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# **Uncementing Narratives: Memorial Architecture as a Way to Support Intergenerational Remembrance and Contest Dominant Memory Politics in Sarajevo**

## **Introduction**

When the design competition for Germany's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (MMJE) was published in 1994, Sarajevo was under a brutal siege that lasted from April 1992 until February 1996. In December 1995, the war was officially over when the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed in Paris. Visiting in 1997 to pay a pre-Christmas visit to German troops in Sarajevo protecting a fragile newborn peace, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl – one of the key figures behind both the Dayton Peace Agreement and the process of creating the MMJE in Berlin – met Bosnia and Herzegovina's three members of the collective presidency and instructed them to work with the world on cementing that peace. In a way, this is what Chancellor Kohl aimed to do with remembering the Holocaust in Germany with the MMJE. The lengthy and contested process of creating the MMJE started in the late 1980s and developed parallel to the discussion about how to memorialize the existence of the Berlin Wall in the 1990s. Upon its inauguration in 2005, the MMJE became one of the most famous case studies for addressing multiple crises of the contemporary world and the rising interest among both scholars and the public in re-examining memorial architecture in terms of purpose and agency in the transmission of memory. The contested process of “cementing the remembrance” through memorial architecture, however, only demonstrated how very complicated official materializations of remembrance can be regardless of whether a society is dealing with the traumas and difficult heritage of historical or living memories, which is the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Importantly, the process of creating the MMJE also demonstrated that the designer is pivotal in the process of creating permanent memorial architecture that translates collective sentiment into a built space.

Given the highly specific nature of memorial architecture and its social significance, the defining role assigned to the designer calls for considerable integrity. This critical reflection will focus on the context of Sarajevo to demonstrate how conceptual design and paper architecture can be an incentive for critical engage-

ment and aid the preservation of authenticity as a way to stimulate social engagement and inclusiveness in collective remembrance of difficult pasts. The reflection focuses on an official site of remembrance, the Memorial Complex Tunnel D-B, and explores two architectural design proposals – “ZE912” (2017) and “Kenopsia” (2017) – created simultaneously unbeknownst to the designers and in different contexts. The first project proposal emerged from an anonymous international design competition, whereas the second originated as a master-level graduation project. As a result, the first proposal works with a set of concrete guidelines in a given contextual setting whereas the second design adopts a more radical conceptual approach. Belonging to different generations that experienced the Siege of Sarajevo, the designers, who are also the authors of this reflection, use autoethnographic and research-by-design approach to propose practices and visibilities that radically re-examine current-day memory politics, animate participatory and therapeutic work of remembrance, and inspire possibilities for non-spatial but place-related collective remembrance.

## Memory Matrix and the Tunnel D-B Memorial Complex

Instead of “cementing the peace,” Bosnia and Herzegovina’s leadership worked on cementing ethnic divisions (and still does) in the never-ending “post-Dayton status quo” – a state of uncertainty with ongoing political and ethnic tensions and a lack of international engagement to reinforce viable constitutional reform between the two entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. In the immediate post-siege period, destroyed Sarajevo grappled with complexities of the new reality in a divided country in which official remembrance constituted in-situ markings of military battles and civilian massacres. A “Tunnel of Hope” (1997) emerged as a private memorial museum dedicated to a clandestine project entitled “Communication Dobrinja – Butmir.” That project had been conceived by the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to connect the besieged city and free territory through an underground passage underneath Sarajevo’s UN-controlled International Airport. It had opened without notice in 1993, after military and civil defense had secretly created a 785-meter-long tunnel pipe by digging simultaneously from opposite sides and meeting at a point approximately five meters beneath the runway under the watchful eyes of both the UN and the occupiers. The tiny museum, emerging in the aftermath of the Siege, resonated with Sarajevo’s destroyed urban and social fabric. It would go on to serve as an important stop for numerous humanitarian and diplomatic visits to the city, since it represented the post-war landscape modified by war, de-

struction, and defense. It showcased only 25 meters of the original tunnel pipe connected to a family home that served as one of the entrances/exits. Framing the authentic remains, the museum's modest exhibition chronologically narrated the story of the Tunnel D-B, starting with the dire conditions in which hundreds of citizens were murdered by the Army of the Republika Srpska when crossing the airport runway. Before the Tunnel was created, they had attempted to get to the so-called free zone on the outskirts of the city for food or to escape. The museum narrative concluded with the end of the Siege and the closing of "the Tunnel that did not exist" (Burns 1993).

