on experience and reflection. Louis Khan's proposal for the Memorial to the Six Million Jewish Martyrs in New York is perhaps one of the first examples of minimalistic design and total abstraction in the design of Holocaust Memorials. With its glass cubes and play of light and shadows, it also is centered on individual reflection and experience.

Monuments analyzed in this section portray a couple of similarities. With the ratio of civilian casualties larger than military ones and realizing that no one is victorious in such a war, memorials refrain from glorifying soldiers and their focus is shifted to the innocent victims. One of the biggest shifts was in materials used in the memorials, especially abandonment of stone and usage of concrete. Abandonment of stone can be related to its political connotations and its usage in monuments of Fascist and Nazi regimes. The question of how did concrete become favorite building material in monuments is an interesting one and Forty (2005) offers two valid explanation. One is the dual nature of concrete, liberation, and destruction meaning that its structural qualities opened up an array of possibilities but at the same time causing loss of established routines and relationships, which was the mark of modernity. The other one is the anonymity and muteness of concrete making it ideal for reflection and projection. In this phase, the shift from monument as a central plastic object to memorials becomes ever more obvious. There is no more vertical monumentality and monuments elevated on a pedestal. Memorials are if not on the ground level than sunken in the ground, resembling a tomb encouraging grieving and healing after loss. Designers of memorials are concentrated more on the individual experience and the memory the person brings to the memorial rather than telling a story.

WWII memorialization in socialist Yugoslavia was very important for celebrating the victory and liberation by the Partisans and in building the new society with various national and religious backgrounds. Most of the monuments were built on the site of the partisan struggle locating them outside cities and in the open landscape as is the case with Valley of the Heroes in Sutjeska and others like Jasenovac (Croatia, 1967), Kozara (Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1972), Kosmaj (Serbia, 1971) and others. (see Figure 5.7) All of them include a massive monument built in the spirit of Socialist Modernism. However, it should be stressed that “not many Yugoslav monuments to the partisan struggle fit into the genre of the massive Socialist Realist monuments that were typical in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union”. (Burghardt and Kirn, 2014, p. 84)

Figure 5.7: Kozara (a), Kosmaj (b), and Jasenovac (c) Memorials in Yugoslavia



Source: a) http://punkwasp.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Spomenik_06.jpg
b) https://65.media.tumblr.com/tumblr_lu3acvMkZN1qz4uzvo1_500.jpg
c) <http://www.shrani.si/f/3t/Bx/1WNvdQK6/jasenovac01.jpg>

These monumental structures, dominating the landscape are often accompanied by historical, educational or leisure activities infrastructure. Avoiding any national and

religious symbols they are mainly abstract forms that refer to a modern future of freedom, equality, and independence that is possibly only because of the ultimate sacrifice of the Partisan fighters. The abstract forms leave some openness that allows self-reflection and as Burghardt and Kirn (2014, p. 84) notice “it allows for an appropriation of meaning that bypasses the official narrative, making the monuments accessible to even those who disagree with the official political line.” Memorials inside the cities as Vrace in Sarajevo are mostly part of parks ensuring their constant visitation and giving the city a place for official ceremonies.

5.4 COUNTER-MONUMENT MOVEMENT

The term counter-monument was coined by James E. Young in 1990s in reference to a new, provoking type of monuments commemorating Holocaust victims in Germany that shared a common trait of negation of the classical form of a monument. He considered the movement particularly suited for a country in a search for ways to commemorate victims of its own crimes. The examples of *The Monument Against Fascism, War and Violence—and for Peace and Human Rights* (1986) in Harburg and *Monument to the Aschrott-Brunnen* (1989) in Kassel analyzed in the third chapter and their usage of different materials, spatial invisibility and negative forms are indeed a testament that while counter-monuments negate the traditional form of the monument do not negate the memory itself. In Young’s words “it negates only the illusion of permanence traditionally fostered in the monument. For in calling attention to its own fleeting presence, the counter-monument mocks the traditional monument's certainty of history.” (Young, 1992, p. 295) Several other projects are noteworthy to fully grasp the concept of counter-monument such as *The Stumbling Stone* (1992) project by Gunter Deming and *The Judenplatz Holocaust Memorial* (2000) in Vienna by Rachel Whiteread, shown in Figure 5.8. All of these are a search of how to commemorate the absence, be it as the negative form of the fountain (*Aschrott-Brunnen*) or negative cast of the books on library shelves (*The Judenplatz Holocaust Memorial*) or an everyday object like empty chairs (*Jewish Ghetto Memorial*).

