*M*OUNTAINSCAPES
a portrait of a city and its mountain

by Ravenna Westerhout

RW

"Nothing comes close to my city. It is the pearl on the earth, saraj of springs and gardens, unique in the world… High mountains around it, old and noble, snow-peaks covered with mist are kissing the sky… It is impossible, no doubt, to name all the beauties of this place…"
– Muhumed Nerkesi [1]

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1   Poet of Sarajevo, 1592-1634. Source: FAMA. (1993). *Sarajevo Survival Guide*. Edited by Wagner Aleksandra Razović, Maja. Croatia: Workman Publishing.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

War is not confined to this city, to the burning towers of Sarajevo, marking the end of an age of reasons, if not of reason itself, beyond which lies a domain of almost incomprehensible darkness. Nor is it confined to the culturally complex Balkan Peninsula for which Sarajevo was a symbol of tolerance and hope, and is now a signal of despair, and a warning. Armed conflict in one form or another continues to rage around the world, in Syria, Iraq. Though no one in their right mind would wish it, there is certainly more to come. Only by facing the insanity of wilful destruction can reason begin to believe again in itself.

Actually, war is carried on all the time. Whenever established ideas are under attack by new ones, there is war. Wherever landscapes are rapidly transformed by new technologies or ideologies, there is war. And let no one forget the eternal war of 'man against nature'.

By naming destruction an inescapable beginning of all construction, a necessary yet effectively repressed platform of the ideology of progress, one has to realize that what is of interest are not the objects destroyed, but the inability or impossibility to see the world differently without destroying them. [2] In a slippery zone of common sense, all destructions that define the site are 'natural' outcomes – whether produced by humans and their political violence, or by divine nature itself, which still functions in ways that are far beyond human mastery. What else but destruction can arise from war? What is the role of the architect in this process? What are the right tools to use?
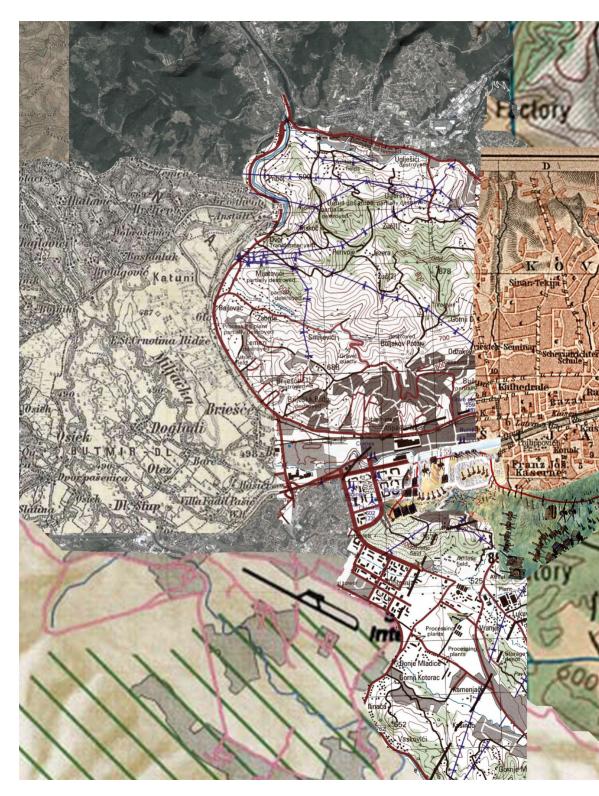
First, I will give a short introduction in the methods of the landscape architect, in order to obtain a new perspective in the reading and writing of the city, as I believe that the old and traditional ways of doing of the architect seem increasingly insufficient. In the second chapter, I will frame the different time periods the city of Sarajevo has undergone to sketch a city profile of the palimpsest that it is today. In this process, I will consider not only the urban development over time, but also the (non) relation between the city and its territory, especially its mountain, Mt.

2   Wagner, A. (1997). The nature of demand. *In* Radical reconstruction. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997, 9-11.

Trebevic. When sketching this profile, I will give extra attention to the urbanity under siege and the art of survival, as this time has had such a big impact on the city of today, not only on a physical scale, but on an social, economic, cultural and psychological level as well.

I will continue to discuss the ever changing role of the architect, during the war, the post-war and the city in transition, and the position of architecture and how it is related to memory. In the architecture of memory, ruins and monuments play an interesting role. I will show my specific location, Mt. Trebevic, which is the embodiment of the status quo the city currently experiences. The architectural element that I chose to work with on this location is the old bobsleigh track. Lastly, I will introduce a new approach towards design which I believe is suitable for the architect to use in the situation, namely a narrative approach. As a method, I will focus on the cinematic narrative and the possibility of film as a design tool. Through applying the narrative method, my aim is to communicate and give meaning, but also to provide a model for thinking about the future, opening a dialogue to reconnect the city with is mountain, and reintegrate the mountain in the larger urban fabric.

READING and WRITING

what we can learn from landscape architects

The architect is not only a designer of buildings. Since the origin of the trade, the architect must master many disciplines and act as a link between parties. The architect is part of a larger whole in which, over and over again, he must try to define his role - he has to take a stance. The design process is a continuous search, not only for the right design, but also for the right methodology, the right approach, the right tool. We should take an open attitude to each design task. It is impossible to use exactly the same approach for each design task, or come to the same solution every time. Sometimes, old and traditional ways of working seem increasingly insufficient to reflect the new questions that arise. What new roles can architects assume today? How do they position themselves in societies in transition? What position to they take in the relation between their role as architect and the urban landscape and its actors? How should they approach ruins, war damage and the process of reconstruction? And what can be the role of using cross-media practices in this process?

To try to find the answers to these questions, it is important not to look at the city and its architecture as something *hierarchical*, but rather as an *heterarchical* space, defined by Lebbeus Woods[3] as "made up of complex layers of buildings and open spaces, of uses and re-uses, woven over centuries and generations of living tissue of meanings, old cities absorbed into their complexity the hierarchies that governed them, that attempted to force them into rigid structures they had never been, or could ever become."[4] In an heterachical space, as opposed to hierarchy, therer is no 'top' or 'bottom' ranking. However, unlike in an anarchy, there is superiority and inferiority as each element is activated in some circumstances and inhabited in others.[5] It is in this heterachichal system that the architect has to redefine its position.

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3   Lebbeus Woods (1940-2012) was an American architect and artist, widely knows as a creator of visionary architecture, who devoted much of his work to exploring the role of design in situations of crisis, among them the city of Sarajevo.

4   Woods, L. (1997). "Walls." *Radical Reconstruction.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997.

5   Ogilvy, J. *Heterachy: an idea finally ripe for its time.* Retrieved on April 18, 2018, from: https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/heterarchy-idea-finally-ripe-its-time

Furthermore, we have to take into account that a place is never experienced in the same way by more than one person. The *experience of space* is based on the role of time, role of memory, and imagination. In current architectural practice, there is a lack of attention to this experience of space, or, in other words, the *lived space*[6], space viewed by people through their own imagination and memory. Lived space resembles the structures of dream and the unconscious, formed independently of the confines of physical space and time. Lived space is always a combination of external, *physical* space and inner, *mental* space. In experiencing lived space, memory and dream, fear and desire, value and meaning, fuse with the actual perception. We do not live separately in material and mental worlds; these experiential dimensions are fully entwined. Neither do we live in an objective world. We live in mental worlds, in which the experienced, remembered and imagined, as well as the past, present and future are inseparably mixed.[7]

READING AND WRITING

Taking this into account, the architect needs to find a new way to approach a site and its unique specificity, to look at it more deeply and more creatively. We can learn a lot from landscape architects, who take as their starting point the '*reading and writing*' of the site itself, instead of prioritizing the *building on the landscape*.[8] As such, it outlines a critical and reflective approach to making new landscapes, a design approach that takes into account an evaluation of sites and their local history: there was thus a sense in which landscape could be taken as a value in and of itself, presented as symbolic of what makes a given area special and unique. In doing so, landscape architects soon learned to take instant advantage of any opportunity to restore something of memory and a sense of place to sites. Landscape architecture traditionally is positioned at the interface of town and country as well as of site and program. Thus, landscape approaches differ from those of architecture and planning in that they seek to *reclaim* rather than to conquer. To properly reclaim and improve sites, the first and, perhaps, the only thing we need to learn is how to look at them from a *different point of view*.

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6   The concept of lived space is described by Henri Lefebvre in his triad spatial model, consisting of the perceived, conceived and lived space. The lived space is space directly lived through associated images and symbols. It is the combination of the physical and mental space. Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell publishing, 38-9.

7   Pallasmaa, J. (2001). The Architecture of Image: Existential Space in Cinema. Helsinki: Rakennustieto, 7-30.

8   Marot, S. (1999). The reclaiming of sites. *Recovering landscapes*. Sparks, NV: Princeton Architectural Press, 48.

As Vittorio Gregotti describes in his essay 'The form of the Territory', this interface of town and country, the privileged link between nature and culture that is created in our society trough landscape, refers back to the significance that each cultural model attributes to its physical environment and to the place that it occupies on the scale of values in relation to its formal structure.[9] This concept of *territory* is one of the most fundamental aspects of large-scale spatial systems. By territory we mean the concrete – physical – trace of man's form of life. By using the term 'territory' rather than 'city' we imply that this physical evidence transcends the traditional dichotomy city-countryside and goes beyond the physical, political and juridical discriminations that make the concept of the city. A first step is to think urbanization no longer as the 'natural' fate of society but as a historical process whose traces can be defined in the way in which the modern city has come into being.[10]

The contemporary landscape architect thus becomes an exegete (or narrator) of the landscape, of the territory. A striking feature of this site reading and writing process involves a sceptical criticism of the abstract representations of sites found in maps, pictures, and conventional drawings (elevations as facades, etc.). The ambition to achieve a representation that is more sensitive (or 'true') and more inclusive and complete than the images produced by regulatory planning techniques leads to an amalgamation of new imaging procedures. These representations contribute to a fuller evaluation of the site and its planning measures. More precisely, Sebastien Marot considers that there are four steps in the study and projection of site-based landscapes, which can be applied to architecture as well: anamnesis, or recollection of previous history; preparation for and the staging of new conditions; three-dimensional sequencing; and relational structuring[11].

9   Gregotti, V. (1966). The Form of the Territory. *On Territories*, OASE, 2009, (80), 7–22. Translation of the original *La forma del territorio*, published in Edilizia Moderna nº 87/88.

10   Information obtained during a lecture by Pier Vittorio Aureli, TU Delft, 2017. Where I initially thought of territory as being solely a geographical term, a place, I now perceive it differently. It is inextricably linked with power, and the interests those in power had over the land. Cicero described the concept of territory as a zone of influence of a community, a geographic area belonging to or under the jurisdiction of a governmental authority. 'A territory is a bounded meaningful social space, the 'meaning' of which implicates the operation of social relational power'. – David Delaney, 2009. It is defined by this relationship between power and place. Therefore, I will use as the definition of the word territory the spatial rectification of power.

11   Marot, S. (1999). The reclaiming of sites. *Recovering landscapes*. Sparks, NV: Princeton Architectural Press, 50-52.

Anamnesis. The land and public space is viewed as an expression of ancient culture, or as a palimpsest that evidences all of the activities that contributed to the shaping of that particular landscape and no other. In his text 'The land as Palimpsest[12]', André Corboz underlines the fact that land is not a given commodity; it results from various processes. On the one hand there is spontaneous transformation, the instability of terrestrial morphology. On the other hand, there is also human activity, constantly remodelling space. The inhabitants of a land tirelessly erase and rewrite the archaic scrawls of the soil. The landscape at which I am looking disappears if I close my eyes; and the one you see differs from the one I see, even though we have the same point of view. What counts in landscape is less its 'objectivity' (which distinguishes it from a phantasm) than the *value attributed to its configuration.* This value is and can only be cultural. The land should be considered as the result of a very lengthy and very slow stratification which should be understood before acting. A 'place' is not a given, but the result of condensing. Above all, man does not simply add to these layers, he also erases them. The land, so heavily charged with traces and with past readings, seems very similar to a *palimpsest.* It is in fact evident that the foundation for planning can no longer be the city, but that territorial reserve to which it must be subordinated. [13]

Preparation. Architects are working towards a final image, as if a building is something for eternity. Growth, change and decay remain largely unconsidered. But the experience of being in a place occurs in time. One has to acknowledge that landscape is a process rather than a product. Being in itself in a process of becoming, a landscape is fully bound into the effects of nature and time, it is a dynamic organism. There is invoked an attitude of incompleteness; rather than building a final solution, seeds are sown, questions raised, and potential structured. Viewed from this perspective, architecture no longer provides a happy ending, but instead allows stories to continue.[14]

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12   Definition of Palimpsest by Merriam-Webster dictionary: 1.writing material (such as a parchment or tablet) used one or more times after earlier writing has been erased 2. something having usually diverse layers or aspects apparant beneath the surface
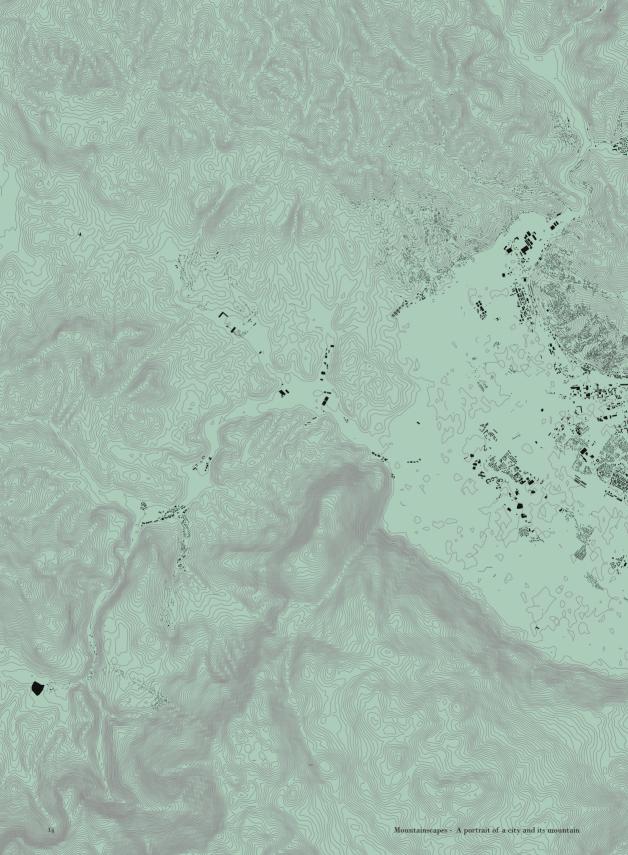
13   Corboz, A. (1983). The land as palimpsest. *Diogenes,* 31:12.

14   Havik, K. (2006). Lived Experience, Places Read: Toward an Urban Literacy. *Architecture & Literature. Reflections/Imaginations*, OASE, (70), 37–49. In this article, Klaske Havik presents the term 'Urban Literacy' as the ability to read the city and investigates the potential of a literary approach for use within architecture. This article helped me develop a further understanding of the reading of (urban) landscapes.

Three-dimensional sequencing. Involves a critical alternative to the limits of surface vision. The physical experience of space involves more senses than merely that of site. Qualitative perception of the layers of a site. A site should be seen as something that engages in multiple relationships. How is a space perceived and reflected? How does one envisage and orchestrate relationships among all of the parts?

Relational structuring. This principle refers to the special attention that must be given to anticipating the next space. Vehicles for negotiation and mediation. Challenge the limits of bureaucratic authority while extending the scope of what is possible.

I have applied these steps with the aim to try to find a new approach to how to *read* and *write* a site.

Mountainscapes - A portrait of a city and its mountain

Map of Sarajevo
Own image

SARAJEVO - a city profile

anamnesis

"If you play with lines on the map of Europe, you will have to find Sarajevo. It is revealed where lines cross over the Balkans. First you draw a line from Paris, through Venice and then to Istanbul, the closest East that Europe knew for centuries. A second line starts in Northern Europe, go between Berlin and Warsaw, through the Mediterranean, and then to Africa. These lines meet over Bosnia and Herzegovina. And, in fact, they cross over Sarajevo. Here wars were started and here they went on, while people loved and longed for love. Here merchants were selling goods from all over the world and life was close and distant to ways of the East and the West. It was Western for the East, and Oriental for the West. It was the life of Sarajevo." [15]

Located in the West Balkans, Sarajevo is the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The city is situated in a valley, surrounded by hills and Dinaric mountains. It has a prevailingly linear orientation lying along the Miljacka River and extending for approximately ten kilometres from the Bascarsija in the east to Ilidza in the west. The city's elongated form is a natural conditioned one. Such a distinctive topography is a major factor influencing climate, transport, urbanism and socio-economic conditions. Contrary to the naturally assigned continuous spatial expansion, there is a lack of consistency in town planning policy. This is due to a turbulent history of frequent alternations of regimes which conditioned social, cultural, urban and economic consequences. Each period left physical traces along the valley in an almost chronological order from East to West.

