

MEMORY OF THE CITY

Izložba **BLUEPRINT**
umetnice Dušice Dražić
Kulturni centar Beograda
The exhibition BLUEPRINT
by Dušice Dražić
Cultural Centre of Belgrade
17. 08 - 01. 09. 2011.

MEĐUNARODNI SIMPOZIJUM
SEĆANJE GRADA
Kulturni centar Beograda
INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM MEMORY
OF THE CITY
Cultural Centre of Belgrade
12. 09 - 13. 09. 2011.

RADIONICE
WORKSHOPS
SEPTEMBAR SEPTEMBER 2011 /
JANUAR JANUARY 2012.

SEĆANJE
GRADA

HVALA THANKS

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O PUBLIKACIJI

ABOUT THE PUBLICATION

Publikacija *Sećanje grada* predstavlja istovremeno jedan od rezultata istoimenog projekta i dosije o aktivnostima realizovanim u okviru njega.

Zamišljena kao sredstvo dokumentovanja procesa realizacije projekta i diseminacije saznanja i iskustava stečenih u toku njegove implementacije, publikacija svojom strukturom prati tok i hronologiju projekta. Sadržaj je organizovan u tri zasebne celine od kojih je svaka posvećena određenoj projektnoj aktivnosti.

Projekat *Sećanje grada* inicirale su Dušica Dražić, Slavica Radišić i Marijana Simu.

Projekat su realizovali Kulturklammer i Brunch u saradnji sa Kulturnim centrom Beograda.

Publication *Memory of the City* is a result of the eponymous project and in the same time the dossier on the activities that were realized within the project.

Envisaged as a means of documenting the whole process of the project realization and disseminating the knowledge and experiences gained through its implementation, the structure of the publication is based on following the chronology and flow of the project. Its content is organized in three parts, each one dedicated to the particular project activity.

The project *Memory of the City* is initiated by Dušica Dražić, Slavica Radišić and Marijana Simu.

The project is organized by Kulturklammer and Brunch, in partnership with the Cultural Centre of Belgrade.

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O PROJEKTU “SEĆANJE GRADA”

ABOUT THE PROJECT

“MEMORY OF THE CITY”

MARIJANA SIMU

ispred autorskog tima projekta
in front of the authors team

Prevela sa srpskog Translated from Serbian by MARIJANA SIMU

KONTEKST

Tokom poslednjih nekoliko decenija veliki broj gradova je svoj razvoj zasnovao na kulturi kao osnovnom pokretaču urbane i društveno-ekonomske regeneracije. Uspešni primeri ovakve prakse ukazuju na značajnu ulogu kolektivnog sećanja u formiranju identiteta grada, očuvanju njegove autentičnosti i izgradnji pozitivne slike kako kod svojih stanovnika tako i kod posetilaca.

Pored uloge definišućeg elementa kada je u pitanju identitet grada, kolektivno sećanje ima veliki potencijal za ostvarivanje povezanosti među njegovim stanovnicima. Budući da omogućava građanima da se identifikuju sa istorijom, materijalnim i nematerijalnim nasleđem grada u kome žive, kolektivno sećanje doprinosi jačanju osećaja pripadnosti, većoj

CONTEXT

During the last few decades a large number of cities based their urban development on the culture as the main driving force of their urban and socio-economic regeneration. Successful examples of this practice show the importance of the role that collective memory plays in the city's identity formation, as well as in safeguarding its authenticity and building the positive image of the city among its inhabitants and visitors.

Beside this, collective memory has great potential in achieving coherence among the city's inhabitants. Collective memory enables citizens to identify with history, as well as with the tangible and intangible heritage of their city. Thus, collective memory contributes to strengthening of the feeling of belonging to the local community and incites citizens' participation

odgovornosti i angažovanju građana u zajednici. Stoga je jedan od glavnih zadataka javnih kulturnih politika i praksi pronalaženje načina za aktivaciju sećanja kako u konstrukciji identiteta grada i negovanju njegove prepoznatljivosti, tako i kao instrumenta u funkciji urbanističkog planiranja, rekonstrukcije i revitalizacije javnih gradskih prostora i kulturno-istorijskih celina, a posebno, podsticanja učesća građana u razvoju grada.

Posmatran u datom kontekstu, Beograd kao grad koji se trenutno nalazi u fazi redefinisanja identiteta i repositioniranja na regionalnom, evropskom i globalnom nivou, predstavlja primer grada čije bi sećanje, i ono u javnoj i ono u privatnoj sferi, moglo da postane važan faktor kako u određivanju ključnih odrednica njegovog identiteta i revitalizaciji kulturnog nasleđa kao jednog od stubova njegovog kontinuiteta, tako i u snaženju urbanog kolektiviteta i uključenosti građana u planiranje budućnosti grada.

MOTIVI

U kontekstu projekta Beograd se posmatra kao grad u kome ne postoje jasno definisane politike sećanja, komemoracije i memorijalizacije i u kome su materijalni tragovi prošlosti u velikoj meri uništeni. Takvo stanje je delimično rezultat brojnih razaranja koje je grad preživeo u svojoj daljoj i bližoj prošlosti, ali i nekoherentnih javnih politika nasleđa i nedostatka odgovornosti i angažovanja građana na njegovom očuvanju i razvoju, što je posledica nepoznavanja načina ali i ograničenih mogućnosti učestvovanja u tim procesima.

in the development of the city. Therefore, one of the main tasks of public cultural policies and practices, is to find the way for the activation of memory in the city's identity construction and nurturing its authenticity. Preservation and revival of memory could also contribute to quality urban planning, reconstruction and revitalization of public spaces, cultural heritage and historical sites, as well as to participation of citizens in the city's development.

Considering Belgrade in the given context, as the city which is currently undergoing redefinition of its identity and the process of its repositioning at regional, European and global level, it might be expected that the memory (collective and individual) becomes one of the key generators of its identity. Activation of the memory in the city's development could become driving force for the revitalization of its tangible and intangible heritage and it could contribute to maintaining continuity of the city's urban development, as well as to strengthening of urban collectivity and involvement of citizens in planning and directing the future of the city.

MOTIVES

The project sees Belgrade as the city with the lack of the well-defined memory, commemoration and memorialization policies and the city in which the material traces of the past are mainly devastated. This is partly result of often destructions of its urban landscape during the recent and earlier past, but also of the incoherent heritage policies and the lack of engagement of citizens in the preservation and revitalization of the cultural heritage, which, among other reasons, can be seen

Osim toga, projekat se zasniva na prepoznavanju nepostojanja kontinuiteta u urbanom razvoju Beograda koje je materijalizovano čestim promenama gradskog pejzaža i tkiva, bez očuvanja memorije i tragova prošlosti, kao i transformacijom javnih prostora u funkciji manifestacije ideoloških i vrednosnih sistema vladajućih političkih režima. Dodatno, usled nedovoljno sistematičnog pristupa očuvanju i revitalizaciji nematerijalnog nasleđa, istraživanju i beleženju usmenih istorija i sećanja grada i njihovom nedovoljnom komuniciranju u javnoj sferi, potencijal ovih kulturnih resursa nije na adekvatan način integrisan u razvojne politike grada.

Konačno, ubrzani razvoj grada i intenziviranje njegove izgradnje i modernizacije tokom poslednjih decenija, procesa koji se, na žalost, najčešće ne zasnivaju na očuvanju kontinuiteta njegovog urbanog i socio-kulturnog razvoja, kao ni na očuvanju sećanja i kulturnog nasleđa, Beogradu preči novo brisanje slojeva istorije, narativnosti i memorije. Pored toga što narušava identitet i specifičnu atmosferu pojedinih gradskih prostora i celina, i vodi ka vizuelnoj uniformnosti i gubitku autentičnosti, ovakav pristup utiče na kvalitet života grada vodeći ka sve većoj otuđenosti stanovnika kako u odnosu jednih na druge tako i u odnosu na grad u kome žive.

IDEJA I REALIZACIJA

Projekat istražuje sećanje Beograda i nastoji da identifikuje različite modele uključivanja i očuvanja sećanja u razvojne politike grada, od onih koji spadaju u domen javnih kulturnih politika, zatim

as a consequence of limited possibilities to participate in those processes.

Apart from this, the project is based on the recognition of discontinuity in the urban development of Belgrade which is materialized by frequent changes of its urban landscape and fabric. Transformations that the city underwent were not based on the preservation of memory and layers of the past, but often on the manifestation of the ideological and value systems of the dominant political regimes. In addition, due to the inconsistent and unsystematic approach in the preservation and revitalization of intangible heritage, research and recollection of the oral histories and memory and their communication in the public sphere, the potential of these cultural resources is not adequately integrated in the city's development policies.

Finally, accelerated development of the city during the last decades, which implies enlargement, building and modernization, processes that are unfortunately rarely in line with safeguarding the continuity of its urban and socio-cultural development, faced Belgrade with the new erasure of the layers of its history, narrativity and memory.

Beside the fact that these processes harm identity and specific atmosphere of the certain urban spaces and parts of the city, and lead to the visual uniformity and lost of authenticity, it also affects the quality of the life in the city because it causes alienation both among inhabitants themselves and toward the city they live in.

IDEA AND REALIZATION

The project explores memories of Belgrade and seeks to identify different models and

delovanja nadležnih institucija kulture i civilnog sektora u kulturi, do onih u domenu umetničkih i kulturnih praksi grupa i pojedinaca.

Preispitujući i promišljajući specifičan značaj i potencijal sećanja za urbanu i socio-kulturnu regeneraciju Beograda projekat zagovara politike i prakse usmerene na očuvanje i uključivanje sećanja u urbanističkom planiranju i revitalizaciji javnih prostora i kulturno-istorijskih celina od značaja za istoriju i prošlost grada.

Realizacija projekta je obuhvatila sledeće aktivnosti:

I Realizacija umetničkog rada i izložbe BLUEPRINT umetnice Dušice Dražić (Kulturni centar Beograda, 17. avgust – 01. septembar 2011.)

II Međunarodni simpozijum „SEĆANJE GRADA - Politike i prakse očuvanja i uključivanja sećanja u razvoj grada“ (Kulturni centar Beograda, 12-13. septembar 2011.)

III Radionice i realizacija site-specific intervencija u javnom prostoru Trga Slavija (septembar 2011 / januar 2012.)

IV Objavljivanje štampane publikacije o rezultatima projekta (januar 2012.)

ways of preservation and integration of the memory in the development of the city, ranging from those which are in the domain of public policies, relevant institutions and civil sector in the field of culture, to those which are in the domain of art and culture practices of different groups and individuals.

The project examines the importance and potential of the memory for the urban and socio-cultural regeneration of Belgrade and advocates policies and practices aimed at preservation and integration of the memory in the urban planning, reconstruction and revitalization of the public spaces and historical places of the great importance for the past of the city.

The project implementation encompassed following activities:

I Realization of the artwork Blue-print and the exhibition by Dušica Dražić (Cultural Centre of Belgrade, 17 August – 1 September 2011)

II International Symposium MEMORY OF THE CITY - Policies and Practices of the Memory Preservation and Integration in the City's Development (Cultural Centre of Belgrade, 12-13th September 2011)

III Workshops and realization of the site specific interventions and installations in the public space of the Slavija Square (September 2011 / January 2012)

IV Publishing of the project results (January 2012)

PREDMET ISTRAŽIVANJA

Istraživanjem sećanja grada projekat se bavio na individualnom i kolektivnom nivou.

Individualno sećanje je predmet istraživanja umetnice Dušice Dražić čija se umetnička instalacija *Blueprint*, bavi istorijama i sećanjima stanara privatne kuće na periferiji Beograda na čijem mestu je predviđena gradnja nove stambene zgrade koja se ni dimenzijama ni izgledom ne uklapa u postojeće okruženje. Tematizujući *mesto individualnog sećanja*, rad ilustruje značaj beleženja usmenih istorija i ličnih sećanja stanovnika grada za očuvanje autentičnosti i identiteta urbanih celina van centralnog gradskog jezgra, a koje su uobličene i definisane intimnim/privatnim sećanjem i istorijama svojih stanovnika.

Kolektivno sećanje bilo je predmet istraživanja međunarodnog simpozijuma „Sećanje grada-politike i prakse očuvanja i uključivanja sećanja u razvoj grada“ i radionica sa studentima Arhitektonskog fakulteta i Fakulteta likovnih umetnosti u Beogradu koje su održane u periodu septembar-decembar 2011.

Svojim programskim konceptom simpozijum je omogućio sagledavanje oblasti kolektivnog sećanja iz perspektive različitih oblasti istraživanja. Između ostalog, simpozijum je proizveo naučno-teorijski okvir za bavljenje temom *mesta kolektivnog sećanja*, ali i za promišljanje mogućih načina oživljavanja i očuvanja sećanja u javnom prostoru i urbanom tkivu grada, što je poslužilo kao polazna osnova za dalje bavljenje ovom temom u okviru radionica. Poseban segment sim-

SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

The project explored the memory of the city at both levels - individual and collective.

Individual memory was the field of the research of artist Dušica Dražić. Her art installation *Blueprint* deals with the histories and memories of inhabitants of a private house located at the periphery of Belgrade, in whose place should be built a new building that probably will not be in tune with its surroundings, neither by its dimensions nor by its look. By thematizing *the place of individual memory*, the artwork emphasizes the importance of recollecting oral histories and personal memories of the city's inhabitants for safeguarding the authenticity and identity of urban spaces which are outside the central nucleus of the city and which are shaped by intimate/private memories and narratives of their inhabitants.

Collective memory was in the focus of the international symposium *MEMORY OF THE CITY - Policies and Practices of the Memory Preservation and Integration in the City's Development* and the workshops with students of the Faculty of Architecture and the Faculty of Fine Arts in Belgrade that took place during the period September-December 2011.

The concept of the Symposium enabled consideration of the collective memory from the perspective of different fields of research. In that way the Symposium produced scientific and theoretical framework for dealing with the topic of *the place of collective memory*, but also for reflecting possible ways of the revival and preservation of the memory in the public space and urban fabric of the city. Consequently,

pozijuma bio je posvećen upoznavanju sa istorijom, narativima i kolektivnim sećanjem vezanim za Trg Slavija, kao i sa pojedinim inicijativama usmerenim na istraživanje istorije mesta, njegovu revitalizaciju i reinterpretaciju za njega vezanih narativa. Ovaj segment programa trebalo je da proizvede kontekst za dalje razmatranje Trga Slavija kao važnog identitetskog repera Beograda i promišljanje mogućih načina za oživljavanje ovog gradskog prostora i ukazivanje na njegov socio-kulturni značaj.

U okviru radionica istraživano je kolektivno sećanje vezano za Trg Slavija kao javni prostor sa izraženim kolektivnim identitetom i mesto od opšteg značaja za istoriju i sećanje Beograda. Trg Slavija je u okviru radionica razmatran i promišljan kao primer gradskog prostora koji odražava istorijski i urbani diskontinuitet Beograda i čiji pejzaž beleži grube promene nastale kao posledica procesa brisanja memorije i materijalnih tragova prošlosti, čak i devastacije kulturnog nasleđa.

Konkretan rezultat radionica predstavljaju projekti učesnika/ca za spomenike i *site specific* intervencije i instalacije u javnom prostoru na temu sećanja i identiteta Trga Slavija. Javna prezentacija rezultata radionica realizovana je kroz niz intervencija u javnom prostoru Slavije i imala je za cilj oživljavanje sećanja na pojedine periode prošlosti ovog dela grada, kao i senzibilizaciju javnosti o mogućnosti i potrebi revitalizacije prostorno-arhitektonsko-spomeničke celine od izuzetne društvene i kulturno-istorijske vrednosti koja ima sve karakteristike mesta kolektivnog sećanja.

the Symposium generated basis for further examination of these questions within the Workshops. One segment of the Symposium was focused on the history, narratives and memory of the Slavija Square in Belgrade, as well as on presenting the initiatives aimed at exploring the history of the place, its revitalization and reinterpretation of the narratives related to the place. This part of the Symposium provided context for reflection of the Slavija Square as the significant landmark of Belgrade and different approaches for reviving this urban space and raising the public awareness on its socio-cultural significance.

Workshops explored the collective memory of the Slavija Square as a public space with strong collective identity and a place of great importance for the history and memory of Belgrade. Within the Workshops the Slavija Square was considered as an example of the urban space that reflects historical and urban discontinuity of Belgrade and the place whose urban landscape recollects rude transformations as a consequence of erasure of memory and material traces of the past which sometimes meant devastation of the cultural heritage.

Concrete results of the Workshops are projects designed by participants for monuments and *site specific* interventions and installations in the public space dealing with the collective memory and identity of the Slavija Square. Public presentation of the Workshops' results is realized through a series of interventions in the public space of the Slavija Square and it was aimed at reviving the memory on certain periods of the square's history, as well as at raising awareness of the community on the

U cilju što sveobuhvatnijeg sagledavanja problema koji je u fokusu projekta – nepostojanje jasnih i doslednih politika i praksi sećanja i memorijalizacije – kao i obraćanja različitim ciljnim grupama – stručna javnost, donosioci odluka, najšira javnost – projekat je zasnovan na primeni principa interdisciplinarnosti i realizovan je kroz istraživačko-edukativno-kreativni proces čiji krajnji rezultat predstavljaju jedan umetnički rad koji se bavi *mestom sećanja*, simpozijum za stručnu javnost, radionice sa mladima, *site specific* intervencije u javnom prostoru i dvojezična publikacija o rezultatima projekta. Kombinovanjem različitih metoda sam proces implementacije projekta je bio usmeren na omogućavanje novog čitanja i sagledavanja pravog značenja i značaja pojedinih gradskih prostora, kao i na pružanje doprinosa identifikovanju modela mogućeg delovanja zajednice u cilju građenja i negovanja kulture sećanja.

need and possibility for revitalization of this spatial-architectural-memorial whole of the great social, cultural and historical value which shares all the characteristics of *the place of collective memory*.

With the aim of applying comprehensive approach in the consideration of the problem that is in the focus of the project – the lack of clear and coherent policies and practices of remembrance and memorialization – as well as reaching different target groups – experts, decision makers, general public – the project implementation was based on the interdisciplinary approach and it was realized through a research-educative-creative process which ended in following outcomes: an artwork dealing with *the place of memory*, a symposium for experts, a set of workshops with students, *site specific* interventions in the public space and a bilingual publication on the project results. Through combining different methods the very process of the project implementation was directed towards enabling new reading and interpretation of the true meaning and importance of certain urban spaces and places, as well as toward contributing to identification of models for community engagement aimed at building and nurturing the culture of memory.



BLUEPRINT

Izložba Dušice Dražić The exhibition by Dušica Dražić

17 | 08 - 01 | 09 | 2011 Kulturni centar Beograda Cultural Centre of Belgrade





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SLAVICA RADIŠIĆ

Prevela sa srpskog Translated from Serbian by VESNA STRIKA

U maju 2010. godine ministar prostornog planiranja Oliver Dulić potpisao je novi pravilnik o etapnoj gradnji kojim je pokušano da se omogući brže i efikasnije izdavanje građevinskih dozvola za stambene objekte čija površina premašuje 800m². Novi pravilnik omogućava da gradnja započne već u roku od 90 dana od podnošenja prvog zahteva investitora za izdavanje informacija o lokaciji. Uvođenjem fazne gradnje država je omogućila da gradnja započne i bez kompletne dokumentacije i na taj način u neku ruku legalizovala princip divlje gradnje.

Pored toga novim načinom izdavanja dozvola briga o urbanističkom uređenju grada i potreba da se prilikom izgradnje vodi računa o lepoti i skladnosti zgrada i ulica, i postojećem identitetu naselja je zvanično stavljena u drugi

In May 2010, Serbia's Minister of Spatial Planning Oliver Dulić passed a series of new regulations on phased building, in order to facilitate the issuing of construction permits for residential developments with more than 800 m² of floor space. According to these new regulations, work can now start as early as 90 days from the date the investor submits the first request for getting information on the site. By introducing this form of phased building, the state enabled construction work to commence without all the necessary documents, thus effectively legalizing the principle of illegal residential development.

As a result of this new permit system, town planning and the need to consider the beauty and harmony of houses and streets and the existing identity of places, has officially been pushed into the background.

plan. Promenom urbanističkih uslova i omogućavanjem povećanja kvadrature i spratnosti na lokacijama na kojima to nije predviđeno urbanističkim planom legalizovana je praksa brisanja i džentrifikacije pojedinih stambenih naselja na teritoriji Beograda, prisutna već 20 godina, a intenzivirana u periodu posle 2000. godine.

Većina tih naselja, koja se nalaze u opštinama Zemun, Zvezdara i Voždovac, su nekada predstavljala ruralnu periferiju grada ali su procesom urbanizacije tokom poslednjih pet decenija postepeno integrisana u grad. Pa ipak, ova naselja su do danas uspela da ostanu oaze provincijalnog načina života karakterističnog za predratni Beograd sačuvavši specifičnu toplu atmosferu i usporen način života. Njihova osnovna karakteristika do nedavno je bila mala gustina naseljenosti i tipične prizemne kuće sa velikim zadnjim i malim prednjim dvorištima. Svoj specifičan karakter ova naselja su zadržala sve do početka devedesetih kada usled povećanog priliva stanovništva u Beograd i skoro zamrle državne stambene gradnje, započinje njihova transformacija i male prizemne kuće bivaju zamenjene stambenim zgradama, koje u potpunosti prekrivaju postojeće parcele proterujući tako dvorišta nekada tako važna u životu stanovnika tih delova grada. Izgradnja novog tipa stambenih objekata dovela je i do promene strukture stanovništva, a samim tim i do postepene promene identiteta naselja. Novi stanovnici donose nove navike i način života, a vremenom će skoro u potpunosti izbrisati tragove prošlog vremena a specifičan karakter ovih naselja će nestati.

By changing the conditions in urban planning and simplifying the process by which larger houses are constructed at locations in which this had not been envisaged in zoning plans, the practice of neighborhood erasure – one that has been present in Belgrade for 20 years but that has intensified since 2000, has been legalized and the road to unbridled gentrification paved.

Most of the neighborhoods situated in the municipalities of Zemun, Zvezdara and Voždovac used to be rural outskirts. However, over the past five decades, they have been gradually integrated into the city. These suburbs have however, managed to retain the provincial feel that was characteristic of prewar Belgrade, preserving a warm atmosphere coupled with a slow pace of life. Until recently, their defining features were low population density and typical single-story houses with large backyards and small front yards. These suburbs had kept their specific character in a frozen state until the beginning of the nineties when, due to an increased influx of people into Belgrade, their transformation was begun. Small, single-story houses were thus replaced by apartment blocks that covered entire plots, eliminating yards that had hitherto proved so important for the lives of people in these parts of the city. The development of these new dwellings, led to a change in the structure of the inhabitants and consequently, to a gradual shift in the identity of the suburbs. New inhabitants brought new habits and a new way of life. The way things are proceeding, it would appear that in the not-too-distant future every trace of the past will be removed from the above-mentioned neighborhoods and the unique character of the suburbs will inevitably disappear.





Početak 20. veka Walter Benjamin i Siegfried Kracauer su, pišući o ubrzanim promenama kroz koje je tada prolazio Berlin, definisali grad i kao proces i kao događaj koji se odvija istovremeno i u vremenu i u prostoru. U tekstu "Ulice bez sećanja" Kracauer govori o pomahnitaloj potrebi za novim, izazvanoj ubrzanim razvojem kapitalizma koji polako ali sigurno briše sve tragove prošlosti grada.¹ Zgrade koje se ruše nisu samo zamenjene novim već su i u potpunosti izbrisane kao da nikad nisu ni postojale.

Slične opservacije mogu se primeniti i na Beograd, jer je i ovde svaka urbana transformacija donosila skoro potpuno brisanje sećanja na ono što je bilo pre. Neretko se o Beogradu govori kao o gradu čija se istorija teško može iščitati iz njegove arhitekture, o gradu bez temelja i vidljivih tragova sećanja. Savremene urbane promene i stalni protok kapitala, ljudi i robe nastavljaju ovu tendenciju potpunog brisanja posebnosti mesta i doprinose urušavanju i rasparčavanju ionako krhke zajednice.

Rad Dušice Dražić *Blueprint* problematizuje ove savremene promene u urbanom tkivu grada, istovremeno u kontekstu kolektivnog i individualnog sećanja i uloge mesta u definisanju identiteta pojedinca i lokalnih zajednica. Instalacijom *Blueprint* Dražić pokušava da problem transformacije i nestajanja starih beogradskih naselja ne stavi samo u kontekst savremenih društveno-ekonomskih promena već i da ukaže na koji način

At the beginning of the 20th century, writing about the rapid changes that Berlin was undergoing at that time, Walter Benjamin and Siegfried Kracauer defined the city as both a process and an occurrence, running simultaneously in space and time. In his article "Streets Without Memory", Kracauer wrote about what he interpreted as a burning need for newness caused by an accelerated development of capitalism that was slowly but surely removing all the traces of the town's history.¹ Buildings that were pulled down were not only replaced by new ones but were deleted - as if they had never existed.

Similar observations can also be applied to Belgrade, where every urban transformation has brought about an almost complete elimination of the memory of what was there before. It has often been said that Belgrade is a city whose history is difficult to read from its architecture, a city without foundations and visible traces of memory. Modern urban changes and the constant flow of capital, people and goods, have perpetuated this tendency to entirely eliminate the specificities of places and contributed to the collapse and breakdown of what was already a fragile community.

Dušica Dražić's artwork *Blueprint* problematizes the contemporary changes in the urban body of the city, in the context of collective and individual memory. At the same time, she puts into discussion the role of place in defining the identity of the individual and the community. Through her installation, the artist tries not only to tackle the issue of the transformation and disappearance of old

¹ Henrik Reeh, *Ornaments of the Metropolis*, MIT Press, Cambridge 1996.

¹ Henrik Reeh, *Ornaments of the Metropolis*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1996.

promene u urbanom tkivu grada utiču na pojedinca i njegovu vezu sa gradom u kojem živi.

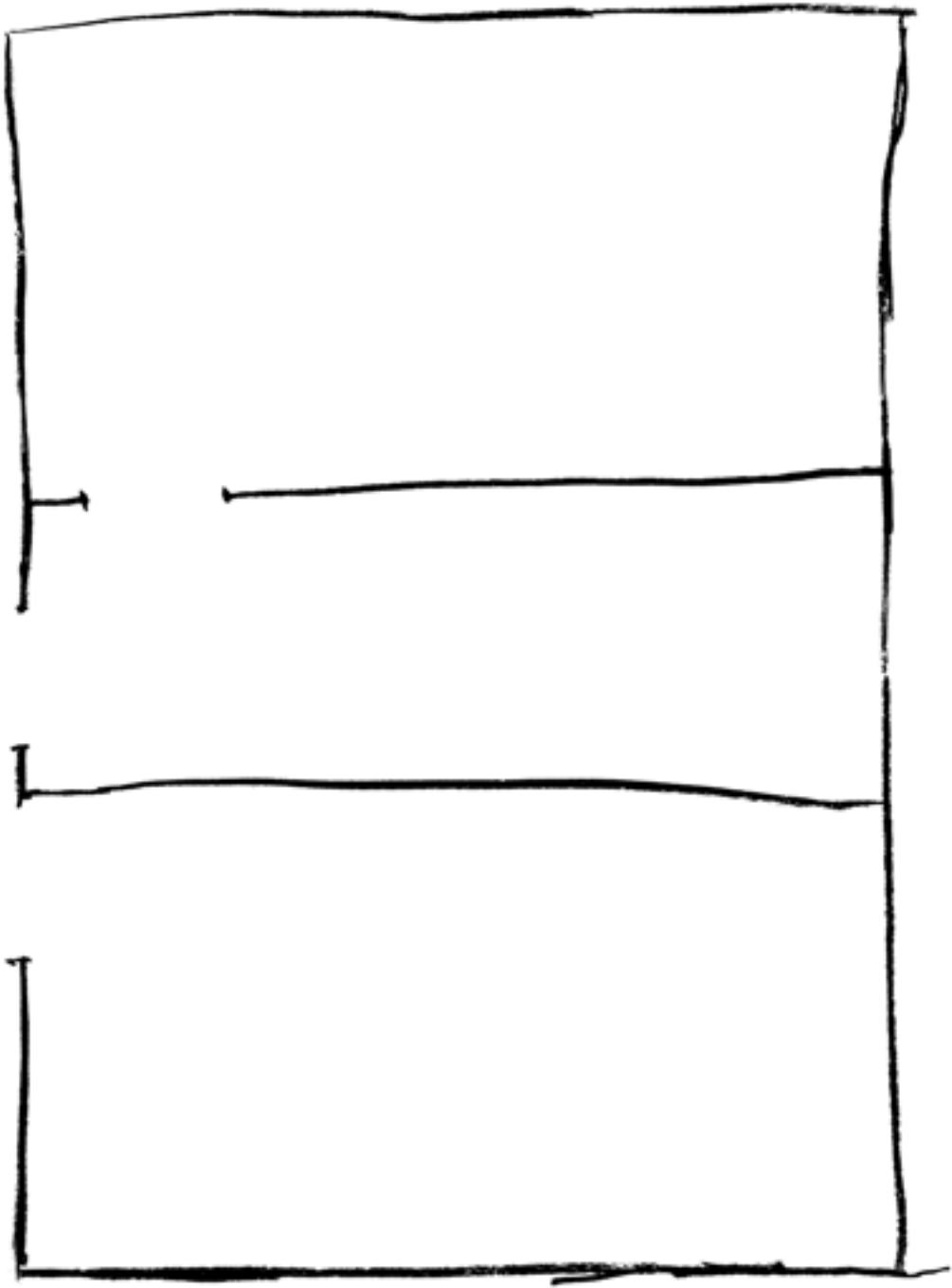
Rekonstruišući u galeriji trenutak nestanka/rušenja jedne tipične porodične kuće u jednom od beogradskih naselja, Dražić pokušava da u vremenu i prostoru uhvati trenutak promene, trenutak kad stara kuća nestaje a na njenom mestu ostaje samo prazno mesto. Prenoseći u galeriju šut, ostatke porušene kuće, kojim prekriva celi prostor galerije, ona primorava posetioce da hodaju po ostacima nekadašnjeg privatnog, ličnog prostora. Na taj način konstruiše privremeno "arheološko" nalazište, u kojem možemo naći, iskopati ostatke i tragove života nekadašnjih "ukućana". Dajući mogućnost posmatraču da u galerijskom prostoru hoda, prebire, kopa po ostacima kuće i na taj način uspostavi kontakt sa senzualnim, emocionalnim i materijalnim svakodnevnim ostacima predmeta, zidova, zvukova, snova, umetnica pokušava da probudi našu svest o tome što je ta kuća nekad predstavljala za njene stanare ali i za druge stanovnike koji su redovno prolazili pored nje, posećivali je. Iscrtavajući na zidu, po sećanju, osnovu srušene kuće ona pokušava da zaustavi vreme i da obeleži nekada postojeću topografiju kao istorijsku, locirajući je u vremenu i priznajući joj njenu kompleksnu emocionalnu i društvenu vezu sa prošlošću. Pa ipak, sve ove akcije ne govore samo o prošlosti ovog sada praznog mesta već na neki način govore i o njegovom potencijalu u budućnosti.

Kao što je već naglašeno, instalacija *Blueprint* se ne bavi samo društvenim

Belgrade's suburbs within the context of current social and economic changes but also, to point to the way these changes in the urban body of the city affect individuals and their connection to the space they live in.

By reconstructing in an art gallery the specific instant of the disappearance/destruction of a typical family house in a Belgrade suburb, Dražić attempted to catch a moment of change in space and time; the short period when the old is disappearing to make way for an empty space. The rubble of a demolished house was thus transported to the gallery and spread over its entire floor, forcing visitors walk over the remains of what used to be a private, personal space. In this way, a temporary 'archaeological' site was created, in which visitors could find and dig out the remains and traces of the life of the former 'household members'. The visitors were encouraged to walk around the gallery space, pick out things, search through the remains of the house and come into contact with the sensual, emotional and material remains of everyday objects, walls, sounds and dreams; becoming as a result aware of what that house used to represent for its inhabitants and for other residents who regularly passed by or visited it. By drawing from memory the blueprint of the house on the gallery wall, Dražić attempted to stop time and to mark the former topography as historic, locating it in time and recognizing its complex emotional and social connection with the past. Still, all these actions do not simply speak about the past of this empty place but also about its future potential.

As pointed out earlier, the installation *Blueprint* does not only deal with the social and economic consequences brought



i ekonomskim posledicama koje donose urbanističke promene. Kao i većina umetničkih radova koji se bave gradom ovaj rad poseduje i specifičnu autobiografsku notu, i jednim delom govori o važnosti mesta u izgradnji ličnog identiteta. Mapiranjem praznih mesta koja svedoče o promenama u urbanoj strukturi grada, Dražić ne oživljava samo sećanje na nekadašnji način života već istovremeno pokušava i da probudi lično sećanje na deo života proveden u sličnoj kući i na taj način uspostavi kontakt sa svojim nekadašnjim identitetom.

Vraćanjem na mesto nekadašnjeg života, pogotovo ako je prekid bio dugačak a promene velike, svako od nas postaje bolno svestan proticanja vremena. Svojom promenjivom strukturom grad uspeva da proces prolaznosti fiksira na način koji je u isto vreme konkretan i tajanstven. Sećanje na nekadašnji grad i njegove prostore nije samo puka čežnja za prošlašću i odbijanje promena. Svako ko živi u gradu imao je prilike da se suoči sa čudnim osećajem kada nešto staro i poznato, nešto što postoji još samo u pamćenju biva obdareno lepotom i značajem koju u realnosti nikad nije imalo. Ovakava nostalgija se posebno vezuje za neke skrajnute, siromašne, zapuštene delove grada kao što su beogradska naselja o kojima smo govorili.

Nostalgija za ovim izgubljenim gradskim prostorima i mestima u kojima život možda nije bio najbolji i najsretniji, u sećanju dobijaju posebnu melanholičnu lepotu i govore o razdaljini koja je pređena od tada, ne u smislu napretka već u smislu proživljavanja promena i prolaska vre-

about by changes in urban-planning. Like the majority of artworks dealing with the city, this one has a specific autobiographical note and in part speaks about the importance of place in the construction of personal identity. By mapping out empty places that are testimonies of changes in the urban structure of the city, Dražić not only brings back memories of life as it used to be but at the same time, tries to revive her personal memory of that part of her life which she spent in a similar house and to establish contact with her former identity.

When any person comes back to the locus of their former life, especially if the period of absence has been long and the subsequent changes massive, they become painfully aware of the flow of time. By its changeable structure, the city manages to fix the process of ephemerality in an actual and mysterious way at the same time. The memory of the former city and its spaces is not a mere longing for the past and a rejection of the changes that have occurred. Whoever lives in a city, has had a chance to experience that same, strange feeling when something old and familiar, something that only exists in our memory, gains some beauty and significance that it never had in reality. Such nostalgia is particularly associated with marginal, poor and neglected parts of the city, such as the Belgrade suburbs referred to in this text.

Nostalgia for lost urban spaces, places that might not at the time have been the best and happiest to live in, creates a unique melancholic beauty in our memory and tells us about the distance that has been covered since our departure, not only in terms of progress but also of life and its

mena. Tek sa suočavanjem sa neumitnim promenama u strukturi grada i prihvatanjem promena istovremeno i kao gubitka i kao bogastva, možemo adekvatno pristupiti iskustvu života u urbanom prostoru.

Prihvatanjem i prošlosti i budućnosti Beograda, može se ispuniti njegov potencijal u sadašnjosti a sećanje nam omogućava da ga prihvatimo i da se aktivno uključimo u njegovu promenu.

transformation due to the passing of time. Only by confronting the inevitable changes in the structure of the city and accepting these changes as both a loss and a treasure, we can adequately approach the experience of life in the urban space.

By accepting the past and the future of Belgrade, its potential in the present can be fulfilled and memory enables us to accept it and become actively involved in its change.





RADIONICA ANE NEDELJKOVIĆ
TOKOM IZLOŽBE BLUEPRINT
WORKSHOP BY ANA NEDELJKOVIĆ
DURING THE EXHIBITION
BLUEPRINT

20. 09. 2011.









UMETNIK KAO PUBLIKA

AN ARTIST AS THE AUDIENCE

Forum: publika o radovima vizuelne umetnosti

Otvoreni razgovor među publikom o aktuelnoj izložbi BLUEPRINT umetnice Dušice Dražić. Diskusija je realizovana 20. avgusta 2011. godine u Galeriji Kulturnog centra Beograda.

Forum: The Audience on Visual Art Works

An open discussion among the audience members about the current exhibition BLUEPRINT by the artist Dušica Dražić. The discussion was conducted on 20th August 2011 at the Gallery of the Cultural Centre of Belgrade.

Priredila Edited by *Dušica Dražić*

Transkript Transcribed by *Boba Mirjana Stojadinović*

Fotografije Photographs *Boba Mirjana Stojadinović*

Preveo sa srpskog Translated from Serbian by *NOVICA PETROVIĆ*

*BOBA MIRJANA
STOJADINOVIĆ*

Da li ste ikada prisustvovali rušenju kuće koja vam je bila draga i značila vam je? Da li biste to iskustvo mogli da podelite sa nama?

Have you ever witnessed the demolition of a house that was dear to you and meant a lot to you? Could you share that experience with us?

GORDANA BELIĆ

Rušila sam kuću moje babe i to sa nekih dvanaest – trinaest godina. Okupili su nas u selu, sve unuke, potomke, i napravili su akciju rušenja stare, žute kuće koja je stajala u dvorištu. Za nas klince to je bilo fenomenalno iskustvo, nešto što stvarno ne može da se zaboravi – rušiti kuću u kojoj su živeli i baba i deda i u kojoj smo se igrali.

I participated in the demolition of my grandmother's house when I was twelve or thirteen years old. They gathered us in her village, all her grandchildren, offspring, and organised a campaign to demolish her old yellow house which stood in her yard. For us kids, it was a phenomenal experience, something you just can't forget – demolishing the house where my grandmother and grandfather used to live and that we used to play in.

*BOBA MIRJANA
STOJADINOVIĆ*

Ti si tada imala dvanaest godina. Da li je postojao emotivni naboj?

You were twelve at the time. Was there an emotional charge to it?

Istovremeno se gradila nova kuća. Ne bi se pristupilo rušenju stare, da nova nije već bila u funkciji. To je rušenje nečeg što treba da se sruši... U tome ima nečeg ritualnog, što nadilazi lično, veličinu i značaj toga osećaš bez obzira što si mali. Kad rušiš nešto što mora da se ruši, bez obzira što je puno emocija, puno sećanja na baku, koja više nije živa, na naše igranje u toj kući, oko kuće, na neku lozu, da sad ne pominjem toliko ličnih i privatnih stvari, taj ritual rušenja jeste i svečani i značajan i težak.

Ima nečeg veličanstvenog u tome da kao dete dobijete priliku da srušite kuću. Nije bilo bolno. To je tako intenzivna fizička aktivnost, da prosto ne može da bude ništa negativno u tome.

Imam ponovljena iskustva. Ja sam Zora Čavić-Ilić, prevodilac i sasvim slučajno nisam, tog dana kada je gađana televizija, bila tamo, jer sam morala da budem svakog dana kao šef prevodilačke službe. To je strašno – kuća, zgrada, zdanje kome ste dali najbolje godine svoga života, ono je samo po sebi neležljivo. Ono je, sticajem okolnosti, politike, bezobrazlukom, itd, gađano. Ljudi su upozoreni i oni su namešteni da poginu. Ja to vrlo dobro znam, ali to je sada druga priča, jer je klan Milošević mislio da će to još pojačati neku ljubav prema njima. I to vas boli prosto fizički, tako da me boli i

A new house was being built at the same time. They wouldn't have embarked on demolishing the old house if the new one had not already been functional. What was demolished was meant to be demolished... There is something ritual about it, something that transcends the personal, you feel the magnitude and the importance of that even though you're just a kid. When you demolish something that has to be demolished, regardless of the fact that it's charged with emotions, that the place is full of memories of my grandmother, who is no longer alive, of our playing in that house, around the house, of some vine, let me not mention so many personal and private things, this ritual of demolition is solemn, significant and difficult.

There is something magnificent about getting an opportunity to demolish a house while you're still a child. It wasn't painful. It was such an intense physical activity that, quite simply, there could be nothing negative about it.

I have déjà vu experiences. My name is Zora Čavić-Ilić, I'm a translator, and on the day when the [Serbian] television building was targeted, it happened quite by accident that I wasn't there, normally, I had to be there every day as the head of the Translation Department. It was terrible – the house, the edifice to which you gave the best years of your life, in itself it was quite innocent. Due to a particular set of circumstances, politics combined with callousness and what not, the building was targeted. Some people were warned and others were left there to get killed. I know that only too well, but that's another story, for the Milošević clan

kad idem Nemanjinom ulicom i vidim besmisleno ostavljena dva zdanja levo i desno, Zlokovićeve, koja nemaju nikakvu lepotu više. Mi svi imamo i svoje i kolektivno pamćenje, ali ja pamtim i kad je, pošto smo tu stanovali odvajkada, gađano porodilište u Krunskoj ulici. Bila sam negde, mislim da je bio Uskrs i bila sam sa tatom da čestita on Uskrs drugu svom dalje, blizu Beogradske ulice i onda je on mene poneo... Ali ne želim da vas opterećujem, zato što kad se ruši kuća u kojoj ima bića, onda njihovi udovi postaju deo atmosfere, hoću da kažem lete okolo. Isto se sećam, onda sam bila možda dve godine, kad je bilo nemačko bombardovanje, prvo, i onda je... Bežali su ljudi prema Pašinom brdu (to se sada zove Lekino brdo, ne znam zašto) i ja samo pamtim da je tako strašno vređalo moje detinje osećanje da sve treba da bude na svom mestu, a čitavi zidovi su bili nestali.

Vrlo sam zahvalna autorki¹ za njen ogroman trud, zato što još jednom izložba ponavlja ideju da je strašno rušiti kad se ne mora. Kad se mora, to je druga stvar. Ljudi se iseljavaju, sređuju na drugoj strani, naravno zgrade koje imaju značaj – čuvaju se. Gde je konstruktivan duh jak, onda dođe do prave obnove.

...I pitam se zašto nije Narodna biblioteka, pošto postoje planovi i njene slike i divna fasada, obnovljena tamo gde je bila? Zašto? Da li mi pravimo groblja nekadašnjih zgrada? To ne vodi ničemu.

believed that people would love them even more after that. And it hurts you, in real physical terms, when I go down Nemanjina Street and see those two edifices that have been left there quite thoughtlessly, they were designed by [the famous architect] Zloković, and are now entirely devoid of beauty. We all have our own individual and collective memory, but I do remember, as we've always lived there, when the maternity ward in Krunska Street was targeted. It was Easter, I think, and I was in the company of my father, we were going to a friend of his, he wanted to wish him a happy Easter, we were near Beogradska Street, and then he took me in his arms and carried me... But I don't want to burden you with this, for when a house is demolished and there are living beings in it, then their limbs become part of the atmosphere, what I mean to say is, they fly in all directions. I also remember, perhaps I was two years old then, the first German bombing of Belgrade, and then... People were fleeing towards Pašino brdo (now it's called Lekino brdo, I don't know why), and I remember that it terribly offended my child-like sense of everything needing to be in its proper place, and entire walls were missing already.

I am very grateful to the authoress¹ for the great effort she put into this, because her exhibition reiterates the idea that it is terrible to demolish when there's no need for demolition. If it has to be done, that's a different matter. People move to a different place, and naturally, buildings that are of public importance are preserved. Where there exists a strong constructive spirit, then there is a real renewal.

¹ Dušici Dražić, autorki izložbe *Blueprint*

¹ Dušica Dražić, the authoress of the *Blueprint* exhibition.

...And I wonder, why wasn't the National Library, since the plans have been preserved and there exist photographs of it, why wasn't it rebuilt in its former place? Why? Are we making cemeteries of former buildings in this way? That leads nowhere.

*BOBA MIRJANA
STOJADINOVIC*

Na koje druge načine možemo da pristupimo Dušicinom radu? Da li je za ovaj rad neophodno znati kontekst... ?

In what other ways can we approach Dušica's work? Is it necessary to know the context of this work...?

Iznenadila sam sebe da sam doživela olakšanje videći ovaj rad, da dugo po beogradskim galerijama ne vidim ni jedan umetnički rad koji je živ i deluje direktno. Ovaj je to uradio. Pošto je ruševina vrlo jasna i svoje značenje odmah daje, nije kod mene proizvela osećaj neke mučnine ili nečeg tegobnog ili neke destrukcije, nego naprotiv – olakšanje da je nešto što se srušilo moralo da se sruši. Jer posle svakog ovakvog temeljnog rušenja ide neko novo micanje, građenje ili nešto novo.

I was surprised to feel relief at the sight of this work, for quite a long time I haven't seen in Belgrade's galleries an art work that is alive and affects you directly. This is that kind of work. Since a ruin is very clear and yields its meaning straight away, this did not produce in me a feeling of nausea, of something difficult to bear, or of some kind of destruction, quite the opposite – a feeling of relief that something that was demolished had to be demolished. For, after every such act of thorough demolition, something new occurs, building or something new.

GORDANA BELIC

Koje su bile vaše asocijacije, neka reakcija? Da li ste primetili nešto u gomili što vam je bilo zanimljivo? Neko mi je rekao na otvaranju: „A, unutra ima eksera! To je opasno!“

What were your associations in connection with this work, your reactions to it? Did you notice anything in this pile of rubble that was of interest to you? Someone told me during the opening of the exhibition: “Why, there are nails there! That's dangerous!”

*BOBA MIRJANA
STOJADINOVIC*

Rušenje nekada dá nešto novo, ali nekada ne. I izgovor je često, naročito kad su politička pitanja, da se nešto ne obnovi, namerno. Nisam uopšte paranoična, ali sam stari Beograd, i ja nisam mlada, tako da znam.

Demolition sometimes produces something new, other times it does not. And it is often used as an excuse, especially when it comes to political issues, not to renew something, quite deliberately. I am not at all paranoid,

ZORA ČAVIĆ-ILIC





but I'm an old Belgrader, I'm no longer young, so that I know about these things.

MIROSLAV KARIĆ

Meni su bile zanimljive reakcije ljudi koji su dolazili na samo otvaranje, dok smo stajali tu ispred galerije... Mislím da ih je prizor i neobičan prostor iznenadio i isprovocirao. Zanimalo ih je da li se srušilo nešto u galeriji. Prvo veče, osim nas koji poznajemo Dušićin rad, mnogi su postavili granicu ispitivanja terena i nisu šetali po prostoru (šutu). Ne znam da li su se posle osmelili i počeli da koračaju po šutu. Mislím da nisu navikli da vide ovakvu izložbu i da je za njih bio priličan... neću reći šok, ali iznenađenje, a opet s druge strane i provokacija.

What was interesting to me were the reactions of the people arriving for the opening ceremony, while we were standing in front of the gallery... I think that the sight of it and the unusual space surprised and provoked them. What they wanted to know was whether anything in the gallery had collapsed. On that first evening, with the exception of those of us who are familiar with Dušića's work, many people drew the line when it came to exploring the space of the gallery and did not walk about on the rubble. I don't know whether they plucked up enough courage to do so later on. I don't think that they're used to seeing this kind of exhibition and that, to them, it was quite a... I'm not going to say shock, but surprise, and on the other hand, it was a provocation as well.

SAŠA TKAČENKO

Živim sad na mestu gde je srušena takva kuća. Živim u toj novoj gradnji. Ne slažem se sa tim što se dešava, ali prosto situacija nameće takve uslove da ti sad moraš da ulaziš u te nove zgrade. Meni je interesantno menjanje arhitektonskog izgleda određenih krajeva, bilo da je Zemun ili drugi deo grada. Da li se to nama dopada ili ne je na kraju nebitno – to se dešava. A opet ja živim u nečemu s čime se ne slažem.

I live now in a place where such a house was demolished. I live in a new block of flats. I do not agree with this policy, but that's quite simply what the situation is like, it makes you obligated to enter these new buildings. What I find interesting is the changing of the architectural outlook of some parts of the city, be it Zemun or some other part of the city. Whether we like it or not is immaterial in the final analysis – it is happening. And then again, I am living in something that I don't agree with.

BOBA MIRJANA
STOJADINOVIC

Da li si razmišljao o tome pre ove izložbe?

Did you think about it before this exhibition?

Jesam, znao sam u šta sam se uselio i kad prolazim i drugim delovima grada opet uvek kažem: „Vidi ovo, vidi ovo!“. Nisam imao drugi izbor i uselio sam se. Ovaj rad mi sad to predočava. A opet mi predočava i nemoć, da ja kao pojedinac ne mogu ništa da promenim.

Sad si otvorio veliku temu: šta je to što treba ili ne treba menjati?

Ne znam šta je to, ali ja vidim i osećam tu nemoć pojedinca koji je prodao tu zemlju i on je isto prinuđen da je proda. Ja nemam rešenje, niti ga vidim. Iskreno.

Ja samo mogu, isto kao i Dušica, da posmatram. Ona ima direktan stav, a ja sam posle njenog stava, evo sada ovde, izneo svoj stav. Ne vidim način kako bi se to rešilo. Postoji istorijski tok, ruši se, diže se... Pitanje je ko određuje šta se ruši i kada. I naravno na koji način.

Meni se jako dopada kontrast koji postoji između ove gotovo kniferofske skice prostora, arhitekture, samoga šuta, ventilatora koji bi trebalo da pročišćavaju vazduh, klime koja i dalje radi, prostora koji i dalje postoji, kamera koje i dalje nadgledaju. Galerija je definitivno defunkcionalizovana kao takva, jedan lep korak, pa može se reći, nazad ka Smitsonu, napred u arte-poveru. Imam nekoliko pitanja. Prvo bi bila provinijencija šuta, da li postoji teror, da li postoji izbor, da li se zna šta je ovde bilo?

I did, I knew what I had moved into, and when I go through other parts of the city, I always say: “Look at this, look at this!” I had no other choice, so I moved in. This work makes it clear to me. And what it also makes clear to me is that, as an individual, I am powerless to change anything.

Now you have raised the big question: what is it that should or should not be changed?

I don't know what it is, but I see and feel the powerlessness of the individual who sold that plot of land, he was forced to do so. I have no solution to that, nor do I see one. Honestly.

All I can do, just like Dušica, is watch. She has a direct attitude, and after hers, I've outlined mine here and now. I don't see any way of solving this. There is a historical development there, things are demolished, built... The question is, who decides what is to be demolished and when. And, naturally, how it is to be done.

I quite like the contrast that exists between this almost Knifer-like sketch of space, architecture, the actual rubble, the ventilators that are supposed to be purifying the air, the air-conditioning that's still working, the space that still exists, the cameras that are still functioning for the purpose of surveillance. The gallery has definitely been defunctionalised as such, a nice step, one might say, back towards Smithson, onward to arte povera. I have a few questions, though. To begin with, what is the provenance of this pile of rubble, is it a case of

SASA TKAČENKO

*BOBA MIRJANA
STOJADINOVIC*

SASA TKAČENKO

*NIKOLA
RADIĆ LUCATI*

Ova kuća je srušena tačno pre nedelju dana i skoro kompletan šut te srušene kuće je prebačen u galeriju, preciznije onoliko koliko je galerija mogla fizički da primi.

U pitanju je porodična kuća koja je stara. Nekadašnji vlasnik mi je rekao da kuća ima između devedeset i sto godina. To se vidi i po materijalu, tu su još uvek čerpići – slama i zemlja koje su mešane i od toga su pravljene cigle. Sama kuća je mala, možda ima oko pedeset kvadrata, zaista simpatična, stara kuća. Međutim ova kuća je morala da se sruši, ona se raspala i to je bila njena neminovna budućnost.

Kratko sam pričala sa vlasnikom. Njegova baka je podigla ovu kuću. Prodali su je, ustvari zemljište, da bi se industrijski magacin proširio. Pitali su me otvoreno šta će mi šut. Objasnila sam o čemu se tačno radi i na žalost, videlo se da sam isprovocirala osećanja koja je on potiskivao. Saslušao je, gledao je u tu kuću još minut-dva, a zatim je otišao i više nije prisustvovao rušenju kuće. Verujem da se vratilo na površinu to što je potiskivao.

Žena koja ima kuću pored je rekla da je njoj ipak žao što se ruši. Volela je ujutru kada se probudi, da sedne na stepenište svoje kuće i da pije kafu. Tada je jedino tiho i tada bi gledala u tu staru kuću koja je ranije bila obrasla u travu. Smirivalo ju je.

To su priče koje sam čula za tih sat vremena, koliko je trebalo da se kuća sruši i šut utovari u kamion.

terror, was there a choice, is it known what happened here?

This house was demolished exactly one week ago, and almost all the resultant rubble was transferred to the gallery, that is to say, as much of it as the gallery could accommodate.

It was an old family house. Its former owner said to me that the house was between ninety and one hundred years old. You can see that by the material, it was made of adobe – straw and earth were mixed and bricks were made of that. The actual house was rather small, occupying perhaps around fifty square metres of space, a really nice-looking old house. However, it had to be demolished, it was falling apart and demolition was inevitable.

I spoke briefly with the owner. The house had been built by his grandmother. They'd sold the house, in fact, the plot of land it was on, so that an industrial warehouse could be expanded. They asked me quite openly what I needed the rubble for. I explained exactly what I had in mind, and sadly, it became evident soon that my words provoked emotions that he had been trying to suppress. He heard me out, stood there looking at the house for a minute of two longer, and then he left and never returned to watch the actual demolition. I believe that the emotions he had been trying to suppress emerged to the surface.

The woman who owns a house right next to it said to me that she was sorry it was being demolished. She enjoyed drinking coffee on the stairs of her house every

morning. That was the only quiet time of the day, and while drinking coffee, she would watch that old house, overgrown with grass. It calmed her down.

Those were the stories that I heard during the hour that it took to demolish the house and load the rubble onto a truck.

Kuća ima dušu, ima uspomene, nešto se tu volelo i zaključilo...

A house has a soul, it has memories, someone loved something there and made some decisions there...

ZORA ČAVIĆ-ILIĆ

I šut i ruševine imaju dušu...

Even rubble and ruins have a soul...

NIKOLA
RADIĆ LUCATI

Gde je ta tradicija velika, onda se kaže: ima duhova u toj kući, ne mora da bude zamak.

Where there is a lot of tradition, then they say: that house is haunted, it doesn't have to be a castle.

ZORA ČAVIĆ-ILIĆ

To je ono što ostaje, sećanje, uspomene, nešto u duhu što živi...

That is what remains, memories, recollections, something that lives on in the spirit...

GORDANA BELIĆ

U kom trenutku nešto što je privatni prostor, kao što je privatna kuća, postaje javno? Ovo je privatna kuća koja sad odjednom postaje potpuno javna stvar. Mi ne bismo znali za kuću u Bariču, malu, zaraslu travom, da nije bilo ove izložbe. To sad postaje zajedničko, što mi svi delimo, svi koji uđu u galeriju, svi koji se dotaknu toga...

When does something that is a privately owned space, such as a private house, become public? This is a private house which, all of a sudden, becomes an entirely public thing. We would never get to know about this small house in Barič, overgrown with grass, if it weren't for this exhibition. It now becomes common property, something we all share, whoever enters the gallery and touches it...

BOBA MIRJANA
STOJADINVIĆ

Kuća je uvek i javna. Ona je u nekoj ulici, u nekom gradu, uvek je i privatna i javna. A ovaj rad menja značenje kuće. Prome-

A house is always public as well. It is located in some street, in some city, it is always both private and public. And this

GORDANA BELIĆ

njen je kontekst i ovo je znak za nešto što živi na drugi način.

work changes the meaning of that house. The context is changed, and this is a sign for something that lives in another way.

ZORA ČAVIĆ-ILIĆ

Nije kuća javna, ako nije „javna“, nego je privatna, ona je vidna. Nije javni prostor vaša kuća, vaša lična kuća, od vašeg dede, nije javni prostor. Ona je privatno vlasništvo.

A house is not public, if it isn't "public" but private, it is visible. Your personal house, the house of your grandfather, is no public space. It is private property.

BOBA MIRJANA
STOJADINović

Ali šta je onda tu privatno?

But what is it that is private there?

ZORA ČAVIĆ-ILIĆ

Privatno je da vi to onda možete da otuđite, da vi možete tu da živite, da vam to niko ne može uzurpirati ako vi plaćate porez i vodite računa o toj zgradi, to ne može da bude eksproprisano i nacionalizovano.

What is private there is the fact that you can sell it, that you can live there, that no one can usurp it if you pay taxes and take care of the building, that cannot be expropriated or nationalised.

GORDANA BELIĆ

I privatn je život koji se vodi i u kući i oko kuće.

And the life being led inside and around the house is private.

NIKOLA
RADIĆ LUCATI

Jednom kad je zgrada pretvorena u šut, šut postaje politički materijal, pogotovu na Balkanu. Vi ne možete od izvnutih creva zgrade ili srušene zgrade na Balkanu posle devedesetih reći da niste pravili politički rad. Vi ne možete staviti korov u koji je zarastao srušeni Generalštab propale vojske, zapravo u deo koji je ta vojska kao svoj nus-proizvod ostavila kulturi i reći da niste uradili politički rad.

Once a building has been turned into rubble, that rubble becomes political material, especially in the Balkans. After the 1990's, in the Balkans, you cannot say, referring to the gutted entrails of a building or a demolished house, that you haven't been engaged in political work. You cannot refer to the weeds covering the ruined building of the Yugoslav Army Headquarters [in Belgrade, after the NATO bombing], actually, to the by-product that the Army bequeathed to its culture, and say that you haven't been engaged in political work.

BOBA MIRJANA
STOJADINović

Na koji način upliva to političko u privatni život – tvoj, Dušicin, moj, bilo koga ovde?

In what way, then, does the political enter private lives – yours, Dušica's, mine, of anyone who happens to be here?

Pepeo sarajevske biblioteke koji pada onako zajedno sa snegom, fino. I naricanje nad beogradskom bibliotekom, na primer. Onda imate nestanke džamija i građenje novokomponovanih crkava. Onda imate ljude koji nisu bili religiozni pre nego što su srušili nekome kuću. Tačno momenat u kome društvo u kome je osamdeset posto stanovništva sekularno, u društvo koje je osamdeset posto religiozno, je momenat kada to društvo počinje da ruši jednu ovakvu kuću.

Znači, šut u galeriji nije samo rad koji je smitsonovski lendarit sedamdesetih, ovde i danas, posle devedesetih više ne ide, i generacijama je više neće biti. I to je dobro što je tako. Ta virusna struktura vraćanja ruševine koja uvek dođe da nas poseti, dođe taj šut, dođe miris memle, dođe nešto što je nekome oduzeto, uništeno, prodato, raspadnuto...

Možda je ovo prilika da ja kažem javno nešto što nikada možda ne bih ni rekla.

Moji baba i deda su posle rata, kao previše bogata porodica u to vreme, seljačko domaćinstvo, bili pod uticajem politike kada im je oduzeto bukvalno sve što su imali. Ono što nije moglo da se odnese, to se porušilo. Skoro sva imovina... Jedna kućica je ostala i ne znam da li bilo šta drugo. Stoka pobijena, odvedena... Znači, jedna pustoš je ostavljena. Ljudi koji su pre toga živeli vrlo imućno su ostali bez sredstava za život. To je obeležilo život mog oca i njegove dve sestre. Možda

The ashes of the Sarajevo Library falling down along with the snow, in a fine mist. And mourning over the Belgrade Library, for example. Then you have the removal of mosques and the building of new-wave churches. Then you have people who were not religious before they demolished someone's house. The actual moment when a society wherein eighty per cent of the population are secular turns into a society wherein eighty per cent of the people are religious, that is the moment when such a society starts demolishing a house like this.

Therefore, the rubble in the gallery is not merely an example of Smithsonian land art of the 1970's, here and now, after the 1990's, this just won't do, and it will be so for generations to come. And it's good that it is so. That viral structure of bringing back ruins that always come to visit us, this rubble comes, the smell of dankness, there comes something that has been taken away from someone, destroyed, sold, or has fallen apart...

Maybe this is an opportunity for me to say publicly something that perhaps I'd never say otherwise.

After the war my grandparents, being considered to be too rich, a rural household, fell under the sway of politics when literally everything they had was taken away from them. Whatever couldn't be taken away was destroyed. Almost all their property... One small house remained, and I don't know if there was anything else. Their cattle was taken away or slaughtered... That is to say, they wreaked total havoc on the family estate. These people, who used to be

manje ta nemaština i to rušenje, koliko sramota kojoj su bili izloženi. Eto, to je moj primer uticaja politike.

very well off, were left without any means of support. That state of affairs marked the life of my father and his two sisters. Perhaps it was less the poverty and the destruction than the shame they were exposed to. Well, that's my example of how politics can influence our lives.

MILUTIN DRAŽIĆ

Dozvolite mi, čovek koji je van struke ove, iz struke šumarske da odgovorim na vaše pitanje – javno ili privatno. Kada sam prvi put došao ovde, osetio se miris nečega što umire ili je umrlo. Kuća koja je stara, koja je srušena, koja je u sebi sadržala vonj starosti koji je odživeo svoj život.

Do allow me, I'm a man from another profession, that of forest engineering, to answer your question – public or private. When I first arrived here, I felt the smell of something that was dying or had already died. An old house, a house that has been demolished, which contained the smell of old age, of something that had lived its life.

Emocija ima svoju istoriju i ima svoj kontinuitet u novoj kući, koja daje novi život, nove sadržaje. Ona ne zadovoljava više stanovnike, u komforu, u onome što novo društvo pruža. Nova kuća daje nove vrednosti i ova se kuća zanemaruje sa gledišta njenog korišćenja. Ali ono što je u njoj proživljeno sigurno ostaje u sećanju večno onoga ko je tu živeo.

An emotion has its history and continuity in a new house, which gives a new life, new contents. It no longer satisfies its inhabitants in terms of comfort, of what the new society has to offer. A new house provides new values and this house is ignored from the point of view of its use. But that which was lived through inside it certainly remains forever in the memory of someone who lived there.

To je, mislim, najveći kvalitet razmišljanja o ovakvom prikazu jednog objekta koji je bio životni prostor, života jedne porodice ili više porodica ili više generacija. Onda mora čovek da razmišlja da je to neminovno, jer evolucija u svemu napreduje, pa evolucija u traženju komfora života, boljega načina korišćenja i prostora i okoline i svega oko sebe, i sve nove tehnologije i novih saznanja, ovo ne zadovoljava i ono je svoje odradilo.

That, I think, is the highest quality of thinking about such a presentation of an object that used to be a living space, to a family or a number of families or a number of generations. Then one must think in terms of its inevitability, for evolution goes on in every sphere of life, when it comes to searching for comfort, a better way of using space and one's surroundings, all these new technologies and new knowledge, and this no longer satisfies and has come to an end.

Ta kuća je odradila svoj život sa životom njenih stanara i ona nema više funkciju koju je imala. Da je ostala, pa da

That house lived its life through the life of its inhabitants, and it no longer has the

je posle vekova negde iskopana, ona bi bila istorijski značajna. Danas, u ovom svetu, u ovom momentu ove starosti ona nije značajna kao objekat, ali je značajna kao sredina u kojoj se život odvijao i gde se život završio u perimetru njenog prostiranja. To je više filozofsko razmišljanje i više filozofska opservacija ljudi kada pokušaju da shvate objekat i one koji su u tom objektu živeli i sa tim živeli i morali su da praktično raskinu taj suživot. Ali sigurno nisu raskinuli sećanja, emocije i ono sve što su doživeli u tom periodu dok je ta kuća postojala. Ona ostaje kao sećanje, nema je više kao objekta i to je možda jedan kvalitet koji treba da se neguje.

Vi, Dušice, ste prave emocije pobudili u ljudima. Bar što se mene tiče, i vrlo je važno imati ovakvu izložbu.

Meni je žao što Snežana Stamenković nije tu, jer sam nedavno imala razgovor sa njom kada je spomenula nešto zanimljivo, da ovakav rad predstavlja novi savremeni realizam.

Ustvari, snaga kojom deluje ovaj rad je taj brutalni realizam, ovo jeste realno.

function that it used to have. If it remained intact and was archeologically excavated after many centuries, it would be historically important.

Today, in this world, at this moment, this old, it is not important as an object, but it is important as an environment in which life unfolded and where life ended within the perimeter of its scope. That is philosophical thinking and a philosophical observation of people trying to understand an object and those who used to live in it and with it, and were practically forced to bring that cohabitation to an end. But they certainly didn't break with their memories, emotions and whatever they experienced during the period of that house's existence. It remains as a memory, it is no longer there as an object, and that is perhaps a quality that should be cultivated.

You, Dušica, have stirred genuine emotions in people. At least as far as I'm concerned, it is very important to have an exhibition like this.

I'm sorry that Snežana Stamenković is not here right now, for a short while ago I talked to her, and she mentioned something interesting, namely, that this work represents a new contemporary realism.

In fact, the power with which your work affects one amounts to brutal realism, this is real.

ZORA ČAVIĆ-ILIĆ

DUŠICA DRAŽIĆ

GORDANA BELIĆ



DUŠICA POPOVIĆ

Pre bi se reklo da ova izložba, kao i ona prethodna „Mesto događaja“ koja je održana u Domu omladine, spada u estetsku kategoriju pod nazivom kultura sećanja. Termin kultura sećanja označava specifičan metod pomoću koga se sećanje danas (i)racionalizuje. Tako se aktuelna sećanja ne prepoznaju (prozivaju) po kvalitetu ili važnosti upamćenog – sadržaj pamćenja često može podrazumevati sasvim efemerne ljude, događaje ili entitete koji zapravo predstavljaju tek gorivo za čin sećanja. To znači da se memoriji pristupa više kao medijumu, a manje kao odredištu/ishodištu.

Više nije relevantan identitet ljudi i (ne) sličnih pojava, već pokušaj da se dokaže da se savremeni život odigrava izvan domašaja identiteta, u odsustvu vlasnika. Radi se o izvesnoj mekoj artikulaciji, kompromisu između postajanja i nestajanja.

One might rather say that this exhibition, just like the preceding one, entitled “The Place Where It Happened”, held at [Belgrade’s] Cultural Centre “Dom omladine”, belongs to the aesthetic category referred to as the culture of memory. The term culture of memory designates a specific method through which memory is (ir)rationalised today. Thus current memories are not recognised (invoked) on the basis of the quality or importance of that which is memorised – the contents of memory may often presuppose entirely ephemeral people, events or entities that actually represent mere fuel for the act of memory. This means that memory is approached as a medium rather than as a destination/outcome.

What is relevant is no longer the identity of people and (un)related phenomena, but the attempt to prove that contemporary life unfolds beyond the reach of identity, in the

Kada govorimo o umetnosti, ali i generalno, postoji mogućnost da se stvari rađaju i u miru, a da nikada ne uđu u taj, donedavno povlašćen a danas neopravdano obeščašćen proces samodefinisanja u jakom smislu. Meni se čini kao da se ova izložba nalazi u jednom takvom među-statusu u kome očigledno ima prostora za bitisanje.

Mislim da je kvalitet ovog rada u tome što izaziva iskustvo sećanja, bez obzira na bilo kakve vremenske, političke ili društvene reference. Bilo ko ko uđe u galeriju, bez obzira na njegovo predznanje, moći će da se zaustavi i bez obzira da li zna koja je ovo kuća, kada je srušena itd., moći da doživi bar na kratko osećanje koje je vezano za sećanje i za kulturu sećanja. Mislim da je to najveći kvalitet ovog rada, što će estetika ruševine podsetiti svakog prolaznika na nešto.

Možda bi malo manje trebalo da se bavimo politizacijom i kontekstualizacijom ovog rada, koji zaista mislim da izlazi iz tih stega kontekstualnog.

Da bi neko razumeo ovaj rad kao umetničku intervenciju, mislim da ipak treba da bude upoznat sa „uzrocima i posledicama” moderne i savremene umetnosti. U suprotnom, rad može da

absence of the owner. It is a soft articulation of sorts, a compromise between existence and disappearance.

Speaking of art, but also more generally, there is a possibility that things are born and die without ever entering that process of self-definition in strong terms, privileged until recently and unwarrantedly dishonoured today. It would appear to me that this exhibition possesses such an in-between status wherein there is obviously a space for being.

I think that the quality of this work is due to the fact that it elicits the experience of memory, irrespective of any temporal, political or social references. Whoever enters the gallery, no matter what his or her previous knowledge may be, will be able to stop and, regardless of whether he or she knows which house this is, when it was demolished and so on, he or she will be able to experience, even if only briefly, a feeling connected with memory and the culture of memory. I think that the greatest quality of this work is that the aesthetics of ruins will remind each and every passer-by of something.

Perhaps we should deal to a lesser degree with the politicising and contextualisation of this work, which, I really do believe, goes beyond the vise of the contextual.

If someone is to understand this work as an artistic intervention, I think he or she ought to be acquainted with the “causes and consequences” of modern and contemporary art, after all. Otherwise, this work

ANA BOGDANOVIĆ

DUŠICA POPOVIĆ

se percipira, kako je već primećeno, kao običan odron. Naravno, svaka reakcija je legitimna ali, da bi neko profilisao prvobitnu impresiju i time stvorio sopstvene uslove pod kojima će neko delo posmatrati, on mora da ima neko predznanje.

may be perceived, as has already been pointed out, as a mere landslide. Naturally, any reaction is legitimate, but in order to profile one's initial impression and thereby create one's own conditions for viewing a certain work, one would have to have some previous knowledge.

ANA BOGDANOVIĆ

Htela sam da se nadovežem da je različito čitanje rada upravo njegov kvalitet, ipak deluje na jedan univerzalan način.

I would like to add that different readings of the work actually testify to its quality, it does affect one in a universal way, after all.

*BOBA MIRJANA
STOJADINOVIĆ*

Kakva je odgovornost umetnika? I kakva je odgovornost publike? Kakav je odnos publike i umetnosti?

What is the responsibility of the artist? And what is the responsibility of the audience? What is the relationship between audience and art?

*NIKOLA
RADIĆ LUCATI*

Ja bih jako voleo da kažem – izuzetno velika, mada primeri radova koji su izašli zadnjih godina zapravo govore o tome da nije. Odgovornost je nešto od čega se aktivno beži. Svaka interpretacija rada automatski mora da počne iz tela konstrukcije umetnosti, istorije umetnosti, a ne zapravo iz proživljenog iskustva mesta, ljudi, nacije.

I would very much like to say – it is great to an exceptional degree, even though examples of works produced over the past few years actually testify otherwise. Responsibility is something that we actively flee from. Any interpretation of a work must automatically proceed from the body of art construction, art history, and not really from the lived experience of a place, people, nation.

ZORA ČAVIĆ-ILIĆ

Obostrana, značajna, svakako.

It is mutual, certainly significant.

*NIKOLA
RADIĆ LUCATI*

Bilo bi lepo da je tako.

It would be nice if it were so.

ZORA ČAVIĆ-ILIĆ

I ovoliko koliko nas ima, mi nešto značimo. Po istoj logici po kojoj kad bi se razgovaralo koliko je ljudi ubijeno, da li jedan ili desetero, to je uvek ubistvo.

However many of us are here, we mean something. Following the same logic, if one were to discuss how many people were killed, one or ten, it's always murder.

Ovo pokazuje i koliko je jedna nacija zrela i kako se odnosi prema prošlosti i zahvaljujući tome recimo nikome nije palo na pamet da uruši ili da poravnata tlo gde su Herculaneum i Pompei i zahvaljujući tome što se to nije nikad učinilo i nije bilo takve svesti, ni kolektivne ni pojedinačne, to postoji. Prema tome, i ovakve izložbe vrlo neobične i intrigantne, da upotrebim stranu reč, jesu značajne – hvala vam!