Figure 5.8: Stumbling Stones Memorial (a) and Judenplatz Memorial (b)



Source: a) <http://en.tracesofwar.com/upload/4617100810174941.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) http://images4.mygola.com/9133e584d1da7fc4149dd8f53d8eaf2b_1347369871_1.jpg

Empty chairs are a frequent theme in contemporary memorial architecture as Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum (2000), The Pentagon Memorial (2008), Sarajevo Red Line Memorial (2012) using empty seating elements in the number of victims. (see Figure 5.9) “Time mocks the rigidity of monuments, the presumptuous claim that in its materiality, a monument can be regarded as eternally true, a fixed star in the constellation of collective memory.” (Young, 1993, p.47) These monuments, mostly in public spaces, invite for interaction, don’t stay quite in the bounds of space or time but draw attention to the ongoing work of memory and to those lapses of memory that comprise reckoning with the past.

Figure 5.9: Oklahoma City National Memorial (a) and Pentagon Memorial (b)



Source: a) <https://media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-s/01/e6/4c/7f/empty-chairs-in-memory.jpg> (accessed 15 June 2016).
b) http://www.mm-sf.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Pentagon_03.jpg (accessed 15 June 2016)

5.5 CONTEMPORARY MEMORIALS

Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C. with its granite wall, inscribed with names, makes the people descend and ascend connecting them with the earth and uses it as a healing metaphor and a reflective tool in a way that was new to memorial architecture. Analysis of the memorials in Madrid and New York shows us how contemporary architects deal with the issue of commemorating victims of acts of terrorism. Both are built on the site, now considered "sacred ground". Names of the victims are inscribed in both of them. In the Memorial in Madrid the underground room lit only by the glass tower above is one of grief and reflection while looking up in the tower they can read hundreds of messages of condolences left at the station in days after the attack symbolizing a light of hope for the future. Michel Arad's design, however, using the double pools at the foundation of the WTC towers creates the two voids achieving visitor's physical distance from the sacred ground. They can be perceived as an open crypt memorial where the idea of death is represented by the presence of voids. Memorials done after the 90s conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina reflect its convoluted nature. Except for Srebrenica, they are mostly located in Sarajevo due to its multiethnic composition. Srebrenica is the site of the biggest massacre on European soil since WW II. The memorial center is planned to be the final resting point of all the 8732 victims of genocide, if their bodies are found and since some of the killings occurred at the former UN Base, following the examples of Nazi death camps it is kept in the state it has been found and has been transformed into an educational and exhibition space.

Ristić (2013, p. 121) describes the Sarajevo Rosses:

"Their naked presence and silence is powerful in the sense that it prevents the erasure of memory of violent events during the siege, while at the same time it does not impose any particular version of past or motivate confrontations about history. Rather, they allow multiple versions of memory and history to co-exist and thus open up to the possibility of reconciliation and re-establishment of Bosnian inter-ethnic unity."

This anonymity together with the negative form of Sarajevo Rosses, and using repetition of an everyday object, such as chairs, to represent absence in the Sarajevo Red Line Memorial, can attribute them characteristics of counter-monument movement and an important step in architectural memorialization of the 90s conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

6. CONCLUSION

Throughout the centuries, in many various societies wars have played a very significant role in memory, individual as well as collective one. War is such a severe interruption of experience that can cause memory shock, making it hard to integrate these interruptions in the established narrative and collective memory. Memorials can act as a public catalyst for people to grieve and mourn their losses and incorporate their individual memory in the collective one. Jay Winter (1998) notes two functions of war remembrance: memory and mourning. Remembering a war is always a part of the official memory policy as a way of creating and upholding a certain collective identity. Additionally, it has to go beyond memory politics and offer a chance for survivors to mourn their losses. Throughout the examined period answers to two questions were the main instigators of change in the design of architectural memorialization. Who does the society remember and how?

While memory was thought of as an unchangeable storage of information and its term interchangeable with history up until the late 19th century the society was fostering a cult of heroes which can be traced back to ancient Greece. Imperial age royalty, military figures, and otherwise notable persons were celebrated through poetry, their resting places were adorned in form of glorious structures and had monuments built in their names. Monuments from this period are almost regularly located in prominent locations in the city such as focal points of squares, intersections of main avenues or in front of important edifices. They feature highly representational forms and use a range of didactic elements and symbols. Their structural monumentality is combined with the usage of high quality and “noble” materials.

The shock caused by the death toll and destruction of WWI caused a paradigm shift in architectural memorialization. Now it was centered on a soldier with war cemeteries and memorials on battlefields and Tombs of Unknown Heroes in nation’s landmark locations in cities. Relatively smaller structures include representations of brave, young soldiers dying for a nation’s cause. Ensuring equality in their sacrifice their names are inscribed on monuments while emotions of grief and mourning are stimulated through tomb and mausoleum allusions.

