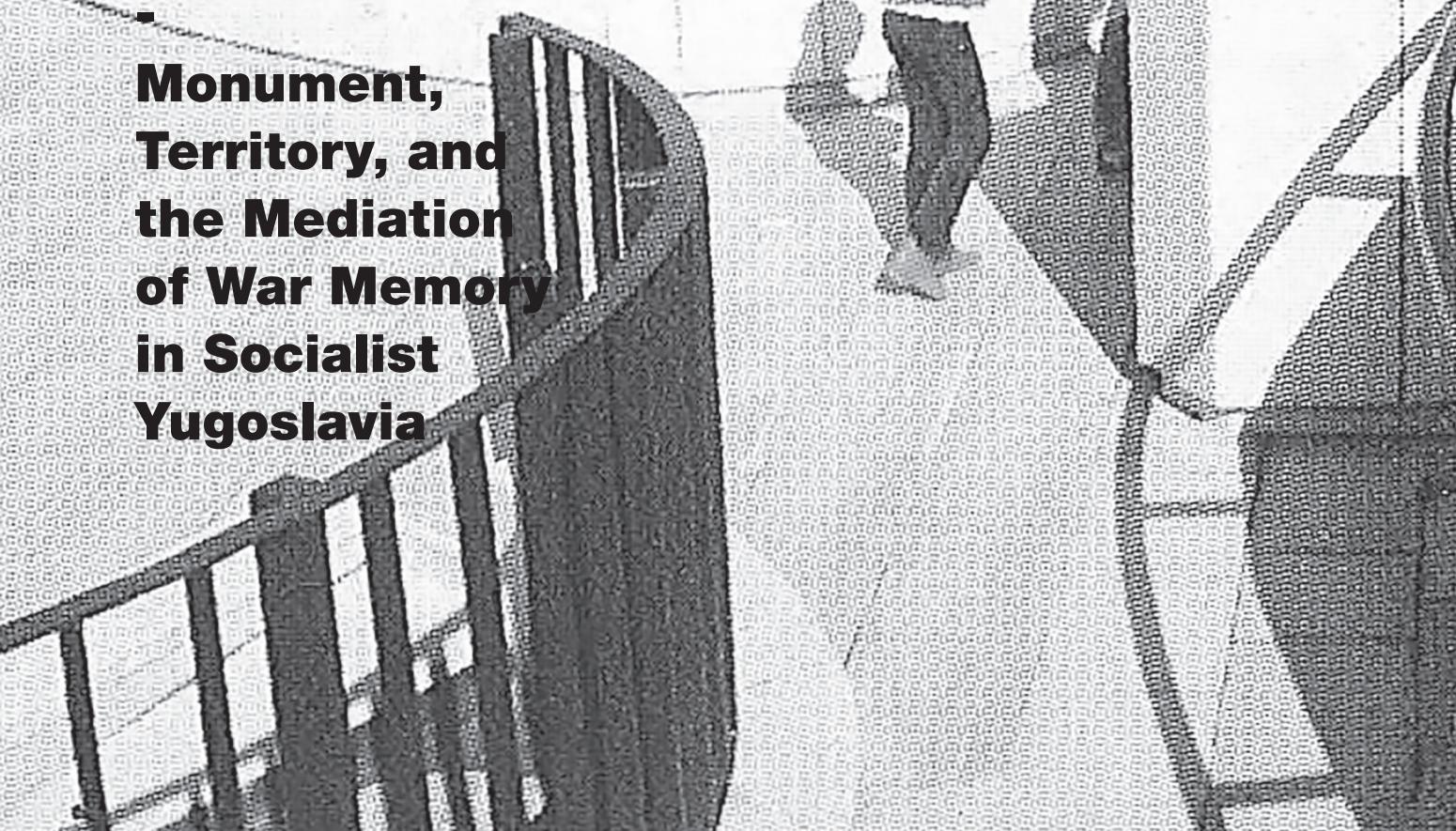


# Spomenik, teritorij i medijacija ratnog sjećanja u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji

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SANJA  
HORVATINČIĆ

# Monument, Territory, and the Mediation of War Memory in Socialist Yugoslavia



## IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD

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**SAŽETAK:** Spomenici posvećeni događajima iz Drugog svjetskog rata nastali u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji dovode se u suodnos sa širim geografskim prostorom kojem markiraju. Analiza je zasnovana na odabranim primjerima iz Hrvatske, Slovenije i Srbije kojima se opisuju tri prepoznata modela odnosa spomenika kao *označitelja* i memorijalnog teritorija kao *označenog*, primarnog objekta memorijalizacije, uvjetovanog specifičnošću partizanskog iskustva rata i zahtjevom za čuvanjem autentičnih lokacija i objekata sjećanja. Inovacije u konцепциjama i formalnim aspektima spomeničkih rješenja proizlaze iz potrebe za uspostavljanjem drugačijih odnosa s novom generacijom korisnika s ciljem što uspješnijeg prenošenja društvenog sjećanja u zadanom društveno-političkom kontekstu.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** spomenici Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi, gerilsko ratovanje, spomen-park, spomen-područje, socijalistička Jugoslavija

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**SUMMARY:** Monuments dedicated to WWII events in socialist Yugoslavia are here correlated with the broader geographic space that they signify. The analysis has been based on the selected examples from Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia, which reflect three types of relationship between the monument as the *signifier* and the memorial territory as the *signified* – the primary object of memorialization, defined by the specificity of the partisan experience of war and the demand for preserving the authentic memorial sites and objects. Innovations in the concepts and formal aspects of these monuments reflected the desire to establish a different relationship with each new generation of users, with the aim of transmitting social memory as efficiently as possible in the given socio-political context.

**KEYWORDS:** People's Liberation Struggle monuments, guerrilla warfare, memorial park, memorial territory, socialist Yugoslavia

## Uvod

Unatoč činjenici da su teorijski i metodološki pristupi fenomenu individualnog i društvenog sjećanja tijekom 20. stoljeća višestruko propitali i proširili semantičko polje pojma spomenik, predodžba o spomeniku kao reprezentativnom umjetničkom objektu fiksiranom u specifičnoj točki u prostoru sve je samo ne prevladana. Koncept antispomenika (*counter-memorial*) koji se 1980-ih i 90-ih godina javlja u Zapadnoj Njemačkoj, podrazumijeva propitivanje i dekonstrukciju njegovih osnovnih odrednica (jednoznačnost sadržaja i poruke, kohezivni učinak u formiranju i održavanju kolektivnih identiteta, itd.) upotrebom novih umjetničkih metoda i medija te pokušajem stvaranja „prostora između spomenika i promatrača, promatrača i njegova ili njegina vlastita sjećanja: prostora za spomenik u promatračevu umu, srcu i svijesti“.<sup>1</sup> Iako ova pojava predstavlja značajan napor novih generacija umjetnika u pokušaju artikulacije potisnutog osjećaja kolektivne odgovornosti za holokaust u njemačkom društvu, ona zaobilazi ključno pitanje – političku i ideološku pozadinu narudžbe i financiranja spomenika. Suprotno ambiciji njihova negacijskog naziva, mogućnosti antispomenika ograničene su natječajnim gabaritima, pri čemu oni nerijetko ne ostvaruju željeni društveni učinak ili ostaju nerealizirani, osobito ako je riječ o zahtjevu radikalnijeg utjecaja na polje političkog.<sup>2</sup> Konačno, agenda demokratičnosti sjećanja sadržana uz ideji antispomenika – suštinski vezanog uz njemačko iskustvo nerazrješive kolektivne krivnje – vrlo je brzo i

## Introduction

Despite the fact that the theoretical and methodological approaches to the phenomenon of individual and social memory during the 20<sup>th</sup> century have reconfigured and extended the semantic field of the term "memorial", the concept of monument as a representative art object, fixed at a specific spatial point, has been all but surpassed. The notion of a "counter-memorial", which emerged in West Germany during the 1980s and 1990s, implies questioning and deconstructing of its basic determinants (the clarity of its content and message, the cohesive effect of shaping and sustaining collective identities, and so on) by means of using new artistic methods and media, and by attempting to create some "space between the memorial and viewer, between the viewer and his own memory: the place of the memorial in the viewer's mind, heart, and conscience".<sup>1</sup> But even though this phenomenon reflects a considerable effort invested by the new generation of artists in order to articulate the suppressed feeling of collective responsibility for the Holocaust in the German society, it bypasses a crucial issue – the political and ideological background of commissioning and financing the memorial. Contrary to the ambition indicated by its negative name, the potential of a counter-memorial is limited by the propositions stated in the competition rules, whereby they often fail to produce the desired social effect, especially if they are intended to have a radical impact on the political sphere.<sup>2</sup> Eventually, the agenda of the democracy of memory contained

lako postala predmetom političke apropijacije, poput dobrodošlog recepta kako nastaviti s konstrukcijom nacionalnih spomenika i nakon kraja velikih narativa.<sup>3</sup> Postavlja se pitanje je li i u koliko mjeri otvaranje prostora dekonstrukciji tradicionalne uloge spomenika ujedno i odraz premještanja stvarnog interesa političkih i drugih centara moći s toga, pomalo arhaičnog i ne osobito efikasnog medija društvenog sjećanja na suvremenije mehanizme kontrole i nadzora, imajući pritom u vidu proliferaciju medija i streloviti razvoj informacijske tehnologije. Medijska slika o rušenju „totalitarnih“ režima i iščekivanju globalnoga „postideološkog“ konzumerističkog obilja – redovito ilustrirana kataklizmičkim snimkama rušenja Berlinskog zida i demoliranja komunističkih spomenika – doprinosi dojmu potrebe za općim ideološkim odterećenjem od službenih politika sjećanja i njezina prepustanja individualnim umjetničkim interpretacijama, raskrinkavanju povijesnih „istina“, rehabilitaciji potisnutih individualnih sjećanja i „postideološkoj“ dekonstrukciji „totalitarnih“ politika sjećanja. .... Ti se procesi, međutim, na različite načine manifestiraju u zemljama izvan ili na periferiji političkih centara moći.<sup>4</sup> Ondje oni nerijetko pertevertiraju u suprotnost teorijskim pretpostavkama, od uopćenih, poput one o globalnoj provali sjećanja (engl. *upsurge in memory*),<sup>5</sup> do pojednostavljenih tumačenja i metodološki upitnih kategorizacija društvenog sjećanja postkomunističkih zemalja.<sup>6</sup> Takvi teorijski modeli, često zasnovani na pretpostavljenoj paradigmatsnosti pojava poput memorijskog obrata (engl. *memory turn*), teško su spojivi

s društvenom i političkom situacijom zemalja bivše Jugoslavije koja usporedno proizvodi drugačiji obrat: ranih 1990-ih godina kada se u Njemačkoj nastoje reakutalizirati sjećanja na holokaust mišljenjem i implementacijom novih mogućnosti spomenika, u Hrvatskoj jača val radikalne negacije prethodno uspostavljenih politika sjećanja, zatiranja njezinih materijalnih i nematerijalnih tragova,<sup>7</sup> ali i usporedna izgradnja nacionalističkih i etnocentričkih političkih narativa.<sup>8</sup> Ključna posljedica ovih procesa svojevrnsna je kriza medijacije i nemogućnost identifikacije novih generacija s društvenim sjećanjem vezanim uz Drugi svjetski rat, što se uvelike razlikuje od trendova istodobno bilježenih u zemljama Zapadne Europe.<sup>9</sup> .... S druge strane, izgradnja i očuvanje jugoslavenskog identiteta u značajnoj se mjeri zasnivalo upravo na opsivnom čuvanju i prenošenju sjećanja koje je proizlazilo iz isprva spontanih a potom sve pragmatičnijih potreba da se sustavnim *njegovanjem revolucionarnih tradicija*<sup>10</sup> formira kolektivna svijest o samostalno izborenjo slobodi i teritorijalnom integritetu, te – ne manje važnim – ideološkim implikacijama organizacije i masovnog učešća u borbi protiv fašizma tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata. Taj se zahtjev, međutim, odrazio i u često nekritičkoj afirmaciji, mitologizaciji i hiperprodukciji mjesta sjećanja na konstituirajuće momente političkog ustrojstva države – Narodnooslobodilačku borbu, socijalističku revoluciju te tradiciju socijalnog bunda i radničkog pokreta. Lako je jugoslavenski model konstrukcije društvenog sjećanja bio otvoreno ideološki uokviren, obilježen primjerima

selektivnog bilježenja sjećanja i politički motivirane gradacije važnosti pojedinih povijesnih epizoda, on se kao takav suštinski nije znatno razlikovao od politika sjećanja drugih europskih zemalja koje su – svaka na svoj način – također bile uvjetovane vlastitim ratnim iskustvom i vanjskopolitičkim okolnostima hladnoga rata.<sup>11</sup> Unatoč nesrazmjeru službene politike sjećanja i pojedinačnih, lokalnih iskustava rata, njemačka povjesničarka Heike Karge upozorava da „kanon pamćenja“ ovde ne treba shvatiti samo kao prisilu, kao instrument represije koja se upotrebljava ‘od gore’, već i kao priliku – koju treba iskoristiti, i koja je zaista i iskorištena – za komunikaciju sa prošlošću na lokalnome prostoru, prostoru u kome se susreću individualne, porodične, lokalne, republičke i federalne forme čuvanja sjećanja na rat. U lokalnom prostoru čuvanje sjećanja na rat se javlja prevashodno kao pokušaj ljudi da se izbore sa žalošću za poginulima, a u prostoru koji nadilazi lokalni uključene su i oblasti društvenog delanja: čuvanje sjećanja se javlja kao poslovna prilika (u turizmu), kao umetnički proces, kao socijalna obaveza i pedagoški zadatak.<sup>12</sup> Karge zaključuje kako konačni neuspjeh da ratna sjećanja ostanu kohezivna komponenta kolektivnoga, nadnacionalnog identiteta socijalističke Jugoslavije nije proizašao iz političkog nametnja memorijskih narativa, nego iz njihova okoštalog sadržaja i u njemu imanentnih političkih tabua koji nisu bili kompatibilni izazovima sve dinamičnijih unutarnjih i vanjskopolitičkih promjena čija ishodišta sežu u rane 1960-e godine.<sup>13</sup>

**Teritorij – spomenik – sjećanje**  
Kada govorimo o društvenom i profesionalnom angažmanu u ishodjenju novih oblika medijacije društvenog sjećanja, razdoblje socijalističke Jugoslavije, zahvaljujući specifičnostima društvenog uređenja, bilo je obilježeno do tad najvišim udjelom društvene participacije i suradnje stručnjaka, što se odrazilo i na podizanje nivoa inovativnosti i umjetničke kvalitete znatnog broja spomeničkih rješenja.<sup>14</sup> .... Dovodeći u pitanje uvrježenu tvrdnju da, kada je riječ o sjećanju na Drugi svjetski rat, tek pojavori antispomenika započinje svjestan proces aktivacije njegove društvene funkcije i deklarativnog odbacivanja tradicionalnih spomeničkih tipova, želimo uputiti na znakovite otklone u smjeru novih načina promišljanja i upisivanja sjećanja u prostor koji se u Jugoslaviji javljaju već sredinom 1950-ih godina. Jedan od njihovih uzroka bila je potreba za uspostavom novih semantičkih veza između spomenika kao označitelja fiksiranog u jedinstvenu prostornu točku, njime označenoga autentičnog teritorija kao osnove sjećanja, te mesta apsorpcije ovih dvaju elemenata koja se nalazi u individualnoj imaginaciji korisnika. Mogućnost recepcije transferiranog sadržaja i aktivacije društvenog sjećanja pritom ovisi o postojanju i jačini veze između označenog (teritorija) i označitelja (spomenika). .... Ovakav trijadni odnos bio je uvjetovan, s jedne strane, zahtjevnosću postavljenog zadatka koji je podrazumijevao obilježavanje većih prostornih cjelina te teško pristupačnih ili geografski raspršenih lokacija, a na koji repertoar dotad poznatih

in the idea of a counter-memorial – essentially linked to the German experience of unrelenting collective guilt – has promptly and easily become an object of political appropriation, like a welcome recipe of how to continue producing national monuments after the end of the grand narratives.<sup>9</sup> Taking into account the proliferation of media and the galloping development of information technologies, the question arises of whether, and to what extent, creating room for the deconstruction of the traditional role of the memorial actually reflects the shift of the interest of political and other power centres from this rather archaic and not too efficient medium of social memory to a more modern mechanism of control and surveillance. The perpetuated media image about the abolition of “totalitarian” regimes and anticipation of a global “post-ideological” consumerist wealth – regularly illustrated with cataclysmic photographs showing the fall of the Berlin Wall and the demolition of communist monuments – has contributed to the impression of collective yearning after ideological liberation from official politics of memory and its replacement with individual artistic interpretations, whose mission is to disclose the historical “truths”, rehabilitate the suppressed individual memories, and achieve a “post-ideological” deconstruction of the “totalitarian” politics of memory. .... These processes, however, are differently manifested in countries outside of the political power centres or at their periphery,<sup>4</sup> where they often manifest as complete opposites of various theoretical assumptions: from the general ones, such

as the “upsurge in memory,”<sup>5</sup> to the simplified interpretations and methodologically questionable categorizations of social memory in post-communist countries.<sup>6</sup> Such theoretical models, often based on the alleged paradigmatic nature of phenomena such as the “memory turn”, are barely compatible with the social and political situation in the countries of former Yugoslavia, which have simultaneously generated a different turn: in the early 1990s, while Germany was actively trying to cope with the memories of the Holocaust by rethinking the monument and implementing its new potentials, Croatia was swept over by a wave of radical negation of the previously established politics of memory, in which its material and immaterial traces were systematically erased<sup>7</sup> in a process coupled with the construction of nationalist and ethnocentric political narratives.<sup>8</sup> The key consequence of these processes was the crisis of mediation and the inability of the new generation to identify themselves with the social memory linked to World War II, which is in contradiction with the trends that could be observed in Western Europe during the same period.<sup>9</sup> .... On the other hand, the construction and preservation of Yugoslav identity during the socialist period was largely based on the obsessive guarding and transmitting of memory as a result of the need, at first spontaneous and then increasingly pragmatic in nature, to use the systematic cultivation of revolutionary traditions<sup>10</sup> in order to create a collective awareness of the importance of the self-liberation of the country and its territorial integrity, as well as – which is equally important –

the ideological implications of organization and mass participation in antifascist struggle during World War II. This demand, however, often resulted in an uncritical affirmation, mythologization, and hyperproduction of places of memory that commemorated the constitutive moments of the political regime: People's Liberation Struggle, the socialist revolution, and the tradition of social uprising and the workers' movement. Even though the Yugoslav model of constructing social memory was overtly ideologically defined, marked by examples of selective memory and politically motivated gradation of importance when it came to specific historical episodes, essentially it was not much different from the politics of memory in other European countries, which were – each in their own way – likewise determined by their own experience of war and geopolitical Cold War constellation of power.<sup>11</sup> Despite the discrepancy between the official politics of memory in socialist Yugoslavia and the individual, local experiences of war, German historian Heike Karge has observed that “the ‘canon of memory’ should not be understood here only as coercion, an instrument of repression used ‘from above’, but also as an opportunity – which was to be used and was indeed used – to communicate with the past in the local setting, where individual, familial, local, republican and federal forms of preserving the memory of war collided. In the local setting, preserving the memory of war was largely an attempt to come to terms with one's mourning after the dead, whereas in the setting above the local it also included realms of social action:

memory preservation was considered as a business opportunity (in tourism), an artistic process, a social obligation, or a pedagogical task.”<sup>12</sup> Karge has concluded that the eventual failure in preserving the memory of war as a cohesive component in the collective, supranational identity of socialist Yugoslavia was not due to the political imposition of memory narratives, but to the petrification of their content and the inherent political taboos, which could not answer the challenges of the increasingly dynamic internal and external political changes, the origins of which dated back to the early 1960s.<sup>13</sup>