Dušica citira Jeff Wall-a koji opisuje fotografiju „The Crooked Path“ (Krivudava staza) : „Ovo je mala staza koju su bez plana napravili njeni korisnici, a da bi uradili nešto što uobičajena administracija nije mogla ili nije htela da uradi – to je blagi trag neposlušnosti ili nezavisnosti – ljudi čine stvari koje mi ne možemo ni da predvidimo.“

U tom smislu, koji model funkcionisanja možda možete da identifikujete kao sopstveni? Dušica nudi opcije: neposlušnost, nezavisnost, rad sa kolektivom ili sa zajednicom, ili neki sasvim drugačiji?

Nezavisnost, ali zavisi od situacije. Ako sto nezavisnih ljudi izađu, kao što smo činili, da lupaju u šerpe, ogroman je zvuk. Prema tome - nezavisnost.

Neposlušnost je nekada vrlo loša za zajednicu i za samu individuu i završice iza rešetaka, recimo. Ali nezavisnost, nezavisan duh, to je vrlo bitno da se ima, da se sačuva.

This also shows the extent to which a nation is mature to deal with the past, and it is owing to this, for example, that no one has thought of demolishing or flattening the ground where Herculaneum and Pompeii lie, and so such a thing has never been done, there has been no such consciousness, be it collective or individual, and they still exist. Consequently, exhibitions such as this one, very unusual and intriguing as it is, are significant – thank you!

Dušica quotes Jeff Wall, who describes a photograph entitled “The Crooked Path” thus: “This is a small path made by its users without anything in the way of a plan, and for them to do something that the ordinary administration could not or would not do – there was a slight element of disobedience or independence to it – people do things that we cannot even foresee.”

In that sense, which model of functioning could you perhaps identify as your own? Dušica offers the following options: disobedience, independence, working with a collective or a community, or maybe something entirely different?

Independence, but that depends on the situation. If one hundred independent people come out, the way we did a while ago, and start banging on their pots and pans, a huge sound is created. Therefore - independence.

Disobedience is sometimes very bad for the community and for the individual as well, who'll end up behind bars, say. But independence, an independent spirit, it is very important to possess, to preserve it.

BOBA MIRJANA
STOJADINVIĆ

ZORA ČAVIĆ-ILIĆ

Ja mislim da je čovek kompleksna ličnost pod uticajem raznih, i sopstvenih nazora i emocija i uticaja sa strane. Prema tome, nemoguće je biti jedno, ali je nezavisnost ono primarno. Uz nezavisnost, sloboda odlučivanja koja ga upućuje da njegova nezavisnost ne bude na štetu društva, na štetu drugoga ili samo za zadovoljenje svojih poriva ili svojih vrednosti. A sloboda je da odlučuje da li će se prikloniti nečemu što mu nudi ili neće, razmatrajući to sa gledišta svojih nazora i svojih ubeđenja. Prema tome, ja bih spojio nezavisnost i slobodu odlučivanja, nešto što je bilo suštinski važno za ličnost, njeno delovanje i njen razvoj.

I think that man is a complex personality under the influence of various views and emotions, be it his own or those of others. Consequently, it is impossible to be one, but independence is of primary importance. Along with independence, freedom of decision directs him so that his independence should not be to the detriment of society, to the detriment of another, or merely serve for the gratification of his own urges or values. And freedom is manifested in deciding whether he'll opt for what someone is offering to him or not, considering it from the point of view of his views and convictions. Therefore, I would join independence and freedom of decision, something that is of essential importance for a person, his activities and development.

Projekat UMETNIK KAO PUBLIKA predstavlja javni forum koji je započet u aprilu 2010. godine i do kraja 2011. godine je realizovao preko dvadeset diskusija o radovima umetnika: Zoran Todorović, Nikoleta Marković, Bik Van der Pol (Holandija), Milorad Mladenović, Dragana Žarevac, Jelica Radovanović i Dejan Anđelković, Nataša Teofilović, Vahida Ramujkić i drugih.

The project AN ARTIST AS THE AUDIENCE represents a public forum initiated in April 2010; by the end of 2011, it will have realised over twenty discussions about the works of the following artists: Zoran Todorović, Nikoleta Marković, Bik van der Pol (Holland), Milorad Mladenović, Dragana Žarevac, Jelica Radovanović and Dejan Anđelković, Nataša Teofilović, Vahida Ramujkić and others.

U diskusijama publika, heterogena grupa ljudi svedena na najmanji zajednički činičac u odnosu na umetničko delo, dakle – svi mi, uz pomoć moderatora, iznosi i međusobno preispituje mišljenja o odabranim radovima savremene vizuelne umetnosti. Diskusije daju mogućnost da se „razmislija naglas“, da se ove misli suprotstave bez pretenzija da postoji samo

Within the framework of these discussions, the audience, a heterogeneous group of people reduced to the lowest common denominator in relation to a work of art, that is – all of us, with the help of a moderator, present and mutually examine opinions on selected works of contemporary visual art. These discussions make it possible to “think aloud”, to confront these thoughts without pretending

jedan pravi odgovor, odnosno jedinstveno viđenje umetnosti i aktuelnog trenutka u kome se živi i stvara.

Autor koncepcije i realizacije projekta, kao i moderator diskusija je Mg Boba Mirjana Stojadinović. Projekat se radi u produkciji Udruženja umetnika DEZ ORG, u saradnji sa Kulturnim centrom REX i uz velikodušnu podršku Fonda za otvoreno društvo, Srbija.

that there exists only one correct answer, that is, a common view of art and the current moment, in which one lives and creates.

The author of the concept and the realisation of the project, as well as the moderator of these discussions is Boba Mirjana Stojadinović, MA. The project is realised by the Artists' Association DEZ ORG, in cooperation with the REX Cultural Centre, with the generous support of the Fund for Open Society, Serbia.



POLITIKE I PRAKSE OČUVANJA I UKLJUČIVANJA SEĆANJA U RAZVOJ GRADA

12 | 09 - 13 | 09 | 2011 Kulturni centar Beograda Cultural Centre of Belgrade



POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF THE MEMORY PRESERVATION AND INTEGRATION IN THE CITY'S DEVELOPMENT



MEĐUNARODNI SIMPOZIJUM “SEĆANJE
GRADA – POLITIKE I PRAKSE OČUVANJA I
UKLJUČIVANJA SEĆANJA U RAZVOJ GRADA”
**INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
“MEMORY OF THE CITY – POLICIES
AND PRACTICES OF THE MEMORY
PRESERVATION AND INTEGRATION IN
THE CITY’S DEVELOPMENT”**

MARIJANA SIMU, KULTURKLAMMER

Prevela sa srpskog Translated from Serbian by MARIJANA SIMU

Kao jedna od aktivnosti u okviru projekta „Sećanje grada“, 12. i 13. septembra 2011. u Kulturnom centru Beograda održan je međunarodni simpozijum „SEĆANJE GRADA - Politike i prakse očuvanja i uključivanja sećanja u razvoj grada“. Osnovno polazište za pokretanje simpozijuma predstavljalo je uverenje da je preispitivanje i kritičko sagledavanje prošlosti nužan preduslov kvalitetnog razvoja svake zajednice. Simpozijum je iniciran sa ciljem da ukaže na značaj istraživanja i beleženja usmenih istorija, očuvanja i komuniciranja mesta kolektivnog sećanja i kulturnog nasleđa, kao i da doprinese identifikovanju zadataka javnih politika i svih predstavnika zajednice u stvaranju uslova za očuvanje i uključivanje sećanja u razvoj grada.

Okupivši istaknute stručnjake različitih profila iz zemlje i inostranstva, među ko-

As one of the main activities within the project *Memory of the City*, the international symposium *MEMORY OF THE CITY - Policies and Practices of the Memory Preservation and Integration in the City's Development* was held at the Cultural Centre of Belgrade on September 12th and 13th, 2011. The Symposium is based on the premise that critical approach and examining of the past is basic precondition for the quality development/future of a community. It was initiated with the aim to stress the importance of exploration and recollection of the oral histories, as well as of the preservation and communication of the cultural heritage and the places of collective memory. The Symposium should also urge all relevant institutions and community members to take responsibility and engage in the preservation and integration of the memory in the city's development.

jima su kulturolozi, politikolozi, istoričari i istoričari umetnosti, geografi, umetnici, arhitekta (prof. dr Milena Dragičević-Šešić, dr Ljiljana Radonić, dr Olga Manojlović Pintar, prof. dr Aleksandar Ignjatović, umetnica/aktivistkinja Rena Raedle, mr Aleksandra Fulgosi, prof. dr Bertrand Levy, dr Katharina Blaas-Pratscher, dr Zoran Erić, istoričar Nenad Žarković, arhitekta Mustafa Musić, vajar Mrđan Bajić, umetnik Milorad Mladenović), simpozijum je otvorio prostor za razmatranje i sagledavanje sećanja iz perspektive različitih oblasti istraživanja, naučnih i društvenih disciplina.

Simpozijum je realizovan kroz dve programske celine, od kojih je jedna bila posvećena temi *Politike i prakse sećanja i komemoracije*, dok je u okviru druge obrađivana tema *Javni prostori i sećanje*. Svaka od pomenutih programskih celina se sastojala iz uvodnog dela koncipiranog tako da omogućiti teorijski okvir i uvid u relevantne studije slučaja, i zasebnih tematskih sesija od kojih je jedna bila posvećena Starom Sajmištu, a druga Trgu Slavija. Izbor ovih mesta kao predmeta razmatranja i analize zasnivao se na pretpostavci da, kao mesta istorije i sećanja Beograda, i Staro Sajmište i Trg Slavija, očitavaju diskontinuitet u urbanom i kulturno-istorijskom razvoju grada, nepostojanje jasno definisanih javnih politika sećanja i kulturnog nasleđa, kao i nemogućnost postizanja saglasnosti unutar zajednice o njihovoj budućnosti. Ovakvo polazište simpozijuma počiva na uverenju da analiza stanja u kom se trenutno nalaze ova mesta, kao i za njih vezanih politika i praksi sećanja, može

The Symposium gathered prominent experts in different scientific fields from the country and abroad, among whom were culturologists, politicologists, historians and art historians, geographers, artists, architects (Prof. Dr Milena Dragičević-Šešić, Dr Ljiljana Radonić, Dr Olga Manojlović Pintar, Prof. Dr Aleksandar Ignjatović, artist/activist Rena Raedle, MA Aleksandra Fulgosi, Prof. Dr Bertrand Levy, Dr Katharina Blaas-Pratscher, artist Dušica Dražić, Dr Zoran Erić, historian Nenad Žarković, architect Mustafa Musić, sculptor Mrđan Bajić, artist Milorad Mladenović). In that way the Symposium opened the space for consideration of different aspects of the memory.

The Symposium has been realized through two thematic units one of which was dedicated to the topic *Policies and Practices of Memory and Commemoration*, while the other examined the field of *Public Space and Memory*. Each unit consisted of an introductory part designed to provide theoretical framework of the topic in issue and presentations on relevant case studies. Apart from this, special part of the program consisted of two thematic sessions dedicated to the Staro Sajmište and the Slavija Square in Belgrade. Choice of these places as the subjects of examination and analysis within the Symposium is based on the presumption that both represent Belgrade's historical and memory places which reflect discontinuity in the urban development of the city, lack of clearly defined memory and heritage policies, as well as inability of the community to agree upon the future of these places. This premise comes from the belief that analysis of the current state of these two places, as well as the memory policies and practices related to them, could

doprineti prepoznavanju i određivanju mogućih modela njihove revitalizacije, kao i modela revalorizacije, memorijalizacije i revitalizacije drugih mesta i gradskih prostora od značaja za prošlost i sećanja Beograda.

POLITIKE I PRAKSE SEĆANJA I KOMEMORACIJE

Ova programska celina koncipirana je tako da omogući preispitivanje različitih aspekata oblasti sećanja, od onih koji se odnose na ulogu sećanja u konstrukciji identiteta zajednice, zatim sećanja kao polja i instrumenta u funkciji političkog/ideološkog delovanja u lokalnom, regionalnom i evropskom kontekstu, do pozitivnih efekata očuvanja i oživljavanja sećanja koji se ogledaju u podsticanju revitalizacije kulturnog nasleđa i uključivanja građana u razvoj zajednice.

Uvodni deo je obuhvatio predavanja prof. dr Milene Dragičević Šešić (Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu) „Spomenici, javne politike i umetničke intervencije - *top-down* i *bottom-up* politike sećanja“, „Sećanje kao polje političkog delovanja u kontekstu *Evropeizacije sećanja*“ dr Ljiljane Radonić (Univerzitet u Beču) i „Javni prostori Beograda: istorija, memorija i konstrukcija identiteta“ dr Olge Manojlović Pintar (Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije) i prof. dr Aleksandra Ignjatovića (Arhitektonski fakultet u Beogradu).¹

contribute to identification and selection of possible solutions and models of their revitalization, but also the approach that could be applied in the revalorization, memorialization and revitalization of other places and urban spaces of significance for the Belgrade's past and collective memory.

POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF THE MEMORY AND COMMEMORATION

This thematic unit was aimed at examination and discussion of different aspects of the field of memory, ranging from those concerning the role of the memory in the identity construction, memory as the field and instrument in service of political/ideological action in the local, regional and European context, to the positive effects of memory preservation and reviving which reflect in inciting revitalization of the cultural heritage and citizens' participation in the community development.

The introductory part encompassed lectures of Prof. Dr Milena Dragičević Šešić (University of Arts in Belgrade) - *Monuments, Public Policies and Artistic Interventions - Top-down and Bottom-up Memory Politics*, Dr Ljiljana Radonić (University of Vienna) - *Memory as a Political Field of Action in the Context of "Europeanization of Memory"* and Dr Olga Manojlović Pintar (Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade) and Prof. Dr Aleksandar Ignjatović (Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade) - *Public Spaces of Belgrade: History, Memory and Identity Construction*.¹

¹ Tekstovi koji prate predavanja održana u okviru uvodnih sesija simpozijuma objavljeni su u ovoj publikaciji.

¹ Texts of the authors who held lectures within the introductory sessions of the Symposium are published within this volume.

PROJEKTI I INICIJATIVE USMERENI NA REVITALIZACIJU I MEMORIJALIZACIJU MESTA NA KOME SE U TOKU II SVETSKOG RATA NALAZIO KONCENTRACIONI LOGOR SAJMIŠTE

Poseban segment programa predstavljala je sesija posvećena aktuelnim inicijativama usmerenim na revitalizaciju i memorijalizaciju Starog Sajmišta, mesta na kome se tokom Drugog svetskog rata nalazio koncentracioni logor. Cilj sesije bilo je predstavljanje različitih pristupa i inicijativa u obeležavanju, komemoraciji i komuniciranju mesta kolektivnog sećanja i stradanja ljudi, koje stanjem zapuštenosti u kom se nalazi odražava potiskivanje i zaborav zajednice usled nemogućnosti da se suoči s neželjenom prošlošću i istorijskim narativima koji se za to mesto vezuju. U okviru sesije umetnica i aktivistkinja Rena Raedle održala je prezentaciju „Poseta Starom Sajmištu - Sećanje kao dijalog i participativna praksa: starosajmiste.info“, dok je mr Aleksandra Fulgosi iz Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda predstavila projekat „Inicijativa za formiranje Memorijalnog kompleksa Staro Sajmište - programsko-prostorni koncept“.

Projekat „Poseta Starom Sajmištu“ predstavlja primer participativne prakse sećanja koja angažuje zajednicu i podstiče je na odgovoran odnos prema prošlosti. Projekat otvara prostor za pokretanje javnog dijaloga i diskusije na temu prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti ovog mesta sećanja. Bavljenje Starim Sajmištem, prema rečima Rene Raedle, podrazumeva ne samo bavljenje prošlošću samog mesta već i istraživanje šireg istorijskog konteksta - uzroka i posledica nastanka fašizma - doprinoseći tako prepoznavanju i sprečavanju njihove pojave i razvoja u

PRESENTATIONS ON THE PROJECTS AND INITIATIVES AIMED AT REVITALIZATION AND MEMORIALIZATION OF THE PLACE OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMP SAJMIŠTE IN BELGRADE DURING THE WWII

Special segment of the Symposium was the thematic session dedicated to the ongoing initiatives aimed at revitalization and memorialization of the Staro Sajmište - the place of the concentration camp during the WWII. The aim of the session was to provide an insight into different approaches and initiatives aimed at marking, commemoration and communication of this place of collective memory, whose current state of negligence reflects oblivion and suppression by the community caused by its inability to face the unwilling past and narratives related to the place. Artist and activist Rena Raedle held the presentation *A Visit to Staro Sajmište - Memory as Dialogue and Participative Practice: starosajmiste.info*, while Aleksandra Fulgosi, MA (Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade) presented the project *Initiative for Establishing the Memorial Complex of Staro Sajmište - Program/Spatial Concept*.

The project *A Visit to Staro Sajmište* represents an example of participative memory practice that engages the community and incites responsibility in dealing with the past. The project opens space for initiating the public dialogue and discussion on the topic of the past, the present and the future of this place of memory. Dealing with Staro Sajmište, in the words of Rena Raedle, means to deal not only with its past but also to research and examine wider historical context - causes and consequences of the Fascism - contributing in that way to the recognition and prevention of their present and future appearance. In this way the proj-

sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Na ovaj način, projekat predstavlja primer aktivacije potencijala sećanja u razvoju zajednice.

Dosadašnja realizacija projekta omogućila je da se ustanovi jedan od glavnih uzroka trenutnog stanja Starog Sajmišta, koje se prema rečima autorke može opisati kao „zaboravljeni koncentracioni logor“, i ključna prepreka skoroj promeni takvog stanja, a to je nedostupnost osnovnih istorijskih činjenica i podataka o njegovoj prošlosti i nepoznavanje istih od strane većine građana. Moguće rešenje i način za prevazilaženje ovog problema, prema rečima autorke, predstavlja omogućavanje „svakome da se uključi u javnu upotrebu istorije“, kao i edukacija građana i uključivanje svih grupa i zajednica u javni dijalog o budućnosti mesta, što implementacija projekta i podrazumeva.

Projekat „Inicijativa za formiranje Memorijalnog kompleksa Staro Sajmište“ predstavljen od strane Aleksande Fulgosi je rezultat istraživanja koje je tim stručnjaka Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda sproveo u cilju utvđivanja smernica delovanja i modela memorijalizacije koji bi bio najadekvatniji kada je u pitanju ovo mesto. U okviru prezentacije predstavljen je koncept memorijalnog kompleksa koji bi prema mišljenju tima Zavoda trebalo osnovati, a koji bi imao za cilj memorijalizaciju i revitalizaciju mesta i komuniciranje istorijskih narativa, kako onih vezanih za period izgradnje i postojanja kompleksa prvog privrednog sajma u Srbiji, tako i onih iz perioda kada je kompleks prilagođen potrebama koncentracionog logora i kada postaje mesto stradanja velikog broja ljudi. Prezentacija

ect represents example of memory activation in the development of the community.

Implementation of the project so far enabled recognition of one of the main reasons of the current state of the place, which can be described, in the words of the author, as “a forgotten concentration camp”. The same reason is also the key obstacle to the change of that state and that is unavailability of basic historical facts and data about the past of the Staro Sajmište and the widespread lack of information about the place. Author’s opinion is that the possible solution for overcoming this problem may be found in “enabling everyone to participate in the public use of the history”. Apart from this, there is a need for education of citizens and inclusion of all the groups and communities related to the Staro Sajmište in the public debate about the future of the place, which is implied by the project implementation.

The project *Initiative for Establishing Memorial Complex of Staro Sajmište – Program/Spatial Concept*, presented by Aleksandra Fulgosi, is a result of the research conducted by the team of experts from the Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade with the aim to identify and define guidelines and the model for memorialization which would be the most adequate considering the complexity of the Staro Sajmište. The presentation provided an insight in the concept of the memorial complex which, in the opinion of the project team, should be established and which should aim to revitalize the place and to communicate its narratives, both those from the period of the first commercial fair in Serbia and those dating from the period when the fair complex was transformed and adjusted for the concen-

je obuhvatila sve rezultate sprovedenog istraživanja i omogućila uvid u istorijski tok, osnovne kriterijume vrednovanja sa stanovišta zaštite kulturnog nasleđa, kao i predlog/skicu prostornog i programskog koncepta memorijalnog kompleksa. Predstavljeni programsko-prostorni koncept zasniiva se, prema rečima autorke, na prethodno utvrđenim vrednostima samog mesta sećanja, na osnovu kojih su definisana četiri osnovna elementa na kojima bi se bazirala misija nove institucije: komemoracija, dokumentovanje, istraživanje i obrazovanje. Prema rečima Aleksandre Fulgosi, projekat je direktno zavisian od političke volje i spremnosti najvišeg državnog vrha da ga podrži, i finansijski i adekvatnom zakonskom regulativom.

Uzimajući u obzir sve karakteristike i aspekte projekata predstavljenih u okviru sesije posvećene Starom Sajmištu, predlog stručnjaka Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda može se odrediti kao primer *top-bottom* politike sećanja, one koja je direktno zavisna od državnih politika i institucionalnog okvira. S druge strane, projekat „Poseta Starom Sajmištu“ koji je zasnovan na uključivanju što šireg kruga građana u sam proces implementacije, može se odrediti kao primer *bottom-up* politike sećanja, one koja je definisana kroz organizovano delovanje različitih grupa i pojedinaca.

Iako različiti u pristupu i metodologiji oba projekta ističu važnost zastupljenosti svih grupa i zajednica koje se vezuju za Staro Sajmište u procesu javnog dijaloga koji bi doveo do određivanja budućnosti ovog mesta.

tration camp and when it became the place of suffering and death of many people. The presentation encompassed results of the research and provided an insight into the historical course, basic criteria for valorization of the site in terms of cultural heritage preservation, as well as into the proposal for the spatial and program concept of the memorial complex. According to the author, the presented concept is designed after the previously defined values of this place of memory, upon which four elements of the future mission of the new institution were based: commemoration, documenting, research and education. According to Fulgosi, the project is directly dependant on political will and readiness of the state authorities to support its realization both financially and through adequate legislation.

Taking into consideration all the characteristics and aspects of the presented projects, the proposal made by the team of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade may be defined as an example of *top-bottom* memory policy, the one that directly depends on the state politics and institutions. On the other hand, the project *A Visit to Staro Sajmište*, which is based on inclusion of wide circle of citizens in the very process of the project implementation, can be defined as an example of *bottom-up* memory policy, the one that is designed through organized action of different groups and individuals.

However, despite their different overall approach both projects stress the importance of participation of all the groups and communities which are related to the Staro Sajmište in the public dialogue that will determine the future of the place.

JAVNI PROSTOR I SEĆANJE

Programska celina simpozijuma posvećena temi „Javni prostor i sećanje” koncipirana je kao odgovor na nepostojanje determinisanih politika javnih spomenika i umetnosti u javnom prostoru na koje između ostalog ukazuju način i procedure postavljanja spomenika i malobrojnost umetničkih projekata i instalacija u javnim prostorima Beograda usmerenih na komemoraciju i oživljavanje i očuvanje sećanja zajednice. U uvodnom delu predstavljeni su i razmatrani različiti primeri memorijalizacije i izgradnje javnih spomenika, kao i projekti umetnosti u javnom prostoru na temu sećanja. Pored toga, u cilju prenosa iskustava i primene uspešnih modela i praksi sećanja i komemoracije u javnom prostoru, predstavljeni su primeri pojedinih gradskih trgova koji su obnovljeni i oživljeni umetničkim radovima uz očuvanje sećanja, kao i jedan od mogućih načina funkcionisanja programa umetnosti u javnom prostoru na regionalnom nivou. Tako je u okviru ovog segmenta programa predavanje na temu „Gradski trg kao mesto istorije, sećanja i identiteta” održao prof. dr Bertrand Levy (Univerzitet u Ženevi), dok je predavanje „Programi umetnosti u javnom prostoru – načini organizovanja i finansiranja – Primer Donje Austrije i predstavljanje projekata na temu sećanja” održala dr Katharina Blaas-Pratscher (Public Art Program Lower Austria).² Kao primer prostorno-specifične umetničke prakse na temu sećanja, dr Zoran Erić (Muzej savremene umetnosti, Beograd) je predstavio rad Dušice Dražić *Blueprint* i druge relevantne projekte ove umetnice.

PUBLIC SPACE AND MEMORY

This thematic unit of the program was conceived as a response to the lack of coherent policies in the fields of public monuments and public art, which is indicated by the inconsistent procedures of building the monuments and realization of the art in public space projects dedicated to commemoration, and reviving and preservation of the memory in Belgrade. Introductory part of this thematic unit encompassed different examples of memorialization and building the monuments, as well as the public art projects dealing with memory. Apart from this, program included certain examples of urban squares that were renovated and revived through realization of art installations with emphasis on preservation of memory, and an example of the public art program functioning at regional level. With the aim of experience transfer and introduction of good practices, Prof. Dr Bertrand Levy (University of Geneva) held the lecture *Urban Square as the Place of History, Memory and Identity*, while Dr Katharina Blaas-Pratscher (Public Art Program Lower Austria) delivered presentation on *Lower Austrian Model and the examples of projects concerning the theme “Memory”*.² As an example of the art practice in the field of memory, Dr Zoran Erić (Museum of contemporary art, Belgrade) presented several relevant projects of the artist Dušica Dražić including her artwork *Blueprint*.

² Tekstovi koji prate predavanja održana u okviru uvodnih sesija simpozijuma objavljeni su u ovoj publikaciji.

² Texts of the authors who held lectures within the introductory sessions of the Symposium are published within this volume.

SLAVIJA – MESTO IZGUBLJENOG SEĆANJA I IDENTITETA
Poseban segment u okviru ove programske celine činila je panel diskusija „Slavija – mesto izgubljenog sećanja i identiteta“. Sesija je tematizovala Trg Slaviju kao javni prostor sa izraženim kolektivnim identitetom i mestom sećanja Beograda, ali i kao urbani fragment koji odražava istorijski i urbani diskontinuitet Beograda i deo grada čiji pejzaž beleži grube promene nastale kao posledica procesa brisanja memorije i materijalnih tragova prošlosti, čak i devastacije kulturnog nasleđa.

U uvodnom delu sesije Zoran Erić je predstavio različite modele i koncepte izgradnje javnih spomenika i projekata umetnosti u javnom prostoru u kontekstu modernog grada. Predstavljanjem relevantnih primera ilustrovao je promene do kojih je došlo u poimanju javne umetnosti/umetnosti u javnom prostoru, ali i u samom konceptu javnog spomenika, poput onog koji podrazumeva uključivanje ljudi – *interaktivan spomenik* ili koncept *protiv-spomenika* (counter-monument). U svom izlaganju Erić je istakao važnost dijaloga o javnom spomeniku i mogućnost njegovog uticaja na procese odlučivanja, rezimirajući da je značaj javne diskusije o spomeniku često veći od njegove izgradnje.

Pored toga, autor je govorio o društveno-prostornom konceptu prema kom se određeni prostor može tumačiti kao proizvod određenog društva a prostorne forme se mogu posmatrati kao društveni procesi i strukture. Analizom tih procesa i struktura mogu se otkriti i interpretirati različiti slojevi prošlosti i memorije,

THE SLAVIJA SQUARE – PLACE OF THE LOST MEMORY AND IDENTITY

The session thematized the Slavija Square as a public space with strong collective identity and the place of memory of Belgrade, but also as an urban fragment which reflects historical and urban discontinuity of the city and a part of Belgrade whose urban landscape recollects rough changes that ensued erasure of memory and material traces of the past, including even devastation of cultural heritage.

Introduction to the session was made by Zoran Erić, who presented different models and concepts of the public monuments and the public art projects in the context of the modern city. By presenting relevant examples he illustrated changes in the perception of the public art/art in public space, but also those in the very concept of the public monument, such as the one that implies participation of people – *interactive monument* or the concept of *counter-monument*. In his lecture Erić stressed the importance of dialogue about the public monument and its possible effects on the decision-making procedures. He made a résumé on the issue in question stating that sometimes the dialogue is more important than building the monument itself. Beside this, the author spoke about the socio-spatial concept that enables interpretation of the certain space as a product of certain society while forms of the space can be understood as social processes and structures. By analyzing those processes and structures it is possible to unveil and interpret different layers of the past and memory in order to understand the way in which certain urban space was generated. In accordance with that and speaking about the Slavija

i tako razumeti način na koji se generisao određeni gradski prostor. U skladu s tim, govoreći o Slaviji, razmatrana je i mogućnost da se ona sagleda na taj način - „kao proizvedeni prostor grada koji predstavlja mesto društvene, političke i ekonomske borbe, ali i mesto urbanih transformacija i mogućnosti da se na njemu interveniše umetničkim projektima“. Predstavljanjem rada umetničkog para Annette Weisser i Ingo Vettera koji je realizovan 2001. na Slaviji kao deo projekta „Nefunkcionalna mesta / Izmeštene funkcionalnosti“ u okviru Beogradskog letnjeg festivala 2001, Erić je ukazao na mogućnost analize, istraživanja i interpretacije javnog prostora kroz umetničke intervencije, čime se ostvaruje uvid u različite društvene i ekonomske procese koji su taj gradski prostor oblikovali.

U okviru iste sesije, pored uvodnog izlaganja, prezentacije različitih inicijativa i projekata koji se bave Slavijom održali su: istoričar Nenad Žarković, arhitekta Mustafa Musić, vajar Mrđan Bajić, umetnik Milorad Mladenović.

U svojoj prezentaciji „Sala mira, Sala borbe, Socijalistički narodni dom, Radnički dom, Narodni dom, Radnički dom kulture, bioskop Slavija, parking...“ Nenad Žarković je govorio o Sali mira, građevini od izuzetnog socio-kulturnog značaja i spomeniku kulture čija istorija i razvoj u velikoj meri reflektuju razvoj Trga Slavija i tako omogućavaju bolje razumevanje okruženja u kome se i sama nalazila. Sala mira, prvobitno sagrađena kao verski hram i centar okupljanja zajednice, menjala je više puta tokom svoje istorije namenu i vlasnike. Godine 1981. proglašena je za

Square, the author considered possibility to perceive it in the same way – “as generated space of the city that represents place of the social, political and economic struggle, but also the place of urban transformations and possibilities for interventions through art projects”. Through presentation of Annette Weisser’s and Ingo Vetter’s artwork that was realized at the Slavija Square as a part of the project “Dysfunctional places / Displaced functionalities” organized within the Belgrade Summer Festival in 2001, Erić pointed possibility of analyzing, investigating and interpreting the public space through artistic interventions which in the end can provide an insight in different social and economic processes that formed that urban space.

Beside introduction, the same session encompassed presentations on diverse initiatives and projects dealing with Slavija held by historian Nenad Žarković, architect Mustafa Musić, sculptor Mrđan Bajić, artist Milorad Mladenović.

The presentation *Hall of Peace, Hall of Struggle, Socialist People’s Hall, Workers’ Hall, People’s Hall, Workers’ Cultural Center, Slavija cinema, parking lot...*, held by Nenad Žarković, was focused on the Hall of Peace, the building of great socio/cultural significance and the monument of culture whose history and life-cycle reflect development of the whole Slavija Square to a large extent, enabling in that way better understanding of the whole environment of the square on which the building used to be located. The Hall of Peace was originally built as a religious temple and gathering place of the community, but the building changed its purpose and owners for several times

kulturno dobro, da bi 1991. bila srušena, i da bi se danas na njenom mestu nalazio javni parking, a ona, prema rečima autora, postala primer spomenika kulture koji postoji samo kao sećanje. Prateći dinamiku promena naziva, namene, vlasništva i same arhitekture zgrade Sale mira, Nenad Žarković je ukazao na diskontinuitet razvoja jedne tačke na Slaviji - „mesta sećanja na vrlo dinamičan život arhitekture“. Ukoliko se ovaj primer posmatra kao deo šire celine Slavije i kao predmet društveno-prostorne analize o kojoj je na simpozijumu govorio Zoran Erić, može se zaključiti da i Trg Slavija i Sala mira odražavaju diskontinuitet društveno-političkog konteksta čiji su proizvodi.

Različito od prethodno opisanih primera koji se bave širom socio-kulturnom analizom prostora i kulturnog nasleđa Slavije, Mustafa Musić je u prezentaciji „Slavija sa mog prozora - ispitivanje mentalne slike trga Slavija“, predstavljajući svoj crtež „Slavija sa mog prozora“ koji je nastao 1980. godine, izneo lični doživljaj i viđenje koje prema njegovim rečima predstavlja „lični zapis, otisak mentalne slike prostora.....neku vrstu aksonometrijskog prikaza kakofonije trga“. Iako zasnovan na iskustvenom poznavanju prostora i ličnim sećanjima vezanim za različite periode prošlosti i života na Slaviji, analiza crteža i šireg konteksta u kom je nastao omogućava da se sagledaju značajni društveno-politički, kulturni i ekonomski procesi i pojave koji su Slaviju učinili važnim mestom za identitet Beograda. U tom smislu, prezentacija Mustafe Musića ukazuje na značaj ličnih istorija i sećanja za konstrukciju kolektivnih identiteta i očuvanje kontinuiteta razvoja grada.

during its history. In the 1981 the building was proclaimed the monument of culture while in 1991 it was destroyed. Today, big parking lot is built at the place where the building was located, while, according to the author, the Hall of Peace became example of monument of culture that exists only as a memory. Following the dynamics of the changes of its name, purpose, ownership and the architecture of the building itself, Nenad Žarković indicated discontinuity in the development of one specific point on the Slavija Square – “memory of very dynamic life of architecture”. If we consider this example as a part of a wider whole of the Slavija Square and as a subject of *spatioanalysis* presented by Zoran Erić at the Symposium, it might be concluded that the Hall of Peace and the Slavija Square reflect discontinuity of socio-political context that produced these places.

Differently from the previously described examples that dealt with the wider socio-cultural analysis of the space and cultural heritage of the Slavija Square, Mustafa Musić delivered presentation entitled *Slavija Square from my Window - Examining the Mental Picture of the Slavija Square*. By focusing on his drawing *Slavija from my Window* from 1980, he provided a more personal impression and perception of the square. The author explained it in the following way: “personal record, imprint of the mental picture of the space....a kind of axonometric display of the cacophony of the square”. Even though it is based on experiential knowing of the space and personal memories related to different periods of the past and life on the Slavija Square, the analysis of the drawing and the wider context in which it was created enables

Predstavljajući svoj višegodišnji projekat „Yugomuzej“ (započet 1998. godine, veći deo kolekcije oformljen do 2002), Mrđan Bajić je ukazao na značaj memorije u prevazilaženju lične i kolektivne dezorijentisanosti nastale kao posledica raspada zemlje i gubitka značenja mnogih elemenata koji su činili kolektivni i individualni identitet njenih stanovnika. Od samog početka realizacije projekta, umetnik ga je vezivao za Slaviju, tačnije prostor ispod površine trga, „kao prostor koji bi istovremeno bio muzej i sklonište“. Izbor Slavije za postavljanje nepostojećeg muzeja umetnik je argumentovao njenim karakterom „mesta koje svojom složenošću označava vreme iz koga je nastajalo i na kom može da se zamisli nešto što ne postoji“. U kontekstu simpozijuma, Bajić je predstavljanjem projekta kojim nastoji da očuva fragmente izgubljenog identiteta i obrazlaganjem njegovog vezivanja za dati prostor ukazao na još jedan značajan aspekt Slavije, a to je njena priroda arhiva sećanja, koji beleži i upija slojeve i poruke različitih perioda prošlosti, i koji predstavlja materijalizaciju neodrživosti društveno-političkih okolnosti koje su uticale na njegovo strukturisanje i razvoj.

U svom izlaganju Milorad Mladenović je predstavio grupu konkursnih projekata koje je radio u saradnji s različitim timovima, a koji se prema njegovim rečima bave „sećanjem ili nekom vrstom vizije budućnosti“. Od nekoliko predstavljenih, Mladenović je na primeru dva koji su se bavili Slavijom i koji predstavljaju pokušaj da se odgovori i reaguje na zadate okolnosti, obrazložio svoja polazišta prilikom koncipiranja ovog tipa projekata.

perception and understanding of important socio-political, cultural and economic processes and phenomena that made the Slavija Square an important place for Belgrade's identity. In that sense, Musić pointed out the importance of private/personal histories and memories for construction of collective identities and preservation of the continuity of the city's development.

By presenting his project *Yugomuseum* (initiated in 1998, majority of the collection formed until 2002), Mrđan Bajić indicated the importance of memory in overcoming personal and collective disorientation caused by the dissolution of the country and the lost of meaning of numerous elements that formed collective and individual identity of its inhabitants. From the very beginning of the project, the artist connected it to the Slavija Square, or to be more precise, to the underground space of the square as “the space that could be a museum and a shelter at the same time”. Choice of Slavija as a location for the museum that doesn't really exist is argued by its character of “the place which by its complexity marks the time from which it emerged and on which one can imagine something that doesn't exist”. In the context of the Symposium, Bajić presented the project with which he intends to keep fragments of the lost identity and gave the reasons why he connected it with Slavija. In that way he indicated important aspect of the square – its role of the archive of the memory that recollects and absorbs layers and messages of various periods of time. Seen in this way, Slavija represents materialization of the unsustainability of the socio-political circumstances that affected its structure and development.

Prezentacija je bila usmerena na analizu odabranih konkursnih projekata (od kojih su pojedini bili i prvonagrađena rešenja),³ reakcije na rezultate javnih konkursa i polemike koje su tim povodom vođene u stručnoj i široj javnosti, kao i krajnje ishode pojedinih konkursa, koji su umesto do realizacije izabranih projekata doveli do poništavanja i potrebe za raspisivanjem novih. Na primeru predstavljenih radova i konkursa, autor je učinio jasnijim procedure i instrumente javnih institucija i politika u datoj oblasti, uticaj društveno-političkih okolnosti na samo formulisanje konkursnih zahteva i realizaciju nagrađenih rešenja, kao i način na koji „tekst konkursa u političkom, ideološkom i ekonomskom smislu usmerava rad“.

Prezentacije održane u okviru sesije „Slavija – mesto izgubljenog sećanja i identiteta“ istakle su mnogobrojne karakteristike ovog gradskog prostora zbog kojih se on može smatrati značajnim identitetskim reperom, kulturno-istorijskim nasleđem i mestom sećanja Beograda. Istovremeno, iako različite po svom sadržaju, prezentacije su ukazale na neke od faktora koji su uticali na to da se Slavija danas može opisati kao *mesto izgubljenog sećanja i identiteta*, od kojih su neki:

- prostorni, urbanistički, arhitektonski, istorijski, politički i socio-kulturni diskontinuiteti čiji je Slavija u svom današnjem obliku proizvod;
- neodređenost osnovne funkcije - gradski trg ili saobraćajno čvorište;

Milorad Mladenović presented a group of projects designed for the public commissions, which he realized in cooperation with different teams and which, according to him, deal with „memory or some kind of vision of the future“. Among several presented projects two were dedicated to the Slavija Square and Mladenović used them as a basis for elaborating his approach while working on this kind of projects. In his words, those projects represent an attempt of the author to react and provide an answer for the given circumstances. The presentation was focused on the analysis of the chosen projects (some of which were awarded),³ reactions on results of the competitions and debates among experts provoked by these results, as well as the final outcomes of the certain commissions that led to cancellation and the need for announcement of new open calls instead of realization of the awarded projects. By presenting those projects, the author illustrated and clarified procedures and instruments of public institutions and policies in the given field, and also the influence of socio-political circumstances on formulation of the requirements of the public commissions and on realization of awarded projects. Also, he stressed and clarified the way in which „text of the open call directs the work in the political, ideological and economic way“.

Presentations held within the session *The Slavija Square – Place of the Lost Memory and Identity* emphasized numerous characteristics of this urban space for which

³ Prvonagrađeni konkursni rad za Spomenik modernoj Srbiji (2003) koji je trebalo da bude izgrađen na Trgu Slavija povodom obeležavanja dva veka od Prvog srpskog ustanka

³ Proposal that won the first prize for the Monument of modern Serbia (2003) that was meant to be built on the Slavija Square for the occasion of marking two hundred years of the First Serbian Uprising

- nepostojanje političke volje i vizije kod donosilaca odluka o budućnosti mesta;
- nepostojanje jasno definisanih javnih politika i institucionalnog okvira koji bi omogućili revitalizaciju mesta, istraživanje i komuniciranje različitih slojeva prošlosti koje Slavija čuva;
- nedovoljna uključenost relevantnih stručnjaka, umetnika i građana u razmatranje mogućih rešenja za rekonstrukciju identiteta mesta i njegovu revitalizaciju.

Svojim programskim konceptom simpozijum je nastojao da otvori prostor za preispitivanje aktuelne politike sećanja kao jednog od elemenata politike identiteta pre svega kroz analizu njenih važnih aspekata - politike javnih spomenika i memorijalizacije i politike umetnosti u javnom prostoru – ali i kroz analizu pojedinih mera i instrumenata kulturne politike i umetničkih praksi koji doprinose stvaranju uslova za građenje i negovanje kulture sećanja.

Program simpozijuma koncipiran je kao odgovor na nepostojanje jasno definisanih javnih politika sećanja i komemoracije, institucionalnog okvira koji bi omogućio adekvatno konzerviranje i obeležavanje mesta sećanja u Beogradu, kao i na nepostojanje kontinuiteta i sistematičnosti u očuvanju i razvoju materijalnog i nematerijalnog kulturnog nasleđa. Pored toga, iniciran kao reakcija na neutemeljenost politika i praksi u oblasti umetnosti u javnom prostoru kao jednog od mogućih vidova komemoracije, oživljavanja i očuvanja sećanja zajednice, simpozijum

it can be recognized as an important landmark, the cultural and historical heritage site and the place of memory of Belgrade. At the same time, despite the difference of their contents, presentations indicated certain factors that influenced the processes that caused the current state of the Slavija Square, which can be described as *the place of the lost memory and identity*:

- spatial, architectural, historical, political and socio-cultural discontinuities which caused the current state of the Slavija Square;
- undefined primary function – urban square or traffic hub;
- lack of political will and vision among decision makers about the future of the place;
- lack of well-defined public policies and institutional framework that would enable revitalization of the place, research and communication of different layers of the past that Slavija recollects;
- insufficient participation of relevant experts, artists and citizens in consideration of possible solutions for the redefinition of the identity and revitalization of the place.

The Symposium is envisaged to provide space for examination of actual memory policies considered as a part of the broader identity policy, mainly through analysis of its important aspects – public monuments, memorialization and public art policies – but also through analysis of certain measures and instruments of cultural policy and art practices that contribute to the nurturing and strengthening of the culture of memory.

je zamišljen kao kontekst za razmatranje ovog važnog aspekta politike sećanja. U skladu s tim, program simpozijuma je bio usmeren na identifikovanje modela i instrumenata javnih politika i mapiranje umetničkih i kulturnih praksi u funkciji aktivacije sećanja u razvoju grada. Izlaganja i stavovi izneti u okviru predavanja i prezentacija, kao i diskusije vođene tokom simpozijuma, doprineli su kako rasvetljavanju nekih od razloga za datu situaciju tako i prepoznavanju nužnih koraka u cilju jačanja kulture sećanja i odgovornog odnosa prema prošlosti.

Nepostojanje definisane i koherentne politike memorijalizacije i javnih spomenika argumentovano je kroz analizu primera Starog Sajmišta i Trga Slavija, mesta koja su pretrpela grubo brisanje slojeva memorije i materijalnih tragova prošlosti, čija sadašnjost odražava nemar i nemogućnost društva da se suoči sa svojom prošlašću, i mesta o čijoj budućnosti ne postoji saglasnost unutar zajednice. Tako je Staro Sajmište, mesto stradanja i sećanja, usled kontinuiranog potiskivanja iz javne sfere postalo predmet zaborava, čak i opšteprisutnog nepoznavanja osnovnih činjenica o prošlosti mesta. S druge strane, može se reći da Slavija svojim sadašnjim stanjem i javnim diskursima formiranim oko ideje o rekonstrukciji i revitalizaciji ovog gradskog prostora, reflektuje slabosti zajednice, pre svega nemogućnost donošenja odluka, velikim delom uzrokovane diskontinuitetom društveno-političkog konteksta pod čijim je uticajem kao prostor oblikovana. Stoga se nepokretanje javnog dijaloga o revitalizaciji i memorijalizaciji Starog Sajmišta koji bi uključivao sve interesne grupe i zajednice, rušenje Sale mira

The program of the Symposium was conceived as a response to the lack of clearly defined memory and commemoration policies, institutional framework that would enable adequate conservation and marking of the places of memory in Belgrade, as well as on the discontinuity and the lack of systematic approach in preservation and development of the material and immaterial cultural heritage. Apart from this, it was initiated as a reaction to not-yet-established policies and practices in the field of art in public space as one possible way of commemoration and reviving and preservation of the memory of the community. According to this, the Symposium should generate the context for consideration of these important aspects of the memory policy and facilitate identifying the models and instruments of public policies and mapping the art and culture practices that are in service of the memory activation in the city's development. Conclusions and arguments made within the lectures and discussions during the Symposium contributed to identification of some of the reasons for the current situation in the thematized field as well as to recognition of the necessary steps in strengthening the culture of memory and dealing with the past.

The lack of well-defined and coherent memorialization and public monuments policies has been argued through analysis of two examples, the Staro Sajmište and the Slavija Square, as the places which underwent rude transformations as a consequence of erasure of the layers of memory and the material traces of the past, the places whose present reflects negligence and inability of the society to face its past, and the places without the com-

1991. godine kao zakonom zaštićenog spomenika kulture,⁴ kao i neuspele inicijative i nerealizovani projekti revalorizacije, reinterpretacije i rekonstrukcije Slavije,⁵ mogu razumeti i kao pokazatelj nedoslednosti i neodređenosti javne politike sećanja i nepostojanja neophodnog institucionalnog aparata i okvira.

Kada je reč o projektima umetnosti u javnom prostoru, kao osnovni razlog nedovoljne zastupljenosti ovog vida umetničkih i kulturnih praksi u istraživanju, revalorizaciji i artikulaciji javnih prostora i interpretaciji različitih slojeva i narativa prošlosti grada, prepoznato je nepostojanje adekvatnih mera i instrumenata javne kulturne politike i institucionalnog okvira koji bi podstakli i omogućili intenzivniji razvoj ove oblasti. Uprkos postojanju inicijativa od kojih su neke pokrenute od strane najviših struktura gradskih vlasti,⁶ nedoslednost i diskontinuitet u sprovođenju kulturne politike grada i ne-

munity consent about their future. Thus Staro Sajmište, the place of suffering and memory, which fell into oblivion due to the continuous suppression from the public sphere. On the other hand, it can be said that the current state of the Slavija Square, together with the public discourses formed around the idea of reconstruction and revitalization of this urban space, reflect weaknesses of the community, above all inability of decision making. Those weaknesses are mainly caused by the discontinuity of the socio-political context which also influenced shaping of the square. Therefore, the absence of the public dialogue about the revitalization and memorialization of the Staro Sajmište, demolition of the Hall of Peace in 1991 despite the fact that it was a monument of culture protected by law,⁴ together with unsuccessful initiatives and non-realized projects aimed at revalorization, reinterpretation and reconstruction of the Slavija Square,⁵ might be perceived as an indicator of the inconsistency and vagueness of the memory policy, as well as the lack of adequate institutional apparatus and framework.

When it comes to the art in public space projects, the lack of adequate measures and instruments of cultural policy and proper

⁴ Nenad Žarković, *Sala mira, Sala borbe, Socijalistički narodni dom, Radnički dom, Narodni dom, Radnički dom kulture, bioskop Slavija, parking... prezentacija održana u okviru međunarodnog simpozijuma „SEĆANJE GRADA – Politike i prakse očuvanja i uključivanja sećanja u razvoj grada“.*

⁵ Prvonagrađeno rešenje izabrano na konkursu koji su gradske vlasti raspisale 2003. godine za Spomenik modernoj Srbiji koji je trebalo da bude izgrađen na Trgu Slavija povodom obeležavanja dva veka od Prvog srpskog ustanka još uvek nije realizovan, kao ni prvonagrađeno rešenje na urbanističko-arhitektonskom konkursu za Slaviju iz 2005. – Milorad Mladenović, prezentacija održana u okviru međunarodnog simpozijuma „SEĆANJE GRADA – Politike i prakse očuvanja i uključivanja sećanja u razvoj grada“.

⁶ „Grad Beograd je započeo projekat postavljanja skulptura u slobodnom prostoru, rečeno je na današnjoj konferenciji za novinare u Starom dvoru. U prvoj fazi projekta biće postavljene skulpture na petnaest gradskih lokacija, a putem ankete i na predlog posebne komisije već je izabrano 10 umetnika čije će skulpture biti postavljene.... Poziv na učestvovanje u anketi dostavljen je na 107 adresa umetnika, istoričara umetnosti i novinara. Na poziv je odgovorilo 48 anketiranih, koji su predložili do 10 umetnika za čija dela su smatrali da zaslužuju da se nađu u javnim gradskim prostorima. Tako će u slobodnim prostorima biti postavljene skulpture pet najviše rangiranih umetnika.“ Preuzeto sa: <http://www.beograd.rs/cms/view.php?id=1315468> (stranici pristupljeno 21.12.2011)

⁴ Nenad Žarković, *Hall of Peace, Hall of Struggle, Socialist People's Hall, Workers' Hall, People's Hall, Workers' Cultural Center, Slavija cinema, parking lot... presentation delivered within the International Symposium "MEMORY OF THE CITY - Policies and Practices of the Memory Preservation and Integration in the City's Development".*

⁵ The award-winning proposal of the public commission of Belgrade's city authorities in 2003 for the Monument to modern Serbia that was meant to be built on the Slavija Square is still not built, same as the award-winning proposal for architectural public commission for Slavija in 2005 – Milorad Mladenović, presentation delivered within within the International Symposium "MEMORY OF THE CITY - Policies and Practices of the Memory Preservation and Integration in the City's Development".

postojanje dugoročnih sistemskih rešenja koja bi omogućila uključivanje relevantnih stručnjaka i građana u kreiranje razvojnih politika i strategija uzrokovali su da one budu ugašene i da ostanu bez konkretnih rezultata.

Jedan od najopštijih zaključaka izvedenih tokom simpozijuma jeste neophodnost javne diskusije i dijaloga koji bi uključio stručnjake, donosiocje odluka, ali i sve zainteresovane građane sa ciljem formulisanja koherentne i jasne politike sećanja koja bi obezbedila okvir za adekvatno vrednovanje i memorijalizaciju prošlosti, kvalitetnu konzervaciju i revitalizaciju kada su u pitanju postojeći spomenici, memorijalno i nasleđe uopšte, kao i za unapređenje oblasti umetnosti u javnom prostoru. U cilju kreiranja takve politike sećanja neophodno je implementirati kulturnu politiku koja podstiče i omogućava očuvanje i uključivanje sećanja u razvoj grada i paralelno s njom sprovoditi obrazovnu politiku koja bi takođe bila u funkciji građenja i negovanja kulture sećanja.

Razgovor i diskusija unutar zajednice i uključivanje u dijalog svih relevantnih aktera, interesnih grupa, stručnjaka i građana nužan su preduslov ne samo kada je u pitanju izgradnja javnih spomenika i memorijala koji predstavljaju izraz sećanja zajednice, već i kada je u pitanju realizacija projekata umetnosti u javnom prostoru koji doprinose artikulaciji gradskih prostora, interpretaciji kulturnog nasleđa i sećanja i identifikovanju građana sa javnim prostorom i preuzimanju odgovornosti za njegov razvoj. Javno razmatranje i diskutovanje ovih

institutional framework which would incite development of this field are recognized as the main reasons for rare and incoherent art and culture practices aimed at research, revalorization and articulation of the public space and the interpretation of different layers and narratives of the past of the city. Even though there were certain initiatives of the city's authorities in this field,⁶ inconsistency and discontinuity in implementing cultural policy together with the lack of the long-term systematic solutions that would enable participation of relevant experts and citizens in the process of creation of city's development policies and strategies have caused that those initiatives remain without concrete results. Overall conclusion of the Symposium was that it is necessary to introduce public discussion and dialogue that would be opened for experts, decision makers, but also for all interested citizens and which would be aimed at formulation of coherent and well defined memory policies that would provide framework for adequate valorization and memorialization of the past, quality conservation and revitalization of existing monuments, memorial heritage and heritage in general, as well as for upgrading the field of public art. With the aim of formulating such a memory policy, it is necessary to implement cultural policy conducive to

⁶ „The City of Belgrade has initiated the project of installing the sculptures in the public space – it was said today at the press conference held in Stari dvor. During the first phase of the project sculptures will be installed on fifteen locations in the city. The selection of sculptures that will be installed has already been made after the survey and proposal of the special commission.... Call to participate in the survey was distributed on addresses of 107 artists, art historians and journalists. 48 of them responded, and they suggested up to 10 artists whose work they considered valuable to find the place in the public space of the city. This way, sculptures of five best ranked artists will be placed in the public space.” Taken from: <http://www.beograd.rs/cms/view.php?id=1315468> (accessed on 21st of December 2011)

pitanja vodi ka postizanju saglasnosti u zajednici i, što je još važnije, omogućava da se utiče na procese donošenja odluka i dominantne politike sećanja.⁷ Politika sećanja do koje se došlo kroz participativan proces i dijalog unutar zajednice ne samo da omogućava kritičko sagledavanje i vrednovanje prošlosti, već može da stavi u dejstvo potencijal koji sećanje ima za razvoj zajednice u budućnosti.

preservation and integration of memory in the city's development. Along with this, it would be of utmost importance to establish adequate education policy that would be in service of building and nurturing the culture of memory.

Dialogue and debate within the community and inclusion of all relevant actors, interest groups, experts and citizens are prerequisites not only when speaking about building the public monuments and memorials which express the way community remembers, but also for realization of the public art projects which contribute to articulation of the urban spaces, to interpretation of the cultural heritage and memory and to personal identification of citizens with the public space that can result in accepting the responsibility for its development. Public process of examination and discussion of this questions leads to achieving consent within the community and, what is the more important, it enables influencing the decision making processes and dominant memory policies.⁷ Memory policy that is created through participative process and dialogue within the community not only that enables critical examining and valorization of the past, but it can also activate potential of the memory in the future community development.

⁷ Iznet stav je potvrđen delovanjem umetničko-teorijske Grupe Spomenik - <http://grupaspomenik.wordpress.com/> (stranici pristupljeno 05.12.2011)

⁷ This statement is confirmed in practice by activities of the art-theory group *Grupa Spomenik/Monument Group* - <http://grupaspomenik.wordpress.com/> (accessed on 5th of December 2011)



POLITIKE SEĆANJA I IZGRADNJA SPOMENIKA U JUGOISTOČNOJ EVROPI* MEMORY POLICIES AND MONUMENT BUILDING IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE*

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Prevela sa engleskog Translated from English by MILICA ŠEŠIĆ

* Ovaj tekst je nastao u okviru rada na projektu br. 178012 „Identitet i sećanje: transkulturalni tekstovi dramskih umetnosti i medija (Srbija 1989-2014)” (FDU) pod okriljem Ministarstva za prosvetu i nauku Republike Srbije. Duža verzija teksta na engleskom jeziku objavljena je u knjizi “Cultural Identity Politics in the Post-Transitional Societies”, Milošević A. i Švob-Đokić N. (ur.), IMO, Zagreb, 2011. This text is a result of the work in the framework of the project No. 178012 “Identity and Memory: Transcultural Texts of Drama and Media (Serbia 1989-2014)” (FDU) under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia. Larger version of this text in English was published within the book: Cultural Identity Politics in the Post-Transitional Societies, eds. Milošević A. and Švob-Đokić N., IMO, Zagreb, 2011.

U jugoistočnoj Evropi, na teritoriji gde su stvorene nove države, gde su i manjinske i većinske etničke grupe mobilisane u potrazi za identitetom,¹ pitanja vezana za kolektivno sećanje kao i javna politika sećanja, od velikog su značaja. U društvenim i humanističkim naukama, kultura sećanja² istraživala se sa različitih stanovišta, od formi memorijalizacije društvenih praksi do formi izgradnje društvenih, političkih i kulturnih identiteta. Brojna istraživanja u okviru savremenih društvenih nauka i studija kulture pažnju su usmerila na mesta sećanja, metode pamćenja (medijska konstrukcija sećanja) i, u manjoj meri, na politike sećanja i zaborava kao deo politike identiteta u društvima u tranziciji.

In Southeastern Europe, as a territory where new states have been created and both majority and minority ethnic groups have been mobilized in search of identity,¹ issues relating to memories are of major concern. In humanities and social sciences, the culture of memory² has been explored from different perspectives, from forms of memorialization of social practices to forms of construction of social, political and cultural identities. The proliferation of research within contemporary social and cultural studies focused attention on the places of memories, methods of remembrance (media construction of memories) and, to a far lesser extent, policies of memory and oblivion as part of identity policies in transitional societies.

¹ Appadurai, A. (2008) *Strah od malih brojeva*, Beograd : Biblioteka XX vek.

² Kuljić T. (2006) *Kultura sećanja*, Čigoja, Beograd.

¹ Appadurai, A. (2006) *Fear of small numbers*, Duke University Press.

² Kuljić, T. (2006) *Kultura sećanja*, Čigoja, Belgrade.

Ipak, u društvima traumatizovanim dugoročnim politikama zaborava i istorijskih tabua, gde privatna sećanja, kolektivno pamćenje i zabeležena, normativna sećanja nisu bila u skladu, društveni konflikti i ratovi, etnički zasnovana mržnja i razlike između javnog i zvaničnog mnjenja, doveli su do posebnog interesovanja za studije sećanja. Sećanje je proučavano kao glavni element u konstruisanju nacionalnog, etničkog ili bilo kog drugog grupnog identiteta koji se suprotstavljao drugim grupnim identitetima koji dele isti kulturni, politički, geografski i istorijski prostor. U Jugoistočnoj Evropi, konstrukcija i reprezentacija prošlosti i reinterpretacija istorijskih činjenica (dogadaja, istorijskih ličnosti, pojmova) u okviru različitih grupnih identiteta bili su u većoj meri proučavani fenomeni u obrazovnom sistemu i u medijima,³ ali nisu dokumentovani i istraživani u okviru javnih kulturnih politika.

Kulturne politike zemalja u tranziciji⁴ nisu se usudile da direktno pokrenu pitanja politike sećanja. Čak i kada je podsticanje nacionalnog kulturnog identiteta proglašeno glavnim ciljem, ovaj deo nacionalne kulturne strategije nije bio definisan ni zakonima (sem pitanja jezika), niti strategijama i instrumentima određene politike. Ponekad je to značilo uništavanje i brisanje „sećanja drugog“, zanemarivanje ili konzervaciju nasleđa

However, in societies traumatized by long-term politics of oblivion and historical taboos, where private memories, collective memories and recorded, normative memories were not coherent, social conflicts and wars, ethnic hatred and differences between public and official opinion brought a specific interest to memory studies. Memory was studied as a key element in the construction of national, ethnic or any other group identity which is opposed to other group identities sharing the same cultural, political, geographical and historical space. In Southeastern Europe, construction and representation of the past and reinterpretation of historical facts (events, historical figures, notions) within different group identities were quite studied phenomena, in the educational system and in the media,³ but not documented and researched within public cultural policies.

Cultural policies of countries in transition⁴ have not dared to touch on issues of memory politics directly. Even when reinforcing national cultural identity was proclaimed as a main aim, this part of national cultural strategy was defined neither in law nor through instruments. Sometimes it meant the destruction and removal of the “memory of the other”, neglect or heritage conservation, but without making it “alive”. These are three extremely different strategies regarding “dissonant heritage”⁵ and, when applied, they could provoke fear and

³ Đerić, G. (ur.), (2008) *Intima javnosti*, Beograd: Fabrika knjiga, Beograd, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju; Stojanović, D. (2008) *Konstrukcija prošlosti – slučaj srpskih udžbenika istorije*, <http://www.cpi.hr/download/links/hr/7008.pdf>, pristupljeno 20.04.2010.

⁴ Đukić, V. (2003) *Sedam uzroka tranzicione konfuzije*, *Zbornik Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti*, n. 6-7, Beograd.

³ Đerić, G. (ed.) (2008) *Intima javnosti*, Begrade: Fabrika knjiga, Begrade: Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju; Stojanović, D. (2008) *Konstrukcija prošlosti – slučaj srpskih udžbenika istorije*, <http://www.cpi.hr/download/links/hr/7008.pdf>, accessed 20 April 2010.

⁴ Đukić, V. (2003) “*Sedam uzroka tranzicione konfuzije*”, *Zbornik Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti*, No. 6-7, Begrade.

⁵ Tunbridge, J.E. and Ashworth, G.J. (1996) *Dissonant heritage, the management of the past as a resource in conflict*, New York: J. Wiley.

drugog vršenu sa ciljem da se ne dozvoli da ono „oživi“. Ovo su tri ekstremno različite strategije u pogledu „disonantnog nasleđa“⁵ i, kada se primene, mogu da izazovu strah i dalji egzodus (kao u slučaju Bosne i Hercegovine, gde su spomenici koji predstavljaju kulturu „drugog“ sistematski uništavani).

Glavni instrumenti politike sećanja kao dela nacionalne kulturne politike s namerom da preoblikuje kolektivni identitet (kroz menjanje kolektivnog sećanja) su:

- Stvaranje ili reprezentacija određenih vrsta narativa (finansiranje TV i filmske produkcije, pozorišnih projekata, prevoda, muzejskih kolekcija, itd.);
- Preimenovanje institucija, ulica i trgova, parkova i mostova, itd.;
- Stvaranje novih tipova svečanosti, nagrada, proslava – politika „davanja počasti“, itd.;
- Ponovno prisvajanje institucija, oblasti, ili čak i uništavanje „opasnih“ sećanja;
- Politika koja se odnosi na mesta sećanja, mesta sahranjivanja (mauzoleji, groblja, itd.) i izgradnju ili uklanjanje spomenika;
- Politike sahranjivanja i komemorativne politike;
- Odluke Vlade u pogledu nacionalnih simbola (himna, zastava ili drugi simboli koji predstavljaju nacionalni identitet).

U okviru politika sećanja u Jugoistočnoj Evropi koje utiču na kolektivnu svest, *politike spomenika* se najčešće koriste. Kroz spomenik podignut u javnom pro-

further exodus (as in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where throughout the territories monuments representing the culture of “the other” were destroyed).

Major instruments of memory policy as part of a national cultural policy intending to re-shape collective identity (through changing collective memories) are:

- the creation or representation of certain types of narrative (financing of film production, repertory theatres, translations, museum collections, etc.);
- the renaming of institutions, streets and squares, parks and bridges, etc.;
- the creation of new types of festivities, awards, celebrations, “homage” policies, etc.;
- the re-appropriation of institutions, sites or even the destruction of “dangerous” memories;
- a policy towards memory spaces, burial sites (mausoleums, graveyards, etc.) and monument building or removing;
- burial policies and commemorative policies;
- government decisions regarding the national symbols (anthem, flag or other insignia to represent national identity).

Within policies of memory in Southeastern Europe that influence the collective consciousness, *monument policies* are most often used. Through a monument erected in a public space the message is easily transferred to the community; it enables political promotion (PR); it gives “face” to new values; it demonstrates power; it gives an illusion of creating something for eternity; it facilitates representation; it provokes “the other”; it controls “the other”, and so forth.

⁵ Tunbridge, J.E. i Ashworth, G.J. (1996) *Dissonant heritage, the management of the past as a resource in conflict*, New York: J. Wiley.

storu poruka se lako šalje javnosti; to omogućuje političku promociju (PR); daje „lice“ novim vrednostima; pokazuje moć; daje iluziju stvaranja nečeg što će večno da traje; olakšava reprezentaciju; provocira „drugog“; kontroliše „drugog“, i tako dalje.

Ovaj rad se bavi politikama spomenika u Jugoistočnoj Evropi u periodu tranzicije, nacionalističkih pobuna, ratova i podela. Kroz istraživanje rekonstrukcije sećanja kroz oficijelne i populističke projekte spomenika, od Kosova polja 1989. do spomenika Aleksandru Velikom u Skoplju 2010, istraživanje treba da pokaže zloupotrebu sećanja i istorijske reprezentacije koje su korišćene za kreiranje novog „nacionalnog“, etničkog sećanja uz pomoć spomenika kao strateških oruđa.

Takođe ćemo proučavati umetnost i umetnike koji su doveli u pitanje zvanične politike „monumentalizacije“ istorijskog sećanja, stvarajući sopstvene *projekte spomenika*. Spomenici kao umetnički projekti, stalni ili prolazni, deo su kulture nepristajanja, kulture neslaganja, ali i platforme za raspravljanje i predstavljanje glavnih pitanja kulturne politike.

Metodologija istraživanja zasniva se na kategorijama koje su identifikovale Kodrnja i Slapšak,⁶ uz njihovo prilagođavanje i dalji razvoj u skladu sa potrebama ovog istraživanja. U skladu s tim identifikovana su tri modela strategije i politike spomenika primenjene u različitim fazama post-socijalističke tranzicije.

This paper will deal with monument policies in Southeastern Europe in the period of transition, nationalistic uprisings, wars and divisions. Through exploring the reconstruction of memories through official and populist monument projects, from Kosovo polje in 1989 to the Alexander the Great monument in Skopje in 2010, the research will try to prove the misuse of memories and historical representations as a form of hate speech, and to deconstruct this manipulation of memories used to create a new “national”, ethnic memory employing monuments as a strategic tool.

We will also study art and artists challenging the official policies of “monumentalization” of historical memories by creating their own *monument projects*. Monuments as artistic projects, permanent or ephemeral, are part of the culture of dissent, but also platforms for debating and presenting major cultural policy issues.

The methodology of the research will be based on categories identified by Kodrnja and Slapšak,⁶ re-adapted and further developed for the needs of this research. Thus we identified three different models of strategy and monument policy applied in different phases of the post-socialist transition.

The model of anti-culture:

- destruction (annihilation) strategy and strategy of oblivion;
- appropriation (renaming and re-contextualization) strategy;

⁶ Kodrnja, J. (2010) “Kultura kao afirmacija i negacija, Ne-kultura, Ne-kulturi”, u: Kodrnja, J., Savić, S. i Slapšak, S. (ur.), *Kultura, rod, identitet*, Zagreb: Institut za društvene nauke; Slapšak, S., “Antikultura protiv kontrakulture: kulturna politika tranzicije?”, *Republika n. 460-461*, 1-30 septembar 2009.

⁶ Kodrnja, J. (2010) “Kultura kao afirmacija i negacija, Ne-kultura, Ne-kulturi”, in: Kodrnja, J., Savić, S. and Slapšak, S. (eds), *Kultura, rod, identitet*, Zagreb: Institut za društvene nauke; Slapšak, S., “Antikultura protiv kontrakulture: kulturna politika tranzicije?”, *Republika n. 460-461*, 1-30 September 2009.

Model anti-kulture:

- strategija destrukcije (poništanje) i strategija zaborava;
- strategija prisvajanja (preimenovanje i rekontekstualizacija);
- strategija ignorisanja „drugog“;
- strategija provokacije „drugog“.

Model „kulturalizacije“:

- izgradnja spomenika u okviru novih politika identiteta;
- strategija dekontekstualizacije (univerzalizacija);
- muzealizacija nasleđa „drugog“ (politike poštovanja);
- strategija „zahvalnosti“.

Model neslaganja – kreativni dijalog:

- strategija kontra-kulture, strategija suprotstavljanja u okviru sopstvene kulture.

Istraživanje uzima u obzir glavne projekte spomenika u zemljama Jugoistočne Evrope, ali i dekonstrukciju zaštićenih spomenika i kulturnih i verskih institucija, kao i one aktivnosti civilnog društva (konstruktivne i destruktivne) koje javne politike ili podržavaju ili im se izrazito suprotstavljaju. Želimo da pokažemo kako kulturne politike, sa ciljem da uzdignu nacionalni identitet, predstavljaju nove vrednosti kroz strategiju izgradnje spomenika, ali i dozvoljavanjem populističkim pokretima da organizuju uklanjanje spomenika kao „spontane“ prakse, koje ne podležu zakonskoj regulativi.

PRVA FAZA – POST-SOCIJALISTIČKA TRANZICIJA:

PONOVO KREIRANJE NACIONALNIH IDENTITETA

Nakon prvih višepartijskih izbora održanih 1990. godine, u mnogim repub-

- strategy of ignoring “the other”;
- strategy of provocation of “the other”.

The model of “culturalization”:

- monument building within new identity policies;
- decontextualization (univerzalization) strategy;
- musealization of the heritage of “the other” (policies of respect);
- “gratitude” strategy.

The model of dissent – creative dialogue:

- counter-culture strategy, strategy of opposing within one’s own culture.

The research will take into account major monument projects in countries of South-eastern Europe, but also the destruction of classified monuments and cultural and religious institutions, as well as those actions by civil society (constructive and destructive) which are supported or clearly opposed by public policies. We would like to show how cultural policies, aiming to reinforce national identity, try to represent new values through a strategy of monument building, but also through allowing populist movements to organize monument removal as a “spontaneous” practice, not pursued by law.

PHASE I – POST-SOCIALIST TRANSITION:

THE RE-CREATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITIES

After the first multiparty elections held in 1990, in many republics of former Yugoslavia (especially Slovenia and Croatia), there were attempts to move towards Westernization and to become distanced from Yugoslavia and Yugoslavian common heritage, and these were first expressed through attitudes towards the socialist past. Thus, a process of renam-

likama bivše Jugoslavije (naročito u Sloveniji i Hrvatskoj), bilo je pokušaja da se krene u pravcu „vesternizacije“ odvajanjem od Jugoslavije i zajedničkog jugoslovenskog nasleđa, što je prvo izraženo kroz stavove o socijalističkoj prošlosti. Tako je ubrzo počeo proces promene naziva škola, ulica, trgova i institucija nazvanih po antifašističkim pokretima i herojima Drugog svetskog rata.

Raspad Jugoslavije doveo je do nestabilnosti, jer je prostorni okvir počeo da se menja, ne samo secesijom različitih republika, već i ratovima koji su im menjali granice, makar privremeno. Uništavanje koje je usledilo kako zbog rata tako i zbog ekonomske tranzicije, promenilo je urbane prostore, što je dalje oslabilo zajednice kojima vezu sa određenom oblasti omogućava kolektivno sećanje podržano i „objektima“ – materijalnim, nepokretnim nasleđem (zgrade, naročito crkve, gradski zidovi, fabrike, prodavnice, itd.). To sećanje im daje samopouzdanje i sigurnost, kao i osećaj identitetske pripadnosti. Podela države, uz uništavanje i vremenskog i prostornog okvira, dovela je u pitanje vrednosti i kolektivno sećanje. Fizičko razaranje gradova, spomenika i svih drugih materijalnih objekata koji su spajali ljude sa okolinom uništilo je čak i mogućnost da se održi sećanje.⁷

Nove nacionalističke ideologije značile su da je većina spomenika i prostora sećanja definisanih u prethodnom socijalističkom sistemu postala „disonantno nasleđe“, kao i zgrade i verski objekti povezani sa „sećanjem drugog“.

ing of schools, streets, squares and institutions in memory of anti-fascist movements and heroes of the Second World War quickly started.

The dissolution of Yugoslavia had brought instability, as the spatial framework started to change not only through the secession of different republics, but also through wars which changed their frontiers, at least temporarily. The destruction due both to the war and to economic transition changed urban spaces, which further destabilized communities for whom relationship to an area and its objects – tangible, non-movable heritage (buildings, especially churches, city walls, apartment buildings, factories, shops, etc.) – enabled collective memory, and gave confidence and comfort, as well as a feeling of identity. The partition of the country, with destruction of both the temporal and spatial framework, questioned values and collective memories. The physical destruction of cities, monuments and all other tangible objects which connected people with their environment even destroyed the possibility to keep the memory alive.⁷

The new nationalistic ideologies have meant that most of the monuments and memory sites defined in the previous socialist system became “dissonant heritage”, as well as the buildings and sacral objects linked to the “memory of other”. Even the bridge in Mostar, built in Ottoman times and once the pride of the city community regardless of ethnicity, became, in the war

⁷ Konerton, P. (2002) *Kako društva pamte*, Beograd: Fabrika knjiga.