The city has existed for centuries, longer than generations, longer than languages, and many powers and religions have found refuge here. Throughout time, memories and events, the city has been built layer upon layer, writing and re-writing the urban pattern. Most citizens are probably faintly aware of the past of the city, but history is slippery: not all historical layers are visible and some are only subtly present. Once known as 'The Jerusalem of Europe', because of the co-existence of various ethnic and religious groups, Sarajevo today bears the physical and psychological scars of the 1992–95 siege. It portrays an important case of a city in transition with its post 1995 reconstruction and renewal process

15   FAMA. (1993). *Sarajevo Survival Guide*. Edited by Wagner Aleksandra Razović, Maja. Croatia: Workman Publishing, 94.

interlaced with building remnants scattered across the city landscape and its territory as silent reminders of the war. On the surface the city is well planned and prosperous. Below is a different story where the citizens struggle with inherent social, political and economic problems.[16]

To compose the image of the palimpsest that Sarajevo is today, I will discuss the important events from the past and present, constantly taking the relation of the citizens with their territory into account. I will focus on the (non)connection of the city with Mt. Trebevic[17], as the city is inextricably linked with this mountain - part of the city is built on its lower slopes and it has played a big role throughout history.

Ottoman period
Own image

OTTOMAN

"[...] the bulk of the city occupies a narrow at amidst the hills, cut in twain by the river Miljaska [...], and united by three stone and four wooden bridges. Around this arena, then rugged limestone precipices, rises a splendid amphitheatre of mountains culminating in the peak of Trebevic, which frowns over 3,000 feet above the city." [18]

The first documented signs of human presence in the area antedate to Roman times, when Sarajevo was part of the Dalmatian province. A Roman road crossed the valley and connected the coastal cities of modern-day Croatia to modern-day Hungary. The city of Sarajevo was officially founded around 1461 during the Ottoman rule, being situated in what

16   Gül, M., & Dee, J. (2015). Sarajevo – A city profile. Cities, 43, 152-166.

17   Mount Trebevic with its 1627 m of height is one of the mountains surrounding Saraje-vo, situated at the south-east edge of the city.

18   Sparks, M. (2014). The Development of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo, 1878-1918: An Urban History. Bloomsbury Publishing.

was the Ottoman Empire's most western province. The Ottoman nucleus is located in the narrowest end of the valley in the East. This area today represents the cultural and historical centre of the city. Its urban fabric is mainly defined by a human scale of proportion and a clear distinction between its residential parts and the central area with commercial, educational and public facilities. The residential areas, or *mahalas*, gradually spread along the surrounding slopes creating an irregular urban pattern, following an unwritten rule of respecting the 'right to a view' of neighbours towards the centre, called *Bascarsija*.[19] The urban morphology of the Bascarsija consists of small narrow streets enclosed by wooden shops, mosques, hamams and market places. Although the street patterns might seem random, they were part of a bigger conceptual plan, as they were serving an ideal of privacy and *"would follow the topography in such a way that houses were staggered along it, protecting the privacy of their entrances and their views."* [20] It can be stated that the planning of the city and its organization during the Ottoman period was heavily influenced by the regional topography and that there was a direct relationship between the people and the surrounding landscape.

The city remained under Ottoman rule for more than 400 years, from 1435-1878. Its philosophy of governance promoted a cosmopolitan city, accommodating traditional neighbourhoods organised around places of worship for not only Muslims but Catholic, Orthodox, and, later in the 16th Century, Jewish residents. This made the city an important trade and administrative centre.[21]

AUSTROHUNGARIAN

Further West the valley spreads moderately and leads towards the new city centre, called Marijin Dvor, which by the end of the 19th century formed the outskirts of the city. The area from Bascarsija to Marijin Dvor strongly developed during the Austro-Hungarian period. As an aftermath of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, Bosnia had become part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878, bringing along architects and engineers, who had the unique goal of turning Sarajevo into a modern European capital. Sarajevo continued its urban development as a typical

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19   Tufek-Memisevic T. (2014). "Architecture of Consumption. Case study Sarajevo", Konsumpcja i Rozwój, Institute for Market, Consumption and Business Cycle Research, Warsaw, Vol.8, No. 3

20   Alarslan U., Fatos A., (October 2011). "Islamic Gardens with a Special Emphasis on the Ottoman Paradise Gardens: The Sense of Place between Imagery and Reality.". Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies. 1 (4): 67.

21   Gül, M., & Dee, J. (2015). Sarajevo – A city profile. Cities, 43, 152-166.

Central European *Gründerzeit[22]* city until the end of World War I. This was a very fruitful time in Sarajevo's construction and development, producing also the first city regulation plan. For the first time, the concepts of public space, master planning and large-scale infrastructure interventions were implemented. One of the main additions that shape the city of today is the tramline, the first in Europe, starting from the city centre and leading westward through the valley to Ilidza. Other important works realized in this period are the rail system, the central electricity grid, the sewerage, and important cultural buildings along the Miljacka River, such as the National Theatre.

Contrary to the Ottoman patchwork, the Austro-Hungarian planning consisted of blocks of multi-storey buildings, combining residential with other functions. The cityscape in 1914 displayed plenty of typologies, from introvert Ottoman urbanism to Austrian neoclassical bourgeois villas – a mixture of habitation, recreation and commerce. Taking the shape of a linear development that followed longitudinally the valley of the Miljacka river, a natural "cultural axis" was created, consisting of a network of cultural, sacred and symbolic buildings as well as green spaces.[23] The Austro-Hungarians did not only reorganize the green spaces in the city, but they also enhanced the connection to the surrounding mountains. Mt. Trebevic became a forest park for the city. New roads and mountain paths were built, as well as several fortresses, restaurants and rest areas.

Austro-Hungarian period
Own image

22   Can be translated as 'founding period', a period of rapid industrial expansion at the end of the 19th century.
23   Piplas, H. (2017). Reactivating Sarajevo. Topos (99), 54-55.

INTERBELLUM

In 1914, all eyes were on Sarajevo. Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, was assassinated while visiting Sarajevo. He was assassinated by Gavrilo Prinzip, a militant in the independents movements of Bosnia. This event provided the trigger for the First World War.

At War's end in 1918 Sarajevo became part of a newly created Royal South Slav State. The rulers of the newly formed state favoured Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana as the main urban centres. The tendency was reflected in the state's formal title: 'The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' that was later renamed as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The Interbellum period was signified by stagnation.

On the 15th of April, 1941, Nazi troops entered the city and with the help of local fascist collaborators, a new political order was established, making Sarajevo now part of the Independent State of Croatia, which was a puppet state of Germany and Italy during World War II. The state was governed by the fascist Ustaše movement as a monarchy. The city of Sarajevo suffered further damage by Allied bombing in 1943–44 until it was liberated from the occupation by Tito's partisans on 6 April 1945.[24]

TITO'S FEDERAL PROJECT

After the Second World War ended, Yugoslavia was in ruins. Josip Broz Tito, who fought Fascism with his Partisan army, became the famous leader of the country, now named the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that by then consisted of six socialist republics: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Montenegro. Tito introduced a strict socialist regime that continuously emphasized similarities and mutual dependency among the different people living in these different areas. Viewed as a unifying symbol[25], his internal policies could maintain the peaceful coexistence of the six nations until his death in 1980.

Under the socialist rule of the Yugoslav era, top-down urban development continued, executed through centralized planning regulations, and Sarajevo's physical urban appearance underwent a large-scale

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24   Gül, M., & Dee, J. (2015). Sarajevo–A city profile. Cities, 43, 152-166.

25   Tito was widely credited for his ability to unite all ethnicities and religions in Yugoslavia, as argued by, among numerous others, historian Dr. Kelly Hignett in her article *The death of Tito: the death of Yugoslavia.* Retrieved 14 March, 2018 from: https://thevieweast.wordpress.com/2011/07/27/the-death-of-tito-the-death-of-yugoslavia/

transformation. The first master plan for Sarajevo was established in the beginning of the 1960's, and was strongly influenced by Corbusian modernism. Settlements of plain volume buildings were realised, spread in repetitive patterns, favouring social housing over individual.[26] Along these new residential accommodations in high-rise apartments, other significant works realized in this period were the expansion of the public transport system and the building of educational and recreational facilities. This development pattern is the one defining most of the city's urban morphology today.

Yugoslav period
Own image

During Tito's regime, Mt. Trebevic was declared a national park. So close to the city, but at the same time so green and wild, it became the favoured destination for Sarajevans' day trips during the second half of the 20th century.[27] In 1959, a cable car was installed. The base station was in Bistrik and it ran up to Vidikovac (1,164 m), which had a restaurant with the most beautiful view of Sarajevo[28]. With the construction of the cable-car, the relation between the city and the mountain grew even stronger: Trebevic, literally, became a part of Sarajevo.

26   Tufek-Memisevic, T., Stachura, E. (2015). A linear city development under contemporary determinants. Środowisko Mieszkaniowe, 14, 190-195.

27   Borelli, C. (2011). Leftovers of history, the forgotten heritage of Mount Trebevic. CICOP 4th H&hM Conference Sarajevo: "The importance of place". Topic 1.2: Men made hazards, 276-284.

28   Retrieved 15 March, 2018 from: https://sarajevo.travel/en/text/trebevic-lungs-of-saraje-vo/273

THE OLYMPIC REDEFINITION OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

In the 1980's the city reached its construction boom in response to the 1984 Winter Olympic Games the city hosted, the first Winter Olympics to be held in a communist country. The Olympics marked the peak moment, not only of Sarajevo, but of the whole Yugoslavian federation. The government used the Olympics to showcase its power and a feeling of enthusiasm, pride and a sense of unity of all people in the federation. Two world-class sporting facilities were constructed (the ski-jump on Mt. Jahorina and the bobsleigh- and luge track on Mt. Trebevic) together with significant infrastructure works such as a large-scale upgrade of the Sarajevo airport, a five-star hotel, road and public transport improvements and an all-purpose stadium.[29] The Olympic development strip – perpendicular to the longitudinal cultural axis – followed the topography of a side valley. The new Olympic villages that were constructed, would later become residential neighbourhoods, with impressive brutalist features (Mojmilo, Dobrinja) and Sport complexes such as Skenderija and the Zetra Hall were erected in central positions of the city. Nevertheless, actual planned development occurred mainly in flatland areas of the valley while the hills were mostly occupied by individual housing, often illegally constructed and without proper planning.

Olympic period
Own image

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29   Donia, R. J. (2006). Sarajevo: a biography. University of Michigan Press. Sarajevo city profile, 155.
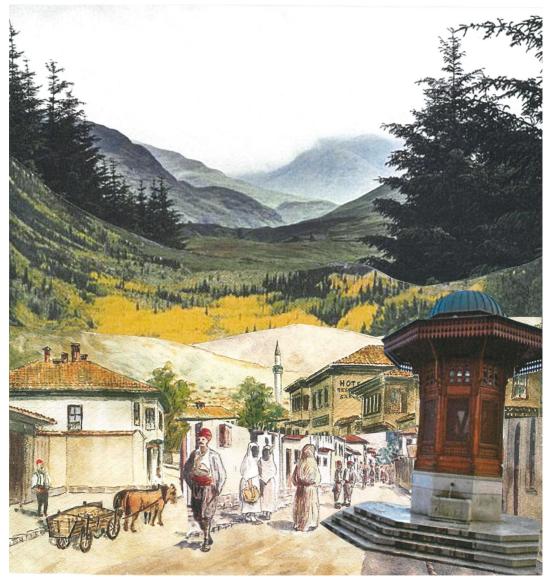
This phase of city expansion was also characterized by an extreme population growth, but planners and city developers did not forget the vital role of vegetation and green areas. As mentioned, Mt. Trebevic was selected as one of the Olympic mountains and during the 1980s a bobsled- and luge track, designed by the architect Gorazd Bucar, was installed on the mountain. Bucar chose an area that was about a half-hour drive from the city centre, under the skislopes, 'as bobsled and luge spectators are different than ski spectators and don't have the winterdress.'[30] Also other sport and leisure facilities, roads and restaurants were constructed on the mountains. All these interventions made the mountains of even easier access to the citizens, who saw them just as an extension of the city.

Sarajevo Olympic Capital
Source: Tunnel Museum

30   Source: Santa Cruz Sentinel, Tuesday 7 feb, 1984.

Ottoman times (1445-1878)
Direct relationship between the people and the surround-
ing landscape
Planning city heavily influenced
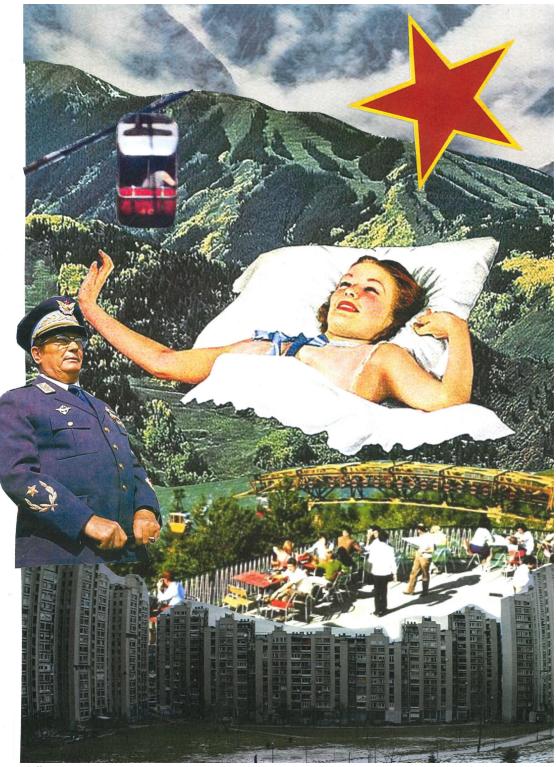
Collage connection mountain - city. Own image.

Austrohungarian period (1878-1918)
Connection surroundings enhanced.
Mt. Trebevic became a forest park for the city.

Collage connection mountain - city. Own image.

Collage connection mountain - city. Own image.

< *Tito's federal project (1945-1980)*
Mt. Trebevic was declared a national park.
A cable car was installed and made the mountain
an ultimate place for leisure. The mountain became,
literally, a part of Sarajevo.

Olympic redefintion (1980-1984)
Mt. Trebevic was selected as one of the Olympic
mountains, and a bobsled track was built on the
mountain as well as other facilities and roads,
making the mountain of even easier acces.

Collage connection mountain - city. Own image.

1445-1878

1878-1918

1945

1918

1445-1878

Ottoman Empire
Sarajevo was part of the Ottoman Empire for more than 400 years.

1878-1918

Austrohungarian period
As an aftermath of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, Bosnia had become part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878, becoming a Grunderzeit city.

1918

Formation Of The First Yugoslav State
At the end of the First World War, as the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed and its constituencies dissolved into independent states, BiH became part of the newly established independent Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes –dominated by centralist Serbian power.

1945

A Republic Within Yugoslav Socialist Federation
At the end of the Second World War, under the power of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was formed –although renamed as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) by the 1964 constitution. Josip Broz Tito, commander of Yugoslav anti-Nazi forces, ruled until his death in 1980. Six republics constituted the Federation: BiH, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia (including the regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina) and Slovenia.

Historic timeline
Own image, edited version of the timeline by Kotzen, B., Reconstructing Sarajevo, LSE Cities, p.8-9

Mountainscapes - A portrait of a city and its mountain

1945-1980

1959

1970

1991

1945 - 1980

1984

1992

1995

1945 -1980

Josip Broz Tito's Federal Project

The second version of the Yugoslav state, operated under one overarching political culture and ideology of 'Yugoslavism' that would stitch together a country of multiple ethnic identities. A duo-nationality was attempted in which each person would concomitantly have a federal Yugoslav and an ethnic identity.

1970

First Cracks Of The Federal Project

Despite the political attempts at Yugoslav unity, protests against it started in 1968 and consolidated in 1970 during the so-called Croatian Spring when students in Zagreb protested for greater civil liberties and Croatian autonomy. As a result, in 1974 a new constitution was ratified which gave more autonomy to the republics in Yugoslavia and the two provinces in Serbia. Yet these efforts only partially resolved ethnic tensions which grew in Yugoslavia after Tito's death on 4 May 1980.