**Territory – Monument – Memory**  
When speaking of social and professional engagement in finding new forms of mediating social memory, the era of socialist Yugoslavia, owing to the specificities of its political regime and social system, was characterized by an unprecedented level of social participation and expert cooperation, which helped increase the level of innovation and the artistic quality of a large number of monuments.<sup>14</sup> Challenging the established claim that, in regard to the memory of World War II, it was only with the emergence of counter-memorials that the conscious process of activating its social role began, as well as the declarative rejection of traditional monument types, I would like to indicate that in Yugoslavia some significant divergences in terms of new ways of thinking and inscribing memory in space started to appear as

spomeničkih tipova nije mogao adekvatno odgovoriti. S druge strane, on proizlazi iz zahtjeva ili potrebe umjetnika, arhitekata i ostalih činitelja koji su sudjelovali u procesu obilježavanja, za iznalaženjem formalnih rješenja kojima bi se, kroz bilježenje sjećanja na rat i stradanje, istodobno izrazila optimistična vizija socijalističkog društva. Konačno, odnos pojedinaca i kolektiva prema prostoru i vremenu kao osnovnim parametrima spomenika bio je zasnovan na ideološkim premisama jugoslavenskoga socijalističkog društvenog uređenja koje se zasnivalo, između ostalog, na idejama društvenog vlasništva, samoupravnih odnosa, planirane ekonomije i društvenog razvoja. .... Teritorij kao jedno od centralnih mesta sjećanja na rat u bivšoj Jugoslaviji shvaćen je kao autentična prostorna cjelina obilježena ratnim iskustvom (bitkama, stratištima, logorima, tajnim vojnim bazama) koju valja sačuvati i korištenjem različitih oblikovnih strategija trajno označiti te na taj način ratno sjećanje prenijeti na buduće generacije. Proces selekcije i valorizacije pojedinih teritorijalnih cjelina bio je primarno uvjetovan njihovim povijesnim značajem, a na političkoj razini motiviran perpetuacijom trajnih simboličkih veza između socijalističkoga jugoslavenskog društva i konstituirajućih elemenata društvenog i političkog poretka. U tom je smislu s vremenom formirana i njihova službena hijerarhija, ovisno o tome je li riječ o mjestu od lokalnog, republičkog ili saveznog odnosno općejugoslavenskog značaja. Pritom valja imati na umu da iskustvo ratovanja tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata na području

PRODOR 30. DIVIZIJE U BRDA I BENEĆU. ISTORIJSKI ATLAŠ ČLJOBODILAČKOG RATA

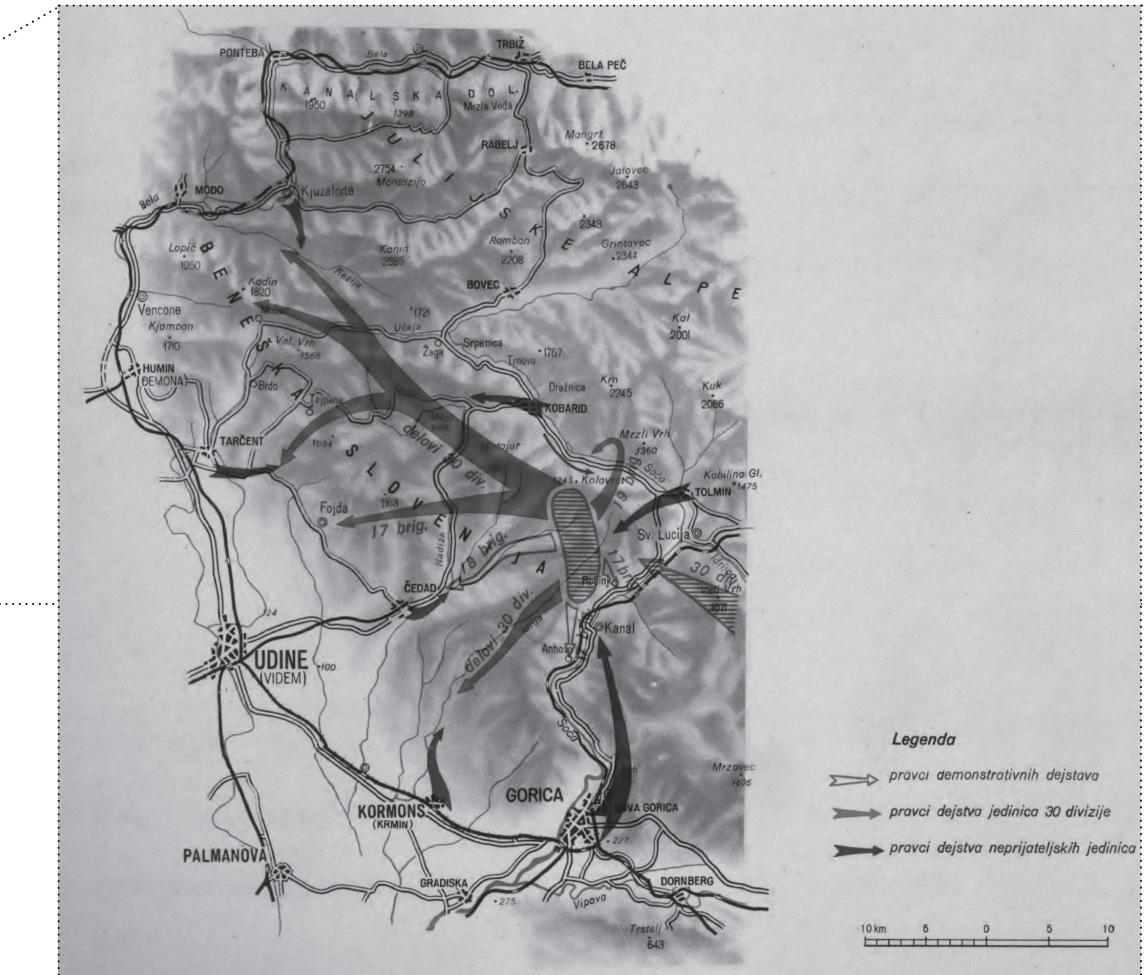
NARODA JUGOSLAVIJE, VOJNOISTORIJSKI INSTITUT JNA, BEOGRAD, 1952.

IZVOR: [HTTP://WWW.ZNACI.NET/00003/385.HTM](http://WWW.ZNACI.NET/00003/385.HTM) (3. 4. 2015)

BREAKTHROUGH OF THE 30<sup>th</sup> DIVISION INTO BRDA AND BENEĆA. HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE'S LIBERATION WAR.  
BELGRADE: INSTITUTE OF MILITARY HISTORY OF YUGOSLAV PEOPLE'S ARMY, 1952.  
SOURCE: [HTTP://WWW.ZNACI.NET/00003/385.HTM](http://WWW.ZNACI.NET/00003/385.HTM) (LAST ACCESSED ON APRIL 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2015)

early as in the mid-1950s. One of the reasons was the need of establishing new semantic links between monuments as *signifiers* fixed in a unique spatial point, the *signified* authentic territory as the foundation of memory, and the place of absorption of these two elements, which is located in the individual imagination of the user. The possibility of reception of the transferred context and the activation of social memory thereby depended on the existence and strength of the link between the *signified* (the territory) and the *signifier* (the monument). .... This tripartite relationship was determined, on the one hand, by the high demands of the task, which included signifying larger areas and hardly accessible or geographically dispersed localities, to which the repertoire of the hitherto known monument types could not be adequately applied. On the other hand, it resulted from the demands or needs of artists, architects, and other subjects who participated in the signifying process and who strove to find formal solutions that could, while documenting war and suffering, also express an optimistic vision of the socialist society. After all, the attitude of the individual and the collective towards space and time as the essential parameters of the monument was based on the ideological premises of Yugoslav socialism as a political regime founded, among other things, on the ideas of common property, self-management, planned economy, and social progress. .... Territory as one of the central places of war memory in Yugoslavia was understood as an authentic spatial unit marked by the experience of war

bivše Jugoslavije predstavlja svojevrsni specifikum u europskom kontekstu. Riječ je o taktički razrađenom, gerilskom tipu ratovanja koji je, uz znatnu podršku lokalnog stanovništva, održavao kontinuitet djelovanja na velikom dijelu okupiranih teritorija od 1941. godine do kraja rata.<sup>15</sup> Stalna migracija vojnih jedinica prirodnim i teško prohodnim terenom te izgradnja tajnih vojnih logora, bolnica, zbjegova i radionica, bili su sastavni dio vojne taktike koja je omogućila da pripadnici Narodnooslobodilačke vojske, znatno manje naoružane i brojčano slabije, u velikoj mjeri samostalno izvojevaju oslobođenje teritorija. Važnost teritorijalnog aspekta partizanskog ratovanja vidljiva je u ilustriranom atlasu objavljenom ubrzo po završetku rata čiji će kartografski prikazi operacija i omjera vojnih snaga u Drugom svjetskom ratu desetljećima nakon služiti kao osnova transfera znanja na nove generacije. Na taj način vojna kartografija postaje sastavni dio procesa konstrukcije kolektivnog sjećanja na rat, a – kako ćemo pokazati kroz pojedine primjere – služi i kao nadopuna doživljaju znakovitog teritorija obilježenog spomeničkim objektima.<sup>16</sup> .... Kada je riječ o mjestima stradanja, teritorij podrazumijeva definirane prostorne gabarite unutar kojih su bili smješteni logori ili mesta na kojima su bile vršene egzekucije.<sup>17</sup> Iako je praksa izmještanja kostiju stradalih na jedinstvenu lokaciju poput groblja ili spomen-kosturnica bila učestala i zakonski regulirana, okolnosti često nisu dopuštale taj tip prostorne sistematizacije. U ovoj analizi, između ostalog, zanimaju metode obilježavanja



Legenda

- pravci demonstrativnih dejstava
- pravci dejstva jedinica 30 divizije
- pravci dejstva neprijateljskih jedinica

10 km 5 0 5 10

(battles, execution sites, concentration camps, secret military bases) that had to be preserved and permanently marked by using various strategies of design, which would help transfer the memory of war to the future generations. The process of selecting and evaluating particular territorial units primarily depended on their historical significance, and was at the political level motivated by the perpetuation of permanent symbolic links between the socialist Yugoslav society and the constitutive elements of its social and political regime. In that sense, their official hierarchy was formed with time, depending on whether a particular place was of local, republican, or federal (Yugoslav) significance. Thereby one should keep in mind that the experience of warfare in Yugoslavia during World War II was rather specific as compared to the rest of Europe. It was a tactically elaborate guerrilla warfare that kept its continuity, with the considerable support of the local population, in a large parts of occupied territories from 1941 until the end of the war.<sup>15</sup> Permanent migration of troops over barely accessible natural terrain, which implied the construction of secret military camps, hospitals, shelters, and workshops, were part of the military tactics that made it possible for the People's Liberation Army, considerably inferior to the enemy in terms of weapons and numbers, to liberate the territory largely without external help. The importance of this territorial aspect of partisan warfare is evident in an illustrated atlas published soon after the war, with maps of the military operations and the ratios between various armies in World

autentičnih lokacija stradanja koja su u pravilu odvijala izvan naseljenih područja. S obzirom na to da ekshumacija grobnica i točna evidencija stradalih nije uvijek mogla biti u potpunosti provedena te da su brojni autentični objekti partizanskih bolnica i vojnih logora bili uništeni, bilo je nužno iznaci nove načine simboličkog obilježavanja.<sup>18</sup> Naznačeni simbolički karakter odnosa spomeničkog objekta i njime označenog teritorija moguće je sagledati ovisno o intenzitetu i modalitetima uspostavljene veze, odnosno o utjecaju tako uspostavljenih veza na korisnika u procesu apsorpcije ili internalizacije transferiranog sjećanja. Prirodu spomenutih veza raščlanili smo u tri kategorije, pri čemu analizom izabranih primjera upućujemo na dosad neprepoznate aspekte memorijalnih praksi prisutnih na području bivše Jugoslavije.

#### **Spomenik kao dominantni označitelj teritorija**

Istaknuti geografski markeri, poput planinskih vrhova i uzvisina, tisućjećima i u gotovo svim civilizacijama animiraju ljudsku imaginaciju, prelazeći postupno u arhetipski simbol duhovnosti, superiornosti ili moći. Dok smještaj religijskih (kapeli, crkve, raspela) i svjetlovnih (utvrde, zamci) objekata na prirodna uzvišenja nije uvjetovan isključivo simboličkim nego i strateško-utilitarnim motivima, razlozi takvog pozicioniranja ratnih memorijala i posljedice njihova odnosa s krajolikom primarno su simboličke prirode. Objekt koji dominira krajolikom istodobno ga označuje i simbolički prisvaja zbog čega je korišten kao

SPOMENIK 213 PALIH BORACA, 82 TAOCA I 20 POGINULIH INTERNIRACA IZ GORIŠKIH BRDA I SLOVENSKE BENEČIJE, GONJAČE, SLOVENIJA, ING. ARH. MARKO ŠLAJMER, JANEZ BOLJKA, 1961.  
FOTO: PAOLO MOFARDIN (PHOTO-COLLECTION, INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, ZAGREB), 2012.

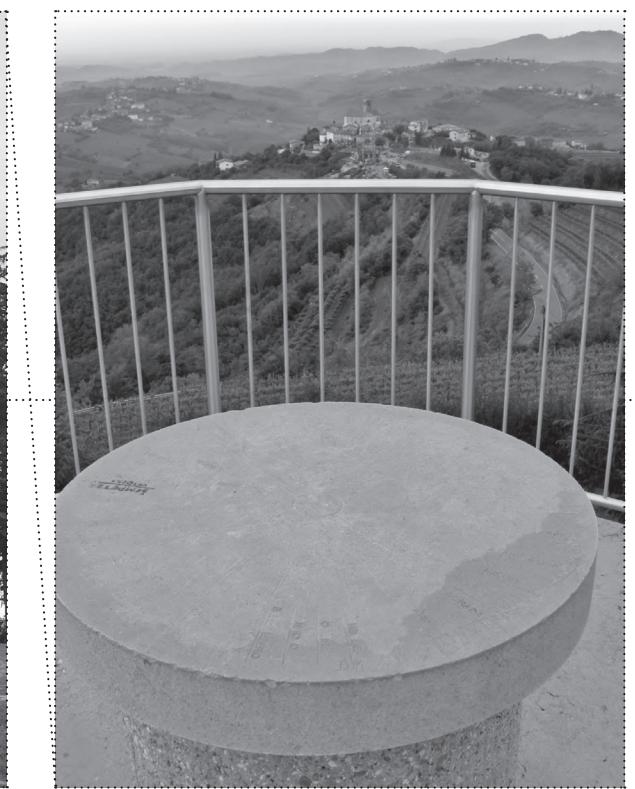
MEMORIAL DEDICATED TO 213 FALLEN SOLDIERS, 82 HOSTAGES, AND 20 PRISONERS FROM GORICA MOUNTAINS AND SLOVENSKA BENEČIJA. GONJAČE, SLOVENIA,  
ARCHITECT MARKO ŠLAJMER AND SCULPTOR JANEZ BOLJKA, 1961.  
PHOTO: PAOLO MOFARDIN (PHOTO-COLLECTION, INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, ZAGREB), 2012

War II, which served for decades as the basic tool of transferring knowledge on local war history to the young generations. In this way, military cartography became an integral part of the process of constructing collective war memory and also – as I will show here on a set of examples – served to complement the experience of landscape while visiting significant historical territories marked by monuments.<sup>16</sup> Speaking of the sites of suffering, territory involves spatially defined areas in which concentration camps or execution sites were located.<sup>17</sup> Even though the practice of transferring the bones of the deceased to a unique locality such as a graveyard or a memorial ossuary was frequent and legally regulated, the circumstances often prevented this form of spatial systematization. In this analysis, I will focus, among other things, on the methods of signifying the authentic sites of suffering, mostly located outside of settlements. Regarding the fact that it was not always possible to exhume graveyards, that the statistics of deaths were often inaccurate, and that many authentic partisan hospitals and military camps had been destroyed, it was necessary to find other forms of symbolic signification.<sup>18</sup> The indicated symbiotic character of the relationship between a monument and the territory it signifies can be viewed with regard to the intensity and the modalities of the established link between them, or rather the impact of links established with the user in the process of absorbing or internalizing the transferred memory. The nature of these links has here been divided into three categories, whereby I

efikasno mjesto prenošenja društvenog sjećanja. Stoga ne čudi da je znatan broj spomenika podignutih u sjećanje na događaje iz NOB-a na području bivše Jugoslavije također smješten na prirodnim uzvisinama. Njihove tipološke i morfološke mijene i varijacije upućuju, između ostalog, na karakter njihove relacije prema prostoru koji ih okružuje i potrebu naručitelja i autora za uspostavljanjem drugačijih veza između spomenika, promatrača i označenog teritorija. Praksa teritorijalnog označavanja monumentalnim spomeničkim kompleksima nakon Drugog svjetskog rata na tlu Jugoslavije započinje izgradnjom *Spomenika zahvalnosti Crvenoj armiji* u Batini 1947. godine.<sup>19</sup> Pozicija spomenika na dominantnoj uzvisini u ravničarskom kraju sjeveroistočne Slavonije uvjetovana je potrebom da se u prostoru, na što vidljiviji način, upiše sjećanje na bitku između pripadnika jedinica Crvene armije i NOVJ-a s jedne, i njemačkog *Wehrmacht* i saveznika s druge strane, koja je krajem 1944. godine odigrala značajnu stratešku ulogu za pozitivan ishod završnih operacija u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Iako sam spomenik – čija se kompozicija s obeliskom uklapa u dugu tradiciju europskih ratnih memorijala – ima komemorativnu funkciju kosturnice u kojoj je sahranjeno 1927 vojnika sovjetske Crvene armije, njegov je položaj odabran i s ciljem kreiranja svojevrsne osmatračnice koja nudi pregled nad poprištem jedne od presudnih vojnih operacija Drugog svjetskog rata na ovim prostorima. Navodeći posjetitelju na polukružno kretanje platoom oko centralnog obeliska, omogućen je istodobni

pogled na autentično poprište bitke s jedne i reljefni brončani friz s prikazom povijesnih događaja, s druge strane. Time se posjetitelju potiče da naraciju s reljefa učita u vlastiti doživljaj krajolika, pri čemu je imaginacija ograničena zadanim narativom, realistički transponiranim kroz skulpturalni medij. Na primjerima dvaju slovenskih spomenika nastalim u desetljećima koja slijede, proizašlih iz iste morfološke tradicije prostornog markiranja, uputit ćemo na izvjesne pomake u promišljanju veze između spomenika i označenog teritorija i aktivnijoj participaciji korisnika u procesu prenošenja sjećanja. Spomenik posvećen 213 palih boraca, 82 taoca i 20 poginulih interniraca iz Goriških brda i Slovenske Benečije u selu Gonjače u zapadnoj Sloveniji, otkriven 1961. godine, predstavlja zanimljivu varijaciju spomeničke

morfologije. Modernističkom interpretacijom teme vidikovca, arhitekt Marko Šlajmer posjetiteljima omogućuje pogled na cjelokupan teritorij kojeg spomenički kompleks markira u svojstvu označitelja.<sup>20</sup> Osobitost ovog rješenja leži u uputama za „čitanje“ krajolika koje se nalaze na vrhu visokoga razglednog stupa. Riječ je o kružnoj betonskoj ploči u koju su upisane prostorne koordinate vidljivog krajolika i uz njih vezani tijek vojnih operacija. Za razliku od spomenika u Batini, posjetitelj nije opremljen narativnim prikazom događaja, nego se zahtijeva angažman u „čitanju“ krajolika i otvara mogućnost individualne imaginacije kao sastavnog elementa u procesu formiranja sjećanja. U podnožju vidikovca smješteno je mjesto pijeteta – skulptura slovenskog kipara Janeza Boljka, sastavljena od dvostrukoga plitkog reljefa



have analysed a set of selected examples to indicate the hitherto unrecognized aspects of memorial practices in socialist Yugoslavia.