⁷ Connerton, P. (2002) *How societies remember*, Cambridge University Press. (p. 54).

Čak i most u Mostaru, izgrađen u vreme Otomanske imperije i nekada ponos gradske zajednice nezavisno od etničke pripadnosti, postao je, u ratnoj situaciji, samo simbol jedne grupe koji je potom druga etnička grupa uništila.

MODEL ANTI-KULTURE

Bilo je nekoliko modela (pristupa) korišćenih da se rekonstruišu novi društveni, kulturni i nacionalni identiteti u novostvorenim nacionalnim državama bivše Jugoslavije, kroz primenu „politika spomenika“ kao glavne državne kulturne politike.

Prvi model – *anti-kultura* – težio je da uništi sve tragove zajedničke socijalističke, antifašističke i komunističke prošlosti sa dve glavne strategije: prisvajanje i eliminisanje.

Strategija prisvajanja ogleda se, na primer, u nestajanju crvenih petokraki sa spomenika (prebojenih u žuto kao u slučaju *Putu slovenačkog prijateljstva*, ili zvezda prekrivenih katoličkim krstovima u Hrvatskoj),⁸ prekrivanju antifašističkih slogana - sloganima u čast Hrvatima (što je često prethodilo poseti novoizabranog predsednika Tuđmana određenom gradu). Kroz sve ove događaje rekontekstualizacije spomenika izgubljeno je njihovo pravo značenje, pa tako, umesto pamćenja antifašističke bitke, spomenici postaju sećanje na „slavnu hrvatsku prošlost“.

Drugi način suočavanja sa prošlošću i njenim spomenicima bio je „spontano“

situation, just a symbol of one group and was then destroyed by the other.

MODEL OF ANTI-CULTURE

There were several models (approaches) used in reconstructing the new social, cultural and national identities in the newly created nation-states of the former Yugoslavia, through implementing “monument policy” as a main state cultural policy.

The first model – *anti-culture* – sought to destroy all traces of the common socialist, anti-fascist and communist past and had two major strategies: appropriation and annihilation.

Appropriation strategy can be seen in the disappearance of red stars from monuments (repainted in yellow as in the case of the Slovenian Route of Friendship, or covered with Catholic crosses in Croatia),⁸ the covering of anti-fascist slogans with slogans in homage to Croatian people (this often preceded the visit of recently elected Tuđman to a certain city). Through all these activities of re-contextualization of monuments their original meaning was lost and, instead of memorializing an anti-fascist battle, for example, they became monuments to the glorious Croatian past.

The second way of dealing with a past and its monuments was a “spontaneous” cleansing of the territory through the destruction of all elements which might seem non-Croatian, non-Slovenian and non-Serbian – *annihilation strategy*. With the exception of Istria, this happened throughout Croatia where, even in the Serb Krajina, people

⁸ Slični događaji odvijali su se kasnije u Srbiji kada je opozicija preuzela Beograd 1997. i kada je crvena zvezda skinuta sa zgrade Skupštine grada u javnoj manifestaciji.

⁸ Similar events happened later in Serbia when the opposition took over the city of Belgrade in 1997, when a red star from the city parliament was taken down at a public event.

čišćenje teritorije uništavanjem svih elemenata koji su mogli delovati kao ne-hrvatski, ne-slovenački i ne-srpski – *strategija eliminisanja*. Sa izuzetkom Istre, ovo se događalo po celoj Hrvatskoj, a i u Srpskoj Krajini (iz različitih razloga: u spomenicima iz socijalističkog doba videli su se simboli „denacionalizacije“, „jugoslavizacije“ i ateizacije, tri glavna problema koja su „ugrožavala i uništavala“ srpski identitet).

Situacija u Bosni i Hercegovini bila je, i još uvek je složena. U gradovima i oblastima gde je jedna etnička grupa imala prevagu, usvojeni su kodovi i simboli „majke nacije“ a sa pijedestala su sklonjene lokalne istorijske ličnosti, ako su pripadale manjinskim etničkim grupama, kao u slučaju spomenika Aleksi Šantiću u Mostaru, uprkos tome što je već u 19. veku slavio multikulturalnost, i čije su pesme *Emina* i *Ostajte ovde*, slavljene kroz ceo socijalistički period kao pesme koje promovišu interkulturalnu osetljivost i razumevanje. Sa druge strane, imena ulica u Banja Luci počinju da odražavaju srednjevekovnu i herojsku srpsku prošlost, dok su tragovi hrvatskog i bošnjačkog prisustva nestali iz grada.⁹

U Srbiji, protivrečne politike Miloševića, koje su u isto vreme slavile socijalizam i nacionalizam, odražavale su privid kontinuiteta, dok su u stvarnosti osvojile i kolonizovale kolektivno nesvesno sa idealizovanom prošlošću tragajući za novim korenima srpstva i novim odlikama identiteta. Prema tome, iako Miloševićeva

saw monuments from socialist times as symbols of “denationalization”, “Yugoslavization” and atheization, the three major issues which were “threatening and destroying” Croatian or Serbian identity.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was and is still complex. In cities and regions where one ethnic army had dominated, the codes and symbols of the “mother-nation” were adopted and local historical figures, if from a minority ethnic group, removed from their pedestals, such as the Aleksa Šantić monument in Mostar. Aleksa Šantić was a poet who already in the 19th century celebrated multiculturalism, and whose poems, *Emina* and *Stay here*, have been celebrated throughout the socialist period as promoting intercultural sensitivity and understanding. On the other hand, names of streets in Banja Luka reflect medieval and heroic Serbian history, while traces of Croatian or Bosnian (Muslim) presence have disappeared from the city.⁹

In Serbia, schizophrenic Milošević policies, praising at the same time socialism and nationalism, reflected a semblance of continuity, while, in reality, they conquered and colonized the collective subconsciousness with an idealized past and started to search for new roots of Serbianhood and new features of identity. So, although the Milošević government did not create any explicit memory policy, by liberating the field for nationalism and “giving wings” to nationalism in cultural institutions, the Government created a platform for anti-cultural behaviour,¹⁰ where local politi-

⁹ Horozović, I. (1994) *Prognani grad*. Zagreb: Antibarbarus.

¹⁰ Slapšak, S. (2009) “Antikultura protiv kontrakulture: kulturna politika tranzicije?”, Republika No. 460-461, 1-30

⁹ Horozović, I. (1994) *Prognani grad*. Zagreb: Antibarbarus.

Vlada nije stvorila „svoju“ politiku sećanja, oslobađajući prostor za nacionalizam i „dajući krila“ nacionalizmu u kulturnim institucijama, ona je kreirala platformu za anti-kulturno ponašanje,¹⁰ tako da su lokalni političari i oni koji utiču na kreiranje javnog mnjenja slavili čak i fašizam (Ljotić u Smederevu) ili kontraverzne političare-vojnike kojima su komunisti sudili ili ih ubijali navodno „samo zato što su bili srpske patriote“ (Draža Mihajlović).

Gradovi koji su želeli da iskažu svoj patriotizam, počeli su da „naručuju“ spomenike od skulptorke Drinke Radovanović čije je ime bilo nepoznato u umetničkim krugovima, ali koja je među nacionalistima bila poznata kao uspešna vajarica (realističnih) istorijskih figura poput Karađorđa. Tako spomenici „narodnim herojima“ iz Drugog svetskog rata nestaju, a zamenjuju ih skulpture heroja iz Prvog i Drugog srpskog ustanka. Osnovne škole su počele brzo da menjaju imena, čak i bez konkretnog spoljnog pritiska.

Kao posledica toga, kroz strategije *eliminisanja* i *prisvajanja* promenili su se prizori u gradovima i oblastima po celoj bivšoj Jugoslaviji – novi tipovi spomenika, nove boje i simboli nacije, zastave i imena ulica, trgova i institucija – pojavili su se i zaposeli nacionalno nesvesno i kolektivno pamćenje, doprinoseći etnicizaciji zajedničkog sećanja i ponašanja.

cians or opinion-makers celebrated even fascism (for example Ljotić in Smederevo) or rehabilitated controversial soldier-politicians like Draža Mihajlović, claiming that they were judged and “killed by communists just for being Serbian patriots”. Unfortunately, this policy of oblivion regarding war crimes of chetnicks or Nedić collaborator forces during Second World War has continued after political changes in 2001.

The cities wanting to show their patriotism, started “ordering” monuments from the sculptor Drinka Radovanović, whose name in artistic circles was unknown, but who was known among nationalists as a good (realistic) sculptor of historical figures such as Karađorđe, leader of the first Serbian uprising against the Turks in 1804. So, monuments to “people’s heroes” from the Second World War disappeared, replaced by sculptures of heroes from the first and second Serbian uprising against the Turks, and this was especially reflected by schools, whose names have started to change quickly, without any outside pressure.

Consequently, through *annihilation* and *appropriation* strategies the landscapes in cities and regions throughout former Yugoslavia changed – new types of monuments, colours representing the emblem of a nation, flags and names of the streets, squares and institutions appeared and colonized the collective consciousness and collective memory, thus contributing to ethnicization of community memories and behaviour.

¹⁰ Slapšak S. 'Antikultura protiv kontrakulture: kulturna politika tranzicije?', *Republika* n.460-461, 1-30 septembar 2009. i Kodrnja J. "Kultura kao afirmacija i negacija, Ne-kultura, Ne-kulturi", u: Kodrnja, J., Savić, S. i Slapšak, S. (ur.), (2010), *Kultura, rod, identitet*. Zagreb: Institut za društvene nauke.

September. and Kodrnja J. (2010) "Kultura kao afirmacija i negacija, Ne-kultura, Ne-kulturi", in: Kodrnja, J., Savić, S. and Slapšak, S. (eds) *Kultura, rod, identitet*, Zagreb: Institut za društvene nauke.

MODEL „KULTURALIZACIJE“ U POLITICI NASLEDA

Drugi (ređi) model politike sećanja i odnosa prema nasleđu i istoriji može se nazvati model „kulturalizacije“, koji je ustvari predstavljao dekontekstualizaciju kroz univerzalizaciju ili muzealizaciju.

Primeri toga su premeštanje statue Borisa Kidriča u Beogradu (skulptora Nikole Jankovića) iz centra grada u Park skulptura Muzeja savremene umetnosti, ili premeštanje Titove skulpture sa glavnog trga u Užicu u pozadinu užičkog Gradskog muzeja. U tom smislu skulptura je izgubila političko i ideološko značenje i postala „umetnički komad“ van konteksta, a u skladu s tim i bez ikakvog smisla.

Druga moguća strategija modela „kulturalizacije“ – poštovanje nasleđa „drugog“ – još nije bila primenjena u Jugoistočnoj Evropi. U modernim evropskim kulturnim politikama postoje naponi, recimo, poljskih kulturnih radnika, da integrišu izgubljenu i zaboravljenu jevrejsku kulturu u savremeni kulturni život, naročito kroz festivale. U Latviji se čuva liivska kultura. U oba slučaja, kultura „drugog“ više nije pretnja nacionalnom kulturnom identitetu, jer je reč o onim zajednicama koje su faktički nestale. U Jugoistočnoj Evropi samo se pod uticajem međunarodne zajednice i internacionalnih donatora spomenici „drugih“ čuvaju ili obnavljaju, čak i u slučaju kada te etničke grupe više nema (npr. u Beogradu još uvek ne postoji Muzej holokausta... a u nekim drugim sredinama se tek rade projekti za njega).

MODEL OF “CULTURALIZATION” IN HERITAGE POLICY

The other (rarer) model of memory policy and the relationship towards heritage and history could be called the model of “culturalization”, which in fact represented decontextualization through univerzalization or musealization.

Examples of this were the move of the Boris Kidrič Belgrade statue (sculptor Nikola Janković) from the centre of the city to the Sculpture Park of the Museum of Contemporary Arts, or the removal of the Tito monumental sculpture from the Main Square in Užice to the back of the Užice City Museum. In this sense sculpture lost its political and ideological meaning and became a “piece of art” with no context and thus emptied of any sense.

The other possible strategy of the “culturalization” model – respect of the heritage of “the other” – has not yet been applied in Southeastern Europe. In modern European cultural policies there are efforts by Polish cultural operators to integrate lost and forgotten Jewish culture in contemporary cultural life, mostly through festivals. In Latvia there are attempts to safeguard Liiv culture. In both cases, the culture of “the other” is seen as a threat to national cultural identity except for those other communities who have disappeared. In Southeastern Europe monuments “of others” are rebuilt or protected only under the influence of the international community or international donors.

DRUGA FAZA – PONOVRNO STVARANJE NACIJE:

MODELI KULTURALIZACIJE I ANTI-KULTURE

Strategija izgradnje spomenika u okviru novih politika identiteta

Druga faza izgradnje spomenika kao dela sećanja i politike identiteta, bila je faza stvaranja novih spomenika u cilju izražavanja promena u nacionalnom identitetu i vrednostima. U zemljama koje su slavile svoju nezavisnost i slobodu bilo je jasno da su se morali napraviti spomenici onima koji su bili stubovi nacionalnog identiteta ili onima koji su doprineli izvojevanju nezavisnosti.

Kroz razne privatne inicijative, u njihovim rodnim selima podignuti su spomenici vođama ustaškog pokreta Miletu Budaku i Juri Francetiću, ali je 2004. godine hrvatska Vlada odlučila da ih uništi, da ne bi dovela u pitanje sopstvenu demokratsku i antifašističku retoriku.¹¹

Spomenici ili spomen-ploče u čast Tuđmanu ubrzo su počele da se prave u Hrvatskoj (Selce, Kaštel Lukšić, Pitomača, Škabrnja, Slavonski brod 2006, Bibinje 2007,¹² Benkovac 2008, Podbablje 2009, Pleternica 2009) i Hercegovini (Široki brijeg 2003,¹³ Čapljina 2007). Tokom predsedničke kampanje 2009. godine u Hrvatskoj, glavno obećanje (neizabranog) predsedničkog kandidata HDZ-a (A. Hebrang) bilo je da će podići spomenik Tuđmanu u Zagrebu. Željko Kerum, gradonačelnik Splita, obećao je da će

PHASE II – NATION (RE)BUILDING:

MODELS OF CULTURALIZATION AND ANTI-CULTURE

Strategy of monument building within new identity policies

The second phase in monument building policy as part of a memory and identity policy was the phase of creation of new monuments to express the changes in national identity and values. In countries which celebrated their independence and freedom it was clear that monuments to those who are pillars of national identity or to those who contributed to the achievement of independence had to be erected.

Through a lot of private initiatives, monuments to Ustascha leaders, such as Mile Budak and Jura Francetić, were created in their native villages, but in 2004 the Croatian Government decided to destroy them, in order not to endanger its democratic and anti-fascist image.¹¹

Monuments or memorial plaques to Tuđman started quickly to be created in both Croatia (Selce, Kaštel Lukšić, Pitomača, Škabrnja, Slavonski brod 2006, Bibinje 2007,¹² Benkovac 2008, Podbablje 2009, Pleternica 2009) and Herzegovina (Široki brijeg 2003,¹³ Čapljina 2007). During the presidential campaign in 2009 in Croatia, the major promise of the (non-elected) presidential candidate of HDZ (A. Hebrang) was to erect a monument to Tuđman in Zagreb. Željko Kerum, mayor of Split, promised to erect a Tuđman monument on the seafront promenade, contrary to the

¹¹ <http://forumb92.net/index.php?showtopic=13861&st=90>, pristupljeno 12.04.2010.

¹² Ovaj spomenik je bio visok 2.70 metara, sa pijedestalom visokim četiri metra, doniran od strane opštine i države. <http://www.ezadar.hr/clanak/bibinjci-otkrili-spomenik-franji-tudmanu>, pristupljeno 12.04.2010.

¹³ Ovaj je bio visok 3.20 metara i donirala ga je Dijaspورا.

¹¹ <http://forumb92.net/index.php?showtopic=13861&st=90>, accessed 12 April 2010.

¹² This was 2.70 metres high, with a pedestal of 4 metres, donated by the state and the municipality. <http://www.ezadar.hr/clanak/bibinjci-otkrili-spomenik-franji-tudmanu>, accessed 12 April 2010.

¹³ This was 3.20 metres high, donated by the Diaspora.

podići spomenik Tuđmanu na šetalištu pored mora, nasuprot mišljenju gradskih urbanista. Postoje brojni primeri memorijalizacije imena ili skulptura (Tuđmanova bista postavljena u hrvatskom Parlamentu, most u Osijeku, itd).

Važnost politike spomenika može se videti u odluci Gradskog veća u Splitu (oktobar 2007) da se podigne dvadeset i jedan spomenik važnim ličnostima za istoriju Hrvatske i Splita, što je izazvalo veliku debatu oko Miljenka Smojea, preminulog pisca humoriste optuženog za projugoslovenske i levičarske izjave, zbog čega se smatralo da nije vredan da ima spomenik u Splitu.¹⁴

U isto vreme u Srbiji su izgrađeni spomenici da ispune nekoliko ciljeva:

- Spomenik Nikoli Pašiću doprineo je „posrbljavanju“ istorije, jer je Pašić bio srpski državnik koji se suprotstavljao ideji jugoslovenstva. Nacionalisti su želeli da ga istaknu kao uzor današnjim političarima. Takođe ga je trebalo povezati sa „slavnom“ srpskom prošalošću, koja je navodno bila izbrisana iz školskih udžbenika i kolektivnog pamćenja naroda.

- Spomenik Draži Mihajloviću doveo je u pitanje zvaničnu istoriju komunističkog antifascističkog partizanskog pokreta. To je spomenik koji je uneo potpuno novu retoriku u kolektivno sećanje, kao i spomenici Svetom Savi,¹⁵ Karađorđu i Nikoli Tesli.

opinion of city urbanists. There are numerous examples of sculptural or name memorialization (a bust of Tuđman placed in the Croatian Parliament, the bridge at Osijek, etc.).

The importance of monument policy can be seen in the decision of Split city council (October 2007) to erect 21 monuments to important figures in Croatian and Split history, which provoked a huge debate around Miljenko Smoje, a deceased humorist writer accused of pro-Yugoslavian and leftist statements, as being unworthy of having a monument in Split.¹⁴

At the same time in Serbia, monuments had been created to fulfil several tasks:

- Monuments to Nikola Pašić contribute to the Serbianization of history, as Pašić was a Serbian statesman opposing the Yugoslavian idea. Nationalists wanted to promote him as a role-model for today's politicians. He also had to be a link towards the “glorious” Serbian past, which had been erased from history books and the collective memory of the people.

- The Draža Mihajlović monument challenged the official history of the communist anti-fascist partisan movement. It is a monument bringing a completely new narrative to the collective memory, as well as monuments to Saint Sava,¹⁵ Karađorđe and Nikola Tesla.

At first sight it might seem strange why these personalities have been regarded in

¹⁴ <http://www.glasdalmacije.hr/?show=0&article=4777>, 15 oktobar 2007, pristupljeno 27.05.2010.

¹⁵ Proces desekularizacije pratio je povratak Svetog Save kao javne ličnosti (koji je bio obeležen brojnim spomenicima podignutim 1990-ih).

¹⁴ <http://www.glasdalmacije.hr/?show=0&article=4777>, 15 October 2007, accessed 27 May 2010.

¹⁵ The desecularization process was followed by the return of Saint Sava as a public figure (created by the autonomous Serbian Orthodox Church) and celebrated with a great number of his monuments erected in 1990s.

Na prvi pogled, može delovati čudno da su ove ličnosti stavljene u istu kategoriju. Važno je istaći da je politika spomenika koja stoji iza ovih projekata bila ista. Njome je trebalo upisati srpstvo u temelje identiteta grada. Do tada u gradovima obično nije bilo simbola srpskog nacionalnog identiteta. Smatralo se da su spomenici partizanima, čak i ako su bili Srbi, zapravo jugoslovenski spomenici, kao i stari spomenici Nikoli Tesli koji su slavili nauku, a ne njegov „etničko srpski genij“.¹⁶

Promene u politikama spomenika mogu se jasno pratiti u biografiji vajara Miodraga Živkovića. Od početka karijere učestvovao je u javnim konkursima za memorijale i spomenike posvećene Drugom svetskom ratu (slika 1). Od 1990. godine pravio je projekte posvećene isključivo srpskoj srednjevekovnoj ili herojskoj istoriji 19. veka, a u kasnim devedesetim i početkom milenijuma većina njegovih projekata napravljena je u Republici Srpskoj (Brčko 1996, Bijeljina 1997, Derventa 2001, Mrkonjić Grad 2003). To je predstavljalo jasnu promenu u politikama sećanja - slavljenje istorijskih narativa koji su važni samo za jednu etničku grupu.

Jedini spomenik stvoren za vreme Miloševićeve vlade, spomenik *Večni plamen*, podignut u spomen žrtava NATO bombardovanja 1999. godine, znak je nesposobnosti Miloševićeve politike da napravi spomenik koji bi mogao da mobilize emocije i postane simbol njegove politike „nezavisnosti“. Umesto toga, postao je „prazna rupa“ u beogradskom urbanom prostoru, predmet

the same category. It is important to underline that the monument policy behind these projects was the same. This policy wanted to inscribe Serbianhood on the face of the city. Up to that moment cities were usually without symbols of Serbian national identity. Monuments to partisans, even if they were Serbs, were considered as Yugoslavian monuments, as well old Tesla monuments which celebrated sciences and not his “ethnic Serbian genius”.¹⁶

The changes in monument policies can be seen clearly from the biography of sculptor Miodrag Živković. From the beginning of his career he participated in public competitions for the memorials and monuments devoted to the Second World War (picture 1). Since 1990 he has realized projects devoted solely to Serbian medieval or heroic 19th century history, and in the late 1990s and at the beginning of the millennium the majority of his projects were created for cities in the Republika Srpska (Brčko 1996; Bijeljina 1997; Derventa 2001; Mrkonjić Grad 2003). This represents a clear change in memory policies celebrating historical narratives that are important for only one ethnic group.

The only monument created by the Milošević government, *The Eternal Flame* monument, erected to remember the NATO bombing in 1999, is a sign of the incapacity of Milošević's policy to create a monument which might mobilize emotions and become a symbol of his “independence” policy. Instead, it became an “empty hole” in the Belgrade urban landscape, an object

¹⁶ U Hrvatskoj je ovaj proces prisvajanja Tesle kao dela nacionalnog kanona još složeniji (videti Buden, 2006).

¹⁶ In Croatia appropriation of Tesla as a part of the national canon is even more complex (see Buden, 2006).



SLIKA 1 :: Kadinjača - "disonantno nasleđe" ili samo strategija zaborava? (© Milena Dragičević Šešić)

PICTURE 1 :: Kadinjača - "disonant heritage" or just a strategy of oblivion? (© Milena Dragičević Šešić)

ironije i vandalizma, marginalizovan i van pažnje javnosti.

STRATEGIJA PROVOCIRANJA „DRUGOG“

Najvažnije promene u pogledu politike spomenika nakon 2000. odigrale su se u Makedoniji. Kao poslednja evropska nacija oslobođena turske vladavine (1912), nakon toga okupirana od strane bugarske vojske tokom Prvog i kasnije Drugog svetskog rata, a tretirana kao južnosrpska provincija u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, Makedonija nije imala vremena da stvori nacionalni identitet kao druge balkanske nacije. U 19. veku zemlje Slovena na Balkanu obično su za stubove svojih nacionalnih identiteta uzimale: narodni (slovenski) jezik; folklor; kulturno nasleđe antičke Grčke;¹⁷ i nasleđe humanizma i renesanse (čak i ako su „pripadale“ istočnom delu vizantijske kulture – to je bio proces kojim se stvarao nacionalni kao i evropski identitet).

Makedonija je dobila svoju šansu da razvije sopstveni različiti južnoslovenski identitet tek od 1945. godine. Njegovi koreni takođe se nalaze u slovenskom poreklu i folklornoj tradiciji. U stalnim raspravama sa svojim susedima (Srbija nije prihvatila autonomiju Makedonske crkve, Bugarska je osporavala specifičnost makedonskog jezika, a Grčka čak i ime), Makedonska država, u novim okolnostima državnog osamostaljenja, odlučila je da se okrene reviziji nacionalnog identiteta. Tako je počela da tvrdi da polaže sukcesiona prava iz antičke makedonske države – smatrajući da se savremena makedonska nacija razvila iz

of irony and vandalism, marginalized and away from public attention.

PROVOCATION OF “THE OTHER” STRATEGY

The most important changes regarding monument policy after 2000 happened in Macedonia. As the last European nation liberated from the Turkish rule (1912), then occupied by the Bulgarian army during the Second World War, and treated in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as a south-Serbian province, Macedonia has not had time to create a national identity alongside other Balkan nations. In the 19th century, Balkan Slavic countries had usually taken four pillars for the creation of their national identities: a national (Slavic) language; folklore; the cultural legacy of antique Greece; and the legacy of Renaissance humanism (even if they “belonged” to the Eastern world of Byzantine culture). This tradition of acceptance of antique Greek culture as a model has been introduced into European national cultures during the Enlightenment and Romanticism period.¹⁷

Macedonia has had its chance only since 1945 to develop its distinctive south-Slavic identity. Its roots are in its Slavic origins and folkloric traditions. In dispute with its neighbours (Serbians do not accept the autonomy of the Macedonian Church, Bulgarians dispute the specificity of the language and Greeks even the name), the Macedonian state, at this very moment of nation-building, decided to claim succession rights from the ancient Macedonian state – claiming that the contemporary Macedonian nation had been developed following an encounter

¹⁷ Ova tradicija prihvatanja antičke grčke kulture kao modela uvedena je u okviru evropskih nacionalnih kultura tokom perioda prosvetiteljstva i romantizma. (Asman, A. (2002) *Rad na nacionalnom pamćenju*, Beograd : Biblioteka XX vek.)

¹⁷ Assmann, A. (1993) *Arbeit am nationalen Gedächtnis*, Frankfurt-New York: Campus Verlag.

susreta antičkih Makedonaca i slovenskih naroda koji su se naselili na toj teritoriji. To ih je navelo da upotrebljavaju antičko makedonsko nasleđe, integrišući ga u kolektivnu svest naroda (slika 2).

Počelo je sa zastavom, čiji je glavni simbol preuzet iz arheološkog nalazišta Vergina u severnoj Grčkoj, i nastavlja se i danas kroz brojne spomenike Filipu i Aleksandru Velikom po celoj Makedoniji (Filipu II u Bitolju, 2008, i takođe u Prilepu, i Aleksandru Velikom u Skoplju). Taj postupak makedonskog prisvajanja Aleksandra i Filipa deo je politike sećanja, ali i politike provokacije susedne države (Grčke). Upotrebili su daleku prošlost da izazovu Grčku na diplomatski obračun¹⁸ stvorivši kulturne ratove unutar i izvan države.

between ancient Macedonians and Slavic people who settled on this territory. That empowered them to use the ancient Macedonian heritage, incorporating it in the collective consciousness (image 2).

It started with a flag, whose main symbol was taken from the Vergina archaeological site in northern Greece, and is continued today through numerous monuments to Philip and Alexander the Great throughout Macedonia (to Philip II in Bitola in 2008, and also in Prilep, and to Alexander the Great in Skopje). Making these monuments of Alexander and Philip Macedonian is part of a policy of memory, but also a policy of provocation of the neighbouring country (Greece). It has chosen a far away past to challenge Greece in a diplomatic battle,¹⁸

¹⁸ Alagjovovski, R. (2010) "Koreni naši nasušni – Makedonija u kulturnom ratu", *Danas* (Beograd), 29.06.2010.

¹⁸ Alagjovovski, R. (2010), "Koreni naši nasušni – Makedonija u kulturnom ratu", *Danas* (Belgrade), 29 June 2010.

SLIKA 2 :: Skopje 2014: model kulturalizacije – nove politike identiteta (© Milena Dragičević Šešić)

IMAGE 2 :: Skopje 2014: the model of culturalization – new identity policies (© Milena Dragičević Šešić)



Pre traženja korena u antičkom periodu, vredi pomenuti dve značajne stvari u politici spomenika u Skoplju – podizanje ogromnog krsta na vrhu brda koje se uzdiže iznad grada (uz proslavljanje 2000 godina hrišćanstva), i spomenik Skenderbegu na konju u Staroj Čaršiji (2006, Toma Damo), u albanskom delu grada, leđima okrenutom albanskom, a licem makedonskom delu grada i hrišćanskom krstu. U određenom smislu oba spomenika se „suočavaju sa drugim“ – primenjujući strategiju *provokacije drugog*.

Podizanje spomenika da bi se iritirala grčka i albanska zajednica od strane Makedonaca, i sa druge strane makedonska zajednica od strane Albanaca, primer je politike spomenika kao modela anti-kulture.

Ova politika zahteva istraživanje dijahronijske strane nacionalnog identiteta, koju sve zemlje Jugoistočne Evrope razvijaju na različite načine. U politici spomenika, Makedonci su se pretvorili u antičke Makedonce, Srbi i Hrvati su tražili korene u srednjevekovnoj istoriji (iako su u Srbiji stavili u jednom trenutku i akcenat na prvu polovinu 19. veka kao kolevku moderne srpske države), Hrvati su istraživali tabue i „heroje“ Drugog svetskog rata, dok su Crnogorci u vladavini kralja Nikole u 19. veku videli prave korene svoje nezavisnosti, autonomije i nacionalne specifičnosti. Prema tome, kulturna politika je pronašla nove „heroje“ i nove prostore sećanja, doprinoseći renacionalizaciji kulturnih politika kroz politiku monumentalizacije. Teritorije i kulture i u situaciji nakon konflikta nastavljaju

creating cultural wars both inside and outside the country.

Before that, two things in Skopje's monument policy had been important. These were the creation of the huge cross on the top of the hill rising above Skopje (to celebrate 2000 years of Christianity), and the monument to Skenderbeg on horseback in Stara Čaršija (2006, Toma Damo), the Albanian part of the city, with his back turned to the Albanians, but facing the Macedonian part of the city and the Christian cross. In a certain sense both monuments are "facing the other" – applying the *provocation of "the other" strategy*.

The creation of monuments by the Macedonian community that were intended to irritate Greece and the Albanian community, and similar actions from the Albanian side, is an example of a monument policy as a model of anti-culture.

This policy demands an exploration of a diachronical side to national identity, which all the countries of Southeastern Europe are developing in different ways. In monument policy, Macedonians turned to ancient Macedonia, Serbs and Croats looked to medieval history (though Serbs also emphasized the first half of the 19th century as the birth of a modern Serbian state), Croats explored taboos and "heroes" of the Second World War, while Montenegrins have seen in the 19th century rule of King Nikola the real roots of their independence, autonomy and national specificity. Thus, cultural policies found new "heroes" and new memory sites, contributing to the renationalization of cultural policies through monumentalization of often invented

da se bore koristeći spomenike i verske simbole koji sada prekrivaju brda iznad multikulturnih podneblja.

MODEL NESLAGANJA – KREATIVNI DIJALOG

Jedini koji su imali hrabrosti da redefinišu odnose prema kulturnom nasleđu Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, osim napora jugonostalgicne dijaspore (onih koji su emigrirali odbijajući da učestvuju u raspadu države), bili su umetnički krugovi. Sopstvenim konceptima i vizijama su protstavili su se anahronističkim politikama izgradnje spomenika u svim zemljama Jugoistočne Evrope, politikama koje su bile konzervativne, retrogradne i koje su u potpunosti zanemarivale nasleđe moderne.

U tom duhu, Mrđan Bajić je napravio seriju *virtuelnih spomenika za Yugomuzej*. Inspirisan artefaktima, događajima i mitovima koji su stvorili ali i uništili Jugoslaviju, Bajić je istraživao skrivene uspomene i na Titovo i na Miloševićevo doba. Svaka njegova virtuelna skulptura je spomenik koji memorijalizuje ključne događaje koji su doveli do građanskog rata i raspada države. Spomenik *Memorandum* počinje sa uspomenom na Nacionalni program Ilije Garašanina iz 19. veka, zatim sećanje na Gavrila Principa (koga je socijalistička Jugoslavija slavila kao borca za oslobođenje), fokusirajući se dalje na ulogu SANU za vreme Titove vladavine (izgubila je kredibilitet kada je dodelila Titu akademsku titulu bez uobičajenog tajnog glasanja) i naročito nakon njegove smrti, kada je Akademija bila opsednuta istraživanjima o statusu Srba u drugim jugoslovenskim republikama (dokument

memories. The territories and cultures in the post-conflict situation are continuing to fight with monuments and religious symbols which now cover the hills above multicultural cities.

THE MODEL OF DISSENT – CREATIVE DIALOGUE

The only ones who had the courage to redefine relations towards the cultural heritage of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, apart from the efforts of the Yugo-nostalgic diaspora (those who emigrated refusing to participate in the split of the country), were artistic circles. With their concepts and visions, they confronted the anachronistic monument policies of Southeastern Europe, conservative and retrograde as they were, neglecting the heritage of modernism.

In this spirit Mrđan Bajić created a serial of *virtual monuments* for the YugoMuseum. Inspired by the artefacts, events and myths which created but also destroyed Yugoslavia, Mrđan Bajić explored the hidden memories of both Tito's and Milošević's time. Each Bajić's virtual sculpture is a monument which memorializes crucial events leading towards the civil war and the dissolution of the country. The *Memorandum* monument starts with the 19th century memory of Ilija Garašanin's National Programme, then the memory of Gavrilo Princip (whose memory was kept as a freedom fighter in socialist Yugoslavia), then focusing on the role of the Academy of Science during Tito's time (it lost credibility when it gave Tito an academic title without proper voting) and especially after his death, when the academy was obsessed with research

poznat kao „Memorandum“ napisan je i tajno distribuiran 1986. godine).

Mrđan Bajić napravio je stotine „spomenika“ za *Yugomuzej*. Jedan od njih, pod nazivom *Rambuje* (Rambouillet), predstavlja simbol apsolutne nemoći da se pregovara o Kosovu i nemogućnost da se predvide posledice prekinutih pregovora; *Cvet*, kao simbol kič senzibiliteta Miloševićeve supruge – Mirjane Marković; *Strug*, spomenik radničkoj klasi (mašina koju je Tito znao da koristi) i *Poljud* (stadijon u Splitu) da označi sećanje na solidarnost, prijateljstvo, bratstvo i jedinstvo. Svi ovi spomenici pokazali su kako je brzo društvo prešlo sa „vladavine radničke klase“ na „vladavinu nacije“! No ovaj projekat takođe može da nosi naziv jednog drugog Bajićevog umetničkog projekta: *Ja sam odgovoran!* u kome kao umetnik preuzima odgovornost za sve što se dogodilo na teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije – ratne zločine, izbeglice, popaljene kuće, etničko čišćenje itd.

Centar za savremenu umetnost u Sarajevu razvio je projekat pod nazivom *De/konstrukcija spomenika* (2004-2006).¹⁹ sa ciljem da se naprave umetnička dela koja će doprineti dekonstrukciji mitova i deideologizaciji i dekodiranju skore i daleke prošlosti.

Glavne alatke u projektu bili su spomenici, simboli i ikone, kao tri glavna oblika reprezentacije različitih društava i istorijskih perioda. Organizovanjem nekoliko debata o bitnim pitanjima, kao

regarding the status of Serbs in other republics of Yugoslavia (document known as “Memorandum” has been written and secretly distributed in 1986).

Hundreds of “monuments” were created by Mrđan Bajić for the YugoMuseum. The *Rambouillet* castle, as a symbol of the absolute incapacity to negotiate on Kosovo and the lack of foresight as to the consequences of broken talks; *Flower*, as a symbol of the kitsch personality of Milošević’s wife – Mirjana Marković; *Lathe*, the monument to the working class (a machine which Tito knew how to use), and *Poljud* meaning solidarity, friendship, brotherhood and unity. All these monuments showed how quickly society had passed from “the rule of the working class”, to “the rule of the nation”! But, this project can also have the title of another Mrđan Bajić’s art project: *I did it!*, where the artist took responsibility for all that was happening on the territory of former Yugoslavia – war crimes, refugees, burned houses, ethnic cleansing and so forth.

The Centre for Contemporary Arts in Sarajevo developed a project called “De/construction of Monument” (2004-2006)¹⁹ with the aim to create art works which contribute towards the deconstruction of myths and the de-ideologizing and decoding of recent and distant history.

The main tools in the project were monuments, symbols, and icons, as the three major forms of representation of different societies and historical periods. By organizing several debates on crucial issues,

¹⁹ <http://www.projekt-relations.de/en/explore/deconstruction/module/overcoming.php> pristupljeno 10.05.2010.

¹⁹ <http://www.projekt-relations.de/en/explore/deconstruction/module/overcoming.php> accessed 10th May 2010.

što su spomenici i sećanje, i spomenici i nasilje, ponovo su okupili umetnike i kustose koji su se dugo vremena bavili „monumentalizacijom“ javnog prostora, kao što je Braco Dimitrijević (*Anti-spomenici*, spomenici nepoznatim prolaznicima), ili Sanja Iveković (*Roza Luxemburg*, provocirajući stanovnike Luksemburga svojom interpretacijom uspomena na Prvi svetski rat). Najvažnija rasprava povela se oko umetnika koji su iznosili savremene probleme na Balkanu i suočavali se sa glavnim narativima sećanja, kao što je Milica Tomić (Grupa Spomenik), Siniša Labrović (Sinj), Sokolj Bećiri (Peć), kao i onih koji su pravili sarkastične komentare o savremenom pamćenju i praksama izgradnje spomenika (projekat Spomenik Brus Liju u Mostaru, ili projekat Kurta i Plaste *Odlukom komisije - svi na svoje*, Sarajevo, 2001).

Grupu Spomenik činili su Milica Tomić, Darinka Pop-Mitić, Nebojša Milikić, ali i teoretičarke i teoretičari kao što su Jasmina Husanović i Branimir Stojanović. Svaki učesnik grupe učestvovao je u interkulturalnom dijalogu na sopstveni umetnički ili teorijski način, izbegavajući pomodne ili „politički korektne“ projekte. Radeći u „problematičnim oblastima“, kao što je Kosovo, ili dovodeći umetnike sa Kosova u Beograd, suočavajući se sa državnim terorizmom (npr. rad Milice Tomić *XY UNGELÖST – rekonstrukcija zločina*), živeli su i proživljavali opasnu stranu kulturne različitosti u ksenofobičnom okruženju. Ponovo ispitujući istorijske činjenice, učestvujući u programu Centra za kulturnu dekontaminaciju *Politike sećanja*, oni su u velikoj meri doprineli samopoimanju različitih balkanskih društava, kao multi-

such as monuments and memory, and monuments and violence, they regrouped artists and curators who for a long time had dealt with the “monumentalization” of public spaces, such as Braco Dimitrijević (*Anti-Monuments*, monuments of unknown passers-by), or Sanja Iveković (*Lady Rosa of Luxembourg*, provoking the Luxembourg community with her interpretation of the First World War memorial). But the crucial debate was around artists who are raising contemporary Balkan issues and confronting major monument narratives, such as Milica Tomić (Grupa Spomenik/Monument Group), Siniša Labrović (Croatia), Sokol Beqiri (Peja, Kosovo), and those who are making sarcastic comments on contemporary memory and monument practices, such as the “Bruce Lee Monument Project” in Mostar, or Kurt and Plasto project “By the Committee decision – everybody back to its own place” (Odlukom komisije - svi na svoje”), Sarajevo 2001.

Grupa Spomenik/Monument Group includes Milica Tomić, Darinka Pop-Mitić, Nebojša Milikić, but also theoreticians such as Jasmina Husanović and Branimir Stojanović. Each participant of the group in their individual artistic or theoretical work is engaged in the practice of intercultural dialogue, without creating trendy or “politically correct” projects. Working in “difficult territories”, such as Kosovo, or bringing Kosovo artists to Belgrade, or dealing with state terrorism (i.e. the work of Milica Tomić *XY UNGELÖST or reconstruction of the crime*), they are living and experiencing cultural diversity from its dangerous side in a xenophobic environment. By re-investigating history, participating in the Centre for Cultural Decontamination in the

kulturnih, problematizujući sve savremene i istorijski zasnovane kontroverze. Njihove javne akcije odvijale su se i u okviru manifestacija vizuelne umetnosti (*Politike sećanja* na 24. Memorijalu Nadežde Petrović – *Transformisanje sećanja. Politika slika* u Čačku 2007. godine, i *Politike sećanja* na Bijenalu u Pragu 2007), na kojima su predstavljali distributivne objekte – participativne spomenike (npr. za realizaciju ovog rada korišćene su publikacije u kojima su objavljeni transkripti razgovora učesnika u javnoj diskusiji koja je bila pokrenuta i vođena povodom neuspelih konkursa gradske vlasti Beograda za podizanje spomenika žrtvama ratova u bivšoj Jugoslaviji).

Primer treće grupe projekata je *Spomenik međunarodnoj zajednici* Nebojše Šerića Šobe, podignut u Sarajevu²⁰ (čelik, merm-er, 2007), „od strane zahvalnih građana Sarajeva“, kojim umetnik sarkastično aludira na zvaničnu „politiku zahvalnosti“. Izveštaj agencije Reuters „Umetnici Sarajeva podigli su u petak spomenik konzerviranoj govedini, kao znak ismevanja donatora za donošenje tako nepopularne hrane kao humanitarne pomoći tokom okupacije 1992-1995“,²¹ pokazuje nerazumevanje namere umetnika (umetnik je u stvari optužio međunarodnu zajednicu za ulogu voajera u borbi gladijatora – šaljući hranu da održe ratnike u životu, ali ne sprečavajući zlodela).

Do koje mere je kultura spomenika izvor „inspiracije“ za savremene umetnike može se videti na projektu Jelene Miletić

programme *Politics of memory*, they are contributing to a large extent to the self-perception of different Balkan societies as to their embedded multiculturalism, as well as historical and contemporary considerations. Several of their public events happened within visual art manifestations (*Politics of Memory* for the 24th Nadežda Petrović Memorial – *Transformation of Memory. Politics of Images*, Čačak 2007 and *Politics of Memory*, Prague Biennale 2007), producing participatory monuments made of distributive objects – publications with a transcript of the talks within public debate on unsuccessful commissions of the Belgrade authorities for creation of the monument to victims of wars in former Yugoslavia, under the title *Politics of Memory*.

An example of the third group of projects is the *Monument to the International Community of Nebojša Šerić Shoba*, erected in Sarajevo²⁰ (steel, marble 2007) “by the grateful citizens of Sarajevo”, thus referring to the official “policy of gratitude”, but in a sarcastic manner. The Reuters report: “Sarajevo artists raised a monument to canned beef on Friday in a gesture ridiculing donors for providing such an *unpopular food* as humanitarian aid during the 1992-95 siege”,²¹ shows a misunderstanding of the artist’s intention (the artist in fact accused the international community of acting like a voyeur at a gladiator fight – sending food to keep the fighters alive longer, but not preventing the atrocities).

²⁰ <http://balkansnet.org/zamir-chat-list/transfer/nss/eng.html>, pristupljeno 12.06.2010.

²¹ <http://uk.reuters.com/article/idUKL0657786020070406>, pristupljeno 12.06.2010.

²⁰ <http://balkansnet.org/zamir-chat-list/transfer/nss/eng.html> accessed 12th June 2010.

²¹ <http://uk.reuters.com/article/idUKL0657786020070406> accessed 12 June 2010.

(Ne)vidljivi dijalog. Ovaj „istraživački“ projekat mapirao je kulturu spomenika u jugoistočnoj Srbiji, od 19. veka do danas. Istraživanje je uključilo zajednice koje se nalaze van savremenih debata u kulturi (Bor, Zaječar, Prokuplje, Zlot, Gornja Bela Reka, Lenovac itd.) i završilo se izložbom i javnom prezentacijom u Boru. Jelena Miletić tretirala je spomenike kao artefakte koji spajaju različite ideologije, politike sećanja, estetike i narative kolektivnih i individualnih sećanja. Ovaj projekat samo je jedan od mnogih u Jugoistočnoj Evropi u kojima mladi umetnici dovode u pitanje zvanične politike i prakse sećanja, insistirajući na tome da o tim pitanjima treba otvoreno i javno raspravljati.

ZAKLJUČAK – RENACIONALIZACIJA

– SPOMENIK KAO ČUVAR IZABRANIH SEĆANJA

U procesu renacionalizacije obilno su korišćene politike spomenika u okviru kulture sećanja, kao osnovnog stožera izgradnje identiteta. Politike i prakse spomenika bile su akt medijacije koja je omogućila da se stvori i sačuva kolektivno sećanje. Predstavljajući vrednosni sistem društva stvorile su temelj za prakse socijalizacije. To je zajednički poduhvat nacionalnih političkih i kulturnih elita koje su zanemarivale pravi interes zajednica. Kao u slučaju Makedonije u kojoj su političke elite želele da dokažu kontinuitet sa antičkom Makedonijom, stvorena je atmosfera u kojoj su lokalne gradske elite pokazale volju da zajedničkim naporima stvore „izgubljeno“ kolektivno kulturno sećanje kao deo novostvorenog nacionalnog identiteta.

U periodima izgradnje nacije, izmišljanje tradicija zahtevalo je visoko simboličko,

To what extent monument culture is a source of “inspiration” for contemporary artists can be seen from the project of Jelena Miletić’s *(In)visible dialogue*. This “research” project mapped monument culture in south-east Serbia, from the 19th century till today. The research covered municipalities which are outside of contemporary cultural debates (Bor, Zaječar, Prokuplje, Zlot, Gornja Bela Reka, Lenovac, etc.) and it ended with an exhibition and public presentation in Bor. Jelena Miletić treated monuments as artefacts gathering together different ideologies, memory politics, aesthetics and narratives of collective and individual memories. This project is one of the many in Southeastern Europe in which young artists are questioning official policies and practices of memory, insisting that these questions should be openly and publicly debated.

CONCLUSION: RE-NATIONALIZATION

– THE MONUMENT AS A GUARDIAN OF CHOSEN MEMORY

The process of re-nationalization extensively used monument policies within the culture of memory, as an essential pillar of identity building. Monument policies and practices are acts of mediation which enable collective memory to be created and safeguarded. Representing the value system of society they create a benchmark for socialization practices. They are a joint venture of national political and cultural elites neglecting the real interest of communities. As in the case of Macedonia where political elites wish to prove continuity with ancient Macedonia, an atmosphere was created in which local city elites show their willingness to share common efforts in creating a “lost” collective cultur-

kulturno ali i finansijsko ulaganje. Nacionalne elite su više volele da uzimaju istorijske događaje i vođe iz daleke prošlosti (Aleksandar Veliki ili Skenderbeg u Skoplju), prisvajajući ih za upotrebu u sadašnjici (Hrvatska je izuzetak u tom smislu).

Politike nacionalnog identiteta (politike sećanja) kroz politike spomenika imaju za cilj da postignu osećaj kontinuiteta između prošlosti i sadašnjosti, da predstave na simbolički način ili kroz kolektivno usvojen narativ novi identitet države, da posreduju u prenošenju vrednosti, posebno u smislu zasnivanja novog etosa kolektivnog kulturnog identiteta. Istovremeno, to doprinosi i kontroli društvenog ponašanja. S tim u skladu, od kulturne politike se „zahtevalo“ da doprinese izgradnji zajednice definišući ključne „formativne“ događaje i pronalazanjem načina za njihovu memorijalizaciju.

No, pojavljuju se i neki novi trendovi u kulturnim politikama vezanim za politiku spomenika: u pripremi je izgradnja spomenika dolasku zajednice Slovaka u Jugoistočnu Evropu ili spomenika egzodusu Nemaca u Vršcu. Ovi spomenici ne bi trebalo da budu izgrađeni da podele, već da uzajamno informišu zajednice i počnu da prikazuju grupne, etničke istorije kao zajedničke istorije. Pa ipak, spomenik koji je trebalo da bude „spomenik premošćavanja“ (zaboravljenoj manjini Nemaca u Vršcu), izazvao je nove podele jer je Jevrejska zajednica smatrala da su izjave povezane s gradnjom spomenika neprikladne („život u Vršcu je bio dobar i uzajamni odnosi dobri do 1945. godine“, izjava koja je zanemarila genocid nad jevrejskom populacijom 1942). To pokazuje da

al memory as part of a newly constructed national identity.

In periods of nation-building, inventing the traditions demands high symbolic, cultural but also financial investment. The national elites prefer to take history events and leaders from far away (Alexander the Great or Skenderbeg in Skopje) re-appropriating them for today's use (Croatia is an exception in this sense).

National identity (memory) policies through monument policies aim to achieve continuity of the present with a past, symbolic representation of the country's identity or collective narrative, mediation of the values and the ethos of collective cultural identity, but also to control social behaviour. Thus, cultural policies were “asked” to contribute by defining key “formative” events in the construction of the community and to find ways for their memorialization.

However, some new trends in monument policies are appearing: preparations are in process to build monuments to the coming of the Slovak community to South-eastern Europe or to the exodus of German population. These monuments should not be constructed to divide, but to mutually inform communities and to start sharing group histories as common histories. Still, a monument which aimed to be a “bridging monument” (to the forgotten German minority in Vršac, Serbia), provoked new divisions, as the Jewish minority considered the statements linked to the erection of the monument as inappropriate (“life in Vršac was calm and mutual relations good till 1945”, the statement which ignored the genocide of the Jewish population in 1942).

još uvek postoji potreba za „zajedničkim istorijama“, kao i da i odgovornost Evropske Unije treba da bude veća u ovom području: da raspravlja o zanemarenim pitanjima kao što su egzodus slovenskih Makedonaca tokom građanskog rata u Grčkoj (politika zaborava u Grčkoj još uvek pothranjuje makedonski nacionalizam).

Činjenica da ne postoje spomenici i spomeni na Romske zajednice koje su pretrpele genocid u Drugom svetskom ratu pokazuje dvostruke standarde širom jugoistočne Evrope (i Evrope) u politikama sećanja. Demokratske kulturne politike treba da razviju platforme kojima bi se omogućilo da privatne uspomene uđu u javnu sferu, naročito one koje dolaze od marginalnih društvenih grupa.

Ovo istraživanje je pokazalo da formalizmu ritualnog jezika²² odgovara formalizam vizuelnog jezika spomenika (izrazi). Konvencije u reprezentacijama ograničavaju mogućnosti izražavanja. Kao i u jeziku rituala, gde se određeni delovi reči ponovo pojavljuju a gestovi ponavljaju da omoguće bolju mnemoničku funkciju, isto se dešava i sa praksama spomenika: određeni vizuelni kodovi, detalji, način konstruisanja daju značaj spomeniku. Odluka da se izgradi „konjanik“, ili figura koja sedi ili stoji,²³ šalje drugačiju poruku stanovnicima, kao i određeni gest ili nedostatak istog.

Glavno pitanje onih koji odlučuju o tome da li spomenik treba da predstavlja osobu,

This shows that there is still a need for “joint histories”, and that the responsibility of the EU should be to debate neglected issues such as the exodus of the Slavic Macedonian population during the Greek civil war (politics of oblivion in Greece) which still nourishes Macedonian nationalism.

The fact that there are no monuments and memorials devoted to the Roma communities who suffered genocide in the Second World War shows double standards throughout Southeastern Europe (and Europe) about policies of memorializing. Democratic cultural policies should develop platforms for enabling private memories to enter the public sphere, especially those coming from marginal groups in societies.

This research has shown that to a formalism of ritual language,²² corresponds a formalism of visual language for monument use (expressions). Conventions in representations are limiting possibilities of expression. As in the language of rituals, where certain pairs of words reappear and gestures are repeated to enable better mnemonic function, the same occurs with monument practices: certain visual codes, details, a way of constructing gives significance to a monument. The decision to create “a horseman”, or a standing or a sitting figure,²³ gives a different message to the population, as does a chosen gesture or lack of one.

The crucial decision of policy makers to decide whether a monument should repre-

²² Konerton, P. (2002) Kako društva pamte, Beograd: Fabrika knjiga, str. 83.

²³ Autoritet se „koreografiše“ pozicijom tela (Konerton, P. (2002) Kako društva pamte, Beograd: Fabrika knjiga, str. 101).

²² Connerton, P. (2002) Kako društva pamte, Beograd: Fabrika knjiga, p. 83.

²³ Authority is “choreographed” by the position of the body (Connerton, P. (2002) Kako društva pamte, Beograd: Fabrika knjiga, p. 101).

događaj ili savremene društvene vrednosti, rešeno je vraćanjem na realistično predstavljanje u devedesetim godinama 20. veka, pokazujući nesigurnost novostvorenih država u sopstvene vrednosti i ukazujući na njihovu želju da stvore poruke razumljive i čitljive sopstvenom društvu, a takođe i „drugom“. Prema tome, jezik zvanične reprezentacije identiteta i politika kroz skulpture zahtevao je poštovanje izvesnog broja konvencija bez obzira na događaj ili ličnost. Ponavljanje u vizuelnim formulama izgleda da nije smetalo savremenim „elitama“; naprotiv, za njih je to predstavljalo ohrabrujuću činjenicu da će se poruka koju oni šalju razumeti i prihvatiti.

Na kraju, nacionalno-etnički zasnovana dimenzija u kulturnim politikama Jugoistočne Evrope još uvek preovladava, uprkos činjenici da je većina zemalja potpisala Konvenciju UNESCO-a o zaštiti i promovisanju raznolikosti kulturnih izraza i učestvovanju u programima o interkulturalnom dijalogu. Politike spomenika u novoosnovanim državama na Balkanu bile su deo *politika renacionalizacije*, ponovo stvarajući (izmišljajući) posebne identitete zasnovane na određenim tradicijama i „izabranim“ sećanjima, i stvarajući uslove za širenje poruka i članovima svoje i u okviru drugih zajednica, fokusirajući se na zasebna sećanja, vrednosti i prakse koje stvaraju nove podele. U skladu s tim, razvijeno je mnoštvo narativa, ali još uvek oslanjajući se na glavnu i jedinu istorijsku retoriku nezavisnosti (slavne herojske prošlosti). Očigledno je da su kulturne politike još uvek zasnovane na nacionalnom i etničkom identitetu, čime zanemaruju građane i njihovo pravo na kulturu kao individualno ljudsko pravo.

sent a person, an event, or contemporary social values was solved through a return to realistic representation in the 1990s, demonstrating the insecurity of the newly created states in their own values and showing their wish to create an understandable, readable message to their own society, and also to “the other”. Thus, the language of official sculptural representation demands respect for a certain number of conventions regardless of the event or personality. Repetition in visual formulas seems not to disturb contemporary “elites”; on the contrary, it is reassuring that the message they mediate will be understood and accepted.

As a conclusion, the national-ethnic based dimension in Southeast European cultural policies is still predominant, in spite of the fact that the majority of countries have signed the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions and are participating in the programmes on intercultural dialogue. Monument policies in the newly created Balkan countries were part of *renationalization policies*, recreating (inventing) specific identities based on certain traditions and chosen “memories”, and creating the conditions to enable the message to be widespread among both the community members and members of other communities, focusing on dividing memories, values and practices. Thus, a plurality of narratives was developed, but still relying on the main one and the same historical narrative of independence (glorious heroic past). It is obvious that cultural policies are still identity-based and ethnic-based policies which neglect the citizen and their right to culture as an individual human right.

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SEĆANJE KAO POLJE POLITIČKOG DELOVANJA U KONTEKSTU “EVROPEIZACIJE SEĆANJA” MEMORY AS A POLITICAL FIELD OF ACTION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE “EUROPEANIZATION OF MEMORY”

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Prevela sa engleskog Translated from English by ZORANA TODOROVIĆ

Poslednjih godina svedoci smo razvoja interdisciplinarnog proučavanja kolektivnog sećanja, naročito u pogledu Šoe.¹ U ovom radu ćemo razmotriti novije tendencije u univerzalizaciji i “evropeizaciji holokausta” kao negativnog mita osnivanja Evrope nakon 1945. godine, kao i njihovu napetu vezu sa novim postkomunističkim nacionalnim narativima u “istočnoj Evropi”. Upoređivanje *Memorijalnog muzeja holokausta* u Budimpešti sa *Kućom terora* u centru grada s jedne strane, i *Memorijalnog muzeja Jasenovac* u Hrvatskoj s druge, poslužiće nam kako bismo ispitali da li je nastao transnacionalni evropski memorijalni pejzaž ili još uvek preovlađuju nacionalni narativi. Dakle, pozabavićemo se pitanjem i nizom problema u vezi sa “evropskim

Recent years have witnessed a growth in the interdisciplinary study of collective memory, especially in relation to the Shoa.¹ In this paper, recent trends in the universalization and “Europeanization of the Holocaust” as a negative founding myth of post-1945 Europe will be discussed, as well as their tense relationship with the new post-communist national narratives in “Eastern Europe”. The comparison of the *Holocaust Memorial Museum* in Budapest, with the *House of Terror* in the city center on the one hand and with the *Jasenovac Memorial Museum* in Croatia on the other, will serve the purpose of examining if a trans-national European memorial landscape has emerged or, whether national narratives are still prevailing. Thus, the question and set of problems concerning “European memory standards” and their focus on the

¹ Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*, London, 2005.

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standardima sećanja” i njihovim fokusiranjem na pojedinačne žrtve. Na kraju, ali ne i najmanje značajno, razmotrićemo da li se ovi standardi primenjuju drugačije u “centru” ovog razvoja i na njegovoj “periferiji”, na primer u Ukrajini.

NOVI MEMORIJALNI MUZEJI

Kada pogledamo *Memorijalni muzej holokausta* u Budimpešti i *Memorijalni muzej Jasenovac*, oko 100 km jugozapadno od Zagreba, u Hrvatskoj, upadljive su sličnosti između ta dva memorijalna muzeja: obe izložbene postavke su u mračnim prostorijama; imena žrtava su ispisana belim slovima na crnoj pozadini; u slučaju Jasenovca, ta imena se nalaze ne samo na zidovima, već lebde i na pločama iznad posetilaca. Fokus postavke je stavljen na lične predmete pojedinačnih žrtava, koji su izloženi u staklenim vitrinama.

individual victim will be addressed. Last but not the least, the author will discuss whether these standards apply differently at the “center” of this development and at its periphery, for example in Ukraine.

NEW MEMORIAL MUSEUMS

When we look at the *Holocaust Memorial Museum* in Budapest and at the *Jasenovac Memorial Museum* in Budapešt, around 100 km southwest from Zagreb, Croatia, the similarities between those two memorial museums are striking: in both cases the exhibitions are in a dark room, the names of the victims are written in white letters on the black background and, in the case of Jasenovac, those names can be found not only on the walls, but also hovering on boards above the visitor. The focus of each exhibition lies on the personal belongings of individual victims, exhibited in glass cases.

SLIKA 1 :: Memorijalni centar holokausta, Budimpešta (© www.hdke.hu)

PICTURE 1 :: Holocaust Memorial Center, Budapest (© www.hdke.hu)





SLIKA 2 :: Memorijalni muzej Jasenovac, Hrvatska (© Ljiljana Radonic)
PICTURE 2 :: Jasenovac Memorial Museum, Croatia (© Ljiljana Radonic)

Dakle, u oba muzeja se može primetiti isto fokusiranje na pojedinačne žrtve, njihove priče i lične predmete. Budući da ova dva memorijalna muzeja imaju toliko sličnosti, i da su oba otvorena u razmaku od dve godine (2004. i 2006.), očigledno je da postoji neka vrsta standarda za nove evropske memorijalne muzeje. *Memorijalni centar holokausta* u Budimpešti je čak otvoren nekoliko sedmica pre nego što je Mađarska pristupila Evropskoj uniji 2004. godine, iako stalna postavka još nije bila spremna, tako da je otvoren gotovo prazan objekat.²

Nadalje, činjenica da je početna web stranica *Memorijalnog muzeja holo-*

Both museums dedicate the same kind of attention to the individual victims, their stories and their belongings. Since the two memorial museums show so many similarities and both opened their doors to the public over a brief period of time (2004 and 2006), we can deduct that there now seems to be an accepted standard for new European Holocaust memorial museums.

The *Holocaust Memorial Center* in Budapest was inaugurated a few weeks before Hungary joined the EU in 2004, even though the permanent exhibition was in fact not yet ready for viewing. The result was the opening of what for a time was an almost entirely empty building.² Interestingly, the

² Videti Fritz, Regina/Hansen, Imke: Zwischen nationalem Opfermythos und europäischen Standards. Der Holocaust im ungarischen Erinnerungsdiskurs, u: Eckel, Jan/Moisel, Claudia (ur.): Universalisierung des Holocaust? Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik in internationaler Perspektive, Göttingen, 2008.

² See Fritz, Regina/Hansen, Imke: Zwischen nationalem Opfermythos und europäischen Standards. Der Holocaust im ungarischen Erinnerungsdiskurs, in: Eckel, Jan/Moisel, Claudia (ed.): Universalisierung des Holocaust? Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik in internationaler Perspektive, Göttingen 2008.

kausta u Budimpešti bila na engleskom jeziku do pre nekoliko meseci, i da ste morali da kliknete na dugme da biste dobili mađarsku verziju, pokazuje da ovaj muzej cilja na potpuno drugačiju publiku od muzeja *Kuća terora* u centru Budimpešte,⁵ gde od informacija na engleskom jeziku u većini prostoriya postoje samo kopirani crno-beli listovi papira. Takođe je nezamislivo da *Memorijalni muzej Jasenovac* nema dvojezičnu izložbu i katalog, dok na primer *Memorijalni centar holokausta* u Oslu ne daje nikakve pisane informacije na engleskom jeziku, ciljajući isključivo na domaću publiku.

Argument koji se zastupa u ovom tekstu je da je *Američki Memorijalni muzej holokausta* u Vašingtonu uzor kada je u pitanju estetika ovog tipa muzeja, dok politička "potreba" da postkomunističke zemlje obezbede takve memorijalne muzeje proizilazi iz nezvaničnih "standarda sećanja" koji se uspostavljaju tokom "evropeizacije sećanja".

EVROPSKI MEMORIJALNI PEJZAŽ: CENTAR I PERIFERIJA
Pre nego što detaljno analiziramo kako se mogu definisati ovi neformalni standardi, treba prvo da razmotrimo da li ovaj razvoj pokazuje neku vrstu jaza između centra i periferije.

Polazeći od činjenice da se Nemačka naširoko smatra primerom za suočavanje sa svojom prošlošću, naravno, pre svega što se tiče holokausta, može se poka-

fact that the homepage of the *Holocaust Memorial Center* in Budapest was entirely in English until a few months ago and that you had to click on a button to view the Hungarian version, shows that the museum is targeting a completely different audience than the *House of Terror*, located in Budapest's city center⁵ in which black and white photocopies are all the information that is provided in English. It is also unimaginable for the *Jasenovac Memorial Museum* not to have a bilingual exhibition and a bulky catalogue while, to use another further afield example, the *Holocaust Memorial Center* in Oslo provides no written information in English whatsoever, targeting thus, an exclusively domestic audience. The argument that is put forth in this chapter is that the *US Holocaust Memorial Museum* in Washington is the role model when it comes to the aesthetics of this type of museum, while the political "need" for post-communist countries to provide such memorial museums results with unofficial "memory standards" that are being established in the course of the "Europeanization of Memory".

EUROPEAN MEMORIAL LANDSCAPE: CENTER AND PERIPHERY

Before we analyze in detail how to define these informal standards, we first need to discuss whether this development shows some kind of a center/periphery gap.

It might be useful to take Germany as a starting point, as it is widely viewed as

⁵ Krisztian Ungvary, *Der Umgang mit der kommunistischen Vergangenheit in der heutigen ungarischen Erinnerungskultur* [Suočavanje s komunističkom prošlošću u današnjoj mađarskoj kulturi sećanja], u: Bernd Faulenbach/Franz-Josef Jelic (ur.), *„Transformationen“ der Erinnerungskulturen in Europa nach 1989*, Essen, 2006, str. 211.

⁵ Krisztian Ungvary, *Der Umgang mit der kommunistischen Vergangenheit in der heutigen ungarischen Erinnerungskultur* [Dealing with the communist past in today's Hungarian Memory Culture], in: Bernd Faulenbach/Franz-Josef Jelic (ed.), *„Transformationen“ der Erinnerungskulturen in Europa nach 1989*, Essen, 2006, p. 211.

zati da su “zapadne” zemlje počele da se suočavaju sa svojom (zločinačkom) prošlošću tokom kraja 1980-tih godina ili početkom 1990-tih. Situacija je bila sasvim drugačija u postkomunističkim zemljama, koje su nakon 1989. godine često iznova prepričavale svoju istoriju veličajući period pre komunizma, čak i ako je to podrazumevalo zataškavanje saradnje sa Trećim rajhom. Ovo se u određenoj meri promenilo u toku procesa integracije u Evropsku uniju država srednje i istočne Evrope.

Jaz između centra i periferije se može posmatrati, na primer između Ukrajine i Poljske, uglavnom na dva plana. Pre svega, kada se putuje iz zapadne Ukrajine u Poljsku, može se primetiti da ne postoje memorijalni muzeji holokausta sa ukrajinske strane granice,⁴ dok je u Krakovu došlo do pravog procvata sećanja, što je dovelo do otvaranja Muzeja Jevreja iz Galicije 2004. godine i izložbe u Muzeju-fabricsi Oskara Šindlera [Schindler] 2010. godine. Još jedan primer predstavlja Kolomija u pretkarpatskom kraju gde je jedini spomenik koji se može naći u blizini mesta nekadašnje Velike sinagoge statua dve “ožalošćene majke” koje drže bebu. Pošto ne postoji natpis, nije jasno čak ni da li se ovaj spomenik koji podseća na stradanje Ukrajinaca nalazi ovde slučajno, ili bi trebalo da integriše stradanja Jevreja u stradanja Ukrajinaca.⁵ S druge strane, u mestu Przemisl, odmah nakon granice između Ukrajine i Poljske, u biblioteci koja

a country that adopted an exemplary approach to confronting its recent past, first of all the Holocaust. The German case can be understood as an example that demonstrates how “western” countries started confronting their (felonious) pasts during the late 1980s or the beginning of the 1990s. The situation however, has proved quite different in the post-communist countries which, after 1989, often re-narrated their history by glorifying the pre-communist period, even if this meant playing down collaboration with the Third Reich. This has changed in some degree during the process of EU-integration of the Central Eastern European states.

We can observe a center/periphery gap, for example, between Ukraine and Poland, which occurs mostly on two levels. First of all, when traveling from Western Ukraine to Poland, one can observe that there are no Holocaust Memorial Museums on the Ukrainian side of the border,⁴ while there is a real memory boom in Krakow, which led to the opening of the Galicia Jewish Museum in 2004 and an exhibition at Oscar Schindler's Factory in 2010. To give another example: in Kolomyia, in the fore-Carpathian region, the only monument one can find near the site of the former Great Synagogue is a statue of two “mourning mothers” holding a baby. Since there is no inscription, it is not remotely clear if this monument, intended to remind us of the Ukrainian suffering, stands here by coincidence or whether it is supposed to integrate Jewish suffering

⁴ O ukrajinskoj politici sećanja, videti: Jutta Scherrer, *Ukraine. Konkurrierende Erinnerungen* [Ukrajina. Protivrečna sećanja], ur: Monika Flacke (ur.), *Mythen der Nationen. 1945 – Arena der Erinnerungen*, Berlin, 2004.

⁵ Videti: Omer Bartov, *Erased. Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine*, Princeton, 2007, str. 84f.

⁴ For Ukrainian politics of memory see: Jutta Scherrer, *Ukraine. Konkurrierende Erinnerungen* [Ukraine. Conflicting memories], in: Monika Flacke (ed.), *Mythen der Nationen. 1945 – Arena der Erinnerungen*, Berlin, 2004.



SLIKA 3 :: Mesto nekadašnje sinagoge, Kolomija, zapadna Ukrajina (© Ljiljana Radonic)

PICTURE 3 :: Site of a former synagogue, Kolomyia, Western Ukraine (© Ljiljana Radonic)



Slika 4 :: Nekada sinagoga, danas biblioteka, Przemysl, Poljska
(© Ljiljana Radonic)

Picture 4 :: Former synagogue, now library, Przemysl, Poland
(© Ljiljana Radonic)

je nekada bila sinagoga, priča o zgradi je ispričana do detalja (na poljskom, engleskom i hebrejskom) na velikoj spomen-ploči koju je postavila *Fondacija za očuvanje jevrejske baštine u Poljskoj*.

Pored ovih *lieux de mémoire*,⁶ takođe postoji očigledna razlika kada se dođe do nivoa javnih rasprava. Knjiga Jana Grosa [Jan T. Gross] *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne* (2001) [Susedi: uništenje jevrejske zajednice u mestu Jedwabne], u kojoj on pokreće pitanje poljskog antisemitizma i kolaboracije tokom Drugog svetskog rata,

into that of the Ukrainians.⁵ On the other hand, in Przemysl, right after the Ukrainian-Polish border, at the library which used to be a synagogue, the story of the building is recounted in detail (in Polish, English and Hebrew), on a huge memorial plaque founded by the *Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage in Poland*.

Beyond these exemplary (and missing) *lieux de mémoire* there is also an obvious difference when it comes to the level of public debates. Thus we can observe how in the book *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne* (2001), Jan T. Gross brings up the question of Polish anti-Semitism and collaboration during World War II, a topic which resulted in a long public debate in Poland, a country at the “periphery” of “unified Europe”. Conversely, in Ukraine, Omer Bartov’s *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine* (2007) caused little or no ripples on a nation-wide level.

In Poland, the struggle for a hierarchy between Polish and Jewish victims doubtlessly remains problematic, as well as the still present vivid anti-Semitism. Still, if we follow the argument about Jan T. Gross’ recent book, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland After Auschwitz* (2006), we can observe that these discussions pursue different rules than in Ukraine or, to be more precise that, in Poland, they take place as large public debates.⁶ But what do these tendencies tell us and how can they be placed in a

⁵ See Omer Bartov, *Erased. Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine*, Princeton, 2007, p. 84f.

⁶ In Western Ukraine some debates have been initiated by the establishment of the Center for Urban History of East Central Europe in Lviv in 2004, see <http://www.lvivcenter.org> (accessed November 20, 2010).

⁶ Mesta sećanja (fr.) (Prim. prev.)

dovela je do duge javne debate u Poljskoj, državi na “periferiji” “ujedinjene Evrope”. Nasuprot tome, u Ukrajini, knjiga Omera Bartova [Omer Bartov], *Erased. Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine* (2007) [Izbrisani: Nestali tragovi jevrejske Galicije u današnjoj Ukrajini], gotovo da je bila bez odjeka. U Poljskoj, borba za hijerarhiju između poljskih i jevrejskih žrtava je bez sumnje i dalje problematična, kao što je to i vrlo živo prisustvo antisemitizma. Ipak, ako sledimo argument o novoj knjizi Jana Grosa, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland After Auschwitz* (2006) [Strah: antisemitizam u Poljskoj nakon Aušvica], možemo primetiti da te rasprave slede drugačija pravila nego u Ukrajini, ili tačnije, da se one u Poljskoj odvijaju kao velike javne debate.⁷ Ali šta nam govore ove tendencije i kako se one mogu postaviti u širi kontekst? Kako možemo preciznije definisati ove pretpostavljene “standarde”?

STANDARD I: UNIVERZALIZACIJA HOLOKAUSTA

Nakon okončanja Hladnog rata, “procvat sećanja” u “zapadnim” zemljama je u središte pažnje stavio holokaust kao negativnu ikonu našeg doba. Pre devedesetih godina, postojali su samo usamljeni događaji koji su vodili transnacionalnim debatama o holokaustu, kao što je suđenje Ajhmanu 1961. godine, ili emitovanje američkog serijala “Holokaust” 1978/79. godine. U međuvremenu su nacionalne rasprave sledile sopstveni ritam, koji je bio određen ulogom zemlje u Drugom svetskom ratu, kao i trenutnom političkom situacijom.

broader context? How can we define these assumed “standards” more precisely?