At the twentieth commemoration of the beginning of the Siege, the Memorial Fund (a governmental institution responsible for war cemeteries and memorials) took over the private museum and started developing what is now the Memorial Complex Tunnel D-B, technically comprising both sides of the airport runway. This entailed recreating warlike atmospheres, reconstructing existing parts and adding new spaces to "display for visitors the wartime state as realistically as possible" (Vojvodić 2013, 10). The interventions demonstrate the tension between a memorial space being authentic (as it was during the Siege) and appearing authentic (as dramatized to create a feeling of authenticity among visitors). Several substitute memorial interventions reflect an eagerness to have it both ways: to resist charges of creating fake heritage while persisting in a "war-like" phantasmagoria, supporting the blooming business of so-called dark tourism focused on narratives of Sarajevo as a "martyred city" (Naef 2016). A number of private initiatives, such as the Museum of Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide (2016) or the War Hostel (2016) – a hostel decorated to produce a semblance of and dramatic atmospheres from during the siege period – are part of this trend geared toward reincarnating terror and trauma.

Approaching the thirtieth anniversary since the Siege of Sarajevo officially ended, the city's public and private spaces witness considerable concretization of mourning and memory in monuments, memorials, and memorial museums. The majority of these memory sites are dedicated to soldiers and tend to look generic (name plaques, fountains, benches and symbolic sculptural additions), ossifying the living memory and delegating it to the past. In the country's nascent institutionalization of remembrance, since recently supported by the Memorial Fund, architectural competitions and direct commissions commonly conceive of remembrance projects in a top-down approach. They do so through either public architectural competitions or direct commissions, such as the *Liberation War Heroes*, a permanent exhibition at Memorial Fund's headquarters (2019) and the Museum of Suffering of the Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2023), located at the former torture chambers on the outskirts of Sarajevo.

Notable examples such as the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina's permanent exhibition *The Siege of Sarajevo* (2003) and the War Childhood Museum (2017) are more inclusive and go beyond being self-proclaimed ambassadors of a collective experience. These museums invite citizens to contribute to the museological program through donating artifacts and sharing personal narratives to contextualize traumatic experiences of survival beyond the borders of the Siege experience. For example, in 2017, the History Museum launched the cross-disciplinary "Wake-up Europe, Sarajevo Calling" initiative as a way to internationalize their permanent exhibition whereas the War Childhood Museum extends its curatorial work to the ongoing war in Ukraine and the Middle East. These museums demonstrate Jan Assmann's juxtaposition of communicative and cultural memory in defining the connection and gap between potential and actual cultural memories: one being stored in museums, archives, and libraries, and the other (re)interpreted with new meaning for current socio-political contexts, as a reminder that collective memories and dispersion of historical facts have an inspirational impact on second-hand witnesses and future generations.

Notwithstanding, in the paradoxical construct of diverging remembrances, making sense of others' personal memories is daunting. The multiplicity of historical (and memory-based) narratives becomes especially problematic if the meaning-making invitations do not allow space for critical engagement with the official remembrance. This extends to the state sanctioned remembrance of other historical events and periods aiming to invigorate the culture of ignorance and erasure. For example, the public remembrance of the First World War centenary in Sarajevo juxtaposed narratives around Gavrilo Princip, the student who killed Archduke Franz Ferdinand: a European narrative in which Gavrilo Princip is seen as a terrorist in order to uphold a shared European past and a celebration of peace, solidarity and reconciliation, and an ethnonational narrative in which Gavrilo Princip is celebrated as a hero, along with the war criminals from the most recent war, to invigorate a turbo-folk culture of remembrance that nourishes historical amnesia. This amnesia, Adla Isanović argues, originates in an insufficient process of transitional justice, necropolitics, and in the growing specter of fascism in Europe, manifested in Sarajevo – its "rotten heart" (Isanović 2017).