#### **Monument as the Dominant Signifier of a Territory**

Accentuated geographic markers, such as mountaintops or elevations, have animated human imagination for millennia and in virtually all civilizations, gradually becoming archetypal symbols of spirituality, superiority, or power. Although placing religious objects (such as chapels, churches, or crucifixes) or the secular ones (fortresses, castles) on natural elevations is not determined exclusively by symbolic motivation, but also by the strategic and utilitarian ones, the reasons for positioning war memorials in such places and the effects of their correlation with landscape are primarily symbolic in nature. A structure dominating the landscape signifies and symbolically appropriates it at the same time, which is why it is used as an efficient place of transferring social memory. Therefore, a considerable number of monuments erected in memory of events from Yugoslav People's Liberation Struggle were also built on natural elevations. Their typological and morphological changes and variations indicate, among other things, the nature of their relationship with the surrounding space and the intention of the commissioner and the author to establish different sorts of relationships between the monument, the viewer, and the signified territory. After World War II, the practice of marking a territory by building monumental complexes began with the erection of the

Monument of Gratitude to the Red Army in 1947 in Batina.<sup>19</sup> The monument's position on a dominating elevation in the otherwise flat landscape of north-eastern Slavonia was determined by the need to inscribe in space, as visibly as possible, the memory of a battle between the units of the Red Army and the Yugoslav National Liberation Army on the one side, and the German Wehrmacht with its allies, on the other, which played an important strategic role in the positive outcome of the final military operations in the late 1944. Even though the monument, whose composition with an obelisk fits into the long tradition of European war memorials, has a commemorative function as an ossuary holding the bones of 1927 soldiers of the Soviet Red Army, its position was also chosen with the aim of creating an observation post offering a view over

the battlefield where one of the decisive military operations in this region took place during World War II. By guiding the visitor to move in a semicircle on the plateau around the central obelisk, the monument offers a simultaneous view to the authentic battlefield and to the bronze relief frieze depicting the historical events. In this way, the visitor is encouraged to inscribe the narration from the relief into his or her own experience of landscape; at the same time, the monument limits one's imagination by means of the supplied narrative, realistically transmitted through the sculptural medium. Two examples of Slovenian monuments, erected in the following decades and relying on the same morphological tradition of spatial marking, will serve to indicate certain shifts in establishing the link between the monument and the signified

s prikazima stradanja interniraca, koja je ekspresivnošću forme suprotstavljena pitomom krajoliku u pozadini čime suptilno opominje posjetitelja na prisutnost stradanja i moralnu obavezu sjećanja.<sup>21</sup> ..... Spomenik Dražgoškoj bitki, smješten u živopisni planinski krajolik blizu sela Dražgoše u pokrajini Gorenjskoj, spada među najmonumentalnija hibridna, skulpturalno-arhitektonika spomenička rješenja u Sloveniji. Otkriven je 1976. godine na 35. godišnjicu slovenskog ustanka, a nastao je kao rezultat timskog mišljenja i rada trojice slovenskih umjetnika – arhitekta Borisa Koebe, kipara Stojana Batiča i slikara Ive Šubica.<sup>22</sup> Glavni izazov bio je postići arhitektonsko rješenje koje bi se formom ukloplilo, a veličinom dominiralo planinskim krajolikom. Idejni projekt Kobeova betonskog, 12 metara visokog vidikovca s tlocrtom petokrake zvijezde bio je adaptiran tradicijskom oblikovanju i potrebama lokalnog stanovništva.<sup>23</sup> „Spomenik sam postavio tako da sam tražio točku s koje ljudi najlakše mogu sagledati prostor na kojem se odvila dramatična bitka, od istoka na zapad, od sjevera na jug. [...] Upotrijebio sam motiv sjenika, s ritmom horizontale i vertikalnih stubova. Prijelaze između triju terasa, od Šubicevog mozaika, Batičevih skulptura do razgledne terase, veže spiralna stepenica – žila života.“<sup>24</sup> Oblikovno se referirajući na lokalni tradicijski motiv sjenika,<sup>25</sup> spomenik – primarno određen funkcijom vidikovca – upućuje i na ambiciju postizanja skulpturalne kvalitete. Kružna osnova terase pruža mogućnost istodobnog prihvata većeg broja posjetitelja te je, slično kao i spomenik u Gonjačama, opremljena

panoramском navigacijskom pločom za „čitanje“ povijesnog krajolika, s upisanim geografskim kotama i kronologijom događaja. Zadržani su i fragmenti narativnog opisa događaja, izvedeni u različitim medijima i tehnikama: mozaik s prikazom događaja na Mošenjskoj planini Ive Šubica, dvije skulpturalne grupe Stojana Batiča koje simboliziraju napad i obranu partizana, te središnji plamenik uokviren reljefima istog autora s prikazima stradanja stanovništva i sahrane partizana.<sup>26</sup> Integracijom različitih medija prenošenja sjećanja i uspostavljanjem tješnje veze između specifične lokacije spomenika i označenog teritorija, posjetitelju je omogućen neposredni i emotivniji doživljaj memorijalnog krajolika, dok je intimnija, individualna recepcija posredovanog sadržaja omogućena organskim rastvaranjem same arhitekture. ..... Tendencija sinteze arhitektonskog i skulpturalnog medija u oblikovanju spomenika kulminirat će projektom za spomenik na Petrovoj gori, u kojem arhitekt Berislav Šerbetić apstraktnu skulptorskiju zamisao Vojina Bakića interpretacijski transponira u tipološki jedinstven, multifunkcionalan spomenik-objekt.<sup>27</sup> Potrebi da i njega sagledamo kao označitelja teritorija u prilog govoru i jedna od uvodnih rečenica u opisu projekta: „Volja da se održi sjećanje podiže ovaj spomenik na najvišem vrhu planine kao simbolički znak cijela prostora“.<sup>28</sup> Iako je proces obilježavanja i zaštite cjelovitog spomen-područja započelo već početkom 1960-ih (vidi poglavlje *Teritorij kao spomenik*) suvremeni društveni i stručni interes za ovu temu iz razumljivih je razloga (propadanje

SPOMENIK DRAŽGOŠKOJ BITKI, BORIS KOBE, STOJAN BATIČ I IVE ŠUBIC, 1976.  
FOTO: PAOLO MOFARDIN (FOTOTEKA IPU), 2012.

MEMORIAL TO THE BATTLE OF DRAŽGOŠE. BORIS KOBE, STOJAN BATIČ, AND IVE ŠUBIC, 1976.  
PHOTO: PAOLO MOFARDIN (PHOTO-COLLECTION, INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, ZAGREB), 2012

territory, which implied a more active participation of the user in the process of memory transfer. The *Memorial dedicated to 213 Fallen Soldiers, 82 Hostages, and 20 Prisoners from Gorica Mountains and Slovenska Benečija* in the village of Gonjače in western Slovenia, inaugurated in 1961, is an interesting variation on the stated monument morphology. By creating a modernist interpretation of the belvedere motif, architect Marko Šlajmer made it possible for the visitors to enjoy a vista of the entire territory marked by the monument complex as its *signifier*.<sup>20</sup> The specificity of design is in the “reading” instructions for the landscape, which are to be found on top of the high sightseeing tower. It is a circular concrete plate with inscribed spatial coordinates of the visible landscape and the related course of the military operations. Unlike the Batina monument, there is no narrative representation of the events here, which requires the visitors’ involvement in “reading” the landscape, creating room for individual imagination as a constituent part of the process of memory formation. The place of commemoration is situated at the foot of the sightseeing tower: it is work of Slovenian sculptor Janez Boljka, consisting of a double shallow relief with the depiction of the inmates’ suffering and death. In its expressivity of form, it contrasts with the tame landscape in the background, subtly reminding the visitor of the presence of suffering and the moral obligation of remembering.<sup>21</sup> ..... The *Memorial to the Battle of Dražgoše*, situated in a picturesque mountain landscape nearby the village of Dražgoše

in the Gorenjska region, is one of the largest hybrid sculptural-architectural monuments in Slovenia. It was inaugurated in 1976, on the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Slovenian uprising, as the result of a teamwork of three Slovenian artists: architect Boris Kobe, sculptor Stojan Batič, and painter Iye Šubic.<sup>22</sup> The main challenge was how to produce architecture that would fit the mountainous landscape in its form, yet dominate it with its proportions. The concept of Kobe’s sightseeing structure made of concrete, 12 meter high and with a ground plan of a five-pointed star, was adapted to the traditional design and the needs of the local population.<sup>23</sup> “I decided on the location by looking for the point from which people could easily view the entire space of the dramatic battle, from east to west, from north to south. [...] I used the hayrack motif, with its horizontal rhythm and vertical columns. The passages connecting the three terraces, from Šubic’s mosaic to Batič’s sculpture and further to the sightseeing platform, are linked by a spiral staircase – the life vein.”<sup>24</sup> With its reference to the local and traditional hayrack motif,<sup>25</sup> the monument – primarily defined by the sightseeing function – indicates the ambition of achieving sculptural quality. The circular base of the terrace makes it possible to receive a larger number of visitors at the same time and is, same as the Gonjače monument, equipped with a panoramic navigation platform for “reading” the historical landscape, with geographic information and a chronology of events. Fragments of the narrative description of events have been preserved and carried out in various media and techniques: there is a mosaic by



spomenika, potreba reafirmacije Bakićeva stvaralaštva) primarno usmjerena na sam spomenički objekt.<sup>29</sup> U tom je smislu zanemarena i činjenica da je jedan od ciljeva njegove izgradnje bilo teritorijalno markiranje i omogućavanje pogleda na spomen-područje. Prije negoli je spomenik devastiran skidanjem aluminijuske oplate, iskustvo koje je pružao pogled sa 544 m nadmorske visine bilo je potencirano i činjenicom da je – zahvaljujući hermetički zatvorenom volumenu objekta – posjetitelj tek s vrha mogao doživjeti okolini krajolik (u povoljnijim vremenskim uvjetima, pogled se pružao sve do Zagreba).

..... S obzirom na to da je riječ o spomeniku s programskim ciljem objedinjavanja povijesnog kontinuiteta života i borbe upisane u šire područje Petrove gore i njezine kulminacije u NOB-u i socijalističkoj revoluciji,<sup>30</sup> Bakićovo se formalno rješenje moralno „nametnuti znakom ne samo Petrove gore, nego cijelog kraja, ne samo spomenom boraca Petrove gore, nego cijele revolucije“.<sup>31</sup> To je, s jedne strane, postignuto monumentalnošću spomenika, a s druge oblikovanjem forme i odabirom materijala. Svetlosni efekti koji su nastajali odbijescima okolne prirode i sunca o zaobljene aluminijuske ovojnici spomenika, dematerijalizirali su formu a objekt transformirali u svojevrstan svjetionik cijelog memorijalnog područja Petrove gore. Za razliku od ranije opisanih primjera čija je primarna intencija bilo simboličko sažimanje memorijalnog teritorija kreiranjem specifične prostorne točke pamćenja, smisao ovog projekta

SPOMEMENIK NA PETROVOJ GORI, VIDIKOVAC NA 37. METRU GRADEVINE.  
FOTO: MILE DAKIĆ, SPOMEMENICI NOR-A I REVOLUCIJE: NA PODRUČJU ZAJEDNICA OPĆINA KARLOVAC,  
MEMORIJALNI PARK PETROVA GORA, TURISTKOMERCI, ZAGREB, 1986, 11.

MEMORIAL ON PETROVA MOUNT, SIGHTSEEING PLATFORM AT 37 METERS FROM THE BASE.  
PHOTO: MILE DAKIĆ, SPOMEMENICI NOR-A I REVOLUCIJE: NA PODRUČJU ZAJEDNICA OPĆINA KARLOVAC  
[MONUMENTS TO THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND THE REVOLUTION: THE REGION OF  
KARLOVAC]. MEMORIAL PARK OF PETROVA MOUNT AND TURISTKOMERC, ZAGREB, 1986, 11

Ive Šubic showing the events of Mošenjska Mount, two sculptural groups by Stojan Batić symbolizing the attack and defence of the Partisans, and the central flame surrounded by reliefs of the same author depicting civilian suffering and the burial of the Partisans.<sup>26</sup> By integrating different media in memory transfer and by establishing a closer link between the specific site of the monument and the *signified* territory, the visitors were offered an opportunity to experience the memorial landscape more directly and more emotionally, while the organic openness of the architecture allowed for an individual reception of the communicated idea. .... The tendency of creating a synthesis between architecture and sculpture in a monumental design culminated in the project for the Petrova Gora memorial, in which architect Berislav Šerbetić interpreted the abstract sculptural concept of Vojin Bakić by transposing it into a typologically unique, multifunctional commemorative monument.<sup>27</sup> The need to look at it as a territory signifier is supported by an introductory sentence from the project description: “The wish to preserve memory has made us construct this monument on top of the mountain as a symbol of the entire area.”<sup>28</sup> Even though the process of signifying and protecting the entire memorial area began in the early 1960s (cf. section *Territory as a Monument*), contemporary social and professional interest in Petrova Gora focuses merely on the monument building for understandable reasons (its derelict state, the need of reaffirming Bakić's artistic opus).<sup>29</sup> The fact

leži u pokušaju sinteze tih dvaju elemenata: „Taj prostor nije park, premda mu je sličan, pa se i može koristiti tako: on upućuje spomeniku, služi mu, jednako kao što je i sam potreba spomeniku – da bude društveno sjecište i boravište – ne samo simboličan znak. To jedinstvo spomenika i njegove okolice – spoj skulpture snažnih simboličkih mogućnosti, autentične prirode i gotovo klasično odmjerene artikulacije prostora – zasnivaju posebnost upravo ove memorijalne sredine – na Petrovcu, vrhu Petrove gore.“<sup>32</sup> Upravo u ovakvom nastajanju sjedinjavanja označenog i označitelja, namjeri ukrštanja autentičnosti lokacije i ratnih sjećanja, s jedne, i suvremenoga, sadržajno-oblikovnog doživljaja permanentne revolucije (upisanog u spiralnu formu i programski sadržaj spomenika), s druge strane, očituje se težnja prema postizanju smislenije identifikacije nove generacije korisnika s povijesnim iskustvom i njihove „prirodnije“ apsorpcije društvenog sjećanja.

#### Prema sintezi teritorija i spomenika

Modifikacija postojeće spomeničke morfologije i inovacije u pristupu obilježavanju sjećanja proizlazile su iz nastojanja da kultura sjećanja prati i odgovara promjenama i specifičnim potrebama socijalističkog društva. Osim stavljanja većeg naglaska na participaciju omladine u memorijalnim praksama, prepoznat je potencijal novih izražajnih mogućnosti koje nastaju u domeni likovnih umjetnosti i arhitekture, osobito nakon rekapitulacije stanja memorijalne plastike, koja je obilježila prvu polovinu 1960-ih godina.<sup>33</sup> Negativni rezultati

dotadašnje prakse podizanja spomenika – konvencionalnost i repetitivnost forme, nezadovoljavajuća kvalitet izvedbe, nepreciznost natpisa, neusuglašenost likovne kvalitete i značaja obilježenih osoba i događaja – nagnali su struku, umjetnike i zainteresirane društveno-političke organizacije na suradnju u smjeru donošenja nužnih zakonskih regulativa, uvođenje mjera zaštite, evidencije i valorizacije, a sve s ciljem očuvanja postojećih i podizanja kvalitete novoizgrađenih spomenika.<sup>34</sup> Ti su impulsi tijekom 1960-ih godina svakako potakli i ohrabrili realizaciju novih koncepata i oblikovnih rješenja koji su u ateljeima, na skicama i natječajima prisutni još od sredine 1950-ih. Istodobno, sve se intenzivnije zagovaralo podizanje utilitarnih, društveno korisnih spomen-objekata, poput škola, kulturnih domova, česmi, mostova. U tom su smislu spomen-parkovi bili osobito pogodno rješenje koje je omogućavalo kombinaciju utilitarnih i estetskih zahtjeva. Iako

sam koncept spomen-parka vremenski i prostorno nije specifičan za socijalističku Jugoslaviju, on znatno popularnost stječe tijekom 1950-ih godina kada je prepoznat kao adekvatan format obilježavanja većih prostornih gabarita, poput grobalja ili stratišta, koji su često u sastavu ili gravitiraju postojecim urbanim strukturama. Jedan od prvih prijedloga za realizaciju spomen-parka na mjestu stradanja bilo je arhitektonsko rješenje obilježavanja stratišta u Jajincima kraj Beograda. Projekt arhitekata Branka Bona i Stanka Mandića iz 1955. godine predviđao je sugestivnu ulogu krajobrazne arhitekture i transformaciju mjesta kolektivne tragedije u prostor ugoden za boravak, pa čak i popularno izletište Beograđana.<sup>35</sup> Ovaj je prijedlog potaknuo seriju tekstova o različitim koncepcijama spomen-parkova i spomen-groblja na području Srbije (Požarevac, Kragujevac, Beograd, Titovo Užice).<sup>36</sup> Oni su podrazumijevali različite mogućnosti prostorne integracije



that one of the aims of its construction was originally to mark the territory and allow the viewer to see the entire memorial area has therefore also been neglected. Before the memorial was devastated by taking off its aluminium plating, the experience of viewing the landscape from 544 m above the sea level was intensified by the fact that the visitor – owing to the hermetically closed volume of the structure – could experience the surrounding landscape only from the top (when the weather conditions allowed it, one could see as far as Zagreb). .... Regarding the fact that this monument was built with the programmatic aim of establishing a connection between the historical continuity of life and the struggle inscribed in the wider territory of Petrova Gora, with its culmination in the People's Liberation Struggle and the socialist revolution,<sup>30</sup> Bakić's formal solution had to be “understood not only as a symbol only of Petrova Gora, but also as that of the entire area, and the memorial was dedicated not only to the fighters of Petrova Gora, but also to the revolution as such.”<sup>31</sup> This was achieved, on the one hand, with the monumentality of structure, and on the other with the form and choice of the materials. Light effects created by the surrounding nature and sunshine mirrored in the curving aluminium plating dematerialized the form and transformed the monument into a sort of lighthouse for the entire memorial area of Petrova Gora. Unlike the previously described examples, the primary intention of which was to symbolically condense the memorial territory by creating a specific spatial point of memory, the goal of this project was to

achieve a synthesis between these two elements: “This space is not a park, although it may resemble one and may be used that way: it leads to the monument and serves it in the same way as the monument needs it – to be a social junction and a place of repose, and not merely a symbol. This unity between the monument and its surrounding area – fusion between the sculpture of powerful symbolic potential, the untouched nature, and the almost classically measured articulation of space – makes this memorial area on Petrovac, the pinnacle of Petrova Gora, so very specific.”<sup>32</sup> It is in this effort of bringing together the *signified* and the *signifier* as combining the authenticity of location and the memory of war on the one hand, and the contemporary conceptual and formal experience of permanent revolution (inscribed in the spiral form and the programme of the monument) on the other, that one may

see the wish to achieve a more meaningful identification of the new generation of users with the historical experience and a step towards a more “natural” absorption of social memory.