STANDARD I: UNIVERSALIZATION OF THE HOLOCAUST

After the end of the Cold War the “memory-boom” in “western” countries spotlighted the Holocaust as the negative icon of our era. Prior to the Nineties, there were only lone events that led to transnational debates about the Holocaust, like the Eichmann-trial in 1961 or the broadcast of the US-serial “Holocaust” 1978/79. In the meantime, different national discussions followed their own rhythm, which was determined by the role of the country in World War II as well as the political situation in force at that time.

However, in contrast to earlier decades, the extermination of the European Jewry comes to the fore of World War II debates at some point during the 1980s. Along with this development comes a change in focus: instead of the figure of the hero or martyr, which was used particularly in the portrayal of the resistance against the Third Reich, now the individual victim has moved into the centre of remembrance discourse.⁷ Furthermore, the Holocaust has become a “negative icon”,⁸ a universal imperative to respect human rights in general, a “container” for the memory of different victims, as Levy and Sznajder put it.⁹

⁷ See Henry Rousso, *Das Dilemma eines europäischen Gedächtnisses* [The Dilemma of a European Memory], *Zeithistorische Forschungen* 1, 2004. p. 374.

⁸ See Dan Diner, *Gegenläufige Gedächtnisse. Über Geltung und Wirkung des Holocaust* [Juxtaposed Memories. On Standing and Effect of the Holocaust], Göttingen, 2007.

⁹ See Daniel Levy/Natan Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in a Global Age*, Philadelphia, 2005.

⁷ U zapadnoj Ukrajini neke rasprave su pokrenute osnivanjem Centra za urbanu istoriju istočne srednje Evrope u Lavovu 2004. godine, videti <http://www.lvivcenter.org> (posećeno 20. novembra 2010).

Međutim, za razliku od prethodnih decenija, od osamdesetih godina XX veka istrebljenje evropskih Jevreja dolazi u fokus debata o Drugom svetskom ratu. Uporedo sa ovim razvojem, dolazi do promene u fokusu: umesto figure heroja ili mučenika, koja je korišćena naročito u prikazivanju otpora protiv Trećeg rajha, sada je u fokus sećanja stavljen pojedinac žrtva.⁸ Nadalje, holokaust je postao “negativna ikona”,⁹ univerzalni imperativ da se poštuju ljudska prava uopšte, “skladište” za sećanje na različite žrtve, kako su to rekli Levi i Šnajder [Levy, Sznajder].¹⁰

STANDARD II: EUROPEIZACIJA HOLOKAUSTA

U Evropi, “univerzalizacija holokausta” obuhvata još jednu dimenziju: “slom civilizacije” (*Zivilisationsbruch Auschwitz*),¹¹ koja sve više postaje negativan osnivački mit Evrope. Ujedinjena Evropa nakon 1945. godine je shvaćena kao kolektiv koji deli zajedničku sudbinu (*Schicksalsgemeinschaft*), koji je naučio lekciju iz holokausta i razvio zajedničke strukture kako bi se izbeglo ponavljanje. Budući da je EU u potrazi za novim identitetom koji prevazilazi ekonomsku i monetarnu uniju, ovaj osnivački mit bi trebalo da stvori takav identitet.¹² To je jedan od razloga zbog kojih je “Radna grupa za međunarodnu saradnju u vezi sa ob-

⁸ Videti Henry Rousso, *Das Dilemma eines europäischen Gedächtnisses* [Dilema evropskog sećanja], *Zeithistorische Forschungen* 1, 2004. str. 374.

⁹ Videti Dan Diner, *Gegenläufige Gedächtnisse. Über Geltung und Wirkung des Holocaust* [Suprotstavljena sećanja. O reputaciji i uticaju holokausta], Göttingen, 2007.

¹⁰ Videti Daniel Levy/Natan Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in a Global Age*, Philadelphia, 2005.

¹¹ Videti Dan Diner (ur.), *Zivilisationsbruch. Denken nach Auschwitz* [Raspad civilizacije. Razmišljanje posle Aušvica], Frankfurt am Main, 1988.

¹² Videti Judt, Postwar, str. 803-831.

STANDARD II: EUROPEANIZATION OF THE HOLOCAUST

In Europe, the “universalization of the Holocaust” includes another dimension: the “rupture in civilization” (*Zivilisationsbruch Auschwitz*),¹⁰ which has increasingly become a negative European founding myth. Unified Europe, after 1945, is understood as a collective sharing a common destiny (*Schicksalsgemeinschaft*) that has learned a lesson from the Holocaust and developed shared structures in order to avoid a recurrence. Since the EU is searching for a new European identity that goes beyond an economic and monetary union, this founding myth is supposed to create such an identity.¹¹ This is one of the reasons for which the *Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research* (ITF) – founded in Sweden as a network of politicians and experts in 1998 – aroused so much interest and today already includes 27 mostly-European countries. Furthermore, at the beginning of the new millennium, on January 27th 2000, the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, an international Holocaust-conference took place in Stockholm, which was for the first time attended by prime ministers and presidents, as well as by renowned experts and contemporary witnesses from 46 states.¹² One of the results of the ensuing declaration was the recommendation that all countries should implement January 27th, or a similar national date, as Holocaust Memorial Day. These were the first steps to-

¹⁰ See Dan Diner (ed.), *Zivilisationsbruch. Denken nach Auschwitz* [Rupture in Civilization. Thinking after Auschwitz], Frankfurt am Main, 1988.

¹¹ See Judt, Postwar, p. 803-831.

¹² See Jens Kroh, *Transnationale Erinnerung. Der Holocaust im Fokus geschichtspolitischer Initiativen* [Transnational Memory. The Holocaust in the Focus of Politics of the Past-Initiatives], Frankfurt am Main, 2008, p. 111-113.

razovanjem o holokaustu, sećanjem i istraživanjem” [*Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research* (ITF)], osnovana 1998. godine u Švedskoj kao mreža političara i stručnjaka, izazvala toliko interesovanja i danas već obuhvata 27 pretežno evropskih zemalja. Pored toga, na početku novog milenijuma, na godišnjicu oslobođenja Aušvica, 27. januara 2000. godine, održana je međunarodna konferencija o Aušvicu u Stokholmu, kojoj su po prvi put prisustvovali premijeri i predsednici država, ali i renomirani stručnjaci i očevici savremenici iz 46 država.¹³ Jedan od rezultata deklaracije koja je doneta bila je preporuka da sve zemlje treba da usvoje 27. januar ili neki sličan nacionalni datum kao Dan sećanja na holokaust. Ovo su bili prvi koraci ka nekoj vrsti “evropskih standarda”, koji se nisu zvanično primenjivali tokom proširenja EU na istok ali su odigrali ulogu nezvanično, kao što je već pokazano na primeru otvaranja *Memorijalnog centra holokausta* u Budimpešti 2004. godine.

Ovaj pokušaj da se holokaust naknadno unapredi s nekom vrstom smisla, moralnom legitimnošću Evropske unije kao bolje Evrope koja se uzdiže iz holokausta, problematičan je iz više razloga.

Kompleksni događaji su istrgnuti iz istorijskog konteksta kako bi se stvorio zajednički identitet. To iziskuje apstrahovanje konkretnih žrtava i počinilaca,

wards some form of “European standards”, which were not however officially applied during the eastern enlargement of the EU but which did play an unofficial role, as we observed above with the example of the opening of the *Holocaust Memorial Center* in Budapest in 2004.

The attempt to retrospectively enhance the Holocaust with some kind of sense; the moral legitimization of the EU as a better Europe ascending from the Holocaust, is inherently problematic in more ways than one.

A complex sequence of events has become unhinged from of their historic context in order to create a shared identity. This demands abstracting from the concrete victims and perpetrators, as well as from the specific role of Germany and Austria, important allies in the EU. As Levy/Sznaider state: “The Holocaust is no longer about the Jews being exterminated by the Germans. Rather, it is about human beings and the most extreme violation of their human rights.”¹³ Levy/Sznaider welcome this focus on the individual victim. Nevertheless this tends to result in omitting the different contexts in which “a human being” died and thus promoting the problematic tendency to define everyone killed in World War II as equally innocent victims – an aspect which is only addressed as a slight problem when it comes to the issue of German victims of bombing and expulsion but which ought to be seen more critically.¹⁴ Universalization dehistorises the events of World War II in order to make them ap-

¹³ Videti Jens Kroh, *Transnationale Erinnerung. Der Holocaust im Fokus geschichtspolitischer Initiativen* [Transnacionalno sećanje. Holokaust u fokusu politike prošlih inicijativa], Frankfurt am Main, 2008, str. 111-113.

¹³ Daniel Levy/Natan Sznaider, *Sovereignty transformed: a sociology of human Rights*, *The British Journal of Sociology* 57, 4/2004, p. 669.

¹⁴ See Levy/Sznaider, *The Holocaust*.

kao i specifične uloge Nemačke i Austrije, koje su važni saveznici u EU. Kao što pišu Levi/Šnajder: "Kod holokausta više nije reč o Jevrejima koje su Nemci istrebljivali. Zapravo se radi o ljudima i najekstremnijem kršenju njihovih ljudskih prava."¹⁴ Levi/Šnajder pozdravljaju ovo fokusiranje na pojedinca žrtvu. Ali ovo ima za posledicu zamagljivanje različitih konteksta u kojima je "ljudsko biće" umrlo, i time podstiče problematičnu tendenciju da se izjednače svi koji su ubijeni u Drugom svetskom ratu kao podjednako neđužne žrtve – aspekt koji Levi/Šnajder smatraju neznatnim problemom samo kada su u pitanju nemačke žrtve bombardovanja i proterivanja, a koji bi trebalo da se posmatra više kritički.¹⁵

Ova univerzalizacija deistorizuje događaje iz Drugog svetskog rata kako bi bili primenljivi kao moralna pouka. Budući da smo "mi, Evropljani" tako uspešno naučili lekciju holokausta, izgleda da je neophodno da žrtve današnjih konflikata, "Muslimane", "Bosance" ili "Kosovare" shvatimo kao "nove Jevreje". Razumevanje Nemačke kao *uzora* za uspešno suočavanje sa svojom prošlošću joj otuda omogućava da koristi moto "Nie wieder Auschwitz" ["Nikada više Aušvic"] za sadašnje političke ciljeve: formulacije kao što su "rampa u Srebrenici" (aluzija na rampu u Aušvicu na kojoj je vršena "selekcija") ili "sprečavanje novog Aušvica na Kosovu" su korišćene u Nemačkoj kako bi se NATO rat na Kosovu 1999. godine proglasio zakonitim, iako UN za to nisu dale ovlašćenje, i danas se dovodi u pitanje opravdanost bombardovanja.

plicable as a moral lesson. Since "we" the "Europeans" have learned from the Holocaust so successfully, it seems necessary to understand victims of today's conflicts – "the Muslims", the "Bosnians" or "the Kosovars", as the "new Jews". Understanding Germany as *the* role model for confronting its past, successfully allows it to use the motto "Nie wieder Auschwitz" for current political aims: formulations like "the ramp of Srebrenica" (alluding to the ramp of Auschwitz, where the "selection" took place) or "preventing a new Auschwitz in Kosovo" were used in Germany in order to legitimate the NATO-war in Kosovo in 1999, although there was no UN-mandate for it and the reasons behind the bombings are still questioned today.

STANDARD III: GULAG VS. HOLOCAUST

Parallel to the "Europeanization of the Holocaust", history in eastern European countries began to be re-narrated after 1989. As a result, the historical narrative of the heroic anti-fascist struggle was altogether delegitimized, with post-communist regimes placing the trauma of the communist crimes at the core of memory, often by evoking symbols familiar from the Shoah-memory like rail tracks and wagons.

This "divided memory"¹⁵ in "East" and "West", motivates representatives of post-communist states to demand that communist crimes be convicted "to the same extent" as the Holocaust. In response to this, the EU-parliament introduced a new

¹⁴ Daniel Levy/Natan Sznajder, Sovereignty transformed: a sociology of human Rights, The British Journal of Sociology 57, 4/2004, str. 669.

¹⁵ Videti Levy/Sznajder, The Holocaust.

¹⁵ See Stefan Troebst, Jalta versus Stalingrad, Gulag versus Holocaust. Konfligierende Erinnerungskulturen im größeren Europa [Jalta versus Stalingrad, Gulag versus Holocaust. Conflicting Memory Cultures in a Larger Europe], in: Bernd Faulenbach/Franz-Josef Jelic, "Transformationen" der Erinnerungskulturen in Europa nach 1989, Essen, 2006, p. 23-49.



SLIKA 5 :: Kuća terora, Budimpešta (© Ljiljana Radonic)

PICTURE 5 :: House of Terror, Budapest (© Ljiljana Radonic)

STANDARD III: GULAG NASUPROT HOLOKAUSTU

Uporedo sa “evropeizacijom holokausta”, u istočnoevropskim zemljama istorija je iznova prepričavana posle 1989. godine. Kao rezultat, istorijski narativ herojske antifašističke borbe je izgubio legitimnost, usled toga što su postkomunistički režimi postavljali traume komunističkih zločina u jezgro sećanja, često evocirajući simbole poznate iz sećanja na Šou poput koloseka i vagona.

Ovo “podeljeno sećanje”¹⁶ na “Istok” i “Zapad” dovodi do toga da predstavnici postkomunističkih država zahtevaju da zločini komunistički budu osuđeni “u istoj

memorial day in summer 2009: on August 23rd, the anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin pact from 1939. On this day, both the victims of National Socialism and of Stalinism are jointly commemorated – an invitation to externalize one’s own responsibility for both crimes. In addition to this, after 1989 the pre-communist period begins to be glorified as a “golden era” of national freedom, with the result that the Soviet occupation is now remembered as worse than the Third Reich in, for example, the Baltic states.

CASE STUDY I: BUDAPEST

The House of Terror, which opened in 2002 as a state funded museum, is located at the historical site in which people were detained, interrogated, tortured or killed both during the regime of the Arrow Cross Party (1944-1945) that collaborated with

¹⁶ Videti Stefan Troebst, *Jalta versus Stalingrad, Gulag versus Holocaust. Konfligierende Erinnerungskulturen im größeren Europa [Jalta nasuprot Staljingradu, Gulag nasuprot holokaustu. Protivrečne kulture sećanja u široj Evropi]*, u: Bernd Faulenbach/Franz-Josef Jelic (ur.), *“Transformationen” der Erinnerungskulturen in Europa nach 1989*, Essen, 2006, str. 23-49.

meri" kao holokaust. Stoga je parlament EU u leto 2009. godine uveo novi dan sećanja: na godišnjicu pakta između Hitlera i Staljina iz 1939. godine, 23. avgusta, treba slaviti uspomenu na žrtve kako nacionalsocijalizma tako staljinizma – što je poziv da se eksternalizuje sopstvena odgovornost za oba zločina. Takođe, nakon 1989. godine, period pre komunizma se veliča kao "zlatno doba" nacionalne slobode, te je na primer u baltičkim državama sovjetska okupacija upamćena kao gora od Trećeg rajha.

STUDIJA SLUČAJA I: BUDIMPEŠTA

"Kuća terora", koja je otvorena 2002. godine kao muzej koji finansira država, nalazi se na istorijskoj lokaciji na kojoj su ljudi bili privođeni, saslušavani, mučeni ili ubijani u toku režima Partije strelastih krstova (1944-1945) koja je saradivala sa nacistima, kao i za vreme komunističkog režima nakon završetka Drugog svetskog rata. Simbolika koja dominira kroz ceo muzej je izjednačavanje strelastog krsta i crvene zvezde, što dostiže vrhunac u video snimku koji prikazuje osobu koja skida uniformu strelastog krsta i oblači komunističku uniformu.

Dok je simbolika izjednačavanje, kvantitativna zastupljenost ova dva perioda nije jednaka: samo dve od preko dvadeset prostorija se bave Drugim svetskim ratom, dok je fokus izložbene postavke očigledno stavljen na kasniji period, a holokaust je marginalizovan.¹⁷ Dakle, glavna poruka

the Nazis and by the communist regime after the end of World War II. The symbolism that dominates the whole museum is the equalization of the Arrow Cross with the red star. This message reaches its peak in a video that shows one person taking off the Arrow Cross uniform and exchanging it for a communist one.

While the symbolism is an equalizing one, the quantitative representation of the two periods isn't: only two out of more than twenty rooms deal with World War II. The focus of the exhibition clearly lies on the later period, whereas the Holocaust is marginalized.¹⁶ The main message of the museum is thus the national victim narrative, while the responsibility for the crimes of the Arrow Cross Party and the communists is externalized entirely, as if the (Hungarian) collaborators had nothing to do with Hungarian society.¹⁷ The perpetrators are thus demonized, by displaying "Wanted"-style posters that depict the faces and names of these people – some of whom are still alive to this day. Conversely, the victims are remembered in a way that recalls the above-described aesthetics of Holocaust remembrance, in particular the room of tears, with its symbolic memory of individual victims. Another room creates the impression of being in a deportation wagon, but alludes solely to Hungarian victimhood.

¹⁶ Gerhard Seewann/Éva Kovács, *Halbherzige Vergangenheitsbewältigung, konkurrenzfähige Erinnerungspolitik – Die Shoa in der ungarischen Erinnerungskultur* [Halfhearted Dealing with the Past, Competitive Politics of Memory – Shoa in the Hungarian Memory Culture], in: Bernd Faulenbach/Franz-Josef Jelic (ed.), „Transformationen“ der Erinnerungskulturen in Europa nach 1989, Essen, 2006, p. 193.

¹⁷ See *Ibid.*, p. 194f; Éva Kovács/Seewann, Gerhard, *Ungarn. Der Kampf um das Gedächtnis* [Hungary. Struggle for Memory], in: Flacke, Monika (ed.): *Mythen der Nationen. 1945 – Arena der Erinnerung*, Mainz, 2004, p. 835.

muzeja je narativ nacionalnih žrtava, dok je odgovornost za zločine Partije strelastih krstova i komunista u potpunosti ekster-nalizovana kao da kolaboratori (Mađari) nisu imali nikakve veze sa mađarskim društvom.¹⁸ Počinioci su demonizovani čak i time što su prikazani neki plakati poput “Traži se”, sa slikama i imenima ljudi koji su još uvek živi. S druge strane, žrtve su upamćene na način koji podseća na gore opisanu estetiku sećanja na holokaust, a posebno soba suza, sa njenim simboličnim sećanjem na pojedinačne žrtve. Jedna druga prostorija stvara utisak da ste u vagonu za deportaciju, ali aludira isključivo na mađarske žrtve.

Memorijalni centar holokausta predstavlja kontra-narativ prvom muzeju. Njega takođe finansira država, ali su kritičari prigovorili da odabrana lokacija daleko od centra grada, u sinagogi koja nije na neki poseban način povezana sa holokaustom, predstavlja marginalizovan status sećanja na holokaust (i Rome) u mađarskom društvu.¹⁹ Kao što je već pomenuto, činilo se potrebno da se muzej otvori pre nego što Mađarska pristupi EU, bez stalne postavke. Stoga je bio prikazan samo “Album iz Aušvica”, zbirka fotografija koje je napravio nemački SS-ovac tokom dolaska mađarskih Jevreja u Aušvic. Kolaboracija mađarskog društva, naročito deportacija koju su izvršavali mađarski policajci, ovde nije imala nikakvu ulogu.²⁰ Ali kada je otvorena stalna

The *Holocaust Memorial Center* presents a counter-narrative to the first museum. It is also state-funded but critics have objected that the chosen location, far away from the city center in a synagogue that is not linked to the Holocaust in any special way, represents the marginalized status of Holocaust (and Roma) memory in the Hungarian society.¹⁸ As mentioned above, there appears to have been a need to inaugurate the museum before Hungary joined the EU, without having a permanent exhibition in place. Thus, all that was displayed were the “Auschwitz-album” photographs, taken by German SS, during the arrival of Hungarian Jews in Auschwitz. The collaboration of Hungarian society, especially the execution of the deportation by the Hungarian police, does not play a role here.¹⁹ However, once the permanent exhibition opened in 2006, the museum became a site of what Volkhard Knigge, the director of the Buchenwald Memorial calls “negative memory”: the remembrance of acts committed, rather than suffered by the own collective.²⁰ The exhibition self-critically deals with the Hungarian anti-Semitic tradition – especially during the Horthy regime (1920-1944), the responsibility of Hungarian gendarmes for the deportation of Hungarian Jews and with the mass murder of Roma.²¹

¹⁸ Seewann/Kovács, *Halbherzige Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, p. 197.

¹⁹ Regina Fritz, *Gespaltene Erinnerung. Museale Darstellungen des Holocaust in Ungarn [Divided Memory. Museal Embodiment of the Holocaust in Hungary]*, in: Regina Fritz/Carola Sachse/Edgar Wolfrum (ed.), *Postdiktatorische Gesellschaften in Europa*, Göttingen, 2008.

²⁰ See Volkhard Knigge/Norbert Frei (ed.), *Verbrechen erinnern. Die Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust und Völkermord [Remembering Crimes. Dealing with Holocaust and Genocide]*, München, 2002.

²¹ See the catalogue of the museum: László Karsai/Gábor Kádár/Zoltán Vági, *From Deprivation of Rights to Genocide. To the Memory of the Victims of the Hungarian Holocaust*, Budapest, 2006.

¹⁸ Videti *ibid.*, str. 194f; Éva Kovács/Seewann, Gerhard, *Ungarn. Der Kampf um das Gedächtnis [Mađarska. Borba za sećanje]*, u: Flacke, Monika (ur.): *Mythen der Nationen. 1945 - Arena der Erinnerung*, Mainz, 2004, str. 835.

¹⁹ Seewann/Kovács, *Halbherzige Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, str. 197.

²⁰ Regina Fritz, *Gespaltene Erinnerung. Museale Darstellungen*

postavka 2006. godine, muzej je postao mesto za ono što direktor Memorijala Buhenvald Volkard Knige [Volkhard Knigge] naziva “negativno sećanje”: sećanje na dela koja je počinio a ne pretrpeo sopstveni kolektiv.²¹ Muzej se samokritički bavi mađarskom tradicijom antisemitizma, naročito tokom režima Hortija [Horthy] (1920-1944), odgovornošću mađarskih žandarma za deportacije mađarskih Jevreja i masovna ubijanja Roma.²²

Sećanje grada Budimpešte je tako poučno jer je jedini primer poznat autorki gde se narativi o prošlosti toliko antitetički manifestuju u velikim memorijalnim muzejima u jednom gradu.

STUDIJA SLUČAJA II:

MEMORIJALNI MUZEJ JASENOVAC, HRVATSKA

U našoj drugoj studiji slučaja, ne postoji memorijalni muzej koji predstavlja nacionalistički narativ u Hrvatskoj, što se verovatno može objasniti činjenicom da se najveći novi *lieu de mémoire* nalazi van zemlje, u Blajburgu, mestu “hrvatske tragedije” ili “hrvatskog holokausta”, kako su ga uglavnom nazivali za vreme revizionističkog doba predsednika Franje Tuđmana (1990-1999).

Revizionizam u vezi sa kolaboracionističkim režimom je bio najupadljiviji u

des Holocaust in Ungarn [Podeljeno sećanje. Muzejsko otelovljenje holokausta u Mađarskoj], u: Regina Fritz/Carola Sachse/Edgar Wolfrum (ur.), Postdiktatorische Gesellschaften in Europa, Göttingen, 2008.

²¹ Videti Volkhard Knigge/Norbert Frei (ur.), Verbrechen erinnern. Die Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust und Völkermord [Sećanje na zločine. Suočavanje sa holokaustom i genocidom], München, 2002.

²² Videti katalog muzeja: László Karsai/Gábor Kádár/Zoltán Vági. From Deprivation of Rights to Genocide. To the Memory of the Victims of the Hungarian Holocaust [Od uskraćivanja prava do genocida. U spomen na žrtve mađarskog holokausta], Budapest, 2006.

The memory of the town of Budapest is instructive inasmuch as it is the only example known to the author in which such antithetic narratives of the past manifest themselves in large memorial museums of the same city.

CASE STUDY II:

JASENOVAC MEMORIAL MUSEUM, CROATIA

In our Croatian case study, there is no memorial museum representing the nationalist narrative. This can probably be explained by the fact that the largest new *lieu de mémoire* is situated outside the country, in Bleiburg, the site of the “Croatian tragedy” or the “Croatian Holocaust”, as it was called during the revisionist era of president Franjo Tuđman (1990-1999).

Revisionism concerning the collaborationist regime was most striking in Croatia after 1990, during which time the Nazi puppet “Independent State of Croatia” (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska–NDH) was described as a “milestone” on the way to Croatia’s independence. The Ustascha-regime came to power with the asset stripping of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in April 1941 and had already begun operating death camps in the summer of that same year. The largest of them was Jasenovac, a labor and death camp complex in which around 100.000 people were killed – around half of them Serbs, as well as Jews, Roma and Croatian political detainees.²²

After Tuđman’s death at the end of 1999, a coalition under the leadership of the social democrats won the elections. During

²² See Nataša Mataušić, Jasenovac 1941.-1945.: logor smrti i radni logor [Jasenovac 1941-1945: A Death- and Labour Camp], Jasenovac – Zagreb, 2003; Igor Graovac/Dragan Cvetković, Ljudski gubici Hrvatske 1941.-1945. godine: Pitanja, primjeri, rezultati..., Zagreb, 2005.

Hrvatskoj nakon 1990. godine, kada se nacistička marionetska “Nezavisna Država Hrvatska-NDH” smatrala “prekretnicom” na putu Hrvatske ka nezavisnosti, kako je to rekao njen predsjednik Franjo Tuđman. Ustaški režim je došao na vlast uz pljačku imovine Kraljevine Jugoslavije u aprilu 1941. godine, i već u leto iste godine počeli su s radom logori smrti. Najveći od njih bio je Jasenovac, kompleks radnog logora i logora smrti, gde je bilo ubijeno oko 100.000 ljudi, oko polovina njih Srbi, kao i Jevreji, Romi i hrvatski politički zatvorenici.²³

Nakon smrti Tuđmana krajem 1999. godine, na izborima je pobedila koalicija pod rukovodstvom socijaldemokrata. Tokom procesa demokratizacije, naročito smanjivanjem nadležnosti predsednika i uvođenjem delotvornih kontrola i protivteža, u Hrvatskoj se takođe promenio način suočavanja s prošlošću. Godine 2003, nekadašnja Tuđmanova stranka, HDZ, je ponovo pobedila na izborima. Premijer Ivo Sanader, koji je podneo ostavku 2009. godine, bio je poznat kao evropski orijentisan državnik koji je raskinuo sa revizionističkim idejama svog prethodnika. Na komemoraciji u Spomen-području Jasenovac 2005. godine, on je istakao da je savremena Hrvatska “posvećena antifašističkim vrednostima”,²⁴ ali je dodao da je i “Domovinski rat” (1991-1995) takođe vođen protiv jedne vrste fašizma. Za

the process of democratization, especially the cutting back of the competences of the president and the introduction of efficient checks and balances, the manner in which the past was dealt with in Croatia also changed. In 2003 Tuđman’s former party, the HDZ, once again won the elections. Prime Minister Ivo Sanader, who resigned in 2009, was known as a Europe-oriented statesman who broke with the revisionist ideas of his predecessor. At the 2005 commemoration at the Jasenovac Memorial, Sanader emphasized contemporary Croatia’s “commitment to anti-Fascist values”,²³ but added that the “Homeland War” (1991-1995) was also fought against a form of fascism. During a 2005 visit to Yad Vashem, he similarly argued (corresponding to standard I: Universalization of the holocaust) that during the 1990s war, the Croats were also victims of the same kind of evil as Nazism and Fascism and that no one knew better than the Croats what it meant to be a victim of aggression and crime.²⁴ The *Holocaust History Museum* further inspired Sanader to think about a Museum of the Homeland War, as he told journalists after his visit.²⁵ What makes the episode so telling is that these statements were not followed by any protests.

The shift away from historical revisionism, which minimizes the victims of the Ustača-state in the Tuđman-era, to a new view that recognizes the Holocaust but presents

²³ Videti Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941.-1945.: logor smrti i radni logor*, Jasenovac – Zagreb, 2003; Igor Graovac/Dragan Cvetković, *Ljudski gubici Hrvatske 1941.–1945. godine*, Pitanja, primjeri, rezultati..., Zagreb, 2005.

²⁴ Govor premijera Sanadera na komemoraciji u Spomen-području Jasenovac 2005. godine, <http://www.vlada.hr/default.asp?ru=345&gl=200505020000004&sid=&jezik=2> (posećeno 6. marta 2007.).

²³ Premier Sanader’s speech at the commemoration in Jasenovac memorial 2005, <http://www.vlada.hr/default.asp?ru=345&gl=200505020000004&sid=&jezik=2> (accessed March 6, 2007).

²⁴ See Premier Sanader’s speech at the commemoration in Yad Vashem 2005, <http://www.vlada.hr/default.asp?gl=200506280000018> (accessed March 6, 2007).

²⁵ See *Vjesnik*, 29 June 2005.

vreme posete Jad Vašemu 2005. godine, on je slično tome tvrdio (u skladu sa standardom I: univerzalizacija holokausta) da su tokom rata 1990-tih godina Hrvati takođe bili žrtve iste vrste zla kao što su nacizam i fašizam, i da niko ne zna bolje od Hrvata šta znači biti žrtva agresije i zločina.²⁵ *Muzej istorije holokausta* je dodatno inspirisao Sanadera da razmišlja o Muzeju Domovinskog rata, kako je rekao novinarima nakon svoje posete.²⁶ Ono što ovu epizodu čini tako indikativnom je to što ove izjave nisu bile praćene nikakvim protestima.

Ovaj pomak od istorijskog revizionizma, koji u Tuđmanovo doba umanjuje žrtve ustaške države, ka novom stanovištu koje priznaje holokaust ali predstavlja Hrvate kao žrtve fašizma, ovog puta "srpskog fašizma", pokazuje problematičnu prirodu "univerzalizacije holokausta". Hrvatski slučaj ilustruje da holokaust sve više postaje "skladište" za sećanje na različite žrtve, što je razvoj koji se naravno ne može dijagnostikovati pozitivno kako to čine Levi i Šnajder: viđenje sopstvenog naroda kao "novih Jevreja" onemogućava kritički pristup sopstvenim zločinima u Drugom svetskom ratu, kao i u ratnim sukobima tokom devedesetih godina XX veka.

Najupečatljiviji primer problematičnih aspekata "evropeizacije holokausta" (u skladu sa standardom II) je nova izložbena postavka u *Memorijalnom muzeju Jasenovac* koji finansira država, i koja je nakon dugih debata otvorena krajem 2006. godine. Iz-

Croats as victims of Fascism, this time of "Serbian Fascism", shows the problematic nature of the "universalization of the holocaust". The Croatian case illustrates that the Holocaust is increasingly becoming a "container" for the memory of different victims, a development which obviously cannot be diagnosed as positively as Levy and Sznajder do: seeing one's own nation as the "new Jews" prevents a critical approach to one's own crimes in World War II as well as in the war of the Nineties.

The most striking example of the problematic aspects of the "Europeanization of the Holocaust" (corresponding to standard II), is the new exhibition at the state-funded *Jasenovac Memorial Museum* which, following prolonged debates, was inaugurated at the end of 2006. The main progressive development of the exhibition seems to be the acknowledgment of the fact that the Shoah had happened in Croatia. At the same time, it is stressed that the extermination of the Croatian Jews must be seen in the broader context of the Holocaust, while the fact that most collaborating regimes did not operate death camps on their own like the Ustascha did, fails to be mentioned. It is this emphasis on the Holocaust, which corresponds with international standards of commemorating and exhibiting World War II, that makes the problematic of a dehistoricised identity-creating memory so obvious: while focusing on the Holocaust, the genocide against the Serbs (by far the largest victim group) and the Roma is marginalized.

The director, Nataša Jovičić, defended the exhibition by saying that it had been conceptualized together with international experts because she wanted it to

²⁵ Videti govor premijera Sanadera na komemoraciji u Jad Vašemu 2005. godine, <http://www.vlada.hr/default.asp?gl=200506280000018> (posećeno 6. marta 2007.)

²⁶ Videti *Vjesnik*, 29. jun 2005.

gleda da je glavni napredak nove postavke priznanje činjenice da se holokaust dogodio u Hrvatskoj. Istovremeno je istaknuto da se istrebljenje hrvatskih Jevreja mora posmatrati u širem kontekstu holokausta, dok se ne spominje činjenica da većina kolaboracionističkih režima nije samostalno upravljala logorima smrti kao što su to radili ustaše. Upravo ovo stavljanje naglaska na holokaust, koje se podudara sa međunarodnim standardima komemorisanja i prikazivanja Drugog svetskog rata, jasno pokazuje problematiku deistorizovanog sećanja stvaranja identiteta: dok se fokus stavlja na holokaust, marginalizuje se genocid nad Srbima (nesumnjivo najvećom grupom žrtava) i Romima.

Direktorka Nataša Jovičić branila je izložbenu postavku govoreći da ju je osmislila zajedno sa međunarodnim stručnjacima, zato što je želela da bude "međunarodno prepoznatljiva i u kontekstu međunarodnih standarda".²⁷ Pa ipak, ovi stručnjaci su dolazili samo iz institucija koje se bave holokaustom kao što je *Američki Memorijalni muzej holokausta, Kuća Ane Frank* ili *Jad Vašem*. Pod pretpostavkom da su ti stručnjaci bili svesni posebne situacije u Jasenovcu, gde su Srbi bili ubijani u najvećem broju, može se pretpostaviti da je problem u nečemu drugom: hrvatski kustosi se nisu orijentisali na memorijalne muzeje na lokacijama nekadašnjih koncentracionih logora u Nemačkoj ili u *Generalgouvernementu*, koji nastoje da pokažu kompleksnu prirodu i svakodnevnu rutinu koncentracionih logora, već na druge institucije. "Kao u Kući Ane Frank",

be "internationally recognizable and in the context of international standards".²⁶ Yet these experts only came from institutions concerned with the Holocaust like the *US Holocaust memorial museum*, the *Anne-Frank-House* or *Yad Vashem*. Presuming that those experts were aware of the particular situation in Jasenovac, where mostly Serbs had been killed, one can suppose that the problem lies somewhere else: that the Croatian curators did not base themselves on memorial museums at the sites of former concentration camps in Germany or the *Generalgouvernement*, which try to show the complex character and daily routine of a concentration camp, but on other institutions. "Like at the Anne Frank House" Jovičić wants to "tell a tragic life story with the help of a few objects".²⁷

Of course it is understandable that the current focus on individual victim stories is dominant at the *Anne-Frank-House*. But in Jasenovac, a hypermodern exhibition uses new media in order to spotlight only single victim stories, as is described in an article in the state-owned daily *Vjesnik*: "Even more thoroughly than the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and the Anne Frank House in the Netherlands, the director of the Jasenovac Memorial, the art historian Nataša Jovičić, decided to devote the whole new museum exhibition (in preparation) to the victims".²⁸ Referring directly to the "illustration of the executioner and the victim in world museology", Jovičić planned, not to show anonymous

²⁶ *Vjesnik*, 14 February 2004.

²⁷ *Vjesnik*, 24 May 2004.

²⁸ *Vjesnik*, 7 March 2004.

²⁷ *Vjesnik*, 14. februar 2004.

Jovičić želi da “ispriča tragičnu životnu priču uz pomoć nekoliko predmeta”.²⁸

Naravno, razumljivo je što je u *Kući Ane Frank* dominantno fokusiranje na priče pojedinačnih žrtava. Ali ova hipermoderna izložba u Jasenovcu koristi i nove medije kako bi se u središte pažnje stavile samo priče pojedinačnih žrtava, kao što je opisano u jednom članku u državnim novinama *Vjesnik*: “Čak i prodornije od Memorijalnog muzeja holokausta u Washingtonu i kuće Anne Frank u Nizozemskoj, ravnateljica Spomen područja Jasenovac – povjesničarka umjetnosti i obrazovanja Nataša Jovičić, odlučila je čitav novi muzejski postav (u pripremi) posvetiti – žrtvama”.²⁹ Pozivajući se direktno na ilustrovanje dželata i žrtve u svetskoj muzeologiji, ona je planirala da ne pokaže anonimna mrtva tela i oružja ubijanja kao što je to ranije rađeno, već da učini Jasenovac “mestom života” i afirmativne poruke. Ona s jedne strane spaja legitimnu kritiku estetike šoka, a s druge strane pokušava da pronađe neki smisao u tim događajima slanjem poruke svetlosti na mesto zločina.³⁰

Međutim, kritičari su takođe prigovorili novom izložbenom konceptu zbog toga što ne pokazuje ko su bili počinioci, koji narod je pretrpeo najveće gubitke i na koji su način ljudi bili ubijani u Jasenovcu – “manufakturi smrti”, kako ga nazivaju neki teoretičari.³¹ Nakon duge debate, postavci su dodati neki brutalni instrumenti za ubijanje, noževi i

death bodies and killing weapons as it was done before but, to make Jasenovac a “site of life” and of an affirmative message. She bonds together the legitimate critic of the shock-aesthetic on the one hand while trying to make sense of the events by “sending a message of light to the site of crime” on the other hand.²⁹

Critics have also faulted the Jasenovac exhibition, for not showing who the perpetrators were, which nation had the biggest losses and how people were killed in Jasenovac – the “manufacture of death”, as it is sometimes called by scholars.³⁰ After a long debate, some brute killing instruments, knives and mallets, were added to the exhibition as well as the nationality and age of the victims, in order to show that not only political prisoners were killed there, as was often claimed during the 1990s.

Since the director understands the memorial to be a “modern and dynamic human rights center”,³¹ the educational center furthermore presents the Holocaust primarily as a moral lesson, reproducing the dominant dehistoricised understanding of it, in a way it could be done anywhere else outside the camp area. This again should be viewed as an example for the problematic consequences of the Universalization of the Holocaust, which obviously cannot be seen as positively as Levy and Sznajder do. Furthermore, the exhibition does not integrate or address the historical site of the concentration camp around it in any way – an educational path has been planned for

²⁸ *Vjesnik*, 24. maj 2004.

²⁹ *Vjesnik*, 7. mart 2004.

³⁰ *Vjesnik*, 7. mart 2004.

³¹ *Videti Novi list*, 24. januar 2006. i 29. januar 2006.

²⁹ *Vjesnik*, 7 March 2004.

³⁰ See *Novi list*, 24 January 2006 and 29 January 2006.

³¹ See *Vjesnik*, 27 February 2004.

maljevi, kao i nacionalnost i starost žrtava, kako bi se pokazalo da tu nisu bili ubijani samo politički zatvorenici, kako se često tvrdilo tokom 1990-tih godina.

Budući da direktorka shvata spomen-područje kao “moderan i dinamičan centar za ljudska prava”,³² štaviše, edukativni centar prikazuje holokaust prvenstveno kao moralnu pouku, reprodukujući dominantno deistorizovano shvatanje holokausta na način na koji bi se to moglo uraditi bilo gde drugde izvan područja logora (što je primer za problematične posledice *univerzalizacije holokausta*). To se naravno ne može smatrati pozitivnim kako to vide Levi i Šnajder. Izložba takođe ne integriše istorijsku lokaciju oko koncentracionog logora, niti se njome bavi na bilo koji način – već godinama je u planu edukativna staza, ali do danas ništa nije urađeno. Jedina ilustracija baraka, koje simbolizuju brda, datira iz šezdesetih godina XX veka, kada je čuveni arhitekta Bogdan Bogdanović isprojektovao spomen-područje i izgradio spomenik “Cvet”. Čini se da su međunarodni stručnjaci pozdravili koncept izložbene postavke, možda čak sa entuzijazmom kako je to naglasila Jovičić nebrojeno puta,³³ na šta ukazuje intervju sa direktorkom i naučnim savetnikom *Američkog Memorijalnog muzeja holokausta*, Dajanom Saltzman i Arturom Bergerom [Diana Saltzman, Arthur Berger].³⁴ Dakle, ili možemo da prosudimo da je većina problema prvobitnog koncepta izložbene postavke rešena, ili da “univerzalizacija

several years but to this day nothing has yet happened. The only illustration of the barracks, which are symbolized by hills, dates back to the sixties, when the famous architect Bogdan Bogdanović designed the memorial area and built the flower-monument. An interview with the director and a scientific advisor of the *US Holocaust Memorial Museum*, Diana Saltzman and Arthur Berger, indicates that international experts³² seem to have welcomed the exhibition's concept as enthusiastically as Jovičić had claimed.³³As a result, one can either reason that most of the problems associated with the primal concept of the exhibition have been solved, or that the “universalization of the holocaust” aims only at a symbolic acknowledgment of the Shoa in order to open future perspectives of a global human rights discourse.

However, what Reinhart Kosellek stressed for Germany, stands also for Croatia: both cannot only commemorate the victims, but must also or even first of all remember the perpetrators.³⁴ In the Croatian case there cannot be an exhibition (supported by international experts and meeting international aesthetic standards) concentrating on the (Jewish) victims in a country and a region in which the engagement with one's own crimes, the “negative memory”, has not yet come very far.

Concerning standard III, the equalization of the Holocaust with the communist crimes,

³² See *Novi list*, 2 December 2006.

³³ See *Vjesnik*, 24 May 2004.

³⁴ See Reinhart Kosellek, *Formen und Traditionen des negativen Gedächtnisses* [Forms and Traditions of Negative Memory], in: Volkhard Knigge/Norbert Frei (ed.), *Verbrechen erinnern. Die Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust und Völkermord*, München, 2002.

³² Videti *Vjesnik*, 27. februar 2004.

³³ Videti *Vjesnik*, 24. maj 2004.

³⁴ Videti *Novi list*, 2. decembar 2006.

holokausta” ima za cilj samo simbolično priznavanje Šoe kako bi se otvorile buduće perspektive globalnog diskursa o ljudskim pravima.

Međutim, ono što je Rajnhart Koselek [Reinhart Kosellek] naglasio kada je u pitanju Nemačka, važi i za Hrvatsku: ni jedna ni druga ne mogu samo da slave uspomenu na žrtve, već moraju takođe, ili čak pre svega, da se sete počinilaca.³⁵ U slučaju Hrvatske, ne može da postoji izložba (koju podržavaju međunarodni stručnjaci i koja zadovoljava međunarodne estetske standarde) koja je usredsređena na (jevrejske) žrtve, u zemlji i regionu gde hvatanje u koštac sa sopstvenim zločinima, “negativno sećanje”, još nije daleko odmaklo.

Uzimajući u obzir standard III, izjednačavanje holokausta sa zločinima komunističarima, možemo dodati da su svi članovi do 2011. vladajuće stranke HDZ-a, na čijem je čelu bila Jadranka Kosor, neprestano osuđivali “oba totalitarizma”, “crni i crveni”, tokom svake komemoracije na lokaciji nekadašnjeg koncentracionog logora Jasenovac.³⁶ Ovo, poput mantre ponavljano, izjednačavanje savršeno odgovara evropskim tokovima, ali ga ipak treba kritikovati, naposljetku i zbog toga što su upravo partizani i kasnije Titovi komunisti bili oni koji su primorali ustaše da likvidiraju logor nekoliko dana pre završetka Drugog svetskog rata.

it is important to note that all members of the former governing party until 2011, the HDZ, now led by Jadranka Kosor, kept condemning “both totalitarianisms”, “the black and the red one” during every single commemoration at the site of the former concentration camp Jasenovac.³⁵ This mantra-like equalization corresponds to European trends perfectly but still needs to be criticized, last, but not least because it was the partisans and later commander Tito, who forced the Ustascha to liquidate the camp a few days before the end of World War II.

CONCLUSION

Upon returning to the pictures of the memorial museums in Budapest and Jasenovac, we can now conclude the following:

- 1) There exists some kind of European memory standards, since both museums are constructed following the same principals.
- 2) The standards for establishing such museums are developed further to the west, the US being the aesthetic role model and Germany the center of the “Europeanization of the Holocaust”. Thus, while Hungary and Croatia are not the center of this Europeanization, neither do they constitute the periphery, since in contrast to countries like Bulgaria, Romania and Western Ukraine, we find the presence of state-funded memorial museums. In short, it is not membership in the EU that determines the distance from the center.

³⁵ Videti Reinhart Kosellek, *Formen und Traditionen des negativen Gedächtnisses* [Forms and Traditions of Negative Memory], u: Volkhard Knigge/Norbert Frei (ur.), *Verbrechen erinnern. Die Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust und Völkermord*, München, 2002.

³⁶ Videti *Novi list*, 26. april 1999; *Vjesnik*, 17. mart 2004.; *Vjesnik*, 28. novembar 2006.; *Novi list*, 21. april 2008.

³⁵ See *Novi list*, 26 April 1999; *Vjesnik*, 17 March 2004; *Vjesnik*, 28 November 2006; *Novi list*, 21 April 2008.

ZAKLJUČAK

Kada se vratimo na slike memorijalnih muzeja u Budimpešti i Jasenovcu, možemo reći sledeće:

1) Očigledno postoji neka vrsta evropskih standarda sećanja, s obzirom da su ova dva muzeja izgrađena prema istim principima.

2) Standardi za osnivanje takvih muzeja su definitivno razvijeni na zapadu, s tim što su SAD estetski uzor a Nemačka centar "evropeizacije holokausta". Prema tome, iako Mađarska i Hrvatska nisu centar ove evropeizacije, one ne predstavljaju ni periferiju, jer za razliku od zemalja kao što su Bugarska, Rumunija i zapadna Ukrajina, tamo barem postoje memorijalni muzeji koje finansira država. Ukratko, nije članstvo u Evropskoj uniji ono što određuje udaljenost od centra.

3) Problematično je to što su ova dva muzeja tako slična: Jasenovac nije, ili barem ne bi trebalo da bude, memorijalni muzej holokausta, jer su tamo Srbi bili najveća grupa žrtava. Zbog "univerzalizacije holokausta" je takvo deistorizovano spomen-područje koje je usredsređeno na pojedinačne žrtve (a aludirajući pre svega na simbole iz sećanja na Šou) uopšte moguće na lokaciji jednog koncentracionog logora, a posebno na mestu ovog koncentracionog logora, jednog od retkih primera logora smrti u Evropi (koji je postojao četiri godine) kojim nije upravljao Treći rajh.

Ipak, procena posledica "evropeizacije holokausta" kao ambivalentnih takođe podra-

3) It is problematic that the two museums are so similar: Jasenovac is not, or is at least not supposed to be, a Holocaust Memorial Museum, since Serbs were the main victim group there. It should thus be regarded as a consequence of the "universalization of the Holocaust" that such a dehistoricized memorial, concentrating on the individual victim while alluding to symbols from Shoa memory, is put in practice at the site of a concentration camp in general, and this camp – one of the rare examples of a death camp in Europe that was not operated by the Third Reich and in which Serbs were the largest victim group – in particular.

Nevertheless, assessing the effects of the "Europeanization of the Holocaust" as ambivalent also means seeing its positive effects, especially in the post-communist states. Once Hungary had a *Holocaust Memorial Center*, it facilitated educational programs and opposed the revisionist narrative offered at the *House of Terror*. In order to meet these unofficial European standards, Croatia also opened an exhibition in which at least the overwhelming mass of the names of the victims is literally hovering above the heads of the visitors written on glass boards.

The country had to confront its past more actively than its neighbor states because of its role in World War II and the revisionist Tuđman-era, in order to come closer to its integration in the European (memory) community. Still, the "universalization" and "Europeanization" of the Holocaust enable new victim-narratives compatible with these "European standards". So, if the often-invoked "interna-

zumeva uviđanje njenih pozitivnih efekata, naročito u postkomunističkim zemljama. Kada je Mađarska dobila *Memorijalni centar holokausta*, to je omogućilo edukativne programe i osporilo revizionistički narativ dat u *Kući terora*. Kako bi zadovoljila ove nezvanične evropske standarde, Hrvatska je takođe otvorila izložbenu postavku u kojoj barem ogroman broj imena žrtava ispisanih na staklenim pločama bukvalno lebdi nad glavama posetilaca.

Hrvatska je morala da se suoči sa svojom prošlošću aktivnije nego njene susedne države zbog njene uloge u Drugom svetskom ratu i revizionističkog Tuđmanovog doba, da bi se približila integraciji u evropsku zajednicu (sećanja). Pa ipak, “univerzalizacija” i “evropeizacija” holokausta omogućavaju nove narative o žrtvama koji su kompatibilni sa ovim “evropskim standardima”. Dakle, ako bi “međunarodna zajednica” prestala da reciklira slike iz Drugog svetskog rata umesto da osuđuje svaki od zločina zbog onoga što jeste, to bi svakako pomoglo u suočavanju sa nedavnom prošlošću ratnih sukoba tokom devedesetih godina. U suprotnom, potreba da se identifikuju sve žrtve raznih stravičnih zločina sa Jevrejima možda će uvek ostavljati loš utisak mehanizma koji je Teodor Adorno [Theodor W. Adorno] nazvao *Schuld-und Erinnerungsabwehr* – patološko odbijanje krivice i sećanja.³⁷

Nastojanje da se stvori evropska kultura sećanja može poći u dva pravca. S jedne strane, postoje planovi da se osnuje muzej

“tional community” would stop recycling images from World War II, instead of condemning each of the crimes for what they are, this would certainly aid confronting the wars in the Nineties. Otherwise the need to identify all victims of different horrible crimes with the Jews, might never lose the aftertaste of a mechanism which Theodor W. Adorno called *Schuld-und Erinnerungsabwehr* – a pathological defense of guilt and memory.³⁶

The effort to create a European memory culture can go into two directions. On the one hand, there are plans to establish a museum of European history in Brussels, as well as to introduce a European history textbook. This leads us to the question of whether codifying *one* history on a European level does not bring about the same dangers as national history narratives. In order to construct a common identity, a minimal consensus concerning the canon of history is achieved, which is bearable for those with a right to a say. This consequently leads to fading out memories of certain ethnic groups and social strata (although it could bear a chance for Roma memory, which probably would have no other chance to be represented). Still, it remains indispensable to avoid such exclusion mechanisms and hierarchies of victims, which could lead to worsening of the antagonisms between “East” and “West”.

Another strategy could start by trying to learn more about each other’s history and sufferings in the 20th century, without the

³⁷ Theodor W. Adorno, *Schuld und Abwehr. Eine qualitative Analyse zum Gruppenexperiment* [Krivica i odbrana. Kvalitativna analiza grupnog eksperimenta], u: *Soziologische Schriften II*, Frankfurt am Main, 1997.

³⁶ Theodor W. Adorno, *Schuld und Abwehr. Eine qualitative Analyse zum Gruppenexperiment* [Guilt and Defense. A Qualitative Analysis of the Group Experiment], in: *Soziologische Schriften II*, Frankfurt am Main, 1997.

istorije Evrope u Briselu, a uvode se i udžbenici iz istorije Evrope. To nas dovodi do pitanja da li kodifikovanje *jedne* istorije na evropskom nivou ne donosi iste opasnosti kao narativi nacionalne istorije: da bi se izgradio zajednički identitet, ostvaruje se minimalni konsenzus u pogledu kanona istorije, podnošljivog za one koji imaju pravo na reč. Ovo posledično dovodi do postepenog iščezavanja sećanja određenih etničkih grupa i društvenih slojeva (mada može dati šansu sećanjima Roma koja inače verovatno ne bi imala neku drugu priliku da budu zastupljena). Ipak, i dalje je neophodno da se izbegavaju takvi mehanizmi isključivanja i hijerarhije žrtava, što može dovesti do pogoršavanja antagonizama između “Istoka” i “Zapada”.

Jedna druga strategija bi mogla da počne od pokušaja da se više sazna o istoriji drugih i stradanjima u XX veku, bez izjednačavanja priča o žrtvama (sa holokaustom) i hijerarhija između žrtava. Tako bi “evropska kultura sećanja” mogla da znači samokritičko preispitivanje prošlosti sopstvene zemlje – orijentisano na zajedničke evropske norme: promišljeno držanje po strani od tradicionalnog nacionalizma, standardizacija praksi i samokritička politička pozicija, bez izjednačavanja istorijsko-kulturnih pitanja. Može se reći da je takva “postnacionalistička” bazična postavka već postala neformalni preduslov za pridruživanje Evropskoj uniji³⁸ – barem kada posmatramo simbolične postupke a ne konkretna pitanja kao što su kompenzacije i fondovi za restituciju.

equalization of victim stories (with the Holocaust) or the creation of hierarchies between victims. A “European memory culture”, could thus mean a self-critical examination of one’s own country’s past – oriented on shared European norms: a deliberate stand-off from traditional nationalism, a standardization of practices and self-critical political positions, not understood as a leveling of historical-cultural matters. One can say that such a “post-nationalist” base setting, has already become an informal pre-condition for joining the EU³⁷ – at least when we look at symbolic acts, not at concrete questions like compensations and settlement funds.

³⁸ Videti Jan-Werner Müller, Europäische Erinnerungspolitik Revisited, in: Tr@nsit 2007, <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2007-10-18-jwmuller-de.html> (posećeno 16. maja 2010.)

³⁷ See Jan-Werner Müller, Europäische Erinnerungspolitik Revisited, in: Tr@nsit 2007, <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2007-10-18-jwmuller-de.html> (accessed May 16, 2010).

PREOBRAŽAJI TRGA SLAVIJA U BEOGRADU: ISTORIJA, SEĆANJE I KONSTRUKCIJA IDENTITETA

TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE SLAVIJA SQUARE IN BELGRADE: HISTORY, MEMORY AND CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

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Urbana memorija predstavlja sastavni deo procesa utvrđivanja sistema vrednosti u društvu i konstruisanja kolektivnih identiteta. Kreiraju je mesta sećanja, koja upisana u topografiju grada stvaraju okvir unutar koga pojedinac uspostavlja odnos sa grupom, zajednicom, odnosno društvom kome pripada, ili od kojih se distancira. Analiza slojevitosti različitih nanosa memorije koji se zadržavaju nezavisno od institucionalnog i organizovanog promovisanja određenih sistema znakova, otvara prostor za razumevanje “simboličke istorije” i preko nje stvarnosti koja epizode prošlost pamti, izmišlja, odnosno (svesno ili ne) zaboravlja.

U topografiji Beograda centralnu gradsku osovinu kreiraju tačke Trg Republike – Terazije – Slavija. Oko njih je struk-

Urban memory is an inherent part of the process of establishing a system of values in a society and of constructing collective identities. It is created by places of memory that are inscribed in a city's topography. These places create a framework within which the individual establishes a relationship to the group, community or society she or he belongs to, or which she or he distances herself/himself from. The analysis of the layers created by different deposits of memory - retained independently from the institutional and organized promotion of certain sign systems, opens up a space for understanding a “symbolic history”, and to that effect a reality which is remembered, imagined or forgotten (whether consciously or not).

In the topography of Belgrade, the city's central axis is created by the points Trg Republike, Terazije and Slavija. The city is

tuiran grad čije je širenje obeleženo usponima i padovima – spontanim, neretko haotičnim procesima, osmišljenim urbanističkim poduhvatima, ali i brojnim razaranjima. Iako se iz ptičije perspektive pomenuti trgovi jasno izdvajaju po svom položaju u gradu, sa promenom perspektive i analizom njihove strukture i sadržaja, utisak se menja. Glavni toposi Beograda izgledaju kao nezaokružena, nedovršena mesta — kao mesta zastoja. Čini se da su oni u procesu entropije i pored brojnih intervencija i dinamičnih promena.

Savremeno stanje ne implicira, međutim, zaključak da su prostorna ili fizička nedovršenost ovih trgova konstante. Nedovršenost se u nekim drugim periodima mogla čitati kao deo procesa izgradnje, postepene urbanizacije i konstituisanja društvenih vrednosti. Danas je, međutim, upravo pomenuta mesta moguće sagledati kao paradigme vremena i društva, i njihovog nejasnog odnosa prema prošlosti i, konsekventno, prema recentnim sistemima društvenih vrednosti. Tokom poslednje decenije je, istina, otvoren prostor za diskutovanje dubioznih i problematičnih mesta neželjenih sećanja, ali je istovremeno propuštena prilika da se na nov način pročitaju stari simboli. Dijalog sa neželjenim istorijskim nasleđem je ostao na margini javnog prostora, ne uspevajući da proizvede nove simbole. Stoga je na primeru trga Slavija posebno intrigantno analizirati politiku sećanja i njihovo potiskivanje, preoznačavanje i supstituciju u javnom prostoru.

structured around them and its expansion is marked by their ups and downs; processes which are spontaneous and often very chaotic and which are characterised by urban enterprises and numerous destructions. From a bird's eye view, these three squares clearly stand out by their position in the city. However, with a slight change of perspective and through the analysis of their structure and content, this initial impression changes. Belgrade's main topoi look like places that were never rounded-off or finished - locations that were maintained in a state of stagnation. It seems as if they have remained in a process of entropy, despite the numerous interventions and dynamic changes that they have undergone.

Current conditions do not necessarily imply that the spatial or physical incompleteness of these squares are constants. In earlier phases, incompleteness was interpreted as part of a building process, an inevitable facet of gradual urbanisation and the establishment of social values. Today however, it is possible to look at these places as paradigms of time and society, with an unclear relation toward the past and consequently towards accepted social values. It is fair to say that during the last decade a space has opened up for the discussion of questionable and problematic places and as a result, of unwanted memories. However at the same time, an opportunity has also been missed to read these old symbols in a new way. The dialogue regarding unwanted historical heritage has remained on the margins of public space, failing thus to produce the new symbols. Therefore, in the case of a location like Slavija Square, it is very intriguing to analyze the politics of remembrance and its repression; the re-marking and substitution of public space.

Uprkos činjenici da predstavlja urbanističku žihu grada,¹ trg Slavija je u istoriji Beograda ostao paradigma nezavršenosti i marginalnosti. Nije problematična samo njegova fizička i prostorna nedovršenost, odnosno razgrađenost koja postaje uočljivija u kontekstu urbanističkog i arhitektonskog značaja tog prostora, kao ni njeni uzroci vezani za nerešene imovinske odnose i dubiozan proces denacionalizacije i restitucije. Problematična je i njegova složena ideološka baština, odnosno sistemi vrednosti koje je prostor konotirao u svojoj istoriji. Moglo bi se reći da je spletom tako kompleksnih odnosa trg Slavija postao jedan od centralnih označitelja tradicije koja je, sa više aspekata, danas postala nepoželjna.

Period nakon 2000. godine obeležio je niz organizovanih pokušaja konačog preobražavanja Slavije — u periodu socijalizma preimenovane u Trg Dimitrija Tucovića² - kao mesta periferne, proskribovane i nepoželjne tradicije. Funkcionalna, ali i vizuelna marginalnost grobnice i spomenika Dimitrija Tucovića, nasuprot centralnom položaju samog

Despite the fact that it represents an urban focal point of the city,¹ Slavija Square has remained a paradigm of incompleteness and marginality in Belgrade's history. Its physical and spatial incompleteness are problematic mainly due to the visible disintegration of this important urban and architectural milieu and additionally, due to issues associated with unresolved property relations and questionable denationalisation and restitution processes. Its complex ideological heritage - the systems of values that were implicit to the area over the course of history, have also proven quite complex and fraught with problems. One might say that as a result of the combination of such intricate relations, Slavija Square has become one of the central markers of a tradition that for many reasons can today be considered as unwanted.

The period following the turn of the 20th century, was marked by a series of organized attempts to finalize Slavija's transformation. In earlier times, during the Socialist period, the square had been renamed as Dimitrije Tucović² Square, a place of peripheral, pro-

¹ Iako ne nužno i centralno simboličko mesto. O nestabilnom značenju urbanih toposa u kontekstu postavljanja spomenika videti: Antoine Prost, "Monuments to the Dead", Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 307-330.

² Trg Dimitrija Tucovića bio je u novijoj istoriji Beograda više puta predmet arhitektonsko-urbanističkih projekata koji su predviđali njegovu rekonstrukciju. Najznačajniji od njih bio je projekat arhitekta Bratislava Stojanovića iz 1951. godine, u kome je naglašeno da ovaj prostor mora postati važan saobraćajni, kulturno-istorijski i trgovački centar. Projekat je u težištu imao tada već postavljen memorijal Dimitrija Tucovića, a predvideo je da se izgradi i Dom Dimitrija Tucovića u kome bi se nalazile prostorije Doma sindikata, Saveza boraca Srbije, Saveza kulturno-umetničkih društava Srbije, te bioskop i pozorište. Videti: Bratislav Stojanović, "Trg Dimitrija Tucovića", *Tehnika*, br. 6 (1951), 329-338.

¹ Although not necessarily a central symbolic place. On the unstable meaning of topos in the context of erecting monuments see: Antoine Prost, "Monuments to the Dead", Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 307-330.

² In recent Belgrade history, Dimitrije Tucovic Square has been a theme of architectural and urban design projects that have envisaged its reconstruction. The most important of them was the project by the architect Bratislav Stojanovic in 1951, in which it was emphasized that this space must become an important traffic, cultural-historical and trading center. The project had as its core the already installed Dimitrije Tucovic memorial and it also included building the Dimitrije Tucovic Center which would house the Syndicate association, the Veteran Association, The Association of art and culture societies of Serbia, as well as a cinema and a theater. See: Bratislav Stojanović, "Trg Dimitrija Tucovića", *Tehnika*, br. 6 (1951), 329-338.

trga u urbanoj i memorijalnoj topografiji Beograda, postali su presudni elementi u preduzimanju niza institucionalnih akcija kojima je pokušano redefinisavanje ovog prostora, kako u morfološkom i vizuelnom, funkcionalnom i saobraćajnom, tako i u vrednosnom i simboličkom smislu. Pri tome su kao argumenti da se trg temeljito rekonstruiše navođeni estetsko-vizuelni, funkcionalni i, naposljetku, ideološki kriterijumi. Najpre je problematično postalo samo ime trga, koje je uklonjeno 2004. godine iz javnog prostora na talasu sveobuhvatnog zahvata preimenovanja centralnih ulica i trgova u Beogradu,³ a potom je, kroz seriju instanci, u fokus dospelo i sam memorijal Dimitriju Tucoviću —grobnica i nadgrobni spomenik, delo skulptora Stevana Bodnarova, koji je postavljen na središte trga 1947. godine.⁴ Izmena naziva trga, fenomen naizgled bez šireg značaja koji, međutim, rečito oslikava ideološke pozicije političkih elita na vlasti, zapravo je predstavljala ključnu i odlučujuću instancu putem koje je moguće opsežnije sagledati vrednovanje odnosa prema simboličkom kapitalu trga Slavija.

Preimenovanje naziva javnih prostora, uključujući i imena trgova i ulica, društvenih institucija i objekata, ne samo da konstituiše nove i redefiniše postojeće ili nekadašnje veze između prošlosti i sadašnjosti, već predstavlja odlučujuću važnu instancu u ideološkoj konstrukciji

scribed and unwanted tradition. The functional but visual marginality of Dimitrije Tucović's tomb and monument, as opposed to the central location of the square in the urban and memorial topography of Belgrade, were key elements that were taken into consideration when it came to passing a series of institutional actions aimed at redefining the space in a morphological, visual and functional sense, as well as one which exemplified value and symbolism. The arguments in favour of the square's thorough reconstruction were constructed around a criteria that was aesthetic and functional, and finally ideological.

In 2004, in keeping with a trend that saw many of Belgrade's central streets and squares renamed,³ the appellative "Dimitrije Tucović Square" was replaced. The focus subsequently shifted to the Tucović memorial, a tomb and a tombstone that had been created by the sculptor Stevan Bodnarov and placed in the middle of the square in 1947.⁴ Re-baptizing the square, a phenomenon seemingly without wider importance, vividly depicted the ideological positions of the political elites in power at that time. In Belgrade, the move represented a key and decisive instance through which it became possible to form a more comprehensive view of the treatment of the symbolic capital of Slavija Square.

Renaming public spaces, including the names of social institutions and buildings, constitutes not only a new present,

³ Videti zvaničnu internet prezentaciju grada Beograda: <http://www.beograd.rs/cms/view.php?id=1235> (pristup internet stranici: 23. 10. 2011).

⁴ Bratislav Stojanović, "Za spomenik Dimitriju Tucoviću", *Urbanizam Beograda*, br. 55 (1979), 53; idem, "Trg Dimitrija Tucovića", *Urbanizam Beograda*, br. 66-67 (1982), 202.

³ See the official Internet presentation of the city of Belgrade: <http://www.beograd.rs/cms/view.php?id=1235> (last accessed: 23. 10. 2011).

⁴ Branitlav Stojanović, "Za spomenik Dimitriju Tucoviću", *Urbanizam Beograda*, br. 55 (1979), 53; idem, "Trg Dimitrija Tucovića", *Urbanizam Beograda*, br. 66-67 (1982), 202.

urbanog prostora i utvrđivanju poželjnih granica i sadržaja kolektivnih identiteta. Istovremeno, ova ideološka konstrukcija može postati sastavni deo procesa političke mobilizacije i ustanovljavanja simboličkih aspekata specifične političke kulture. Trg Slavija je, kako će docnije biti prikazano, školski primer tih procesa. Nova imena ulica i trgova koja su nakon 2000. godine izmenila u velikoj meri simboličku i ideološku topografiju Beograda, nesumnjivo predstavljaju "simboličke spomenike" koji u velikoj meri utiču na oblikovanje javne memorije i konstruisanje poželjnih društvenih identiteta.⁵ Kako to ističe Daniel Milo, imena ulica i javnih prostora razumeju se kao konstitutivni elementi "mesta sećanja" sa dve važne indicije: ta su mesta istovremeno "manifestacije kolektivne memorije zajednice" i, s druge strane, "vidljiv izraz ozloglašnosti".⁶ Uklanjanje starih i postavljanje novih imena u javni prostor zapravo uprostorava linije podela prema poželjnim, prihvatljivim i nepoželjnim vizijama zajednice uz pomoć simboličke prakse; nekadašnji junaci postaju negativne istorijske ličnosti i njihova se imena ceremonijalno uklanjaju ili — kako se to često dešava u različitim kontekstima — supstituišu novim nazivima. Pri tome se njihova pozicija pomera naniže, kako u fizičkom i temporalnom smislu (pomerenjem table sa nazivom

in which the relations between past and present are redefined along the way, but also a key instance in the ideological construction of urban space and in the establishment of desired limits and contents of collective identities. Simultaneously, this ideological construction might become an inherent part of political mobilization and the establishment of symbolic aspects of a specific political culture. Slavija Square, as it will be shown, is a textbook example of these processes. The new names of the streets and squares, which after 2000 significantly changed Belgrade's symbolic and ideological topography, undoubtedly represent "symbolic monuments" which significantly affect the shaping of public memory and the construction of desirable social identities.⁵ As Daniel Milo points out, the names of streets and public spaces are understood as constitutive elements of "places of remembering" with two important indications: these places are simultaneously "manifestations of the collective memory of the community", and "a visible expression of notoriety".⁶ Removing the old designations and introducing new ones to a public space, embodies the dividing lines that are in accord with desirable, acceptable and unwanted visions of the community with the help of symbolic practice: former heroes become negative historical persons and their names are ceremonially removed or substituted. Their

⁵ O nazivima urbanih prostora kao "simboličkim spomenicima" videti: Derek H. Alderman, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes", Brian Graham and Peter Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 195-214; Maoz Azaryahu, "The Power of Commemorative Street Names", *Environment and Planning, Society and Space*, vol. 14, no. 3 (1996), 311-330.

⁶ Daniel Milo, "Street Names", Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 365.

⁵ On names of urban spaces as "symbolic monuments" see: Derek H. Alderman, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes", Brian Graham and Peter Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 195-214; Maoz Azaryahu, "The Power of Commemorative Street Names", *Environment and Planning, Society and Space*, vol. 14, no. 3 (1996), 311-330.

⁶ Daniel Milo, "Street Names", Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 365.

ispod novopostavljenog imena), tako i u smislu hijerarhije društveno prihvaćenih vrednosti. Izmenom naziva ulica, kao svojevrsnom simboličkom detronizacijom, zajednica sankcioniše nov sistem vrednosti i rekonstituiše ontološko sopstvo. Stoga se topološka tranzicija od trga koji nosi ime Dimitrija Tucovića do trga Slavija može čitati kao sastavni deo sveobuhvatnijeg procesa ideološke tranzicije društva u Srbiji na početku XXI veka i uspostavljanja specifičnog sistema vrednosti u čijoj se srži neprestano odvija reinterpretacija prošlosti i ponovno ispisivanje istorije zajednice.⁷

Međutim, promena naziva imena trga Slavija bila je tek inicijalna, iako ne i nevažna, instanca u simboličkom preoznačavanju ovog prostora. Kada su 2003. godine započele pripreme za obeležavanje jubileja dvestogodišnjice Prvog srpskog ustanka i “dva veka moderne srpske države”, raspisan je arhitektonsko-urbanistički konkurs koji je predvideo da se na prostoru trga podigne spomen-obeležje Prvom srpskom ustanku. Sastavni deo konkursnih uslova bio je zahtev da se spomenik i grob Dimitrija Tucovića izmeste. U seriji predloga koji su govorili o novim potencijalnim lokacijama na koje bi spomen obeležje trebalo biti premešteno, posebno su bili zanimljivi, ali i posve simptomatični, stavovi vladajućih elita. Oni rečito govore

position is shifted downwards, both in a physical and temporal sense as well as in regards to the hierarchy of socially accepted values. By changing the street names, as part of a symbolic “dethronement”, the community sanctions the new system of values and reconstitutes an ontological selfhood. Thus, the topological transition of the square named “Dimitrije Tucović” to “Slavija Square” can be read as an inherent part of the ideological transition of society in Serbia at the beginning of the 21st century. It can also be understood as a process of establishing a specific system of values, the core of which consists of a continuous reinterpretation of the past and a rewriting of the community’s history.⁷

The changing of Slavija Square’s name was only an initial, although not unimportant, instance in the symbolic re-marking of this space. In 2003, when the preparations for celebrating the bicentenary of the First Serbian Uprising and “two centuries of a modern Serbian state” began, an architectural and urban design competition for a memorial of the First Serbian Uprising was launched. One of the competition’s conditions was to relocate the monument and tomb of Dimitrije Tucović. When it came to debating the proposals and the new potential locations that had been raised, the attitudes of the elite were noteworthy and symptomatic of the ideological predilections

⁷ Videti npr. primere preimenovanja javnih prostora u Nemačkoj i Izraelu nakon 1989. godine: Maoz Azaryahu, “German Reunification and the Politics of Street Names: The Case of East Berlin”, *Political Geography*, vol. 16, no. 6 (1997), 479-493; idem, “The Purge of Bismarck and Saladin: The Renaming of Streets in East Berlin and Haifa, a Comparative Study in Culture-Planning”, *Poetics Today*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1992), 352-367. Za primer post komunističke Moskve videti: Graem Gill, “Changing Symbols: The Renovation of Moscow Place Names”, *The Russian Review*, vol. 64, no. 3 (2005), 480-503.