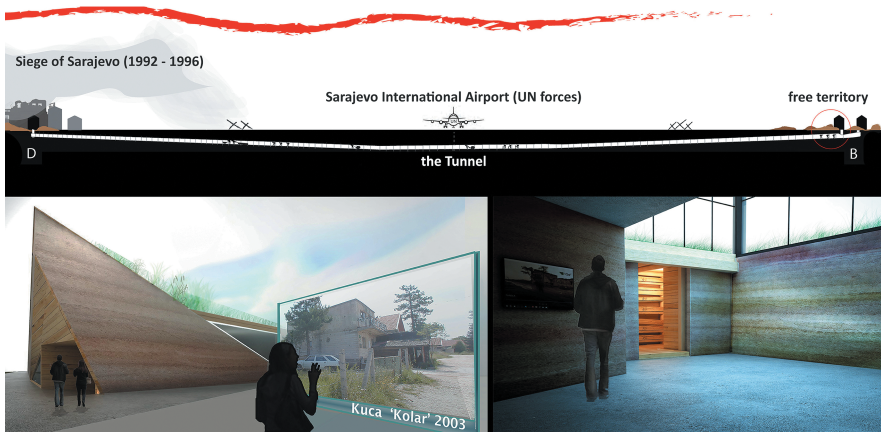
In this light, the Tunnel memorial site should also be scrutinized, especially for its dubious architectural developments such as the recently semi-accurately reconstructed 100 meters of the B-side tunnel pipe. The original Tunnel was, at its highest, 160 cm high and one meter wide. In contrast, the reconstruction is now much higher and wider. Meanwhile, the 25-meters of the original Tunnel are in sore need of preservation since some 140,000 visitors (mostly tourists) annually walk over and pass through it. Still, the Tunnel D-B holds a special status in Sarajevo mainly because it is not only an artifact of trauma but also of resilience. Dug

with pickaxes, hammers, and shovels, secretly and under extreme conditions, it instantly became a symbol of hope. Citizens and military entered from the besieged city, Dobrinja (D side), and exited into the free-zone of Butmir (B side) through an incredibly dangerous way of crossing (i.e., lack of air, high underground water, unsecured gas installations, and electricity cables, etc.), which had no emergency exits.

## **ZE912: Collective Participation and Remembrance**

The 2016 design competition had a three-fold goal: to bolster the socio-historical importance of the site, to facilitate educational efforts, and to create a spatial landmark to attract tourists, and, at the same time, represent an incentive for new urban developments in the area (Tanović 2019). The third author (of this contribution) participated in the competition and the jury selected her work as the best solution with a plan to implement it in the following years. The proposal, participating as “ZE912” (first two letters of “zemlja” or soil in Bosnian language), as a way of responding to the competition’s requirement for office, educational, and storage spaces, took a step further in positioning architectural design as an ancillary tool for a participative work of remembrance and musealization.

The design concept focuses on transmitting living memory to new generations through collective participation and materiality. Local soil and debris comprise the building material since the Tunnel itself was originally created by extraction of nearly 3,000 cubic meters of soil. Hence, the soil re-emerges as an etymon of the past that now directly features in the remembrance as revitalized building material. Tanović intentionally proposed an unorthodox and potentially difficult rammed-earth building that demands rather time-consuming and laborious work as a way to invite public social engagement. The design explores subtle kinesthetic effects to frame the permanent museum exhibition. Following the historical narrative that starts with the collapse of Yugoslavia, a visitor gradually descends into the ground until being completely submerged underground where the exhibition screens explain the beginning of the Siege and the onset of the Tunnel. Closed off by soil, the underground environment is heightened by the absence of daylight and a slight difference in the rammed-earth technique tailored to invigorate spatial qualities through sound, olfactory, and haptic enhancement – a mixture of soil and isolation properties-enhance the sense of place. The reappearance of daylight signals the end of the exhibition, whereupon visitors enter a short sequence of the original tunnel – preserved following the 3R rule (maximum retention, sensitive restoration, and careful repair) (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1:** Above: infographics indicating the wartime position of the Tunnel D-B. Bottom left: an impression of the new rammed-earth museum and memory-boards displaying the wartime and post-war evolution of the site. Bottom right: the new museum meets the 25-meter original segment of the Tunnel D-B. © Sabina Tanović, 2017.