#### Towards a Synthesis between Territory and Monument

Modification of traditional monument morphology and innovation in approaching the signification of memory resulted from the need to adapt memorial practices to the changes and specific needs of the society. Besides placing a stronger accent on the participation of young people in memorial practices, it also paid respect to the potential of new expressive possibilities that were emerging in the field of visual arts and architecture, especially after the revision of memorial sculpture that marked the first half of the 1960s.<sup>33</sup> The negative results of monumental practice at the time, such as

sadržaja, među kojima je memorijalna plastika najčešće imala funkciju centralnoga komemorativnog mjesta, poput Kolacićeva spomenika u Parku heroja na Trsatu, ili je park bio koncipiran kroz niz skulptorskih rješenja na autentičnim lokacijama stradanja, kao što je slučaj sa Spomen-parkom Šumarice pokraj Kragujevca. Iako je u svim projektima ovog tipa krajobrazna arhitektura činila nužan segment osmišljavanja prostorne cjeline i postizanja željene atmosfere, neki su autori transfer sjećanja i emocija na posjetitelja zasnivali upravo na simbolici prirode. Arhitektica Ružica Ilić u projektu za spomen-groblje Dovarje kraj Titova Užica, čitav je kompleks obradila „zelenom arhitekturom“: „Na čistom prostoru zasadit će se ‘živi hram’. Zidovi ovoga živog objekta bili bi od visoke borove šume, dok bi unutrašnji prostor bila zelena i cvetna livada; a između visoke borove šume i postojeće šume ostavio bi se širi prostor zelenih staza. U centru unutrašnje livade nalazila bi se velika kamena ploča sa ispisanim imenima boraca koji tu počivaju u zajedničkoj grobnici. Pojedina i najlepša drveta nosila bi imena poginulih, što bi, kao i ceo živi hram, imalo i simboličkog značenja da uspomene na poginule i njihove ideje sve više rastu i obnavljaju se.“<sup>37</sup> Ovakav će pristup memorijalizaciji sredinom šezdesetih godina biti populariziran kroz rad omladinskih organizacija poput *Pokreta gorana* koji je, vođen primarno ekološkim motivom ozelenjivanja, bio usmjeren i na uređivanje postojećih i promoviranje ideje „zelenih spomenika“.<sup>38</sup> Kada je riječ o skulpturalnom obilježavanju

autentičnih povijesnih lokacija i mesta stradanja, najnovativnija rješenja kretala su u smjeru integralno mišljenih spomeničkih cjelina u kojima je određen motiv ili oblikovna metoda bila sustavno provedena kroz obilježeni teritorij. Takav je pristup oprostovanju sjećanja podrazumijevao tjelesnu i emotivnu interakciju s posjetiteljem. Jedno od prvih takvih rješenja na tlu bivše Jugoslavije jest *Spomenik borcima Pohorskog bataljona* na Mariborskom Pohorju, rad arhitekta Branka Kocmuta i kipara Slavka Tiheca, otkriven 1959. godine u sjećanje na tragičnu pogibelj 69 slovenskih partizanika i partizana, stradalih pod obručem njemačke vojske u siječnju 1943. godine.<sup>39</sup> Spomenik je smješten usred smrekove šume na Mariborskom Pohorju, na autentičnoj lokaciji tajnoga partizanskog logora i poprištu posljednje bitke Pohorskog bataljona. Put do spomenika i danas je obilježen tek planinarskim markacijama u obliku crvenih petokrakih zvjezdza. Oko Tihecove centralne brončane skulpturalne grupe, sastavljene od dviju ekspresivno oblikovanih ljudskih figura, vertikalno položenih na niski granitni postament, radijalno je raspoređeno 16 većih i 32 manja granitna bloka. Veći markiraju lokacije zemunica koje su bile izgradene u sklopu zimske partizanske baze i vojni sastav bataljona (bataljonski štab, ekonomat, ambulanata i pojedini vodovi triju četa Pohorskog bataljona), dok su manji raspoređeni na pretpostavljenim lokacijama vojnih položaja i označeni osobnim imenima 69 stradalih partizanika i partizana.<sup>40</sup> Oni ne obilježavaju grobna mjesta palih boraca nego se prostornim rasporedom

granitnih blokova nastoji inscenirati njihov autentičan položaj u trenutku borbe i pogibije. Formalna i izražajna sredstva kipara i arhitekta znatno su reducirana, a narativni element sveden na minimum – spomenička plastika prije svega je u službi precizne akupunkture šumskog pejzaža i rekreaciji drame na autentičnoj lokaciji bitke. Redukcijom izražajnih sredstava – označitelja, memorijalni sadržaj s umjetničke reprezentacije biva preusmjeren na individualni doživljaj promatrača, pri čemu je vjerodostojnost događaja osigurana autentičnošću označenog prostora, a transcedentalnost njegove poruke potpomognuta učinkom šumskog ambijenta spokoja, tišine i vječne obnove života. Sjećanje kao sastavni dio same prirode posredovan je putem drugih medija sjećanja, poput stihova uklesanih u centralni granitni blok: „V boj za svobodu sveta / Ste šli kot ponosni junaki, / Venec je večno zelen, / Pohorje vam spomenik.“<sup>41</sup> Sličan se pristup očituje u prvom projektu uređenja memorijalnog kompleksa Dotrščina u Zagrebu čiji su autorski tim sačinjavali arhitekti Josip Seissel i kipar Vojin Bakić, krajobrazne arhitektice Silvana Seissela i Angela Rotkvić te pjesnik Jure Kaštelan.<sup>42</sup> Riječ je o šumovitom području na jugoistočnim obroncima Zagrebačke gore, na kojem su tijekom čitavog rata vršena pojedinačna i grupna strijeljanja nekoliko tisuća stanovnika Zagreba i okolnih područja, pa kao takvo predstavlja mjesto najmasovnijeg zločina u povijesti grada Zagreba.<sup>43</sup> Čitav prostor, na kojem je nakon rata formirano groblje, od 1963. godine zaštićen je kao autentični spomenički kompleks, za koji je 1964. godine

SPOMENIK BORCIMA POHORSKOG BATALJONA NA POHORJU, SKICA SITUACIJE, ARH. BRANKO KOCMUT, 1959. FOTO: SINTESA: REVJUJA ŽA LIKOVNO KULTURO, 7, 1967., 37.

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MEMORIAL TO THE FIGHTERS OF THE POHORJE BATTALION, SITUATIONAL DRAWING, ARCHITECT BRANKO KOCMUT, 1959. PHOTO: SINTESA: REVJUJA ŽA LIKOVNO KULTURO 7 (1967), 37

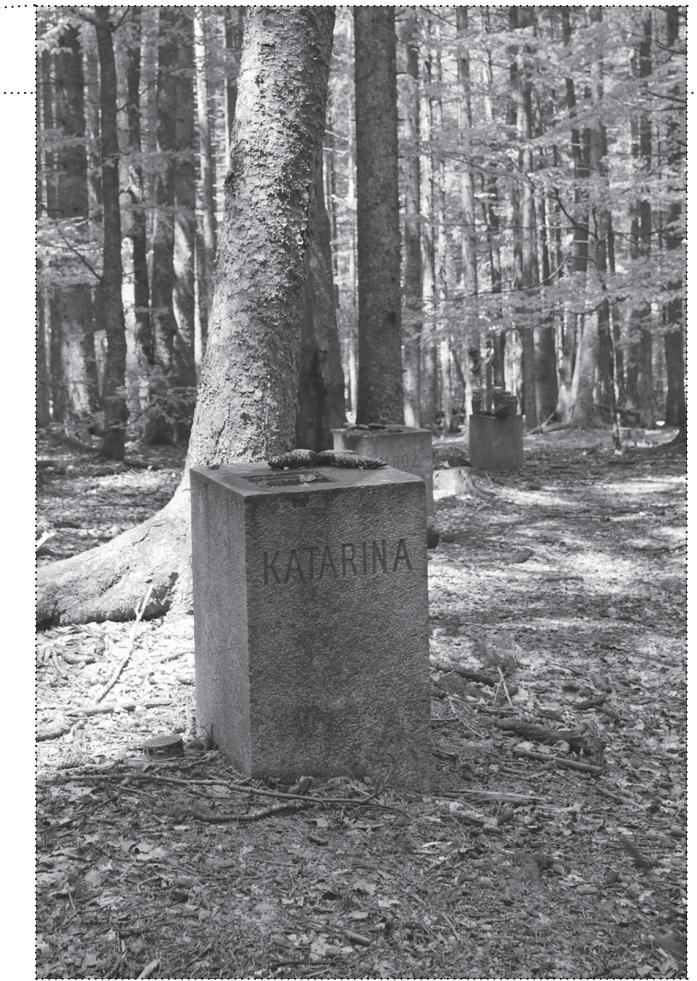
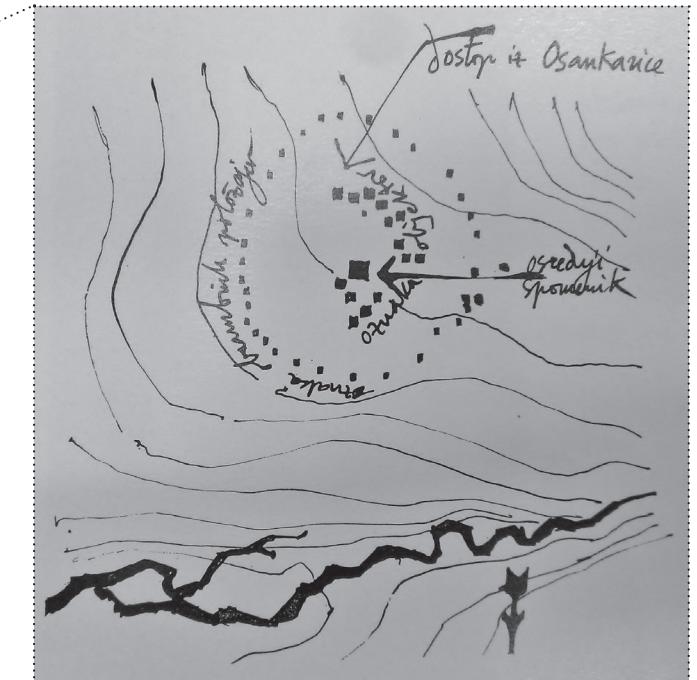
SPOMENIK BORCIMA POHORSKOG BATALJONA NA POHORJU, ARH. BRANKO KOCMUT, 1959. FOTO: PAOLO MOFARDIN (FOTOTEKA IPJU), 2012.

MEMORIAL TO THE FIGHTERS OF THE POHORJE BATTALION, ARCHITECT BRANKO KOCMUT, 1959. PHOTO: PAOLO MOFARDIN (PHOTO-COLLECTION, INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, ZAGREB), 2012

conventionality and the repetitiveness of form, the unsatisfactory quality of production, the lack of precision in inscriptions, and the discrepancy between artistic quality and the importance of commemorated personalities and events, forced the profession, both the artists and the socio-political organizations in charge, to collaborate in order to enforce the necessary legislation that would ensure the adequate measures of protection, documentation, and evaluation, all with the goal of preserving the existing monuments and raising the quality level in the future ones.<sup>34</sup> During the 1960s, these impulses certainly encouraged new concepts and designs, although some had been present in the ateliers, in sketches, and in competitions from the mid-1950s. At the same time, voices were raised in favour of erecting utilitarian, socially useful memorials, such as schools, cultural centres, fountains, or bridges. In that sense, memorial parks were a particularly suitable solution, as they combined utilitarian and aesthetic demands. Even though the memorial park as a concept was not a temporal or spatial specificity of socialist Yugoslavia, it certainly gained popularity during the 1950s, when it was recognized as an adequate format for signifying larger areas, such as graveyards or execution sites, which were often part of urban structures or were located in their vicinity. One of the first proposals for creating a memorial park at a site of suffering was the architectural solution for the execution site of Jajinci near Belgrade. The project by architects Branko Bon and Stanko Mandić (1955) was conceived on the suggestive role of

landscape architecture and the transformation of the site of collective tragedy into a pleasant environment, even a popular weekend destination of Belgrade citizens.<sup>35</sup> This proposal triggered a series of texts on various concepts of memorial parks and memorial graveyards in Serbia (Požarevac, Kragujevac, Beograd, Titovo Užice).<sup>36</sup> They included various possibilities of spatial integration of commemorative content, whereby memorial sculpture mostly functioned as the centre of a commemoration site, such as Kolacio's monument in the *Heroes' Park* at Trsat, or the park was conceived as a collection of public sculptures at the authentic site of suffering, as is the case with the Šumarica Memorial Park near Kragujevac. Even though in all these projects landscape architecture was a crucial segment in organizing the spatial complex and achieving the intended atmosphere, some authors based the transfer of memory and emotions to the visitor on the symbolic power of nature. Thus, in her project of the memorial graveyard of Dovarje near Titovo Užice, architect Ružica Ilić equipped the entire complex with “green architecture”: “In this pure space, we will build a ‘living temple’. The walls of this living structure will consist of a tall pine forest, while its interior will be a green meadow in bloom; between the tall pine forest and the existing forest, we will leave a broad belt of green paths. In the centre of the present meadow, there will be a large stone plate with the names of the Partisans who rest here in a common grave. Some of the most beautiful trees will carry the names of the fallen

soldiers, which will have a symbolic meaning, same as the living temple as a whole, namely that our memory of the dead grows and is renewed.”<sup>37</sup> This approach to memorialization in the mid-1960s was popularized through the work of youth organizations such as *Gorani*, guided primarily by the ecological motive of tree-planting, but also focusing on the maintenance of the existing green surfaces and on promoting the idea of “green monuments”.<sup>38</sup> Speaking of signifying authentic historical localities and sites of suffering by means of sculpture and architecture, the most innovative solutions went in the direction of integrally conceived monument complexes in which a particular motif or design method was a consistent trait of the signified territory. This approach to the spatialization of memory implied a physical and emotional interaction with the visitor. One of the earliest projects of this type in socialist Yugoslavia was the *Memorial to the Fighters of the Pohorje Battalion* on Pohorje Mount near Maribor, work of architect Branko Kocmut and sculptor Slavko Tihec inaugurated in 1959, which commemorated the tragic death of 69 Slovenian Partisans who died surrounded by the German army in January 1943.<sup>39</sup> The monument is situated in the midst of a fir tree forest on Mount Pohorje near Maribor, in the authentic location of a secret partisan camp and the site of the last battle of the Pohorje Battalion. The path to the monument is still marked only by trail blazers in the form of red five-pointed stars. Around Tuhec's central group of bronze sculptures, which consists of two expressively formed

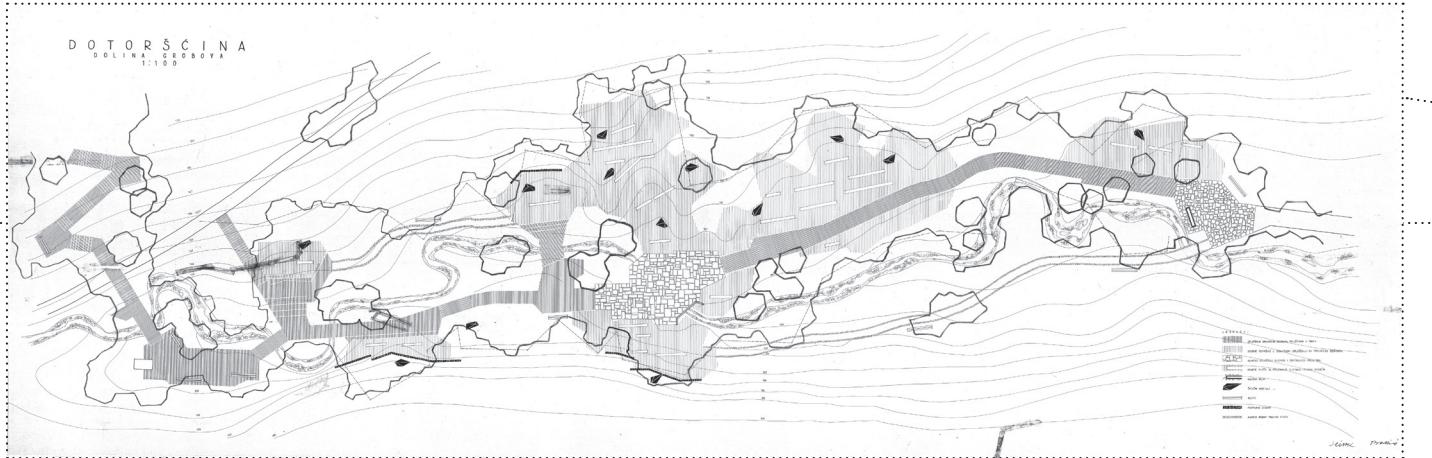


napravljena programska studija na površini od 40 ha. Ona je predviđala glavni ulazni prostor sa zapadne strane, na mjestu današnjeg strelišta koje se planiralo prenamijeniti u park skulptura. Zapadni je ulaz predviđao komemorativni trg i zgradu muzeja, a sporedni terasu s Bakićevom skulpturom koja označava početak puta kojim su žrtve odvođene na strijeljanje. Za uređenje *Doline grobova*<sup>44</sup> i južnog ulaza izrađena je arhitektonsko-urbanističko-hortikulturna osnova, a predviđeno je i uređenje grupe grobova na sjevernom djelu kompleksa te izvedba čeličnog obeliska na najvišoj točki memorijalnog područja. Obilježavanje *Doline grobova* predstavljalo je najzahtjevniji zadatak s obzirom na to da je „trebalo podići trajan spomenik svim žrtvama, koji neće negirati značajke prirodnog krajolika“.<sup>45</sup> Projektom je predviđeno da se lokacije grobnih raka poploče granitnim kockama, pri čemu bi se očuvala postojeća konfiguracija tla. Na takvoj su podlozi grobovi trebali biti obilježeni dugim uskim pločama poliranog granita, s upisanim imenima i odgovarajućim tekstrom.<sup>46</sup> Lokacije pojedinih skupina grobova obilježene su Bakićevim skulpturama od nehrđajućeg