⁷ See for instance the examples of renaming the public spaces in Germany and Israel after 1989: Maoz Azaryahu, “German Reunification and the Politics of Street Names: The Case of East Berlin”, *Political Geography*, vol. 16, no. 6 (1997), 479-493; idem, “The Purge of Bismarck and Saladin: The Renaming of Streets in East Berlin and Haifa, a Comparative Study in Culture-Planning”, *Poetics Today*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1992), 352-367. As an example of post-communist Moscow see: Graem Gill, “Changing Symbols: The Renovation of Moscow Place Names”, *The Russian Review*, vol. 64, no. 3 (2005), 480-503.

ne samo o ideološkim predilekcijama protagonista političke tranzicije, već i o svojoj kompleksnosti njene ideološke dimenzije i, što je posebno važno, o mehanici uspostavljanja poželjnih vrednosti kroz manipulaciju značenja javnog prostora. Tako je, po mišljenju tadašnjeg predsednika gradske vlade, naglašeno da:

Kod premeštanja spomenika Dimitriju Tucoviću nema ideološkog problema. Mislimo da on treba da ostane u Beogradu, ali da spomeniku one veličine nije mesto na velikom trgu kao što je Slavija. Zato treba naći drugu dobru lokaciju. Što se tiče groba, on može da bude premešten u Aleju velikana na Novom groblju. Na svemu ovome mora da se poradi, a svesni smo da uvek ima i drugih razmišljanja. Radi se o tome da će ceo kompleks Slavije možda ličiti na beogradski Menhetn. Tu se gradi velika zgrada Narodne banke, na Mitićevoj rupi treba takođe da se podigne veliki objekat, kao i na parceli na kojoj je sada parking. Na takvom, modernom, gradskom trgu, ovaj mali spomeničić neće moći ni da se vidi. Zato je zamišljeno da tu bude veliko obeležje Prvom srpskom ustanku, koje bi imalo prirodnu vezu sa Hramom svetog Save, koji se vidi sa tog mesta. Tu bi bila i neka velika gradska fontana. I ulaz u Knez Mihailovu ulicu sa Terazija takođe treba da zablista, sa velikom fontanom i specijalnim svetlosnim efektima.⁸

Navedeni odlomak krajnje je indikativan budući da predstavlja gotovo lakonski iskaz ideoloških okvira u koje je memorijalni kapital trga Slavija trebalo da se uklo-

of the protagonists of the political transition. Their reactions presented further evidence of the complexity of the established ideological dimension and of the mechanics of establishing desirable values through the manipulation of meaning in public space. The debate can be better understood in the statement that was released by the then president of the city government:

The relocation of the Dimitrije Tucović monument bears no ideological problems. We think it should stay in Belgrade but that monuments of its size should not be on big squares such as Slavija. Therefore a new good location should be found. As for the tomb, it can be relocated to the Alley of the Greats in the New Cemetery. This all needs to be worked out and we are aware that there are other opinions. The thing is, the whole Slavija complex can look like Belgrade's Manhattan. A new National Bank building is being built there, another big building is to be raised on the Mitić Hole and one on the parcel where the parking lot is currently situated. This really small monument will not be even visible on such a modern city square. Therefore it has been decided that we shall erect a big memorial to the First Serbian Uprising there. It would have a natural connection to the Saint Sava Temple, which is visible from that place. Some big city fountain should be there as well. The entrance to Knez Mihailova Street from Terazije should also spark up with a big fountain and special light effects.⁸

The quoted excerpt is a typical laconic statement of ideological framework in

⁸ Dušica Radeka, "Slavija kao Menhetn", *Večernje novosti* (12. 07. 2003).

⁸ Dušica Radeka, "Slavija kao Menhetn", *Večernje novosti* (12. 07. 2003).

pi. S jedne strane, prepoznatljiv je pritisak centralnog nacionalnog narativa o kontinuitetu i naturalizaciji odnosa između crkve i države; s druge, očita je potreba da se akutna kriza identiteta prevaziđe na simboličkoj ravni usvajanjem seta simbola koji će konotirati specifičan sistem vrednosti zasnovan na stereotipnim slikama modernosti. Ideja o izmeštanju spomenika i groba Dimitrija Tucovića bila je, međutim, neupitna i pre zvaničnog raspisa konkursa, pri čemu je — sasvim simptomatično — sećanje na samog Tucovića postavljeno u novu ideološku perspektivu.⁹ Istovremeno, navođeni su predlozi da se zemni ostaci Dimitrija Tucovića, zajedno sa spomenikom-bistom, premeste “sa Slavije u Aleju velikana”, da se vrate na “Vračje brdo ili u Užice, gde je prethodna dva puta bio sahranjivan”¹⁰ ili da se izmeste u obližnji Park Manjež.¹¹ Iako se navedeni predlozi mogu razumeti u kontekstu ideološkog procesa rekonstituisanja kolektivnih identiteta koji je nakon 1989. godine izmenio pejzaž istočnoevropskih gradova, raskid s prošlošću i uspostavljanje nove kulturne paradigme kao legitimacijskog instrumenta u Srbiji nije bio tako

which the memorial capital of Slavija Square was supposed to fit in. On the one hand, the recognizable pressure exerted by the central national narrative about continuity and the naturalization of the relationship between the church and the state; on the other, an obvious need to overcome the acute identity crisis in the symbolic plain through the adoption of a set of symbols which connote a specific system of values based on stereotypical images of modernity. The idea of relocating the monument and the tomb of Dimitrije Tucović was not questioned and simultaneously, quite symptomatically, the memory of Tucović was placed under a new ideological perspective.⁹ There were some suggestions to relocate the remains of Dimitrije Tucović, together with his bust “from Slavija to the Alley of the Greats”, or to return them to “Vračje Brdo or in Užice, where he was previously buried twice”,¹⁰ or to relocate them to the nearby park Manjež.¹¹ Although these suggestions can be understood through the prism of the ideological process of reconstituting collective identity (which after 1989 changed the landscape of the east European cities),

⁹ Tokom 1990-ih i 2000-ih godina simptomatični su bili pokušaji prevrednovanja i reinterpretacije nasleđa Dimitrija Tucovića koji su se kretali u pravcu prilagođavanja centralnom nacionalnom narativu obeleženom nacionalizmom, ksenofobičnošću i solipsizmom. U seriji pokušaja da se ukloni nasleđe socijalizma koje se tesno vezivalo za delatnost i sećanje na Tucovića, kao i da se memorija na ovu istorijsku figuru održi radikalnim supstituisanjem sistema valorizacije, posebno je ilustrativan članak novinara beogradskog NIN-a: “Srpska socijaldemokratska partija vodila je antiratnu politiku i glasala je protiv ratnih kredita. Uoči Prvog svetskog rata Dimitrije Tucović je boravio u Berlinu, gde je nameravao da doktorira. [...] Mi, danas, s pravom možemo da pomislimo kako Dimitrije Tucović ne bi išao u Brisel, kod [Havijera] Solane, da nam Solana piše zakone i ustave, nego bi ga, kao [Karla] Renera, nadgovorio moralom i znanjem”: Petar Igrnja, “Spomenici na točkove”, *NIN*, br. 2744 (31. 7. 2003).

¹⁰ Slobodan Kostić, “Seobe Dimitrija Tucovića”, *Vreme*, br. 656 (31. 07. 2003).

¹¹ Ivana Kljajić, “Trg kao atraktivni downtown”, *Danas* (30. 07. 2004).

⁹ During the 1990 and 2000 there were some symptomatic attempts to reevaluate and reinterpret the heritage of Dimitrije Tucović. These were moving towards adjusting to the central national narrative marked by nationalism, xenophobia and solipsism. In a series of attempts aimed at removing the heritage of socialism, which was tightly related to work and memory of Tucović, as well as at maintaining a memory of this historical figure with a radical substitution of the system of values, an illustrative article was written by a journalist of Blegrade's NIN: “Serbian Social-democratic Party ran an anti-war policy and voted against the war loans. Just before the WWI Dimitrije Tucovic was in Berlin, where he intended to finish his doctorate. ...We, today, can rightly think that Dimitrije Tucovic wouldn't go to Brussels, to (Xavier) Solana, so that Solana can write our laws and constitution, but he would have talked him off like (Carl) Renner, by morals and knowledge”: Petar Igrnja, “Spomenici na točkove”, *NIN*, br. 2744 (31. 7. 2003).

¹⁰ Slobodan Kostić, “Seobe Dimitrija Tucovića”, *Vreme*, br. 656 (31. 07. 2003).

¹¹ Ivana Kljajić, “Trg kao atraktivni downtown”, *Danas* (30. 07. 2004).

drastičan.¹² O tome svedoči simbolička reaproprijacija trga Slavija kao jednog od centralnih mesta Beograda koja se faktički kontinualno odvija od 2000. godine. Ona ujedno predstavlja očito svedočanstvo složenosti, ambivalentnosti i performabilnosti političkog diskursa u Srbiji početka XXI veka.

Konkurs za arhitektonsko-urbanističko uređenje trga Slavija raspisan je krajem 2003. godine,¹³ ali su usled kontroverze oko autorstva prvonagrađenog rešenja rezultati konkursa ubrzo bili poništeni.¹⁴ Usled toga su, nepune dve godine docnije, Skupština grada Beograda, Direkcija za građevinsko zemljište, Društvo arhitekata i Društvo urbanista Beograda raspisali nov konkurs za arhitektonsko urbanističko uređenje Trga Slavija.¹⁵

the break up with the past and the establishment of a new cultural paradigm as a legitimizing instrument in Serbia was not, in fact, so drastic.¹² Evidence for this can be found in the symbolic reappropriation of Slavija Square as one of the central places in Belgrade, a move that has been taking place since the year 2000. It simultaneously represents an obvious testimony of the complexity, ambivalence and performability of the political discourse in Serbia at the beginning of 21st century.

The competition for a new architectural and urban arrangement of Slavija Square was announced at the end of 2003.¹³ However, due to a controversy about the authorship of the winning proposal, the results of the competition were subsequently cancelled.¹⁴ Because of this, less than two

¹² Videti: Monika A. Murzyn, "Heritage Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe", Brian Graham and Peter Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 315-346; Zsolt K. Horváth, "The Redistribution of the Memory of Socialism. Identity Formations of the 'Survivors' in Hungary after 1898", Oksana Sarkisova, Péter Apor (eds.), *Past for the Eyes. East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 247-274; Gabriela Cristea and Simina Radu-Bucurenci, "Raising the Cross. Excorising Romania's Communist Past in Museums, Memorials and Monuments", *Past for the Eyes*, 275-306; Nikolai Vukov, "The 'Unmemorable' and the 'Unforgettable'. 'Museumizing' the Socialist Past in Post-1989 Bulgaria", *Past for the Eyes*, 307-334; idem, "Refigured Memories, Unchanged Representations: Post-Socialist Monumental Discourse in Bulgaria", Ulf Brunnbauer, Stefan Troebst (Hg.), *Zwischen Amnesie und Nostalgie. Die Erinnerung an den Kommunismus in Südosteuropa* (Köln, Wemar, Wien: Böhlau, 2007), 71-86; Zoran Terzić, "Erinnern als Vergessen. Zur Ästhetik des ideologischen Wandels", *Zwischen Amnesie und Nostalgie*, 247-272.

¹³ Stručni žiri koji je dodelio nagrade 2003. godine činili su: Branko Belić, tadašnji predsednik beogradske opštine Savski venac, akademik Radomir Reljić, istoričar umetnosti Kosta Bogdanović, arhitekta Vasilije Milunović, istoričarka Radina Vučetić-Mladenović, arhitekta Vladimir Macura, sociolog Sreten Vujović, arhitekta Borislav Petrović i istoričar umetnosti Miroslav Timotijević. Svoju odluku obrazložili su rečima: "Ovaj rad predstavlja najkompletniji autorski stav, kako u shvatanju same teme, tako i u odnosu prema kontekstu". Navedeno prema: M. Mićović, "Čija bruka pod tepihom?", *Press* (2. 03. 2007).

¹⁴ M. Mićović, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Za razliku od prethodnog konkursa, u kome su učešće uzeli predstavnici stručne javnosti, profesori univerziteta i akademici,

¹² See: Monika A. Murzyn, "Heritage Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe", Brian Graham and Peter Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 315-346; Zsolt K. Horváth, "The Redistribution of the Memory of Socialism. Identity Formations of the 'Survivors' in Hungary after 1898", Oksana Sarkisova, Péter Apor (eds.), *Past for the Eyes. East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 247-274; Gabriela Cristea and Simina Radu-Bucurenci, "Raising the Cross. Excorising Romania's Communist Past in Museums, Memorials and Monuments", *Past for the Eyes*, 275-306; Nikolai Vukov, "The 'Unmemorable' and the 'Unforgettable'. 'Museumizing' the Socialist Past in Post-1989 Bulgaria", *Past for the Eyes*, 307-334; idem, "Refigured Memories, Unchanged Representations: Post-Socialist Monumental Discourse in Bulgaria", Ulf Brunnbauer, Stefan Troebst (Hg.), *Zwischen Amnesie und Nostalgie. Die Erinnerung an den Kommunismus in Südosteuropa* (Köln, Wemar, Wien: Böhlau, 2007), 71-86; Zoran Terzić, "Erinnern als Vergessen. Zur Ästhetik des ideologischen Wandels", *Zwischen Amnesie und Nostalgie*, 247-272.

¹³ The jury of experts who granted the prizes in 2003 consisted of: Branko Belic, then president of the Belgrade's municipality of Savski Venac, academic Radomir Reljic, art historian Kosta Bogdanovic, architect Vasilije Milunovic, historian Radina Vucetic-Mladenovic, architect Vladimir Macura, sociologist Sreten Vujovic, architect Borislav Petrovic and art historian Miroslav Timotijevic. They explained their decision in the following way: "This work represents the most completed author's attitude, both in understanding the theme and in relation to the context." Quoted according to: M. Mićović, "Čija bruka pod tepihom?", *Press* (2. 03. 2007).

¹⁴ M. Mićović, *op. cit.*

U tekstu raspisa konkursa potencirana je uloga ovog trga kao jednog od "najznačajnijih beogradskih prostora":

*[U] kojima se prepoznaju njegov [beogradski] lik, duh i identitet i koji iz tih razloga zahtevaju poseban tretman [u cilju dobijanja] što kvalitetnijih, atraktivnih i ostvarljivih ideja za integralnu urbaništičku regulaciju i arhitektonsko oblikovanje područja trga Slavija kao celovitog urbanog prostora, visokog potencijala i posebnog i prestižnog identiteta u ukupnoj strukturi Beograda.*¹⁶

Nasuprot navedenim stavovima koji predstavljaju odjek od ranije utvrđenih ideja,¹⁷ indiferentnost prema memorijalu Dimitrija Tucovića i, što je posebno važno, memoriji akumuliranoj u ovaj jedinstveni simbol, sasvim je indikativna. Tome u prilog govori i nepromenjeno kategoričan stav predstavnika Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, u kome se rezolutno ističe da bi za mesto memorijala i grobnice Dimitrija Tucovića "bilo koje rešenje, osim Slavije [sic], bilo adekvatno", uz ironično i nejasno obrazloženje da se spomenik nalazi u "okviru zaštićene celine 'Stari Beograd'" i da "ništa ne sprečava da spomenik i grobno mesto budu izmešteni".¹⁸ Predstavnici iste držav-

years later, the Assembly of the City of Belgrade, Belgrade Land Development Public Agency, Belgrade Architect Association and Town Planners Association Belgrade, launched a call for another architectural and urban design arrangement of Slavija Square.¹⁵ The text of this call went on to emphasize the role of this square as one of the "most important spaces in Belgrade":

*"(a square) In which one can recognize its (Belgrade) character, spirit and identity and which, because of these reasons requires a special treatment (in order to get) the best, the most attractive and feasible ideas for the integral urban regulation and architectural shaping of Slavija Square, as a holistic urban space of high potential and special and prestigious identity in the overall structure of Belgrade".*¹⁶

Contrary to the sentiment that echoes previously established ideas,¹⁷ indifference toward the Dimitrije Tucović memorial and also very importantly toward the memory accumulated in this unique symbol, has become quite symptomatic. An example of this can be seen in the categorical attitude of the representatives of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade who support the relocation by claiming that "any solution, except Slavija (sic),

na ovom konkursu žiri su činili gotovo isključivo arhitekti: Đorđe Bobić, predsednik, i članovi: Vladimir A. Milić, Biljana Krneta, Maja Joković-Potkonjak, Dušan Milanović, Emilija Tomaš, Marina Nešković, Bojan Kovačević, Vasa Perović, Vesna Zlatanović i Slobodan Ležajić. Videti: <http://www.dub.org.rs/arihiva.html>. Cf. http://beoland.com/ostalo/konkurs_slavija.html (pristup internet stranicama: 23. 10. 2011).

¹⁶ Navedeno prema oficijelnom internet sajtu Društva urbanista beograda: <http://www.dub.org.rs/Slavija.pdf> (pristup internet stranici: 23. 10. 2011).

¹⁷ Videti: M. Avakumović, V. Veličković, "Arhitekta na potezu: raspisan novi konkurs za rešenje Trga Slavija", *Politika* (13. 2. 2005).

¹⁸ Reči Lidije Kotur, službenice Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kul-

¹⁵ Contrary to the previous competitions, in which representatives of the expert public took part, e.g. university professors and academics, this time the jury consisted almost entirely of architects: Djordje Bobic, the president, and members: Vladimir A. Milić, Biljana Krneta, Maja Joković-Potkonjak, Dušan Milanović, Emilija Tomaš, Marina Nešković, Bojan Kovačević, Vasa Perović, Vesna Zlatanović and Slobodan Ležajić. See: <http://www.dub.org.rs/arihiva.html>.

¹⁶ Quoted according to the official Internet site of the Town Planners Association Belgrade: <http://www.dub.org.rs/Slavija.pdf> (page last accessed: 23. 10. 2011).

¹⁷ See: M. Avakumović, V. Veličković, "Arhitekta na potezu: raspisan novi konkurs za rešenje Trga Slavija", *Politika* (13. 02. 2005).

ne institucije dodatno su obrazložili navedene kategoričke stavove determinišućim sudom, ističući da “gradski trg nije mesto gde treba da počivaju nečiji [sic!] ostaci”.¹⁹

Upravo je ovakva argumentacija krajnje simptomatična budući da, s jedne strane, ukazuje na neupitne, ali problematične koncepte i kriterijume zaštite spomenika kulture. S druge strane, ista obrazložnja predstavljaju školski primer procesa paranaučne i stručne legitimacije preoznačavanja sistema društvenih vrednosti u kome se nepoželjna memorija uklanja, supstituiše ili preoznačava krajnje polemičnim i otvorenim konceptima zaštite spomenika kao što su “značaj graditeljskog nasleđa” ili “zaštićene celine”. Naretko, ovakvi i slični koncepti iza fasade profesionalne dedikacije i stručnosti kriju čitav arsenal ideoloških i vrednosnih sudova, ali i političkih predilekcija. U skladu s time, kulturno nasleđe istovremeno se razume kao sadržaj i reprezentacija identiteta, preko koga se na simboličkoj i pragmatičkoj ravni ostvaruju odnosi unutar društva, kao i odnosi prema unutrašnjim ili spoljašnjim “drugim”. Činjenica da se kulturno nasleđe definiše putem njegovog univerzalnog značaja i da se, legitimisano aurom univerzalnosti, potom nacionalizuje — samo je jedan od paradoksa u složenom procesu konstrukcije identiteta putem pozivanja na materijalne i nematerijalne tragove prošlosti koji se institucionalizuju kroz različite režime

would be adequate” as a location for both the memorial and the tomb of Dimitrije Tucović. The institute goes on to explain, ironically and vaguely, that the monument’s location is “within the protected urban core of ‘Old Belgrade’” and that “there is nothing preventing the relocation of the monument and the tomb”.¹⁸ Additionally, the representatives of this institution went on to explain their categorical statements by stating, “that the city square is not a place where someone’s (sic!) remains should be buried”.¹⁹

This very sort of argumentation is noteworthy given that, on one hand it hints towards unquestioned but problematic conceptions and criteria for the protection of cultural monuments; while on the other, these explanations represent textbook examples of the pseudo scientific process and experts’ legitimisation of the re-marking of the system of social values in which the unwanted memory is removed, substituted or re-labelled through extremely debatable and open conceptions of monument protection such as “the importance of the building heritage” or the “protected urban core”. Often, these and similar conceptions hide a whole arsenal of ideological and evaluative judgements behind a facade of professionalism and expertise. In this light, cultural heritage is simultaneously understood as both a content and a representation of identity, through which relations in society, as well as the relations toward the

ture grada Beograda. Navedeno prema: Boris Vuković, “Gradski trg bez duše i sadržaja”, *Blic* (29. 12. 2009).

¹⁹ Reči Lidije Kotur, službenice Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda. Navedeno prema: Marija Krtinić, “Povodom najave o izgradnji Teslinog tornja na Slaviji”, *Danas* (11. 05. 2011).

¹⁸ Words of Lidija Kotur, employee of the Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. Quoted according to: Boris Vuković, “Gradski trg bez duše i sadržaja”, *Blic* (29. 12. 2009).

¹⁹ Words of Lidija Kotur, employee of the Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. Quoted according to: Marija Krtinić, “Povodom najave o izgradnji Teslinog tornja na Slaviji”, *Danas* (11. 5. 2011).

proizvodnje značenja.²⁰ Linije otklona, bliskosti i razlika poželjnog u odnosu na neželjeni identitet očituju se ne samo u stručnim kriterijumima, koji definišu koji spomenici mogu biti svrstani u kategoriju “nacionalnih spomenika kulture”, i ne samo u hijerarhijama kulturnog nasleđa. Te se linije povlače prvenstveno putem izuzetno selektivnih, pred-stručnih i pred-naučnih diskursa koji valorizuju različite istorijske (ili kulturne) tradicije, promovišući samo neke od njih kao “nacionalne”.²¹ U ovom procesu, koji se odvija kontinualno i dinamično, istorijsko i kulturno nasleđe, definisano i sistematizovano kao “nacionalno”, “po definiciji mora ignorisati diverzitet sub-nacionalnih kulturnih i socijalnih iskustava”,²² o čemu dobro svedoči problem u vezi imena i mesta trga Dimitrija Tucovića.²³

Nedavna inicijativa da se na trgu Slavija podigne Teslina kula ili Teslin toranj čini se da predstavlja pokušaj da se očit

inner and outer “other”, are realised on a symbolic and pragmatic plain.

The fact that the cultural heritage is defined through its universal importance, that it is legitimised by an aura of universality and then nationalised, is only one of the paradoxes in a complex process of constructing identity by relying on material and immaterial traces of the past which are institutionalised through different regimes of production of meaning.²⁰The lines of deflection - the similarities and differences of desirability in relation to unwanted identity, are embodied neither in the expert criteria, that defines which monuments can be classified in the category of “national monuments of culture” nor in the hierarchies of cultural heritage. These lines are drawn primarily through highly selective, pre-expert and pre-scientific discourses that valorise different historical (or cultural) traditions, promoting a few of them as “national”.²¹ In this continual and dynamic process, historical and cultural heritage, defined and systematized as “national”, “by definition must ignore the diversity of sub-national cultural and social experiences”.²² The issue of the name and place of Dimitrije Tucović Square is a testimony of this process.²³

²⁰ Deklaracije o kulturnom nasleđu definišu njegove tri kategorije: spomenike, ansamble i mesta koji svi imaju “univerzalnu i jedinstvenu vrednost” sa gledišta istorije, umetnosti ili nauke. Videti: Svetislav Vučenović, *Urbana i arhitektonska rekonstrukcija*, knj. I (Beograd: Društvo konzervatora Srbije, 2004), 19.

²¹ Videti, na primer, raspravu o konstrukciji nasleđa kao implicitnom i unapred smišljenom odrazu nazora elita: David Crouch, “The Perpetual Performance and Emergence of Heritage”, Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (eds.), *Culture, Heritage, and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality of the Past* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 57-71.

²² Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), 30, 75.

²³ U tom smislu, karakterističan je i primer Starog Sajmišta, prostora u središtu Beograda kod koga je, prema Generalnom urbanističkom planu iz 2003. godine, “vrednost graditeljskog nasleđa”, ali ne i sećanje na žrtve Holokausta u Srbiji, postala imperativ rekonstrukcije. U oba slučaja arhitektonska ili umetnička vrednost, kao i krajnje selektivno shvaćen fenomen onoga što se oficijelno imenuje kao “istorijski značaj”, usvajaju se kao kriterijum zaštite spomenika i rekonstrukcije grada. Videti: Olga Manojlović Pintar, Aleksandar Ignjatović, “Prostori selektovanih memorija: Staro sajmište u Beogradu i sećanje na Drugi svetski rat”, Thomir Cipek, Olivera Milosavljević, (eds.), *Kultura sjećanja: 1941. Povijesni lomovi i savladavanje prošlosti* (Zagreb: Disput, 2008), 95-112.

²⁰ Declarations of cultural heritage define its three categories: monuments, ensembles and places that have “universal and unique value” from the standpoint of history, art or science. See: Svetislav Vučenović, *Urbana i arhitektonska rekonstrukcija*, knj. I (Beograd: Društvo konzervatora Srbije, 2004), 19.

²¹ See for example, the treatise on constructing heritage as implicit and a reflection conceived beforehand of the elite's worldview: David Crouch, “The Perpetual Performance and Emergence of Heritage”, Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (eds.), *Culture, Heritage, and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality of the Past* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 57-71.

²² Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), 30, 75.

²³ In this sense, a characteristic example is the case of the

raskorak između nepoželjne memorije i poželjne vizije budućnosti, do koga je došlo u valorizaciji i percepciji ovog toposa, prevaziđe pozivanjem s jedne strane na univerzalni značaj nauke kao pokretača društva (doduše, u sasvim lapidarno postavljenoj perspektivi)²⁴ i, s druge, na simbolički potencijal nacionalnog heroja sa očitom namerom preoznačavanja lokalne memorije i sistema vrednosti koji ona podrazumeva.²⁵ U seriji predloga koji se nalaze u ideološkim okvirima postavljenim početkom prve decenije XXI veka, navodi se čak i zamisao da se u Teslinoj kuli na Slaviji “u srcu srpske prestonice i u neposrednoj blizini Hrama svetog Save” projektuju “freske iz drugih srpskih crkava i manastira”.²⁶ Upravo zbog svojevrzne bizarnosti, navedeni primer ilustrativna je demonstracija fenomena vrednosne i ideološke fleksibilnosti, odnosno situacionističke prirode kulturnog nasleđa.²⁷ U perspektivi podele na “nametnute” i “konstruisane” simbole prošlosti i identiteta koju je izložio Pjer Nora,²⁸ gde prvu grupu karakteriše institucionalno i organizova-

A recent initiative to erect the Tesla Tower on Slavija Square, seems to have been an attempt to overcome the obvious discrepancy between unwanted memory and a desirable vision of the future, with a reference to both the universal importance of science as a driver of society (although in a completely lapidary set perspective)²⁴ and the symbolic potential of a national hero with the intention of re-marking the local memories and the system of values which it assumes.²⁵ The discrepancy was a result of the valorisation and perception of this topos. In a series of suggestions, which belong to the ideological framework that was established at the beginning of the 21st century, there is a proposal to project “frescos from other Serbian churches and monasteries”²⁶ inside the Tesla Tower on Slavija, “in the heart of Serbian capital and in the vicinity of the Saint Sava Temple”. Exactly because of its bizarreness, this example is an illustration of the phenomenon

Staro Sajmište space in central Belgrade, in which, according to the General Urban design plan from 2003: “the value of the civic heritage” but not of the memory of the victims of the Holocaust in Serbia, become an imperative in reconstruction. In both cases, the architectural or artistic value, as well quite selectively understood phenomenon of what is officially named as “historical importance”, are adopted as criteria for monument protection and city reconstruction. See: Olga Manojlović Pintar, Aleksandar Ignjatović, “Prostori selektovanih memorija: Staro sajmište u Beogradu i sećanje na Drugi svetski rat”, Tihomir Čipek, Olivera Milosavljević, (eds.), *Kultura sjećanja: 1941. Povijesni lomovi i savladavanje prošlosti* (Zagreb: Disput, 2008), 95-112.

²⁴ “The president of Serbia Boris Tadić, suggested during the talks with students from the University of Belgrade and with students of the mathematical grammar school, to build a Tesla Turret on the Slavija Square, which would be the country’s center of science and appreciation of this great scientist. “We can’t monopolize Tesla, he is a man of the world but an idea to build such a turret on the Slavija is very good. That place could be a museum of science, which would popularize the science - said Tadić in the Nikola Tesla museum”. Quoted according to: Boris Tadić: Slavija je pravo mesto za Teslinu kulu”, Blic (9. 5. 2011).

²⁵ See: Marija Krtinić, “Povodom najave o izgradnji Teslinog tornja na Slaviji”, *Danas* (11. 5. 2011).

²⁶ “Tadić: Slavija je mesto za Teslinu kulu”, *24 sata* (9. 5. 2011).

²⁴ “Predsednik Srbije Boris Tadić, predložio je danas tokom razgovora sa studentima Univerziteta u Beogradu i učenicima Matematičke gimnazije da se na Slaviji sagradi Teslin toranj, koji bi bio centar nauke u zemlji i priznanje ovom velikom naučniku. “Mi ne želimo da monopolizujemo Teslu, on je čovek sveta, ali ideja da se na Slaviji sagradi takav toranj je jako dobra. To mesto bi moglo da bude muzej nauke, koji bi popularizovao nauku - rekao je Tadić u muzeju Nikole Tesle.” Navedeno prema: “Boris Tadić: Slavija je pravo mesto za Teslinu kulu”, Blic (9. 05. 2011).

²⁵ Videti: Marija Krtinić, “Povodom najave o izgradnji Teslinog tornja na Slaviji”, *Danas* (11. 05. 2011).

²⁶ “Tadić: Slavija je mesto za Teslinu kulu”, *24 sata* (9. 5. 2011).

²⁷ “Nasleđe je istovremeno nešto daleko i odvojeno, dok se u isti mah razume i identifikuje, komunicira kao nešto što nam pripada. Nasleđe se označava, proizvodi i konstituše u kulturnim kontekstima; ono se komunicira kroz kulturnu medijaciju, konzumira, razume kao da poseduje konkretnu materijalnu egzistenciju i biva “čvrsto prigrinjeno” oličavajući tako sam smisao pripadnosti”: D. Crouch, *op. cit.*, 57.

²⁸ Pierre Nora, “Introduction to: *Realms of Memory*”, vol. III, Piere Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of French Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), IX-XII.

no usvajanje određenih sistema znakova kao simbola zajednice, a drugu slojevitost različitih nanosa memorije, za trg Slavija može se reći da predstavlja mesto sećanja koje konstituišu oba ova simbola. Kroz ono što sam Nora i, s druge strane, Simon Šama nazivaju neprestanom sedimentacijom novih značenja,²⁹ urbani, politički i društveni prostor trga Slavija kao mesto sećanja i uprostoravanja identiteta, ukazuje ne samo na kontinuitete i diskontinuitete ideoloških i političkih sistema u modernoj istoriji Beograda i Srbije, već nesumnjivo predstavlja i način da se, kroz "simboličku istoriju", bolje razume nacionalna i politička istorija.

Za mesto koje je docnije nazvano "Slavija", kao i za okolni prostor istočnog Vračara, vezuju se prve ideje o urbanoj rekonstrukciji velikog Beograda, odnosno Beograda koji je sredinom XIX veka definitivno iskoračio izvan šanca.³⁰ Na preseku starih komunikacionih pravaca — pre svega Kragujevačkog i Carigradskog druma, u periodu između sredine i kraja XIX veka, na ovom su se prostoru ostvarile neke od važnih urbanističkih ideja oblikovanja prestonice nove države na, kako se tada govorilo, "evropski

of ideological flexibility, i.e. of the situationalist nature of cultural heritage.²⁷

In light of the divide on "imposed" and "construed" symbols of the past and identity that was put forth by Pierre Nora²⁸ - in which the first group is characterized by the institutionalized and organized adoption of certain systems of signs as symbols of the community and the second by the layering of different sediments of memory, one could say that Slavija Square represents a place of memory which is constituted by both of these symbols. This is through what Nora and Simon Schama called the constant sedimentation of new meanings,²⁹ the urban, political and social space of Slavija Square, as a place of memory and establishing identities which hints not only towards the continuities and discontinuities of ideological and political systems in the modern history of Belgrade and Serbia but that also represents a way to better understand national and political history through the "symbolic history".

"Slavija" and the surrounding area of the eastern Vračar, are connected to early ideas regarding the urban reconstruction of Greater Belgrade, i.e. the Belgrade that "stepped

²⁹ Videti: Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 7; Lynn Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 17.

³⁰ Videti još uvek klasične studije: Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886-1914. godine", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XIII (1976), 175-216; Branko Petričić, "Problem rekonstrukcije starog jezgra (Slavija)", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XXVIII (1980), 281-291; Branko Maksimović i Branislav Kojić, *Idejni razvoj srpskog urbanizma: period rekonstrukcije gradova do 1914. godine* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1978); idem, *Ideje i stvarnost urbanizma Beograda 1830-1941* (Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, 1983); Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886-1914. godine", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XIII (1976), 175-216; Branko Petričić, "Problem rekonstrukcije starog jezgra (Slavija)", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XXVIII (1980), 281-291.

²⁷ "The heritage is at the same time something distant and distinct, but also something that is understood and identified, and communicated as something that belongs to us. The heritage is marked, produced and constituted in cultural contexts; it is communicated through cultural mediation, consumed. It is understood as if it possesses concrete material existence and often being "tightly held" embodying in that way the sense of belonging": D. Crouch, *op. cit.*, 57.

²⁸ Pierre Nora, "Introduction to: *Realms of Memory*", vol. III, Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of French Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), IX-XII.

²⁹ See: Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 7; Lynn Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 17.

način". One su, razume se, svakako predstavljale tek deo obuhvatnijeg zahvata usvajanja, reprezentacije i manipulacije kulturnim, društvenim i političkim modelima moderne evropske demokratske i sekularne države u lokalnoj sredini druge polovine XIX stoleća. Paralelno i u tesnoj vezi sa procesom političke emancipacije Srbije, upravo je prostor oko trga Slavija postao ogledno polje za ostvarenje ideja modernog urbanizma koji je nedvosmisleno konotirao okvire identiteta države i društva kakvim su ih zamišljale srpske političke i intelektualne elite tog vremena. Tako se transformacija nekadašnjeg "Simićevog majura" iz livada i zaraslih voćnjaka u modernu gradsku četvrt sa ortogonalnom regulacijom, pravilnim blokovima i savremenom komunalnom mrežom, u čijem je fokusu bio sam trg, može razumeti kao jedan od verovatno najreprezentativnijih i najočitijih simbola društvene i kulturološke tranzicije sa čitavim nizom konotacija.

Poslednje dve decenije XIX stoleća trg Slavija i deo grada koji je postao poznat kao "Englezovac" — po Britancu Fransisu Makenziju koji je od Đorđa Simića, poznatog diplomate i političara, 1878. godine kupio čitavo imanje koje se prostiralo na površini oko današnjeg trga³¹ — počeo je da se konstituiše kao specifično i jasno prepoznatljivo mesto. Između 1882. i 1886. godine na prostoru koji se pružao od današnjeg trga Slavija ka Laudanovom šancu,

out of the ditch" in the mid 19th century.³⁰ At the intersection of old communication paths on the Kragujevac road and Constantinople road, in the period between the middle to the end of 19th century, the space witnessed a series of important urban ideas related to the shaping the capital of the new state in, what was at the time claimed as the "the European way". These represented part of an encompassing intervention in the adoption, representation and manipulation of the cultural, social and political models of the modern European democratic and secular state, in the environment of the second half of the 19th century. In parallel to a tight connection to the process of political emancipation of Serbia, the very space around Slavija Square become a test field for the realisation of ideas of modern urbanism. These undoubtedly connoted the framework of the state and society's identity, as they were conceived by Serbian political and intellectual elites of the time. In that sense, the transformation of the former "Simić Majur" from meadows and overgrown orchards into a modern city borough with orthogonal regulation, regular blocks and modern sewage system, which had as its focus the square itself, can be understood as one of the most representative and obvious symbols of this social and cultural transition.

³¹ Fransis H. Makenzi (1833-1895) bio je inženjer koji je iz Engleske došao u Beograd na nagovor supruge diplomate i istoričara Čedomilja Mijatovića, Engleskinje Elodije Loton-Mijatović. U Beogradu je ostao poznat kao "Englez", a njegovo imanje dugo je nazivano "Englezovac". Videti: Nestor Letopisac, "Postanak Englezovca i Makenzijeve ulice", *Vreme* (29. 6. 1923); Milan Đ. Milićević, "Iz uspomena Milana Đ. Milićevića", *Srpski književni glasnik*, knj. XXXIII, br. 7 (1931), 499.

³⁰ See some of the classical studies: Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886-1914. godine", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XIII (1976), 175-216; Branko Petričić, "Problem rekonstrukcije starog jezgra (Slavija)", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XXVIII (1980), 281-291; Branko Maksimović i Branislav Kojić, *Idejni razvoj srpskog urbanizma: period rekonstrukcije gradova do 1914. godine* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1978); idem, *Ideje i stvarnost urbanizma Beograda 1830-1941* (Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, 1983); Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886-1914. godine", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XIII (1976), 175-216; Branko Petričić, "Problem rekonstrukcije starog jezgra (Slavija)", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XXVIII (1980), 281-291.

ograničenom trima zrakasto postavljenim ulicama (Kragujevački drum, danas Bulevar oslobođenja; Avalska ulica, danas Svetog Save; i Oraška ulica, danas Makenzijeva), regulisano je i izgrađeno pet urbanih blokova pravilnog, pravougaonog oblika.³² Čitav prostor Englezovca bio je uključen u "građevinski rejon" Beograda, postavši tako sastavni deo prestonice kao prvi striktno i planski izgrađeni kvart.³³ Tim entuzijasta i inženjera, sa Makenzijem i inženjerom Svetolikom Popovićem na čelu, i uz stručnu pomoć arhitekta Františka Nekvasila,³⁴ preoblikovao je ovaj prostor po uzoru na engleska prigradska naselja tog vremena, oličavajući ne toliko personalne nazore samog Makenzija — koji su se kretali između hrišćanskog pijetizma do utopijskog socijalizma³⁵ — koliko potrebu da Beograd potvrdi civilizacijsku paradigmu koju su usvojile i pokušale da sprovedu elite. Makenzi je tokom osamdesetih godina XIX veka celokupno imanje podelio na pravilne parcele koje je prodavao na otplatu pod "izvesnim uslovima, među kojima su bili zahtevi o načinu izgradnje kuća, higijenskim uslovima".³⁶ Tako se Makenzi sam

During the last two decades of the 19th century, Slavija Square and the part of the city that became known as the "Englishborough" ("Englezovac") - after the Briton Francis McKenzie, who in 1878 bought the whole estate (from the famous Serbian diplomat and politician Đorđe Simić)³¹ - began to be constituted as a specific and clearly recognizable place. Between 1882 and 1886, in the area spreading from today's Slavija Square toward Laudan's Ditch, which was bounded by three radially placed streets (Kragujevac road, today Bulevar Oslobođenja; Avala street, today Svetog Save; and Oraška street, today McKenzie street), five urban blocks of regular rectangular shape³² were regulated and built. The whole area of Englishborough was included in the "building area" of Belgrade, becoming in that way an inherent part of the capital and representing the first strictly planned district.³³ A team of enthusiasts and engineers, working with McKenzie and the engineer Svetolik Popović as their leaders under the expertise of architect Frantisek Nekvasil,³⁴ reshaped this space

³² Videti: Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt, urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda, 1890 – 1914.* (Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju 2008); Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886. do 1914", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, XXIII (1976), 175-217, pos. 177; Branko Maksimović, "Urbanistički razvoj Beograda od 1830. do 1914", *Istorija Beograda*, knj. 2 (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti i Prosveta, 1974), 299-334, pos. 383-384.

³³ Videti: Branko Bojović, "Urbanizam Beograda u XIX i XX veku", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XLIX-L (2002-2003), 114.

³⁴ František Nekvasil bio je jedan od čeških inženjera i stručnjaka koji su bili angažovani u sprovođenju ovog urbanističkog, infrastrukturnog i arhitektonskog poduhvata. Pored samog Nekvasila, ovde su bili uposleni drugi Česi "iskusni građevinarci", kao što su npr. Gašpar Bekker i Perikle Zak. Videti: Miloško Gordić, "Sala mira u Beogradu", *Nasleđe*, vol. 1 (1997), 145.

³⁵ O Makenzijevom filantropizmu i intelektualnim nazorima videti: Miodrag Protić, "Slavija", *Delo*, vol. VI, br. 6 (1960), 738-743.

³⁶ Branko Vujović, *Beograd u prošlosti i sadašnjosti* (Beograd: Draganić 1994), 254.

³¹ Francis McKenzie (1833-1895) was an engineer who came from England to Belgrade on the suggestion of the English woman Elodia Loton-Mijatovic, who was the wife of a diplomat and a historian Cedomir Mijatovic. He was known as the "Englishman" in Belgrade and his estate was for a long time called the "Englishborough" (Englezovac). See: Nestor Letopisac, "Postanak Englezovca i Makenzijeve ulice", *Vreme* (29. 6. 1923); Milan D. Milićević, "Iz uspomena Milana D. Milićevića", *Srpski književni glasnik*, knj. XXXIII, br. 7 (1951), 499.

³² See: Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt, urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda, 1890 – 1914.* (Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju 2008); Svetlana V. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886. do 1914", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, XXIII (1976), 175-217, pos. 177; Branko Maksimović, "Urbanistički razvoj Beograda od 1830. do 1914", *Istorija Beograda*, knj. 2 (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti i Prosveta, 1974), 299-334, pos. 383-384.

³³ See: Branko Bojović, "Urbanizam Beograda u XIX i XX veku", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XLIX-L (2002-2003), 114.

³⁴ Frantisek Nekvasil was one of the Czech engineers and experts who were engaged in the realization of this urban design, infrastructural and architectural enterprise. Apart from Nekvasil other Czechs, "experienced builders" were also em-

poobrnuo da "broj stanovnika u naselju bude ograničen, i da se voda u bunarima zaštiti od zagađivanja", kao i da se poštuju stroga pravila o obliku stambenih kuća i materijalima od kojih su one morale biti podignute.³⁷ U isto vreme, ovaj gradski kvart — koji je 1894. godine promenio naziv u "Savinac",³⁸ simbolički ukazujući na rastući pritisak kulture nacionalizma kao revers istog procesa kulturne emancipacije sredine³⁹ — dobio je apoteku, dućan i hotel.⁴⁰ Nazvan "Slavija" po istoimenoj gostionici u Pragu, gradu odakle je došao arhitekta hotela Nekvasil koji mu je, kako se veruje, i dao naziv, ovaj objekat koji se snažno isticao u urbanom pejzažu okružja ubrzo je postao središte okupljanja lokalnih građana.

Stoga se prostor Istočnog Vračara i trga Slavija koji je predstavljao njegovo simboličko središte može razumeti kao svojevrsni, konstruisani simbol ne samo urbanog preobražaja prestonice, već i društvene emancipacije lokalne zajednice koja se zasnivala na širokom rasponu savremenih emancipatorskih politika i ideologija. Novo naselje predstavljalo je paradigmatički primer novo ustanovljenih društvenih i komunalnih odnosa, "kako u domenu urbane, higijenske i društvene,

according to a model of English suburbs of that time, embodying in that way not so much the personal views of McKenzie - which ranged from Christian pietism to utopian socialism³⁵ - but rather Belgrade's need to endorse the civilizational paradigm that was aspired to by its elites. During the 1880s, McKenzie had divided the whole estate into regular parcels which he sold in instalments under "certain conditions, which included requirements about the ways in which to build houses and hygienic conditions".³⁶ In that way, McKenzie managed to "limit the number of inhabitants in the borough and to protect the water in the wells from contamination", as well as to impose strict rules about the shape of the houses and the materials which were used for construction.³⁷ At the same time, this city block, which in 1894 was renamed as "Savinac"³⁸ got a pharmacy, grocery store and a hotel.³⁹ The renaming of the city block reflects the ever-growing pressure of the culture of nationalism as a token of the process of the cultural emancipation of the community.⁴⁰ The hotel that had stood high in the urban landscape of its surroundings

ployed, for example Gaspar Beker, Perikle Zak. See: Miloško Gordić, "Sala mira" u Beogradu", *Nasleđe*, vol. I (1997), 145.

³⁵ With regards to McKenzie's philanthropic and intellectual views refer to: Miodrag Protić, "Slavija", *Delo*, vol. VI, br. 6 (1960), 738-743.

³⁶ Branko Vujović, *Beograd u prošlosti i sadašnjosti* (Beograd: Draganić 1994), 254.

³⁷ Fransiš Mekenzi, "Pismo predsedniku Opštine i opštinskom odboru varoši Beograda", *Beograd između stvarnosti i sna: izbor tekstova*, Urbanizam Beograda, br. 66-67 (1982), 13-17. Cf. Svetlana Nedić, "Sala mira", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XVLL (1995), 123.

³⁸ Zbog predanja koje govori da su mošti svetog Save upravo na ovom prostoru spaljene 1594. godine. Videti: "Rad Odbora opštinskog. 19. redovni sastanak 31. marta 1894. god." *Beogradske opštinske novine*, vol. XII, no. 17 (1894), 75.

³⁹ Videti: Aleksandar Ignjatović, "Između žezla i ključa: nacionalni identitet i arhitektonsko nasleđe Beograda i Srbije u 19. i prvoj polovini 20. veka", *Nasleđe*, vol. 9 (2008), 51-73.

⁴⁰ Videti: Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Hoteli i kafane XIX veka u Beogradu* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1988), 68-72.

³⁸ According to a legend that the relics of the Saint Sava were burned exactly at this place in 1594. See: "Rad Odbora opštinskog. 19. redovni sastanak 31. marta 1894. god." *Beogradske opštinske novine*, vol. XII, no. 17 (1894), 75.

³⁹ See: Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Hoteli i kafane XIX veka u Beogradu* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1988), 68-72.

⁴⁰ See: Aleksandar Ignjatović, "Između žezla i ključa: nacionalni identitet i arhitektonsko nasleđe Beograda i Srbije u 19. i prvoj polovini 20. veka", *Nasleđe*, vol. 9 (2008), 51-73.

tako i lične kulture”.⁴¹ O tome, između ostalog, svedoče i privatne kuće i zgrade koje su po obodu trga Slavija podizane počev od 80-ih godina XIX veka i koje su odisale aurom “evropskog” — kao što je to, na primer, slučaj sa kućom porodice Vučo u Deligradskoj br. 2 (danas restoran McDonalds), izvedenoj prema projektu Dimitrija Leka 1893. godine.⁴² Ova i druge građevine u okruženju, oblikovane “u duhu evropske arhitekture istorijskih stilova”,⁴³ predstavljale su vizuelne i urbane reperi koji jasno ukazuju na procese kulturne emancipacije i mogu se čitati kao važni sadržaji identiteta građanske klase i flagrantni reperi usvojenih vrednosti demokratskog društva.

U okviru novog naselja podignuto je i posebno izdvojeno komunalno središte, svojevrsan hram bez religijskih znamenja i oltara, poznat pod nazivom “Sala mira” (slika 1).⁴⁴ Sam Makenzi bio je najviše zaslužan za njenu izgradnju, budući da je smatrao “da je Beograđanima potrebna zgrada za skupove koji nemaju veze sa kafanskim životom”.⁴⁵ Kao odgovor na javne napade da pokušava podići nazarensku crkvu, Makenzi je objavio odgovor u formi nezavisne publikacije pod naslovom *Radi opravdanja ili objašnjenje svega onoga što se odnosi na nedeljnu školu za hrišćansku nauku u Sali*

quickly became the centre for local gatherings. It was named “Slavija” after a tavern by the same name in Prague, the hometown of Nekvasil, the architect of the hotel.

The area of the eastern Vračar and Slavija Square, which represented its symbolic centre, can be understood as a unique and construed symbol of the urban transformation of the capital and of the social emancipation of the local community based on a wide range of modern emancipating policies and ideologies. The new borough represented a paradigmatic example of newly established social and communal relationships, “both in the domain of urban, hygienic and social, as well as personal culture”.⁴¹ Private houses and buildings at the fringes of Slavija Square built during the 1880s were in a similar vein; they had that “European” aura similar to, for example, the house of the Vučo family in Deligradska number 2 (a McDonalds restaurant today), which was built according to project by Dimitrije Leko in 1893.⁴²

The Vučo family residence and other buildings in the vicinity that were shaped “in the spirit of European architecture of historical styles”,⁴³ represented visual and urban reference points which clearly pointed towards processes of cultural emancipation. These can be read as important symbols of middle class identity and

⁴¹ Milojko Gordić, “Sala mira’ u Beogradu”, *Nasleđe*, vol. I (1997), 146.

⁴² Videti: Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji Beograda 1814-1914* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1981), 67; Mirjana Roter-Blagojević, *Stambena arhitektura Beograda u 19. i početkom 20. veka* (Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu i Orion Art, 2006), 285-286.

⁴³ M. Roter-Blagojević, *op. cit.*, 285.

⁴⁴ Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*; M. Gordić, *op. cit.* Cf. David A. Norris, *Belgrade: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 191.

⁴⁵ S. Nedić, “Sala mira”, 123.

⁴¹ Milojko Gordić, “Sala mira’ u Beogradu”, *Nasleđe*, vol. I (1997), 146.

⁴² See: Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji Beograda 1814-1914* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1981), 67; Mirjana Roter-Blagojević, *Stambena arhitektura Beograda u 19. i početkom 20. veka* (Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu i Orion Art, 2006), 285-286.

⁴³ M. Roter-Blagojević, *op. cit.*, 285.



SLIKA 1.: Trg Slavija sa Salom mira i Hotelom Slavija, razglednica iz 1890-ih godina

PICTURE 1.: The Slavija Square with the Hall of Peace and the Slavija Hotel, postcard dating from 1890s

mira na Englezovcu,⁴⁶ ukazujući na svoju prosvetiteljsku, a nipošto nazarensku misiju. Svetlana Nedić pisala je o tome kako je “[u] vreme kada je počelo zidanje Sale mira, u nekim beogradskim dnevnim listovima objavljeno [...] da Makenzi gradi nazarensku crkvu”.⁴⁷ Ovo tvrđenje Makenzi je demantovao u septembru 1888, tekstom objavljenim u pet beogradskih listova, istakavši da je zgrada namenjena razvijanju kulturnog života Beograđana.⁴⁸

Sala mira bila je jednostavna pravougaona zgrada sa jednim brodom, koju je po zamisli samog Makenzija podigao Svetolik

reference points of the adopted values of democratic society.

Within the new borough, a special and a separate community centre was built, a kind of a temple but without any religious tokens and shrines, known by the name “The Hall of Peace” (picture 1).⁴⁴ McKenzie was responsible for the building, given that he thought, “that Belgraders needed a building for gatherings which had nothing to do with the tavern life”.⁴⁵ Svetlana Nedic wrote that “around the time when the Hall of Peace was built, some Belgrade daily newspapers published (...) that McKenzie is building a Nazarene church”.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ [Fransis] Makenzi, *Radi opravdanja ili objašnjenje svega onoga što se odnosi na nedeljnu školu za hrišćansku nauku u Sali mira na Englezovcu* (Beograd: Štamparija Sv. Nikolića, 1892).

⁴⁷ S. Nedić, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸ O percepciji nazarena u srpskoj javnosti videti: Bojan Aleksov, *Nazareni među Srbima: verska trvenja u južnoj Ugarskoj i Srbiji od 1850. do 1914.* (Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike 2010).

⁴⁴ See: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*; M. Gordić, *op. cit.* Cf. David A. Norris, *Belgrade: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 191.

⁴⁵ S. Nedić, “Sala mira”, 123.

⁴⁶ S. Nedić, *op. cit.*

Popović 1888-1889. godine. Mekenzi je u Sali mira organizovao niz naučno-popularnih predavanjima (kao npr. o astronomiji i biologiji),⁴⁹ tamo je bila ugrađena i savremena oprema za projekcije filmova,⁵⁰ a sama institucija predstavljala je svojevrsnu istorijsku preteču socijalističkih narodnih domova i socijalističkih domova kulture. Pored toga, u Sali mira i u pridodatom prizemnom aneksu⁵¹ održavala su se i predavanja profesora Učiteljske škole, koncerti Svetosavskog pevačkog društva, kao i časovi Muške večernje škole za nepismene, te privatne škole za ženski ručni rad.⁵² Navedene aktivnosti zadobile su sasvim specifično mesto u urbanoj kulturi Beograda, svedočeci o nazorima pojedinih delova elita i pokušajima socijalne i kulturne emancipacije zajednice putem filantropskih inicijativa i organizovanih prosvetnih aktivnosti. Pored toga, ove aktivnosti nedvosmisleno ukazuju na onaj sistem društvenih i političkih vrednosti (kulturna i društvena emancipacija, socijalna pravda, građan-

To this accusation McKenzie responded by an independent publication (September 1888) entitled: *On justifying and explaining everything that relates to Sunday school for Christian science in the Hall of Peace in Englishborough*.⁴⁷ The article, along with subsequent ones he published in different Belgrade papers, emphasised that his mission was one of enlightenment for the cultural development of the lives of Belgraders rather than one of Nazarenic evangelization.⁴⁸

The Hall of Peace was a simple rectangular building with one nave, which was built, according to the McKenzie's original conception, by Svetolik Popović in 1888-1889. It was here that McKenzie organized a series of popular science lectures (for example on astronomy and biology)⁴⁹ and had equipment for projecting moving images installed.⁵⁰ The institution represented a historical predecessor of what was to become the socialist "People's Centre" or "Cultural Centre". Professors from the Teacher School would hold lectures in the Hall of Peace in the added annex⁵¹ on the ground floor, the Saint Sava Glee Society had concerts there, while the Men's evening School for the Illiterate and the private school for Women's Handcrafts⁵²

⁴⁹ F. Makenzi, *op. cit.*, 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Aneks u vidu jedne niže prostorije koja je uglavnom služila kao učionica podignut je 1890. godine. Videti: F. Makenzi, *op. cit.*, 4.

⁵² Škola za ženski ručni rad, koju je Makenzi otvorio 1891. godine uz odobrenje Ministarstva prosvete i koja je bila poznata kao "Ženska radenička škola" ili "Radenička škola na Englezovcu", rečit je primer emancipatorskih ideja kao najvažnijeg obeležja aktivnosti koje su se odvijale u Sali mira. Građani koji su stanovali u naselju Englezovac podržali su otvaranje škole, dok je sam Makenzi delimično finansirao njen rad. Dok je za najsiromašnije polaznice škole (inače, devojčice uzrasta između 11 i 15 godina) pohađanje nastave bilo besplatno, imućniji građani su plaćali školarinu za svoju decu, a iznos školarine razlikovao se od slučaja do slučaja, shodno imovinskom stanju. Pored savladavanja različitih tehnika ručnog rada, učenice su dobijale poduku iz veronauke i higijene, dok su za nepismene bili organizovani posebni časovi na kojima se predavao srpski jezik. Videti: F. Makenzi, *Radi opravdanja ili objašnjenje svega onoga što se odnosi na nedeljnu školu za hrišćansku nauku u Sali mira na Englezovcu*. Arhivska istraživanja Svetlane Nedić govore da su podaci o radu Ženske radeničke škole poznati zaključno sa školskom 1893/94. godinom: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 125. Međutim, natpisi iz periodike govore da je škola radila i nakon te godine, videti npr. "Listići", *Domaćica*, vol. XVIII, br. 9 (1895), 250.

⁴⁷ [Fransis] Makenzi, *Radi opravdanja ili objašnjenje svega onoga što se odnosi na nedeljnu školu za hrišćansku nauku u Sali mira na Englezovcu* (Beograd: Štamparija Sv. Nikolića, 1892).

⁴⁸ On the perception of Nazarenes in Serbian public see: Bojan Aleksov, *Nazareni među Srbima: verska trvenja u južnoj Ugarskoj i Srbiji od 1850. do 1914*. (Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike 2010).

⁴⁹ F. Makenzi, *op. cit.*, 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Annex in a form of a lower room, which mainly served as a classroom, was built in 1890. See: F. Makenzi, *op. cit.*, 4.

⁵² The School for Women hand crafts which McKenzie opened in 1891 with the approval of the Ministry of Education, and which was known as the "Ženska radenička škola" (Women

ska samosvest i odgovornost itd.) koji će još dugo ostati prepoznatljivo obeležje čitavog prostora trga Slavija, i u decenijama nakon smrti Makenzija i promena koje su usledile u inicijalnoj funkciji Sale mira koja je najpre postala sedište Srpske crtačke i slikarske škole Kirila Kutlika (1899-1900),⁵³ a potom i Srpska slikarska škola Riste i Bete Vukanović.⁵⁴

O emancipatorskoj auri Sale mira govori i njen izvorni arhitektonski identitet.⁵⁵ Sala je sagrađena kao slobodnostojeća prizemna zgrada sa istaknutim ulaznim pročeljem na kome su se izdvajali pseudo klasični timpanon i edikula sa lučnim otvorom za vrata flankiranim pilastrima i nadvišenim manjim trouglastim timpanonom koji ponavlja oblike velikog. Klasični elementi, jednostavna morfologija, prepoznatljiva klasicizirajuća spoljašnjost Sale mira i njena "dostojanstvena skromnost",⁵⁶ svakako su svedočili ne samo o prepoznatljivom i nesumnjivo jedinstvenom mestu ove građevine u arhitektonskoj slici Beograda,⁵⁷ već su na izvestan način korespondirali sa edukativnom i prosvetiteljskom ulogom Sale mira u društvenom životu grada. Redu-

were also known to hold courses in the building. These activities received a very specific place in Belgrade's urban culture. They are evidence of the views of certain sections of the elite and of the attempts that were put in place to increase the social and cultural emancipation of the community through philanthropic initiatives and organized educational programs. These activities point towards what was geared to be a system of social and political values (cultural and social emancipation, social justice, civic awareness and responsibility, etc), which for a long time remained a recognizable feature of the whole area around the Slavija Square.

Today we can find visible traces of the changes that took place in the role of the Hall of Peace in the decades that succeeded McKenzie's death. To begin with the building became the headquarters of the Serbian drawing and painting school of Kiril Kutlik (1899-1900),⁵³ and subse-

working school) or "Radenička škola na Englezovcu" (working school in the Englishborough), is an excellent example of the emancipating ideas as the most important feature of the activities that were taking place in the Hall of Peace. Citizens who lived in the Englishborough supported opening the school, and McKenzie himself financed its running. The poorest attendants (girls the age between 11 and 15) didn't have to pay any tuitions, more affluent citizens paid the tuition for their kids, and the amount differed from case to case, according to a financial status. Besides learning different techniques of hand crafts, the students also received a teaching in religious education and hygiene, while for the illiterate special courses in serbian language were organized. See: F. Makenzi, *Radi opravdanja ili objašnjenje svega onoga što se odnosi na nedeljnu školu za hrišćansku nauku u Sali mira na Englezovcu*. According to the archival research by Svetlana Nedić there were records about the Women working school until the school year of 1893/4. S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 125. However, sources from the periodicals indicate that the school continued working even after that year, see for example "Listići", *Domaćica*, vol. XVIII, br. 9 (1895), 250.

⁵³ Videti: Zdravko Vučinić (et al.), *Kiril Kutlik — Srpska crtačka i slikarska škola* (katalog izložbe) (Beograd: Prodajna galerija Beograd, 2008); Lazar Trifunović, *Srpska crtačko-slikarska i umetničko-zanatska škola u Beogradu (1895-1914)* (Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1978); Stanislav Živković, "Srpska crtačka i slikarska škola Kirila Kutlika", *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske*, vol. V (1969), 239-255.

⁵⁴ L. Trifunović, *op. cit.*, 115-120; Vera Ristić, *Beta Vukanović* (Beograd: Topy i Muzej grada Beograda, 2004); Mira Sofronijević, "Učiteljica brojnih slikarskih generacija: 25 godina od smrti Bete Vukanović (1872-1972)", *Književne novine*, vol. 49, no. 967 (1997), 13.

⁵⁵ Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 123-131; Miloško Gordić, "Sala mira" u Beogradu", 145-149; Radojka Božović Lopičić, "Restitucija 'Sale mira'", *Nasleđe*, vol. I (1997), 151-154.

⁵⁶ S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 124.

⁵⁷ Videti: Divna Đurić-Zamolo, "Najznačajnija raskrsnica grada", *Politika* (29. 3. 1980), 11.

⁵³ See: Zdravko Vučinić (et al.), *Kiril Kutlik — Srpska crtačka i slikarska škola* (katalog izložbe) (Beograd: Prodajna galerija Beograd, 2008); Lazar Trifunović, *Srpska crtačko-slikarska i umetničko-zanatska škola u Beogradu (1895-1914)* (Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1978); Stanislav Živković, "Srpska crtačka i slikarska škola Kirila Kutlika", *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske*, vol. V (1969), 239-255.

kovani, moglo bi se čak reći i rigidni arhitektonski identitet Sale mira, sa puritanski oblikovanim masama i svedenim elementima čija je funkcionalna dimenzija preovladavala nad dekorativnom, može se posmatrati u istoj emancipatrskoj vizuri kao i delatnosti koje su se na ovom mestu odvijale u kontinuitetu.

Na izvestan način, čitav ovaj urbanističko-socijalni kompleks, sa regulisanim pravilima, edukativnom misijom i urbano-komunalnom, ali i estetsko-didaktičkom dimenzijom, predstavljao je pre kontinuitet u odnosu na vreme nakon 1910. godine — kada je Sala mira, ali i čitav prostor trga Slavija, postao mesto širenja ideja uprostoravanja socijalizma, socijalne demokratije i postepenog uobličavanja radničkog pokreta u Beogradu. Aktivnosti koje su se dešavale u Sali mira i docnijem Socijalističkom narodnom domu mogu se posmatrati kao aspekti jedinstvene kulturne paradigme koja je podrazumevala poštovanja socijalne pravde, univerzalnih ljudskih prava, prava glasa, ravnopravnosti polova i opštih građanskih sloboda.

Nakon 1900. godine Sala mira imala je sinkopičnu istoriju, ali je njena inicijalna funkcija opstala još decenijama nakon što je u septembru 1900. godine, zajedno sa zgradom i svim okolnim objektima, prodana Vračarskoj štedionici.⁵⁸ Deset godina docnije, Vračarska štedionica prodala je Salu mira Srpskoj socijaldemokratskoj partiji i Glavnom radničkom savezu.⁵⁹ Tada je Sala mira preimenovana u Socijalistički narod-

quently of the painting school of Rista and Beta Vukanović.⁵⁴

The original architectural identity⁵⁵ of the Hall of Peace speaks about its emancipatory aura too. The Hall was built as a free standing single floor building with a conspicuous entrance frontage that featured pseudo-classical tympanum and aedicule with an arch opening for a door with flanked pilasters and an over-hanging smaller triangular tympanum that iterates the shape of the big one. Classical elements, simple morphology, a recognizable classicizing of exterior of the Hall of Peace and its "honourable modesty",⁵⁶ were indeed tokens of the recognizable and undoubtedly unique place this building held in the architectural image of Belgrade.⁵⁷ In a certain way these elements also corresponded to the educational and enlightening role of the Hall of Peace within the social life of the city. The rigid architectural identity of the building, with its puristically shaped masses and reduced elements whose functional dimension prevails over the decorative, should be viewed in the same emancipatory perspective as the activities that were taking place at this place continuously.

This whole urban and social complex, with its regulated rules, educational mission and urban-communal but also aesthetically-didactic dimension, represented a continuity

⁵⁴ L. Trifunović, *op. cit.*, 115-120; Vera Ristić, *Beta Vukanović* (Beograd: Topy i Muzej grada Beograda, 2004); Mira Sofronijević, "Učiteljica brojnih slikarskih generacija: 25 godina od smrti Bete Vukanović (1872-1972)", *Književne novine*, vol. 49, no. 967 (1997), 13.

⁵⁵ See: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 123-131; Miloško Gordić, "Sala mira u Beogradu", 145-149; Radojka Božović Lopičić, "Restitucija 'Sala mira'", *Nasleđe*, vol. I (1997), 151-154.

⁵⁶ S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 124.

⁵⁷ See: Divna Đurić-Zamolc, "Najznačajnija raskrsnica grada", *Politika* (29. 3. 1980), 11.

⁵⁸ IAB 1292. f 18-8. Fond Tehničke direkcije. Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 125; M. Gordić, *op. cit.*, 146.

⁵⁹ IAB OGB-TD-GO-Φ XVIII-8-29.



SLIKA 2 :: Trg Slavija sa Socijalističkim narodnim domom, fotografija iz 1911. godine

PICTURE :: The Slavija Square with the Socialist People's Centre, photo dating from 1911

ni dom, postavši društveno i političko sedište socijalističkog i radničkog pokreta u Beogradu (slika 2). Sama zgrada nekadašnje Sale mira pretrpela je rekonstrukciju, proširenje i zadobila je novi vizuelni identitet (sa istaknutim detaljima crvene boje).⁶⁰ Socijalistički narodni dom svečano je otvoren 7. septembra 1910. godine uz zvuke "Internacionale" i govor sekretara Srpske socijaldemokratske partije Dimitrija Tucovića, kao i sekretara Glavnog radničkog saveza Dragiše Lapčevića.⁶¹ Sve

in relation to the time after 1910 - when the Hall of Peace, and also the whole area of the Slavija Square, became places dedicated to spreading ideas of the spatial embedding of socialism, social democracy and the gradual forming of the labour movement in Belgrade. Activities that took place in the Hall of Peace and later in the Socialist People's Centre, can be viewed as aspects of a unique cultural paradigm, aimed at respecting justice, universal human rights, voting rights, gender equality and civil liberties.

After 1900, the Hall of Peace had a chequered history but its initial function held out for decades until it was sold to Vračarska Štedionica⁵⁸ in September of 1900, along with the building and

⁶⁰ Tako je, na primer, iznad ulaza u zgradu na mestu gde se nekada nalazila ploča sa imenom "Sala mira" postavljena crvena tabla sa natpisom "Socijalistički narodni dom"; prozorski ramovi na zgradi bili su obojeni crvenom bojom, a u samoj sali nalazile su se crvene zastave, kao i bista Karla Marksa.

⁶¹ "Socijalistički narodni dom", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 133 (6. 9. 1910); "Beogradskim radnicima i ostalim građanima", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 133 (6. 9. 1910); "Svečano otvaranje Socijalističkog narodnog doma", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 135 (11. 9. 1910).

⁵⁸ IAB 1292, f 18-8. Fond Tehničke direkcije. Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 125; M. Gordić, *op. cit.*, 146.

do 1914. godine Socijalistički narodni dom korišćen je za redovne sastanke i partijske kongrese; na istom mestu nalazila se redakcija "Radničkih novina", "Borbe" i "Jednakosti" (list žena socijaldemokrata), kao i naknadno sagrađena socijalistička knjižara.⁶² Pored toga, u Socijalističkom narodnom domu organizovana su javna predavanja i bogat kulturno-umetnički i kulturno-zabavni program nastavlajući, u izvesnom smislu, izvorne tradicije Sale mira.⁶³

Trg Slavija obeležili su brojni događaji iz istorije socijalizma i radničkog pokreta u Srbiji vezani za delatnost Dimitrija Tucovića, Vase Pelagića, Mite Cenića, Radovana Dragovića i Dušana Popovića. Upravo je na ovom trgu, 8. marta 1890. godine spaljena Pelagićeva prethodno cenzurirana knjiga *Narodna prava ili naše neodložne potrebe* (1889).⁶⁴ Trg Slavija bio je, osim toga, stecište građana koji su podržavali Socijaldemokratsku stranku i koji su se okupljali u Sali mira, u hotelskoj kafani, ili na samom otvorenom prostoru trga — kao npr. nakon državnog udara 1890. godine. Godine 1911. i 1912. prvomajске povorke koje je organizovala Srpska socijaldemokratska partija završavale su se zborovima na samom trgu, ispred Socijalističkog narodnog doma (slika 3).⁶⁵

surrounding objects. Ten years later, Vračarska Štedionica sold the Hall of Peace to Serbian Social-democratic Party and the Main Labour Association.⁵⁹ The Hall of Peace was then renamed into Socialist People's Centre, becoming in that way a social and political centre of socialist and labour movements in Belgrade (picture 2). The building of the former Hall of Peace underwent restructuring work, and an extension and gained a new visual identity (with distinguished details in red colour).⁶⁰ The Socialist People's Centre was officially opened on 7th of September in 1910 to the sounds of the "The Internationale" and was inaugurated with speeches by the Secretary of the Social-democratic Party Dimitrije Tucović and by the Secretary of the Main Labour Association Dragiša Lapčević.⁶¹ Until 1914 the Socialist People's Centre was also used for regular meetings and party congresses; the editorial boards of the "Radničke Novine", "Borba" and "Jednakost" (a journal of the women social-democrats) were in the same place, as well as at the subsequently built socialist bookshop.⁶² Besides that, public lectures and a rich artistic and cultural program were organized in the Socialist People's Centre, continuing in that way the original tradition of the Hall of Peace.⁶³

⁶² Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 127-128.

⁶³ U Socijalističkom narodnom domu održavala su se predavanja subotom, kao npr. predavanje Dušana Popovića o Lavu Tolstoju, koje je održano 11. 12. 1910. godine. Navedeno prema: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 127, n. 34. Pored toga, u sali su organizovane bioskopske projekcije pod okriljem Narodnog bioskopa — institucije koju je osnovala Socijaldemokratska partija. U aneksu Socijalističkog narodnog doma je, sudeći po oglasima u *Radničkim novinama*, radio i restoran "pogodan da u njemu radničke porodice provode vreme": *Radničke novine*, vol. XI, no. 202 (10. 9. 1911); *Radničke novine*, vol. XI, no. 262 (19. 11. 1911).

⁶⁴ Navedeno prema: B. Vujović, *op. cit.*, 254.

⁶⁵ O tome svedoče fotografski prikazi prvomajskih parada. Videti:

⁵⁹ IAB OGB-TD-GO-Φ XVIII-8-29.

⁶⁰ For example, above the building's entrance, on the spot where a plaque with the name "The Hall of Peace" used to hang, a red signboard "Socialistic People's Centre" was mounted; the windows frames on the building were painted in red, and there were red flags in the hall, as well as a Karl Marx bust.

⁶¹ "Socijalistički narodni dom", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 133 (6. 9. 1910); "Beogradskim radnicima i ostalim građanima", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 133 (6. 9. 1910); "Svečano otvaranje Socijalističkog narodnog doma", *Radničke novine*, vol. X, no. 135 (11. 09. 1910).

⁶² Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 127-128.

⁶³ In the Socialist People's Centre they held lectures on Sat-



SLIKA 3 :: Prvomajske demonstracije na trgu Slavija, fotografija iz 1912. godine (www.skyscrapercity.com)

PICTURE 3 :: The May Day parade on the Slavija Square, photo dating from 1912 (www.skyscrapercity.com)

Posle Prvog svetskog rata i stvaranja Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, ovo mesto postalo je centar aktivnosti novoosnovane Socijalističke radničke partije Jugoslavije (komunista), kasnije preimenovane u Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, koja je tu delovala sve do zabrane u decembru 1920. godine.⁶⁶ Uz nekadašnju Salu mira nalazila se i štamparija koja je nosila ime socijalističkog vođe Dimitrija Tucovića, koji je poginuo 1914. godine. Upravo je ime osnivača Socijaldemokratske partije Srbije, glavnog urednika lista "Borba" i jednog od najznačajnijih ideologa ne samo socijalističkog pokreta,

Slavija Square was marked by many events relating to the history of socialism and the Serbian labour movement that are connected to work of Dimitrije Tucović, Vasa Pelagić, Mita Cenić, Radovan Dragović and Dušan Popović. It was on this very square that they burned Pelgić's previously censored book: *People's rights or our irremissible rights* (1889)⁶⁴ on the 8th of March 1890. In addition to this, Slavija Square was a juncture for citizens who supported the Social-democratic Party and who would gather in the Hall of

⁶⁶ "Sa majske demonstracije u Beogradu", *Radničke novine*, vol. XII, no. 91 (20. 4. 1912); Edib Hasanović (ur.), *Prvi maj u Srbiji* (1983-1914) (Beograd: Rad, 1954), fotografija objavljena posle str. 214.

⁶⁶ M. Protić, *op. cit.*, 738-743.

urdays, such as for example a lecture by Dusan Popovic on Leo Tolstoy, which took place on 11.12.1910. Quoted according to: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 127, n. 34. Besides that, in the Hall they also organised movie screenings under the tutorship of People's Cinema- an institution which was founded by the Social-democratic Party. Judging by the advertisements in the *Radničke Novine*, there was a restaurant "suitable for worker's families to spend time in it": in the annex of the Socialist People's Centre, *Radničke novine*, vol. XI, no. 202 (10. 9. 1911); *Radničke novine*, vol. XI, no. 262 (19. 11. 1911).