1991
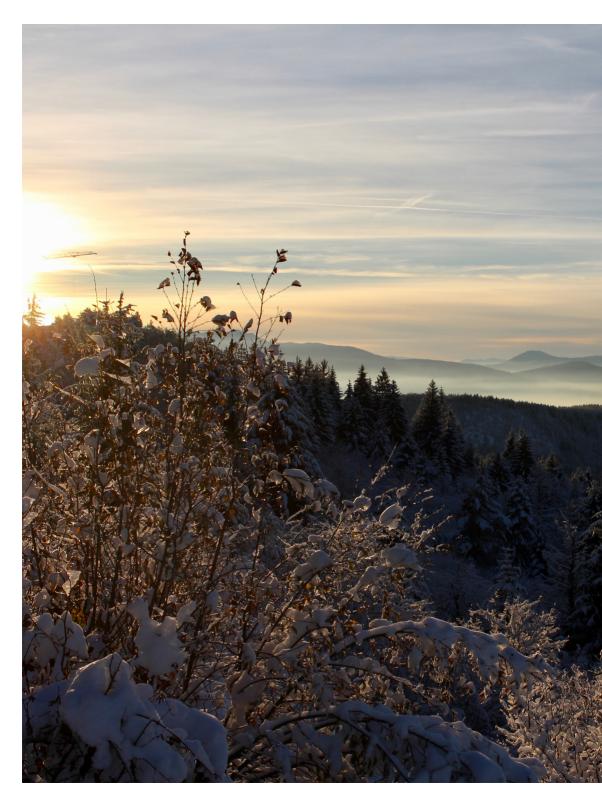
Dissolution Of Yugoslavia

The SFRY's existence ended on 25 June 1991 when Slovenia and Croatia declared independence. By April 1992, Serbia and Montenegro were the only remaining entities in the Federation as Macedonia and BiH declared their independence.

1992

Beginning Of The War, Conflicting Bih And Serbia

In 1991, the referendum to form a Serbian republic within the borders of BiH was held by Bosnian Serbs and had overwhelmingly favourable results. The BiH government declared this unconstitutional and in March 1992, held a national referendum for Bosnian independence from Yugoslavia. Although boycotted by the Bosnian Serbs, the referendum resulted in BiH's declaration of independence in April of that same year which led to the Serbs immediately declaring the independence of Republika Srpska. Shortly after, the war in BiH began.

1995

Dayton Peace Accords

Despite the various peace efforts from European allies, United States and the United Nations' NATO, the war endured for three years. Only in November of 1995 were the Dayton Peace Accords signed in Ohio, USA. The peace agreement divided BiH into two constituencies: the Federation of BiH and Republika Srpska which are divided by the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL). Sarajevo's territory sits on both constituencies and is still divided by the IEBL.

Mountainscapes - A portrait of a city and its mountain

"This used to be…I don't know how to explain it to you…this used to be Džennet. Paradise. It was a clean forest, it was wilderness, you were allowed to go anywhere, you could even sleep there, anything was possible. You bring food, water is there, and then when you go back home, along the way you can pick up all the fresh wood you want."

\- Hasan[1]

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1   Text accompanying photography project of Camilla de Maffei. Retrieved April 6 from: https://www.lensculture.com/articles/camilla-de-maffei-the-visible-mountain#slideshow

WARTIME CITYSCAPE

and the art of survival

After Tito's death in 1980, the country suffered from a severe economic depression and, in the next two decades, feelings of na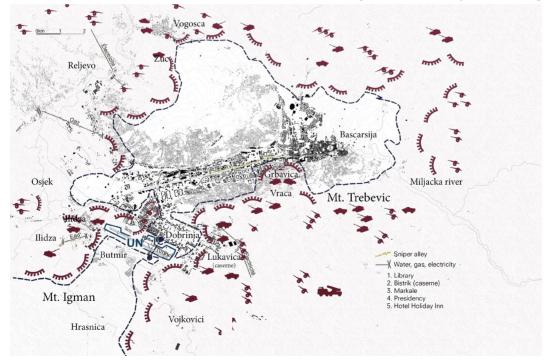tionalism became stronger. Now that the charming dictator, who was more than a president an icon, had died, Yugoslavia slowly fell apart. After Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence from Yugoslavia in 1991, Bosnia-Herzegovina passed a referendum for independence in 1992. On 1 March 1992, as a result of the referendum, Bosnia and Herzegovina became an independent country. Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats had voted for Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence. But Bosnian Serbs, mostly Orthodox and backed by Serbia, wanted Sarajevo and other Bosnian territories to be part of a greater Serbia. On the 5th of April, snipers from Bosnian Serb military groups[31] attacked a massive citizens' peace demonstration in Sarajevo. The first victims fell. Despite the citizens having clearly expressed their anti-war position, the city was besieged and for four years the city suffered endless shooting, bombing and attacks by tanks. The longitudinal urban layout of the city in the valley along the Miljacka River, surrounded by hills and mountains, was an ideal condition for the siege of the city. Trapped, the city was bombarded from the hills with hundreds of grenades per day, the mountains that surround the city becoming mined frontlines from which the city was placed under the longest siege in modern military history. According to *Sarajevo: Survival Guide* (FAMA, 1993), along the natural landscape of the surrounding hills and mountains of the city appeared: Two-hundred-sixty tanks, one-hundred-twenty mortars, and innumerable anti-aircraft cannons, sniper rifles and other small arms. All of that was entrenched around the city, facing it. At any moment, from any of these spots, any of the arms could hit any target in the city. And they did, indeed—civilian housing, museums, churches, cemeteries, people on the streets. Everything became a target. All exits from the city, all points of entry, were blocked. [32]

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31   The Bosnian Serb military groups were against the Bosnian independence. They were backed by the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army.

32   FAMA. (1993). *Sarajevo Survival Guide*. Edited by Wagner Aleksandra Razović, Maja. Croatia: Workman Publishing, 5. FAMA created a Michelin style guidebook containing 30 thematic survival categories. How to survive in a city without water, electricity, heating, food, transportation, schools, jobs, safe living spaces? How to survive a disaster?
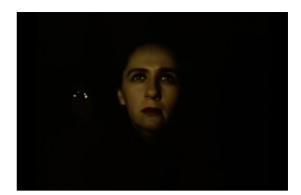
FAMA Survival Map 1992-1996. Source: famacollection.org

City under wartime. The airport was controlled by the UN. Under it, a tunnel was constructed, allowing food, war supplies, and humanitarian aid to come into the city. Own image.

Stills from the film 'Sarajevo Film Festival' by Johan van der Keuken and Frank Vellenga(1993).

Van der Keuken and Vellenga visited the Sarajevo Film Festival in October 1993. In three different cinemas in the city, many major films were screened using video beams. Van der Keuken himself presented two films, but he felt it was most important to record the fact that the festival was itself statement by focusing on film and culture in the hell of Sarajevo.

MEDIA AND OUR PERCEPTION OF THE WORLD

The Bosnian war and the siege of Sarajevo were the centre of international (media) attention due to the work of local and international media agents who were based in Sarajevo, producing sensational images depicting civilians injured by sniper bullets, or flaming, bombarded buildings.[35] It is important to note the difference between how the war was represented by foreign media, and what life actually was like. Video footage unfolds its daily parade of recurring images of snipers, shells and artillery positions that target and shoot at people running and people queuing. But there was a human side of the war as well, people that continued their lives in these unthinkable circumstances. The citizens fought back with humour and creativity. The city orchestra played in the basement of the TV building, a beauty contest was organized, the Sarajevo Film Festival was founded.

This side of the war has, luckily, also been documented. Many citizens filmed their city during the war. In 1992, Dragan Vikic, a commander of the police special forces, asked the following during a TV news broadcasting: "I would like to ask you, if you have the possibility, invite all citizens who own video cameras to use them, and to prepare filmed material, as that material will certainly have its effect."[36] Examples of the documentary films made by foreigners are Miss Sarajevo by Bill Carter, Sarajevo Film Festival by Johan van der Keuken and Frank Vellenga, Serbian Epics by Pawel Pawlikowski and A Sarajevo Diary by Dom Rotheroe and narrated by Bill Tribe.[37] These films offer a startling portrait of Sarajevo during the height of the city's siege. Instead of following the scenes of carnage that the leading media so often show, these films follow the alternative scenes of the Sarajevan people and artists determined to live as normal a life as they could under the most difficult and dangerous conditions.

Media, and especially film, have a big role in how we perceive our (indirect) environment. Film frames reality in a certain way. All media create a specifically urban consciousness: they provide images of cities that are primarily mental constructions rather than real places.[38] This relates to how the outside world looked into the war reality, but it also gave the Sarajevans an opportunity to escape their reality[39].

35 Pilav, A. (2015). *Collective documenting of extreme urban transformations: evidence of Urban Resilience during the war in Sarajevo (1992-1996)*. Sheffield: The University of Sheffield.

36 Idem dito. Cited source: Documentary film 'Do you Remember Sarajevo', min: 2:30 – 2:44, a documentary created out of the video archive of 500 hours of amateur-videos.

37 A more detailed description of the films can be found in the appendix 'film manual'.

38 Paalman, F. (2011). *Cinematic Rotterdam*. Rotterdam: 010, 15.

39 Interview Frank Vellenga, who, with Johan van der Keuken, went to Sarajevo to document the human side of the war. In their film, 'Sarajevo Film festival', they underline the relevance of film to survive a war, as it gives you the ability to move to another world.

"Running, they have been running for 1100 days under a torrent of projectiles and shells, their hearts beating like the spinning rotors of a machine. From the sky, from the beautiful surrounding hills, someone is always watching, honing in on a moving target, and shooting."
– Manuela Gandini.

"The first time mortar shells fell on the city, they fell fairly close to where I was living, because they were being fired from the mountain, they passed over my head, over the top of the building in which I was. The windows faced north, away from the direction from which the shells were coming[33]
This certainly gives the light to the argument that the shells that fell on the city came from within the city itself. Because anybody who knows the geography of Sarajevo knows that there is no room between the city and the mountain. Because they could have come from nowhere else than the mountain and we all know who was on the mountain."
– Bill Tribe[34]

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33 So they were coming from the south, from Mt. Trebevic

34 Tribe, B. (1992-1993). Film: Sarajevo Diary. Raw footage material.

Stills from the film 'Serbian Epics' by Pawel Pawlikowski (1992). One can clearly see how close the mountain, and the besieger, was to the city.

Cooking stove during war.
Photographer: Zoran Kanlić "stove(s): cooking and heating objects," Un-war
Space, accessed March 19, 2018, http://unwarspace.bk.tudelft.nl/items/show/18.

Mountainscapes - A portrait of a city and its mountain

DUAL LANDSCAPES

Until the war, the hills surrounding the city had always been an integral part of the Sarajevans lives. The territory of the landscape blended, almost seamless, into the city's urban pattern. But as war broke out in 1992, the mountains were occupied by Serb-Bosnian troops and, due to their strategic position over Sarajevo, it became one of the main enclaves the city was besieged from. Sarajevo's topography, source of its astonishing beauty, soon became its biggest curse The common understanding of their territory changed in the people's minds. They started separating from their long history of appreciation and respect for the territory and surroundings. From an idyllic spot of leisure, it turned into the primary source of death and danger.

During the war, Sarajevo turned into a ruralized city[40], with its urban fabric largely dissolved. This included the architectural and landscape architectural legacies of the Winter Olympics infrastructure, which survived only eight years after they had been built for the big event of peaceful athletic competition between nations. The shells hurled from the mountain tops dismantled the infrastructure and turned Sarajevo into a shrinking city. Sarajevo was the victim of an *urbicide*[41], with the goal of total destruction of the city and everything it stood for. The destruction targeted historic buildings, cultural landscapes and public and sacred monuments, causing inestimable damage to the urban fabric. Sarajevo's streets became sniper alleys and public open spaces were turned into graveyards. Besides those '*landscapes of death*', the city itself became a survival resource, it was turned into a '*landscape of survival*'. The previous peacetime functions of the buildings adopted new functions as urban shelters. Open public spaces were turned into urban gardens and cemeteries. Urban trees were cut down and used as fuel for heating and cooking. Trenches were dug and protection sheets were hung between buildings to block the view of the snipers. The city was constantly transformed under the dual pressure of military destruction on the one side and survival strategies on the other side. The image of a war city grew day by day[42].

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40   Piplas, H. (2017). Reactivating Sarajevo. Topos (99), 54-55.

41   The term "urbicide", originally introduced by American philosopher Marshall Berman to characterize the destruction of his native Bronx in the 1980s, in Sarajevo took on new dimensions of meaning, signifying the targeted destruction of a heterogeneous urban space where different ethnic, cultural and religious groups had lived and interacted largely without antagonisms and physical or mental borders. Piplas, H. (2017). Reactivating Sarajevo. Topos (99), 54-55.

42   Pilav, A. (2012). Before the war, after the war: urban imageries for urban resilience. Int. J. Disaster Risk Sci., 3 (1): 23–37.

Mountainscapes - A portrait of a city and its mountain

The wounded youth of my city – 1994 [43]

My entire city is all wounded.
The birds have been injured because the people have cut down the trees
and have destroyed their nests. The parks mourn their inhabitants, hit by
the fire.
The houses are sad and overwhelmed by the sudden departure of their
loyal residents. They do not yet know that some will never come back.
There are big black tears on the faces of the houses. Many wounds have
remained along the streets of Sarajevo. In the parking lots the abandoned
cars stand lonely, whose hearts * now shine in the homes of their owners.
Some dogs and cats roam the ruins, their youngsters are dead, because
nobody cares for them.
The people without legs or hands move slowly through the city; some are
in wheelchairs. Many children have been injured because they have lost
their parents. For many parents there is no consolation anymore because
they have lost their children.
Brave boys of my Sarajevo defend our city and our wounded youth instead
of having fun and making first love walks.
Everyone in my city carries a wound in his soul, but also the hope that
everything will soon be over.

* hearts: batteries of cars

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43   Translated by author from 'Price iz plakara/Verhalen uit de kast' by Tihana Majstorovic,
from the private archive of Zehra Salman, who I met and interviewed in Sarajevo.

ART OF SURVIVAL

"*War is not just images of soldiers shooting or the repulsive face of Doctor Karadzic[44] or graveyards that seem to cover entire hillsides, or people and children with just one leg, war is also the life that, although more disturbing, explodes in the nights, despite the curfew, in gathering places of young men and women who look like they just stepped out of a gallery in Soho, war is also bands performing rock songs in Serbo-Croatian or 'Bandiera rossa' and 'Bella, ciao' in Italian. This is the Sarajevo spirit where Muslims, Catholics, Orhodox Christians and Jews have been living together for centuries, exchanging culture and maintaining their own traditions, a people with no intention of dividing under the deadly pressure of ethnic cleansing, that truly want to live together, there, in the city of minarets, Eastern Orthodox churches, cathedrals and synagogues, in the heart of Europe, at the intersection of East and West. You want to know what the human ingredients of Sarajevo are? Take a sip of vodka. Design Trio[45]'s vodka.*"[46]

The citizens developed a philosophy of survival in response to the terror, in order to reclaim freedom through the fundamental values of humanity. A text published by FAMA reads: 'Together with the daily destruction caused by four thousand shells per day, a new perception of reality was born for us. We have found that it is possible to create a community with nothing, and that this special community has created a new social unit for the 21st century.'[47]

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44   Radovan Karadžic is a Bosnian Serb former politician and convicted war criminal who served as the President of Republika Srpska during the War. Educated as a psychiatrist he was convicted in 2008 by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Jugoslavia of war crimes, including genocide against Bosniak and Croat civilians.

45   Dalida and Bojan Hadžihalilović graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts, Department of Graphic Design, in Sarajevo in 1989. At the beginning of their studies, together with Lejla Mulabegović Hatt (who currently lives and works in Zurich), they founded the studio Design Trio – Sarajevo. Before the war in Yugoslavia, they were engaged in graphic design, visual communication, computer graphics, animation, TV production of TV commercials, books, magazines, newspapers, receiving many awards for their creative work. In the besieged Sarajevo, TRIO continued its artistic work, which resulted in a capital collection of posters and postcards showing redesigned symbols of pop culture of the 20th century, presented from the brutal war perspective. The works of the Design-Trio Sarajevo group are a prime example of art as resistance, targeting our global village images, produced by the mass media and advertising. They created postcards to send to the world in order to show that Sarajevo never left it. It was the world that left Sarajevo.