čelika visokog sjaja. Raspoređene u šumskom pejzažu, skulpture odaju dojam razasutih kristala čiji oblik i dimenzija variraju ovisno o lokaciji, položaju i veličini skupnih grobnica. Dematerijalizacijom formi, ostvarenom dinamikom svjetlosnih refleksija o uloštene površine oštih bridova, prirodi krajolik zadobiva sakralnu auru i svečani karakter mjesta sjećanja. Svjetlosni efekti istodobno vrše i funkciju prostorne i simboličke ekspanzije krajolika: „Tako će se promatrač u kretanju dolinom otkrivati uvijek nove prostorne kompozicije, a iskrenje metalnih oznaka u šumi stvorit će dojam veličine prostora *Doline grobova* i tako dati naslutiti masovnost žrtava koje su ovdje pale“.<sup>47</sup> Slabo je, međutim, poznato da je smisao inicijalnoga spomeničkog koncepta suštinski izmijenjen njegovom krvnjom izvedbom i kasnijom prilagodbom konvencionalnoj formi spomen-park sa skulpturama niza različitih autora: „Iz mnoštva kristala, koji u dolini obilježavaju grobišta, tj. iz simbola otpora žrtava, patnje, samoprijegora i borbe dolazi do pobjede. Iz ovoga proizlazi ideja o konvulzivno uspinjućem obliku plastike, konstruirane iz poliranog čelika. Plohe međusobno koso

položene odbijati će svjetlo, reflektirajući sunce, i tako pretvoriti stup u plamteću vertikalnu. [...] osnova memorijalnog područja Dotršćine vođena je mišlu objedinjavanja područja u sadržajnom i likovnom smislu. Ova se ideja provodi kroz različite faze do svog klimaksa u obelisku. Jedinstveni likovni pristup, redukcija materijala na najosnovnije, kamen i metal, i autohtonu prirodu što prožima čitavu kompoziciju, daje ovom području istaknuti memorijalni smisao.“<sup>48</sup> Korak dalje prema sintezi memorijalnog prostora i plastike kao njegova označitelja vidljiv je u radu arhitekta Bogdana Bogdanovića, na primjeru projekta za spomen-područje Jasenovac. Iako se sa sanacijom močvarnog terena započelo i ranije, tek se 1963. godine, temeljem *Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture*, prostor proglašava društvenim vlasništvom čime je pravno omogućena izgradnja spomenika.<sup>49</sup> Kada je riječ o opsežnijim spomeničkim realizacijama, implementacija izvorne ideje podrazumijeva brojne kompromise i prilagodbe uzrokovane kako finansijskim okolnostima tako i zahtjevima brojnih interesnih grupa koje su pozvane da participiraju u procesu izgradnje spomenika – od udruženja bivših boraca i interniraca, do službe za zaštitu spomenika, strukovnih udruženja i likovnih kritičara. Bogdanovićev inicijalni prijedlog za uređenje memorijalnog kompleksa i spomenika u Jasenovcu, izložen kroz stotinjak skica, studija, maketa i fotografija u ožujku 1963. godine u Muzeju revolucije naroda Hrvatske u Zagrebu, bio je predstavljen javnosti kako bi se otvorila mogućnost razmjene mišljenja i iznošenja primjedbi koje bi

mogle biti iskorištene kao korektiv prije prilaženja izgradnji samog spomen-kompleksa.<sup>50</sup> Iako je spomenik tri godine kasnije izведен u znatno reduciranoj obliku, za potrebe ove analize vratit ćemo se njegovu inicijalnom konceptu: „Ono što priroda pruža osnovni su elementi spomenika: nebo i voda, voda i zemlja. Iz vode ili s njenih obala, na mestu negdašnjih baraka, mučilišta i danas poznate grobnice diže se oko trideset olovnih cvetova iste veličine, čime se podvlači njihovo značenje belega. Visoki su 2,10 metara a postavljeni na zemljana postolja čija visina ne prelazi 3 metra. Načinjeni su od gvožđa a obloženi olovom. Oni se spajaju sa maglama i isparenjima u naročit, neviden pejzaž. [...] U kompozicionom pogledu, celom širinom spomenika vlada ‘Veliki cvet’ visok 15 metara i postavljen na postolje u obliku mogile iste visine – dalek i nedostignan za one pale, cvet SLOBODE, cvet REVOLUCIJE. On se vidi u daljinu, preko voda, i kad čovek hoda kroz prostor negdašnjeg logora, slika ‘Velikog cveta’ koja se ogleda u vodi uvek je prisutna. I on je od armiranog betona, obložen olovom koje će biti specijalno obrađeno i patinirano. [...] Pasarela prolazi kroz najgušći deo negdašnjeg logora, dakle kroz aleju malih cvetova, i završava se pred muzejom-criptom, koja je smeštena u ovećoj mogili. Ova kripta progovoriće i sama o stravi i prkosu mučenih i bezumlju mučitelja, i to jezikom već osveštane, posvećene patnje.“<sup>51</sup> Osim potrebe da se, metodom sličnom kao i u Bakićevu rješenju za *Dolinu grobova* na Dotršćini, skulpturalnim elementima ostvari ekspresivna ekstenzija prirodnog



human figures vertically placed on a low granite pedestal, there are 16 larger and 32 smaller granite blocks, radially distributed. The larger ones mark the locations of earth shelters built for the Partisan winter base and the military structures serving the Battalion (the headquarters, the economy building, the improvised hospital, and the squads of the three troops belonging to the Pohorje Battalion), whereas the smaller ones are situated in the supposed military positions of 69 fallen Partisans and marked by their names.<sup>40</sup> They do not mark the graves of the fallen soldiers; instead, the spatial distribution of granite blocks re-enacts their authentic position at the time of the battle and their death. The formal and expressive instruments of the sculptor and the architect were considerably reduced, and the narrative element was minimized – as the monument primarily served to give the precise acupuncturing of the forested landscape and offer a re-enactment of the drama at the authentic location of the battle. By reducing the means of expression – the *signifier* – the memorial content was shifted from artistic representation to the viewer's individual

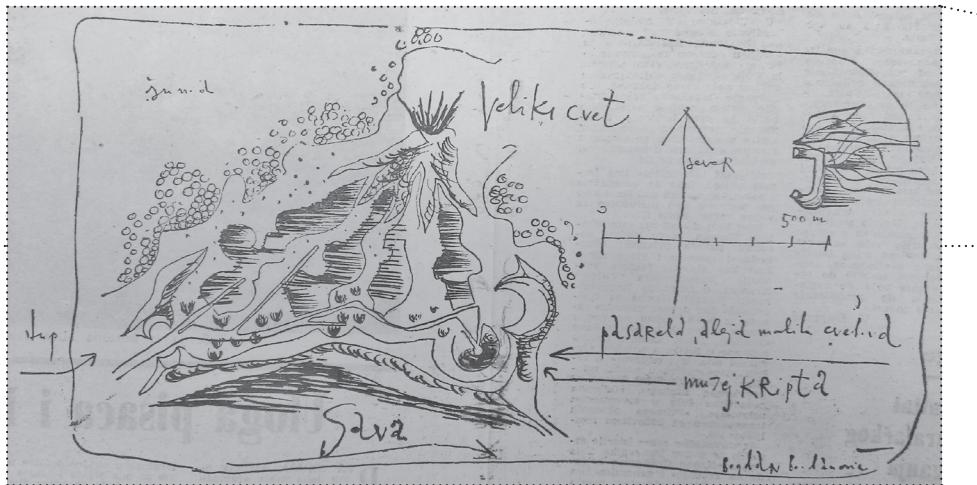
experience, whereby the veracity of events was ensured through the authenticity of the *signified* space and the transcendental nature of its message was supported by the effect of the forest ambience, a place of tranquillity, quiet, and the eternal renewal of life. Memory as a constituent part of nature as such was here mediated by means of other media of remembrance, such as the verses carved in the central granite block: “Into the battle for world freedom / You went as proud heroes / Your wreath is evergreen / Pohorje is your monument.”<sup>41</sup> A similar approach is seen in the first design for the memorial complex of Dotršćina in Zagreb, with a team of authors consisting of architect Josip Seissel, sculptor Vojin Bakić, landscape architects Silvana Seissel and Angela Rotkvić, and poet Jure Kaštelan.<sup>42</sup> It was a forested area in the south-eastern slopes of Mount Medvednica, in which individual and group executions of several thousand inhabitants of Zagreb and the surrounding areas took place during World War II, which makes it the site of most atrocious mass killings in the history of the city of Zagreb.<sup>43</sup> The entire area, which was turned into a

graveyard after the war, was protected in 1963 as an authentic memorial complex, and in 1964 a programmatic study was done for the surface of its 40 ha, foreseeing a main entry from the west, in the area of today's shooting ground, which was intended to be restructured into a sculpture park. The western entrance was supposed to feature a memorial square and a museum building, and the secondary one a terrace with Bakić's sculpture marking the beginning of the path along which the victims were taken to the execution site. An architectural-urbanist-horticultural design was made for the *Valley of Graves*<sup>44</sup> and the southern entrance, and the project also foresaw the marking of a group of graves in the northern part of the complex and a steel obelisk at the highest point of the memorial area. Designing the *Valley of Graves* was the most demanding task, as it was supposed to “create a permanent memorial for all the victims without negating the features of natural landscape.”<sup>45</sup> The project envisioned the locations of the graves covered with granite cubes, which would preserve the given configuration of the terrain. On these foundations, the graves were to be marked by elongated, narrow plates of polished granite, with engraved names and adequate texts.<sup>46</sup> The locations of mass graves were marked by Bakić's sculptures made of shining stainless steel. Dispersed in landscape, the sculptures create an impression of scattered crystals, their form and dimensions varying depending on the location, position, and size of the graves. Owing to the dematerialization of form, achieved by means of dynamic

light reflexes against polished surfaces with sharp edges, the natural landscape acquired the sacral aura and the solemn character of a place of memory. The light effects also served to expand the landscape spatially and symbolically: “In this way, the observer will always discover new spatial compositions while walking through the valley, while the glittering of metal marks in the forest will give him an idea of the size of the *Valley of Graves* and thus indicate the huge number of victims who lost their lives here.”<sup>47</sup> It is, however, rarely mentioned that the meaning of the initial memorial concept was crucially altered owing to its partial realization and the later adaptation to fit the conventional form of a memorial park, with sculptures produced by various artists: “The multitude of crystals marking the graves in the valley, as the symbols of the victims' resistance, suffering, self-sacrifice, and struggle, leads to victory. This has been the basic idea behind the convulsively ascending form of sculptures made of polished steel. Their surfaces, positioned obliquely to each other, will reflect the light and sunshine, transforming the column into a flaming vertical. [...] the concept of the memorial area of Dotršćina has been guided by the idea of unifying this area in terms of content and visual form. This idea will pass through several phases before reaching its climax in the obelisk. The unique artistic approach, the reduction of material to the basics, namely stone and metal, and the genuine nature permeating the entire composition give this site an outspoken memorial character.”<sup>48</sup> A step further towards a

krajolika, zamjetna je i težnja prema sintetičkom objedinjavanju svih programske elemenata. Tako simbolički motiv cvijeta biva repetitivno ponovljen na svim lokacijama stradanja i konstantno zrcaljen na površini jezera. Skulpturalni elementi – označitelji – više nemaju samo ulogu markera izvornog stanja na označenom teritoriju nego se organički vezuju uz sam krajolik. Zamisao da se memorijalni muzej smjesti u podzemnu kriptu natkrivenu prirodnim humkom proizašla je iz želje za organičkim povezivanjem funkcije spomenika, krajolika i muzeja kao institucije sjećanja. Iako Bogdanovićeve metode manipulacije prirodnim krajolikom nalikuju na postupke primjenjivane u *land artu*, ne valja ispušтati izvida njihovu funkcionalnu genezu, simboliku motiva i memorijalni karakter usmjerena prema emotivnoj interakciji s posjetiteljem. Riječima samog autora, u ovom, kao i nekolicini dugih spomeničkih realizacija, „arhitektinski, likovni i dendrološki elementi sklapaju [se] u jedinstvene prostorne komplekse. [...] Rekao bih da se ove celine, zahvaljujući svojoj prostornosti, doživljavaju drugačije no klasični vjarski ili arhitektonski spomenik. Nisu to spomenici

napravljeni samo zato da se gledaju; posmatrač se ne stavlja u pasivan odnos prema njima. To su svečane građevine pod otvorenim nebom, pod velikim cvetom sunca u koje se ulazi i kroz koje se kreće. Na neki neobičan način, reklo bi se, čovek se na trenutak poistoveti sa dramom koja mu se u tvrdom materijalu prikazuje. Na trenutak postaje deo spomenika, kao što čovek katkad postaje deo dobre muzike.“<sup>52</sup> ..... Pristup obilježavanju autentičnih ostataka partizanskih logora, bolnica i radionica predstavlja je zaseban problem, osobito u Hrvatskoj gdje je koncentracija takvih objekata, zbog vojno-povijesnih okolnosti, bila najveća. Iako su upravo autentični spomenici bili označeni najvišom kategorijom zaštite u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, oni su danas zapušteni ili uništeni zbog sustavne devalvacije njihova društveno-političkog i povijesnog značaja. Pored klasičnih metoda konzervacije i rekonstrukcije uništenih, zapuštenih ili devastiranih objekata, primjenjivanih na većini partizanskih logora i bolnica na Petrovoj gori, Papuku, Kalniku, Šamarici i drugdje, pojedini su objekti morali biti obilježeni svojevrsnim skulpturalnim ili arhitektonskim



synthesis of memorial territory and sculpture as its signifier can be seen in the work of architect Bogdan Bogdanović, in his project for the memorial site of Jasenovac. Even though the irrigation of marshlands had begun earlier, it was only in 1963, with the enactment of the *Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments*, that the area was proclaimed state property, which made it legally possible to build the monument.<sup>49</sup> In case of larger and more complex monuments, the implementation of the original idea involved many compromises and adaptations caused both by the budget restrictions and the demands of various interest groups invited to participate in the process of its constructions – from the association of war veterans and former prisoners to the directorate for monument conservation, professional associations, and art critics. Bogdanović's initial proposal for the memorial complex and monument at Jasenovac was presented in some hundred sketches, studies, models, and photographs in 1963 at the Museum of the Revolution of the Croatian People in Zagreb, in order to offer the general public a possibility to exchange ideas and contribute with comments that could be used as a corrective

before the actual memorial complex was built.<sup>50</sup> Even though the monument was constructed three years later in a significantly reduced form, for the purpose of this analysis we will turn to its original concept: “What nature offers are the basic elements of the monument: sky and water, water and earth. From the water or from its edges, at the site of the former barracks, torture rooms, and the attested mass graveyard, we have foreseen some thirty leaden flowers all equal in size, which will underscore their symbolic character. They will be 2.10 m high and placed on earthen pedestals, up to 3 m in height. The flowers will be made of iron and plated with lead. They will merge with the fog and the mist to create an extraordinary, unprecedented landscape. [...] In terms of composition, the whole complex will be dominated by the ‘Great Flower’, 15 m high and placed on a pedestal in the form of a barrow of the same height – distant and inaccessible to the dead, the flower of FREEDOM, the flower of the REVOLUTION. It will be visible from a great distance, across the waters, and when walking through the former concentration camp, the image of the ‘Great Flower’ reflected in water will be constantly present. It will also be

„protezama“, s namjerom da se održi sjećanje na njihove autentične lokacije i da nove generacije imaju priliku upoznati izvorni kontekst partizanskog načina života. Jedan od takvih zahvata ugrađen je na lokaciji vojno-partizanske bolnice na Javornici nedaleko od Drežnice.<sup>53</sup> Polazeći od nacrta izvornog rasporeda bolničkih objekata, arhitekt Zdenko Kolacio varijacijama jednostavnih betonskih elemenata naznačuje konture objekata nekadašnje partizanske bolnice smještene isred borov šume Gorskog kotara. Iako je lokacija kosturnice nedaleko od ovog mjesta obilježena već 1954. godine reljefom Koste Angelija Radovanija, projekt je dovršen tek 1981. godine. ..... Ranih 1980-ih dovršava se obilježavanje nekolicine drugih lokacija s autentičnim spomenicima Narodnooslobodilačke borbe kojima je pristupano na sličan način: spomen-kompleks *Gačešin partizanski logor* na Šamarici (Z. Kolacio, 1980.), logor partizanske čete Božo Vidas-Vuk u sklopu spomen-područja Tuhobić nedaleko od Rijeke i partizanske bolnice *Stupe*, smještene u spomen-području Kalnik.<sup>54</sup> Lokacija bolnice *Stupe*, formirane na tajnoj i teško dostupnoj lokaciji isred Kalničke gore, predstavljala je i mjesto sjećanja na zločin iz rujna 1943. godine kada je bolnica zapaljena i pritom ubijeno petnaestero ranjenika. Prema projektu kipara Stanislava Mišića, 1981. godine lokacije uništenih bolničkih objekata markirane su trima polukružnim kompozicijama betonskih stupova obloženih broncom. Njima je naznačena prostorna dispozicija nekadašnje bolnice što je posjetiteljima omogućavalo identifikaciju

BOGDAN BOGDANOVIĆ, IDEJNA SKICA ZA MEMORIJALNO PODRUČJE JASENOVAC,  
OBJAVLJENA U NOVINAMA ČETVRTI JUL, 19. 3. 1963., BEZ PAG.