⁶⁴ Quoted according to: B. Vujović, *op. cit.*, 254.

već i jednog od nosilaca emancipatorskog zahvata u Srbiji postalo sinonim specifičnog seta ideja koje se mogu vezati za ovaj trg. Međutim, Trg Slavija i Sala mira nisu prestali da budu težište oko koga su se i u narednom periodu zabrane Komunističke partije okupljali oni koji su zastupali socijalističke ideje. Nakon ideoloških razilaženja u krugovima jugoslovenskih socijalista i osnivanja nezavisne Socijalističke radničke partije Jugoslavije (komunista) 1919. godine, "Socijalistički Narodni Dom, Socijalističku Knjižaru i Štampariju zvanu 'Tucović' sa celim nameštajem i materijalom u Makenzijevoj ulici br. 3"⁶⁷ dobila je na korišćenje novoosnovana stranka zajedno sa Glavnim radničkim savezom, ponovo osnovanim iste godine. Paralelno sa radom štamparije, koja je bila smeštena u jednom od ranije dograđenih aneksa, u Socijalističkom narodnom domu održavala su se redovna predavanja naučno-popularnog karaktera.⁶⁸ U januaru 1929. godine, kada je zabranjena Socijalistička radnička partija Jugoslavije, Sala mira nastavio je da koristi Radnički savez sve do 31. decembra 1940. godine, kada je i ova organizacija raspuštena. Tokom turbulentnih 1930-ih obeleženih političkim sukobljavanjima, zabranama i oštrim ideološkim podelama, nekadašnja Sala mira data je u zakup najpre Potrošačkoj zadruzi, a potom je postala ugostiteljski objekat sa bioskopom. I pored toga, tokom demonstracija 27. marta 1941. komunisti su upravo na Slaviji držali zapaljive govore, za razliku od demokrata

Peace, in the hotel tavern, or on the square's open space. In the year 1911 and 1912, the May Day parades that were organized by the Serbian Social-democratic Party ended up in rallies on the square, in front of the Socialist People's Centre (*picture 3*).⁶⁵

After the First World War and the founding of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Slavija Square became the centre of activity of the newly founded Socialist Labour Party of Yugoslavia (the communists), later renamed into Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which was active there until its ban in 1920.⁶⁶ Next to the former Hall of Peace, there was a printing office, which was named after the socialist leader Dimitrije Tucović, who died in 1914. The name of the founder of the Social-democratic party of Serbia, the editor in chief of the "Borba" newspaper and one of the most important ideologists of not only the socialist movement but also one of the bearers of the emancipatory intervention in Serbia, became a synonym of the specific set of ideas which can be tied to this square.

Slavija Square and the Hall of Peace never stopped being a centre of gravity, even during a period in which the communist party was banned. Both places remained gathering spaces for all those who professed socialist ideas. After the ideological divergence in the circles of Yugoslav socialists and the founding of the independent Socialist Labour Party of Yugoslavia (the communists) in 1919, "the Socialist Peo-

⁶⁵ Evidence of this one can find in the photgraphic newsreports about the May Day parades. See: "Sa majske demonstracije u Beogradu", *Radničke novine*, vol. XII, no. 91 (20. 4. 1912); Edib Hasanović (ur.), *Prvi maj u Srbiji (1983-1914)* (Beograd: Rad, 1954), fotografija objavljena posle str. 214.

⁶⁶ M. Protić, *op. cit.*, 738-743.

⁶⁷ IAB 1292. f 18-8. Fond Tehničke direkcije. Videti: M. Gordić, *op. cit.*, 146.

⁶⁸ O tome videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 128.

koji su se masi obraćali na Terazijama.⁶⁹ Uklanjanje simboličkih repera vremena socijalizma iz topografije Beograda tokom poslednjih decenija, zapravo je bilo samo sastavni deo složenih procesa koji su preoblikovali društvenu, političku i kulturnu paradigmu kroz nedvosmislen preokret sistema vrednosti. U tom smislu simptomatične su i neke istorijske paralele. Naime, kada je 1935. godine u kontekstu izmenjene društvene i političke klime u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji nekadašnja Sala mira postala ugostiteljski objekat, postojali su predlozi da se prilikom rekonstrukcije ove zgrade, koja je, kao "stara i preživela građevina"⁷⁰ prepoznata kao nepoželjni recidiv jednog specifičnog sistema vrednosti, temeljno prepravi uprkos, kako se tada isticalo, modernosti njenog izgleda. Sama zgrada je dograđena, njena fasada "modernizovana", zaklanjajući kao kulisa samu Salu mira i sve dograđene prostorije. Novo arhitektonsko ruho, čiji su autori bili arhitekte Žarko Pajević i Svetomir Lazić, oblikovano u najboljoj tradiciji "modernog" idioma karakterističnog za sredinu četvrte decenije XX veka,⁷¹ konačno je iz javnog prostora uklonilo vizuelnu i značenjsku vezu nekadašnjeg socijalističkog doma i savremenog života Beograda. Simbol socijalističkih ideja i emancipatorskih ideologija je tada, baš kao i 1991. godine kada je Sala mira porušena do temelja, postao nepoželjno mesto sećanja u kome više nije bilo moguće održavati simbolički potencijal koji je sažimalo ime Dimitrija Tucovića.

ple's Centre, the Socialist bookshop and the printing office called "Tucović" with all the furniture and material in McKenzie street number 3"⁶⁷ were given on disposal to the newly founded party, together with the Main Labour Association, founded again in the same year. Concurrently to the running of the printing office, which was located in one of the earlier built annexes, regular lectures on popular science would take place⁶⁸ in the Socialist People's Centre. In January 1929, when the Socialist Labour Party of Yugoslavia was banned, the Labour Association continued to use the Hall of Peace until 31 of December 1940, when the organisation was disbanded. During the turbulent 1930s, marked by political confrontations, bans and sharp ideological divides, the former Hall of Peace was rented first to Potrošačka Zadruga and subsequently became a catering establishment with a cinema. Despite all that, during the demonstrations on 27 of March 1941, the communists held their fiery speeches at the Slavija Square, as opposed to the democrats who addressed the masses at Terazije Square.⁶⁹

Removing the symbolic socialist markers from the topography of Belgrade during the last decades is only a part of complex processes that have reshaped the social, political and cultural paradigm through an unambiguous reversal of the system of values. In that sense, some historical parallels are symptomatic, namely when in 1935, in the context of the changed social and

⁶⁹ Desimir Tošić, "Jedno viđenje studentskih političkih kretanja pred Drugi svetski rat", *Tokovi istorije*, no. 3 (2006), 229-267.

⁷⁰ M. Gordić, *op. cit.*, 149.

⁷¹ O arhitektonskoj intervenciji iz 1934-35. godine videti: M. Gordić, *loc. cit.*; S. Nedić, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ IAB 1292, f 18-8. Fond Tehničke direkcije. Videti: M. Gordić, *op. cit.*, 146.

⁶⁸ About that see: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 128.

⁶⁹ Desimir Tošić, "Jedno viđenje studentskih političkih kretanja pred Drugi svetski rat", *Tokovi istorije*, no. 3 (2006), 229-267.



SLIKA 4. :: Trg Slavija, razglednica iz prve polovine 1970-ih godina

PICTURE 4. :: The Slavija Square, postcard from the first half of the 1970s

Nakon oslobođenja 1944. godine celokupno imanje je prešlo u ruke organizacije Jedinствeni sindikati Srbije, koja je u Sali mira otvorila bioskop sa prvim radničkim domom kulture u Beogradu,⁷² na čiju je fasadu 1958. godine postavljena spomen-ploča koja je prolaznike podsećala da je ta zgrada bila Socijalistički narodni dom.⁷³ Bioskop, koji je od 1947. godine radio pod imenom “Bioskop Radničkog doma kulture”, a potom postao komercijalna sala poznata pod imenom “Bioskop Slavija”, održao se sve do početka poslednje decenije XX veka (slika 4).

Nekadašnja Sala mira konačno je porušena u junu 1991. godine, simptomatično označavajući urušavanje i sistema vred-

political climate in the Yugoslav Kingdom, the former Hall of Peace became a catering establishment there were some suggestions to thoroughly reconstruct this building despite its modern looks. The building was labelled as “old and antiquated”⁷⁰ and seen as an unwanted recidivate of a specific value system. The building was thus upgraded: its façade was “modernized” and in that way covered as a coulisse the Hall of Peace and all the annexed rooms. The new architectural attire, designed by the architects Žarko Pajević and Svetomir Lazić, was shaped in the best tradition of “modern” idiom, characteristic of the fourth decade of 20th century.⁷¹ This finally removed from public space the visual and semantic relation between the former socialist House

⁷² IAB OGB-TD-GO XIX-28-1931. Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁷³ S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁷⁰ M. Gordić, *op. cit.*, 149.

⁷¹ On architectural intervention from 1934-25 see: M. Gordić, *loc. cit.*; S. Nedić, *loc. cit.*

nosti socijalističkog društva i jugoslovenske zajednice u ratu koji je započeo nepunih mesec dana kasnije, uprkos činjenici da je deset godina pre toga ovaj objekat bio proglašen za spomenik kulture.⁷⁴ Jedna od velikih ironija istorije je da je u Detaljnom urbanističkom planu, koji je i sankcionisao rušenje Sale mira, bilo izričito naglašeno da se ova građevina mora rekonstruisati “u svom istorijskom, izvornom izgledu”. Nedavna ideja da se porušeni objekat Sale mira proglasi za spomenik kulture najvišeg značaja čini se da predstavlja zadocneli, iako ne i nevažni omaž ovom specifičnom mestu sećanja čije je mesto u memorijalnoj topografiji Beograda sasvim jedinstveno.

Međutim, u brojnim slojevima kulturnološkog i ideološkog nasleđa Slavije, posebno se izdvaja simbolika polaganja posmrtnih ostataka Dimitrija Tucovića novembra 1949. godine.⁷⁵ Na izbor Slavije kao mesta koje će poneti njegovo ime i dobiti njegovu bistu, uticao je svakako dugi istorijat trga. Polaganjem Tucovićevih kostiju, centralni gradski trg je dobio nov aktivni sadržaj, koji se temeljio na ideji izgradnje kontinuiteta socijalističke misli i prakse u Beogradu. Polaganjem posmrtnih ostataka, najznačajnijeg socijalističkog mislioca sa ovih prostora (pored Svetozara Markovića) i odlučnog kritičara srpskog nacionalizma i ekspanzionizma, na simboličnoj ravni

and modern life in Belgrade. This symbol of socialist ideas and emancipatory ideologies had then, as in 1991 when it was finally razed to the ground, become an undesirable place of memory, in which it was no longer possible to maintain the symbolic potential that was the essence of the name Dimitrije Tucović.

After liberation in 1944, McKenzie's estate went into hands of the United Syndicates of Serbia organisation, which opened a cinema in the Hall of Peace housing the first Labour Cultural Centre in Belgrade.⁷² On its façade, in 1958, a memorial plaque was mounted, a reminder to passer-bys that this building was a Socialist People's Centre.⁷³ The cinema, which operated under name “The Cinema of the Labour Cultural Centre” until 1947 when it became a commercial hall known as the “Cinema Slavija”, held up until the last decade of the 20th century (picture 4).

The former Hall of Peace was finally torn down in June 1991, symptomatically marking the collapse of the socialist value system and the Yugoslav community, despite the fact that ten years previously the building had been declared a listed building.⁷⁴ One of the big ironies of history is that in the Detailed Urban Plan, which sanctioned tearing down the Hall of Peace, it was explicitly stated that this building must be reconstructed “in its historical, original looks”. A recent motion to declare the demolished building of the Hall of Peace a “listed build-

⁷⁴ Videti: “Odluka o proglašavanju određenih nepokretnosti za kulturna dobra”, *Službeni list grada Beograda*, vol. XXVIII, no. 19 (1981), 913.

⁷⁵ Na trgu Slavija sahranjeni su posmrtni ostaci Dimitrija Tucovića, tvorca modernog radničkog pokreta u Srbiji, videti natpis u dnevnom listu *Politika* (21. 11. 1949).

⁷² IAB OGB-TD-GO XIX-28-1931. Videti: S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁷³ S. Nedić, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁷⁴ See: “Odluka o proglašavanju određenih nepokretnosti za kulturna dobra”, *Službeni list grada Beograda*, vol. XXVIII, no. 19 (1981), 913.

istovremeno je brisano neželjeno sećanje na vojnike Crvene armije koji su tu sahranjeni pet godina ranije, ali i mnogo toga više.⁷⁶

U prvim posleratnim danima, naime, na nekoliko beogradskih trgova obeležena su mesta na kojima su sahranjeni vojnici Crvene Armije. Prvo spomen — obeležje palim crvenoarmejcima podignuto je na nekada Pozorišnom, danas Trgu Republike. 28. oktobra 1944. Upravo je ovde održana velika sahrana sovjetskih vojnika na kojoj su bili prisutni generali Crvene Armije i NOV-a. U neposrednoj blizini Vukovog spomenika u Beogradu, sahranjeni su vojnici Crvene armije koji su poginuli u Mađarskoj i kako je isticano u novinama neposredno po oslobođenju „u skladu sa svojom poslednjom željom sahranjeni u Beogradu”.⁷⁷ U zimskim danima iščekivanja i strepnji štampa je prenosila njihove izjave koje je trebalo da osnaže osećaje bliskosti između građana Jugoslavije i Crvene Armije.⁷⁸ Spomenici poginulim crvenoarmejcima koji su nicali širom Srbije, sjedinjavali su krst i petokraku i predstavljali prve primere uprostoravanja komunizma u Srbiji. Mapi-rali su pejzaž sećanja u kome su pali vojnici Crvene Armije označeni kao heroji i martiri nove zajednice u nastajanju. Pored dva pomenuta prostora, u Beogradu su grobovi palih vojnika obeleženi i na trgovima Slavi-

ing of the outmost importance” seems like a late, if not irrelevant homage to this place of memory, whose place in the memorial topography of Belgrade is quite unique.

In the numerous layers of cultural and ideological heritage that are represented in Slavija Square, the burying of the remains of Dimitrije Tucović in November 1949 still maintains an important symbolism.⁷⁵ The square's long history was one of the main factors that influenced the decision to pick the Slavija Square as a place that would carry his name and get his bust. By burying Tucović's remains, the central city square received a new active content, based on the idea of building a continuity of socialist thought and practice in Belgrade. Laying to rest the remains of one of the region's most important socialist thinkers (besides Svetozar Marković) and a resolute critic of Serbian nationalism and expansionism, erased the unwanted memory - in the symbolic plain, of the Red Army soldiers who were buried there five years earlier as well as of the tumultuous events that it had witnessed up to that date.⁷⁶

In the first days after the war, in several squares around Belgrade, places in which the Red Army soldiers had been buried were marked. The first memorial to the fallen Red Army soldiers was erected on the 28th of October 1944 in the former Theatre Square, known today as the Square

⁷⁶ Posmrtni ostaci Dimitrija Tucovića su preneti iz Lazarevca, preko Arandelovca i Mladenovca u Beograd 35 godina posle njegove pogibije. Videti: "Posmrtni ostaci Dimitrija Tucovića preneseni su juče u Beograd", u *Politika*, (20. 11. 1949), 3.

⁷⁷ Videti: Olga Manojlović Pintar, "Široka strana moja rodnaja": Spomenici sovjetskim vojnicima podizani u Srbiji 1944-1954", u *Tokovi istorije*, no. 1-2 (2005), 134-145.

⁷⁸ Posebno je isticana navodna izjava kapetana Striževa: "Biću Nemce bez milosti, ali nijednu granatu neću da pustim na slovenski Beograd" kao dokaz bliskosti koju su vojnici Crvene Armije imali prema Beogradu i njegovim građanima. *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ The remains of Dimitrije Tucovic, the founder of modern labor movement in Serbia, were buried on the Slavija Square, see the article in the daily newspaper *Politika* (21.11.1949).

⁷⁶ The remains of Dimitrije Tucovic were transported from Lazarevac, via Arandjelovac and Mladenovac to Belgrade, 35 years after his death. See: "Posmrtni ostaci Dimitrija Tucovića preneseni su juče u Beograd", in *Politika*, (20. 11. 1949), 3.

ja i Autokomanda, u blizini raskrsnice ulica Nemanjine i Miloša Velikog.

Narodnooslobodilačka vojska koja je od 1944. godine, odnosno posle uspostavljanja dijaloga sa Čerčilom i nastavka zvaničnih razgovora sa Staljinom etabliрана na međunarodnom planu kao jedna od saveznica antifašističke koalicije, podsticala je manifestacije i simbole kojima je isticana uloga Crvene Armije u oslobodjenju zemlje. Preimenovanjem ulica 1946. godine u javnom prostoru su se našla imena Generala Ždanova i Maršala Birjuzova. Kroz prikaz bliskosti sa Sovjetskim Savezom, jugoslovensko komunističko rukovodstvo je pokušavalo da osnaži svoje pozicije u samoj zemlji, dokazujući istovremeno moćnoj saveznicu svoju principijelnu i faktičku odanost. Veoma je interesantna činjenica da su brojne akcije podizanja spomenika crvenoarmejcima, iako inicirane od samih građana, uvek koordinirali narodno-oslobodilački odbori, čijem se uspostavljanju Staljin odlučno suprotstavio još na samom početku rata. Poginuli vojnici Crvene Armije su svečano sahranjivani u prisustvu građana, uz opela sveštenika Srpske pravoslavne crkve i govore političkih komesara.

Iako je kult Crvene armije brižljivo negovan od prvih dana oslobodjenja, kroz niz komemoracija koje su u centar javnog polja postavile figuru crvenoarmejca kao oslobodioca i velikog saveznika, partizanska vojska je i u tim prvim danima jasno isticana kao nosilac revolucionarnog preobražaja društva. Postepenim uobličavanjem ratnog narativa sve je jasnije kreirana predstava kontinuiteta socijalističke revolucionarne misli i borbe. U javnom

of the Republic. In this very place, a large burial of soviet soldiers took place and was attended to by the generals of the Red Army and NOV (People's Liberation Army). In the vicinity of the Vukov Spomenik in Belgrade, the press reported that after liberation the soldiers of the Red Army who died in Hungary were laid to rest "according to their last will to be buried in Belgrade".⁷⁷ During those dark winter days, the newspapers published statements that were supposed to strengthen the feeling of closeness between the citizens of Yugoslavia and the Red Army.⁷⁸ Monuments to the fallen Red Army soldiers sprouted all over Serbia, uniting a cross and a red star that represented the first examples of the spatial embedding of communism in Serbia. They mapped the landscape of memory in which the fallen soldiers of the Red Army became denoted as the heroes and martyrs of a new society in its forming. Besides the two already mentioned spaces in Belgrade, the graves of the fallen soldiers were also marked on the Slavija and Autokomanda squares and in the vicinity of the junction between Nemanjina and Miloš Veliki streets.

From 1944, while a dialogue with Churchill had been established and talks with Stalin were proceeding, the People's Liberation Army arose on the international plain as one of the allies of the anti-fascist coalition. It encouraged demonstrations and symbols that emphasized the role of the Red Army in the liberation of the Country.

⁷⁷ See: Olga Manojlović Pintar, "Široka strana moja rodnaja": Spomenici sovjetskim vojnicima podizani u Srbiji 1944-1954", in *Tokovi istorije*, no. 1-2 (2005), 134-145.

⁷⁸ An alleged statement by the Captain Srtizev was especially emphasized: "I will fight Germans mercilessly, but I won't drop a single grenade on the Slavic Belgrade" as a proof of closeness that red Army soldiers had for Belgrade and its citizens. *Ibid.*

prostoru to je, međutim, postalo uočljivo tek posle političkog razlaza jugoslovenskih i sovjetskih komunista 1948. godine. Tada je, naime, započela organizovana praksa podizanja spomenika i spomen-ploča koji su slavili partizanske žrtve i ideju autentičnog čitanja marksizma jugoslovenskih komunista.

Slavija kao mesto sećanja koje je oktobra 1944. godine jasno obeleženo sahranjivanjem poginulih crvenoarmejaca, pet godina kasnije je dobila novi aktivni sadržaj postavljanjem groba Dimitrija Tucovića. Na simboličnoj ravni on je afirmisao ideju kontinuiteta i autohtonog jugoslovenskog puta u socijalizam, negirajući predstavu socijalizma u Jugoslaviji kao importa Crvene armije. Država je gradila tradicije koje je trebalo da jasno istaknu revolucionarnu inicijativu jugoslovenskih komunista. Ritualni su interpretirali ratno iskustvo i davali mu jasna tumačenja tokom decenja postojanja socijalističke Jugoslavije.

Istorijske predstave (stvarne, ali i imaginarne) zauzimaju simbolička mesta i kreiraju društveni i kulturni identitet zajednice, koja sebe zamišlja i konsekventno gradi kroz različite reprezentativne forme. Na prostoru Slavije se tokom čitavog XX veka kristalisalo nasleđe koje je u svojoj osnovi imalo ideju socijalne pravde i ravnopravnosti i koje je indirektno utemeljivalo ideje socijalizma u zajednicu. Današnje derutno stanje trga i nemogućnost konstituisanja narativa koji bi ga uobličio, analizirano na simboličnoj ravni, čini se da proizilazi iz pokušaja negiranja memorije prostora. Sve inicijative za preimenovanje i promenu koncepta trga Sla-

By renaming the streets in 1946, the names of General Ždanov and Marshal Birjušov emerged in the public space. Through a depiction of closeness with the Soviet Union, the Yugoslav communist leadership tried to strengthen its position in the country, proving to its powerful ally its principal and factual loyalty. It is noteworthy that on the numerous occasions in which citizens initiated the erecting of monuments for the Red Army soldiers, these were always coordinated by people-liberation assemblies, whose founding Stalin decisively opposed from the beginning of the war. The dead soldiers of the Red Army were ceremonially buried in the presence of citizens, with a requiem by the priests of the Serbian Orthodox Church and speeches by the political commissars.

The cult of the Red Army was carefully nourished from the first days of liberation, through a series of commemorations that presented the figure of a Red Army soldier as the liberator and a big ally to the public. Nevertheless, the partisan army was always depicted as a bearer of the revolutionary transformation of the society. By the gradual shaping of the war narrative, an image of continuity with regards to socialist revolutionary thought and struggle was created. In public spaces, this only became visible after the political split between the Yugoslav and Soviet communists, when the organised practice of erecting monuments and mounting memorial plaques that celebrated the partisan sacrifice and the idea of an authentic reading of Marxism by the Yugoslav communists was born.

Slavija's importance as a place of memory was initially marked by the burial of the



Слика 5 :: Naslovna strana reprinta knjige Dimitrija Tucovića iz 1913. godine: "Srbija i Arbanija: jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije" (Beograd: Radnička štampa, 1974).

Picture 5 :: Cover of the reprint of the book "Srbija i Arbanija: jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije" (Belgrade: Radnička štampa, 1974) written by Dimitrije Tucović in 1913

vija, odnosno Dimitrija Tucovića, polazile su, kao što je već rečeno, od ideje brisanja sećanja koju nosi nasleđe Tucovićeve misli u Srbiji. Savremeno društvo je pokušalo da izgradi distancu prema radikalnoj kritici nacionalne politike koju je artikulirao Tucović, pre svega u delu *Srbija i Arbanija, jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije* (1914) (slika 5). Njegove analize balkanskih političkih realnosti, sublimirane u stavu da je "Srbija rđavom politikom odgurnula albanski narod u mržnju prema svemu srpskom", predstavljale su potpuno odbijanje pro-

Red Army soldiers in October of 1944 and five years later, by the setting up the Dimitrije Tucović tomb. In the symbolic plain, the tomb asserted the idea of continuity and an autochthon Yugoslav path into socialism, negating the image of socialism in Yugoslavia as an import of the Red Army. The state was building traditions that were supposed to clearly single out the revolutionary initiative of the Yugoslav communists. The rituals were interpreting the war experience and in so doing, giving it unequivocal interpretations of the identity of socialist Yugoslavia.

Historical representations (real or imaginary) occupy symbolic places and create the social and cultural identity of a community, in the process of which it is imagining and consequently building itself through different symbolic forms. In the Slavija area, during the entire 20th century, a heritage that had at its base an idea of social justice and equality was crystallised and thus indirectly paved the way for theories of socialism in the community. The current state of disorder of the square and the impossibility to construct a narrative that can shape it, seems a consequence of attempts to negate the memories of the space. All the initiatives to rename and change the conception of Slavija, i.e. Dimitrije Tucović square, began with the idea of erasing the memory of the heritage that bears the thought of Tucović in Serbia.

Contemporary society has tried to distance itself from the radical critique of national politics that was articulated by Tucović, above all in the work *Serbia and Arbania, a contribution to the critique of the imperialistic politics of the Serbian bourgeoisie* (1914) (picture 5). His analyses of Balkan

jekata državnog širenja. Danas posle sto godina, Tucovićeve tumačenja ostavljaju snažan utisak. Ističući da je Srbija "htela izlazak na more i jednu svoju koloniju, ali je na kraju ostala bez izlaska na more, a od zamišljene kolonije stvorila krvnoga neprijatelja", posmatrane iz istorijske perspektive i sa vremenske distance otvaraju prostor za nove analize i tumačenja prošlosti. Otvaraju pitanje: koliko su i danas određeni procesi još uvek snažni na ovim prostorima.⁷⁹

Tucovićevo rešenje problema na Balkanu nastalih povlačenjem Turske, polazilo je od ideje grupisanja i razvijanja uzajamnosti zemalja i naroda Balkana. Za njega je to bio jedini put koji je mogao rezultirati privrednim, nacionalnim i političkim oslobođenjem. Ideja Balkanske federacije koju je promovisao, polazila je od stava da sve "balkanske države hoće pristaništa i teritorije (...) a ne vide da to svi mogu imati samo u zajednici". On je bio među rodonačelnicima ideje nužnosti objedinjavanja balkanskog prostora, kao jedinog preduslova i mogućnosti za razvoj.

U evropskoj tradiciji i u vremenskoj i u prostornoj perspektivi trg označava mesto susreta i razmene, dijaloga ideja i dobara. Zaokružena celina trga otvara mogućnost uspostavljanja kulture dijaloga i konsekvantno izgradnje ideala tolerancije. Traganje za načinom koji će Slaviju kao mesto sećanja preobraziti u moderni trg XXI veka, ostaće bez rezultata sve dok se slojevi memorijalnog nasleđa ne odvijaju i kritički ne preispitaju. Uključivanje

political realities, condensed in the claim that "through bad politics, Serbia has pushed Albanian people into hatred of everything Serbian", represented a complete rejection of the project of state expansion. Today, after hundred years, Tucović's interpretations give a powerful impression: they observe that Serbia "wanted an access to the sea and a colony but ended up with no access to the sea and made a sworn enemy out of an imagined colony". The statement opens up space for new analyses and interpretations of the past while begging the question: to what extent are certain processes still strong in this region.⁷⁹

Tucović's solution for the problems in the Balkans, generated by the retreat of the Turks, started off with the idea of grouping and developing reciprocity between the countries and nations that make up the Balkans. For him, this was the only approach that would result in economic, national and political liberation. The idea of a Balkan federation which he promoted, was based on an idea that all "Balkan little states want harbours and territories (...) but can't see that they could all have it only when in a community". Tucović was one of the founders of the notion that there was a necessity of uniting the Balkan region and that this was the only condition necessary to forward development. In European tradition and from a perspective of time and space, a square denotes a place of meeting and of dialogue, of exchange of ideas and of goods. The completeness of a square opens up a possibility for establishing a culture of dialogue and consequently building up an ideal of toler-

⁷⁹ Videti: Dimitrije Tucović, *Srbija i Arbanija, jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije* (Beograd: Nova štamparija S. Radenkovića i Brata, 1914).

⁷⁹ See: Dimitrije Tucović, *Srbija i Arbanija, jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije* (Beograd: Nova štamparija S. Radenkovića i Brata, 1914).

neželjene, a zapravo potisnute memorije preduslov je kreiranja kontinuiteta kao osnova funkcionisanja prostora kroz nove sadržaje. Od načina na koji će jugoslovensko iskustvo socijalizma, kao i preispitivanje međunacionalnih odnosa na Balkanu biti uključeno u promišljanje savremenog trenutka u Srbiji, zavisice i sistem vrednosti zajednice. Na primeru Slavije postaje jasno da funkcionisanje društva nije moguće bez uspostavljanja istorijskih kontinuiteta. To je, čini se, moguće samo kritičkim i konstruktivnim odnosom prema prošlosti, a ne njenim brisanjem, zaboravljanjem i stavljanjem u grade.⁸⁰

ance. A search for the ways in which Slavija as a place of memory could be transformed into a modern square of the 21st century, will remain without a result until the layers of the memorial heritage unroll and until they are critically examined. Including the unwanted but suppressed memory is a condition for creating continuity as a basis for the space's functioning through new contents. The system of values of the community will depend on the ways in which the Yugoslav experience of socialism, as well as examining inter-national relationships in the Balkans, will be included in the thinking of a contemporary moment in Serbia. The case of Slavija Square makes it clear that society cannot function without establishing historical continuities. That, it seems, is only possible through critical and constructive relation toward the past, not by erasing it, forgetting it or putting it in brackets.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Ovaj tekst je rezultat rada na projektima "Srpska umetnost XX veka — nacionalno i Evropa", br. proj. 177013, i "Tradicija i transformacija — istorijsko nasleđe i nacionalni identiteti u Srbiji u XX veku", br. proj. 47019, koje finansira Ministarstvo prosvete i nauke Republike Srbije.

⁸⁰ This text is a result of the work in the framework of the projects "Serbian art of the 20th century — national and Europe", Project No. 177013 and "Tradition and transformation — historical heritage and national identities in Serbia in the 20th century", Project No. 47019, which are financed by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.



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GRADSKI TRG KAO MESTO ISTORIJE, SEĆANJA I IDENTITETA

URBAN SQUARE AS THE PLACE OF HISTORY, MEMORY, IDENTITY

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Prevela sa engleskog Translated from English by MARIJANA SIMU

Tokom rada na prevodu konsultovan je tekst Bertranda Levya, „Gradski trg u Evropi kao idealno mesto“ koji je objavljen u publikaciji „Mesta Evrope“ (Biblioteka XX vek, 2010) u prevodu Olje Petronić i Snežane Spasojević.

IDEALAN GRADSKI TRG

Javni trg je konstrukcija nasleđena iz prošlosti, očuvana do danas kao najvažniji element evropskog grada. Gradski trg se može smatrati mestom u onoj meri u kojoj predstavlja značajno obeležje grada i u kojoj poseduje svojstva koja prema Marcu Augéu definišu mesto: 1) da je istorijsko, 2) da je prožeto identitetom ljudi, 3) da je relaciono, 4) da ima simbolički smisao.¹

U kontekstu globalizacije, trg kao mesto predstavlja određenu stalnost u prostoru, nasuprot *nemestima* koja su nastala kao rezultat nadmodernosti i rastuće pokretljivosti.² Mesta oblikuju prostorni i ljudski identitet. Urbano mesto ima eg-

¹ Augé, Marc, *Non-lieux*, Seuil, Paris, 1992, str.100.

² Balandier, Georges, *Le Grand Système*, Fayard, Paris, 2001, str. 62-76.

THE IDEAL URBAN SQUARE

The public square is a construction inherited from the past that remains today as the quintessential element of the European town. The public square is a place, in so far as it is a significant urban feature and to the extent in which the four characteristics of place, given by Marc Augé, are respected as being: 1) historical, 2) imbued with human identity, 3) relational and 4) charged with symbolic meaning.¹

In the context of globalization, the square as a place represents a certain permanence in space, as opposed to non-places produced by excessive modernity and growing mobility.² Places structure space and human identity. The urban place touches

¹ Augé, Marc, *Non-lieux*, Seuil, Paris, 1992, p.100.

² Balandier, Georges, *Le Grand Système*, Fayard, Paris, 2001, pp. 62-76.

zistencijalnu dimenziju, zbog čega je u humanističkoj geografiji definisano kao pojava od centralnog značaja za ljudsko poimanje prostora, koje pojedincu omogućava da kroz sećanje izgradi koherentan lični i društveni identitet. Za razliku od ulica, koje otelovljuju tokove fizičkog kretanja kroz grad, trgovi predstavljaju periode odmora i pauze.

U savremenim gradovima trgovi postaju sve neophodniji jer mesta protoka i ukrštanja postepeno prevladavaju nad mestima odmora, koja su po svojoj suštini ujedno i mesta na kojima se ljudi mogu zaustaviti i razmisliti o gradu, svom ličnom identitetu i sudbini. Naravno, neko se može usprotiviti mišljenju da su gradski trgovi jedina mesta koja poseduju osobine mesta za odmor i da, na primer, javni parkovi takođe ispunjavaju ovu ulogu. Međutim, suštinska razlika između javnog parka i javnog trga je ta što na trgu građanin nije u dodiru sa prirodom već sa samom suštinom gradske kulture, istorije i sećanja.

Guido Ceronetti u svom, gotovo ikonoklastičnom „Putovanju u Italiju“ (1996), piše da ste dok sedite na gradskom trgu pupčanom vrpcom vezani za grad i za njegov suštinski identitet i istoriju. Ovo je razlog zbog koga gradski trgovi predstavljaju veoma osetljivo pitanje: čak i najmanja promena ili transformacija trga doživljava se kao simbolična promena koja utiče na odnos *civitas* - *urbis* (zajednica građana - izgrađeni grad).

Austrijski urbanista Camillo Sitte istraživao je strukturalne promene gradova

on existential factors, which is why it is defined in humanistic geography as a central locus of human spatial awareness, enabling the individual to create – through memory – a coherent personal and social identity. Contrary to the streets, that embody flows of physical circulation through the city, squares represent periods of rest and of pause.

In contemporary cities, squares become increasingly necessary as gradually places of flow and crossing points tend to surpass the places of rest, which are also fundamentally places where mankind can stop and think about the city and its personal identity and destiny. One could of course counteract that urban squares are not the only places to present the characteristics of rest and that public parks, for example, also fulfill that role; however the essential difference between a public park and a public square is that on a square, the citizen is not connected to manifestations of nature but to the heart of urban culture, history and memory.

Guido Ceronetti (1996), in his rather iconoclast *A Travel in Italy*, writes that when sitting in an urban square, one is bound to the umbilical cord of the city and to its deepest identity and history. This is the reason for which urban squares represent a very sensitive issue: even a small modification or transformation made in a square is felt as a symbolic change affecting the type of relations between the *civitas* (the community of citizens) and the *urbis* (the built town).

Austrian urban planner Camillo Sitte explored the structural changes of cities

u drugoj polovini XIX veka.³ Sitte je dokazao da je radijalno-kružni grad, koji je nastao tokom Ring perioda⁴ i koji je poslužio kao model urbanističkog planiranja u Evropi u drugoj polovini XIX veka (Hausmannov Pariz, Eixample u Barseloni, Fazyeva Ženeva...), u suprotnosti sa "gemütlichkheitom"⁵ srednjovekovnog grada i urbanizma zasnovanog na odbrani. Sitteova studija iz 1899. prati veliku urbanu transformaciju bečkog Ringa – prostora isprekidanog prostranim šetalištima i ukrašenog vrtovima. Po njemu, Ring se sastoji od otvorenih prostora koji se razlikuju od uskih ulica i intimnog karaktera srednjovekovnih gradova.

Zasigurno, savremena arhitektura i urbanizam su se umnogome promenili u odnosu na srednji vek i renesansu. Sitte ne odgovara na sva pitanja koja mi danas postavljamo, ali njegov rad razjašnjava šta je sve neophodno za stvaranje kvalitetnih urbanih okruženja, od kojih najbolja opstaju kao najcenjenije ikada sagrađene urbane forme.

KRITERIJUMI ZA IDEALAN TRG PO SITTEU

Ustanovivši da je trg mesto geografske konvergencije i istorijskog sećanja, ne možemo da se ne složimo sa tvrdnjom Jacquesa Dewittea⁶ da je glavna funkcija trga da simbolizuje arhetip susretanja ljudi i podstakne razmišljanje o

in the second part of 19th century.³ Sitte demonstrated that the radial and circulatory city, born during the Ring period and used as a model for all city planning in Europe in the latter half of the 19th century (Hausmann's Paris, Barcelona's Eixample, Fazy's Geneva...), is opposed in his mind to the "Gemütlichkheit"⁴ of the medieval town and its protective urbanism. Sitte's study (1899), traces the great urban transformation of Vienna's Ring – an environment punctuated by vast esplanades and decorated with gardens. In his view, the Ring is made up of open spaces that distinguish themselves from the narrow streets and intimate character of cities in the Middle Ages.

Certainly, contemporary architecture and urbanism have changed a lot since the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Sitte does not answer all the questions we pose today, but his work clarifies what goes into the making of successful urban environments, the best of which survive as the most admirable urban forms ever built.

THE IDEAL CRITERIA OF THE URBAN SQUARE ACCORDING TO CAMILLO SITTE

Having established that the square is a place of geographic convergence and historic memory, one can but agree with Jacques Dewitte⁵ that its foremost function is to symbolize the archetype of human encounters and encourage urban contemplation. Camillo Sitte's work addresses

³ Sitte, Camillo, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, 1965.

⁴ Period urbanističkog razvoja Beča (sredina XIX veka) tokom kog je značajno razvijena urbana infrastruktura, a umesto gradskih zidina izgrađena ulica Ringstrasse, po kojoj je period i dobio naziv: <http://www.wien.gv.at/english/history/overview/ringstrasse.html>, (stranici pristupljeno u novembru 2011.) (prim. prev.)

⁵ Pristupačnost, udobnost (prim. aut.)

⁶ Dewitte, Jacques, "Eloge de la place. Camillo Sitte ou l'agoraphilie", *La ville inquiète, Le temps de la réflexion*, VIII, Gallimard, Paris, 1987, str. 150-177.

³ Sitte, Camillo, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, 1965.

⁴ Approachability/coziness.

⁵ Dewitte, Jacques, "Eloge de la place. Camillo Sitte ou l'agoraphilie", *La ville inquiète, Le temps de la réflexion*, VIII, Gallimard, Paris, 1987, pp. 150-177.

gradu. Sitteov rad bavi se morfologijom i estetikom trga pre nego njegovom funkcionalnošću ili upotrebom. Sitteovi morfološko-estetski kriterijumi za idealan gradski trg su sledeći:⁷

- zatvoren i zaštićen prostor;
- slobodan centar (da bi se omogućio pogled ka i od);
- spomenici smešteni po ivicama;
- element iznenađenja (uske, vijugave ulice);
- arhitektonski privlačne fasade ("Handwerk");
- konkavnost i dekorativno popločavanje.

Kriterijumi funkcionalnosti koji su u skladu sa savremenim funkcijama i zahtevima za udobnošću mogu biti dodati pomenutim topografsko-estetskim kriterijumima.

Kriterijumi funkcionalnosti gradskog trga su:

- zatvorenost za saobraćaj/dostupnost pešacima;
- obnavljanje/vraćanje u upotrebu starih zgrada;
- postojanje više različitih pejzažno uređenih celina za odmor/sedenje;
- blizina trgovinskim/komercijalnim sadržajima (ulicama kojima prolazi veliki broj pešaka);
- postojanje različitih sadržaja zabavnog karaktera (muzika, ples, pozorište...).

Jean-Bernard Racine smatra da gradski trg treba da ostane „kolektivno vlasništvo“,

the morphology and aesthetics of the square rather than its functionality or use. Sitte's ideal criteria may be summarized as follows:⁶

Ideal morphological-aesthetical criteria of the urban square:

- closed and protected space;
- the center should be free (to enable sight-lines to and from);
- monuments are placed on the perimeter;
- the element of surprise (narrow, crooked streets);
- attractiveness of architectural façades ("Handwerk");
- concavity and aesthetic paving.

Other criteria to do with present-day functions and amenities may be added to these ideal topographical-aesthetic criteria:

Functional criteria of the town square

- closed to traffic/pedestrian accessibility;
- restoration/rehabilitation of ancient buildings;
- provision of various kinds of landscaped seating;
- close to commercial activities (pedestrian flows);
- diverse animation (music, dance, theatre...).

Jean-Bernard Racine considers that the urban square should remain as a "collective property"; a space of shared citizenship that is inhospitable to commercial demands and

⁷ Levi, Bertran, " Gradski trg u Evropi kao idealno mesto ", in Stela Ghervas, Fransoa Rose (ur.), *Mesta Evrope*, Urednik Ivan Čolović, Biblioteka XX vek, s francuskog prevele Olja Petronić i Snežana Spasojević, Beograd, 2010, str. 88-115.

⁶ Levi, Bertran, " Gradski trg u Evropi kao idealno mesto ", in Stela Ghervas, Fransoa Rose (eds.), *Mesta Evrope*, Urednik Ivan Čolović, Biblioteka XX vek, translated from French by Olja Petronić and Snežana Spasojević, Belgrade, 2010, pp. 88-115.

prostor zajedničkog pripadanja istom gradu, negostoljubiv prema komercijalnim zahtevima i trgovini.⁸ Gradski trg je prostor *ko-* (komune, komunikacije, komunija,⁹ kontinuiteta) pre nego prostor *dis-* (diskriminacije, dispariteta, diskontinuiteta). Koreni Sitteovog dela potiču iz ozbiljnog bavljenja samom idejom zajednice.¹⁰ Sitte je predvideo da će kružni tokovi narušiti prirodu gradskog trga, pretvarajući ih u raskrsnice, saobraćajne čvorove ili prostrana šetališta predviđena za masovne demonstracije ili velike socio-kulturne događaje. Danas su trgovi s kraja XIX i iz XX veka postali raskrsnice i ponovno uređenje takvih mesta je u srži urbane regeneracije i sećanja. Međutim, obe vrste gradskih trgova, oni koji zadovoljavaju idealne morfološko-estetske kriterijume prema Sitteu i oni koji ih ne zadovoljavaju, odražavaju pitanje kako uključiti istoriju, sećanje i identitet u već izgrađen trg.

ELEMENTI ISTORIJE, SEĆANJA I IDENTITETA NA JEDNOM GRADSKOM TRGU

Potrebno je napraviti razliku između istorijskih gradskih trgova prepunih simbola gradske istorije i sećanja – „nedodirljivih“, kako se mogu definisati – i onih koji su nepotpuni, nastali na raskrnicama ili među blokovima zgrada, onih koji bi mogli postati savršeni prema Sitteovim kriterijumima ili prema kriterijumima savremenih javnih politika.

⁸ Racine, Jean-Bernard, "Villes idéales et rêves de villes: de Tombouctou à Jérusalem, regards croisés sur quelques villes vécues en vrai ou en imaginaire", u: Lévy, B., Raffestin, C. (ur.), *Ma ville idéale*, Metropolis, Genève, 1999, str. 187-240.

⁹ komunio - zajednica, naročito crkvena, verska; pričest; vreme kad se pričesćuje (u katoličkoj crkvi); zajedničko učešće. (prim. prev.)

¹⁰ Dewitte, Jacques, "Eloge de la place. Camillo Sitte ou l'agoraphilie", *La ville inquiète, Le temps de la réflexion*, VIII, Gallimard, Paris, 1987, str. 150-177.

speculation.⁷ The urban square is a space of co-(community, communication, communion, continuity) rather than of dis-(discrimination, disparity, discontinuity). Indeed, the roots of Sitte's work stem from a deep concern for the very idea of community.⁸ Sitte anticipated that circulatory flows invade and kill the nature of urban square when they become crossroads, urban hubs or vast esplanades conceived for mass demonstrations or mass socio-cultural events. Nowadays, squares from the late 19th and 20th century have become crossroads and re-designing such piazzas is at heart of urban regeneration and memory. However, both types of urban squares, those that respect the ideal morpho-esthetic criteria of Sitte and those that do not, are concerned by the problematic of how to incorporate elements of history, memory and identity into an already built-up urban square.

HISTORY, MEMORY AND IDENTITY ELEMENTS ON AN URBAN SQUARE

A distinction should be made between historical urban squares, saturated with the symbols of urban history and memory – "the intouchables" as one might be inclined to define them – and between incomplete urban squares, born out of crossroads or bloc systems, which are perfectible following Sitte's criteria or those of contemporary public policies.

What types of elements define an ancient urban square? To begin with, the elements

⁷ Racine, Jean-Bernard, "Villes idéales et rêves de villes: de Tombouctou à Jérusalem, regards croisés sur quelques villes vécues en vrai ou en imaginaire", u: Lévy, B., Raffestin, C. (eds.), *Ma ville idéale*, Metropolis, Genève, 1999, pp. 187-240.

⁸ Dewitte, Jacques, "Eloge de la place. Camillo Sitte ou l'agoraphilie", *La ville inquiète, Le temps de la réflexion*, VIII, Gallimard, Paris, 1987, pp. 150-177.

Koji elementi definišu stari gradski trg? Za početak, namena elemenata je da formiraju celinu, da daju jedinstven karakter javnom trgu, kao neka vrsta zaštitnog znaka koji ova mesta čini originalnim i jedinstvenim. To se može postići postavljanjem spomenika (crkva, zvonik, statua, fontana...) po obodu trga tako da se stvara asimetrija. Takvi su primeri Mikelandelova skulptura „David“ na trgu Piazza della Signoria u Firenci i zvonik na Trgu svetog Marka u Veneciji, kao i mnoge crkve koje su utkane među građevine koje ovičavaju trgove u ovim gradovima. Pažnja se može usmeriti i na karakteristike fasada po obodu trga. Na primer, ako posmatramo trg Piazza del Campo u Sijeni, odsustvo balkona odražava strogu ujednačenost dok zakrivljene linije pojedinih zgrada odražavaju prilagođavanje prirodno kružnom obliku mesta. Kružni oblik odražava kolektivnu volju i identitet, simbolizuje duh zajedništva i saglasja u gradu koji je kroz istoriju bio pritiskan ratovima. Sličnu ulogu ima i *Palio*, konjička trka koja se održava dva puta godišnje i u kojoj se stanovnici grada, podeljeni u *kontrade*¹¹ prema kvartovima u kojima žive, utrkuju u krug oko trga simbolizujući nadmetanje i različitost delova grada. Oblik kruga je korišćen da izrazi jedinstvo, okupljanje i susretanje. Podela trga Piazza del Campo na devet delova (koji simbolizuju *Vladu devetorice*) i njihovo susretanje ispod tornja Torre del Mangia - glavna arhitektonska odrednica koja dominira trgom - takođe simbolizuje želju za jedinstvom različitih političkih snaga u gradu.

Ono što je važno kada su u pitanju gradski trgovi duboko ukorenjeni u istoriju, jeste

are designed to form a whole, to give a personality to the public square, a sort of “brand” that makes these places original and inimitable. Monuments (a church, a campanile, a statue, a fountain...) situated on the perimeter may be evoked, so that an asymmetry is created. Such is the case for Michelangelo’s David in Piazza della Signoria in Florence or of Piazza San Marco’s campanile in Venice. Many churches are integrated into the fabric of buildings hemming the square. We can also focus in on characteristics of the facades along the square. For instance, if we consider Piazza del Campo in Siena, the absence of balconies reflects a strictly egalitarian will while the curvature of certain buildings, an adaptation of the site’s natural circular formation. This circularity reflects a collective will and identity; it symbolizes the spirit of union and of concord in a city historically beset by turf wars. Such is also the role of the *Palio*, a bi-yearly horse race in which the city’s different “*contrade*” (neighborhood factions), race in circles around the square, in order to symbolize the competition and diversity of the different neighborhoods. The figure of the circle is used to express unity, gathering and encounter. The division of Siena’s Piazza del Campo into nine parts (symbolizing the Government of the Nine) and their linear convergence in front of the Torre del Mangia (the main architectural feature that dominates over the square), also symbolizes a desire for the political unity of the different forces of the city.

With these urban squares deeply steeped in history, what is important is the preservation of the message printed in the past, not the adding of new elements. Nowadays, the struggle of these squares is mainly di-

¹¹ *contrada* (ital.) - deo grada, kvart (prim. prev.)



SLIKA 1.: Trg Piazza del Campo u Sijeni predstavlja idealnu formu gradskog trga koja prema Sitteu podrazumeva otvoren, konkavan i kružan prostor u zgusnutom gradskom pejzažu. (fotografija: Bertrand Levy)

PICTURE 1.: The Campo of Siena represents an ideal form of urban square as described by C. Sitte: an open space in a dense urban landscape, concave and rounded. (photo by Bertrand Levy)

očuvanje poruke utisnute u prošlosti, a ne dodavanje novih elemenata. U današnje vreme, bitka za ove trgove je pretežno usmerena na očuvanje njihovih istorijskih elemenata, protiv vandalizma i interesnih grupa koje pokušavaju da iskoriste mesto za komercijalne namene. Ovi trgovi su takođe pod pritiskom različitih grupa koje povremeno nastoje da organizuju kulturne događaje, svečanosti, predstave i komercijalne sadržaje različitog tipa (slika 1).

NEKI PRIMERI U ŽENEVI

Problematika je dosta drugačija kada su u pitanju „nesavršeni trgovi“. Oni zahtevaju delimičnu ili potpunu rekonstrukciju koja često otvara pitanje načina raspoređivanja elemenata koji nose umetničku i nostalgичnu vrednost.

rected towards the conservation of their historical elements against vandalism and private groups who may seek to use the site for commercial purposes. These squares are also under the pressure of different groups who may wish to organize occasional cultural, festive or commercial events (picture 1).

SOME EXAMPLES IN GENEVA

The problematic is quite different for the “imperfect squares”. These squares require sporadic or definitive redesigning from which the question of placing elements of artistic and nostalgic value is often raised. Let us take some examples from Geneva: Place Neuve is a traditional cultural agora stemming from the end of 19th century that gathers some edifices of prestige such

Pozabavimo se primerima u Ženevi: trg Place Neuve predstavlja tradicionalnu kulturnu agoru još od kraja XIX veka na kojoj se nalaze prestižna zdanja kao što su zgrada Opere (Le Grand Théâtre), Muzej Rath, Muzički konzervatorijum, kao i univerzitetski park Les Bastions. Centralni prostor trga zauzima statua generala Henri Dufoura, inženjera, urbaniste, kartografa i političara iz XIX veka, koji je pomogao izgradnju susedne ulice Corraeterie, i koji je doprineo uspostavljanju mira u Švajcarskoj tokom građanskog rata između katoličkih i protestantskih kantona 1847. (*Sonderbundški rat*).

Place Neuve ne odgovara Sitteovim kriterijumima idealnog gradskog trga – suviše je prostran i otvoren – i vremenom je postao raskrsnica zagušena saobraćajem. Godine 1997. pokrenut je projekat sa ciljem da se na trgu onemogućí saobraćaj privatnim vozilima kako bi se cela površina trga i okolne ulice koje čine Bankarski kvart (Quartier des Banques) pretvorile u pešačku zonu. Građani Ženeve su na referendumu odbacili ovaj projekat. Značajno je primetiti kako je javni trg postao predmet neslaganja među građanima: u delovima grada koji su naseljeni imućnijim slojem projekat je prihvaćen, dok je u onima naseljenim pripadnicima radničke klase odbačen. Razlog za ovo se može pronaći u različitoj društvenoj upotrebi trga od strane dve grupe: ljudi iz manje bogatih kvartova Ženeve koriste trg i okolne ulice kao besplatan parking prostor prilikom večernjih izlazaka i ne žele da u budućnosti plaćaju visoke troškove korišćenja privatnih podzemnih parkinga. Osim toga, ovi ljudi ne posećuju trg često kako bi uživali u neoklasicističkim zda-

as Le Grand Théâtre (the Opera House), the Rath Museum, the Conservatory of music, and the University Park (les Bastions). At the center of the space stands the statue of général Henri Dufour, an engineer, urban planner, cartographer and politician of the 19th century who helped build the adjacent street, la rue de la Corraeterie and who pacified Switzerland during the Sonderbund War – the civil Swiss war opposing the catholic and protestant cantons in 1847.

Place Neuve does not respond to Sitte's ideal criteria – it is too vast and too open – and has become over time a crossroad, jammed with private and public traffic. In 1997, an urban project was established with the aim of suppressing private traffic in order to create a pedestrian zone throughout the square and the adjacent streets that make up the Quartier des Banques. The people of Geneva rejected the project by popular referendum. It is remarkable to observe how this public square became an object of discord among the population: the bourgeois neighborhoods of the city accepted the new project whereas the working class ones rejected it. The reason for this can be seen in the different social uses of the square amongst the two factions: people from the non-affluent parts of Geneva, use the square and its adjacent streets for free parking when going out in town in the evening and did not want in future to have to pay high rates for private underground parking. In addition to this, these people did not customarily visit the square in order to make use of its prestigious neo-classical edifices of culture. Conversely, the privileged inhabitants of the area were content to use the underground parking zones, as were the affluent when going out to the

njima na trgu i kulturnim sadržajima koje ona nude. Nasuprot tome, imućni stanovnici dela grada oko trga bili su spremni da koriste podzemne parkinge, kao što su i češće posećivali Operu ili koncertnu dvoranu. Uprkos delimičnom pretvaranju prostora trga u pešačku zonu, ekološki pokret je uglavnom bio protiv projekta jer je on podrazumevao izgradnju novih parking zona u istorijskom jezgru grada, intenzivirajući na taj način saobraćaj i povećavajući broj vozila.

Ovde smo suočeni s pitanjem korišćenja zemljišta na trgu od strane građana, nasuprot pitanju samog sećanja. Sa stanovišta sećanja, trg odražava slavnu stranu istorije Ženeve. Na primer, ispod jednog od zidova starog grada podignuta je bista Henria Dunanta, jednog od osnivača Crvenog krsta 1863. Činjenica koja je pri tome potpuno ignorisana i izbrisana je da je na istom tom mestu dželat Republike Ženeve odrubljivao glave zatvoreniciima starog režima. Izazov za gradske trgovce nastaje onda kada na njima treba da se prikažu i negativne strane grada ili nacionalne istorije. Place Neuve je takođe mesto masovnih demonstracija. Godine 2010. kada je narod Švajcarske odbacio zahtev za izgradnjom novih minareta u državi, grupa mladih ljudi je demonstrirala sagradivši simboličan minaret blizu spomenika generalu Dufouru i plešući oko njega u znak protesta protiv rezultata referenduma koji je u Ženevskom kantonu bio pozitivan. Nedavno je na trgu privremeno bio izložen provokativan umetnički rad, džinovski pauk vajarke Louise Bourgeois (1922-2010). Rad je često pogrešno tumačen, a zapravo je zamišljen da simbolizuje majku umetnice – i kao takav pre je izraz ličnog, a ne kolektivnog sećanja. Pauk može biti posmatran kao

opera or to the concert hall. The ecological party, despite a partial pedestrianization of the area, was mostly against the project because it involved building new parking zones in the historic city, hence attracting increased flows of cars.

We are here faced with a question of land use of the square, as opposed to one of sheer memory. From a commemorative point of view, the square reflects the glorious side of Geneva history, not the negative one. For instance, under one of the old town's walls, another classical statue was erected: the bust of Henri Dunant, one of the founders of the Red Cross in 1863. What is ignored or erased is that on that very same spot, the executioner of the Republic of Geneva used to decapitate prisoners of the old regime. Prestigious urban squares are not at ease when a request is made to expose the negative face of the city or of the nation's history. Place Neuve is also used as a site for popular demonstrations. In 2010, when Swiss people rejected the construction of new minarets in the country, a group of young demonstrators built a symbolic minaret close to the statue of General Dufour and danced around it, in protest against the results of the referendum – which had been positive in the canton of Geneva. Recently another provocative artistic work was temporarily displayed: the giant spider by the contemporary sculptor Louise Bourgeois (1911–2010), an often misinterpreted symbol that is meant to represent her mother – so as a result, a piece of individual rather than of collective memory. A spider may be viewed as an invading predator, but one that is supposed to reflect qualities of the mother: the indispensability, tenacity, patience.

grabljivac, ali i onaj koji odražava kvalitete majke: neophodnost, istrajnost, strpljenje.

Par koraka od trga Place Neuve nalazi se kružni tok Plainpalais kome je najpre 1990-tih, a potom i početkom 2000-tih promenjen izgled. Cilj je bio da se smanji intenzitet saobraćaja privatnih vozila kako bi se povećao prostor namenjen budućoj tramvajskoj liniji što bi kao rezultat učinilo trg prilagođenijim za pešake. Trg se nalazi veoma blizu Fakulteta za književnost Univerziteta u Ženevi. Na trgu je podignut visoki stub kako bi usmeravao pešake ka centralnom šetalištu uz obalu, za prolaznike su postavljene klupe, a za trg su posebno izrađene i tri bronzane statue od kojih se za svaku može reći da podseća na slučajnog prolaznika.

Jedna od statua predstavlja pisca Michela Butora kako stoji sa prtljagom. Butor je dosta putovao a predavao je francusku književnost na obližnjem fakultetu. Stoga se ova skulptura može posmatrati kao izraz individualnog i kolektivnog sećanja koje pripada delu grada u kome se nalazi. Statue su napravljene u prirodnoj veličini i postavljene su u nivou očiju. Ovaj trend je počeo da se razvija u Zapadnoj Evropi od kraja 1980-tih sa ponovnim otkrićem ljudske figure koja spoznaje grad na fenomenološki način, što je, kao rezultat, dovelo do prevazilaženja monumentalizma XIX veka.

Georges Haldas, jedan od najvećih ženevskih pisaca, rođen je nekoliko koraka dalje od kružnog toka Plainpalais. Nadajmo se da će jednoga dana neka urbana znamenitost podsećati i na njega. Knjižara na istom trgu nosi njegovo ime, ali je pre dve godine zatvore-

A few steps away from Geneva's Place Neuve, the Rond-Point de Plainpalais (Plainpalais Roundabout) was redesigned in the 1990s and then again in the 2000s. The purpose was to diminish private traffic in order to increase the ground surface that was to be devoted to a future tramway and, in so doing, make the square more pedestrian-friendly. The square is very close to the Faculty of Letters of the University of Geneva. A contemporary column was erected to set pedestrians on the central boardwalk; benches were installed for passersby and three bronze statues were designed especially for the square, each of which could be said to resemble the common man on the street.

One of the statues represents the writer Michel Butor, standing with luggage. Butor was a great traveler and he used to teach French literature in the nearby university. Therefore, Butor's statue can be viewed as a piece of individual and collective memory belonging to the neighborhood. The statues are on a scale of 1/1 and are placed at eye level. This is a trend that was developed in Western Europe from end of the 1980s with the re-discovery of the human body perceiving the city in a phenomenological way. As a result, it overcame the monumentalism of the 19th century.

Hopefully one day Georges Haldas (1917-2010), one of Geneva's major authors who was born a few steps away from the Rond-Point, will also be reflected in an urban landmark. A bookshop located on the same square carries his name but it closed its doors two years ago, victim of the crisis of the independent bookstore. The works of Georges Haldas are published by *L'Age*

na usled posledica krize u nezavisnom knjižarstvu. Haldasove radove objavila je najveća izdavačka kuća u francuskom delu Švajcarske, *L'Age d'Homme* iz Lozane, čiji je osnivač Vladimir Dimitrijević (1943-2011), izdavač srpskog porekla koji je sebe definisao kao prolaznika između Istočne i Zapadne Evrope. Tako je komadić sećanja preostao na ovom trgu s pravom posvećen književnosti. Mora se istaći da pomenuti objekti nisu prožeti političkim značenjima.

Trg nacija (Place des Nations), moderan trg projektovan prema smernicama Le Corbusiera, koji se nalazi uz zdanje *Palais des Nations* (Palais des Nations), razlikuje se po obimu intervencija od kružnog toka *Plainpalais* i trga *Place Neuve*. Sa arhitektonskog stanovišta, trg nikad nije dovršen, što je dovelo do diskontinuiteta njegovog prednjeg pročelja. Zapušteni travnjak koji je podsećao na ogoljeno parče tla zauzimao je centralni deo trga. Ovo je čest slučaj na trgovima kružne osnove koji su pretvoreni u saobraćajne raskrsnice.

Koncept idealnog trga pretpostavlja oslobađanje prostora unutar već izgrađene strukture grada, nasuprot trgu koji je smešten *a posteriori* u slobodan prostor. Trg nacija je projektovan po uzoru na američki sistem blokova (u suštini, koncept urbanističkog planiranja po kome je zemljište isparcelisano na pravougaone površine za gradnju ili druge namene), po kom trg zauzima mesto jednog (nedostajućeg) bloka. Ovakav tip trga ne poseduje osobinu zatvorenosti i zaštićenosti, jednu od karakteristika idealnog trga, i zbog toga prouzrokuje dosta problema u urbanističkom planiranju.

d'Homme in Lausanne, a major publishing house in the French part of Switzerland, founded and developed by Vladimir Dimitrijević (1943–2011), a publisher of Serbian origin who defined himself as a passer between Eastern and Western Europe. The tiny memory remaining on this square is thus rightly devoted to literature. It has to be noticed that these installations have not been imbued with a political meaning.

Place des Nations, a modern square designed according to the guidelines of Le Corbusier and bound to the edifice of The Palais des Nations, is not affected in the same way as the Rond-Point and Place Neuve. From an architectural point of view, the square was never completed, leading to a discontinuity of its front frame. A derelict lawn that resembles a piece of wasteland occupied the centre of the square. This is often the case on roundabout squares that have been transformed into traffic crossroads.

The ideal square suggests a freeing of space into the full structure of a town as opposed to a square that is settled *a posteriori* into a free space. Place des Nations is based on an American-style block system (a concept in urban planning which implies dividing of land into square-shaped lots for building or other purposes) in which the square occupies the space of a missing block. This kind of square does not possess the closed and protected nature of the ideal urban square and it engenders a lot of urban planning problems. Indeed, deprived of a contiguous urban fabric, this type of square resembles an unstructured space or quite simply a traffic junction. If urbanization is denser and the square located on a traffic node arranged on several levels (such as Pots-

Zaista, lišen urbanog tkiva u svom neposrednom okruženju, ovakav trg podseća na nestrukturisan prostor ili jednostavno na saobraćajno čvorište. U slučaju zgusnute urbanizacije i trga smeštenog na saobraćajnom čvoru organizovanom na više nivoa (kakav je npr. Potsdamer Platz u Berlinu ili mnogi savremeni „stanični trgovi“ u svetu), njihovo preuređenje i razvoj bivaju otežani ograničenjima koje nameće saobraćaj.¹²

Jedno od takvih ograničenja na Trgu nacija ogleda se u uvođenju nove tramvajske linije koja ide preko trga, uz istovremeno zadržavanje mogućnosti pristupa trgu i privatnim vozilima. U ovakvoj situaciji glavne izazove predstavljalo je jačanje saobraćajnog čvora stavljanjem akcenta na javni prevoz i stvaranje estetski privlačnog i korisnicima prilagođenog prostora na izdignutom centralnom pločniku trga. Opšti društveno-politički značaj Trga nacija, prostora koji ostaje otvoren za demonstracije manjeg ili većeg obima, podcenjen je urbanističkim projektom koji je pobedio na konkursu gradske uprave. Ovaj projekat, delo rimskog arhitekta Massimiliana Fuksasa, osporen je na javnom referendumu održanom 1998. Nakon neuspešne kampanje za projekat, građani Ženeve su ga odbacili sa 52.4% glasova protiv. Naime, prezentacija projekta na zvaničnoj referendumskoj brošuri, koja je podeljena stanovnicima grada Ženeve, sastojala se od krajnje složenog dvodimenzionalnog prikaza koji nije uključio urbani pejzaž u okruženju budućeg trga. Kod ljudi je ovakav poduhvat faraonskih razmera izazvao nepoverenje

damer Platz in Berlin or numerous modern station squares), their redevelopment is complicated by traffic constraints.⁹

The traffic constraints of Place des Nations consisted in bringing a new planned tramway into the square while maintaining accessibility for private traffic. The major challenges were as follows: strengthening the traffic node by focusing on public transportation and creating an aesthetic and user-friendly space on the raised central pavement of the square. The general socio-political context of the square, a space that remains open to small or mass demonstrations, was underestimated by the urban project that won the competition launched by the city authorities. This project, designed by the Roman architect Massimiliano Fuksas, was attacked by a popular referendum that took place in 1998. The people of Geneva rejected the project by 52,4 %, after a failed campaign of graphic communication. The project designed on the official electoral booklet that had been sent to the city's citizens, was an extremely complex two-dimensional design that lacked a landscape configuration of the future plaza. The people's reaction to this Pharaonic undertaking was one of mistrust towards the authorities. The left-wing parties supported this campaign because, in their view by installing successive basins on the square, Fuksas' project would help to prevent large gatherings. Ten years later, a compromise led to a regenerated Place des Nations, in which the architect's idea of animating fountains was used but not his irreversible and anti-populist hard design.

¹² Nielebock, Henry, Berlin und seine Plätze, J. Strauss Verlag, Potsdam, 1996.

⁹ Nielebock, Henry, Berlin und seine Plätze, J. Strauss Verlag, Potsdam, 1996.



SLIKA 2 :: Trg nacija (Place des Nations) u Ženevi je bio prazno šetalšte na kom su postavljene reverzibilne fontane, dok je u centru postavljena skulptura „Slomljena stolica“ ispred glavnog ulaza u zgradu Ujedinjenih nacija. (fotografija: Bertrand Levy)

PICTURE 2 :: Place des Nations, Geneva, was an empty esplanade where reversible fountains have been installed. In the center, the Broken Chair that faces the main building of the United Nations. (photo by Bertrand Levy)

prema vlastima. Stranke levice su podržale kampanju jer je po njihovom viđenju postavljanje više uzastopnih udubljenja ispunjenih vodom na trgu moglo da spreči masovna okupljanja. Deset godina kasnije postignuto je kompromisno rešenje koje je dovelo do obnavljanja Trga nacija, u okviru kog je primenjena ideja arhitekta o postavljanju fontana koje oživljavaju prostor, ali ne i njegov projekat u celosti jer je bio anti-populistički i nije omogućavao vraćanje na prethodno stanje.

Upotreba reverzibilnih vodoskoka danas je rasprostranjena na javnim trgovima Zapadne Evrope i poima se kao suprotstavljanje strogom i ozbiljnom izgledu određenih mesta (slika 2). Na trgovima poput onog ispred Palazzo Madama

The use of reversible waterjets in public squares is nowadays widespread in Western Europe and is understood to counteract the appearance of certain formal and solemn places (picture 2). Place du Palais Madame in Turin or Place Fédérale in Bern, also have such water games installed. These facilities are mostly used by children which often results in a popular appropriation of the place.

Two memorial elements stand on Place des Nations: first, “the broken chair” memorial, which serves to commemorate those maimed and killed in the mine fields of Angola and that broadly symbolizes the fight against anti-personnel landmines. This monumental wooden sculpture was installed before the redesigning of the square;

u Torinu ili Bundesplatz - Place Fédérale u Bernu postavljene su slične fontane. U ovim instalacijama uglavnom uživaju deca, što doprinosi lakšem vezivanju građana za dato mesto.

Na Trgu nacija postoje dva elementa memorijalnog karaktera. Prvi je memorijal „Slomljena stolica“ postavljen u znak sećanja na ranjene i poginule na minskim poljima u Angoli. Pored toga, on u širem smislu simbolizuje i borbu protiv upotrebe nagaznih mina. Ova monumentalna skulptura od drveta bila je postavljena pre rekonstrukcije trga i izvedena je 1997. prema konceptu švajcarskog umetnika Daniela Berseta koji je realizovao stolar Louis Genève. Ideja za skulpturu visoku 12 metara, za čiju je izradu potrošeno 5,5 tona drveta, potekla je od Paula Vermeulena, osnivača i direktora organizacije *Handicap International Switzerland*. Skulptura je postavljena ispred glavnog ulaza u Palatu nacija u avgustu 1997, gde je trebalo da ostane svega tri meseca, do potpisivanja Otavske konvencije o zabrani nagaznih mina u decembru 1997.¹³ Međutim, „Slomljena stolica“ je postala toliko popularna da je do današnjeg dana ostala na tom mestu – iako je 2005. bila uklonjena kako bi se omogućila rekonstrukcija Trga nacija. Uklanjanje je izazvalo dugotrajnu debatu o tome da li skulptura treba da se vrati na mesto ili ne. Ujedinjene nacije su bile neodlučne po pitanju vraćanja skulpture jer je ona smatrana suviše uznemirujućim i „teškim“ simbolom. Gradska vlast Ženeve je 26. februara 2007. konačno uspela da

it was conceived by the Swiss artist Daniel Berset and constructed by the carpenter Louis Genève in 1997. It is made of 5.5 tons of wood and is 12 meters high, after an idea of Paul Vermeulen, founder and director of Handicap International Switzerland. The sculpture was erected at the main entrance of the Palais des Nations in August 1997, where it was supposed to remain for just three months, until after the signing of the Ottawa Convention banning anti-personnel mines in December 1997.¹⁰ The chair was so popular that it remains in place to this day – although in 2005, during the redevelopment of the Place des Nations, it was removed, leading to a prolonged debate on whether to keep it. The U.N. were reluctant to leave it where it was because it was considered as a symbol that was too “hard” and disturbing. The City of Geneva (led by a political majority green and rose) was eventually able to impose it on the U.N. and have it resettled in the same place on February 26th, 2007. (picture 3)

To soften the impression of disharmony caused by the broken chair on the Place des Nations, the City of Geneva commissioned a 60-meter-long mural from the artist Hans Erni – born in Lucerne in 1909 – as a sign of attachment to an artist who celebrates peace in his works. The work, inaugurated in 2009, was conceived in his Lucerne workshop and laid out on ceramic materials, designed to withstand the moods and deprecations of time. Its name is “ta panta rei”, in Greek: “everything in movement”. It symbolizes the hope of freedom and human dignity that numerous people come in here to

¹³ Više informacija o ovoj temi na: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Broken_Chair (internet stranici pristupljeno: 20.10.2011).

¹⁰ More info at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Broken_Chair (accessed October 20, 2011).

nametne svoju odluku Ujedinjenim nacijama, kada je skulptura ponovo postavljena na isto mesto (slika 3).

Kako bi ublažile atmosferu nesloge izazvanu ovom situacijom, gradske vlasti Ženeve naručile su od umetnika Hansa Ernia – rođenog u Lucernu 1909. – izradu šezdeset metara dugačkog murala, kao znak povezanosti sa umetnikom koji slavi mir u svojim radovima. Ovo delo, otkriveno 2009, osmišljeno je u umetnikovoj radionici u Lucernu i izvedeno na keramičkim pločama kako bi odoljelo zubu vremena. Mural je nazvan „Ta panta rei“, što na grčkom znači „sve teče“. Slika simbolizuje nadu u ostvarenje slobode i ljudskog dostojanstva koju ispoljavaju brojni ljudi koji na to mesto dolaze. Za razliku od „Slomljene stolice“, ovaj dugački mural u plavim i sivim tonovima diskretno se uklapa u okruženje, izražavajući osećaj sklada i mira, kroz predstave ljudskih lica i životinja (golub) u pokretu koji asocira na kretanje po nebu. Mural je postavljen na betonski zid, sagrađen da pojača zaštitu ulaza u zgradu Ujedinjenih nacija (slika 4).

ZAKLJUČAK

Pouka koja se može izvući iz iskustva sa Trgom nacija u Ženevi, posmatrano sa njegovog komemorativnog aspekta, je ta da javnost ponekad prihvata simbole tragične istorije lakše nego političari. „Slomljena stolica“ ostaje upečatljiv primer budući da daje ton i značenje ovom mestu, koje je nekada predstavljalo „crnu rupu“ u urbanističkom smislu. Možemo govoriti i o novom obliku monumentalizma, bitno različitom od onoga s kraja XIX veka u Zapadnoj Evropi, kada su



SLIKA 3 :: „Slomljena stolica“ (rad Daniela Berseta, 1997), Trg nacija u Ženevi, simbolizuje borbu protiv upotrebe nagaznih mina. (fotografija: Bertrand Levy)
PICTURE 3 :: The Broken Chair (by Daniel Berset, 1997), Place des Nations, Geneva, symbolizes the fight against anti-personal landmines. (photo by Bertrand Levy)

demonstrate. Contrary to the broken chair, this long mural in blue and gray tones fits discreetly into the landscape of the place. It expresses a sense of harmony and peace, with human faces and animals (a dove), depicted in a movement of celestial dynamics. The mural is located on a concrete wall, built to enhance the protection of the entry to the United Nations. (picture 4)

CONCLUSION

A lesson that may be retained from a commemorative point of view of the experience of Place des Nations, is that sometimes the public adopts the symbols of tragic history with greater ease than politicians. The Broken Chair remains impressive: it sets the tone and gives meaning to this place, for-



SLIKA 4. :: Mural „Sve teče“ Hansa Ernia, 2009. Mural simbolizuje nadu u ostvarenje slobode i ljudskog dostojanstva koju ispoljavaju brojni ljudi koji na to mesto dolaze. Trg nacija u Ženevi. (fotografija: Bertrand Levy)

PICTURE 4. :: Hans Erni Fresco, 2009, “Everything in movement”. It symbolizes the hope of freedom and human dignity that numerous people come in here to demonstrate. Place des Nations, Geneva. (photo by Bertrand Levy)

monumentalne statue „heroja nacija“ bile uzdizane na pijedestale – trend koji je danas prisutan kod novih balkanskih država koje su nestrpljive u jačanju svojih nacionalnih identiteta.