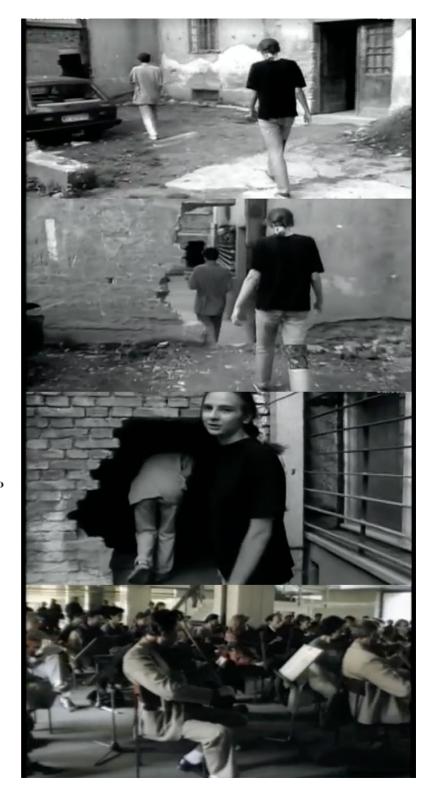46   Gandini, M. (1995). Trio Sarajevo: Enjoy Sarajevo. Milano: Ulisse & Calipso.

47   FAMA. (1993). *Sarajevo Survival Guide*. Edited by Wagner Aleksandra Razović, Maja. Croatia: Workman Publishing.

Life in the city took place on two levels: the overground city and the underground city. The overground city was an extremely dangerous, high-risk battlefield, the city that was presented to the rest of the world in the media. In contrast, there was an underground life of secrets that was not broadcast by any official media, because in the obsessive eye of sensationalism, it is not life that matters, but death. But the underground of Sarajevo was teeming with life, theatres, basements, they were alive, and the Sarajevans, they lived like hunted mice, in a non-geographic space[48]: in the space of art. Only the cultural resistance, lead by the artists of Sarajevo, challenges the waiting for the next shell, the oppression and death, slow or quick, that hovers over the city. Art lives on. As the city of Sarajevo is dying under the onslaught of armed aggression, art puts up a resistance.

'Cultural Survival – The besieged city defends itself by culture and thus survives. Groups and individuals create whatever they used to create before the siege. In impossible circumstances they produce films, write books, publish newspapers, produce radio programs, design postcards, stage exhibitions, performances, make blueprints for rebuilding the city, found new banks, organize fashion shows, shoot photographs, celebrate holidays, put on make up… Sarajevo is the city of the future and of the life in the post-cataclysm. In it on the ruins of the old civilization a new one is sprouting, an alternative one, composed of remains of urban elements. Sarajevo lives a life of futuristic comics and science fiction movies.'[49]

It is the fourth year of the war and the city survives. It has conquered an indomitable territory, that of spirituality, through cultural resistance, putting on theatre plays amid the bombs, inaugurating exhibitions amid the bombs, painting, amid the bombs, the soul of this end of the century. 'this is proof that matter can be destroyed, but not the spirit' said the poet Abdulah Didran.

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48   If a geographical space is considered a representation of real world phenomenon associated with a physical location relative to the Earth, a *non-geographical space* can be considered something that is associated with the mental space, our inherent knowledge, contextual acclamation, past memories and mental psyche, a space intuitively grasped by artists.
49   FAMA. (1993). *Sarajevo Survival Guide*. Edited by Wagner Aleksandra Razović, Maja. Croatia: Workman Publishing, 89.
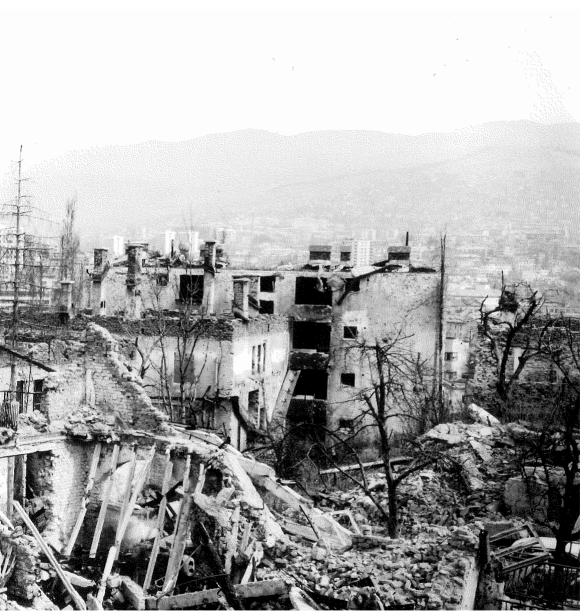
"Through these tunnels, we will go to our place"

The Underground world. Stills from the film 'Miss Sarajevo' by Bill Carter.

The Underground world. Stills from the film 'Miss Sarajevo' by Bill Carter.

Sarajevo, directly after the war.
Photographer: Paul Lowe.

END/POST-WAR

The war lasted four years and ended with the signing of the Dayton Agreement in December 1995. The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina not only resulted in many deaths and large scale destruction[50] but also in dramatic populations shifts, due to the ethnic character of the war. Half the country's population was forced to leave their homes: more than a million moved elsewhere in Bosnia and another million left the country altogether. In the specific case of Sarajevo, the siege lasted 1395 days and a total of 13,952 people were killed. The 1991 census indicates that before the war, the estimated population was around 435,000 people, while after the conflict, it ranged between 300,000 and 380,000. The result of the systematic destruction of Bosnian cultural heritage was that 60% of the buildings were either damaged or destroyed[51]. Bosnia's National Library together with the Oriental Institute belonging to the University of Sarajevo were destroyed along with their invaluable collections containing historic manuscripts, books, maps, photographs, Ottoman archives and registries. The relationship between the citizens and their mountain can also be seen as a certain heritage that was destroyed. The negative association of the mountain being the frontline, the new established border crossing the mountain, the minefields and the destruction of facilities including the cable-car created an *urban void*.

While the Dayton Agreement officially brought the war to an end, it also established a de facto politically split of the country and a complicated political system, with three rotating presidents at state level with each sub-state level having its own President and Prime Ministers. The political system consists of a self-governing administrative unit, the Brcko District, and two political entities: The Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina—the latter being further divided into 10 cantons. The Republika Srpska was created as an autonomous Bosnian Serb entity, covering 49% of the country's territory. Many Bosnians regard this as a reward for the ruthless war against the Bosniak Muslim population. There is an uneasy 'peace' now in Sarajevo, but, as noted by Bollens, it is the peace of the cemetery, not the people. [52]

The ethnic division between the Federation and Republic is further reinforced by an artificial boundary crossing the south-east of the city,

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50   During the war, approximately 200.000 people were killed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, hundreds of thousands more were wounded.

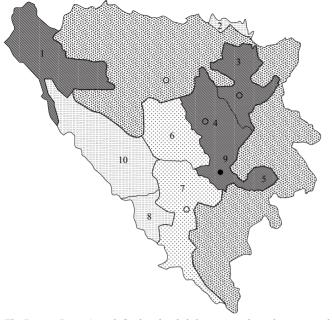51   Bollens, S. A. (2001). City and Soul: Sarajevo, Johannesburg, Jerusalem, Nicosia. *City* 5 (2): 169–87.

52   Bollens, S. A. (2001). City and Soul: Sarajevo, Johannesburg, Jerusalem, Nicosia. *City* 5 (2): 169–87.

the IEBL (Inter-Entity Boundary Line). This boundary trespasses lands belonging to Sarajevo Airport, cuts neighbourhoods in two and crosses Mt. Trebevic, and although no official checkpoints[53] exist, it, nevertheless, acts as a psychological barrier. The IEBL shows another crucial issue for the understanding of the relation between the citizens and the territory. The IEBL basically froze the frontlines throughout the new Republic of Bosnia Herzegovina: the country emerged divided into two entities whose territories reflect the military situation of the two armies at the exact moment the war ended.

Inés Aquilué and Estanislao Roca[54] define the territorial division of Bosnia into two entities and the consequent displacement of the population from one region to another as one of the main geopolitical factors that shaped the territorial and urban condition after the war. Secondly, they name the imminent rebuilding and restructuring of infrastructures, institutions and buildings (both public and private). The framework of reconstruction centred on repairing that which had been destroyed, reconstructing symbolic buildings and historic city centres. However, this activity is becoming insufficient in the mid and long term, above all in cities with territorial divisions marked by inter-ethnic problems. Thirdly, in the case of the post-war period in Sarajevo, the city had to confront not only territorial division and the devastation of war, but also the sudden occurrence of radical political and economic change. With the break-up of Yugoslavia, Socialism also disappeared. The cities of the former Yugoslavia lost their old socialist status and entered a process of thorough restructuring, on a economic, social as well as a physical level. The economic model from the socialist system had to be replaced by the neoliberal and capitalist system. A result of this was the entry of foreign capital which would lead to globalisation and, in the case of Sarajevo, is often linked to Arabic and Turkish investments.

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53   Although there are no official checkpoints, the field work shows that indications marking the passage from one entity to another do actually exist (road signs, writings and graffiti, different types of beer served in bars, etc.). Caterina Borelli also reveals in her research *Leftovers of History – the forgotten heritage of Mount Trebevic* that many people are reluctant to cross the line unless they have no other choice: the fact that the feeling of an invisible barrier separating "us" and "them" (no matter which side we are looking from) is still strong among the population tells us that the IEBL is more than just an administrative division.
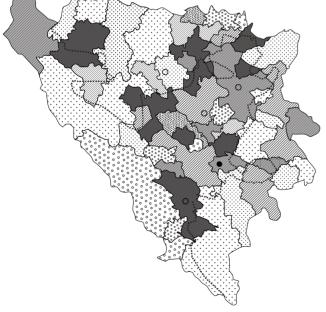
54   Aquilué, I., Roca, E. (2016). Urban development after the Bosnian War: The division of Sarajevo's territory and the construction of East Sarajevo. Cities 58:152-163

The Dayton Peace Accords further divided the country through its imposed ethnic divisions creating a second tier of administrative government comprising of two entities: an ethnically cleansed Republika Srpska and the ethnically divided Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Illustration
Source: Kotzen, B., Reconstructing Sarajevo, LSE Cities, p.29.
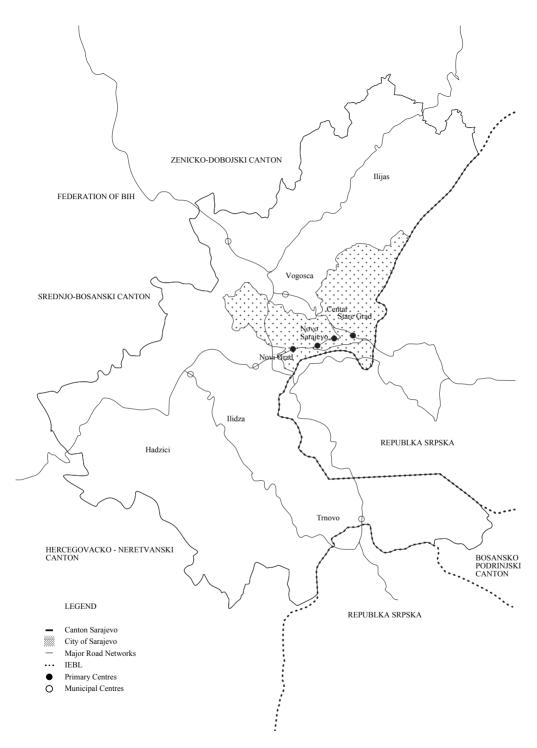
EHTNIC COMPOSITION
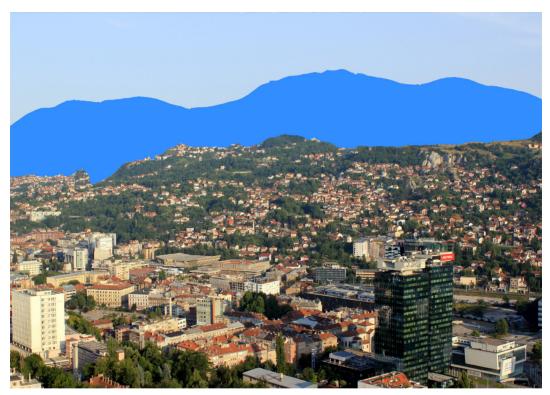
⊡ Croats - more than 66%
⊡ Croats - 50-65%
⊡ Croats - up to 50%

⊡ Bosniaks - more than 66%
⊡ Bosniaks - 50-65%
⊡ Bosniaks - up to 50%

⊡ Serbs - more than 66%
⊡ Serbs - 50-65%
⊡ Serbs - up to 50%

The ethnic composition of BiH in 1991 proves beyond the clarity and homogeneity assumed by the Dayton Peace Accords when delineating the IEBL. Illustration
Source: Kotzen, B., Reconstructing Sarajevo, LSE Cities, p.29.

ZENICKO-DOBOJSKI CANTON

Ilijas

FEDERATION OF BIH

SREDNJO-BOSANSKI CANTON

Vogosca

Centar
Stare Grad
Novo
Sarajevo
Novi Grad

REPUBLKA SRPSKA

Ilidza

Hadzici

HERCEGOVACKO - NERETVANSKI
CANTON

Trnovo

BOSANSKO
PODRINJSKI
CANTON

REPUBLKA SRPSKA

LEGEND

— Canton Sarajevo
▨ City of Sarajevo
— Major Road Networks
⋯ IEBL
● Primary Centres
○ Municipal Centres

Sarajevo
Source: Kotzen, B., Reconstructing Sarajevo, LSE Cities, p.4.

Urban void after the war - the heritage of the strong bond between the city and their mountain was destroyed.
Own image.

Urban void after the war - the heritage of the strong bond between the city and their mountain was destroyed. Own image.

NOW

Today, Sarajevo's old beacons have been restored. Over the past years, many of the war wounds became scars. 'Sniper Alley' functions again as a life artery. The highlight was the renovation of perhaps the most iconic building in the city, the old library, erected at the end of the nineteenth century during the Habsburg occupation and completely destroyed during the war. In the Sarajevo of today, one can still see the traces of the war. But they are mainly superficial, cosmetic traces. The city functions again, new tissue has been added. Slowly but certainly, the city is regaining its multi-ethnic, diverse character.

But, for the Sarajevans, it is not going fast enough.
Leila: '*Sometimes I feel like we're stuck in time, nothing ever seems to change. It's not going fast enough, just compare it with Europe after World War 2. Twenty years later it was buzzing again, it was the time of the hippies, that's what happened.*'[55]

The country still struggles with acute social, economic, ethnic and environmental problems—all of which obstruct the task of nation building. Contemporary Sarajevo is experiencing a neo-liberal policy. The city is in state of *transition*, not only from a war to a post-war city, but also from a socialist to a capitalist city. Unemployment, corruption, politics of the territory that are still continued, poor public sector performance and low standards of living are the significant issues affecting the daily lives of Sarajevo's citizens. The unemployment rate in Bosnia and Herzegovina is 45%, 68% for people aged 15-24[56]. The country faces a significant brain drain, with educated, skilled young people deciding that it is easier to look for a job outside the country, they do not see a future in the country. The city's administration is inefficient at all levels as a result of the complex political system described above. Official urban and regulation plans are often subject to changes, lacking reasonable argumentation and in favour of free-market economy, privatization and foreign capital inflows. A pre-eminant example of this are the large, gleaming, shopping centres that have been constructed in the centre of the city with Arabic investments.

Actual planning does not take place and because of this, people consider their city not as a city *in transition,* but rather as *status quo*.

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55   During my site visits, I obtained several interviews with citizens. Leila was one of them. What she said about the status quo, the country that never seems to change, is the main opinion of the Sarajevans that I have spoken to.

56   Retrieved 20 March, 2018, from: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.1524. ZS. The youth unemployment rate is the highest of the world.

Built in 1896 as Sarajevo's city hall, the neo-Moorish National Library was shelled and burned out on the night of 25 August 1992. The building was left in ruins, but is completely restored today. It is, however, the destruction of its contents, together with those of the Oriental Institue, that are an incalculable culture loss. The country's written history went up in flames. A plaque on the building reads 'Remember and Warn'.