BOGDAN BOGDANOVIĆ, CONCEPTUAL PROJECT FOR THE MEMORIAL AREA OF  
JASENOVAC, PUBLISHED IN ČETVRTI JUL ON MARCH 19, 1963, UNPAGINATED

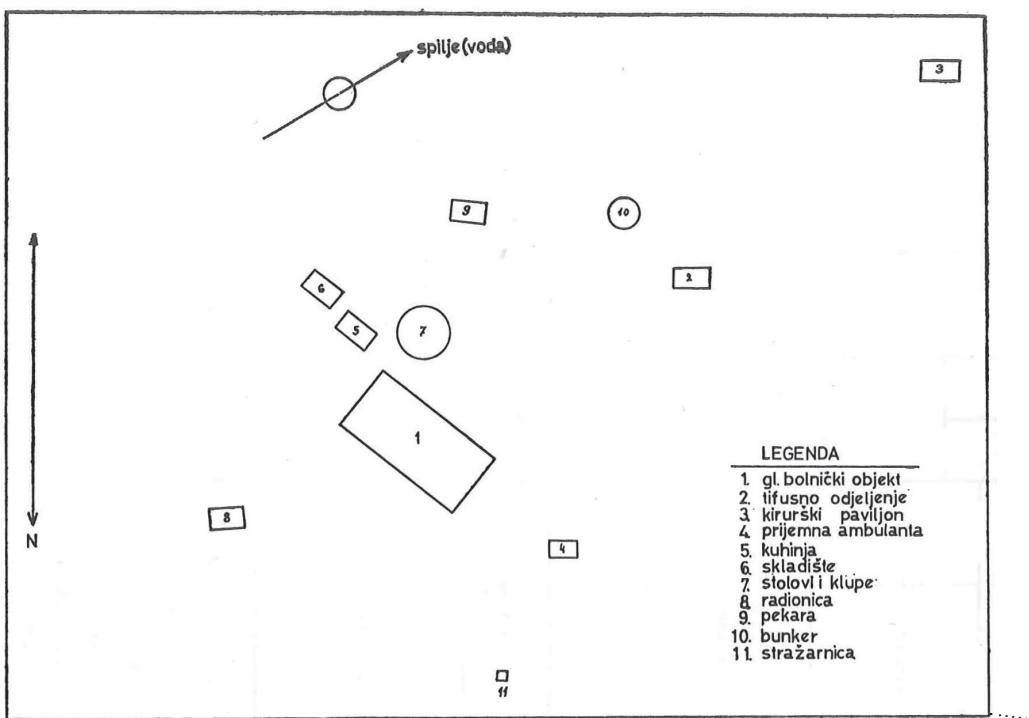
made of reinforced concrete coated with lead, with a patinated finish. [...] The path will lead through the densest part of the former camp, through the alley of small flowers, and end in front of the museum-crypt, placed in the large barrow. The crypt itself will speak of the horror and resistance of the victims, and the insanity of the torturers, in the language of suffering that has already been acknowledged and sanctified.” ..... Besides the need to create an expressive extension of natural landscape by means of sculptural elements, similar to Bakić's ones for the *Valley of Graves* in Dotrščina, one can also notice a tendency to synthetically unify all programmatic elements. Thus, the symbolic motif of a flower occurs repetitively in all sites of suffering and is constantly mirrored in the surface of the lake. Sculptural elements – the *signifiers* – no longer merely mark the original state of the *signified* territory, but are also organically linked to the landscape as such. The idea that the memorial museum should be placed in an underground crypt covered by a natural barrow resulted from the wish to organically link the functions of the monument, the landscape, and the museum as an institution of memory. Even though Bogdanović's methods of manipulating natural landscape remind of the procedures applied in land art, one should not forget their functional genesis, the symbolism of motifs, and the memorial character aimed at establishing an emotional interaction with the visitor. One may quote the artist and say that, same as in some of his other monuments of the time, “the architectural, visual, and

s iskustvom partizanskog života i pospješivalo prenošenje društvenog sjećanja na nove generacije. Iako je i ovo spomenobilježe uništeno 1990-ih godina, nastojanjem lokalnih aktivista i entuzijasta, organiziraju se dobrovoljne akcije čišćenja i uređenja povijesnih lokaliteta na zakonom zaštićenom memorijalnom području Kalnik.<sup>55</sup>

### Teritorij kao spomenik

Suvremena „nevidljivost“ i efemernost spomeničkih projekata izvedenih na autentičnim lokacijama korištenjem skromnih oblikovnih sredstava uvodi nas u specifičnosti zaštite i obilježavanja memorijalnih područja. Utopijska projekcija nadilaženja potrebe za materijalnim medijem prenošenja društvenog sjećanja – koju, parafrazirajući zahtjeve povijesnih avangardi, možemo opisati kao težnju za ukidanjem razlike između spomenika kao medija društvenog sjećanja na revoluciju i životne prakse određene društvene zajednice – kontinuirano se manifestira kroz javne polemike o ciljevima i metodama obilježavanja sjećanja na NOB i revoluciju kroz čitavo trajanje socijalističke Jugoslavije. Kritika konvencionalnih memorijalnih praksi postaje sve prisutnija tijekom 1960-ih godina propitivanjem potrebe ulaganja društvene imovine u monumentalne projekte, odnosno prijedlozima o preusmjeravanju sredstava na izgradnju utilitarnih memorijalnih objekata.<sup>56</sup> S obzirom na to da je jugoslavenska politika sjećanja, između ostalog, bila uvjetovana pragmatičnim ciljevima realne politike,

dendrological elements are fused into unique spatial complexes. [...] I would say that these units, owing to their proportions, are experienced differently than classical sculptural or architectural monuments. These monuments have not been made merely to look at; the observer is not brought into a passive relationship with them. These are solemn structures under the open sky, under the great flower of the Sun, which one enters and traverses. In some unusual way, so to say, one tends to identify oneself for a moment with the drama playing before him in this hard material. For a moment, one becomes a part of the monument, in the same way as one sometimes becomes a part of good music.”<sup>51</sup> ..... Approaching the task of signifying the authentic remnants of partisan military camps, hospitals, and workshops presented a separate problem, especially in Croatia, where such sites were especially numerous owing to the military-historical circumstances. Even though the authentic monuments were classified as the highest category of protection in Yugoslavia, today they are neglected or demolished because of the systematic devaluation of their socio-political and historical significance. Besides the classical methods of conservation and reconstruction of these damaged, neglected, or devastated structures, which were applied to most partisan military camps and hospitals in Petrova Gora, Papuk, Kalnik, Šamarica, and elsewhere, some structures had to be signified by means of sculptural and architectural “prosthetics” with the aim of preserving the memory of their authentic location



konstruiranjem povijesnih narativa i legitimiziranjem društvenog poretka, spomenici se naručuju i izvode – često monumentalniji i skuplji no ikada prije – čak i u deficitarnim uvjetima kasnog socijalizma.<sup>57</sup> Ustroјujući na okoštalom sadržaju ideoloških parola, oni nadomeštaju nedostatak njihove provedbe u društveno-političkoj praksi, poprimajući svojstva praznih označitelja, zahvaljujući čemu njima označeni teritoriji postupno gube memorijalni predznak. Međutim, tijekom 1960-ih godina pojavljuje se alternativa „okoštavanju“ memorijalnih praksi i to kroz zadatku obilježavanja većih prostornih cjelina na kojima se u ratno vrijeme odvijala intenzivna vojna i civilna aktivnost na oslobođenom teritoriju. „Specifičan vid ratovanja kao i očuvanja slobodnih teritorija koje je provodila NOV i POJ uvjetovao je izbor teritorija gdje se vršila koncentracija vojnih i pozadinskih aktivnosti i to, kako u pogledu pristupačnosti tako i mogućnosti sakrivanja. Na taj način su izabrana i korištena mnoga područja ali samo ona koja su kroz cijelo vrijeme rata imala posebno značenje za vojsku i narod, pretvaraju se u spomen područja.“<sup>58</sup> Termin *spomeničkih ili memorijalnih područja* koji u upotrebu ulazi sredinom 1960-ih godina, podrazumijeva je prelazak na aktivnu zaštitu<sup>59</sup> spomenika kulture i predstavlja inovaciju ne samo u jugoslavenskom nego i u međunarodnom kontekstu. Iako srodni kategoriji nacionalnih parkova, *memorijalni prirodni spomenici* javljaju se znatno kasnije, a određivanje njihove namjene, održavanja, zaštite i oblikovanja uslijedilo je tek nakon Drugog svjetskog rata.<sup>60</sup> Najznačajniji

LOKACIJA OBJEKATA PARTIZANSKE BOLNICE BR. 7, MJERILO 1 : 1000.  
JELA JANČIĆ-STARC, VOJNO-PARTIZANSKA BOLNICA U DREŽNICI 1942-1944,  
REGIONALNI ZAVOD ZA ŽAŠTITU SPOMENIKA KULTURE U ZAGREBU, ZAGREB, 1971., 68.

SITUATION OF THE BARRACKS AT THE PARTISAN HOSPITAL NO. 7, RATIO 1:1000.  
JELA JANČIĆ-STARC, VOJNO-PARTIZANSKA BOLNICA U DREŽNICI 1942-1944  
[MILITARY PARTISAN HOSPITAL AT DREŽNICA, 1942-1944]. ZAGREB: REGIONAL INSTITUTE  
FOR THE CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL MONUMENTS IN ZAGREB, 1971, 68

and making it possible for the new generations to become acquainted with the original context of Partisan life. Such an intervention was made in the Partisan military hospital of Javornica near Drenica.<sup>52</sup> Starting from the plans of the original arrangement of hospital barracks, architect Zdenko Kolacio used variations of simple concrete elements to indicate the contours of the former Partisan hospital situated in the midst of a pine forest in Gorski Kotar. Even though the site of the ossuary nearby this locality had been signified as early as 1954 with a relief made by Kosta Angel Radovani, the project was completed only in 1981. .... In the early 1980s, several other sites with authentic memorials of the People's Liberation Struggle were completed where the approach was similar to that just described: the memorial complex of Gáćesa's Partisan Military Camp on Mount Šamarica (Z. Kolacio, 1980), the military camp of the Partisan unit Božo Vidas-Vuk in the memorial territory of Tuholić near Rijeka, and the Partisan hospital of Stupe, located in the memorial territory of Kalnik.<sup>53</sup> The hospital of Stupe, built in a secret and hardly accessible location in the midst of Mount Kalnik, was also a place of memory for a crime that happened in September 1943, when the hospital was set on fire and fifteen wounded Partisans lost their lives. According to the project of sculptor Stanislav Mišić, the sites of demolished hospital barracks were marked in 1981 by three semi-circular compositions of concrete columns plated with bronze. They indicated the spatial disposition of the former hospital, which made it possible for the

rezultati ovog pristupa memorijalizaciji bile su integralne, interdisciplinarne analize zadanih geografskih područja koje su podrazumijevale blisku suradnju prostornih planera, povjesničara, ekonomskih stručnjaka, konzervatora i drugih stručnjaka. Pritom je planiranje i uređenje bilo obuhvaćeno zakonom o prostornom uređenju i korištenju gradevinskog zemljišta kao tzv. *područje posebne namjene*.<sup>61</sup> Prvu takvu studiju radio je tim stručnjaka na čelu s prof. dr. Antom Marinovićem Uzelcem od 1965. do 1969. godine na memorijalnom području Petra gora, obuhvaćajući površinu od 17 800 ha.<sup>62</sup> Prema istom modelu 1972. godine nastaje generalni prostorni plan memorijalno-turističkog područja Kalnik na području od 32 000 ha.<sup>63</sup> Slijedi izrada plana za memorijalno područje Bijeli potoci-Kamensko (1973.-1974.), a tijekom sljedećih desetak godina formiraju se brojna druga spomen-područja, poput Kozare, Sutjeske, Tuholića, Biokova ili Udin boršta u Sloveniji.<sup>64</sup> Osnovna prostorna karakteristika spomen-područja jest horizontalna i vertikalna disperzija memorijalnih sadržaja – mjesta bitaka, oslobođenih teritorija ili masovnih stradanja, na kojima se nalaze sačuvane, rekonstruirane ili umjetničkim sredstvima obilježene autentične lokacije i objekti, o kojima je više riječi bilo u prošlom poglavljju. .... Smisao uređenja memorijalnih područja i njihovu temeljnju poruku arhitekt Fedor Wenzler opisuje kao „pravo na slobodu i borba da se ta sloboda očuva ili izbori. Ta temeljna poruka ima bezbroj modaliteta i njihovo prenošenje budućim generacijama predstavlja ujedno i najteži zadatak za

SPOMENIČKI KOMPLEKS „PARTIZANSKA BOLNICA“ NA JAVORNICI, DREŽNICA,  
ZDENKO KOLACIO, 1981. FOTOTEKA SRPSKOGA NARODNOG VIJEĆA, ZAGREB, 2013.

MEMORIAL COMPLEX „PARTISAN HOSPITAL“ ON JAVORNICA, DREŽNICA,  
ZDENKO KOLACIO, 1981. PHOTO: COLLECTION OF THE SERBIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL,  
ZAGREB, 2013

visitors to identify themselves with the experience of Partisan life and facilitated the transfer of social memory to the young generations. Even though this memorial was also demolished in the 1990s, local activists and enthusiasts have managed to organize actions of cleaning and restoring the historical localities in the legally protected memorial area of Kalnik.<sup>54</sup>

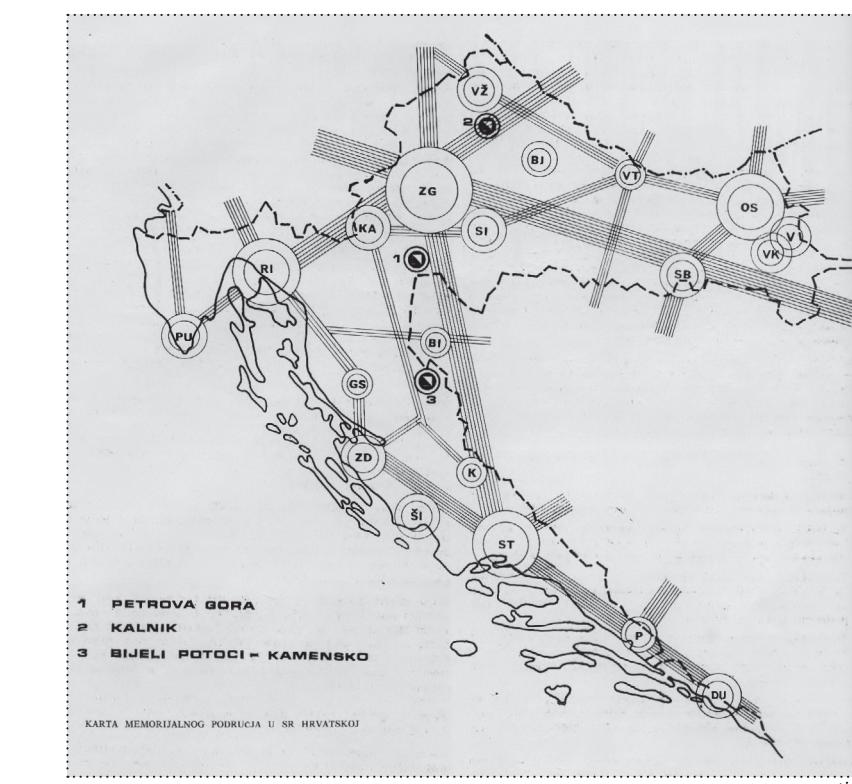
#### Territory as a Monument

The contemporary “invisibility” and ephemerality of monuments erected in authentic localities by using modest design brings us to the question of the specific requirements regarding their protection and the ways in which these memorial sites are to be signified. The utopian projection of overcoming the need of a material medium in order to transfer social memory – which, paraphrasing the demands of the historical avantgardes, may be described as a tendency to blur the boundary between the monument as a medium of social memory of the revolution and the living practice of a particular social community – is continuously manifested in the public polemics about the aims and methods of preserving the memory of the People's Liberation Struggle throughout the history of socialist Yugoslavia. A critique of the conventional memorial practices was especially present during the 1960s, when the need of investing social property in monumental projects was questioned with the argument that those finances should have been rechanneled into building utilitarian memorial buildings.<sup>56</sup> Regarding the fact that the Yugoslav politics of



planere, projektante i povjesničare. [...] Spomen-područja najviše karakterizira dinamično doživljavanje prostora s nizom pojedinačnih spomen-lokaliteta smještenih u autentičan ambijent. Omogućiti posjetiteljima taj dinamičan doživljaj spomen-područja kao cjeline i u svim njegovim specifičnostima, stvoriti iluziju prošloga bez imitacije bivših fizičkih struktura, to je najvažniji ali i najteži zadatak prostornog uređenja.<sup>65</sup> Važan aspekt u osmišljavanju ovih prostornih spomenika bilo je višenamjensko korištenje zaštićenog teritorija što je podrazumijevalo razvoj turizma ali i postojećih i novih privrednih aktivnosti. Naglasak je stavljan na primarno edukativnu funkciju turizma i njegovu razvojnu komponentu koja je, zapošljavanjem stanovništva iz okolnih, najčešće nerazvijenih mesta, trebala doprinositi ekonomskoj samoodrživosti spomen-područja. [...] Za razliku od ranije opisanih pristupa obilježavanju teritorija koji su se temeljili na uspostavljanju novih veza između specifičnih spomeničkih objekata i povjesno značajnog krajolika, u ovim je projektima osnovni naglasak na autentičnosti cjelokupnog doživljaja. S obzirom na to da su izvorni objekti često uništeni, jednu konstantu čini morfologija samog pejzaža čime ona predstavlja jedini autentični prostorni oblik. Mogućnosti narušavanja autentičnosti prepoznate su u izgradnji prometnica, objekata, proizvodnji svjetla, buke i mirisa, pa čak i u promjeni vegetacije. S obzirom na to da se transfer sjećanja trebao primarno odvijati putem kreiranja specifičnog doživljaja kod posjetitelja, on je podrazumijevao i

izolaciju značajnih mesta sjećanja: [...] čak i kod potrebe da se područje poveže suvremenom prometnicom, trasu bi trebalo voditi tako da se brojnim objektima naglasi ta teška pristupačnost.<sup>66</sup> Na makrorazini, razvojni su planovi podrazumijevali cjelokupan republički plan povezivanja i potencijal razvoja spomen-područja s obzirom na njihovu povezanost s urbanim centrima. [...] Spomen-područje Petrova gora sačinjavalo je 70 teritorijalno razasutih objekata i lokaliteta (centralna i šest bolnica kroz koje je prošlo oko 10 000 ranjenika i bolesnika, brojna groblja boraca i žrtava terora, mjesta pokolja, donošenja povijesnih odluka za razvoj borbe i revolucije, mjesto proboda neprijateljskog obruča, razni objekti, poput tiskare *Vjesnika*, kožare, kovačnice, bazena, pekarne, ljekarne itd.) koji čine međusobno i s područjem nerazdvojnu historijsko-funkcionalnu cjelinu.<sup>67</sup> S obzirom na to da je spomenuta uredajna osnova trebala služiti kao „realna baza za racionalno investiranje, kako u smislu pronaalaženja potrebnih izvora, tako i donošenja konkretnih investicijskih odluka, odnosno dinamike investiranja“, prema suvremenim teorijama društvenog pamćenja, samu je studiju i smjernice moguće tretirati kao spomenički projekt. Uvezši u obzir činjenicu da je predložena razvojna osnova bila uskladena sa studijama Republičkog zavoda za privredno planiranje SRH i koordinirana s pravcima razvoja ostalih privrednih djelatnosti,<sup>68</sup> moguće je tvrditi kako se, barem u teoriji, ovaj način mišljenja spomenika najviše približio spomenutoj utopijskoj ideji nadilaženja materijalne osnove sjećanja



PROMETNA POVEZANOST I LOKACIJE MEMORIJALNIH PODRUČJA U HRVATSKOJ.  
ARHITEKTURA – ČASOPIS ZA ARHITEKTURU, URBANIZAM, DIZAJN I ZA PRIMJENJENU UMJETNOST, 155, 1975., 21.