Considering that the siege-time construction of the Tunnel was a collective effort, the proposal posits that present-day construction of the memorial complex needs to be a collective effort as well. This hands-on materiality method in a context of public participation on an authentic site resonates with our growing knowledge on how engaged commemorations can positively impact the psychological health of individuals and support post-atrocity resilience as was, for example, the case with the construction of the Kornat dry-stone wall Fallen Fireman memorial (2010) in Croatia. It is also a designer's response to the general absence of psychological support for victims of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Comtesse et al. 2019). The proposal demonstrates how memorial museums can provide a framework for meaningful collective remembrance that invites participation and individual contributions to address the collective trauma. With careful planning, the collective building process can extend to future generations as was the case with workshops that were put in place between 2014 and 2018 for people to commemorate the 600,000 dead of the First World War by making clay figurines for the artwork "ComingWorldRememberMe" in Flanders Fields. In this active approach to both intergenerational remembering and healing through participatory design processes, resonating the site-specific work of Hanna and Hila Lulu Lin Farah-Kufr-Bir'im, the museum building is also a material resource for and a constituent part of remembrance.

In the years following the official competition, the designer has initiated conversations with curators and managers of the memorial site to concretize the conceptual design as a social project. She argued that the memorial site needs to invest in organizing rammed-earth workshops as a way to bring citizens together to invigorate their appropriation of the site. For example, the workshops, next to being useful for the construction process, are opportunities to collect participants' narratives for the museum's living archive, ensuring meaningful social dynamics for both present and the future that expand beyond the original borders of the memorial complex and point toward a socially sustainable place of remembrance. Similar discussions elsewhere, such as the post 9/11 memorial-building processes in the United States or, more recently, dialogue surrounding the commemoration of Norway's victims of 2011 terrorist attacks, are insightful examples. In terms of space, the design proposal also understands the existing site as a place of difficult past that, up to now, spontaneously and haphazardly developed accumulating architectural layers and *ad hoc* changes. Embracing what can be described as messiness of semi-institutionalized remembrance and perceiving even contestable interpretations of the site as legitimate layers of history, the design aims to emphasize the evolution of the site by archiving stages of development and using digital tools (such as interactive memory boards), while removing physical layers that inhibit authentic narration. Hence, the goal is to clearly delineate the Siege and post-Siege periods and substantiate these with narratives of people and place to create a platform for sharing memories, experiences, and historical facts from a multiplicity of actors and stakeholders.

Initially, both the managerial team and curators of the Tunnel Museum welcomed proposed actions, and the collaboration with the designer even resulted in a public colloquium and brain-storming ideas about possible projects in the future – oriented toward citizens of Sarajevo as much as toward tourists. Participants even discussed the opposing views on reconnecting the two sides by fully reconstructing the Tunnel to allow tourists to travel through in safety wagons (using large concrete profiles that the government installed in 1997 in an effort to preserve the rest of the 785-meter-long tunnel pipe). The discussion focused on the designer's Ruskinian argument that a reconstructed tunnel can never convey the conditions of the original experience and that reconstruction would reinforce an uncritical and misleading transmission of memory – a hazard for the already fragile balancing act of meaningful memory-work on the memorial site. The museum managers countered with their own argument that the museum must somehow maintain its focus on tourists while only slowly introducing more community-oriented narratives and projects. The debilitating grip of the global pandemic, however, interrupted the dialogue and left the prospect of the concept proposal in limbo. Regardless, it proved

that the agency of a designer can open up entrenched perceptions about what constitutes collective remembrance.