Zanimljiva činjenica koja se odnosi na oba novopostavljena simbola na Trgu nacija jeste da predstavljaju simbole međunarodne i univerzalne vrednosti – različita ljudska lica naslikana na muralu simbolizuju multikulturalnost današnjeg sveta, bez posebnog naglašavanja. Njima nije potreban pijedestal – ima li šta uobičajenije od stolice, predmeta iz svakodnevnog života? – oni su inkorporirani u prethodno postojeće elemente trga i pripadaju sećanju našeg doba. Oni takođe predstavljaju izraze dva različita umet-

merly a “black hole” in terms of urbanism. We may also speak of a new form of monumentalism, quite different from that of the 19th century in Western Europe, when the monumental statues of “heroes of the nations” were erected on pedestals – a trend that is common in the new Balkan nations that are anxious to strengthen their national image.

The interesting fact concerning both of the newly implemented symbols on Place des Nations, is that both represent international and universal values – it should be noted that the different human faces drawn on the fresco represent multiculturalism in today’s world, but without emphasis. They do not need any pedestal – what is more common than a chair, an object of every-

nička jezika: *art brut* u slučaju „Slomljene stolice“, odnosno klasična i sofisticirana umetnost u slučaju murala. Kako su veoma blizu jedan drugom i postavljeni na veoma prometnom mestu (glavni ulaz u kompleks Ujedinjenih nacija), oni stvaraju tenziju unutar mesta i ne dopuštaju nikome da ostane ravnodušan prema njihovom prisustvu.

day life? – they are incorporated into pre-existing elements of the square and belong to the modern memory of our period. They are also expressions of two distinct artistic languages: a form of *art brut* for the Broken Chair and a form of classical and sophisticated art for the Fresco. As they are very close to one another and are located on a nevralgic point (the main entrance of United Nations complex), they create a tension within the place and allow no one to remain indifferent to their presence.

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UMETNOST PAMĆENJA PROŠLOSTI

ART TO REMEMBER THE PAST

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Prevela sa engleskog Translated from English by SLAVICA RADIŠIĆ

U prvom delu ovog teksta ukratko ću opisati koncept programa “Umetnost u javnom prostoru – Donja Austrija” koji je od svog nastanka bio model na koji su se ugledale druge regije u Austriji.

Pokrajina Donja Austrija je osamdesetih godina XX veka uvela standardnu “1% za umetnost” odredbu, istu onu koja je još uvek na snazi u mnogim drugim evropskim zemljama. Ovom odredbom je ustanovljeno da se određeni postotak sume namenjene za izgradnju građevina u vlasništvu države mora odvojiti za umetnička dela postavljena u ili na toj građevini. Međutim, nakon nekoliko godina se pokazalo da je ovaj zakon teško implementirati. Arhitektura je često bila nedovoljno zanimljiva ili arhitekta i umetnik nisu bili u stanju da rade zajedno. U oba slučaja budžet namen-

In the first part of this paper I will explain the concept of public art in Lower Austria, a practice that has since become a model for other countries.

In the 1980s, Lower Austria had a percent for art regulation like the one still in place in many other European countries. This regulation stipulated that a certain percentage of the cost of every new state building project had to be spent on art for the same site. After a few years this law proved difficult to implement. The architecture was often uninteresting or the architect and the artist could not work together. In these cases, the budget for art was lost, as it wasn't spent on the building concerned.

Around the same time, there was also a movement in the art scene that pushed for

jen za umetnost u javnom prostoru bio bi izgubljen zato što se mogao trošiti samo za dela vezana za tu određenu građevinu. Negde u isto vreme, nezavisno od građevinskog sektora, počeo je da se razvija umetnički pokret usmeren ka temama upotrebe i animacije javnih prostora. Ovaj umetnički pokret ima svoje korene u sedamdesetim godinama XX veka, kada su umetnici prvi put počeli da izlažu i realizuju radove u javnim prostorima a ne isključivo u galerijama i muzejima kao do tada. Počevši od tog vremena, umetnost u javnom prostoru dobija sve više na značaju. Danas se na mnogim umetničkim fakultetima umetnost u javnom prostoru predaje kao zasebna umetnička disciplina. Pored toga, umetnost u javnom prostoru postala je ključan deo različitih kulturnih i umetničkih programa u svim delovima sveta.

Tokom 1996. godine, vlada pokrajine Donja Austrija odlučila je da donese novi zakon u oblasti umetnosti u javnom prostoru. Novim zakonom je utvrđeno da sva sredstva namenjena umetnosti u javnom prostoru treba da se sakupljaju u jedan zajednički fond. Svi projekti vezani za javni prostor bi trebalo da se realizuju na osnovu sredstava iz ovog zajedničkog fonda i nezavisno od građevinskih projekata koji bi generisali finansijska sredstva. Ovaj novi i vrlo progresivan zakon uspeo je da privede kraju do tada postojeći usiljeni spoj između arhitekture i umetnosti u Donjoj Austriji. Pored toga, novi zakon dao je mogućnost da se realizuju privremeni i interdisciplinarni umetnički projekti koji nisu direktno vezani za neki građevinski projekat. Šta više, uveden je i žiri sastavljen od deset eksperata (umet-

the use of public space for a wide diversity of projects that were independent of the building sector. This movement had its roots in the 1970s, when artists began to show their works in public space and not only in galleries and museums. It is since this shift, that art in public space has grown in significance. Nowadays, public art is taught as a separate discipline at art colleges and has become a key element of culture and art programs in many parts of the world.

In 1996, the Lower Austrian government decided to pass a new law: this law stipulated that the budget available for art was to be collected in one pool. Public space projects could be realized from this pool of funds, independently of the building projects themselves. This new and very progressive law brought the forced marriage between architecture and art to an end. Today, temporary and interdisciplinary works can be completed that do not necessarily have anything to do with a construction project. In addition, there is a jury consisting of 10 experts (artists, architects and art theorists) who change every 3 years. This jury selects artists to submit concepts in what are usually invited entry competitions.

Important mediation work can also be paid for from the overall budget. This mediation is often needed for the projects, as the encounter between art and the general public often leads to debate and sometimes also to scandal or controversy. A website has been created in order to provide relevant information worldwide.¹ In addition, a book is published every 2 years that presents theo-

¹ www.publicart.at

nici, arhitekta i teoretičari umetnosti) koji se menja svake tri godine. Rad žirija je organizovan na temelju tzv. konkursa po pozivu, što znači da članovi žirija biraju umetnike koji potom treba da im predstavljaju svoje umetničke koncepte.

Važan aspekt nove organizacije programa je i to što je sad i posao medijacije plaćen iz opšteg budžeta. Medijacija je često neophodna za realizaciju projekata pošto u susretu umetnosti i šire javnosti često dolazi do debata pa čak i do skandala i kontroverzi. Načinjen je i websajt koji treba da pruži relevantne informacije o programu i van Austrije.¹ Takođe, uvedena je praksa da se svake dve godine objavljuje katalog u kojem su predstavljani teorijski tekstovi na temu odnosa umetnosti i javnog domena. U katalogu se dokumentuju podjednako i realizovani i nerealizovani projekti. U okviru programa "Umetnost u javnom prostoru – Donja Austrija" redovno se organizuju i *landpartien* ture (obilasci pojedinih sela) koje su se pokazale kao vrlo popularne. To su vikend autobuske ture tokom kojih zainteresovani mogu da obiđu veliki broj umetničkih instalacija postavljenih po celoj regiji.

Od početka devedestih, u okviru programa je realizovano više od pet stotina različitih projekata umetnosti u javnom prostoru, od projekata uređenja trgova pa sve do performansa. Ipak, posebna pažnja data je temi komemorativnih spomenika. Privremeni umetnički projekti zajedno sa stalno postavljenim radovima komemorativnog karaktera imaju ključnu ulogu u

retical approaches on the issues relating to art and the public. Both the realized and the unrealized projects are documented in these books. 'Landpartien' (country excursions) are subsequently organized which have proved particularly popular: these take the form of coach tours that on weekends take interested visitors to visit a wide range of artworks.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, over 500 public art projects have been completed, ranging from designs for public squares to performative concepts. Commemorative monuments have remained a key topic in this context. Temporary projects can play a key role in promoting a useful engagement with permanently installed artworks, especially commemorative monuments. They attract media attention, awaken memories and promote discussion among local residents.

The idea of erecting a monument goes back to the advanced civilizations of the Middle East and antiquity. In general, monuments are political symbols or symbols of collective memory used in order to commemorate particular people or events and can be used as indicators of the way a society deals with its history. Discussions on aesthetic forms of thinking are currently being held everywhere: monument debates in Vienna, Berlin and New York are concentrated on the recurring issue of how to communicate the unthinkable. What does a monument that makes sense today look like? Is the classical immutable artwork a suitable artistic expression of commemoration? How can past events be made visible on location?

Over the last few years, several permanent and temporary artworks that engage with

¹ www.publicart.at

promociji angažovanog pristupa temama sećanja. Oni privlače značajnu pažnju medija, bude sećanja i promovišu diskusiju među lokalnim stanovništvom.

Ideja podizanja spomenika može se datirati daleko u prošlost sve do civilizacija Bliskog istoka i antike. U suštini, spomenici su politički simboli ili simboli kolektivnog sećanja kojima se obeležavaju određeni događaji i odaje počast određenim ljudima. Oni su najbolji indikatori na koji način se jedno društvo bavi svojom prošlošću. Rasprave o estetskim formama komemoracije se odvijaju u svim sredinama. Debate o spomenicima u Beču, Berlinu i Nju Jorku su usmerene ka istoj temi koja se stalno ponavlja, a to je kako iskazati nezamislivo. Kako treba da izgleda smisao spomenik danas? Da li je klasična, tačno definisana forma spomenika prikladan umetnički izraz komemoracije? Na koji način se događaji iz prošlosti mogu predstaviti na samoj lokaciji?

Tokom poslednjih par godina nekoliko stalnih i privremenih umetničkih radova koji se bave različitim istorijskim događajima realizovano je u naseljima i ruralnim javnim prostorima Donje Austrije. Ova umetnička dela imaju poseban značaj za kulturnu istoriju regiona. Neka od njih su posvećena brojnim žrtvama nacističkog terora. Većina ovih "tihih" spomenika se mogu naći na jevrejskim grobljima, u parkovima i na marginama društvenog narativa. Ovi spomenici su uglavnom svedeni, jednostavni i jasni. Na žalost, njihov broj je još uvek mali, pogotovo u odnosu na broj klasičnih spomenika koji veličaju rat – spomenika uglavnom tra-

historical events have been completed in small towns and rural public spaces of Lower Austria. These artworks have a special significance for the cultural history of the region. Some of them are dedicated to the countless victims of the Nazi terror regime. Most of these 'silent' monuments are to be found in Jewish cemeteries, in parks and on the margins of the social narrative. These monuments are mostly clear, simple and reduced. Sadly, however, there are very few of them, in contrast with the large number of memorials that glorify war — monuments that are immovably situated on main squares and that prudently ignore the horror of the Nazi regime.

An example of these silent works can be found in the two memorials in the Jewish cemetery in Krems. Silent, primarily because only a select few know where the key to the cemetery is kept. At the entrance of the cemetery to what was formerly a key Nazi town, the artist Hans Kupelwieser has installed a 48-metre-long band of steel to make it more difficult to enter the cemetery (*picture 1*). You have to step over the object, effectively a small obstacle or a threshold, in order to reach the graves. The names and the dates documenting the expulsions of 129 Jewish residents are carved into this band. Grass grows through the letters.

When you go further into the cemetery, you reach the work of Michael Clegg and Martin Guttmann. These two artists have installed a public library in the cemetery. The Open Library and the resulting communication are subjects with which the duo has been engaging for years. A collection of books about death, Jewish law and philosophy are housed in 3 cabinets spread

jno postavljenih na glavnim trgovima, spomenika koji oprezno ignorišu horor nacističkog režima.

Dobri primeri ovih “tihih” umetničkih radova su dva memorijala postavljena na Jevrejskom groblju u Kremsu. Ovi spomenici su “tih” pre svega zato što samo retki znaju gde se nalazi ključ od groblja. Na ulazu u groblje ovog nekada ključnog nacističkog grada, umetnik Hans Kupelwieser instalirao je traku od gvožđa dugu četrdeset osam metara da bi ulazak u groblje učinio težim (slika 1). Da biste došli do grobova morate zakoračiti preko objekta, u suštini manje prepreke ili praga. U ovu traku su urezana imena i datumi koji dokumentuju progon sto dvadeset i devet jevrejskih stanovnika. Kroz slova raste trava.

Kako uđete dublje u groblje dolazite do rada Michaela Clegga i Martina Guttman-na. Ova dva umetnika su postavila javnu biblioteku na groblju. Otvorene biblioteke i komunikacija koja pri tom nastaje, su tema kojom se ovaj par umetnika bavi godinama. Zbirka knjiga o smrti, jevrejskim zakonima i filozofiji, smeštena je u tri vitrine raspoređene duž čitavog groblja. Posetioci mogu da pozajme knjige ili da doniraju određeni broj knjiga, a uvođenjem elementa interaktivnosti umetnici su pokušali da unesu životnost u ovaj napušteni prostor.

Nasuprot ovim radovima, radovi VALIE EXPORT i Ricarde Denzer u Allentsteigu više su izloženi pogledu javnosti. Ove umetničke intervencije postavljene su da obeleže progon i nasilno preseljenje lokalnih stanovnika za vreme Hitlerovog



SLIKA 1 :: Hans Kupelwieser, Spomenik na jevrejskom groblju u Kremsu, Krems an der Donau, 1996. Autor fotografije Margherita Spiluttini

PICTURE 1 :: Hans Kupelwieser, Denkmal für den Jüdischen Friedhof in Krems / Monument for the Jewish cemetery in Krems, Krems an der Donau, 1996. Copyright Margherita Spiluttini

throughout the cemetery. Visitors can borrow or contribute a limited number of books. The artists wanted to add a little life to this abandoned location.

In contrast, the two works by VALIE EXPORT and Ricarda Denzer in Allentsteig, are more in the public eye. They were erected to commemorate the expulsion and forced relocation of local residents by Hitler's regime, in order to make way for military exercise grounds.

The landscape knife created by VALIE EXPORT virtually cuts into the lake, its metal blades reflecting both the sun and the water. A glass slab has been erected

režima, na čijim imanjima su podignuti poligoni za vojnu obuku.

Rad "Pejsažni nož" čiji autor je umetnica VALIE EXPORT, praktično zaseca jezero a njegove metalne oštrice reflektuju istovremeno i sunce i vodu. Pored objekta je postavljena staklena ploča sa imenima ispraznjenih sela i imanja na čijem mestu se i sada nalaze poligoni za vojnu obuku. Na isti način kao što je progon pre toliko godina načino dramatičan presek u životu ljudi tako je i VALIE EXPORT želela da izrazi svoju potresenost zbog njihove sudbine.

Ovi poligoni za obuku se i danas koriste za vojne manevre a mesto se smatra najvećim vojnim poligonom za obuku u Evropi. Tokom trajanja manevara svi okolni putevi su zatvoreni za korišćenje. Ovo znači da je istorija i dalje prisutna jer lokalni stanovnici i dan danas redovno slušaju ispaljivanje municije.

Umetnica Ricarda Denzer je na glavnom trgu instalirala objekat kojim je pokušala da lokalnim stanovnicima simbolički povрати njihova izgubljena imanja (slika 2). Denzer je instalirala veliki periskop na Stadtbergu u Allentsteigu kroz koji se može posmatrati vidik koji se prostire iza crkvenog tornja, zamka i baraka, pejsaž u okolini naselja u kojem nikom nije dozvoljeno da živi. Umetnica se bavi problemom migracije aludirajući svojom instalacijom na vojnu tehnologiju, koju koristi da vizuelno prevaziđe udaljenost. Koristeći periskop visok osamnaest metara, kojem daje naziv "Mamac" (decoy), umetnica nam pokazuje panoramski pogled na obližnji krajolik. Stojeći na dnu ove instalacije posmatrač ima

next to the object, depicting the names of the vacated villages and farmhouses in an area now being used for military exercises. Just as the expulsion all those years ago left a dramatic incision in everyone's lives, VALIE EXPORT also wanted to express how moved she was by these people's fate.

The exercise grounds are still used for maneuvers today and the site is considered the largest military exercise grounds in Europe. The roads around it are closed when soldiers are using the grounds for their maneuvers. This means that history is still present as local residents can always hear shots being fired.

SLIKA 2 :: Ricarda Denzer, Simboličko obeležje za Stadtberg u Allentsteigu, Allentsteig, 2003- 2005.

Autor fotografije Christian Wachter

PICTURE 2 :: Ricarda Denzer, Zeichen für den Stadtberg in Allentsteig / A symbolic landmark for Stadtberg in Allentsteig, Allentsteig, 2003- 2005. Copyright Christian Wachter



moćnost da upravlja mehanizmom koji okreće kameru za trista šezdeset stepeni. Na vrhu uređaja instalirana je kružna metalna traka na kojoj se nalaze različite reči, koje se kao titlovi integrišu u slike krajolika.

Poseban značaj za austrijsku istoriju ima Erlauf, mesto koje je imalo ključnu ulogu tokom uspostavljanja mira po završetku Drugog svetskog rata. Erlauf je malo mesto u kojem su se 8. maja 1945. godine, sreli sovjetski i američki generali radi zvaničnog potpisivanja kraja rata. Pedesetu godišnjicu ovog ključnog događaja gradonačelnik Erlaufa odlučio je da obeleži postavljanjem komemorativnog umetničkog dela. Tadašnja Zajednica nezavisnih država poslala je za ovu priliku skulptora Olega Komova, i poklonila Erlaufu grupnu skulpturu koja je postavljena na glavnom trgu. Zvanični žiri programa "Umetnost u javnom prostoru – Donja Austrija" istovremeno je predložio da svetski poznata umetnica Jenny Holzer bude pozvana da predstavi svoju ideju spomenika i ona je prihvatila poziv koji su joj uputili predstavnici lokalne zajednice.

U svom radu Oleg Komov je koristio tradicionalni skulpturalni jezik. Njegova realistična grupna skulptura izlivena u bronzi, prikazuje dva oficira i devojčicu sa buketom cveća u rukama koji bi trebalo da simboliše radosnu prigodu (slika 3).

Jenny Holzer je svoj rad instalirala na drugoj strani trga. Njen memorijal se sastoji iz tri dela: graviranih ploča, stuba sa zrakom svetlosti i leja sa cvećem,

The artist Ricarda Denzer installed an object on the main square that returns a little of the lost places to the people who live there (picture 2).

Denzer has installed a tall periscope on Stadtberg in Allentsteig, that shows a view beyond the church tower, castle and barracks, and out into the surrounding countryside, where nobody is allowed to live. The artist reacts to this migration problem with an allusion to military technology used to overcome distance visually: the 18-metre-tall periscope, which the artist has entitled *Decoy*, shows a panoramic view of the surrounding countryside. Standing at the bottom, the visitor is presented with a mechanism that turns the camera 360 degrees. A circular metal band is installed at the top of the device that supports different words, which are integrated into these images of the countryside like subtitles.

Especially significant for Austrian history, is the place that played a key role in the establishment of peace following World War II: Erlauf.

Erlauf is a small community where a Soviet and an American general met on 8 May 1945 to seal the end of the war. The mayor of Erlauf decided to celebrate the 50th jubilee of this key event with a commemorative artwork. The Soviet Union, as it was then, dispatched the sculptor Oleg Komov, and presented Erlauf with a sculpture group standing on the main square. The Lower Austrian public art jury also recommended that the world famous artist Jenny Holzer be invited to submit a concept for a memorial and she



SLIKA 3 :: Oleg Komov, Ratni memorijal na Hauptplatzu u Erlaufu, Erlauf, 1995. Autor fotografije Christian Wachter

PICTURE 3 :: Oleg Komov, Friedensdenkmal am Hauptplatz in Erlauf / War memorial on Hauptplatz in Erlauf, Erlauf, 1995. Copyright Christian Wachter

koje su posađene u saradnji sa Mariom Auböck. Oko celog mesta je u obliku kruga aranžirano belo i sivo grmlje i cveće. Gravirane ploče sa tekstovima oblikuju staze koje vode ka centralnom delu spomenika. Pored toga, Jenny Holzer stvara i svetlosnu poeziju, koristeći protivavionski reflektor koji se uključuje svako veče. Kao i u većini drugih njenih radova, njujorška umetnica u radu za Erlauf kao glavni medij koristi jezik, stvarajući kratke koncizne poruke sastavljene od svega nekoliko reči, koje podsećaju na izreke ili parole. Gravirane ploče u njenom radu pozivaju na tradiciju memorijalnih ploča iako u suštini izražavaju antiratnu poziciju. Kroz poruke urezane u staze Jenny Holzer se bavi bespomoćnošću, ratom, nasiljem i očajem (slika.4).

accepted the local community's subsequent invitation.

Oleg Komov employed a traditional sculptural language. The realistic sculpture group cast in bronze shows 2 army officers and a little girl holding a bunch of flowers in her hands to symbolize a joyful occasion (picture 3).

Jenny Holzer has installed her work at the other side of the square. Her memorial consists of three parts: engraved plaques, a pillar with a beam of light and a flowerbed, the planting of which was done in collaboration with Maria Auböck. White and grey shrubs and flowers are arranged in a circle around the post. The texts are shifted to the centre of the memorial and sculpted into the paths. Jenny Holzer re-



SLIKA 4 :: Jenny Holzer, Mirovni memorijal na Hauptplatzu u Erlaufu, Erlauf, 1995. Autor fotografije Christian Wachter

PICTURE 4 :: Jenny Holzer, Friedensdenkmal am Hauptplatz in Erlauf / War memorial on Hauptplatz in Erlauf, Erlauf, 1995. Copyright Christian Wachter

Zanimljivo je primetiti da su ova dva umetnika za isti trg razvili dve dijametralno suprotne koncepcije, koncepcije koje predstavljaju dva posve različita pristupa umetnosti.

Zahvaljujući zalaganju lokalnog gradonačelnika, Frany Kuttnera, mirovni memorial u Erlaufu postigao je veliki uspeh. Sledećih par godina, tokom Kuttnerovog mandata, organizovano je više privremenih umetničkih instalacija koje su se bavile pitanjima sećanja, ksenofobije i Holokausta. Ovi umetnički projekti se nisu fokusirali na istoriju već na savremene rasističke tendencije i različite načine suočavanja sa istorijom.

Na ovom mestu bi trebalo predstaviti još neke primere koji mogu ilustrovati raznovrsnost formalnih pristupa i načine

acts with the poetry of light, which is beamed from an anti-aircraft spotlight switched on every evening. As in many of her artworks, the New York artist also employs language as a medium in her project for Erlauf, where there are brief concise messages consisting of only a few words, like mottos or sayings. In their presentation as engraved plaques, they are reminiscent of memorial plaques even if they basically express a radically anti-war position. With her aphorisms carved into the paths, Jenny Holzer addresses powerlessness, war, violence and despair (*picture 4*).

It is interesting to note that the two artists developed diametrically opposed concepts for the same square, concepts that represent entirely different notions of art.

na koje se umetnici kroz svoj rad bave pitanjem društvenog konteksta, sve u cilju ilustriranja paradigmatičke promene u umetnosti koja je najbolje vidljiva u privremenim instalacijama.

U godinama nakon podizanja spomenika potpisivanju mira u Erlaufu realizovano je više zanimljivih radova, kao što je na primer rad Milice Tomić pod nazivom "Billbord". Svojim konceptom rad ulazi u direktnu komunikaciju sa spomenikom Olega Komova iz 1995. godine. Rad Milice Tomić direktno upućuje na ovu, u realističkoj tradiciji nastalu skulpturu, uzimajući je kao polaznu tačku za fotografije na kojima je devojčica koja stoji između američkog i sovjetskog heroja zamenjena fotografijama umetnicinih prijatelja i ljudi iz lokalne zajednice. Umetnica je izabrala ljude iz svoje generacije, stare između trideset i četrdeset godina, koji su samo slušali o Drugom svetskom ratu, i pokušala i njih i posmatrača da izazove da razmisle o temi „biti-između“ danas i nekada. Ove fotografije su bile postavljene kao bilbordi uz put na izlazu iz mesta.

Teme sećanja su posebno interesantne umetnicima koji u svom radu koriste performativne i procesualne pristupe i strategije, i bave se pitanjima komunikativnih struktura i društvene interakcije uopšte. Ovi umetnici se kroz istraživački rad na samoj lokaciji bave postojećim javnim i ličnim narativima.

Nemačka umetnica Pia Lanziger je svoj rad u Erlaufu bazirala na istraživanju sprovedenom među prodavcima na lokalnoj pijaci, pokušavajući da se kroz razgovore sa ovim ljudima upozna sa

Thanks to the commitment of the local mayor, Franz Kuttner, the Erlauf peace memorial was a major success. There were also temporary exhibitions in the following years during Herr Kuttner's term as mayor, which had curators and engaged with the subject of memory, xenophobia and the Holocaust. These art projects did not focus on history but on current racist tendencies and on ways of engaging with history.

At this point it would help to provide some further examples that demonstrate the broad diversity of the different formal approaches that artists take – including what can be achieved by artists who use their work to engage with the social context –and to talk about this paradigmatic shift in art, which is particularly visible in temporary works.

There were some interesting examples to be seen in Erlauf in the years that followed the erecting of the peace memorial, e.g. Milica Tomić's work: Billboard.

With her concept, Tomić entered into a direct dialogue, so to speak, with the 1995 memorial by Oleg Komov. She directly referenced the sculpture made in the realist tradition, by taking it as the starting point for her photographs and replacing the little girl standing between the two representative heroes of Soviet and American origin with images of friends and people from the community. The artist selected people from her own generation, 30- to 40-year-olds, who had only heard about the Second World War and challenged them and the visitor to think about 'being in-between' today

njihovim ličnim pričama i lokalnom istorijom. Umetnica je uradila intervju sa četiri stanovnika Erlaufa koji su (ili su bili) u braku sa strancima pokušavajući pri tom da sazna više o njihovoj svakodnevnici, trenutnoj životnoj situaciji, migraciji i ratu. Njihove životne priče, koje svedoče o promenama u društvu, mogle su da se čuju preko telefona, a za ovu priliku je u Erlaufu postavljena i posebna telefonska govornica. Ovim radom pod naslovom *“Greifen Sie zum Telefon: Erlauf ist dran, Nachbarinnen erzählen über Familie, Krieg, Migration und Arbeit”* (“Javite se na telefon: Erlauf zove, susedi govore o porodici, ratu, migraciji i radu”), Lanziger je ispričala subjektivne verzije događaja iz skorašnje istorije, prevodeći ih iz privatne sfere u javnu. Obradeni intervjui daju sliku na koji način se sećanje i zaboravljanje ogleda u subjektivnim viđenjima skorašnje istorije. Zvučni zapis je bio praćen i privatnim predmetima – uspomena žena uključenih u istraživanje, koji su bili izloženi u izlogu kafića na Marktplatzu.

Sa druge strane, umetnik Werner Kaligowski je svojom umetničkom instalacijom pokušao da skrene pažnju na izbrisana sećanja na jevrejske porodice iz Erlaufa i borbe pokreta otpora. On je ulicama Erlaufa dao druga, nova imena, posvećujući ih sećanju na ove ljude. Kaligowski se bavio temom zaborava u društvu, a njegov rad je nastao na osnovu istraživanja sprovedenog u samom mestu i po lokalnim arhivama. Rad je bio pokušaj da se obeleži sećanje na zaboravljene jevrejske žrtve iz grada. Jedan od gradskih trgova – Marktplatz – u okviru ove akcije bio je posvećen borcu pokreta ot-

and then. The photographs were installed along the exit road.

Subjects like the theme of memory are particularly interesting for artists whose approaches and strategies concentrate on the performative, the processual, on social interaction and communicative structures. Artists research on location and engage with public and private narratives.

The German artist Pia Lanzinger, undertook research in the Erlauf market community on location and had to feel her way into local history and private narratives with great sensitivity. She interviewed four Erlauf residents who are (or had been) married to foreigners, on a range of topics connected with their everyday lives, current affairs, migration and war. These life stories, that show the changes in society, could be heard via a dedicated phone box in Erlauf or via normal telephone. With her contribution, entitled *Greifen Sie zum Telefon: Erlauf ist dran, Nachbarinnen erzählen über Familie, Krieg, Migration und Arbeit* (Reach for the Phone: It's Erlauf, Neighbours Talk About Family, War, Migration and Work), Lanzinger told subjective accounts of recent history, she made the private realm public. The edited interviews convey an image of remembering and forgetting in subjective accounts of recent history. The audio was accompanied by private mementos from the women concerned, which were then displayed in a shop window of the café on Marktplatz.

With his installation, Werner Kaligowski wanted to create awareness of the erased memories of Jewish families in Erlauf and

pora i stanovniku Erlaufa Josefu Munku, koji je radio za željeznicu i bio član Austrijske komunističke partije (KPÖ). Njegovo ime simboliše ulogu koju je pokret otpora imao u Erlaufu. Preimenovanje ulica, a posebno „Josef-Munk“ trga, na kraju je dovelo i do intezivne javne debate u Erlaufu. Cela akcija omogućila je da se započne diskusija o potisnutim i zakopanim pričama iz ratnog perioda. Zbog protesta vlasnika natpisi sa novim imenima ulica nisu ni postavljeni na dve kuće. Ove erlaufske rasprave, karakteristične za celu Austriju, otkrile su da ljudi još uvek imaju problematičan odnos prema pristalicama pokreta otpora i sa svojom nacističkom prošlošću.

Čineći vidljivim ove tabue, podsvesna i potisnuta sećanja, duboko usađena u kolektivno sećanje sa jakim uticajem na sadašnjost, ove umetničke intervencije su izazvale veliku debatu u Erlaufu. Gradonačelnik Kuttner se suočio sa agresijom usmerenom ka njemu lično. Na vrhuncu konflikta u Erlauf su pozvani istoričari da održe predavanja i organizuju diskusije koje su na kraju uspele da smire situaciju. Njihov cilj je bio da se produbi znanje, prenesu postojeća sećanja i nađu odgovori na pitanja – koju vrstu društvene snage donosi sećanje i koje su društvene funkcije zaboravljanja.

Za stanovnike Erlaufa privremene umetničke instalacije predstavljale su veliki izazov, i neretko stvarale konfliktne situacije. Na umetnike se često gledalo sumnjičavo kao na izazivače nereda. Međutim, kroz rad na ovakvim projektima postalo je jasno da su umetnici u stanju da stvore posebne, pionirske radove u situacijama

of a resistance fighter. He gave the streets of Erlauf new street names, dedicating them to the commemoration of these people. Kaligowski addressed forgetting in society, his work was the result of research on location and in local archives. It was an attempt to commemorate the forgotten Jewish families of the town. Marktplatz, was dedicated to the resistance fighter and resident of Erlauf Josef Munk, who had worked for the railway and been a member of the Austrian Communist party (KPÖ). His name symbolizes the role played by the resistance in Erlauf. The renaming of the streets, especially of 'Josef-Munk-Platz', subsequently led to intense discussion in Erlauf. It also provided an opportunity to address suppressed and buried narratives from the period. Two house number plaques were not replaced with the new name as their owners protested. These Erlauf discussions — representative for all of Austria — revealed that people still have a difficult relationship to supporters of the Resistance and to their own Nazi past.

Making visible these subconscious, taboo and suppressed memories, which are anchored in the collective memory and impact on the present, provoked a major discussion in Erlauf. Mayor Kuttner was confronted with aggression directed at him personally. At the peak of the conflict, historians were invited to Erlauf to hold lectures and discussions that eventually succeeded in calming the situation. The aim was to add depth of knowledge and pass on shared memories: What kind of social power does remembering yield? And, what are the social functions of forgetting?

kada su primorani da istraže nove produkcione mogućnosti u seoskom i prirodnom okruženju, izvan njihovog "zaštićenog" okruženja i bez uticaja narativa određene lokacije. Distanca između umetnosti u javnom prostoru i muzeja omogućuje da se razvijaju nove forme rada za koje se na početku ne zna u kom pravcu će se razvijati. Izložbe u javnim prostorima Erlaufa zbog svog društveno-političkog značaja bile su mnogo više nego samo umetnički projekti, one su bile mnogo provokativnije nego što to ikad može biti autonoman klasični spomenik.

Na kraju, predstavimo dva najnovija rada, oba zamišljena za istu lokaciju i oba izabrana preko otvorenog konkursa. Prvi rad, rad umetnice Catrin Bolt, je stalna instalacija. Drugi, rad Tatiane Lecomte, je privremena intervencija. Tema raspisanog konkursa je bila da se obeleži postojanje dva koncentraciona logora smeštena u blizini St. Pöltena tokom 1944-45. Sve do 2005. godine postojanje ova dva logora nije bilo istorijski dokazano. Dve godine pre nego je zvanično potvrđeno da su na ovoj teritoriji postajali koncentracioni logori, 2003 godine, predviđeno je da cela oblast bude pretvorena u rekreacioni park.

Vazdušni snimci koje je napravilo američko vazduhoplovstvo 1945. godine pokazuju da je na ovoj lokaciji, na mestu današnjeg jezera, postojao logor u kojem je bilo smešteno sto dvadeset i šest Jevreja. Na pet različitih lokacija Catrin Bolt je postavila ogromne panele sa ovim vazdušnim snimcima a crvenim tačkama je obeležila poziciju posmatrača. Logori su označeni brojevima i u legendi je dato objašnjenje. Na isti način su predstav-

For the inhabitants of Erlauf, the temporary art events presented a major challenge and were accompanied by a number of conflict-laden situations. The artists too, were often regarded as troublemakers and looked at with suspicion. However, we have found that artists often produce pioneering work while having to explore the production possibilities available in the countryside, outside of their 'protected' living conditions and intruding on the narrative of the location. The distance to the art public and museum space enables furthermore, the development of a new form of engagement and one doesn't know in advance where it will lead. The exhibitions in the public space of Erlauf were more than purely art projects in their socio-political significance; they also provided more incendiary material than most autonomous classical monuments do.

To conclude, I would like to present two current works that have both been conceived for the same location and are the result of an open competition. One work, by the artist Catrin Bolt, is a permanent installation. The second one, which is by Tatiana Lecomte, is a temporary one. The subject of the competition was two concentration camps that were run close to St. Pölten from 1944-45. The existence of these camps was not historically proven until 2005. In 2003 the whole area was approved as a recreational park.

As is shown in this aerial photograph, which was taken by the US Air Force in 1945, there was a camp with 126 Jews situated under what is today a lake. At five different locations, Catrin Bolt mount-



SLIKA 5 :: Catrin Bolt, Memorijalno obeležje za radne logore na teritoriji mesta St. Pölten-Viehofen, St. Pölten-Viehofen, 2010. *Autor fotografije* Wolfgang Woessner
 PICTURE 5 :: Catrin Bolt, Mahnmal für die Zwangsarbeitslager St. Pölten-Viehofen / Memorial for the St. Pölten-Viehofen forced labour camps, St. Pölten-Viehofen, 2010. *Copyright* Wolfgang Woessner

Ijene i druge značajne lokacije smeštene na obali reke Traisen, čiji tok je regulisan prisilnim radom zarobljenika (slika 5). Paneli su delimično ugrađeni u pejzaž, i usmeravaju pogled prema mestu gde su bili radni logori. Na taj način umetnica postiže preplitanje prošlosti i sadašnjosti. Catrin Bolt izbegava patos i umetničke reference, i neusiljeno promovira svesno bavljenje istorijom lokacije.

Drugi projekat, rad Tatiane Lecomte, dopunjuje rad Catrin Bolt. Tokom jedne godine, dvadeset hiljada stanovnika St. Pöltenu trebalo je da u svojim poštanskim sandučićima nađe na njih lično adresirane i rukom ispisane razglednice. Slike na razglednicama pokazuju neupadljive motive fotografisane u distriktu Viehofen u St. Pöltenu. Ovo su bila mesta nacističke

ed large panels showing this aerial photograph and a red dot marking visitors' whereabouts. The camps are numbered and explained with a key, along with other significant locations along the banks of the river Traisen – a river that was regulated using forced labor (picture 5). The panels are, in part, embedded in the landscape so that they guide the view towards the labor camps. The past and the present overlap here. Catrin Bolt avoids pathos and artistic self-reference, and casually promotes a conscious engagement with the history of the location.

The second project, by Tatiana Lecomte, complements the project by Catrin Bolt. Over the course of a year, 20,000 residents of St. Pölten were to find a personally addressed, handwritten postcard

eksploatacije i istrebljenja u toku Drugog svetskog rata. Na svakoj razglednici je plavim mastilom, rukom ispisana rečenica: „*Ich bin gesund, es geht mir gut*“ (zdrav sam i dobro sam) – rečenica koja je morala da bude uključena u tekst svih razglednica poslatih iz koncentracionih logora u Trećem rajhu. U ovom radu je lična adresa primaoca konfrontirana sa bezimenim pošiljaocem; pojedinci su primili podsećanje na sudbinu velikog broja ljudi primoranih da pišu ovakve reči. Tatiana Lecomte je napravila spomenik posve drugačiji od postojećih formi vezanih za kulturu komemoracije. Ona je konstruisala novi fiktivni nivo komunikacije između prošlosti i sadašnjosti u želji da potakne razgovore i debatu.

Ovi umetnički projekti bave se preispitivanjem mogućnosti dijaloga i veza između umetnosti i društva. Publika kojoj umetnost nije bliska suočena je sa novim idejama koje se bave kulturnim i političkim identitetom lokalne zajednice. Protivljenje dela lokalne zajednice razglednicama u jednom trenutku je bilo baš jako, tako da je ceo projekat morao biti prekinut uz organizovanje javnih debata na tu temu.

Upravo ovaj tip konfrontacija je glavni element procesa medijacije istorije. U ovakvim situacijama institucije koje se bave umetničkom produkcijom prihvataju na sebe veliku političku i društvenu odgovornost. Naposljetku, ovo je vrlo važno pošto se bave osetljivim temama sećanja vezanih za Drugi svetski rat. Uzimajući Erlauf i St.Pölten-Viehofen za primere, postaje jasno da za oživljavanje istorije uz pomoć savremenih umetničkih praksi,

in their letterboxes. The images on the postcards depicted unremarkable-looking motifs photographed in the Viehofen district of St. Pölten: These were the sites of Nazi exploitation and extermination during the Second World War. Each card bears the handwritten sentence in blue ink: “*Ich bin gesund, es geht mir gut*” (I am healthy and doing fine) — a line that had to be included on every postcard sent from concentration camps in the Third Reich. The personal address contrasts with a nameless sender; individuals were being sent a commemoration of the countless people who had been forced to write these words. Tatiana Lecomte developed a memorial far removed from traditional forms in the culture of commemoration. She constructed a fictitious level of communication between the past and the present that was intended to encourage conversation and debate.

These projects, too, questioned the capacity for dialogue as well as the relationship between art and society. A public that is not familiar with art is confronted by new ideas that relate to the cultural and political identity of the local population. Opposition by some of the recipients to the postcards was at one point so strong, that the project had to be interrupted for a time and accompanied by public discussions.

Precisely this kind of confrontation is a key element in the mediation of history. It is here that the art producers adopt political and social responsibility. After all, we are engaging with the sensitive areas of memory surrounding the Second World War. Using Erlauf and St.Pölten/Viehofen

različite privremene umetničke instalacije postaju važna dopuna već postojećim državnim spomenicima. Ovi umetnički radovi najbolje promoviraju komunikaciju i diskusiju koje su neophodne za bavljenje potisnutim sećanjima i istorijom.

as examples, it becomes very clear that bringing history to life using contemporary artistic positions, especially in the form of temporary events to supplement the state memorials, is important. It promotes discussion, which is fundamental for dealing with suppressed memories.

SKRIVENE EKONOMIJE OKO TRGA SLAVIJA *

HIDDEN ECONOMIES AROUND SLAVIJA SQUARE *

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Lektura i korektura Proofread by DUŠAN ĐORĐEVIĆ MILEUSNIĆ

* Prvobitna verzija ovog teksta objavljena je na nemačkom jeziku pod naslovom „Der ‚Disfunktionale‘ Ort und seine verborgenen Oekonomien“ u: Annette Weisser & Ingo Vetter, *Arbeiten 1996 – 2006*, Revolver Verlag, Frankfurt, 2006 (str. 65-83).
The version of this text was first published in German under the title “Der, Disfunktionale’ Ort und seine verborgenen Oekonomien”, in Annette Weisser & Ingo Vetter *Arbeiten 1996 – 2006*, Revolver Verlag, Frankfurt, 2006. (pp. 65-83).

Javna umetnost više nije junak na konju
Arlin Rejven

JUNAK NA KONJU *VERSUS*

KONTEKST-SPECIFIČNA UMETNOST

Istorijska uloga „junaka na konju“, kako je Arlin Rejven sažeto predstavila ovaj vekovima stari „prizor“ koji poistovećujemo sa javnim spomenikom, sastojala se u tome da predstavi društvene ideale određene nacije i da otelotvori politička, odnosno, kulturna sećanja. Ova vrsta spomenika postojala je da bi se, posredstvom trajnih materijala, „ovekovečila“ dela velikih građana, primeri nacionalnih heroja, izvori građanskog ponosa i podsticaji za visok stepen odlučnosti koje nudi prošlost.¹ Jasno je da poruka sadržana u

Public art isn’t a hero on a horse anymore
Arlene Raven

HERO ON A HORSE VS. CONTEXT SPECIFIC ART

The historical role of the “hero on the horse”, as Arlene Raven summarized this centuries-long “image” we identify with the public monument, was to represent social ideals and embody the political or cultural memory of a certain nation. This kind of monument existed in order to “commemorate”, in permanent materials, the deeds of great citizens, the examples of national heroes, the causes for civic pride and the incentives of high resolve which are offered by the past”.¹ It is clear that the message contained in monuments placed in important public spaces, like for example city squares,

¹ Iskaz Čarlsa Malforda Robinsona, naveden u: Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions – Art and Spatial Politics*, Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1988 (str. 23).

¹ The statement of Charles Mulford Robinson, as quoted by Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions – Art and Spatial Politics*, Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1988. (p. 23).

spomenicima koji se nalaze na značajnim javnim mestima, recimo, na gradskim trgovima, treba da izrazi vidljive znake vlasti. Javni spomenici se stoga koriste za iskazivanje moći posredstvom određenog poimanja istorije, nacije i slavljenja izuzetnih pojedinačnih dostignuća.²

Javna umetnost zadržava ovu ulogu, koja je još uvek veoma prisutna u urbanim sredinama gradova kao što je Beograd i zemalja kao što je Srbija, uprkos brojnim alternativnim pristupima umetničkim intervencijama u gradskom jezgri, čiji razvoj pratimo od šezdesetih godina XX veka u formi prostorno-specifične (*site specific*) i kontekst-specifične (*context specific*) umetničke prakse, protivspomenika, umetnosti zasnovane na radu sa određenom zajednicom (*community-based art*), itd. U krajnjem bilansu, beogradski zvaničnici i kulturni establišment pokazuju sklonost da daju prostor rešenjima umetnika ili urbanista koja se mogu smatrati „ulepšavanjem“ grada. Međutim, bilo kakva istraživački nastrojena, analitička, da ne kažemo kritička intervencija nije u žiži interesovanja i daleko je od pažnje javnosti.

Kada bismo se koncentrisali na primere kojima se ukazuje na vivisekciju konteksta urbanog tkiva u okviru koga se takva dela smeštaju, npr. u domenu kontekst-specifičnih umetničkih praksi, morali bismo poći od nekoliko osnovnih metodoloških pretpostavki. Pojam prostorne analize mogao bi ovde da posluži kao teorijsko oruđe za proces

is to express visible signs of authority. Public monuments are therefore used to assert power through a particular idea of history, of nationhood and of the celebration of superior individual achievements.²

Public art maintains this role, which is still highly present in the urban environments of cities like Belgrade and countries like Serbia, in spite of numerous alternative approaches to artistic interventions in the urban core, whose development we have been witnessing since 1960s in the form of site specific and context specific art, counter-monuments, community based art, etc. Eventually, Belgrade city officials and the cultural establishment tend to give room to the solutions of artists or urban designers that can be treated as “embellishment” of the city. However, any kind of research-oriented, analytical, not to mention critical form of intervention, is out of focus and far from public attention.

If we were to concentrate on examples that are busy vivisecting the context of the urban tissue where such work is being placed, i.e. context specific art practices, we would have to introduce a few basic methodological assumptions. The term spatio-analysis could serve here as a theoretical tool for the process of “unfolding” all of the historical layers that are superimposed in a certain location of a city. The term could also be used for the analysis of the way in which these layers were produced in specific socio-political contexts. It is therefore important to emphasise that the physical form of the cityscape is inseparable from

² Eric Hobsbawm (predgovor katalogu): *Art and Power*, London: Hayward Gallery, 1996 (str. 12).

² Eric Hobsbawm, pref. cat.: *Art and Power*, London: Hayward Gallery, 1996. (p. 12).

„razotkrivanja“ svih istorijskih slojeva koji su bili naneti na nekoj lokaciji u određenom gradu. Taj pojam takođe bi se mogao koristiti pri analizi načina na koji su ti slojevi stvarani u određenim društveno-političkim kontekstima. Stoga je važno naglasiti da je fizička forma urbanog pejzaža neodvojiva od konkretnog društva u kome se razvija. Kao rezultat toga, gradovi se ne posmatraju kao nešto sačinjeno isključivo od materijalnih artefakta; oni se takođe posmatraju kao otvoreno tle za projektovanje ideologija, izražavanje kulturnih vrednosti i demonstriranje moći. Organizovanje i uobličavanje grada, kao i pridavanje značenja raznim njegovim prostorima, mogli bi se posmatrati kao društveni procesi. Prostorne forme posmatraju se kao društvene strukture, a reorganizacija urbanog prostora kao komponenta potpunog društvenog restrukturisanja. Ukratko rečeno, proizvedeni i reprodukovani prostor grada predstavlja mesto i ishod društvenih, političkih i ekonomskih sukoba.³

Pošto smo uspostavili metodološko oruđe za analizu, u okviru naše studije slučaja pozabavićemo se instalacijom koju je 2001. godine umetnički par iz Nemačke, Anet Vajser i Ingo Feter, postavio na ivicu prostora poznatog kao „Mitićeva rupa“ na Trgu Slavija u Beogradu.⁴

the specific society in which it develops. Cities, as a result, are not perceived to be constituted solely by material artefacts; they are also seen as open ground for the projection of ideologies, the expression of cultural values and the demonstration of power. The organization and shaping of the city, as well as the attribution of meaning to its different spaces, might be viewed as social processes. Spatial forms are seen as social structures and the reorganization of urban space as a component of full-scale social restructuring. In short, the produced and reproduced space of the city represents the site and the outcome of social, political and economic struggles.³

Having set the methodological tools for the analysis, our case study will be the installation that in 2001 artists from Germany, Annette Weisser and Ingo Vetter, placed on the edge of the site known as Mitić's Hole, an empty lot located on Slavija Square in Belgrade.⁴

³ Za ovu liniju argumentacije videti, između ostalih, David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Cambridge MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 1990; Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, London and New York: Verso, 1989, i Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions – Art and Spatial Politics*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1988.

⁴ Taj rad bio je realizovan u okviru projekta „Nefunkcionalna mesta / Izmeštene funkcionalnosti“, segmenta Beogradskog letnjeg festivala 2001. Kustosi su bili Hajke Munder, Stevan Vuković i Zoran Erić; u projektu su učestvovali umetnici Anet Vajser i Ingo Feter, Miša Kubal, Ben Kejn i Tina Gverović, Tal-

³ For this line of argument see, among others, David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Cambridge MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 1990; Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, London and New York: Verso, 1989, and Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions – Art and Spatial Politics*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1988.

⁴ The work was realized within the project “Dysfunctional places / Displaced functionalities” held in the framework of the 2001 Belgrade Summer Festival. The curators were Heike Munder, Stevan Vuković and Zoran Erić; the participating artists were Annette Weisser and Ingo Vetter, Mischa Kuball, Ben Cain and Tina Gverović, Talent Factory, Apolutno and Milorad Mladenović. The project invited artists to investigate different “dysfunctional” sites, and foresaw a research phase involving the analysis of urban, architectural, topographic, cultural, historical and geo-strategic aspects. Each artistic project was expected to develop context-specific interventions that demonstrated other potentials of the chosen site, or to construct new types of functionality taking into consideration the many contextual limitations imposed upon the location.

PRIČA O TRGU KOJI JE ZAPRAVO KRUŽNA RASKRSNICA

Od sredine XIX veka, kada je bila nenastanjena i kada su imućni Beograđani tu išli u lov na patke, do današnjeg dana, okolina Trga Slavija prošla je kroz veoma osoben istorijski razvoj u domenu urbanog planiranja. Tokom ovog perioda, bilo je nekoliko ključnih trenutaka kada su značajne zgrade ili spomenici označavali društveno-prostorne preobražaje ovog mesta. Prva ideja o urbanizovanju ovog prostora potekla je od škotskog preduzetnika Frensis Mekenziya, koji je kupio to zemljište i pripremio ga za kasniju gradnju. Taj prostor je u to vreme još uvek zakonski bio izvan gradskog atara, tako da je bio znatno jeftiniji, što je podsticalo bržu gradnju, a rezultat toga bio je jedan od najvećih problema sa kojima se grad suočio.⁵ Kao 'novoverac', Mekenzi je odlučio da tu sagradi hram nazvan Sala mira, na zgražanje beogradske „pravoslavne“ javnosti. Međutim, Sala mira nije korišćena samo u religijske svrhe već je imala i obrazovnu namenu, što je svedočilo o vizionarskoj i prosvetiteljskoj ulozi ovog Škota, čijom je inicijativom nastao prvi društveno-prostorni kontekst Slavije.⁶

ent Factory. Apsolutno i Milorad Mladenović. Ovim projektom umetnici su pozvani da istraže razne „nefunkcionalne“ prostore, a njime je bila predviđena i faza istraživanja koja je uključivala analizu urbanih, arhitektonskih, topografskih, kulturnih, istorijskih i geostrateških aspekata. Od svakog umetničkog projekta očekivalo se da iznedri intervencije namenjene određenom kontekstu kojima se demonstriraju drugačiji potencijali odabranog mesta, ili da konstruiše nove tipove funkcionalnosti, uzimajući u obzir mnoga kontekstualna ograničenja koja su datoj lokaciji nametnuta.

⁵ Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt, Urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda 1890-1914*, Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2008 (str. 35-36).

⁶ Nenad Žarković, *Prezentacija o istorijskom i graditeljskom nasleđu Trga Slavija*, održana u okviru međunarodnog simpozijuma „SEĆANJE GRADA – Politike i prakse očuvanja i uključivanja sećanja u razvoj grada“, Beograd, 12. i 13. septembra 2011. godine.

STORY ABOUT THE SQUARE

THAT IS ACTUALLY A ROUNDABOUT

From the mid 19th century, when it was unpopulated and used by rich Belgrade citizens for shooting ducks, to the present day, the area around Slavija Square has undergone a very peculiar history of urban development. Throughout this period, there were several decisive moments with landmark buildings or monuments that marked socio-spatial transformations of that site. The very first idea of urbanizing this area came from a Scottish entrepreneur Francis Mackenzie, who bought the land and prepared it for subsequent development. The area was at that time still legally beyond city limits and therefore much cheaper, fostering faster development and causing, as a result, one of the biggest problems for the city.⁵ Being a Nazarene, Mackenzie decided to build a temple named the Hall of Peace to the outrage of Belgrade “Orthodox” public. However, the Hall of Peace was used not just for religious but also for educational purposes, thus showing the visionary and enlightened role of the Scotsman, whose initiative produced the first socio-spatial context for Slavija.⁶

After World War II, the new communist regime renamed Slavija after Dimitrije Tucović, one of the foremost Serbian socialists. His remains were re-buried on the square and a monument was commissioned to the renowned sculptor Stevan Bodnarov. Besides the round plateau around the mon-

⁵ Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt, Urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda 1890-1914*, Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2008. (pp. 35-36).

⁶ Nenad Žarković, *Presentation on history and built heritage of the Slavija Square* delivered within the International Symposium “MEMORY OF THE CITY - Policies and Practices of the Memory Preservation and Integration in the City’s Development”, held in Belgrade on 12-13th September 2011.

Posle Drugog svetskog rata, novi komunistički režim preimenovao je Slaviju u Trg Dimitrija Tucovića, po jednom od najistaknutijih srpskih socijalista. Njegovi posmrtni ostaci sahranjeni su na ovom trgu, a izrada spomenika u njegovu čast poverena je čuvenom vajaru Stevanu Bodnarovu. Pored kružnog platoa oko spomenika, ovaj „trg“ zapravo nije ništa više do veoma prometna raskrsnica kružnog toka. U periodu obeleženom vladavinom Slobodana Miloševića, od sredine osamdesetih do kraja devedesetih godina XX veka, stvoren je specifičan društveno-prostorni kontekst koji je imao velikog uticaja na urbane transformacije grada Beograda. Na Trgu Dimitrija Tucovića, markantna zgrada koja je označavala prvu fazu Sale mira – čija je završna funkcija bila bioskop nazvan „Slavija“ – bila je srušena zajedno sa jednom od najstarijih gradskih apoteka, uprkos činjenici da je proglašena arhitektonskim spomenikom od javnog značaja, čime je bila zakonom zaštićena. Istovremeno, na „trgu“ je bila predviđena lokacija za buduću ogromnu zgradu Narodne banke, sa čijom su izgradnjom beogradske vlasti započele 1992. godine.⁷ Međutim, najinteresantnija pojava toga vremena, koja je privukla pažnju umetnika Anet Vajser i Inga Fetera, bila je oličena u čudnovatim tokovima raznih ekonomija koje su se vrtele oko Trga Dimitrija Tucovića, a naročito oko prazne građevinske parcele poznate pod nazivom Mitićeva rupa. Te ekonomije

ument, the “square” was actually nothing more than a roundabout with the heavy traffic. The period marked by the rule of Slobodan Milošević from mid 1980s till the end of 1990s, produced a specific socio-spatial context and made a severe impact on the urban transformations of the city of Belgrade. On Dimitrije Tucović Square, the landmark that marks the first phase of the Hall of Peace - whose final function was to be a cinema named Slavija - was destroyed together with one of the oldest city pharmacies, in spite of the fact that it was proclaimed public monument of architecture and thus protected by law. Concurrently, “the square” became earmarked for the future vast National Bank, which the Belgrade authorities started to build in 1992.⁷ What, however, was most interesting phenomena of that time and the one which attracted the artists Annette Weisser and Ingo Vetter, was the strange flow of different economies revolving around Dimitrije Tucović Square and particularly the empty lot known as the Mitić’s Hole. These economies were the outcome of a particular way socio-spatial context was being produced in the 1990s and therefore a context that deserves a closer reflection.

URBAN SPACE PRODUCED BY “OFFICIAL” ECONOMIES OF DESTRUCTION

The political context of the 1990s – the disintegration of the former Socialist Republic, the neighbouring wars, the UN sanctions, a hyperinflation which rose by

⁷ Jugoslovenski arhitekti pozvani su da podnesu predloge, u okviru otvorenog nadmetanja, za projekat banke od jedanaest spratova sa četiri suterenska nivoa za sefove i trezor. Po izbijanju rata, prvobitna ideja, po kojoj je različite jugoslovenske banke trebalo objediniti u okviru jedne centralne zgrade, više nije bila ostvariva, tako da je ova zgrada bila rezervisana isključivo za Narodnu banku. Posle dugog istorijata gradnje, opterećene brojnim korupcionaskim skandalima, zgrada je konačno otvorena i stavljena u upotrebu 2006.

⁷ Yugoslav architects were invited to tender proposals in an open competition for an eleven-storey bank with four basement levels for the safes and treasury departments. After the outbreak of war the original concept of uniting various Yugoslav banks in one central building was no longer feasible, and so it was reserved solely for the National Bank. After a long building history fraught with corruption scandals, the building was finally opened and put to use in 2006.

predstavljale su ishod određenog načina na koji je društveno-prostorni kontekst proizvođen tokom devedesetih godina XX veka, zbog čega je to kontekst koji zaslužuje pornije razmatranje.

URBANI PROSTOR STVOREN „ZVANIČNIM“

EKONOMIJAMA DESTRUKCIJE

Politički kontekst devedesetih godina XX veka – raspad bivše Socijalističke Republike, ratovi u susedstvu, sankcije Ujedinjenih nacija, hiperinflacija čiji se rast osećao svakog minuta, i ekonomski kolaps – stvorio je situaciju spoljne i unutrašnje izolacije pod vladavinom autoritarnog režima. Za razliku od drugih gradova, u kojima su urbane promene bile spor ali regulisan proces, Beograd je prošao kroz period haotične vladavine pod Miloševićem i njegovom oligarhijom, i pretrpeo posledice bombardovanja od strane NATO-a kojim su znatno oštećene neke od najznačajnijih zgrada modernističke arhitekture u urbanom jezgru grada. Tokom čitave poslednje decenije XX veka, generalni urbanistički plan Beograda, koji je opstao još iz Titove ere, bio je ignorisan, a proces urbanih promena karakterisali su nelegalna gradnja, nemar i destrukcija. Glavno svojstvo tog autoritarnog sistema bila je nekontrolisana „siva ekonomija“ koja je počinjala od samog vrha državne hijerarhije a završavala se „švercom“ i prodajom osnovnih životnih potreptina na ulicama grada.

Mlađan Dinkić okarakterisao je sistem ekonomskih tokova u Srbiji devedesetih godina XX veka kao „ekonomiju destrukcije“.⁸ Njen prvi korak bila je „pljačka naroda“

the minute and the economic collapse – created a situation of outer and inner isolation under the rule of an authoritarian regime. Unlike other cities, in which urban change was a slow but regulated process, Belgrade went through a period of chaotic rule under Milošević and his oligarchy and suffered from the consequences of NATO bombings which severely damaged some of the landmarks of modernist architecture in its urban core. Throughout the 1990s, the master plan for urbanizing Belgrade, which had survived from the Tito era, was ignored, while illegal building, negligence and destruction characterized the process of urban change. The main attribute of the authoritarian system was the uncontrolled “grey economy” starting at the top of the state hierarchy and ending with “smuggling” and the sale of basic goods on the streets.

Mlađan Dinkić has described the system of economic flows in Serbia in the 1990s as an “economy of destruction”.⁸ The first step of which was the “robbery of the people”, perpetrated by several “projects” such as the “Loan for the Serbian Industrial Renaissance” in 1989, the induced hyperinflation of 1993 and flourishing pyramid investment chains in “wild banks” like Dafiment or Jugoskandik, which offered citizens monthly interest rates as high as 30 percent. The dramatic hyperinflation in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was inevitable in view of the specific social circumstances.⁹ The most

⁸ Mlađan Dinkić, *Ekonomija destrukcije*, Begrade: Stubovi kulture, 1996. (p. 80).

⁹ In April 1993 the UN declaration 820 decreed a total blockade of all financial transactions with Yugoslavia. Hyperinflation mounted rapidly in this socio-political environment, and in January 1994 peaked with daily price increases amounting to 62% (almost 3% hourly).

⁸ Mlađan Dinkić, *Ekonomija destrukcije*, Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 1996 (str. 80).

posredstvom nekoliko projekata poput „Zajma za obnovu Srbije“ iz 1989. godine, namerno izazvane hiperinflacije iz 1993, i procvata piramidalnih investicionih lanaca u „divljim bankama“ poput Dafiment banke ili Jugoskandika, koje su građanima nudile mesečne kamate na nivou od čak 30 procenata. Dramatična hiperinflacija u Saveznoj Republici Jugoslaviji bila je neizbežna imajući u vidu te specifične društvene okolnosti.⁹ Najvažniji preduslov da do toga dođe bio je potpuni monopol na političku i ekonomsku moć koji je imala mala oligarhija predvođena autoritarnim vlastodršcem, čije je delovanje bilo van kontrole države ili njenih institucija.

Bezobzirn zloropotreba kontrole novčane mase bila je formalni uzrok hiperinflacije i krajnjeg raslojavanja društva proisteklog iz nje. Dok je većina stanovništva bila suočena sa siromaštvom, stvorena je političko-finansijska elita. Nju su činili vodeći političari, odabrani krug direktora državnih firmi i banaka, kao i vlasnici određenih „privatnih“, u suštini „paradržavnih“ firmi. Njihov materijalni i formalni status zasnovao se na monopolu jedne druge vrste: konkretno – emisiji i distribuciji novca, uvozu određenih vrsta robe i trgovini njima, kontroli nad medijima i privilegovanom statusu u finansijskim transakcijama sa državom. Otuda je interes ove elite bio usmeren ne ka razvijanju nacionalne privrede već ka održavanju i uvećavanju njene lične dominacije i ličnog bogatstva.¹⁰ Os-

important precondition for its occurrence was the complete monopoly over political and economic power exercised by a small oligarchy led by an authoritarian ruler, whose acts were beyond the control of the state or its institutions.

The ruthless abuse of monetary-control was the formal cause of hyperinflation and the resultant extreme social stratification. While the majority of the population faced impoverishment, a political-financial elite came into being. It was represented by leading politicians, by a selected circle of directors of state-run companies and banks and by the owners of certain “private” but essentially “parastatal” companies. Their material and formal status was based on a monopoly of a different kind: namely over the emission and distribution of currency, the import and trading of certain goods, control over the media and privileged status in financial transactions with the state. Thus, the interest of this elite was geared not towards the development of the national economy but towards maintaining and advancing its personal dominance and wealth.¹⁰ The rest of the population had to seek survival in the “grey economy”: in smuggling and in small business on the improvised stands, kiosks or even “temporary housing projects” set up on the streets. All these ephemeral economies decisively influenced the process of urban growth and the image of the city of Belgrade.

⁹ April 1993. godine, Deklaracijom 820 Ujedinjenih nacija proglašena je potpuna blokada svih finansijskih transakcija sa Jugoslavijom. Hiperinflacija je rapidno rasla u takvom društveno-političkom okruženju, a vrhunac je dostigla januara 1994. godine, kada su cene dnevno rasle 62% (gotovo 3% na sat).

¹⁰ Mladan Dinkić, *Ekonomija destrukcije*, Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 1996 (str. 234, 235).

¹⁰ Mladan Dinkić, *Ekonomija destrukcije*, Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 1996 (pp. 234, 235).

tatak stanovništva morao je sebi da obezbedi opstanak u domenu „sive ekonomije“: posredstvom šverca i male privrede na improvizovanim tezgama, u kioscima ili čak „privremenim stambenim projektima“ smeštenim na ulicama. Sve te efemerne ekonomije presudno su uticale na proces urbanog razvoja i na imidž grada Beograda.

OTKRIVANJE SKRIVENIH EKONOMIJA OKO TRGA SLAVIJA
Postojeći društveno-političko-prostorno-ekonomski kontekst Beograda značio je da mnoga mesta više nisu služila svojoj primarnoj svrsi, što je rezultiralo time da se na njih, generalno uzev, gledalo kao na „mrtve tačke“ u okviru funkcionalne dinamike grada. Posle detaljnog istraživanja takvih mesta, Anet Vajser i Inga Fetera privukla je prazna građevinska parcela

DETECTING HIDDEN ECONOMIES AROUND SLAVIJA SQUARE

The given socio-political-spatial-economic context of Belgrade meant that many sites no longer served their primary purpose, with the result that they were generally perceived as “dead points” within the functional dynamic of the city. After closer examination of these sites, Annette Weisser and Ingo Vetter were most attracted by an empty lot known as Mitić’s Hole, located on Dimitrije Tucović Square. The colloquial name of the site came after the rich retailing family who owned it before World War II had earmarked it as the prestigious location for the fourth big department store in their chain (*picture 1*). The outbreak of war put an end to their plans and the post-war property laws led

SLIKA 1 :: “Mitićeva rupa”, 1970-ih (iz dokumentacije Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda)

PICTURE 1 :: “Mitić’s hole”, 1970s (documentation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade)





SLIKA 2 :: Sunčani sat na mestu „Mitićeve rupe“, 1980-tih (iz dokumentacije Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda)

PICTURE 2 :: Sundial at the place of “Mitić’s Hole”, 1980s (documentation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade)



SLIKA 3 :: Dafina Milanović polaže kamen temeljac za Dafiment banku u „Mitićevoj rupi“ na Slaviji, 16.02.1992. (fotografija: Latif Adrović, arhiva: Vreme)

PICTURE 3 :: Dafina Milanović laying the foundation stone for the Dafiment bank at the place of “Mitić’s Hole”, Slavija, February 16th, 1992 (photo by Latif Adrović, archive: Vreme)

poznata pod nazivom Mitićeva rupa na Trgu Dimitrija Tucovića. Kolokvijalni naziv za ovo mesto vezan je za bogatu trgovačku porodicu u čijem je vlasništvu ta parcela bila pre Drugog svetskog rata, i čija je namera bila da ga iskoristi kao prestižnu lokaciju za izgradnju četvrtog velikog objekta u njihovom lancu robnih kuća (slika 1). Izbijanje rata poremetilo je njihove planove, a zakoni o svojini doneti posle rata doveli su do nacionalizacije zemljišta koje je pripadalo porodici. Tu ništa nije građeno tokom 35 godina, uprkos brojnim pokušajima i ne-realizovanim predlozima. Posle 1980. godine, za vreme gradonačelnika Bogdana Bogdanovića, ovo mesto pretvoreno je u park sa upadljivim sunčanim časovnikom (slika 2). Godine 1992, Miloševićev režim dodelio je to zemljište Dafini Milanović

to their plot being nationalized. Nothing was built there for almost 35 years, in spite of numerous attempts and unrealized proposals. After 1980, under Mayor Bogdan Bogdanović, the site was transformed into a park with a strikingly visible sundial (picture 2). In 1992 Milošević’s regime granted the land to Dafina (the “Serbian mother”), who owned the country’s largest “wild bank” of the period, for the purpose of building a bank in which she could continue to launder money on behalf of the government. This ambitious architectural project started with the laying of foundations and the symbolic rite of placing 1,500 German Marks under the foundation stone (picture 3). Building was halted in 1994, however, when Dafina’s bank was shut down after the end of hyperinflation. Directly opposite the con-



SLIKA 4 :: Zgrada Narodne banke, prekoputa „Mitićeve rupe“
 PICTURE 4 :: The building of National Bank, opposite “Mitić’s Hole”

(„srpskoj majci“), vlasnici „Dafiment banke“, radi izgradnje najveće „divlje banke“ tog perioda, u kojoj bi ona mogla da nastavi sa pranjem novca u ime vlasti. Ovaj ambiciozni arhitektonski projekat započeo je polaganjem kamena temeljca i simboličkim obredom polaganja sume od 1.500 nemačkih maraka ispod njega (slika 3). Međutim, gradnja je stala 1994, kada je „Dafiment banka“ zatvorena pošto je hiperinflacija okončana. Nasuprot gradilišta nalazila se pomenuta zgrada Narodne banke, glavno obeležje Trga Dimitrija Tucovića, tada još uvek u izgradnji (slika 4). Činjenica da je bilo planirano da zgrade „Dafiment banke“ i Narodne banke stoje jedna naspram druge, čime bi unutar gradskog tkiva bila vidljivo povezana dva različita elementa iste „ekonomije destrukcije“, bila je najveća ironija te faze srpske istorije.

struction site was the above-mentioned landmark of Dimitrije Tucović Square, the National Bank, at the time still under construction (picture 4). The fact that the Dafiment bank and the National Bank were intended to face each other, thus visibly linking within the urban fabric two different facets of the same “economy of destruction”, was the biggest – and probably not accidental – irony of that phase in Serbian history.

The artistic intervention comprised of an installation that symbolically reflected the layering of different economies revolving around its site. It was conceived as an exact replica of the facade elements of the National Bank under construction, meaning that artists were required to use exactly the same materials includ-

Umetnička intervencija sastojala se od instalacije koja je simbolički odražavala slojeve različitih ekonomija koje su se okretale oko tog mesta. Bila je zamišljena kao verna replika fasadnih elemenata Narodne banke u izgradnji, što je značilo da su umetnici koristili potpuno iste materijale, uključujući tu i angažovanje iste fabrike za rezanje italijanskog stakla. Čak je i mermer koji je upotrebljen kao temelj instalacije nabavljen od ostataka sa gradilišta. Kao suptilno reagovanje na kontekst, instalacija Anete Vajser i Inga Fetera takođe je uključivala podražavanje okoline – kioska i montažnih butika – na planu forme (slika 5). Važan deo umetničkog projekta bio je (manje-više uspešan) proces pregovaranja sa svim akterima uključenim u društveno-prostornu ekonomiju tog mesta, pre svega sa neposrednim korisnicima mesta na kojem je instalacija trebalo da bude smeštena – sa lokalnim „šibicarima“, kao i sa vlasnikom nelegalnog butika za trudne i „punije“ žene. Argument kome su pribegli umetnici bio je da „ekonomske aktivnosti“ tih preduzetnika neće biti ugrožene, već da će čak imati koristi od njihove intervencije. Vlasnik butika je dao pristanak kada mu je obećano da će njegov izlog biti vidljiv u pozadini dok kustosi budu davali izjave za TV stanice tokom javnog predstavljanja projekta, čime će dobiti „besplatnu reklamu“. Publicitet je bila poslednja stvar do koje je šibicarima bilo stalo, tako da je bila neophodna drugačija taktika. Oni su prihvatili činjenicu da od te instalacije mogu da imaju neke konkretne koristi: mogu da sakriju svoju „robu“ iza nje, ili da na nju naslone suncobran. Međutim, jedna grupa uključena u ekonomiju tog mesta ostala je van domašaja ovo dvoje umetnika: porodica od dvadeset Roma, izbeglica sa



SLIKA 5 :: Instalacija Anete Vajser i Inga Fetera, 2001. Fotografija Ingo Feter
 PICTURE 5 :: Installation by Annette Weisser and Ingo Vetter, 2001. Photo by Ingo Vetter

ing commissioning the same factory to cut the Italian glass. Even the remaining marble was procured from the building site and used as a base of the installation. As a subtle response to the context, the installation of Annette Weisser and Ingo Vetter also involved formal mimicry of the site environment of kiosks and boutique booths (picture 5). An important part of the artistic project was a (more or less successful) process of negotiation with all of the agents involved in the socio-spatial economy of the site. First of all with the direct users of the corner where the installation was to be placed – local “hustlers” operating the notorious scam of making a small ball disappear below three matchboxes and consequently with the owner of an illegal boutique for pregnant or “overweight” women. The argument

Kosova, koja je živila iza ograde „Mitićeve rupe“, izdržavajući se sakupljanjem starih novina i kartona radi preprodaje.