TRAFFIC ROUTES AND THE LOCALITIES OF MEMORIAL AREAS IN CROATIA. ARHITEKTURA – ČASOPIS ZA ARHITEKTURU, URBANIZAM, DIZAJN I ZA PRIMJENJENU UMJETNOST 155 (1975), 21

memory was, among other things, determined by the pragmatic goals of *Realpolitik*, constructing historical narratives and legitimizing the regime, monuments were commissioned and constructed – often more monumental and costlier than ever before – even in the deficient circumstances of late socialism.<sup>57</sup> By insisting on the petrified content of ideological slogans, they functioned as a surrogate for their application in social and political practice, whereby they acquired the character of empty *signifiers*, owing to which their *signified* territories gradually lost their memorial connotations. [...] However, during the 1960s, an alternative to the “petrification” of memorial practices appeared: it was the task of signifying larger spatial units in the liberated territory where intense military activities and civilian struggle had taken place during the war. “The specific method of warfare and of preserving the liberated territories applied by the People’s Liberation Army and the Yugoslav Partisan Troops determined the choice of territories where the military and background activities were taking place, which ensured access as well as offered the chance for hiding. Many territories were chosen and used in this way, but only those that had a special significance for the army and the people throughout the war were later transformed into memorial territories.”<sup>58</sup> The term *memorial territories*, which started to be used in the mid-1960s, implied being listed among the areas enjoying active protection<sup>59</sup> as cultural monuments and was an innovation not only in Yugoslavia, but also internationally. Even

though related to the category of national parks, *memorial natural monuments* emerged much later and the definition of their purpose, maintenance, protection, and design was created only after World War II.<sup>60</sup> The most important results of this approach to memorialization were the integral, interdisciplinary analyses of the given geographic areas, which implied close cooperation between landscape architects, historians, economists, conservators, and other experts. Planning and designing was regulated by the law on landscape planning and the use of construction land as the so-called *area of special purpose*.<sup>61</sup> The earliest study of this kind was produced by a team of experts led by Prof. dr. Ante Marinović Uzelac. It was done from 1965–1969 at the memorial site of Petrova Gora and included an area surface of 17800 ha.<sup>62</sup> In 1972, the general master plan of the memorial-tourist area Kalnik, covering the surface area of 32000 ha, was made according to the same model.<sup>63</sup> It was followed by a master plan for the memorial area of Bijeli Potoci-Kamensko (1973–1974) and during the following ten years many additional memorial areas were created, such as Kozara, Sutjeska, Tuhobić, Biokovo, or Udin Boršt in Slovenia.<sup>64</sup> The main spatial feature of a memorial area was the horizontal and vertical dispersion of memorial sites – linked to battles, liberated territories, or mass killings – with preserved, reconstructed, or artistically signified authentic localities and structures, as we have discussed in more detail in the previous section. [...] The reason behind the creation of memorial sites, and their essential message,

have been described by architect Fedor Wenzler as the “right to freedom and the struggle to preserve or achieve that freedom. That fundamental message has a number of modalities and their transfer to the future generations is also the hardest task for the planners, architects, and historians. [...] Memorial sites are primarily characterized by a dynamic experience of space, with a series of individual memorial localities situated in an authentic setting. Making it possible for the visitors to experience that dynamics of the memorial site as a whole, as well as in all its specificities, creating an illusion of the past without imitating the former physical structures, that is the most important and also the most difficult task of landscape planning.”<sup>65</sup> An important aspect in conceptualizing these *spatial monuments* was the multifunctional use of the protected territory, which implied the development of tourism as well as encouraging the existing and new economic enterprises. The accent was placed on the primarily educational function of tourism and its developmental component, which was to contribute to the economic self-sustainability of the memorial site by employing the local population from the surrounding, mostly underdeveloped villages. [...] Unlike the previously described approaches in signifying territories, which were based on establishing new links between the specific memorial structures and the historically significant landscape, these projects placed the main accent on the authenticity of experience in its totality. Regarding the fact that the original structures had largely been

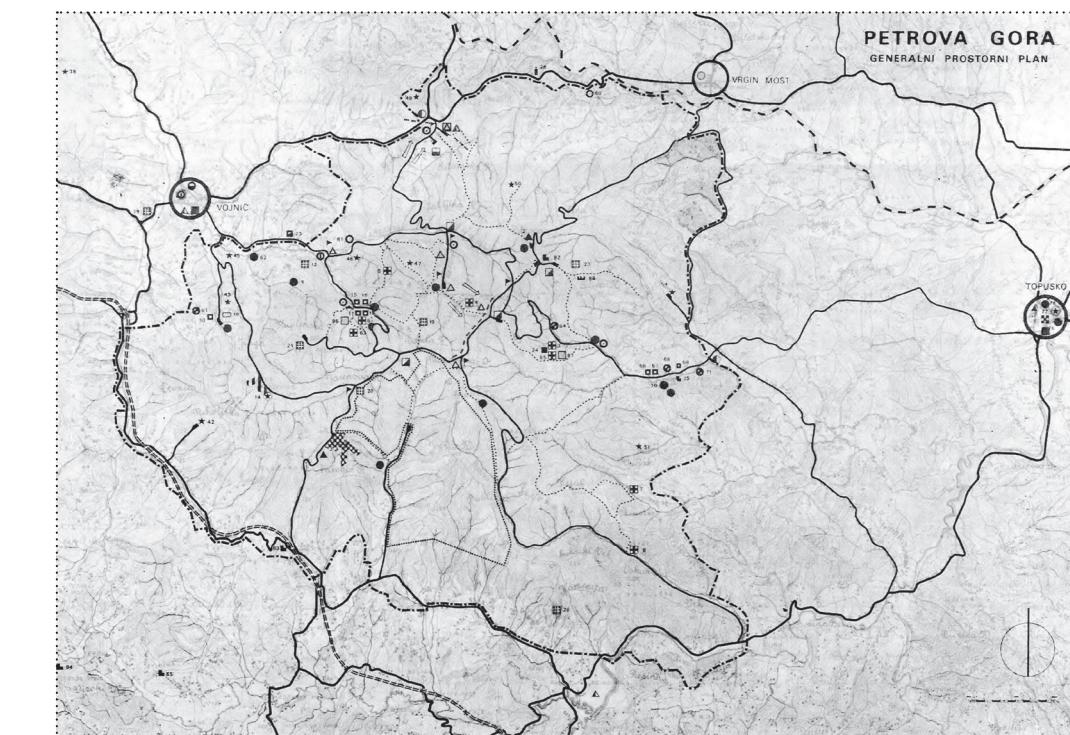
demolished, the only constant element was the morphology of landscape as the only authentic spatial form. The dangers of violating this authenticity were seen in the construction of roads or buildings, the production of light, noise, or smell, as well as changes in vegetation. Since the transfer of memory was to take place primarily by creating a specific experience for the visitors, it implied that these special places would be isolated: [...] even if there was a need to connect this area by means of a modern road, it should be built so as to emphasize inaccessibility by means of various structures.”<sup>66</sup> At the macro-level, the development plans included an entire republican plan for the developmental potential of the memorial site with regard to its link with the urban centres. [...] The memorial area of Petrova Gora consisted of 70 territorially scattered structures and localities (the central hospital and six supplementary barracks where around 10 thousand wounded and sick Partisans were treated at some point, numerous graveyards for soldiers and victims of terrors, places of massacre, sites where historical decisions for the progress of the struggle and the revolution were made, the place where the enemy ring was broken through, and various facilities, such as the printing house of *Vjesnik*, a tannery, a smithy, a pool, a bakery, a drugstore, etc.) which created an inseparable historical-functional unit with the memorial site.<sup>67</sup> Since the design plans were to serve as a “realistic basis for rational investment, in terms of both finding the necessary finances and making the actual investment decisions, that is,

odnosno ideji da zaštićeno memorijalno područje generira a ne reprezentira budućnost socijalističkog društva. Teritorij sam postaje sjećanje, a izgradnja spomenika-označitelja prepostavljena je društveno-ekonomskim razvojem označenog teritorija, pri čemu recipijent takvog transfera sjećanja postaje aktivnim sudionikom izgradnje i održavanja društvenog spomenika. .... S obzirom na to da je kao osnovni način kretanja u užim zaštićenim područjima predviđeno pješačenje, ovakav je spomenik-teritorij podrazumijeva i specifičan vid recepcije društvenog sjećanja, poput kretanja posjetitelja po prirodi, zadanom rutom koja je uključivala znamenite povijesne lokacije. Time se na simboličan način kolektivna praksa sjećanja upisivala u sam krajolik. Kako su zaštićena spomenička područja u pravilu bila brdovita i teško dostupna, ti su rituali nerijetko bili vezani uz planinarske i izviđačke skupine ili memorijalna natjecanja.<sup>69</sup> Aktivnosti koje je SUBNOR provodio u sklopu programa *Njegovanja revolucionarnih tradicija*, poput tzv. tradicionalnih akcija („Drvar“, „Petrova Gora“, „Krk“, „Ustanak“, „Naše vatre i zastave“, „Kalnik“ i druge), smatrane su efikasnim pedagoškim metodama u procesu prenošenja sjećanja na mlade generacije: „Hodajući trgovima partizana s rancem na ledima, takav je omladinac najbliže u mogućnosti za identifikaciju sa partizanom i sam sebe dovodi u položaj borca. To je – emotivni moment u shvatanju naše NOB, jer samo saznanje iz knjige nije dovoljno. Tako se stvara osjećanje odanosti prema narodu i borbi koju su partizani vodili protiv neprijatelja.“<sup>70</sup> Ovim se praksama

nastojalo rekreirati iskustvo partizanskog života i ratovanja kako bi doživljaj povijesnog događaja bio što potpuniji. Za razliku od pasivne identifikacije s pobjedičkom ulogom i obranjениm teritorijem kakav je pružala konzumacija memorijalnog područja s vidikovaca ili spomenika građenih na povиšenim pozicijama, ovaj tip memorijalnih praksi zahtijevao je aktivan tjelesni angažman i participaciju u transferu sjećanja.

#### Zaključak

Opisani koncept zaštite i integracije memorijalnog krajolika i društvenog sjećanja čija je realizacija bila uvjetovana ostvarenjem društveno-ekonomskog razvoja na povijesno značajnom, ratom obilježenom teritoriju Petrove gore, baš kao ni utopijska projekcija jugoslavenskoga samoupravnog socijalizma, nikada nije u potpunosti ostvaren. Štoviše, razdoblje kada se projekt za Petrovu goru osmišljava, obilježeno je i prvim naznakama političke dezintegracije jugoslavenskog društva i sustava za koji je zamišljen. Iako je izgradnja centralnog spomenika na Petrovcu oduvijek bila planirana, konačna monumentalnost i trošak njegove izvedbe upućuju na suštinski odmak od predviđenih smjernica uredajne osnove i planova ekonomske samoodrživosti, za koji možemo tvrditi kako predstavlja simptom razilaženja politike sjećanja i ekonomsko-političke realnosti jugoslavenskog društva početkom 1980-ih godina. .... Pri analizi prostornih odnosa teritorija, spomenika i korisnika, nužno je stoga sagledati ne samo



PETROVA GORA, GENERALNI PROSTORNI PLAN. ARHITEKTURA – ČASOPIS ZA ARHITEKTURU, URBANIZAM, DIZAJN I ZA PRIMIJENJENU UMJETNOST 155, 1975., 27.

PETROVA GORA, GENERAL MASTER PLAN. ARHITEKTURA – ČASOPIS ZA ARHITEKTURU, URBANIZAM, DIZAJN I ZA PRIMIJENJENU UMJETNOST 155 (1975), 27

decisions on the dynamics of investment”, this study and its guidelines can be considered as a monument in themselves according to the present theories of social memory. Regarding the fact that the suggested development proposal was made in accordance with the studies of the Institute for Economic Planning of the Socialist Federative Republic of Croatia and coordinated with the developmental guidelines of other areas of economic importance,<sup>68</sup> it may be claimed that this way of thinking, at least in theory, came closest to the abovementioned utopian idea of surpassing the material basis; in other words, it was the idea that a protected memorial territory generated rather than represented the future of the socialist society. Thus, the territory itself became memory and the construction of the monument-signifier was included in the socioeconomic development plan of the *signified* territory, whereby the recipient of that memory transfer became an active participant in constructing and maintaining a *socially owned monument*. .... As the main way of moving through strictly protected areas was walking, this sort of monument-territory implied a specific mode of reception of that social memory, where the visitors moved through nature along a given route that included significant historical sites. Thus, the collective practice of memory was symbolically inscribed into the very landscape. As the protected memorial sites were, as a rule, mountainous and hardly accessible, these rituals were often connected to hiking or scouting enterprises or memorial competitions.<sup>69</sup> Activities that SUBNOR

(Union of Associations of the People's Liberation War's Veterans) organized as part of the programme *Cultivating the Revolutionary Traditions*, including the so-called “traditional actions” (*Drvar*, *Petrova Mount*, *Krk*, *The Uprising*, *Our Fires and Flags*, *Kalnik*, and others), were considered as efficient pedagogical methods in the process of transferring memory to the younger generations: “While hiking with a backpack, that young man or woman had the best possibility of identifying with the Partisans and become one with them for a while. This is an emotional moment in understanding our struggle, as knowledge gained from books is not enough. This is a way to create the feeling of loyalty for one's people and the Partisan struggle against the enemy.”<sup>70</sup> The aim of these practices was to recreate the experience of Partisan life and warfare in order to make the historical event more complete. Unlike the passive identification with the role of the winner and the defended territory as it was offered by looking at the memorial territories from sightseeing points or monuments built on elevations, this type of memorial practices required active corporal engagement and participation in the transfer of memory.

#### Conclusion

The described concept of protecting and integrating memorial landscape and social memory, which resulted from an aspiration to develop in socio-economic terms the historically significant, war-affected territory of Petrova Gora, was never fully realized,

same as the utopian projection of Yugoslav self-managing socialism. On the contrary, the period in which the project of Petrova Gora was topical showed the first signs of political disintegration in the Yugoslav society and the system for which it was envisioned. Even though the construction of a central monument in Petrovac was ratified, its monumentality and costliness led to the abandonment of its original guidelines in terms of design and plans for economic self-sustainability, which may be considered as a symptom of incoherence between the politics of memory and the economic-political reality of the Yugoslav society in the early 1980s. When analysing the spatial relations between the territory, the monument, and the user, one must therefore take into account not only the modalities and innovation of artistic design in establishing the interrelationships, but also their relations and position in the political regime in which the transfer was taking place. The memorial landscape mirrored in the surface of the monument on top of Petrova Gora, the attempt at achieving an organic synthesis between memory and the marshlands in Jasenovac at the location of the concentration camp as a site of suffering, or the view from the sightseeing tower in Gonjače, when exposed to radical shifting of the framework of social memory acquire new meanings, or even lead to a complete annulment of the link with memory as such. The sightseeing tower and the vista of the tame, hilly landscape of the Goriška hills and Slovenska Benečija is today experienced primarily in its aesthetic function, while the

present association at the mention of the memorial area of Petrova Gora is the physical neglect of Bakić's monument rather than the derelict authentic structures and graveyards surrounding it. The links established between the historically significant areas of warfare, the monument, and social memory have been almost entirely severed, which leads to the destruction, neglect, or aesthetization of these monumental structures. By understanding the genesis of monumental morphologies and their various modalities, as well as their relationship with the *signified* memorial landscape as an authentic place of memory, a basis will be created for an adequate modern approach to the revitalization of memory by means of monument restoration.

<sup>1</sup> James E. Young, “Memory and Counter-Memory: The End of the Monument in Germany,” *Harvard Design Magazine* 9 (1999), 9.

<sup>2</sup> A striking example is the counter-monument in Kassel dedicated to the Holocaust victims, work of artist Horst Hoheisel (1984), which ten years later became a site of neo-Nazi meetings ratified by the municipal authorities. On the other hand, the project of Renate Stih and Frieder Schnock for a national German *Memorial for the Killed Jews of Europe* in Berlin, which included a reactivation of regular bus lines in order to transport the visitors and tourists to the sites of numerous concentration camps and sites of suffering, was rejected with the explanation that “it extended memory too far and too wide, implicitly extending guilt to some of the countries that were themselves occupied during the war.” The main problem with this monument proposal seems to have been partly in the impossibility of controlling memory in a way in which it could have been done had it been fixed in a particular point in space. Ibid, 5, 9.

modalitete i inovativnost umjetničkih rješenja pri uspostavljanju međusobnih veza nego i njihov odnos i položaj u društveno-političkom sustavu u kojem se transfer sjećanja odvija. Refleksija memorijalnog krajolika o površinu spomenika na vrhu Petrove gore, pokušaj organičke sinteze simbola sjećanja i močvarnog terena stradanja na mjestu jasenovačkog logora ili pogled s vidikovca u Gonjačama, radikalnom izmjenom okvira društvenog sjećanja poprimaju drugačije značenje ili pak u potpunosti gube vezu sa samim sjećanjem. Vidikovac i pogled koji se pruža na pitomi, brežuljkasti krajolik Goriških brda i Slovenske Benečije danas doživljavamo primarno u njegovoj estetskoj funkciji, jednako kao što je suvremenim sinonim memorijalnog područja Petrova gora fizičko propadanje Bakićeva spomeničkog rješenja, a ne propali rekonstruirani autentični objekti i groblja koja ga okružuju. Uspostavljene veze između povijesno značajnih ratnih teritorija, spomenika i društvenog sjećanja danas su gotovo u potpunosti raskinute što dovodi po procesa destrukcije, zanemarivanja ili pak estetizacije spomeničkih objekata. Razumijevanje geneze spomeničkih morfoloških i različitih modaliteta njihova odnosa s označenim memorijalnim krajolikom kao autentičnim mjestom sjećanja, između ostalog, pruža i osnovu za adekvatan suvremenim pristup revitalizaciji memorije putem obnove spomenika.

<sup>1</sup> James E. Young, „Memory and Counter-Memory. The End of the Monument in Germany“, u: *Harvard Design Magazine*, 9, 1999., 9.

<sup>2</sup> Znakovit je slučaj antispomenika u Kasselju posvećenog holokaustu, rad umjetnika Horsta Hoheisela iz 1984. godine, koji desetak godina kasnije postaje mjesto neonacističkih skupova odobrenih od strane gradske vlasti. S druge strane, projekt Renate Stih i Friedera Schnocka za njemački nacionalni *Špomenik ubijenim Židovima Europe* u Berlinu koji je uključivao reaktivaciju redovitih autobusnih linija koje bi posjetiteljima i turistima nudile prijevoz na lokacije brojnih logora i mesta stradanja, odvijen je jer je „sjećanje širo predaleko i preširoko te implicito širokrivnu na zemlje koje su same bile pod okupacijom tijekom rata“. Čini se da osnovni problem ovoga spomeničkog prijedloga djelomično leži i u nemogućnosti kontrole nad sjećanjem kakvu pruža njezinu fiksiranju u određenoj točki u prostoru. Ibid., 5, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Možda najrječitiji primjer predstavlja spomen-fontana na mjestu srušenog WTC-a u New Yorku, arhitekta Michaela Arada i krajobraznog arhitekta Petera Walkera. Korištenjem Hoheiselova koncepta za podzemnu fontanu u Kasselju, on čini sušinski otklon od osnovne ideje antispomenika, konstruirajući upravo suprotno – mjesto unaprijed određenog, jednoznačnog, kolektivnoga nacionalnog pjetjata.