## Kenopsia: Addressing Second-Hand Memories

Envisioned by a designer who belongs to the second-hand memory generation<sup>1</sup> and who passed through the Tunnel herself when she was a young child, Kenopsia<sup>2</sup> proposes an architectural project that radically challenges the current memorial practice at the site. Critiquing its urbanistic, programmatic, and spatial-sensory sense, the proposal combats the prevalence of touristification and ethnonationalization of memory to open space for unexpurgated education and critical thinking – key problems in the current Tunnel D-B managerial and curatorial approach. The designer’s starting point in developing the concept was to reconnect this important spatial artifact of the city’s war history with the city itself. Therefore, instead of having a museum on the rural side as is the case now (side B), the new museum is positioned on the urban side of the Tunnel (side D). In place of the current museum, the proposal envisions a memorial as a place for contemplation, reflection, and reckoning with the past, commemorating a massacre of people who waited to enter the Tunnel in 1995. Reconceptualizing the memorial complex with a museum on the city’s side and a memorial on the rural side is a way to add weight to historical facts regarding the authenticity of how the Tunnel was used – civilians had to wait to embark on this one-way underground passage, with the advantage initially reserved for the military and, eventually, for booming black-market profiteers as well.

The memorial is conceived as an ensemble of concrete monoliths that replicate civilian houses (that served as entrances and exits of the Tunnel) in their original wartime appearance. Prior to building the memorial, the project proposes to destroy the existing houses (including the existing Tunnel D-B museum) characterized by their misleading post-war additions and beautifications. The monoliths of the memorial are a negative concrete cast of the original houses, capturing the space and emphasizing their absence. In this way, the memorial

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1 In her work, Marianne Hirsch introduces “postmemory” recollections – a phenomenon of intense generational and social retelling and sharing of experiences that results in descendants growing up with mainly inherited memories that dominate their lives without them actually experiencing them.

2 Titled in a reference to John Koenig’s neologism *kenopsia* that stands for the eerie atmosphere of a place that was once bustling with people but is now so quiet that it feels not just empty but hyper-empty (Koenig 2021).

will purge the accumulated post-war layers of the location's history. Visitors will only find replicas of authentic houses from the time of the Siege that exist no more. The architectural language here is reminiscent of Stećaks,<sup>3</sup> building upon a local culture of remembrance. Aiming to mark one specific fragment of the Tunnel's timeline, it is also influenced by the works of artist Rachel Whiteread, who described her projects as the mummification of space.

On the side D, the museum seeks to encourage reflection and critical questioning of the inherited memories in space. Here too all post-war physical layers are removed. Instead of catering to tourists, the proposal is primarily focused on restoring the connection with the survivors and their families – people who have their own authentic experience of the Siege and new generations of city residents who will or already have established second-hand memories of the Siege. The proposed approach is in stark contrast to what is currently considered the key to “successful” museological work: prioritization of economic sustainability based predominantly on tourism. Importantly, the designer argues that the current politics of memory at the Tunnel D-B site advances the ethno-nationalization of collective memory – a process that already started during the war. For example, during the field research in 2018, the museum exhibition and sales items clearly positioned the identity of the institution within one specific ethnoreligious group, most clearly visible in the museum's gift shop displaying artifacts bearing Islamic symbols and dolls wearing Ottoman traditional attire (accompanied by the exhibition featuring a single female untitled figure wearing a headscarf). The museum reflected, as Kukić argues, a dominant presence of a conservative Bosniak identity in the context of today's Sarajevo rather ethnically homogeneous identity.<sup>4</sup> Kenopsia aims to complicate this tendency of devaluing the multiethnic identity of pre-war Sarajevo precisely because omitting other ethnic groups from the forefront of the official history translates to purposeful forgetting – a politics of memory recognized as a model for perpetuating what Viet Than-Nguyen depicts as “unjust memory.” Looking through the lens of a second generation with scarce living memory about the Siege, Kenopsia's engagement with the historical site is not only an opportunity to reposition the Tunnel within the social and cultural fabric of the community but also to highlight the problems of the existing commemoration paradigm.