Horrors of WW2 and Holocaust were another turning point for memorials. The abuse of memory by totalitarian regimes combined with modernism's stance against it made people grow suspicious to memorials and memories being institutionalized in an object. While Holocaust unrelated memorials were being done in years after the war humanity was still reflecting on how such horrific event can be commemorated. Together with the earlier used forms, the materials mostly used in memorials were abandoned. The design of memorials was being concentrated on experience and the most suitable tool for this was abstraction because unlike representational memorials that resemble the object they represent the abstract memorial not relating to a specific object or an image is more prone to referencing non-visual aspects like emotions and experience. Lin (2000) in designing the Vietnam War Memorial chose abstraction saying that: "A specific object or image would be limiting. A realistic sculpture would be only one interpretation of that time. I wanted something that all people could relate to on a personal level." and Yilmaz has a similar opinion stating that: "A direct denotation between the event and its representation minimizes the variations in the collective remembering process" (2010, p 8). Abstraction, however, may not resonate well with those directly affected by the event being commemorated. In the case of the Vietnam War Memorial it resulted with adding "The Three Soldiers" sculptures upon the request of the veterans. Various materials, such as concrete and rusted steel, are now being used what may be credited to its anonymity and other values treasured by modernism.

This search on how the Holocaust should be memorialized, especially in Germany where in the late 80s artists and architects use extremely abstract forms, negative space, voids and everyday objects to represent absence gave way for counter-monument movement. The spirit of the movement can be best described in Young (2000, p.92) words: "only an unfinished memorial process can guarantee the life of memory". Our perception of memory has also changed drastically. "Today we think of past as memory without borders rather than national history within borders; today memory is understood as a mode of re-presentation and as belonging to the present." (Huysen, 2003, p.4)

This new mode of critical consciousness in democratic societies gave way for new memorials being built as an acknowledgment of inflicted difficult memories, past injustices, and collective traumas across the world as a step towards reconciliation.

Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery in Nantes, dealing with its relationship with slave trade or the Komagata Maru Memorial in Vancouver, dedicated to Indians deported from Canada to name a few. Another interesting memorial “The Ring of Remembrance” was opened in France on the first centenary of the First World War. It features a massive ring with plaques of over 600.000 names of friends and former enemies, French and German, this time, mingled together, with no rank and no nationalities.

It is relatively easy to discuss memorialization for those directly affected by the event being commemorated, since they are able to draw upon their memories, compared to those with no recollection of the event. It begets the question on how the event can be remembered and thus memorialized. So how do we design memorials in a democratic society? How to decide what memory and whose memory is to be commemorated? First of all, Julian Bonder warns us of submitting to sentimentality, symbolism, artificial meanings and metaphors, because it might lead to what he calls redemptive aesthetics which he describes as “kind of aesthetics that asks us to consider art as correction of life, that art may repair inherently damaged or valueless experience” (Bonder, 2009, p.65)

As seen from contemporary examples memorials are no longer representational, silent and static objects. They are designed rather as site-specific, landscape, urban, spatial and artistic solutions inviting visitors on reflection, inciting discourse on the past through present and warning for the future while not claiming to understand or represent the suffering of others since no art can compensate for human trauma. It is in the interaction of the visitor and the memorial that they are to fulfill their function of dealing with traumatic events and form a process towards understanding on both individual and collective levels. Nicolai Ouroussoff cites Eisenman’s Memorial as an example “how abstraction can be the most powerful tool for conveying the complexities of human emotion.”²⁶ While abstract forms of 9/11 Memorial and The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe are both accompanied with a comprehensive didactic space in the form of a museum which offers detailed information on the memorialized event the 9/11 Memorial and others, when it is possible, have the names of the victims inscribed. This can be attributed to the “ability of a name to bring back every single memory you

²⁶ Ouroussoff, Nicolai. "A Forest Of Pillars, Recalling The Unimaginable". *Nytimes.com*. N.p., 2016. Web. 21 Aug. 2016.

have of that person is far more realistic and specific and much more comprehensive than a still photograph” (Lin, 2000). Both of these memorials are envisioned as highly active urban spaces inviting engagement with life in the present moment. Most of the analyzed memorials commemorating traumatic events there are elements such as water, light, landscape, ground that point to one basic human need, one of survival, hope and healing.

The complex nature of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina produced a situation where three constituent ethnic groups have their own narratives which are incompatible with each other. With wounds still fresh and committed crimes being processed in ICTY (International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia) and local courts Bosnia and Herzegovina has a long and difficult process of healing and reconciliation ahead. Victims should have an inalienable right to recognition of their status and memorialization can be a key component in transitional justice²⁷ and eventually pave way for reconciliation. As we have seen from the cases of WWI memorials, by intentional misuse a place designed for remembering, grief, and healing, can easily become a place of accusations, not only the perpetrators but bystanders also. That is why a much cautious approach to memorialization is advised so that by the further alienation of the groups it doesn't become an obstacle in the post-war reconciliation process.

²⁷ Transitional justice refers to the set of judicial and non-judicial measures that have been implemented by different countries in order to redress the legacies of massive human rights abuses.

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APPENDICES