Ova instalacija verno je odražavala srpsko društvo devedesetih godina XX veka, pokazujući i analizirajući njegove ekonomije, kako one zvanične tako i one skrivene, u rasponu od onih kojima je upravljala država do onih koje su upražnjavale najzastupljenije društvene grupe. Svi protagonisti nastavili su sa svojim svakodnevnim aktivnostima, u čemu su pokazali različite stepene uspešnosti. Istovremeno, ova instalacija otkrila je „život“ iza fasade naizgled nefunkcionalnog mesta, pokazujući time da je funkcionalnost nekog urbanog mesta više pitanje njegove upotrebe nego osnovne arhitektonske ili opštinske svrhe. Uprkos mnoštvu „privremenih arhitektonskih objekata“ na tom mestu, poput montažnih butika ili kioska, gradske vlasti zabranile su postavljanje trajnih instalacija i odobrile održavanje izložbe samo tokom kraćeg perioda vremena. Međutim, život te efemerne instalacije produžen je, uglavnom da bi poslužila za postavljanje oglasa i plakata, i ona je ostala na tom mestu sve dok opštinske vlasti nisu odlučile da „Mitićevu rupu“ ponovo pretvore u park.¹¹ Tada je „staklena konstrukcija“ na ivici rupe uklonjena, zajedno sa drugim „privremenim arhitektonskim objektima“ za koje se smatralo da ruže Trg Slavija (kome je vraćeno prvobitno ime nakon političkih promena do kojih je došlo 2000. godine). Novoj neo-lib-

used by the artists was that the “economy” of the entrepreneurs would not be jeopardized and would in fact even profit from the intervention. The boutique owner was persuaded by the promise of media coverage during the opening of the project and the “free advertising” his shop would gain through figuring prominently in the background while the curators were being interviewed by TV stations. Publicity was the last thing the hustlers wanted, and so a different tactic was required. They accepted that the installation might have its uses: They could hide their “merchandise” behind it, or prop a sunshade up against it. However, one group involved in the economy of the site remained outside the artists’ reach: a family of twenty Roma refugees from Kosovo living behind the construction fences of “Mitić’s Hole”, who collected old newspapers and cardboard for the purpose of re-sale.

The installation accurately imaged Serbian society in the 1990s and dissected its economies, both official and hidden, ranging from the state-directed to that of one of the most neglected social groups. All the protagonists continued to go about their daily business with varying degrees of success. At the same time the installation revealed the “life” behind the apparently dysfunctional site, demonstrating that the functionality of an urban site is more a question of its use rather than the primary architectural or municipal purpose. Despite the flourishing “temporary architectural objects” such as boutique booths or kiosks on the site, the municipal authorities forbade permanent installations and authorised the exhibition for a brief period of time. However, the life of the ephemeral in-

¹¹ Posle političkih previranja i antimiloševićevske „revolucije“ koja se odigrala 5. oktobra 2000. godine, Demokratska stranka preuzela je vlast u Beogradu. Novoj gradskoj vladi bilo je potrebno skoro dve godine da odluči šta da radi sa praznom građevinskom parcelom na Trgu Slavija. Održane su javne aukcije i dobijene su ponude velikih međunarodnih firmi iz Austrije i Izraela. Međutim, vlasti su na kraju odlučile da ne prodaju tu parcelu i opredelile se za još jedno „privremeno rešenje“ – park.

eralnoj ekonomiji nisu bili potrebni podsetnici na stare ekonomije, a još manje kritički nastrojena javna umetnost.

Park na Trgu Slavija uskoro je postao poznat po pokrovitelju novog igrališta kao „Rajfajzen banka“, koja je jedna od najuspešnijih tranzicionih banaka u regionu jugoistočne Evrope. Danas se ogromni logotip ove banke uzdiže nad igralištem, čime je vizuelno određen izgled Trga Slavija i simbolički predstavljena najsnažnija pokretačka sila koja stoji iza skorašnjih urbanih preobražaja: sila neo-liberalnog, predatorskog kapitalizma.

stallation was prolonged, mainly as a place for advertisements and posters and it remained in position until finally the authorities decided to turn “Mitić’s Hole” into a park once again.¹¹ The “glass construction” on its edges was then removed, together with the other “temporary architectural objects” considered to be detrimental to the embellishment of Slavija Square (that had regained its first name after the political changes of 2000). The new neo-liberal economy needed no reminders of the old economies, let alone critical public art.

Slavija Square park soon became known by the patrons of this new playground as the “Raiffeisen Bank”, one of the most successful transitional banks in the region of South-East Europe. Today, the Bank’s huge logo looms over the playground, visually marking the view on Slavija Square and symbolising the strongest driving force behind recent urban transformations: that of neo-liberal, predatory capitalism.

¹¹ After the political upheaval and the anti- Milošević “revolution” of October 5, 2000, the Democratic Party took power in Belgrade. It took the new city government almost two years to decide what to do with the empty lot on Slavija Square. Public auctions were staged, and proposals were received from big international construction companies in Austria and Israel. Finally, however, the authorities decided against selling the site and opted for yet another “temporary solution” – a park.

RADIONICE I REALIZACIJA UMETNIČKIH INSTALACIJA

SEPTEMBAR **SEPTEMBER 2011** - JANUAR **JANUARY 2012**



WORKSHOPS AND REALIZATION OF SITE-SPECIFIC INSTALLATIONS



KURS *Sećanje grada*

ARHITEKTONSKI FAKULTET BEOGRAD

COURSE *Memory of the City*

FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE, BELGRADE

MILORAD MLADENOVIĆ, SLAVICA RADIŠIĆ

Prevela sa srpskog Translated from Serbian by SLAVICA RADIŠIĆ

U okviru studijskog programa Arhitektonskog fakulteta u Beogradu, kao jedan od izbornih kurseva na trećoj godini osnovnih akademskih studija, održan je kurs *Sećanje grada*. Osnovni cilj ovog kursa bio je upoznavanje studenata sa ulogom koju arhitektonski i umetnički spomenici u javnom prostoru imaju u procesu definisanja kolektivnih identiteta i kolektivnog sećanja.

Kurs *Sećanje grada* koji je vodio profesor Milorad Mladenović odvijao se tokom jesenjeg semestra školske godine 2011/2012 i u okviru njega su organizovana tematska predavanja, radionice, obilasci lokacije, debate i prezentacije studentskih radova. Prvi deo kursa, teorijski, bio je posvećen predavanjima i prezentacijama kroz koje su se studenti upoznali sa istorijom i urbanim

A course *Memory of the City* was put in the curriculum of undergraduate studies at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade, as one of the third year optional courses. The main goal of this course was to educate students about a role which architectural and artistic monuments in a public space, have in defining collective identities and collective memory.

The course, led by professor Milorad Mladenović, took place in the winter semester of 2011/2012 school year, and it was realized through thematic lectures, workshops, location tours, debates and presentations of students' projects. The first part of the course, the theoretical part, consisted of lectures and presentations that helped students to get acquainted with the history and urban development of one specific location in Belgrade - the Slavija Square,

razvojem jedne specifične lokacije u Beogradu - Trga Slavija, i njenom kompleksnom ulogom u kreiranju kolektivnog sećanja Beograda.

Slavija je bila i jedna od glavnih tema razmatranih na simpozijumu *Sećanje grada* održanom 12. i 13. septembra 2011. u Kulturnom centru Beograda u organizaciji Centra za kulturne interakcije Kulturklammer, organizacije koja je kao partner učestovala u koncipiranju i realizaciji kursa *Sećanje grada*. Tokom simpozijuma razmatran je istorijski značaj Trga Slavija u kontekstu postojećih, uglavnom nejasnih politika memorije i pamćenja koje su karakteristične za ovdašnju kulturu koja veoma teško raspoznaje sopstveni istorijski i kulturni identitet, što je nužno da bi ideja sećanja mogla da bude javno prepoznata i predstavljena, a za šta je Slavija jedan od najočitijih primera. Simpozijum, održan neposredno pred početak semestra bio je ulaznica studentima za pohađanje istoimenog izbornog kursa i ispostavilo se da je niz naučnih, stručnih i umetničkih predavanja i prezentacija problema "sećanja grada" dosta pomogao u razvijanju metodologije kursa.

Na osnovu znanja stečenih tokom simpozijuma i teorijsko-istorijskih predavanja organizovanih u okviru kursa, trebalo je da studenti osmisle svoje predloge za umetničke ili arhitektonske intervencije na području Slavije dajući na taj način svoje viđenje značaja i uloge ovog javnog prostora u istoriji Beograda.

Pored osmišljavanja pojedinačnih predloga za spomenike i *site-specific* intervencije na Slaviji studenti su imali za zadatak

and its complex role in the construction of Belgrade's collective memory.

Slavija was one of the main topics discussed at the symposium *Memory of the City* that was held on 12th and 13th of September 2011 at the Cultural Center of Belgrade. The symposium was organized by the Center for cultural interactions Kulturklammer, which as a partner also took part in development of the course *Memory of the City*. A historical significance of the Slavija square was discussed at the symposium as a prime example of the current, mainly vague, policies of the memory and remembrance that are characteristic for the local culture which has difficulties in recognizing its own historical and cultural identity, and which is in turn required to publically recognize and represent the idea of memory.

The symposium took place just before the beginning of the semester and it was a ticket for students to attend the optional course with the same title. It turned out that a series of scientific, professional and artistic lectures and presentations on the topic "*memory of the city*" helped a great deal in developing the methodology of the course.

Based on the knowledge acquired during the symposium and theoretical-historical lectures organized within the course, students were supposed to work out their own suggestions for artistic and architectural interventions in the Slavija area, providing in that way their view of the significance and role of this public space in the Belgrade's history.

Besides coming up with individual proposals for monuments and site-specific

da osmisle predlog zajedničke umetničke intervencije koja je trebalo da na jednom mestu objedini sva njihova razmišljanja i ideje vezane za ovaj prostor.

Pošto je kurs *Sećanje grada* baziran na interdisciplinarnom pristupu u njemu su učestvovali i nastavnici Fakulteta likovnih umetnosti u Beogradu Radoš Antonijević i Mrđan Bajić, pa je nastavu pohađao jedan broj studenata sa vajar-skog odseka FLU. Njihov zadatak je bio da svoja vizuelna i umetnička iskustva ugrade u zajednički rad sa studentima arhitekture. Takođe, organizovana je saradnja sa radionicom "Izrazi se crtežom" koju vodi umetnica Ana Nedeljković u Studentskom kulturnom centru, i pred čijim učesnicima su održane studentske odbrane pojedinačnih projektantskih i umetničkih zamisli kroz opširne, zanimljive i veoma korisne javne diskusije. U radu kursa veoma značajnu ulogu imale su istoričarke umetnosti Marijana Simu i Slavica Radišić, kao i umetnica Dušica Dražić, koje su aktivnim radom sa studentima pomogle da se artikulišu pojedinačni studentski projekti. Osnovna polazišta kursa bila su istraživanja istorijskih, kulturnih i političkih procesa vezanih za Slaviju u prošlosti. U ovom istraživanju naročitu pomoć je pružio arhitekta Aleksandar Stanojlović, a generacijska poseta Berlinu studentima je omogućila da iz prve ruke upoznaju veoma kvalitetne i savremene primere oblikovanja memorijala i načine pristupa kulturi sećanja.

Osnovno pitanje postavljeno pred studente tokom kursa bilo je šta za njih zapravo čini korpus pamćenja mesta? Njihove

interventions on Slavija, students also had a task to make a proposal for a common artistic intervention which was supposed to unite in one place all their considerations and ideas regarding this space.

Since the course was based on an interdisciplinary approach it also involved professors from the Art Academy - Radoš Antonijević and Mrđan Bajić, so a number of students from the sculpture department also attended the classes. Their task was to embed their visual and artistic experiences into a collaborative work with the students of architecture. Also, they collaborated with the workshop *Express yourself with a drawing*, which is ran by artist Ana Nedeljković in the Student's Cultural Center. This workshop was a framework for the defenses of the students' projects and artistic ideas that were very interesting, comprehensive and useful. Very prominent role in the course assumed art historians Marijana Simu and Slavica Radišić, as well as artist Dušica Dražić, and they among other things helped students to articulate their ideas and projects. The starting points of the course were explorations of historical, cultural and political processes relating to Slavija in the past. In this research a great help was provided by architect Aleksandar Stanojlović, and a generational visit to Berlin. This visit enabled students to see from the first hand high quality contemporary examples of monuments, memorial architecture and approaches to the culture of memory in general.

The main question posed to students during the course was what actually comprises a corpus of memory of a place? Their initial ideas were mainly connected to analysis of very

početne zamisli bile su vezane uglavnom za analizu veoma složenih međuzavisnosti istorijskih artefakata i ličnih identifikacija prostora. Negde u ovom međuprostoru razvio se čitav niz predloga, od onih koji beleže važna, a neoznačena istorijska mesta prostora čiji su artefakti danas sačuvani, do sasvim ličnih prepoznavanja mesta kao individualnih sećanja vezanih za predmetni prostor.

Temom mapiranja neoznačenih istorijskih mesta bavili su se studenti Stefan Vasić i David Brbaklić u zajedničkom projektu *Vizir zaboravljenih simbola* i studentkinja Milica Macanović u projektu *Ogledala na točkovima*. Iako se ova dva predloga bave istom temom, odlikuje ih posve različit pristup. Vasić i Brbaklić problematizuju temu spomenika i predlažu postavljanje arhitektonske konstrukcije na kojoj bi bile mapirane i objašnjene najznačajnije istorijske tačke Slavije. Pored svakog objašnjenja bio bi postavljen i poseban okular koji bi usmeravao pogled posmatrača prema lokaciji o kojoj je reč. Za razliku od njih Macanovićeva ovoj temi pristupa na nešto intimniji način. Postavljajući na više mesta na trgu konstrukcije sačinjene od retrovizora ona na diskretan način usmerava pogled prolaznika prema određenim lokacijama ne dajući pri tom nikakva objašnjenja. Istorijom Slavije se bavi i rad studenta Marka Pejčića pod nazivom *Teg Slavije*. Pejčić predlaže postavljanje metalne kugle sa lancem na području trga. Za razliku od prethodnih predloga Pejčićeva kugla ne označava neko konkretno mesto ili događaj već je više njegov lični komentar odnosa prema istoriji ovog mesta, i prema stalnom brisanju tragova

complex dependencies of historical artifacts and personal identifications of the space. Somewhere in this in-between-space a range of proposals has been developed, from those that take note of important but unmarked historical places on this location whose artifacts are preserved today, to ultimately personal recognitions of places as individual memories of the location in question.

Students Stefan Vasić and David Brbaklić were concerned with mapping those unmarked places in their collaborative project *Visor of Forgotten Symbols*. This topic was also in focus of student Milica Macanović in her project *Mirrors on Wheels*. Although these two projects dealt with the same topic they featured completely different approaches. Vasić and Brbaklić examined the topic of monuments and proposed installing an architectural construction which maps and explains the most important historical locations of Slavija. Next to each explanation a special ocular is placed that directs the view of a beholder toward the location in question. As opposed to them, Macanović approaches to this topic in a somewhat more intimate way. By mounting constructions made out of rear-view mirrors on several places on the square, she discreetly directs the view of beholders to certain locations without giving any explanations.

The work by student Marko Pejčić titled *The Weigh of Slavija* is also concerned with the history of the location. Pejčić proposes to install a metal ball with a chain in the area of the square. In contrast with previously mentioned proposals Pejčić's ball does not denote any specific place or an event, but it is his personal comment on the attitude

prošlosti i počinjanju iznova, procesu koji je karakterističan za urbanu istoriju Beograda.

Idejom sećanja, iako ne konkretno vezanog za prostor Slavije, bave se i projekti za spomenike Milice Simić i Petra Pejića pod nazivom *Nasilje* i predlog Nevene Vuksanović posvećen stradalim u logorima za vreme Drugog svetskog rata. Oba predloga su zamišljena da se realizuju na centralnom delu trga u blizini spomenika Dimitriju Tucoviću. Ovi studenti su se prilikom koncipiranja svojih predloga vodili činjenicom da Slavija, pogotovo prostor u kojem je smešten spomenik Tucoviću, predstavlja idealnu lokaciju za postavljanje spomenika posvećenih traumatičnim dešavanjima iz naše prošlosti.

Za razliku od ovih predloga koji su se fokusirali na pitanja komemoracije i sećanja, jedna grupa studentskih radova je više bila usmerena ka propitivanju sadašnjeg stanja Slavije pokušavajući da da odgovore na pitanja da li Slavija danas predstavlja trg ili samo i isključivo saobraćajno čvorište? Ove ideje i projekti oslanjali su se na kritiku postojećeg stanja trga, opšte arhitektonske i urbanističke neuređenosti mesta, prikazujući trg kao mesto preopterećenog saobraćaja, u stanju konzumerizma koje neartikulisano zahvata prostor.

Projekti *Iskrivljeni trenutak* Hristine Tošić, *Sat* Andreja Josifovskog, *Trenutak kao sećanje* Milice Pavlović, *Stolica* Marka Samardžića i rad Ivana Đikanovića se svi na svoj način bave propitivanjem sadašnjeg stanja trga, i pokušavaju na suptilne načine barem na kratko da uspire ili zaustave proticanje vremena i

toward a history of this place, continuous erasing traces of the past and permanently starting all over, a process so characteristic for the urban history of Belgrade.

An idea of memory which is not specifically tied to the area of Slavija is central to monument projects by Milica Simić and Petar Pejić *Violence* as well as the proposal by Nevena Vuksanović dedicated to the fallen in the death camps during the WW2. Both proposals were supposed to be realized in the central part of the square near to the Dimitrije Tucović memorial. These students took as a guiding point in the development of their proposals the fact that Slavija, especially the space in which the Tucović memorial is situated, is an ideal location for the placement of monuments dedicated to traumatic events from the past.

As opposed to proposals that focused on the issues of the commemoration and memory, one group of students' works was rather directed at examining contemporary condition of Slavija trying to give answers to the question whether Slavija today represents a square or a mere traffic nod? These ideas and projects were based on a critique of the current state of the square, general architectural and urban disorder of the place, depicting the square as a congested place, in a state of consumerism which inarticulately spreads in the space.

The project *Distorted Moment* by Hristina Tošić, *Clock* by Andrej Josifovski, *Moment as a Memory* by Milica Pavlović, *Chair* by Marko Samardžić and the project by Ivan Đikanović are all concerned, in different ways, with the question about the current

kod prolaznika osveste prostor u kojem se svakodnevno kreću i borave. Proticanje vremena ali i postojeće formalne karakteristike trga tema su projekta Nikole Jovanovića pod nazivom *Nazadni sat*. Postavljanjem sata koji ide u nazad i time prati formu kretanja vozila po trgu, ova instalacija predstavlja metaforu apsurdnosti koju u sebi nosi ovaj prostor. Sličnom temom se bavi i rad Milana Kulića *Vrzino kolo*, zamišljen da se realizuje u formi svetleće reklame, aludirajući pri tom na vezu Slavije i savremene ideologije konzumerizma u kontekstu socijalne istorije ovog mesta.¹

Pa ipak i radovi koji su se bavili prošlošću Slavije i radovi koji su više bili usmereni na njeno sadašnje stanje i postojeće formalne odlike u suštini su se bavili istim problemom - odnosom potrošačke kulture i mogućnosti beleženja i opisivanja memorije, gde se, u uslovima konzumerističke društvene ideologije uopšte ne obraća pažnja na kulturne i socijalne aspekte mesta. Na tom tragu, stanje permanentne nezainteresovanosti, zaboravljanja ili zanemarivanja istorije, je zapravo logična posledica samoljubive i samodovoljne potrošačke ideologije i kulture.

Studentski projekti su identifikovali veoma širok spektar mogućih načina identifikacije prostora što je vodilo do artikulacije nekoliko važnih (ključnih) pojmova na kojima se bazirala svaka pojedinačna intervencija. Ključne reči ovih intervencija bile su: temporalnost, protok, pogled, sećanje, mesto, događaj. Imajući ove poj-

state of the square, and they are all trying in a sophisticated manner at least for a while to challenge or to stop the flow of the time in this location and make passer-bys aware of the space in which they commute and dwell every day. The flow of time as well as formal characteristics of the square are the topic of a project by Nikola Jovanović *Backwards Clock*. By installing a clock that goes backwards and in that way follows the movement pattern of the vehicles on the square, this installation represents a metaphor of absurdity which this space bears. A similar theme is in the focus of the work by Milan Kulić *Vicious circle* which is supposed to be realized in a form of a neon sign alluding in that way to a relationship between Slavija and contemporary ideology of consumerism in the context of social history of this place.¹

Still, the artworks that were concerned with the past of Slavija and artworks that were mainly focused on its current state and formal features, essentially dealt with the same problem -relationship between consumerist culture and possibility of noting and describing memory, which is under the consumerist social ideology and where no one pays any attention to cultural and social aspects of the place. In this sense, a condition of permanent indifference, forgetting or neglecting history, is actually a logical consequence of egotistic and self-reliant consumerist ideology and culture. The students' projects have recognized a wide range of possible ways for identification of this space which led to articulation of several important (key)

¹ Svi studentski projekti će u celini biti predstavljeni u okviru ove publikacije.

¹ All students' projects will be presented in special segment of this publication.

move na umu, metodologija grupnog rada je kroz nekoliko seansi bila bazirana na ispitivanju mogućnosti sublimacije prepoznatih pojmova u zajedničku instalaciju koja bi na najbolji mogući način reprezentovala ideju "sećanja mesta", a koja bi mogla biti postavljena na samom trgu. Tako se došlo do ideje-projekta, prezentovanog u ovom izdanju, u kome se na najbolji način artikulišu svi rečeni pojmovi. Radi se o metalnoj instalaciji stolice sa retrovizorom u kojem se pomoću rotacije stolice prepoznaju sva bitna mesta sećanja Slavije. Na metalnoj ploči ugrađenoj u pločnik bilo je predviđeno graviranje opisa svakog od pojedinačnih pogleda na mesto sećanja. Ova instalacija je trebalo da generiše iskustva memorije trga za svakog zainteresovanog posmatrača, turistu ili, u najširem smislu, javnost.

Treći deo kursa *Sećanje grada* bio je posvećen upoznavanju studenata sa praktičnim pitanjima realizacije umetničkih instalacija u javnom prostoru. U ovu fazu kursa bilo je uključeno više aktera koji su bili od interesa za tehničku realizaciju instalacije. Nastavnik sa Fakulteta likovnih umetnosti Zoran Kuzmanović održao je predavanje o procesima livenja umetničkih predmeta i o tome kako se objekat tehnički realizuje. Kuzmanović je dao i čitav niz primera već postojećih intervencija ove vrste. Dalje se išlo u razmatranje i proučavanje bravarskih radova od značaja za realizaciju, kao i beleženja tekstova u metalu, CNC tehnologijom. U ovoj fazi rada došlo se do potpune projektantske ideje na koji se način jedna javna instalacija može realizovati, i to ne samo kroz njen tehnički aspekt,

notions upon which every intervention was based. The key words of these interventions were: temporality, flow, view, memory, place, event. Having these concepts in mind, methodology of a group work during the next few sessions was based on examining a possibility of sublimation of recognized concepts in a common installation which would represent the idea of "the place of memory" in the best way, and which could be installed on the square. This led to the idea-project, presented in this issue, which articulates the said concepts in the best possible way.

It is a metal installation with a chair and a rear-view mirror in which we can see all important places of memory of Slavija by rotating the chair. A description of each individual view of the Slavija's places of memory was supposed to be engraved on a metal plate installed in the pavement. This installation was supposed to generate an experience of memory of the square for every interested viewer, tourist or in a wider sense - the public.

The third part of the course was devoted to introducing students to practical questions of realization of artistic installations in public space. This phase of the course involved many agents that were relevant for the technical realization of the installation. Lecturer from the Faculty of Visual Arts Zoran Kuzmanović gave a lecture on methodology of sculpture casting and about possibilities for the technical realization of a project. Kuzmanović gave a series of examples of already existing interventions of this kind. Further considerations were concerned with detailed analysis of the locksmith works that were relevant for

već i kroz čitav niz pravnih i administrativnih procedura koje su potrebne da bi se dobila odobrenja od nadležnih institucija za realizaciju skulptura i spomenika u javnom prostoru. Studenti su, zbog svega toga, bili u situaciji da promišljaju vrednosti koncepta mesta umetničkog dela kao javne instalacije. U tom smislu je pokriven čitav metodološki postupak izgradnje jednog umetničkog objekta u javnom prostoru.

Završni segment kursa *Sećanje grada* predstavljaće javna prezentacija studentskih ideja i projekata.² Uzimajući u obzir temu kursa odlučeno je da se ova prezentacija održi u javnom prostoru Trga Slavija. U okviru prezentacije prostor trga biće izlepljen plakatima na kojima će biti predstavljeni svi studentski projekti. Pored toga, odlučeno je da se par manje zahtevnih studentskih ideja realizuje i postavi na trgu. U parku, na mestu nekadašnje *Mitićeve rupe*, biće postavljen rad *Teg Slavije* Marka Pejčića, a na jednom od obližnjih stubova konstrukcija sa retrovizorima Milice Macanović *Ogledala na točkovima*. Studenti će zajednički realizovati akciju *Stolice* (ideja Marka Samardžića) u okviru koje će na više mesta na trgu biti postavljene stolice koje treba da pozovu prolaznike da se barem na tren zaustave i osmotre prostor oko sebe. Projekat *Vizir zaboravljenih simbola* Vasića i Brbaklića realizovaće se u pojednostavljenom obliku. Stencil na pločniku će menjati arhitektonsku konstrukciju i usmeravaće pogled prema četiri značajne istorijske lokacije. Prolaznici će biti poz-

the project realization, as well as with engraving the text in metal by using CNC technology. In this phase it was formed a complete project execution idea about the ways in which a public installation can be realized, not only through its technical aspects but also through a series of legislative and administrative procedures that are required to obtain all the permits from the relevant city's authorities for realization of sculptures and monuments in public space. Because of that, students were in a position to reflect on the values of conception of a place of artwork as a public installation. In this sense, the whole methodological procedure of the construction and placement of an art object in public space was covered.

A final segment of the course *Memory of the City* will be consisted of public presentations of students' ideas and projects.² Given the theme of the course, it was decided to hold this presentation in the public space of the Slavija Square. As part of the presentation the space of the square will be covered with posters presenting the students' projects. Besides that, it was also decided to realize and install a couple of less demanding projects within the square. In the park, on the site of the former *Mitić Hole*, *The Weigh of Slavija* by Marko Pejčić will be installed, and a construction with the rear-view mirrors *Mirrors on Wheels* by Milica Macanović will be mounted on a near-by pillars. Students will realize together the action *Chairs* (idea by Marko Samardžić) within which chairs will be placed on a multiple

² Javna prezentacija će se održati posle zaključenja ovog teksta, početkom februara 2012. godine.

² This text was written before the presentation took place, at the beginning of February 2012.

vani da naprave fotografije označenih lokacija i da ih postavljaju na Facebook stranicu posvećenu ovom radu a na kojoj će moći i nešto više saznati o samim lokacijama i videti kako su te lokacije izgledale ranije.

Korisnost i značaj kursa *Sećanje grada* ne odnose se samo na edukaciju studenata u oblasti projektovanja spomenika, umetničkih instalacija ili arhitekture u javnom prostoru grada, već i na njihovo razumevanje projektantskog rada kao delatnosti u kojoj se nužno uvezuju široki kulturološki, istorijski i socijalni parametri u formalno oblikovanje, tehničku realizaciju i društvenu verifikaciju ovakve aktivnosti. Ovaj nivo međuzavisnosti pokazuje da svaki prostor, ma kako složen, može biti reprezentovan kroz parametre memorijala ili objekata sećanja koji otvaraju temu javnog promišljanja njegovog identiteta. Ovo se jednako odnosi na potrebu da se svaki javni prostor nužno tretira i kao prostor javnog sećanja, a gradski prostor u procesu oblikovanja promišlja kroz svest o postojanju pojma *sećanja grada*.

sites around the square. The chairs are supposed to invite passers-by to stop for a moment and take a good look around them. The project *Visor of the Forgotten Symbols* by Vasić and Brbaklić will be realized in a simpler form. A stencil on the pavement will replace the architectural construction and direct a view toward four important historical locations. The passer-by will be invited to make photographs of the marked locations and to post them on a Facebook page dedicated to this work, on which they could find out more about the locations and see how these locations looked before.

Usefulness and importance of the course *Memory of the City* are not only related to the education of students in the domain of conceptualization and construction of the monuments and artistic installations in public space of a city, but also in their understanding of this process as an activity which necessarily involves wide cultural, historical and social parameters in formal shaping, technical realization and social verification of this activity. This level of interdependencies shows that every space, regardless of its complexity, can be represented through parameters of memorial or objects of memory, which opens a theme of public reflection of its identity. This equally applies to a need to treat every public space as a space of public memory, and the city space in the process of shaping thought of through awareness of the existence of the notion *memory of the city*.



VIZIR ZABORAVLJENIH SIMBOLA

VISOR OF FORGOTTEN SYMBOLS

STEFAN VASIĆ, DAVID BRBAKLIĆ

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Slavija je nepromišljenim postupcima polako gubila svoje simbole i sklad, što je dovelo do toga da današnji prostor ne možemo nazivati trgom. Pogled ka određenim mestima može nas na trenutak vratiti u mnogo lepšu prošlost Slavije. Tako, prostor *Mitićeve rupe*, mesto nekadašnje Sale mira, Hotel Slavija, spomenik Dimitriju Tucoviću i zgrada današnjeg McDonalds-a pokazuju istoriju i razvoj ne samo jednog grada, već i cele nacije i čine Slaviju pravim centrom Beograda.

Thanks to various thoughtless actions, Slavija slowly lost its symbols and harmony, which led to the fact that today we cannot call it the square. Look at certain places can take us back to the nicer past of Slavija for the moment. The space of *Mitić hole*, the place where the Hall of Peace used to be, the Slavija Hotel, monument of Dimitrije Tucović and building now used by McDonald's are showing the history and development not only of the city, but of the entire nation and make Slavija the real center of Belgrade.



Tri kružne fotografije simuliraju pogled kroz jedan od okulara na predloženoj instalaciji. Okulari usmeravaju pogled ka mestima na kojim se nalaze, ili su se nalazili simboli Slavija. Simboli na koje se usmerava pogled su: Mitićeva rupa, Sala mira, hotel Slavija, spomenik Dimitrija Tucovića, zgrada McDonaldsa. The circular images on the left simulate a view through an ocular of the proposed installation. Oculars direct view towards places that represent or used to be important symbols of Slavija, such as: Mitić Hole, The Hall of Peace, the monument to Dimitrije Tucović and the McDonald's building.

OGLEDALA NA TOČKOVIMA

MIRRORS ON WHEELS

MILICA MACANOVIĆ

Studentkinja treće godine osnovnih akademskih studija, Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

3rd year student, Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade University

Na ulicama, parkiralištima, garažama, tunelima, nadvožnjacima, kružnim tokovima. Toliko ih je i sva pokazuju unazad...

In the streets, parking lots, garages, tunnels, overpasses, roundabouts. There are so many of them and all of them are showing back..



MARKO MILANOVIC
PUNJE (VAMPINO)
BESKANI

Radovanje

065/54-35-111

TEG SLAVIJE

THE WEIGH OF SLAVIJA

MARKO PEJČIĆ

Student prve godine master studija, smer vajarstvo, Fakultet likovnih umetnosti Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu

1st year MA student, Department of Sculpture, Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Arts in Belgrade

Gvozdena kugla lancem fiksirana za tlo prikaz je fizičke povezanosti Slavije i njene istorije. Veliki niz slojeva istorijskog nasleđa ne dozvoljava njen napredak i razvoj u jednu potpunu estetsku celinu. Kamen spoticanja, teg, je polazište kojem se stalno vraćamo ali i skup usko povezanih sekvenci i događaja koje ne smemo zaboraviti ako želimo krenuti napred. U toj stalnoj borbi i prelaznom periodu koji nikako da prođe, svaki sledeći korak zavisi isključivo od nas.

Iron ball attached to the ground with a chain represents physical connection between Slavija and its history. Many layers of the historical heritage are not allowing the square's development into a complete aesthetic whole. Stumbling stone, ball and chain, is a starting point where we always return, but also a set of closely related sequences and events which we must not forget in order to move forward. In continuous struggle and never-ending transition period every next step depends solely on us.



NASILJE VIOLENCE

MILICA SIMIĆ, PETAR PEJIĆ

Studenti treće godine osnovnih akademskih studija, Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

3rd year students, Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade University

Zaboravlja se na blisku prošlost i bez preteranog razmišljanja se srlja u budućnost. Cilj nam je da postavimo dramatičnu instalaciju, koja će ostaviti jak utisak na svakog prolaznika, i navesti ga da o tome razmišlja i kasnije.

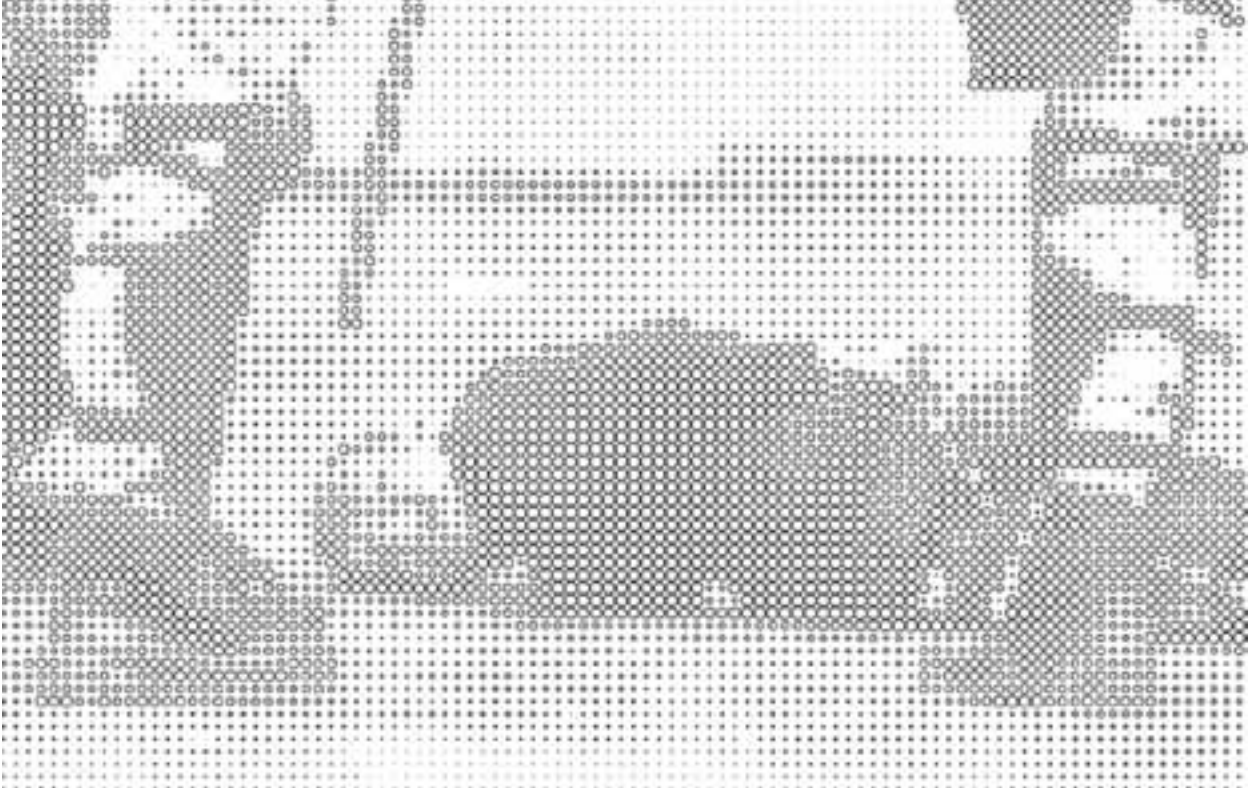
Prateći ideju prošlosti, našu priču želimo da ispričamo u stilu snimka analogne kamere, kadar po kadar.

Iako je kompozicija statična, u isto vreme je i izuzetno dinamična i poziva posmatrača da se kreće po kružnom toku Slavije (prateći analiziranu šemu najza-stupljenijih linija kretanja svih korisnika). U zavisnosti od udaljenosti od kompozicije, posmatrač u svojoj svesti stvara subjektivnu sliku. Udaljavanjem od instalacije ka kružnom toku polako se razaznaje slika koja je prikazana. Međutim, kada se prolaznik sasvim približi, shvata da se ona sastoji od metalne ploče koja je perforirana i da sliku čine rupe. Blizina čini da slika postane nejasna.

People are forgetting recent past and rushing into the future without much thinking. Our goal is to set a dramatic installation which will make a strong impression on every passer-by and incite her/him to think about it later.

Following the idea of the past, we want to tell our story frame by frame, like recording of camera.

Although the composition is static, it is at the same time extremely dynamic and invites the viewer to move around the Slavija roundabout (following analyzed pattern of the most frequent lines of movements of all viewers). Also, depending on the distance from the composition, viewer creates a subjective image in her/his mind. Moving away from the composition, toward the roundabout, viewer slowly becomes aware of what it represents, while getting very close to it, the viewer realizes that the image is composed of circular holes in metal. Being close, the image becomes blurred.



SILUETE

SILHOUETTES

NEVENA VUKSANOVIĆ

Studentkinja pete godine, smer vajarstvo, Fakultet likovnih umetnosti Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu

5th year student, Department of sculpture, Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Arts in Belgrade

Na trgu Slavija unutar kruga postavila bih stojeće figure/siluete koje bi predstavljale ljude stradale u logorima za vreme Drugog svetskog rata u Beogradu. Predstavljanje žrtava logora na ovom prometnom mestu u gradu bi imalo za cilj da nas opomene i podseti na nemile događaje iz prošlosti. Izbor fotografija koje bi se koristile za instalaciju zavisio bi od toga koji pokreti tela i ekspresije lica najbolje ilustruju ideju instalacije. Položaj figura, njihov međusobni odnos i atmosfera, tj. celokupna kompozicija elemenata na ostrvu Slavije se oslanja na atmosfere sa snimaka i fotografija iz arhiva. Sve figure bile bi veće od prirodne ljudske veličine, a da bi se postigla monumentalnost i ubedljiviji doživljaj i kada se rad posmatra sa veće udaljenosti.

I would install standing figures representing people who died in the concentration camps in Belgrade during the World War II inside the circle in the middle of the Slavija Square. Display of the victims of the concentration camps on this frequent place in the town is intended to remind us of deplorable events from the past. The selection of photographs that would be used for the installation would depend on the extent to which the body movements and face expressions depict the whole idea of the installation. Position of the figures, their relationship and atmosphere would be designed and based on atmosphere captured in recordings and photographs from the archives. All the figures would be larger than their life size, to produce more convincing experience from the distance.



ISKRIVLJENI TRENUTAK

A DISTORTED MOMENT

HRISTINA TOŠIĆ

Studentkinja treće godine osnovnih akademskih studija, Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

3rd year student, Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade University

Šta je uopšte sećanje?

Sadašnjost ne postoji, svaki trenutak je već prošlost.

Ali zavisi ko ga se seća. Svaka priča ima dve strane.

Deformisani odraz stvarnosti beleži trenutke koji su prošli, koji su iza nas.

Instalacija *Iskrivljeni trenutak* je zamišljena kao veliki cilindar koji stoji u središtu Slavije, i reflektuje život koji teče oko njega. Ujedno širi i zaustavlja prostor, odnosno vizure iz ulica koje se tu susreću.

What is memory?

The present does not exist, every moment is already past.

But it depends on who remembers. Every story has two sides.

Deformed reflection of reality records moments that have passed, that are behind us.

The installation *A Distorted Moment* is conceived as a big cylinder standing in the middle of Slavija and reflecting life that goes around it. At the same time it expands and stops the space, or views from converging streets.



SAT CLOCK

ANDREJ JOSIFOVSKI

Student treće godine osnovnih akademskih studija, Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

3rd year student, Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade University

Kako stvoriti nešto po čemu će se grad sećati nas, a da to uvek iskazuje njegovo vreme, sećanje baš svakog koraka njegovih ulica, zauvek? Šta je sećanje za jedan grad? Da li ono kako se menjao razvijajući se ili i sve ono što su njegovi žitelji, posetioci i namernici zadržali kroz svoje priče o njemu? Svako doživljava svoje sećanje različito i zato taj jedan, gradski život, nebrojeno puta počinje iznova.

Tako, dok velika kazaljka tri puta okrene unazad Donjegradskim bulevarom oko Kališa, mala jedva tek da ispiše crticu između dva novobeogradska bloka. Neki- ma će uvek biti draži ti stari satovi i njihova žurba, dok će drugi uz malu kazaljku uvek kasniti za jedan korak. Zato nečija sećanja idu i kroz snove dok se kod drugih ona raspršuju i pre nego gradski sat oglasi novi dan. Ali za sve njih u toj gradskoj jednačini zajednički je imenitelj VREME.

Svaki događaj oduvek otkucava velikom kazaljkom unazad i malom unapred. To je vreme koje se neprestano vraća, kao kazaljka svojim krugom, ili kao *Dvojka* svojom šinom.

Zabeleženo unazad ili zaboravljeno unapred, vreme je sećanje svih sećanja!

How to create something after what the city will remember us and that will always reflect its time, the memory of each and every step in its streets forever and ever? So what is the memory for a city? Whether it is the change that happened during its growth or all that its citizens, visitors and travelers kept in their stories about it? Everyone experiences own memory differently, so that one, urban life, starts over and over again.

While the large clockwise makes three rounds backward around the Donjegradski Boulevard circling the Kalemegdan fortress, the small clockwise barely draws the line between two blocks in New Belgrade. Some people will always prefer these old clocks which are in a hurry, while others will always be one step behind, following small clockwise. This is why someone's memories are even flowing in dreams, while others' disperse before the city clock announces new day. But there is a common denominator in the city equation for all of them, and it is TIME.

Every event always ticks with the large clockwise going backward and the small clockwise going forward, infinitely. This is the time that keeps returning on and on, like a clockwise on its round, or a tram 2 on its rails.

Recorded backwards or forgotten in advance, time is the memory of all the memories!



TRENUTAK KAO SEĆANJE

MOMENT AS A MEMORY

MILICA PAVLOVIĆ

Studentkinja treće godine osnovnih akademskih studija, Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

3rd year student, Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade University

Ne vidim im lica, svi su isti. Samo prolaze, žure, ne zaustavljaju se.

Ne vide me.

Sada, dok stojim u tom haosu, gledam ljude koji ne primećuju da ih snimam.

Gledam i sebe među njima.

Hodam. Žurim. Gledam na sat. Trčim, odlazi mi bus. Nerviram se.

Smešno. Sve je to upravo gotovo, a da ne znam ni šta je bilo, ali prošlo je.

Zaustavljam se i čuvam trenutak.

I ovo ovde i sada nije ništa drugo do još jedan trenutak, koji prolazi...

I postaje sećanje.

Dok prolazite kroz svakodnevnu gradsku gužvu ili nervozno čekate prevoz zaustavite se i pogledajte snimak tišine prethodne noći na Slaviji. A dok se noću vraćate kući, pijani ili umorni, videćete ljude koji žure na posao. Možda prepoznate i sebe među njima.

I don't see their faces, all look the same. They are just passing, rushing, without stopping.

They don't see me.

Now, while I am standing in that chaos, I am looking at the people who don't notice that I am recording them with camera.

I look at myself among them.

I walk. I rush. I look at my watch. I run. I miss the bus. I am annoyed.

Funny. All of that just ended and I don't even know what was it. But it's over.

I stop and keep the moment.

And this here and now is nothing but another moment that is passing...

And becomes memory.

While going through everyday city rush or waiting nervously for your transport, stop and look at the recording of silence of previous night on Slavija. While going back home at night, drunk or tired, you will see people rushing to work. You will maybe recognize yourself among them.



STOLICA CHAIR

MARKO SAMARDŽIĆ

Student treće godine osnovnih akademskih studija, Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

3rd year student, Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade University

Prolazi jedan, drugi, treći dan. Sve je uvek isto, često depresivno i tmurno - zamara. Ne mogu da je zaobiđem, moram preko nje da stignem do fakulteta. Svaki put kad iznova prolazim ovim gradskim trgom, zapitam se kako je moguće da je sve zaboravljeno i bezvoljno predato... Godinama je sve isto - sivo, bez većih promena. Mogao bih ovo da shvatim jedino kada bi istorija koja se vezuje za Slaviju bila siromašna. Ovako ne! Da li je moguće da je jedan od glavnih beogradskih trgova izgubio sve ono što ga je krasilo? Stopio se, izbledeo, postao sinonim samo za konstantne gužve...

Zato pokušaj da pronađeš makar jednu stvar, uhvati se, promeni nešto! Zastani, osvrni se, pogledaj, SEDI! Nije ova stolica tek tako tu. Ona vezuje, podseća, vraća i pokazuje ono što je bilo značajno za ovaj grad, za ovaj trg.

STOLICA. *Stolica je komad nameštaja koji služi za sedenje. Sastoji se iz dela na kome se sedi, naslona i ponekad naslona za ruke. Uglavnom je namenjena za jednu osobu. Ima noge, kojih je četiri, na kojima stoji deo za sedenje, koji je odignut od poda. Stolica je komad nameštaja koji se može pomerati. Stolica koja se nalazi u bioskopu, pozorištu, vozilu se naziva sedište. Stolice za kampovanje se obično sklapaju. (Wikipedia)*

Days are passing, first, second, third. Everything is always the same, often depressive and gloomy – tiresome. I cannot bypass it, I need to go through it on my way to the faculty. Every time I cross this city square I ask myself how it happened that everything is forgotten, given away listlessly... For years everything is the same - grey, without significant changes. I could understand it if only the history of Slavija was not rich. But it was! Is it possible that one of the main Belgrade squares lost everything that adorned it? It faded, became synonym of endless traffic jams...

So try to find at least one thing, get it, change something! Stop, turn around, look, SIT DOWN! This chair is not here without a reason. It connects, reminds, turns back and shows what was significant for this city, for this square.

CHAIR. *Chair is a piece of furniture used to sit on. It consists of sitting surface, back, and sometimes arm rest. It is commonly for use by one person. It is usually supported by four legs. Chair usually can be moved around. Fixed chairs in theatres, cinemas and vehicles are called seats. Camping chairs are usually folding. (Wikipedia in Serbian)*



BEZ NAZIVA

UNTITLED

IVAN ĐIKANOVIĆ

Student treće godine osnovnih akademskih studija, Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

3rd year student, Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade University



Trag koji nastaje, onaj koji nedostaje,
stvara se onako kakav je...

An emerging trace, the one that is missing, is
created the way it is...



NAZADNI SAT

THE BACKWARDS CLOCK

NIKOLA JOVANOVIĆ

Student treće godine osnovnih akademskih studija, Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

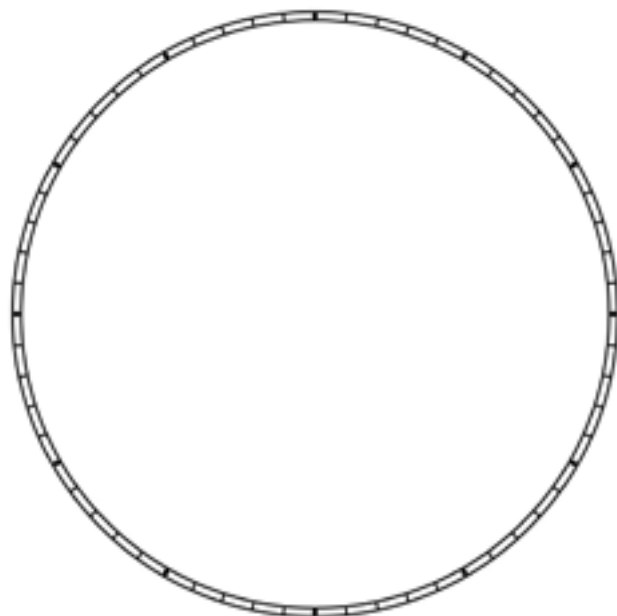
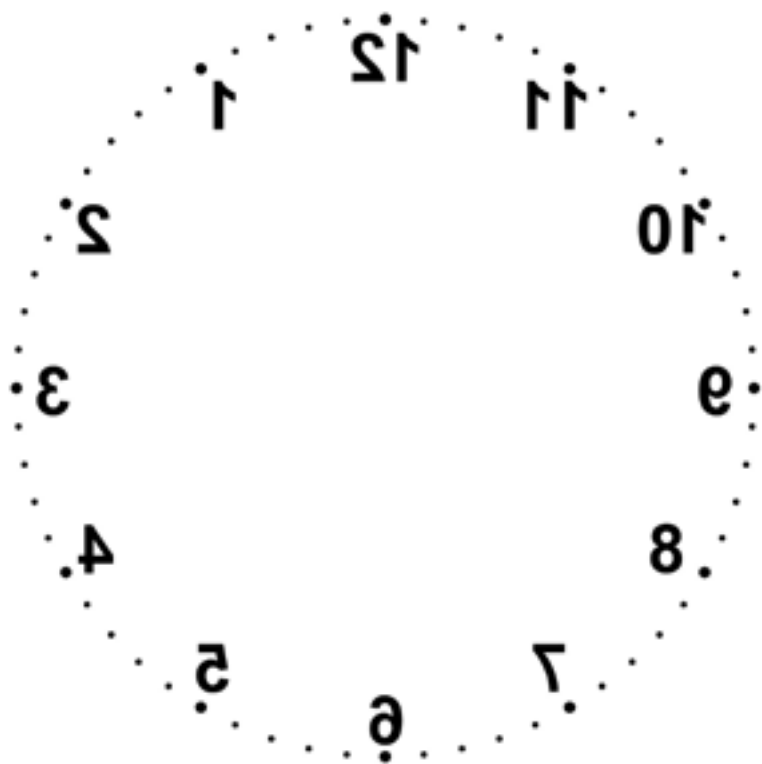
3rd year student, Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade University

Precizan sat koji imitira smer kretanja na kružnom toku. Iako na prvi pogled izgleda da ovaj sat ide unazad ako zamislimo njegovu sliku u ogledalu shvatićemo da on u stvari pokazuje tačno vreme.

Rad bi bio realizovan uz pomoć šablona brojeva veličine 2m, boja za asfalt i uličnih podnih svetiljki postavljenih uz brojeve. Svetiljke bi imale funkciju kazaljki na satu s tim da bi kvadratne označavale sate a pravougaone minute. Brojevi i svetiljke bi bili ravnomerno raspoređeni na pločniku duž celog kružnog toka Slavije.

Precise clock that imitates traffic direction on the roundabout. Although it seems that this clock goes backward, if we imagine its reflection in the mirror we will realize that it actually displays correct time.

The installation would be realized by using 2-meters high stencils for numbers, color for asphalt and ground lights installed by the numbers. Lights would serve as clockwise with square ones marking hours and rectangle ones marking minutes. Numbers and lights would be placed in such way to form the circle around the Slavija roundabout.



VRZINO KOLO

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

MILAN KULIĆ

Student druge godine master studija, smer vajarstvo, Fakultet likovnih umetnosti Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu

2nd year MA student, Department of Sculpture, Faculty of Fine Arts, Belgrade University

Rad treba da osvesti vezu današnjeg marketinško-reklamnog procesa i sugestivnog plasiranja informacija sa procesima koji su se odvijali tokom razvoja Slavije, uglavnom pod uticajima različitih političkih struja.

Prostor Slavije kao jedan od nosilaca gradskog reklamnog života, odgovara smeštanju prostorne instalacije od crvenog pleksiglasa ispod kog su smeštene lampice kao na uličnim reklamama.

Sam tekstualni sadržaj rada odnosi se na formalne karakteristike Slavije (kružni tok) ali reflektuje i višeznačne pojmove i pojave, vezane za vreme post-komunističke stagnacije u našoj zemlji, kao što je na primer odlazak emigranata iz zemlje koji je započinjao na ovoj lokaciji ali aludira i na neprekidan tok verbalne manipulacije stanovništva. Nedovršenost i saobraćajni haos jasno oslikavaju psihološko stanje zajednice, koje je u vizuelizovanom postupku umetnik prepoznao kao kretanje u krug – vrzino kolo.

Lični stav individue kao člana zajednice prema situaciji u kojoj je odrastao i u kojoj danas živi.

The work is supposed to raise awareness on relationship between today's marketing and advertising processes and suggestive placing of information and the processes that took place during the development of Slavija, mostly under the influence of various political trends.

The space of Slavija as one of the cornerstones of advertising life in Belgrade is fit for installation made of red plexiglas with lights under it, like in street advertisements.

Textual content of the work is related to the formal characteristics of the Slavija (round-about), but also reflects ambiguous concepts and phenomena, connected to the post-communist stagnation in our country, such as the starting point of emigrants' journey which happened to be at this location, and a continuous stream of verbal manipulation over the population. The unfinishedness and traffic chaos clearly reflect psychological state of the community, which is visually recognized by artist as moving in circles – vicious circle, also representing his personal attitude toward the situation in which he grew up and in which he lives today.



BEZ NAZIVA

UNTITLED

GRUPA AUTORA / A GROUP OF AUTHORS

Crteži predstavljaju skicu za zajedničku instalaciju na Trgu Slavija nastalu tokom radionica realizovanih u okviru projekta *Sećanje grada*. Skica je rezultat rada studenata na osmišljavanju koncepta kojim bi se povezale teme njihovih pojedinačnih projekata i formirao jedinstven oblik.

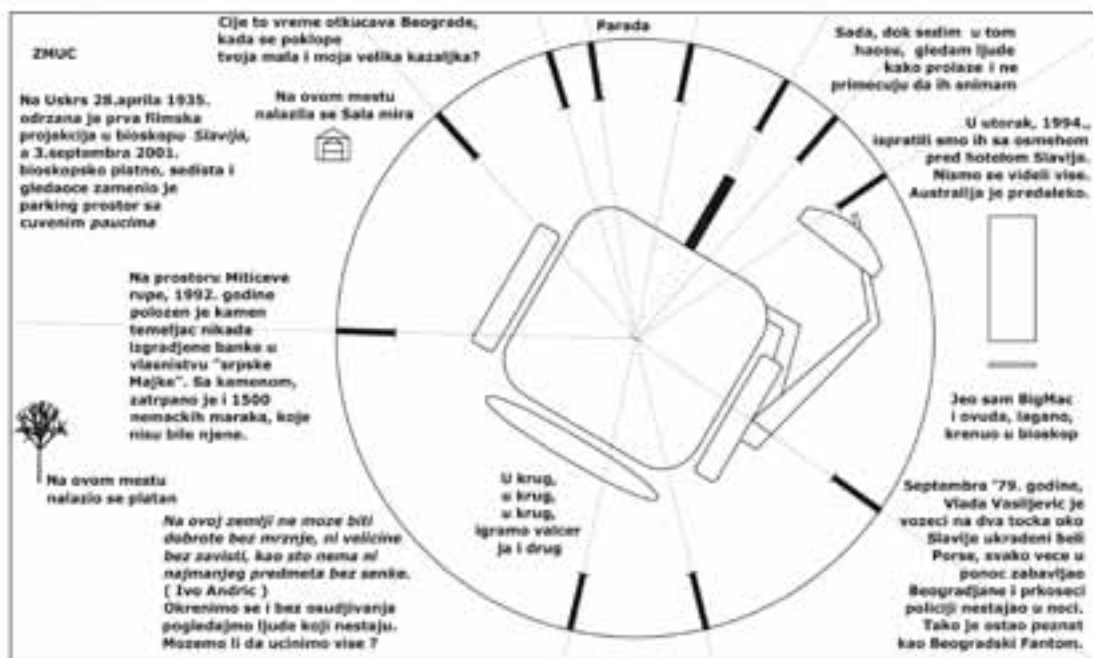
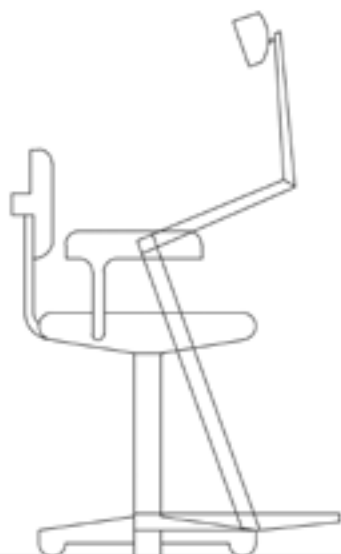
Radi se o instalaciji pokretne stolice sa retrovizorom kojom se prate pojedini punktovi ili mesta sećanja na trgu u različitim pozicijama sedenja, a za koje su vezani njihovi sažeti opisi ugravirani na metalnoj ploči ugrađenoj u pločnik, za svaku poziciju pojedinačno.

Prezentaciju zajedničke instalacije izveo je Milorad Mladenović, mentor radionice, vanredni profesor Arhitektonskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu u decembru 2011.

Drawings represent a sketch for the installation on the Slavija Square that is conceived during the workshops held within the project *Memory of the City*. The sketch is a result of the students' work on a concept that would connect their individual projects and produce unique form of the final installation.

The installation is conceived as a movable chair with a rear-view mirror which, in various sitting positions, enables a view of certain points or places of memory on the square. Short descriptions of these places are engraved on the metal plate embedded into pavement, one description for each position.

The presentation of the installation was designed by Milorad Mladenović, mentor of the workshop, an associate professor at the Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade University, in December 2011.



BIOGRAFIJE **BIOGRAPHIES**





DR ZORAN ERIĆ je istoričar umetnosti, kustos i predavač. Doktorirao je na Univerzitetu Bauhaus u Vajmaru. Trenutno radi kao kustos Centra za vizuelnu kulturu Muzeja savremene umetnosti u Beogradu. U oblasti njegovih istraživanja spadaju urbana geografija, prostorno-kulturni diskurs i teorija radikalne demokratije.

DR ZORAN ERIĆ is an art historian, curator, and lecturer. He holds a Ph.D. from the Bauhaus University in Weimar. Currently he is working as curator of the Centre for Visual Culture at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade. His research fields include the meeting points of urban geography, spatio-cultural discourse, and theory of radical democracy.

PROF. DR ALEKSANDAR IGNJATOVIĆ vanredni je profesor na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu. U polje njegovog naučnog interesovanja spadaju proučavanje arhitekture, vizuelne kulture i konstrukcije identiteta, kao i arhitektonske istoriografije. Autor je više monografija i naučnih radova objavljenih u zemlji i inostranstvu i učesnik u više međunarodnih naučnih projekata.

PROF. DR ALEKSANDAR IGNJATOVIĆ is associate professor at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade. Main fields of his scientific interest and research are: architecture, visual culture and identity construction, as well as architectural historiography. He is author of numerous monographies and scientific papers that are published in the country and abroad and participant in many scientific projects at international level.

PROF. DR BERTRAND LEVY je viši predavač na Univerzitetu u Ženevi, na Odseku za geografiju i na Evropskom institutu. Predaje humanističku geografiju (geografija i književnost), urbanu geografiju i ekologiju, istoriju i epistemologiju geografije. Svoju doktorsku disertaciju napisao je na temu egzistencijalnog prostora Hermanna Hessea. U svom radu primenjuje princip interdisciplinarnosti, pokušavajući da kroz fenomenološku perspektivu spoji umetnost i nauku, književnost i geografiju. U poslednje vreme u saradnji sa Kennethom Whiteom, osnivačem *Geopoetike*, ostvaruje doprinos u oblasti doživljaja pejzaža, posebno urbanog, hodajući kroz grad. Piše i putopise.

PROF. DR BERTRAND LEVY is a senior lecturer at the University of Geneva (Department of Geography and European Institute). He teaches humanistic geography (geography and literature), urban geography and ecology, history and epistemology of geography. He wrote his PhD diss. on Hermann Hesse existential space. He specially works in an interdisciplinary manner, trying to join art and science, literature and geography, in a phenomenological perspective. His last contributions are on landscape experience, in particular walking in the city in collaboration with Kenneth White, the founder of *Geopoetics*. He is also involved in travel writings.

DR OLGA MANOJLOVIĆ PINTAR je naučna saradnica Instituta za noviju istoriju Srbije. Bavi se istraživanjima kolektivnih sećanja i funkcije javnog prostora u kreiranju identiteta zajednice. Objavljuje u zemlji i inostranstvu. Uredila je zbornike radova: *Istorija i sećanje*, Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije (2006) i *Tito – viđenja i tumačenja*, Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, Arhiv Jugoslavije (2011).

DR KATHARINA BLAAS-PRATSCHER je rođena 22. aprila 1954. u Austriji, živi u Beču. Studirala Romanistiku i Istoriju umetnosti u Beču. Od 1981. do 1986. saradivala sa različitim izlagačkim institucijama; 1986/87 kustos u Muzeju moderne umetnosti u Beču (MUMOK); od 1989. zadužena za projekte umetnosti u javnom prostoru pri vladi pokrajine Donja Austrija. Učestvovala na velikom broju simpozija na temu umetnosti u javnom prostoru (Hong Kong, Peking, Hag i dr), član različitih komisija vezanih za umetnost u javnom prostoru.

Izabrane publikacije: *Öffentliche Kunst, Kunst im öffentlichen Raum in Niederösterreich/Public Art Lower Austria*, (English/German) volume 1–10, 1990- 2011, ed. Springer Verlag Vienna-New York. www.publicart.at

DR LJILJANA RADONIĆ predaje o evropskim konfliktima sećanja posle 1989. godine na Katedri za političke nauke i koordinira interdisciplinarni doktorski program „Austrijska Galicija i njeno multikulturalno nasleđe“ na Univerzitetu u Beču. Studirala je političke nauke, filozofiju i prevodilaštvo i napisala svoju doktorsku disertaciju na temu “Krieg um die Erinnerung. Kroatische Vergangenheitspolitik

DR OLGA MANOJLOVIĆ PINTAR is research fellow at the Institute for Recent History of Serbia. Her fields of research encompass collective memory and the role of public space in construction of identity of the community. Her work has been published in the country and abroad. She was editor of following proceedings: *Istorija i sećanje*, Belgrade: Institute for Recent History of Serbia (2006) and *Tito – viđenja i tumačenja*, Belgrade: Institute for Recent History of Serbia, The Archives of Yugoslavia (2011).

DR KATHARINA BLAAS-PRATSCHER is born on 22nd of April 1954 in Austria; lives in Vienna. Studied Romance languages and art history in Vienna. From 1981–86 cooperation with different exhibition institutions; 1986/87 curator at in the Museum of Modern Art (MUMOK) in Vienna; since 1989 in charge of art in public space at the Lower Austrian Provincial Government. Participation at numerous different symposiums on public art (Hong Kong, Peking, Den Hague NL and others), member of different juries on public art.

Publications (selected): *Öffentliche Kunst, Kunst im öffentlichen Raum in Niederösterreich/Public Art Lower Austria*, (English/German) volume 1–10, from 1990-2011, ed. Springer Verlag Vienna-New York www.publicart.at

DR LJILJANA RADONIĆ teaches on “European memory conflicts after 1989” at the Department of Political Science and coordinates the interdisciplinary doctoral program “Austrian Galicia and its Multicultural Heritage” at the University of Vienna. She studied political science, philosophy and translation and wrote her doctoral thesis on “The War on Memory – Croatian Poli-

zwischen Revisionismus und europäischen Standards” [Rat sećanja – hrvatska politika prošlosti između revizionizma i evropskih standarda], (Campus: Frankfurt 2010) na Univerzitetu u Beču.

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MR DUŠICA DRAŽIĆ (r. 1979, Beograd) je umetnica koja istražuje ambivalentni odnos grada i ljudi, njihovu uzajamnu podršku i zaštitu, kao i njihovu uzajamnu izolaciju i destrukciju. Traga za prostorima nepravilnosti, razlika, fleksibilnosti, intuicije sa fokusom na napuštena i zaboravljena mesta, promišljajući opaženu transformaciju na nivou kulturološkog kontinuiteta, simboličkih nepravilnosti i individualnih delovanja.

2004. godine je diplomirala na odseku za fotografiju na FPU u Beogradu, a 2006. godine je završila MFA program "Umetnost u javnom prostoru i nove strategije" na Univerzitetu Bauhaus u Vajmaru (Nemačka). U 2010. godine je dobila dve nagrade, "Dimitrije Bašičević Mangelos" (Srbija) i "Mladi evropski umetnik" koju dodeljuje Trieste Contemporanea (Italija). www.dusicadrazic.wordpress.com

MR SLAVICA RADIŠIĆ, istoričar umetnosti i istraživač u oblasti kulturne politike. Magistrala u oblasti menadžmenta u kulturi i kulturne politike na Univerzitetu Umetnosti u Beogradu i Université Lyon II, Katedri za sociologiju i antropologiju, na temu Politike umetnosti u javnom prostoru, zakonodavstvo i finansiranje. Bavi se istraživanjem kulturnih politika, urbane antropologije i odnosa umetnosti i javne sfere. Od 2003. godine učestvuje u organizaciji različitih umetničkih, obrazovnih i društveno odgovornih projekata.

MA DUŠICA DRAŽIĆ (*1979, Belgrade) is an artist interested in the exploration of the ambivalent interrelationship between the citizen and the city, their mutual support and protectiveness while at the same time their isolation and destruction. She searches for spaces of irregularity, differences, flexibility, intuition and focuses on abandoned, forgotten places. She explores their transformation and rethinks them at the level of cultural continuity, symbolic irregularities and individual actions.

Dražić graduated at the Applied Arts Faculty in Belgrade (department for photography) in 2004 and received her MFA degree in "Public Art and New Artistic Strategies" at the Bauhaus University Weimar in 2006. In 2010 she received Dimitrije Bašičević Mangelos Award (Serbia) and Young European Artist Trieste Contemporanea Award (Italy). Dušica Dražić exhibited and performed in various countries world wide.

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MA SLAVICA RADIŠIĆ, art historian and cultural policies researcher from Belgrade, received her MA degree in Cultural Management and Cultural Policy, within the joint Program of the University of Arts in Belgrade (Serbia) and University Lyon 2 (France). Subject of her master thesis was Public Art Policy, Legal and Financial Policy Instruments. Her current research interests are in the domain of art and public sphere, cultural policy and urban anthropology. From 2003 on, she initiated and has been involved in various cultural, social and educational programs.

MR MARIJANA SIMU je istoričarka umetnosti. Magistrirala je u oblasti menadžmenta u kulturi i kulturne politike (UNESKO katedra za kulturnu politiku i menadžment u kulturi Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu). U okviru magistarskih studija u fokusu njenog istraživanja bila je obrazovna delatnost muzeja a u istoj oblasti se stručno se usavršavala u Nacionalnom muzeju srednjeg veka u Parizu (Musée National du Moyen Âge - Thermes et Hôtel Cluny).

Od 2003. godine se profesionalno bavi implementacijom različitih projekata u oblasti kulture. Jedna je od osnivača udruženja *KULTURKLAMMER - centar za kulturne interakcije* u okviru kog je, kao deo najužeg tima, angažovana na osmišljavanju i razvoju projekata.

KULTURKLAMMER – centar za kulturne interakcije je organizacija civilnog društva koja kroz različite forme javnog delovanja podstiče integraciju kulturnih resursa u održivi razvoj zajednice, kao i delatno i odgovorno uključivanje građana i svih društvenih aktera u procese kulturnog razvoja. Misija organizacije posvećena je podsticanju angažovanog i kritičkog razmišljanja i delovanja pojedinaca i zagovaranju i omogućavanju kulturnog razvoja zajednice zasnovanog na građanskoj participativnosti, integrativnom pristupu i međusektorskoj saradnji.
www.kulturklammer.org

MA MARIJANA SIMU is art historian. She holds MA in Cultural Policy and Cultural Management (UNESCO Chair for Cultural Management and Cultural Policy, University of Arts in Belgrade). During the MA studies the field of her research was museum education. She gained professional experience in the same field within the National Museum of the Middle Ages in Paris (Musée National du Moyen Âge - Thermes et Hôtel Cluny).

Since 2003 she is professionally engaged on the implementation of different projects in the field of culture. She is also one of the founders of the *Kulturklammer - centre for cultural interactions* and as a member of the core team she is involved in planning and development of all the organization's projects and activities.

KULTURKLAMMER – centre for cultural interactions is a civil society organisation which aims to incite citizens' participation and activation of cultural resources in sustainable development of the society, through implementing diverse actions in the field of culture. The core mission of the organisation comes from the belief that cultural development of the community which is based on citizens' participation, integrative approach and cross-sector cooperation is precondition for overall quality and sustainable development of any society in present and future.
www.kulturklammer.org

MENTOR RADIONICE

MR MILORAD MLADENOVIĆ je umetnik i vanredni profesor Arhitektonskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu. Magistrirao je na Fakultetu likovnih umetnosti u Beogradu.

Kao akademski slikar i diplomirani arhitekta teži da radi u oblastima vizuelnih umetnosti i arhitektonskog projektovanja. Mladenovićeви radovi su pokušaji da se u metodima i procesima rada kompiliraju iskustva proizvodnje vizuelnih umetnosti, arhitekture i teksta tako da njegovi radovi najčešće predstavljaju objedinjavanja medija i složene medijske koncepte. Ove metode i principe Mladenović koristi u nastavnom procesu i u proizvodnji nastavnih kurikuluma koji su multimedijalni i okrenuti raznovrsnim estetskim i formalnim sadržajima.

MENTOR OF THE WORKSHOP

MA MILORAD MLADENOVIĆ is artist and associate professor at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade. He holds MA from the Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Arts in Belgrade.

As visual artist and architect he strives to work both in the field of visual arts and architectural engineering. In terms of methodology and working processes, his approach represent an attempt to combine experiences from the field of visual art production, architecture and text. Therefore his projects often represent the merge of different media and complex media concepts. These methods and principles are present in his educational work since he implements multimedia curricula that are opened to diverse esthetical and formal contents.

INDEKS FOTOGRAFIJA

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IMPRESUM

IMPRESSUM

SEĆANJE GRADA

Beograd, januar 2012.

PUBLIKACIJU IZDAJE

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centar za kulturne interakcije**

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ŠTAMPA

Alta Nova d.o.o, Beograd

TIRAŽ

500

MEMORY OF THE CITY

Belgrade, January 2012

PUBLISHED BY

**Kulturklammer –
centre for cultural interactions**

A: Trnska 22, 11000 Beograd

E: info@kulturklammer.org

www.kulturklammer.org

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DESIGN AND PRE-PRESS

Dušica Dražić

PRINTED BY

Alta Nova d.o.o, Belgrade

PRINT RUN

500

ORGANIZATORI PROJEKTA
PROJECT ORGANIZERS



PRIJATELJ PROJEKTA
PROJECT FRIEND



PROJEKAT "SEĆANJE GRADA" JE REALIZOVAN UZ PODRŠKU
THE PROJECT "MEMORY OF THE CITY" IS REALIZED WITH THE SUPPORT OF

Austrijski kulturni forum Beograd Austrian Cultural Forum Belgrade |
ERSTE Fondacija ERSTE Foundation | Fond za otvoreno društvo - Srbija
Fund for an Open Society - Serbia | GO Vračar Municipality of Vračar
| Ministarstvo kulture, informisanja i informacionog društva Republike
Srbije Ministry of Culture, Media and Information Society of the
Republic of Serbia | Švajcarski savet za umetnost The Swiss Arts
Council Pro Helvetia



ERSTE Stiftung



FOND ZA OTVORENO DRUŠTVO - SRBIJA
FUND FOR AN OPEN SOCIETY - SERBIA



swiss arts council

prohelvetia

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији
Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

304.4(497.11)"20"(082)
316.7:711.61(082)

SEĆANJE grada = Memory of the City /
[urednice, editors Dušica Dražić, Slavica
Radišić, Marijana Simu ; prevod tekstova
Daniel Kostić ... et al.]. - Beograd :
#Kulturklammer - #Centar za kulturne
interakcije, 2012 (Beograd : Alta nova). -
253 str. : ilustr. ; 21 cm

"Publikacija 'Sećanje grada' predstavlja
jedan od rezultata istoimenog projekta i
dosije o aktivnostima realizovanim u okviru
njega." ---> str. 3. - Uporedo srp. tekst i
engl. prevod. - Tiraž 500. - Biografije: str.
242-249. - Napomene i bibliografske reference
uz tekst. - Bibliografija uz pojedine radove.

ISBN 978-86-912137-2-5

1. Уп. ств. насл.

а) Сећање града (пројекат) - Зборници б)

Град - Култура сећања - Зборници

COBISS.SR-ID 189018636