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3 Stećak is a regionally distinctive medieval tombstone found in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Croatia. Notable for their inter-confessionalism and carved from limestone, Stećaks (original plural *Stećci*) appear as monolithic objects featuring a wide range of decorative motifs and inscriptions. See: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1504/> (March 23, 2023).

4 Since the 1991 census, the Bosniaks (Muslim) population has increased from 49% to 83%, while the Serbs and Croats numbers have dwindled down significantly. See: <http://fzs.ba/index.php/popis-stanovnistva/popis-stanovnistva-1991-i-stariji/> and <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sources/census/wphc/BIH/BIH-2016-06-30.pdf> (March 23, 2023).



**Figure 2:** Renderings of Kenopsia Museum as seen from the street; courtyard; interior (left to right). © Ena Kukić, 2017.

Visitors will experience the new museum in sequences that alternate between narrow sheltered passages and a wide-open plateau which invite visitors to ponder the experiences of people who, before the Tunnel was dug under the airport in 1993, tried to escape from the besieged city by being exposed to sniper fire while running across the airport runway. Aiming to create a specific outdoor atmosphere as a designer's own memory recollection, sudden changes of scale through alternating spaces define the overall spatial framework. By not allowing the visitor to anticipate the experience, the design aims to stress the necessity for observation and reflection and, hopefully, incite empathy toward the original users of the complex. In this way, the visitor is positioned as a witness – an active participant in the ongoing work of memory (see Figure 2).

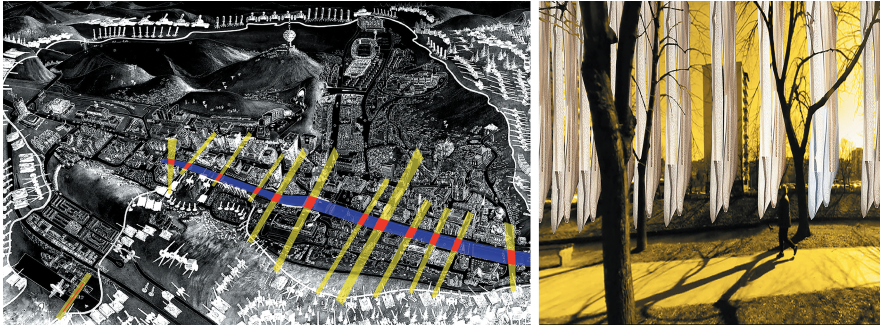
In an effort to reinterpret the identity of the Tunnel as a subterranean building, the entire museum is located underground. The only part of the project above the ground is a delicate metal frame in the form of the ordinary house that served as a secret Tunnel entrance. The choice of materials is informed by the history of the site. Using reduction as a representation method for the house emphasizes its ordinariness – it could be any of the neighborhood houses. The museum provides flexible spaces for education and dialogue between visitors, always retaining at least one transparent vertical element and allowing a visual relationship with either the Tunnel or the museum's courtyard. It seeks to render a neutral and minimalistic basis for the main artifact – the original 25 meters of the Tunnel itself, minimizing the spatial possibilities for adding inauthentic material.

The design offers several viewpoints on the Tunnel to symbolically denote a multitude of experiences of passing through Tunnel D-B throughout the Siege. Contrary to the current practice, Kenopsia prohibits future visitors from entering the authentic segment of the Tunnel. Visitors, as outsiders, can only observe it behind the glass to try to imagine the discomfort of the original structure. Rooted in the designer's own experience of passing through the war-time Tunnel, the decision to deny the visitors the possibility to use it inextricably links the original structure to its war context. Preserving the authentic segment of the Tunnel as an artifact and not reconstructing its full length is the only responsible way of narrating the Tunnel story without mistaking it for a false first-hand experience. The eerie emptiness of the Tunnel is part of its peacetime identity, and its *kenopsia* invites us to ponder evolving stages and priorities of preserving memory for future generations.