Library and towers, 1996/2011
Photographer: Jim Marshall

TAKING a STANCE

the role of the architect and the position of (memory in) architecture

As said before, the role of the architect is ever-changing. For each design task, the architect has to take a stance. In order to see what new roles the architect can assume in the Sarajevo of today, and to provide insight in the position of architecture in society, one needs to reflect on the adapting role of the architect and position of architecture before the war, during the war and after the war. When discussing the role of the architect and the position of architecture related to a war context, the connection between *memory* and *place* needs to be underlined. What is the role of architects and the architectural space the commemoration of tragic events and difficult histories? How to translate memories of human losses into architectural space? And how to deal with multi-layered views on a particular memory, deeply embedded in the political and social context?[57]
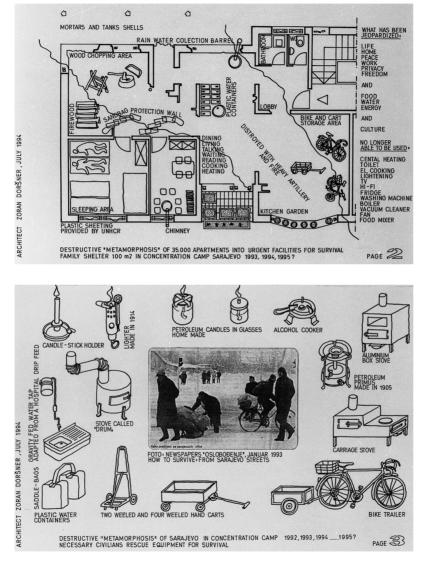
BEFORE THE WAR

As Arna Mackic describes in her book Mortal Cities, Forgotten Monuments, architecture has played an essential role at many different turning points in the history of Yugoslavia, both in the decades after the Second World War, as well as during and after the Bosnian War (1992-1995). Symbolism was of great importance during these events: not only by strategically placing particular buildings in public space, but also by deliberately destroying or avoiding specific architectural targets.

During Yugoslav times architects work was organized in a way to serve state and the society, it was defined as a public function. Planning strategies were top-down, as it had been in Austro-hungarian and Ottoman times as well. Furthermore, Tito deliberately used architecture as a tool to emphasized the similarities, the common ground of the Yugoslavians. From 1960 to 1980, Tito commissioned more than 100 monuments to commemorate the victims of fascism. These monuments did not recall the WOII, but instead were mostly oriented toward a shared future. This future was imagined as a world of freedom, equality, independence, and progress, offering a

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57   To get a deeper understanding of memory in Architecture, I read a part of Sabina Tanovic' PhD, that is dealing with these questions. Tanovic, S. (2015). Memory in Architecture: Contemporary memorial projects and their predecessors. Proefschrift, TU Delft, 1-38.

Partisan Necropolis, Bogdan Bogdanovic, Mostar
Photographer: Christian Maijstre

PAGE 2 diagram:

MORTARS AND TANKS SHELLS

RAIN WATER COLECTION BARREL

WOOD CHOPPING AREA

BATHROOM

WC

WHAT HAS BEEN JEOPARDIZEDs

LIFE
HOME
PEACE
WORK
PRIVACY
FREEDOM

AND

FOOD
WATER
ENERGY

AND

CULTURE

NO LONGER ABLE TO BE USED*

CENTAL HEATING
TOILET
EL. COOKING
LIGHTENING
TV
HI-FI
FRIDGE
WASHING MACHINE
BOILER
VACUUM CLEANER
FAN
FOOD MIXER

FIREWOOD

SANDBAG PROTECTION WALL

PLASTIC WATER CONTAINERS

LOBBY

BIKE AND CART STORAGE AREA

DINING
LIVING
TALKING
WAITING
READING
COOKING
HEATING

DISTROYED WITH HEAVY ARTILLERY AND FIRE

SLEEPING AREA

PLASTIC SHEETING PROVIDED BY UNHCR

CHIMNEY

KITCHEN GARDEN

ARCHITECT ZORAN DORŠNER, JULY 1994

DESTRUCTIVE "METAMORPHOSIS" OF 35.000 APARTMENTS INTO URGENT FACILITIES FOR SURVIVAL
FAMILY SHELTER 100 m2 IN CONCENTRATION CAMP SARAJEVO 1993, 1994, 1995 ?

PAGE 2

PAGE 3 diagram:

CANDLE-STICK HOLDER

LIGHTER MADE IN 1914

PETROLEUM CANDLES IN GLASSES HOME MADE

ALCOHOL COOKER

ALUMINIUM BOX STOVE

GRAVITY FED WATER TAP ADAPTED FROM A HOSPITAL DRIP FEED

STOVE CALLED "DRUM"

PETROLEUM PRIMUS MADE IN 1905

Kako preživjeti sa sarajevskih ulica

FOTO - NEWSPAPERS "OSLOBOĐENJE", JANUAR 1993
HOW TO SURVIVE FROM SARAJEVO STREETS

CARRIAGE STOVE

PLASTIC WATER CONTAINERS

SADDLE-BAGS

TWO WEELED AND FOUR WEELED HAND CARTS

BIKE TRAILER

ARCHITECT ZORAN DORŠNER, JULY 1994

DESTRUCTIVE "METAMORPHOSIS" OF SARAJEVO IN CONCENTRATION CAMP 1992, 1993, 1994 ....1995?
NECESSARY CIVILIANS RESCUE EQUIPMENT FOR SURVIVAL

PAGE 3

*Destructive Metamorphosis - architects' processes of adapting
accustomed pre-war design tools to the war context
Architect: Zoran Dorsner*

better life for everyone – a future that could only exist due to the fact that others had sacrificed their lives. In order for the monuments to appeal to all the different inhabitants, regardless of the republic they were living in or their religion, a new formal language had to be invented. This resulted in a design language that was intended to be free from symbols referring to victory, war heroes and military figures, killed civilians, religion and nationalism. Instead, abstract forms had to refer to the 'modern future'. In a country with an endless variety of cultures, ethnicities, identities and truths, these monuments, regardless of their location, were intended to appeal to any Yugoslavian. the recent history of the WOII was presented as a new beginning for Yugoslavia[58].

The architect who designed many of the monuments ordered by Tito was the architect, urban planner and essayist Bogdan Bogdanovic[59]. He spent his whole life studying the rise and demise of cities, visiting many of them at the point that they were in ruins. He regarded cities as people, believing that destroyed cities should listen to their own memories and from this build a new one, as each city had its own soul for which legibility and historical layering is of great importance. The monuments that he created are thus at the same time a reflection upon society and a utopian message about the future.

DURING THE WAR

As opposed to the custom of master planning before the war, in disaster circumstances as was the war in Sarajevo, urban changes are rapid, unpredictable, and difficult to control. Architects began operating in an imagined and ever-changing world and their role changed. Armina Pilav identified different levels of architects' engagements during the war[60]: (1) soldiers in the Bosnian army; (2) production of space through the spatial reactions against the military destruction; (3) self-chosen methods for documenting material transformations of the city; (4) teaching at the Faculty of architecture; (5) designing proposals for post-war reconstruction of the destroyed public, housing and other buildings; (6) interviews for media, correspondence with architects in other countries,

58   Mackic, A., Te Verde, R. (2016). *Mortal cities, Forgotten Monuments.* Zurich: Park Books AG.

59   For more information on (the memorials of) Bogdan Bogdanovic, I recommend the book *A flower for the dead: the memorials of Bogdan Bogdanovic*, a striking combination of essays and images by Friedrich Achleitner.

60   Pilav, A. *Methods and Practices of Architects during the War destruction of the City.* She is relying on the analysis of the materiality of the destroyed city from her research archive and interviews with Bosnian architects.

publishing activities and exhibition organization. [61]

War itself cannot be considered directly a creative force. However, the tragic external forces on the besieged city stimulate a specific human reaction that leads to the creation of new spaces and new ways of living. The *spatial experiences* of the Sarajevan architects during the war and their attention for the bottom-up processes of the citizens can add to the current dialogue on the position of the architect. These spatial experiences are, however, not confined to the practice of the architects: all people appropriate, demarcate and engage with space.[62] The previous chapter showed how citizens appropriated spaces, creating a new layer of life, a spiritual and cultural one. The resilience of citizens and the importance of the *lived space* is another factor that can add to the architectural discourse.

Not only the role of the architects changed, but also the position of architecture itself. The war of aggression and attrition pursued against Sarajevo aimed to destroy not only its defences, but also its cosmopolitan nature. The war can in some ways be considered to be a war against the architecture of the city. Not just by demolishing any arbitrary buildings, but by targeting specific symbolic architecture – buildings with which the inhabitants identified themselves and their culture: important cultural heritage, such as libraries, museums, universities. By destroying such significant buildings, not only a history and culture of a city are destroyed, but also the identification of the inhabitants with the city disappears.

It was in may '92, when the Oriental library burned, that I felt – these people mean business. Geography is no teacher: it is simply a dark smudge on the history of our country. This would be the first time for Bosnia to lose its libraries. the beauty of a country is housed in its soul. And the soul is hidden in a library. A library is the total memory of a people. The most important knowledge about Bosnia was collected in Vijecnica[63]. There was something so irritating in the way the books were one with the building that it simply had to be burnt down. When seen from Mt. Trebevic, the pseudo-Moorish elegance of the building surpasses its surroundings. When seen by someone who observes the world through mortar launcher aiming coordinates, it is simply irresistible. –Ozren Kebo[64]

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61   Pilav, A. Methods and Practices of Architects during the War destruction of the City. Relying on the analysis of the materiality of the destroyed city from the research archive and my interviews with the Bosnian architects

62   Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

63   City Hall, built by Austria-Hungary, site of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

64   Kebo, O. (2016). *Sarajevo, a beginner's guide.* Sarajevo: TDK Šahinpašić. The book is a collection of his notes on the siege, his attempt to comprehend and summarize the siege of Sarajevo.

In his book The Destruction of Memory, Architecture at War, the architecture critic Robert Bevan explains the logic behind a war against architecture: 'Here, architecture takes on a totemic quality: a mosque, for example, is not simply a mosque; it represents to its enemies the presence of a community marked for erasure. A library or art gallery is a cache of historical memory, evidence that a given community's presence extends into the past and legitimizing it in the present and on into the future. In these circumstances, structures and places with certain meanings are selected for oblivion with deliberate intent.'[65] The link between erasing any physical reminder of a people and its collective memory and the killing of the people themselves is certain. Often, it is presumed that the city we live in will always be there. Likewise, it is hard to imagine that monuments that were built to last will ever be gone. It is hard to imagine losing a city or to envision the buildings in a city disappearing or being transformed into ruins. Unsurprisingly, people are emotionally traumatized when their cities are destroyed: they lose their physical point of reference.

"The first step in liquidating a people is to erase its memory. Destroy its books, its culture, its history. Then you have somebody write new books, manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. Before long the nation will begin to forget what it is and what is was". – Milan kundera[66]

AFTER THE WAR

When the war ended, the conditions changed, and the architect had to take a new stance. After continuously having been exposed to relentless urbicide for almost four years, the city and its citizens faced peace from a place defined by overwhelming architectural and psychological debris, which now had to be confronted in its real scale and meaning. The desires of most city inhabitants were to 'get back to normal,' and forget the trauma they suffered as a result of the violence and destruction. In the immediate post war period (1995–2000) the focus was on rebuilding and repairing residential apartment blocks, refugee return and providing critically needed infrastructure. Many of these projects were undertaken with foreign financial assistance.

In the case of the reconstruction process of the city, the architects and urban planners used a very conventional approach to rebuilding. Designers, however, can use different approaches to dealing with the past, the context and the existing. I carried out a small side study into

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65   Bevan, R. (2006). The destruction of Memory: Architecture at war. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 7-60.

66   Quoted in: Bevan, R. (2006). The destruction of Memory: Architecture at war. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 25.

the history of modern cities attacked in the Second World War, linking them to the three guiding principles shared by the majority of post-war reconstruction projects, as defined by the American architect Lebbeus Woods in his book Radical Reconstruction[67].

He defines the First Principle as: *restore what has been lost to its pre-war condition.* The idea is to restore 'normalcy,' where the normal is the way of living lost as a result of the war. The idea considers the war as only an interruption of an ongoing flow of the normal. It is natural to want to replace something important lost to the destruction of war. Ideologies count on this desire among people and thus make restoration their first principle of reconstruction. They believe that the phoenix can rise again from its own ashes. An outstanding example of this principle is the near-total reconstruction of the Old Town in Warsaw, of which more than 85% was destroyed in World War II by Nazi troops.

Important civic and cultural monuments no doubt should be restored to their undamaged conditions, as tokens of past coherence that might serve as models of civilized though and activity. However, such restorations acknowledge a past social order that ended in war, it ends as parody, and, according to Lebbeus Woods, is worthy only of the admiration of tourists[68]. The complexity of buildings, streets and cities, built up over time, can never be replaced. At such a moment of recovery, it is crucial that new directions and new choices are articulated.

According to Woods, the Second Principle is: *demolish the damaged and destroyed buildings and build something entirely new.* This 'new' can be something radically different from what existed before. An example of this can be found in the reconstruction of the centre of Rotterdam after World War II. Nearly everything that was left of the city centre, that was not yet destructed by bombs, was by the city planners, to make place for a better Rotterdam. The destruction of Rotterdam transformed into an idealistic opportunity to create a new and improved metropolis. Yesterday was history and the future looked brighter than ever.

It is natural to not only want to *restore* whatever is valuable that has been lost, but also – and at the same time – to *erase* the memories of tragedy and loss, by substituting the fabric of the city, degraded by violence, an entirely new tissue, and a better one. This is the ideologies' second principle

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67   Woods, L. (2011). War and architecture: three principles. https://lebbeuswoods. wordpress.com/2011/12/15/war-and-architecture-three-principles/. Retrieved February 17, 2018.
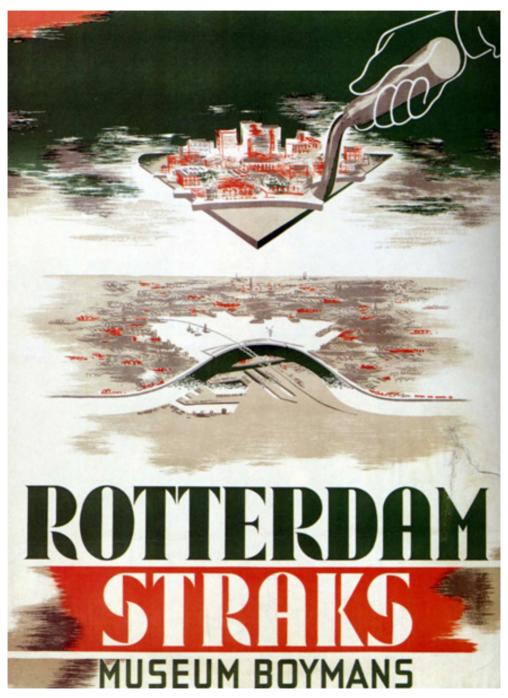
68   Woods, L. (1997). *Radical Reconstruction.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997, 14.

Warsaw City Centre, 1945
Source: http://warszawa.wikia.com/wiki/Stare_Miasto

Warsaw City Centre, 2016
Source: https://www.theodysseyonline.com/study-abroad-poland

The future of Rotterdam
Source: Museum Boymans

of reconstruction, the one that enables it to lay claim on the future, just as the principle of restoration allows them to claim the past. The modernist architects faced the task of rebuilding, employing the violence of what would later be called 'urban renewal'.
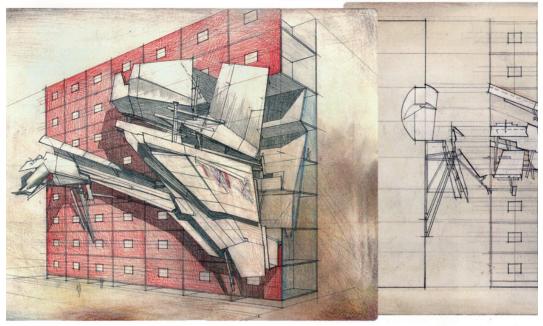
The erasure of old cities in order to build a better and more humane world is by now a widely discredited concept, yet it lives on wherever a totalizing system of space and of thinking is imposed in the name of a common cause. This applies especially to the crisis of post-war reformations, when cities or parts of them are conceived as a *tabula rasa* on which to inscribe new plans. Thus, new principles should be devised for the reconstruction of damaged buildings and cities. Such principles, it would seem, cannot emerge from conceptions of either pasts or futures, but rather from the present, from conditions existing in the experiential *now*.