## The Future of the Memory Matrix

The two conceptual design approaches envision different futures for the Tunnel D-B site, but they ask the same question: What is the narrative that the current Memorial Complex Tunnel D-B nourishes for the future by creating a Siege-sentiment showcase for tourists in which the Tunnel appears grander and more beautiful, instead of shabby and perilous as it really was? Producing faux-narratives is dangerous in the current global climate that sees worrying equalizations of fascist and anti-fascist politics through architecture, as Robert Bevan reminds us in the *Monumental Lies*; examples such as the “well-meaning” reconstruction of “Crematoria I” at Auschwitz memorial site or Dresden's Frauenkirche show how architectural fakery can feed destructive powers of necropolitics, historical revisionism, and denial (Bevan 2022, 206–207, 73–81).

Instead, we need to look for more organic examples of spatial remembrances. In the years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, survivors and witnesses that lived through the spatial division organized their personal and collective narratives to preserve not only the physical remnants of the barrier, but to further develop this historic site (Bailey 2020). The Berlin Wall Memorial designed by Kohlhoff & Kohlhoff eventually evolved into three parts – documentation, art, and religion – where viewers can choose their path and direction to delve into the fragments of history and reveal the consequences that resonated in the region and beyond. Similarly, the first author explores in her design practice how Sarajevo is constantly (un)veiling throughout history, overlapping political, social, and religious influences on its people. Using visual storytelling in a project entitled “re-Tracing



**Figure 3:** City map diagram of once uninhabitable boundary of danger and a rendering of re-Tracing the Veil as a non-material memorial museum. © Selma Čatović Hughes, 2021.

the Veil,” Čatović-Hughes juxtaposes the existing urban condition and citizen’s narratives. Unlike the two proposals discussed above, the designer envisions a non-material memorial museum for the future of collective narratives in which one may experience two timelines simultaneously, demarcating the intersection between cultural memories archived and presented through institutionalized spaces (museums, memorial sites) and potential remembrance (re)interpreted with new and evolving meaning for current socio-political contexts (see Figure 3).

Designed as a series of installations threaded around the urban landscape, seeking its participants and co-creators to engage with it daily, the concept illustrates the process of (re)constructing memories into experiential episodes by retrieving information to (re)digest the past. Archival data from the period of the Siege and the post-war documentation process are integrated together with personal accounts to cultivate a collective approach in reconceptualizing remembrance of time and space. In a way, “re-Tracing the Veil” aims to do something seemingly impossible: it references mechanisms of survival (e.g., improvised sniper fabric shields as a visual reminder) and outlines the implied Siege-related once uninhabitable boundary of danger (i.e., Sarajevo’s river axis). Thus, it can facilitate a new dialogue for collective remembrance through critical discussion and reflection as a way toward building a depository for cultural memory. The concept suggests how to approach still impermeable walls that divided the city during the Siege and now divide narratives.

The quest for opening tangible and intangible divisions in a collective narrative is central to the two concept designs for the Tunnel. The first concept embraces the problematic nature of the memorial site and argues for an organic evolution, whereas the second cuts all ties with the memory politics dominating the last three

decades of remembrance. Both approaches propose a critical lens as a precondition for a responsible second-hand memory transmission in the future. Instead of dubious reconstructions and architectural interventions organized in a top-down approach – a slippery slope toward Disneyfication that can easily lead to antagonistic views of war heritage – the proposals discussed here approach the events of the past (that aggressively changed the boundaries, flow, and fabric of the city) meaningfully and in a more sustainable way to continue to educate and evolve. Monumental in collective efforts from its conception, the Tunnel serves as a reminder for an architectural intervention of resilience as well as a testimony that the dichotomy of simultaneous remembering and forgetting of traumatic events often transforms individual memory into a convoluted collective narrative, failing to create spatially relevant places of remembrance. Inviting designers to take an active role in uncementing the status quo, as conceptual proposals demonstrate, is a thought-provoking starting point in a conversation about how we create socially sustainable museum narratives.

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