Both principles ignore the effects of the war and destruction on the people who suffered through them, not only the personal psychological effects, but also those forcing changes to people's social, political, and economic relationships. I believe that responsible architecture always enters a dialogue with existent conditions, profound buildings are not self-centred monologues. Buildings mediate deep narratives of culture, place and time. Architecture is a metaphor of human existence in the world, it strengthens the sense of being and identity of men. That brings me to the last principle:

The Third Principle: *The post-war city must create the new from the damaged old.* Lebbeus Woods argues that in the spaces voided by destruction, new structures can be injected. Complete in themselves, they do not fit exactly into the voids, but exist as spaces within spaces, making no attempt to reconcile the gaps between what is new and old, between two radically different systems of spatial order and of thought. These gaps can only be filled in time. The new structures contain *freespaces*, the forms of which do not invite occupation. They are, in fact, difficult to occupy, and require inventiveness in order to become habitable. They are not predesigned, predetermined, predictable, or predictive. The freespaces are, at their inception, useless and meaningless spaces. They become useful and acquire meaning only as they are inhabited. Who inhabits freespaces? The people of crisis. Who owns freespaces? Those who make them their own[69]. A space that has been abandoned, for whatever reason, reverts to the common domain. There is justice in this, and the reality of an ever-renewable beginning.

69   Woods, L. (1997). "*Radical Reconstruction.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997, 12-17.

Whereas I believe in this concept of freespaces, I want to add nuance to it. Woods' third principle is based on the idea of 'radical reconstruction', which I consider to be too radical. I think these freespaces can be realized without adding a new structure, as a new layer, the layer of the now, can already be created by integrating the relics of the war, in their direct post-war state, into the urban pattern, as can be seen in Berlin with the Berlin Wall, and Hiroshima, with the dome.

A drawing by Lebbeus Woods of a typical residential block, badly damaged in places, reconstructed with new types of spaces for residents' use. The principle here is that reconstruction integrates people's experiences of the destruction into needed social changes, as well as architectural ones.
Source: https://lebbeuswoods.wordpress.com/2011/12/15/war-and-architecture-three-principles/

The fall of the Berlin wall, November 10 1989. The wall in its direct post-war state is still visible in the Berlin of today. The wall itself remained the same, but it is, however, integrated in the new urban pattern. Another, more nuanced, way of creating the new from the damaged old.
Source: http://cvdgab.blogspot.nl/2017/01/

NOW

"So I took the position that reconstruction should not cosmetically erase the traces of the violence Sarajevo had suffered, but transformed them into a new type of space, one that would provoke new ways of thinking about being in a post-siege, post-socialist, post-Yugoslav Sarajevo."
– Lebbeus Woods [70]

In the case of Sarajevo, the first principle has mainly been applied, thus erasing a layer of history, the layer of war. The debris is cleared, reconstruction took place, new buildings have been constructed, the city itself seems to be flourishing again. However, when walking through the city, one can find traces of material memory on the streets, the Sarajevo Roses[71], a silent reminder for those who remember victims and particular circumstances cause by the explosions. But over the years, these intriguing reminders of the sieges deteriorated as their red colour bleached or new layers of asphalt were added on top, leaving only a few in sight on random locations.[72]

Architecture is a physical representation of the history of a particular region, reign and the social groups that inhabit this space. Memory can be constructed through monuments that commemorate the past. It can form a group's consciousness and endurance; it can also become a physical projection of both the material and immaterial conditions of a social group. During periods of violence, architecture often falls victim to various forms of destruction that either intentionally or arbitrarily conquer a space and its people to violent oppression. It can mark a landscape with physical scars that serve as lessons and reminders for decades, centuries and generations to come; it can equally be quickly plastered over and manipulate a people's sense of history, memory and self. The choice between removing, replacing, abandoning or preserving signs of destruction then becomes a highly political one. It reflects the political climate of an affected region and people. While some power agents may prefer erasing a violent past to eradicate potential traces of injustices, others may choose the contrary in order to celebrate acts of resistance or domination. Often, signs of violent destructions are also partially or fully preserved as warnings to deter future conflict or violence.[73]

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70   Lebbeus Woods on how to response to post-war situation in Sarajevo

71   Imprints of the mortar shells fired on Sarajevo during the siege were filled with a red coloured material by designer Nedzad Kurto.

72   Tanovic, S. (2015). Memory in Architecture: Contemporary memorial projects and their predecessors. Proefschrift, TU Delft, 29-30.

73   Varatharajah, S. (2017). *Contested memories: how Sri Lanka dominates Tamil ruins*. THE FUNAMBULIST, Volume 11 (May-June 2017): *Designed Destructions, 52-57.*

The fundamental challenge that rises today is how to shape the memory of the killings and destruction between 1992-1995, and how to integrate this memory in the urban pattern, thus applying the third principle. It should be based on historic memory, without biased political interpretation. Facts can help creating this shared memory, a memory that no one can contest. Speaking and how we speak about the past shapes the future of a country.[74]

Sarajevo rose
Own image

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74   Osservatoria Balcani e Caucaso, 2008. *Bad memories – Sites, symbols and narrations of the wars in the Balkans.* Trento: Publistampa Arti grafiche, 65.

RUINS and MONUMENTS

memory, value, speculative reconstruction

In Bosnia, many monuments are purposely built to humiliate 'the other' while glorifying crimes and perpetrators. The rich architectural heritage of monuments and memorials in the region is exposed to two sombre possibilities: it remains abandoned or is actively misused. Some monuments have turned into forgotten landscapes of debris while others serve as a stage for nationalistic ceremonies. Balkan's memory mania seems to go hand in hand with the mania of destroying memory, since many executed memory projects are created either as a weapon or as a methodological tool for reinforcing national myths.[75] When looking at these two possible states, of either a ruin or a monument, I started to ask myself: what is a monument? What is ruin? What discerns a ruin from a monument? When does a monument become a ruin? Is this process transversely?

I have defined '*monument*' as an object of remembrance. If we look at the origin of the word itself, we see that it comes from the Latin *monumentum*, which itself derives from *monere* (to remind). A monument is a structure, statue or a building that is built to honour, to commemorate someone notable or a special event. Its objective is paying tribute or honouring a person for his deeds or to mark an impression about an important event. There is, however, a distinction to be made between *intentional* and *unintentional* monuments. Only a minority of monuments are erected for the purpose of commemorating a person or an event. The remaining monuments around us are unintentional, i.e. initially created for other purposes and only later assigned monument status. It is the cultural process of adding value.[76]

A ruin is what we call the remains of a building, city etc. that has been destroyed or is in disrepair or a state of decay. Ruins are places where many dimensions overlap – inside and outside, material and abstract worlds, nature and man, a present, a past and what we only imagine. Ruins cannot be fully used as a building but regardless of loss of this practical utility, historic ruins have another kind of value. Ruins are irreplaceable material of cultural and historic knowledge. Ruins' historic, scientific,

75 Tanovic, S. (2015). Memory in Architecture: Contemporary memorial projects and their predecessors. Proefschrift, TU Delft, 26-27.

76 Public lecture Ellen Braae given at the TU Delft, February 13, 2018.

artistic, architectural, archaeological, and ethnographical values can be decided. If a ruin fits given criteria, it can become Heritage, or, as such, a *monument*.

RUINS, SPECULATIVE RECONSTRUCTION

It is here exactly, that lies the role of the architect, to make people aware of the value. The architect should act as a strong leader in this, especially in a society, where people want to go back to the 'normal' status of before the war. The value lies in the fact that the ruin is what it is: a ruin. While a ruin has a physical presence, its significance or meaning is usually metaphysical. The ruin itself is often not that interesting. The interesting part is the part that has disappeared, through time or through force. The ruin is there, but what it represented is absent. In fact, the absent is more present than the present. What is not there speaks much louder to us and is all the more present. By leaving out most, most is left over.

Wherever buildings are broken by the explosion of bombs or artillery shells, by lack of maintenance or repair, by fire or structural collapse, their form must be respected in its integrity, embodying a history that must not be denied. In their damaged state they suggest new forms of thought and comprehension, and new conceptions of space that confirm the potential of the human to integrate with the building, to be whole and free outside of any pre-determined, totalizing system[77]. These new spaces constructed on the existential remnants of war and natural disaster do not celebrate the destruction of an established order, nor do they symbolize or commemorate it. Rather they accept with a certain pride what has been suffered and lost, but also what has been gained. Existence feels its strengths, acknowledges its vulnerabilities and failures[78].

At the end of the 18th century, structure was considered one of the primary principles of architecture. More precisely, it was considered the *essence* of architecture. In the ruin, as all the secondary elements had faded and disappeared, the architectural structure became visible and the architecture thus legible – and so the ruin was often preferred over the intact building.[79] The function of the ruin changed during the 18th century and became burden with another paradox: on the one hand the ruin is an image of decay and transience, while on the other it represents timelessness – eternity. Hence, it is associated with both permanence and

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77 Thus acting as a *freespace*

78 Woods, L. (1997). *Radical Reconstruction.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997, 14.

79 I carried out an extensive analysis on the essence, the true structure of the building/ruin, which can be found in the booklet 'Ruins as the skeleton of architecture – an analysis'

impermanence, with the presence and absence of time. The ruin's special attraction was that it was incomplete and could only be completed by an act of the imagination. [80] This world of unlimited imagination, of *speculative reconstruction,* is shown in the drawing of the Bank of England by Joseph Gandy, and the drawings of Giovanni Battista Piranesi. There is an appetite for more, because it is unfinished - an attraction to what one can not see.

Bank of England depicted by J.M. Gandy as an imagined ruin
Source: Sir John Soane's Museum

"The charm of ruins depends on the fact that they show a man-made work, while at the same time seeming to be a product of nature… Nature has used the man-made as material for its own production, like art previously has used nature as its raw material." – Georg Simmel [81]

Something essential is at work when Georg Simmel defines a ruin in this quote from his essay titled 'The Ruin'. He returns the question of ruin back to nature and appreciates its quality in not being man made but rather a gift of nature. This is Simmel's reason why ruins offer us a feeling of peace – a condition of two opposing forces in a balance. The ruin becomes one with the surrounding landscape. Nature and culture merge. Ruins are reverie just before oblivion.[82] The lines of the design are still present, but in their dissolved state they suggest that larger forces, such as nature and history, are about to eradicate them. Hence, the ruin contains poetry and space for reverie.

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80   Braae, E. (2015). Beauty redeemed: recycling post-industrial landscapes. IKAROS Press: Denmark, 176-183.

81   German sociologist, quoted by Ellen Braae in Braae, E. (2015). Beauty redeemed: recycling post-industrial landscapes. IKAROS Press: Denmark, 182.

82   Braae, E. (2015). Beauty redeemed: recycling post-industrial landscapes. IKAROS Press: Denmark, 176-183.

CHOICE of SITE

Mt. Trebevic and the bobsleigh track

The *crisis of memory* of the city and its *contested territory* can be met fully at its peripheries and edges. In the centre, the crisis is, seemingly, effectively disguised, while towards the boundaries, which are always to some degree neglected or at the limits of control from centres of authority, the disguise slips somewhat, and the crisis is revealed, as ruins and traces of the war are scattered over the landscape. In my opinion, it is this periphery where the architect should *act*, by embracing the layer of war that is still present, its ruins, and re-integrating it in the urban fabric, applying the third principle. . The possible futures of Sarajevo will depend on the mediation between the present need to recover and the memory of a contested past.

SITE: MT TREBEVIC

"Yes, people start regularly visiting the mountain again, both locals and a lot of tourists. But many don't know what exactly it is around here. For me, it still feels like different country. The government keeps the mountain deliberately divided. An example are the roads, they are a problem, as they are not well maintained. And, of course, all the ruins. They make me sad."
– Inteview, 01[83].

Mt. Trebevic is situated in this periphery. After the war, Mount Trebevic was almost completely abandoned, partly because the facilities were destroyed, partly because of the presence of mines, but above all due to the negative symbolism of a place intersected first by the frontline, and later by an invisible but still powerful border, the IEBL. Some major issues are concentrated here: nostalgia for the Yugoslavian times, war traumas, reconstruction of multiple identities, visible and invisible borders, nationalism, bad politics and corruption.[84] Nowadays Mt. Trebevic, although being slowly re-appropriated[85], still remains largely unused,

83   01 is a Sarajevan that I interviewed. He did not want to tell his name, because by a name, one can be put under an ethnic group.
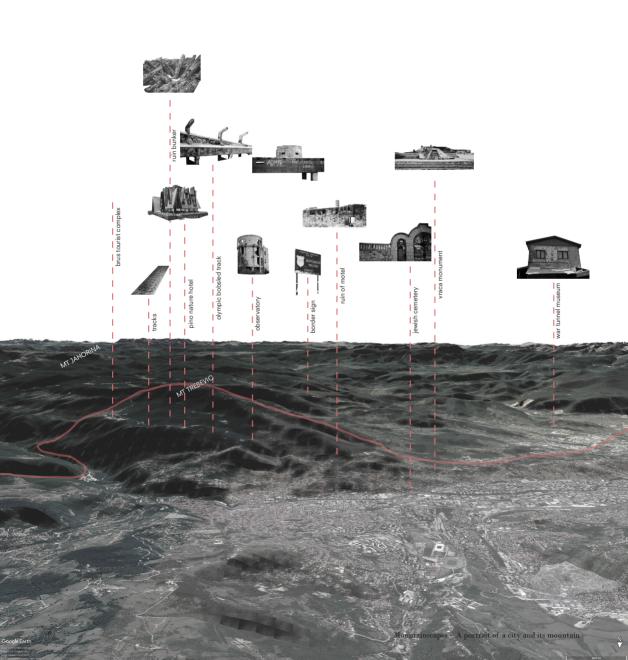
84   Borelli, C. (2011). Leftovers of history, the forgotten heritage of Mount Trebevic. CICOP 4th H&hM Conference Sarajevo: "The importance of place". Topic 1.2: Men made hazards, 276-284.

85   Today it is slowly regaining a function as a place for walking, running, photography and extreme sports like down-hill cycling.

Portrait of a city and its mountain

brus tourist complex

ruin bunker

tracks

pino nature hotel

olympic bobsled track

observatory

border sign

ruin of motel

jewish cemetery

vraca monument

war tunnel museum

ADMIR

MT JAHORINA

MT TREBEVIC

Google Earth

and the ruins of the old facilities destroyed by the war still loom over its landscape, making it an ambiguous, ghostly, *uncanny*[86] territory. And it is deliberately kept like this by the politics.

Mt. Trebevic is an example of the precise and strategic political order behind the apparent disorder of debris and ruin. It is another tactic of the politics of the territory to keep the mountain inaccessible. The mountain should be *reclaimed* by the city, it should become a *freespace*, where citizens can act instead of politicians. Earlier I referred to Sebastian Marot's claim that to properly reclaim and improve sites, the first and, perhaps, only thing we need to learn is how to look at them from a different point of view. I thus want to introduce a new type of architect, one that is able to offer a new perception, one that through thorough investigation becomes embedded in the for them new environment[87], and then make the findings of this investigation accessible in a tangible fashion. I want to show that by making highly complex information accessible, the architect can act as a *narrator*, a narrator of the site and, by offering a new perspective, as a *mediator* between place and public, with which they have the potential to make a vital difference. Because, in the case of this contested territory, it is no longer about the *physical* space, but also about the *mental* space, the memory of people, and the *lived* space, in which these two constitute.
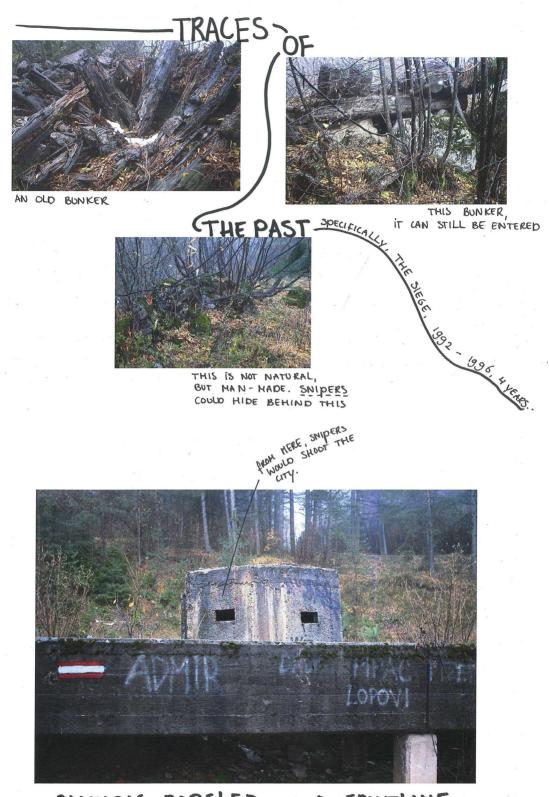
MAPPING THE MOUNTAIN

The first time visiting Mt. Trebevic was by foot. According to Filipa Matos Wunderlich, walking is an elemental way of perceiving urban spaces. Whilst walking, one experiences and learns about places and develops feelings and thoughts for them. To walk is to experience, and to experience is to learn.[88] It is important to note that through the act of walking new connections are made and re-made, physically and conceptually over

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86   Definition of the *uncanny* as it is presented by Anthony Vidler in his book *The Architectural Uncanny.* The notion of the *uncanny* starts as a sense of estrangement, intellectually reinforced by the disturbingly transient qualities of certainty for the nineteenth century – history and nature. At the end of the nineteenth century, the uncanny became identified with all the phobias associated with spatial fear. In each case, the uncanny arose, as Freud showed, from the transformation of something that once seemed homely into something decidedly not so, from the *heimlich,* that is, into the *unheimlich.* As Freud attempted to grapple with the traumas of war, the site of the uncanny was no longer confined to the house or the city, but more properly extended to the no man's land between the trenches, or the fields of ruins left after bombardment.
Vidler, A. (1992). The architectural uncanny: essays in the modern unhomely. Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 3-14, 69-82.

87   I will discuss the quality of the architect as an 'outsider' further in my reflection paper.

88   Wunderlich, F. M. (2008). *Walking and Rhythmicity: Sensing Urban Space.* Journal of Urban Design, 13:1, 125-139, DOI: 10.1080/13574800701803472

TRACES OF

AN OLD BUNKER

THIS BUNKER,
IT CAN STILL BE ENTERED

THE PAST SPECIFICALLY, THE SIEGE, 1992 - 1996, 4 YEARS.

THIS IS NOT NATURAL,
BUT MAN - MADE. SNIPERS
COULD HIDE BEHIND THIS

FROM HERE, SNIPERS
WOULD SHOOT THE
CITY.

OLYMPIC BOBSLED ⟶ FRONTLINE

Mountainscapes - A portrait of a city and its mountain

FRONTLINE
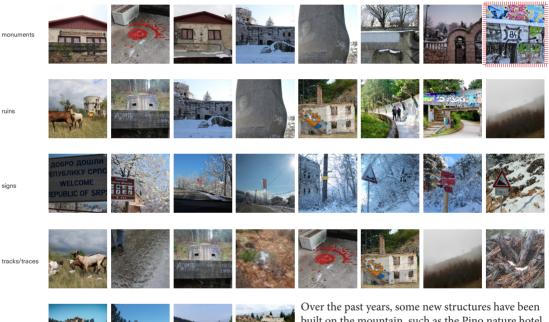
ROADS REMAIN UNPREPARED.
TACTIC, PEOPLE SHOULDN'T
COME UP HERE, HISTORY
IS TOO VISIBLE

TRACES OF THE
TANKS THAT USED
TO DRIVE HERE

01.

Architectural elements present on Mt. Trebevic
Own image

Potential of an
Unintentional monument

monuments

ruins

signs

tracks/traces

new tissue

Over the past years, some new structures have been built on the mountain, such as the Pino nature hotel and attraction park Sunny Land. At the moment, construction works are taking place for the rebuilding of the cable-cab.

Monuments, most of them being intentional monument, erected with the intention of commemoration. We see images of the war tunnel museum, the Sarajevo rose, the Jewish cemetery, the partisanVraca monument that has been established during Yugoslav times (in state of disrepair). I, however, also placed the bobsleigh track under monuments, as I see it as an unintentional monument. As an architect, I want to grab this potential, and show its value.

There can be made a distinction between the signs: signs for direction, signs indictating danger, and territorial signs, maken the IEBL visible

Traces of men made changes. Trash, tank tracks, shelters..

time and through space. Walking is a way of at once discovering and transforming the city. Thus, not only the process of reading starts here, but also the process of writing.

I started mapping the mountain and its architectural elements, thus further enhancing the reading and writing process of the site. During this process, I made a subdivision of the spatial figures in combination with their relation to memory, being monuments, ruins, signs, traces/tracks and new tissue. The mountain itself can also be considered as a *territorial monument*, scattered with ruins, full of memory. As is visible in the figure, some monuments are present. There is, however, not a monument for the mountain itself, despite the fact that it has played such an important role in the history of the city. It can be concluded that in the case of Mt. Trebevic, memory is not much emphasised: citizens have chosen to use it as a place of leisure, a place of recreation. Because the local authorities have chosen not to deal with the ruins, place was left open for the people to appropriate it according to their wishes.

Urban and architectural decay appeals to the imagination. While some consider the unfinished or collapsing parts of the city as ugly or disturbing, others feel they make an area more interesting than the picture perfect urban fabric. The city's scars are stimuli for the mind. They raise questions, about memories and imaginations of a predestined past, and of potential futures. They visualise the passage of time and the inevitability of collapse, reminding us of our own transience. On a smaller level, ruins show traces of faded lives, moved communities and shrunken economies. The voids provide space for the observer to interpret them as she or he likes, to fill them with imaginations and meanings [89].

I want to show the *value* of the ruins on the mountain, the edge of the territory, and thus give it a (new) function in the larger urban fabric, a place in the city's collective memory, by turning them into a monument, without altering their exterior appearance. By creating new narratives in the larger structure, I want to give the ruins a *meaning* and *purpose*, not by conquering, but through reclaiming. I believe the task of the architect in the Sarajevo of today is to make Mt. Trebevic, such an important place, part of the city again and its collective memory. My project will be an experiment of the recoding of closed, secret, hidden and forgotten urban spaces to make them realms of opportunity. In order to try to show the value of ruins, examine the position of the architect and apply a method, I will focus on one ruin that is situated on the mountain, namely the bobsleigh track, a structure undeniably beautiful yet alien when installed within the trees of Mt. Trebevic, a structure that has a potential of becoming an *unintentional monument*. It could be seen as a monument in

89   Minjan, M. (2013). *The poetry of decay.* Retrieved on 6 April 2018 from https://www. failedarchitecture.com/the-poetry-of-decay/

the sense that it is a place that remembers the time that the land where it was built on was called Yugoslavia, but also commemorate the demise of that country. It represents both utopia (for many, former Yugoslavia is a utopia: a time when everything was better, the Olympics being its highlight) and dystopia (the civil war of the 1990s and the collapse of Yugoslavia).

BOBSLEIGH TRACK

Every ruin carries, through its architecture, the story of its past existence as a functioning building, as well as the story of its decay, including an accelerated one in the case of a sudden destruction. The story of the bob and sledge track starts at the preparations for the Winter Olympics held in 1984. in Sarajevo. It was planned as part of the sports and recreational park on Trebevic, which would also attract visitors to the mountain after the games. The complex was finished in September 1982. Prof. Gorazd Bucar, together with a group of architects, designed a track in the length of 1570m, that is 1900m with two recreational exit-stop ramps. The track consists of straight sections and 13 curves in the form of prescribed "figures", with an average longitudinal slope of 10.2% and a maximum of 15%.[90]

Bobsleigh team of DDR on the track in 1984.
Source: Reuters/Oslobodjenje
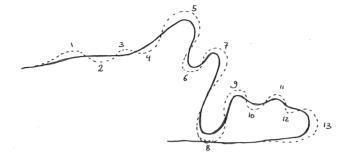
90   DA Competition brief

After the Olympic Games, the track was used for the World Cup. By subsequently dividing the track into three parts that could be used independently, the facility was adapted for the needs of everyday sledding. During wartime in 1990s, the track was located on the frontline. The track was significantly damaged and only the concrete trough is left. The war left behind minefields, destruction of objects and the surrounding nature and brought new meaning to the once popular destination near the city. For nearly two decades, this area has had the reputation of a no man's land, an excess space beyond any jurisdiction. It was in this context that alternative methods of use began to appear, the first being an international graffiti art festival, Balkan Express, where artists were using the walls of the bobsled to create an open-air graffiti gallery. In the same period, Red Bull organised an international competition for inline skating on the track.[91] Today it is a popular place for walking, running, photography and different extreme sports. All of this made the track an informal symbol of a post-apocalyptic state and a popular image on social networks. Thus, the space is re-appropriated in several ways, and gradually returns to the everyday life of the city. The city is undertaking works to (re-)open the Trebevic cableway that connects the city centre with the immediate surroundings of the track.

Can we imagine the new life of this infrastructure? Which are new scenarios for activating this space?[92] I would like to add to this the question of how memory can be integrated in the urban pattern, as I see as the fundamental challenge that rises today is how to shape the memory of the killings and destruction between 1992-1995.

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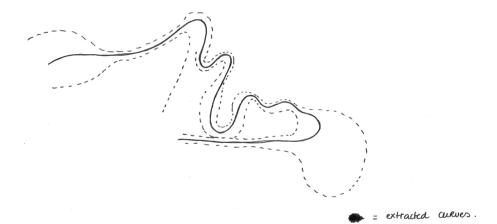
91 Pilav, A. (2013). Territory imagery: a planning tool for seeking spatial justice. Cescon-texto, 2, 682-695.
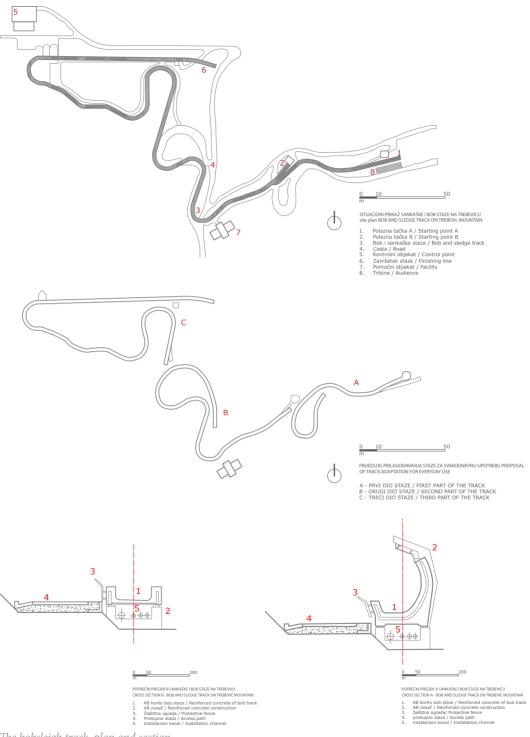
92   As is stated in the design brief of the DA design competition 2018 – "Days of Architecture Sarajevo and this year's curator Dinko Peracic invite you to offer your solutions and ideas for the unique Sarajevan "space of freedom", Bob and sledge track on Trebevic mountain."

- - - = curves

——— = bobsleigh track.

5
1
3
4
2
7
6
9
11
10
12
13
8

- - - - ≙ treeline
——— ≙ BOBSLED TRACK

● = extracted curves.

SITUACIONI PRIKAZ SANKAŠKE I BOB STAZE NA TREBEVICU
site plan BOB AND SLEDGE TRACK ON TREBEVIc MOUNTAIN

1. Polazna tačka A / Starting point A
2. Polazna tačka B / Starting point B
3. Bob i sankaška staza / Bob and sledge track
4. Cesta / Road
5. Kontrolni objekat / Control point
6. Završetak staze / Finishing line
7. Pomoćni objekat / Facility
8. Tribine / Audience

PRIJEDLOG PRILAGOĐAVANJA STAZE ZA SVAKODNEVNU UPOTREBU PROPOSAL
OF TRACK ADAPTATION FOR EVERYDAY USE

A - PRVI DIO STAZE / FIRST PART OF THE TRACK
B - DRUGI DIO STAZE / SECOND PART OF THE TRACK
C - TRECI DIO STAZE / THIRD PART OF THE TRACK

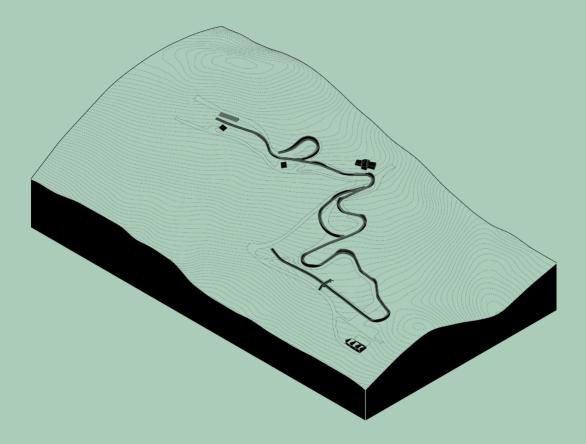POPREČNI PRESJEK B SANKAŠKE I BOB STAZE NA TREBEVIcU
CROSS SECTION B - BOB AND SLEDGE TRACK ON TREBEVIĆ MOUNTAIN

1. AB korito bob staze / Reinforced concrete of bob track
2. AB nosač / Reinforced concrete construction
3. Žaštitna ograda / Protective fence
4. Pristupna staza / Access path
5. Instalacioni kanal / Installation channel

POPREČNI PRESJEK A SANKAŠKE I BOB STAZE NA TREBEVIĆu
CROSS SECTION A - BOB AND SLEDGE TRACK ON TREBEVIĆ MOUNTAIN

1. AB korito bob staze / Reinforced concrete of bob track
2. AB nosač / Reinforced concrete construction
3. žaštitna ograda/ Protective fence
4. pristupna staza / Access path
5. instalacioni kanal / Installation channel

The bobsleigh track, plan and section.
Own images, based on DA Competition brief.

Mountainscapes - A portrait of a city and its mountain

Axonometric view of the bobsleigh track.
Own image (part of project SIGNAL proposal for design competition bobsleigh
track, constituted together with Daan Zandbergen and Armina Pilav).

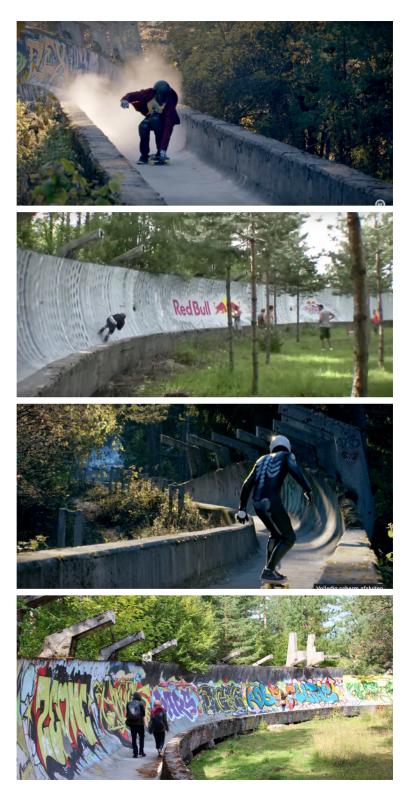*Bobsleigh track*
Own image.

Mountainscapes - A portrait of a city and its mountain

New uses bobsleigh track, extreme sports, graffiti, walking, urban exploration, photography..
Source: stills from https://youtu.be/SSfihAqdFLU
Red Bull Hot Run Sarajevo 2008 , https://youtu.be/36sz-hLLlcc
Own image

Architecture of the transient and unknown, architecture writhing, twisting, rising, meandering trough the trees, a safe haven above the unkown ground, the coldness of its concrete surface resisting all comfort and warmth, architecture that moves, moves between culture and nature, slowly becoming nature, barbaric architecture, rough and insolent in its vitality and pride, sinuous architecture, winding endlessly, every turn another prodigy, architecture caught in sudden light, then broken in the continuum of the darkness of the

woods, architecture embracing the sudden shifts, reveiling what was hidden, neglected architecture, insisting that its won beauty is deeper yet, abandoned architecture, not waiting to be filled, but serene in its transcendence, architecture that insults politicians, because they cannot claim it as their own, architecture whose forms and spaces are the causes of rebellion, architecture that, in this incompleteness, or rather something that ceased to be complete, utterly beautiful.

And whole.

NARRATIVE

towards another interpretation of design

'Ruins may be decaying, they are not dead, they are filled with possibilities for wondrous adventure, inspiring visions, quiet moments, peripatetic playfulness, dystopian preparation and artistic potential'. – Bradey Garret[93]

The context in which (landscape) architects and urban designers work today poses new challenges for which conventional planning and design tools seem to be unfit. We have to recognise that every place is a complex and layered phenomenon, a physical platform of *lived space*[94]. Complex locations like Sarajevo and its mountain, its bobsleigh track, with a particular geological, political, social and cultural history, demand analysis and design approaches that take into account the experience on the ground, the lived space, the different layers and meanings of a site, the experience of movement and time. Furthermore, the central position of the designer in the transformation process needs to be questioned by demands for participation and even co-creation with the different urban actors, which require specific tools that take into account the multiple stories embodied in a place. Top-down design and planning has increasingly made way for a complex process that involves many actors, creating a need to redefine the question of what design is. Rather than a linear, rational character of traditional planning, a shift towards more open design approaches should be made, which take into account experiential responses to the sites at hand, and which allow more relational ways of doing.[95]

PRESERVING THE VOID

As mentioned before, the mountain and the bobsleigh track can be seen as an *urban void*. But what is this void? A void can be regarded as a representation of an absence, if not an absence itself. Urban voids are all areas in a city, whose functions and designs have not yet been decided upon conclusively. These may be reserve areas, fallow land, distance

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93 Garret, B. (2014). Explore everything, place-hacking the city. London: Verso.

94 As defined in the introduction (p.6), I consider *lived space* as space viewed by people through their own imagination and memory. Lived space is always a combination of external, physical space and inner, mental space. In experiencing lived space, memory and dream, fear and desire, value and meaning, fuse with the actual perception.

95 Havik, K., Notteboom, B., & de Wit, S. (2017). Narrating Urban Landscapes. Narrating Urban Landscapes, OASE, (98), 1–7.

Mt. Trebevic and the bobsleigh track
Source: DA competition brief

spaces, vacant buildings, polluted or unused properties. All these areas do not fulfil any concrete function in the urban system. Marieluise Jonas and Heike Rahmann call for an interpretation of voids as a connected, dynamic network of spaces, which would result in new associations between formal and informal actors, disciplines and administration that consider the continuously altering landscape of voids as an active part of the city, a part that the city and its residents can benefit from. They challenge the orchestrated urban environment that prevails our experience of the city, which is predictable and treats its users as passive actors. Instead, we should embrace the imperfectness, roughness, and subversive qualities inherent to voids, because they show the nature of cities that is not fully understood and used because "the systems we inhabit and use are designed to deny change, and a strong urge to identify outcomes as fixed entities directs all processes". [96]

A void does not have to be regarded as a space where something is lacking. A void is anything but nothing. Simone Pizzagalli writes in his book 'Space, Poetics and Voids' that the void "contains in itself all the potential of the space, all the relation not written and experienced. [..] Void is the place of tension of something that will be, a space in power, but also the only place where the recollection of reality, the composition of the parts, fragments, of life can happen." [97] Is the presence of an urban void not a spatial richness, an example of Oskar Hansen's *open form*[98] par excellence? Shouldn't we start embracing urban voids?

The role of the architect in this situation is inevitably problematic. Architecture's destiny has always been colonization, the imposing of limits, order and form, ultimately transforming the uncivilized into the cultivated, the fallow into the productive, the void into the built. Towards the urban void, architecture and urban design seem incapable to do anything other than introducing violent transformations, changing

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96 Minkjan, M. (2015). *Tokyo Void: Possibilities in absence.* Retrieved 15 May 2018 from: https://www.failedarchitecture.com/tokyo-void-possibilities-in-absence/

97 Pizagalli, S. (2012). *Spaces, poetics and voids.* Retrieved 6 April 2018 from: http://modi-operandi.bk.tudelft.nl

98 "Architecture until now: has, as a "closed form," not accepted changes in the mode of life, and becomes obsolete before it is even realized, it will be antique before it is completed, for it is based on the Closed Form. The Open Form, unlike the Closed Form, does not exclude the energy of the client's initiative but on contrary treats it as a basic, organic, and inseparable component element. Space is to be shaped by the inhabitants, forms should emerge spontaneously as an effect of human activity. […] The wealth of Open Form in architecture as well as its development will depend on the polemics of the various component parts, comprehended as various individualities, playing the leading role in its substance, serving each tenant individually, and not defined beforehand in its manifestation."
Hansen, O. (1959). *Open Form Manifesto.* Retrieved on 10 June 2018 from: http://open-form.blogspot.com/2009/01/original-1959-open-form-manifesto.html

estrangement into citizenship, and striving at all costs to dissolve the uncontaminated magic of the obsolete in the realism of efficacy.[99] How can architecture act in the urban void without becoming an aggressive instrument of power and abstract reason?

TOWARDS ANOTHER INTERPRETATION OF DESIGN

My ambition is to give shape to a different kind of architectural project, a project that deals with the urban void in a non-violent way, aiming to *value* the importance of urban voids in our city. A project that works on another level, namely not the level of the physical, but rather takes shape on the level of the mental space, altering the *perception* of the bobsleigh track. With my project, I want to question whether it is possible to formulate a project that is not a blueprint, and where the agency of the architect is modest, where the agency actually lies with others, and the project lies in the phase of *proto-appropriation*. The architect then functions as a qualifier of the values, possibilities and potential of the place, enabling citizens to re-valuate and re-appropriate the track.

My hypothesis is that a *narrative approach* can play an important role in the design process, and bring together spatial, social and experiential questions. My aim is to explore the use of the narrative method to address the questions of reading and writing the urban landscape of the Sarajevo of today. Through this method, I do not want to generate a static depiction of the future, but rather trigger the start of a *dialogue* between the leftover space, Mt. Trebevic, and the urban actors, among them citizens, architects, urban planners and the governmental body. Thus applying the narrative methods as a tool to *communicate* and give *meaning*, but also to provide a model for thinking about the future.

As shown in the previous chapter, I entered the landscape while taking field notes and camera snapshots (both photography and film). I registered signs, tracks, traces, monuments and ruins, and most of all, the manifestation of time. I want to use this data to construct a narrative that captures the experiential qualities of the lived space, through an heterarchial way of looking at the place, paying as much attention to the large elements as the small ones. The narrative continuously shifts between layers of time, the finite nature of things (the architectural elements and their decay), a place where natural processes take over the human order (the micro-landscapes), and the cultural process of humans re-appropriating an abandoned space (in the form of graffiti and new activities, such as extreme sports). The narrativity serves to connect urban spaces to the

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99 Ignasi de Sola-Morales, R. (1995). *Terrain vague.* Anyplace. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 118-123.

lived experience of its users.[100] The narrative ultimately takes shape in a film, accompanied by booklets, explaining the different narratives on which the film is based.

THE CINEMATIC NARRATIVE

This other way of doing also asks for another *tool*, a tool that is able to show the potential and qualities of the place, to grasp the atmosphere, its temporality. I believe film is the suitable medium for this. The architecture conceived by filmmakers is a direct reflection of mental images, memories and dreams; the filmmaker creates an architecture of the mind. The cinematic narrative defines the boundaries of lived reality, the realities of material and lived image are fused.[101] Because one is not working towards a final, static design, film could be used to develop an architectural strategy as a structure in which time has room to breathe, to let aging, growth and even decay unfold. The work of the architect is better compared to editing: responding to an existing structure and giving it a chance to evolve, through the act of selecting and relating.[102]

Editing, or montage, is omnipresent in the cinematographic language, where the process is articulated on two levels: firstly, the single frame, and secondly the sequence achieved by the technique of montage. We cannot neglect the fact that reality accommodates a multiplicity of elements present in countless compositions and relationships to one another. Every composition of elements within a film frame assumes a specific meaning induced by the combination of picked elements and their associative relationships. The act of *framing* is an intentional ordering of the parts that constitute reality in order to communicate a specific meaning, within the boundary of the film frame itself. Their relationships will, however, always transcend this boundary. Film selects and organises elements that are spontaneous and unfiltered in the real world.[103]

This selection process is in itself already an interpretative representation of reality. Framing, editing and arranging the framed material in a sequence is a synthetic process that affects the language of reality, and transforms it into something that Aldo Rossi has defined as '*analogous*'[104] to reality itself; namely, a meaningful representation that has the same

100 Havik, K. (2006). *Lived Experience, Places Read: Toward an Urban Literacy.* Architecture & Literature. Reflections/Imaginations, OASE, (70), 37–49.

101 Pallasmaa, J. (2001). *Architecture of Image: Existential Space in Cinema*. Helsinki: Rakennustieto, 10.
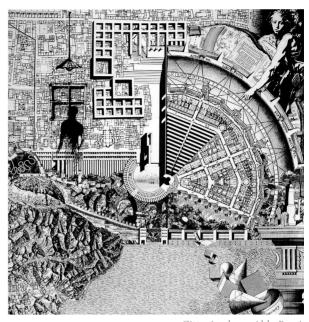
102 Havik, K. (2006). *Lived Experience, Places Read: Toward an Urban Literacy*. Architecture & Literature. Reflections/Imaginations, OASE, (70), 37–49.

103 Pizagalli, S. (2012). Spaces, poetics and voids. Retrieved 6 April 2018 from: http://modi-operandi.bk.tudelft.nl

104 Rossi, A. (1966). *Architettura della città*. Padua: Marsilio Editori.

characteristics and qualities as reality but produces completely new formal results. The relationship between the architectural object and its representation lies in the differences between realisation and imagination, reality and utopia, written language and drawing, the act of composition and the analytical process. A representation thus is in itself already an architectural reality.

Citta Analoga, Aldo Rossi.
Source: https://architetturainsostenibile.files.wordpress.com/2011/02/cittc3a0analoga.jpg

FILM AS FACILITATOR

The use of film as a narratic device provides the scope to create new leitmotifs, allowing identity and lived space back into the area. The film acts as a *facilitator* of the public realm. Urban actors will reinterpret the empty space as the beginning of a new urban programme. The cinematic sequence triggers the spectator to reconnect with the abandoned landscape. Here, the narrative is used not to refill the gaps of the past, but to highlight their qualities as freespaces, open spaces, un-programmed voids in the city, ready to be explored by the visitor. Or, as Wim Wenders said: 'their task is not to build, but to preserve the void, the make sure that the FULL doesn't block our view.'[105]

105 Dähne, C., van Bergen, J. (2017). *Rewriting the 'Zone'. Cinematic Narratives for Postindustrial Landscapes.* Narrating Urban Landscapes, OASE, (98), 98–102.

My aim is that through the cinematic narrative and the use of film as a method, I open up the possibilities for a new reading, beyond the existing interpretation, a new understanding of the bobsleigh track as an *open space*[106]. Open space as a space for opportunity, imagination, un-programmed and free for uses not yet conceived, accepting changes in the mode of life. The space is to be shaped by the users, forms should emerge spontaneously as an effect of human activity and is not defined beforehand in its manifestation.

Within this open construct, the bobsleigh track is accessible and interpretable in various ways, thus preserving the void, amplifying the visitor's individual and emotional perception through the sequence of spaces along the route and the variety of spatial experiences. The use of various narratives aims to prevent that one public will take over, in which case the urban void as an *open space* would cease to exist. The staged space transcends its function and original meaning – the observer is challenged to ascribe personal meaning to the fragments, as the beginning of a new urban identity. This guided experience of transience inspires the user to reflect and engage in a personal dialogue with the urban landscape. This is not a pre-determined role, but an active and open-ended part, with the visual idiom of the track as the driving force of a new urban identity. More than simply leading to a final representation, this could be used to develop an architectural strategy as a structure in which *time* has room to breathe, to let aging, growth and even decay unfold.

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As the film shows, the space comes to life. Then the whole thing disappears in a blink of an eye. The Mountainscapes now only exist in the minds of the viewers of the film. The ephemera stays with us after the physical architecture is no more.

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106 The concept of *Open Space* is based on the theories of Lebbeus Woods' *Freespace* and Oskar Hansen's *Open Form* as discussed before, combining the two of them.
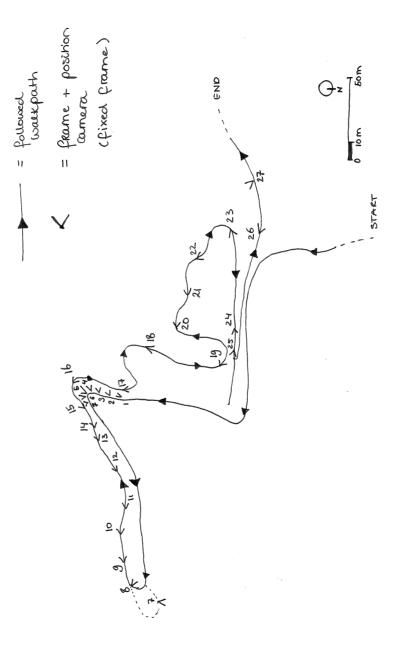
FINAL NOTE

'Experiencing a space is a dialogue, a kind of exchange – I place myself in the space and the space settles in me.' – Juhani Pallasmaa [107]

The making of a film consists of a deliberate act of framing, an act of inclusion and exclusion to create a narrative. Any time one puts a frame to the world, it is an interpretation. Images have always been *authored*. It is the filmmaker's job to get the medium to say what they need it to say, building an argument visually. The narrative constructed through film thus can be called ambiguous, an ambiguous position between inclusiveness and openness. The approach interweaves reading and writing, design analysis and analytical design, using narrative as a tool to understand and create (urban) landscapes. To do so, one needs to develop an awareness of (inter-) subjectivity and explore the balance between the perceiver – the subject – and the perceived landscape – the object. As Klaske Havik and Saskia de Wit describe: 'It is here that resides the vulnerability of such an approach as well, as it includes a tacit assumption that people will somehow perceive like the designer does, that our understanding equals the understanding of others, and that designs can determine perception and behaviour. Acknowledging that they cannot (and should not) prescribe the uncertain affective capacities and propensities of human emotional interactions with designed landscapes, their designs are rather catalysts for the transaction between people and space, creating possibilities for engaging and disclosing qualities of a location that would otherwise remain hidden The use of narrative tools helps to structure and in a way make experiential aspects objective, explore the perspectives of other possible users, inhabitants or passers-by, and base fictional projections on in-depth readings of the existing physical reality of the site.'[108]

107 Pallasmaa, J. (2001). *Architecture of Image: Existential Space in Cinema.* Helsinki: Rakennustieto, 10.

108 Havik, K., de Wit, S. (2017). *Narrating Places beyond the Subjective. Afstudeerprojecten TU Delft.* Narrating Urban Landscapes, OASE, (98), 97.

Construction of the cinematic narrative. Narratives can be thought of as paths, contain-
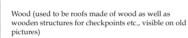*ing both destinations and deviations.*
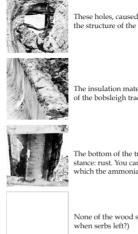*Own image.*

Concrete (reinforced)

These holes, caused by shelling during the war, show the structure of the track: reinforced concrete.

Mechanical damage (damage not directly related to the environment; man-made)

Insulation material

The insulation material is still visible on some places of the bobsleigh track, although crumbled.

Natural damage

Metal refregeratoin pipes (used to be filled with ammonia that was pumped through holes in the run)

The bottom of the track is covered in a reddish substance: rust. You can also still see the holes through which the ammonia used to be pumped.

Wood (used to be roofs made of wood as well as wooden structures for checkpoints etc., visible on old pictures)

None of the wood structures is still present. (burned when serbs left?)

Ice

Leaves

Vegetation, higher plants

Biological growth

Microlandscapes, existing of mosses, algae, lichens and liverworts.
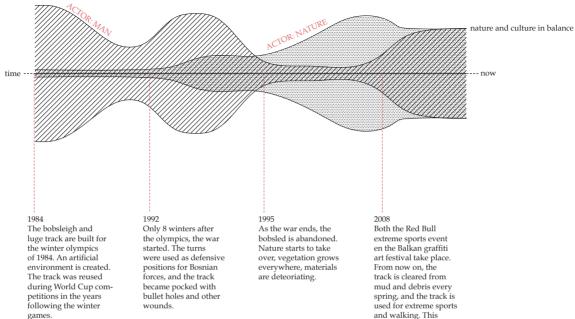
Surface change: deposit

Graffiti

Important note:
there is no *structural* damage (yet)
no cracking, deformation or tilting

ACTOR: MAN

ACTOR: NATURE

nature and culture in balance

time ----

---- now

1984
The bobsleigh and luge track are built for the winter olympics of 1984. An artificial environment is created. The track was reused during World Cup competitions in the years following the winter games.

1992
Only 8 winters after the olympics, the war started. The turns were used as defensive positions for Bosnian forces, and the track became pocked with bullet holes and other wounds.

1995
As the war ends, the bobsled is abandoned. Nature starts to take over, vegetation grows everywhere, materials are deteoriating.

2008
Both the Red Bull extreme sports event en the Balkan graffiti art festival take place. From now on, the track is cleared from mud and debris every spring, and the track is used for extreme sports and walking. This function is remained

This figure shows the bobsleigh and luge track over time, the decay and change of the materials.

Construction of the cinematic narrative in a heterachical way, paying as much attention to the large as the small elements.
Own image.

Bobsleightrack, in time.
Experimenting with framing.
Own image.

Top view bob sleigh track, Mt. Trebevic
Source: DA Competition

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