<sup>4</sup> Andreas Huyssen upozorava na opasnosti „gubitka povijesti“ koja se prije svega očituje kroz različite oblike političke zloupotrebe memorijalnih diskursa, poput mobilizacije mitološke prošlosti s ciljem opravdanja nacionalizma, politike revizionizma, nasilnih pomirenja ili amnestija. Andreas Huyssen, *Present Past: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif., 2003., 15–16.

<sup>5</sup> Pierre Nora, „The Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory“, u: *Tr@nsit online*, 22, 2002., izvor: <http://www.iwm.at/read-listen-watch/transit-online/the-reasons-for-the-current-upsurge-in-memory/> (1. 4. 2015.).

<sup>6</sup> Vidi: Stefan Troebst, „Halecki Revisited: Europe's Conflicting Cultures of Remembrance“, u: Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan, Edgar Wunder (ur.), *Cultural Memories. The Geographical Point of View*, Springer, Dordrecht, 2011., 147–149.

<sup>7</sup> Dosad najadekvatniji prijedlog zbirnog opisa ovih pojava pronalazimo u terminu *mnenocid* kojim se prvi koristi Jan Assmann u knjizi *Commemorative Spaces: Forms and Changes of Cultural Memory*, C. H. Beck, München, 1999. Tek je nedavno uveden u jugoslavenski postsocialistički kontekst,

definiran kao „sustavno uništavanje pamćenja određene društvene skupine“, podrazumijevajući pojmove kulturocida i heritocida. Vidi: Marko Sjekavica, „Sustavno uništavanje baštine – prema pojmu kulturocida/heritocida“, u: *Informatica Museologica*, 43, 1–4, 2013., 57–75.

<sup>8</sup> Usp.: „[...] čini se da je uspon samosvjesnog postmodernog, postkolonijalnog i multikulturalnog društva ponovno oživio sjećanje ka društvenu, kulturnu i političku snagu koja će dovesti u pitanje, ako ne i otvoreno odbaci, temeljne mitove i povijesne narative koji su do sada oblikovali etabirane nacionalne i imperialne identitete, dajući im smisao. Ovaj trend, u početku ubrzan ukidanjem cenzure i političkih ograničenja nametnutih kako 'Istoku', tako i 'Zapadu' tijekom Hladnog rata, dodatno je potaknut 90-ih godina pojavom Interneta ka neizostavnog izvora informacija u globalnoj javnoj sferi. Razotkrivanje povijesnih istekstova marginaliziranih zajednica, nekada usutuvanih zbog njihove narodnosti, vjere, roda ili spolnosti, sada je primarni cilj povijesnog istraživanja.“ Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan, Edgar Wunder, „Cultural Memories: An Introduction“, u: P. Meusburger, M. Heffernan, E. Wunder (ur.), *Cultural Memories. The Geographical Point of View*, Springer, Dordrecht, 2011., 3.

<sup>9</sup> „Rat i rasap društva nakon delegitimizacije formativnog socijalističkog narativa donijeli su slom međusobno povezanih normativnih usmjerenja i devaluaciju sjećanja i povijesnih interpretacija svjedoka događaja. Ta razlika nije važna samo usporedimo li Srbiju i Hrvatsku s Njemačkom, Danskom, Nizozemskom ili Švicarskom, nego i u odnosu na Njemačku. Čini se da su tradicionalni interpretacijski okviri postali suvišni u Srbiji i Hrvatskoj, a prijedloga za nove kolektivne interpretacije nema. Dok su reinterpretacija i restrukturiranje javnog sjećanja i obiteljskih narativa upravo ono što svjedoči o stabilnoj normativnoj osnovi u zapadnoeuropskim zemljama, čini se da je u Srbiji i Hrvatskoj povijest izgubila smisao u orijentaciji mladih generacija. Harald Welzer, „Family Memories of World War II and the Holocaust in Europe, or Is There a European Memory?“, u: P. Meusburger, M. Heffernan, E. Wunder (ur.), *Cultural Memories. The Geographical Point of View*, Springer, Dordrecht, 2011., 182, 186–187.

<sup>10</sup> Koristimo se terminologijom Saveza udruženja boraca NOR-a (SUBNOR) koja je pored organizacije komemoracija i slavlja, publiciranja memoara i osmišljavanje didaktičkih programa, podrazumijevala i financiranje, provedbu i brigu o spomenicima.

<sup>11</sup> Hajke Karge, *Sećanje u kamenu – okamenjeno sećanje?*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2014., 253.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 246.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 249–254.

<sup>14</sup> Za detaljniju razradu društvenih i materijalnih činitelja koji su na različite načine sudjelovali

u stvaranju, odnosno održavanju različitih spomeničkih funkcija u povijesnomjetičkom i društveno-političkom kontekstu socijalističke Jugoslavije, vidi: Sanja Horvatinić, „Prijedlog modela problemske analize spomeničke plastike iz razdoblja socijalizma“, u: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 37, 2013., 217–228.

<sup>15</sup> U tom se smislu NOB razlikuje od oblika gerilskog ratovanja u Italiji, Grčkoj, Albaniji, Francuskoj ili Poljskoj, pri čemu su jugoslavenski partizani bili izloženi i najvećem broju kolaboracionističkih vojnih formacija u Europi, što je dodatno otežavalo kontinuirano pružanje otpora. Više o temi partizanskom ratovanju, vidi: Petar Kleut, *Partizanska takтика, Vojnoizdavački zavod*, Beograd, 1983. 1952. Crtano i reproducirano u Geografskom institutu JNA u Beogradu. Izvor: <http://www.znaci.net/00003/385.htm> (3. 4. 2015.).

<sup>16</sup> Vidi: *Istorijski atlas oslobođilačkog rata naroda Jugoslavije*, Vojnoistorijski institut JNA, Beograd, 1952. Crtano i reproducirano u Geografskom institutu JNA u Beogradu. Izvor: <http://www.znaci.net/00003/385.htm> (3. 4. 2015.).

<sup>17</sup> U skladu s ranije spomenutim politikama sjećanja – koje nisu bile karakteristične samo za zemlje Istočne Europe – mesta stradanja pripadnika okupacijske vojske, kolaboracionista, njihovih simpatizera, a u nekim slučajevima i nedužnih civila, nisu bila obilježavana. Nakon raspada Jugoslavije ta je praksa u svim zemljama bivše Jugoslavije podvrgnuta oštrot kritici i intenzivnim praksama naknadnog obilježavanja, pri čemu je čitav proces nerijetko bio politički instrumentaliziran.

<sup>18</sup> Bilježenje i upisivanje sjećanja u predefinirani, urbanizirani prostor predstavlja drugačiji metodološki izazov i kao takvo zahtijeva zasebnu analizu.

<sup>19</sup> Jedini spomenik podignut ranije, već 1945. godine, takoder posvećen Crvenoj armiji, nalazi se u središnjem parku u Murskoj Soboti i kao takav izlazi iz fokusa ove analize.

<sup>20</sup> Opseg teritorija na kojem su se odvijale vojne operacije na području obilježenim ovim spomenikom prikazan je na geografskoj karti (sl. 1, str. 37).

<sup>21</sup> Špelča Čopić, „Povojna spomenička plastika“, u: *Sinteza*, 7, 1967., 28.

<sup>22</sup> Premijsku izkušnju IVE Šubića, ovo je bio prvi slovenski spomenik u čijem je osmišljavanju sudjelovao slijek. Kobe i Batić ranije su suradivali na izradi spomenika u Šentjanju i Trbovlju. Zanimljivo je i da su sva trojica umjetnika sudjelovala u ratu, pri čemu je Šubić bio sudionik Dražgoške bitke, a Kobe zatočenik koncentracijskog logora Dachau. Vesna Marinčić, „Raste pomnik“, u: *Delo*, 161, 12. 7. 1976., bez pag.; Manja Anderle, „Po živi življjenja iz spomina v današnji dan“, u: *Dnevnik*, 196, 20. 7. 1976., 5.

<sup>23</sup> Marinčić, bilj. 22.

<sup>24</sup> Anderle, bilj. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the most striking example is the memorial fountain at the site of demolished WTC in New York, work of architect Michael Arad and landscape architect Peter Walker. By using Hoheisel's concept of the underground fountain in Kassel, it is essentially detached from the basic idea of a counter-memorial, creating something completely opposite – a place of predetermined, unambiguous, and collective national mourning.

<sup>4</sup> Andreas Huyssen has warned of the dangers of "losing history", primarily manifested in various forms of political abuse of a mythological past with the aim of justifying nationalism, revisionism, forced reconciliation, or amnesties. Andreas Huyssen, *Present Past: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 15–16.

<sup>5</sup> Pierre Nora, "The Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory," *Tr@nsit online* 22 (2002), source: <http://www.iwm.at/read-listen-watch/transit-online/the-reasons-for-the-current-upsurge-in-memory/> (last accessed on April 1, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Stefan Troebst, "Halecki Revisited: Europe's Conflicting Cultures of Remembrance," in *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View*, ed. Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan, and Edgar Wunder (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 147–149.

<sup>7</sup> The presently most adequate proposal for a collective description of these phenomena is the term *mnenocide*, first used by Jan Assmann in his book *Commemorative Spaces: Forms and Changes of Cultural Memory* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1999). It has been only recently introduced for the Yugoslav post-socialist context and is defined as a "systematic destruction of memory in a particular social group," which includes the notions of culturocide and heritocide. Cf. Marko Sjekavica, "Sustavno uništavanje baštine – prema pojmu kulturocida/heritocida" [Systematic destruction of heritage: Towards the notion of culturocide/heritocide], *Informatica Museologica* 43/1–4 (2013), 57–75.

<sup>8</sup> [...] the rise of a self-consciously postmodern, postcolonial, and multicultural society seems to have reanimated memory as a social, cultural, and political force with which to challenge, if not openly reject, the founding myths and historical narratives that have hitherto given shape and meaning to established national and imperial identities. This trend, initially accelerated by the lifting of the censorship and political constraints that had been imposed in both the 'East' and the 'West' during the Cold War, has been facilitated since the mid-1990s by the Internet, the default source of information in the global public sphere. Uncovering the historical experiences of marginalized communities, previously silenced because of their ethnicity, religion, gender, or sexuality, is now a primary objective of historical inquiry." Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan, Edgar Wunder, "Cultural Memories: An Introduction," in: Meusburger, Heffernan, Wunder (ed.), *Cultural Memories* (as in n. 6), 3.

<sup>9</sup> "War and social collapse after delegitimation of the formative socialist narrative have entailed a loss of interconnected normative orientations and a devaluation of memories and historical interpretations of contemporary witnesses. This difference is significant not just when Serbia and Croatia are compared with Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Switzerland but with Germany as well. It seems as though transmitted interpretation frameworks have become obsolete in Serbia and Croatia and that propositions for new collective interpretations do not exist. Whereas reinterpretation and renegotiation in public memory culture and family narratives are precisely what bear witness to a stable normative background in western European countries, history seems to have become useless for the orientation of younger generations in Serbia and Croatia." Harald Welzer, "Family Memories of World War II and the Holocaust in Europe, or Is There a European Memory?" in: Meusburger, Heffernan, Wunder (ed.), *Cultural Memories* (as in n. 6), 182 and 186–187.

<sup>10</sup> I have used here the terminology of SUBNOR (The Union of Associations of People's Liberation War's Veterans), which was involved, apart from organizing commemorations and festivities, in publishing memoirs and creating educational programmes, in financing and maintaining monuments.

<sup>11</sup> Heijke Karge, *Steinerne Erinnerung—versteinernte Erinnerung? Kriegsgedenken in Jugoslawien 1947–1970* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010). The page numbers correspond to the Serbian translation: Hajke Karge, *Sećanje u kamenu – okamenjeno sećanje?*, trans. Aleksandra Kostić (Belgrade: Biblioteka XX vek, 2014), 253.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 246.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 249–254.

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed analysis of the social and material factors that influenced in various ways the creation and maintenance of monumental functions in the art-historical and socio-political context of socialist Yugoslavia, see: Sanja Horvatinić, "Prijedlog modela problemske analize spomeničke plastike iz razdoblja socijalizma" [Model for the Analysis and Interpretation of Memorial Sculpture from the Socialist Era], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 37 (2013), 217–228.

<sup>15</sup> In that respect, People's Liberation Struggle was different from the guerrilla warfare in Italy, Greece, Albania, France, or Poland, whereby the Yugoslav Partisans were also faced with the largest number of collaborationist military formations in Europe, which additionally aggravated the circumstances of resistance. More on partisan warfare in Petar Kleut, *Partizanska takтика* [Partisan tactics] (Belgrade: Institute of Military Publishing, 1983).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Istorijski atlas oslobođilačkog rata naroda Jugoslavije* [Historical atlas of Yugoslav People's

Liberation War] (Belgrade: Institute of Military History of Yugoslav People's Army, 1952). Drawn and reproduced at the Institute of Geography of Yugoslav People's Army in Belgrade. Source: <http://www.znaci.net/00003/385.htm> (last accessed on April 3, 2015).

<sup>17</sup> In accordance with the abovementioned politics of memory – which was not an exclusive specificity of Eastern Europe – the sites where enemy soldiers, collaborationists, their sympathizers, and sometimes innocent civilians died were not particularly marked. After the fall of Yugoslavia, this practice was subjected to harsh criticism and resulted in intense revision and subsequent signification, whereby the process was often politically instrumentalized.

<sup>18</sup> Signifying and inscribing memory in a predefined, urbanized space is an entirely different methodological challenge and as such requires a separate analysis.

<sup>19</sup> The only monument erected earlier, as early as 1945, was also dedicated to the Red Army and is located in the central park of Murska Sobota. As such, it has not been included in the present analysis.

<sup>20</sup> The scope of the territory in which the military operations marked by this monument were taking place is shown on the map (fig. 1, p. 37).

<sup>21</sup> Špelča Čopić, "Povojna spomenička plastika" [Monumental sculpture after the war], *Sinteza* 7 (1967), 28.

<sup>22</sup> According to the statement of IVE Šubić, it was the first Slovenian monument designed with a participating painter. Kobe and Batić had cooperated earlier on designing the monuments of Šentjanž and Trbovlje. It is interesting to note that all three artists had fought in the war: Šubić had participated in the battle of Dražgoše and Kobe had been imprisoned at Dachau. Vesna Marinčić, "Raste pomnik" [The memorial is growing], *Delo* 161 (July 12, 1976), unpaginated; Manja Anderle, "Po živi življjenja iz spomina v današnji dan" [Life between memory and the present], *Dnevnik* 196 (July 20, 1976), 5.

<sup>23</sup> Marinčić, "Raste pomnik" (as in n. 22).

<sup>24</sup> Anderle, "Po živi življjenja" (as in n. 22).

<sup>25</sup> Slov. *kozolec*.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Even though the monument project selected at the second competition in 1974 was inaugurated at the 40th anniversary of the uprising (1981), it was never completed. Since the 1990s, it has

<sup>25</sup> Slov. kozolec.<sup>26</sup> Ibid.<sup>27</sup> Iako je spomenički projekt koji je bio odabran na drugom natječaju 1974. godine otkriven u povodu 40. obljetnice ustanika 1981. godine, on nikada nije dovršen. Od 1990-ih godina izložen je sustavnom uništavanju i nebrizi nadležnih lokalnih i državnih institucija.<sup>28</sup> Snješka Knežević, „Projekt spomenika na Petrovoj gori“, u: Andre Mohorovičić (ur.), *Projekt spomenika na Petrovoj gori*, Zavod za arhitekturu Arhitektonskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 1981., 9.<sup>29</sup> Niz doprinosa suvremenog analizi ove teme objavljen je u tematu *Što napraviti s Petrovom gorom?*, urednici Vesne Vuković, Zarez, 348, 20. 12. 2012., izvor: [\(6. 4. 2015\).](http://www.zarez.hr/arhiva/348?rubrika=temat-sto-napraviti-s-petrovom-gorom)<sup>30</sup> Taj je sadržaj bio zadan samim raspisom natječaja, ali je jasan i iz edukativno-turističkih materijala kojima se pojašnjavaju ključna obilježja memorijalnog parka. Mile Dakić, Božo Vukobratović (ur.), *Memorijalni park Petrova gora*, III. dopunjeno izdanje, Turistkomerc, Zagreb, 1982., 12–64.<sup>31</sup> Knežević, bilj. 28, 11.<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 17.<sup>33</sup> U SUBNOR-ovu glasili Crvena zvezda tijekom 1960. godine objavljena je serija tekstova pod naslovom *O umjetničkoj vrednosti spomen objekata* kroz koje arhitekti, umjetnici i stručni kritičari razmatraju problem spomenika (Peda Milosavljević, Oto Bihalji-Merin, Miodrag Protić, Zdenko Kolacio i drugi). Godine 1961. cijeli broj časopisa *Arhitektura* posvećen je problematici spomenika revolucije. Vidi: *Arhitektura – časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam i primijenjenu umjetnost*, 15, 1–2, 1961.<sup>34</sup> Tijekom 1960-ih godina održano je nekoliko republičkih i saveznih savjetovanja na temu definiranja, kategorizacije, evidencije i zaštite spomenika NOB-a. Rezultat tih naporu na administrativnoj razini bio donošenje republičkih zakona o spomenicima, a na razini struke donošenje *Preporuka medarepubličkog savetovanja o problemima zaštite i podizanja spomenika revolucije*, Beograd, 1969. Arhiv Jugoslavije, Fond: 319 – Savezni savet za obrazovanje i kulturu, 100, 76.<sup>35</sup> Istoriski arhiv Beograda, Fond: Savez komunista Srbije. Organizacija Saveza komunista Beograda. Gradske komitete Beograda. (1919. – ); 1944.–1973. (LAB SKS OSKB GKB), Vrsta spisa: Materijali o idejno-političkim i kulturno-prosvetnim pitanjima, agitaciji i štampi (1945.–1973.), inv. br. 553.<sup>36</sup> Bratislav Stojanović, „O spomen-parkovima“, u: *Crvena zvezda*, 10. 1. 1956., 1–2; 17. 1. 1956., 1–2; 24. 1. 1956., 2; 31. 1. 1956., 2; 14. 2. 1956., 2.<sup>37</sup> Bratislav Stojanović, „O spomen-parkovima: Spomengrobje u Titovom Užicu“, u: *Crvena zvezda*, 31. 1. 1956., 2.<sup>38</sup> Toma Rasulić, „Zeleni spomenici“, u: *Četvrti jul*, 7. 4. 1964., 8; D.P., „Savezni odbor podržaće akciju „Podžemo zelene spomenike“, u: *Četvrti jul*, 9. 3. 1965., 2; Vladimir Dimitrijević, „Velika akcija Gorana – Zeleni spomenici“, u: *Četvrti jul*, 13. 4. 1965., 18; Branislava Lazić, „Prevorice zemlju u veliki zeleni park“, u: *Četvrti jul*, 4. 5. 1965., 18; Branislava Lazić, „Požarevački gorani i borci uvek zajedno“, u: *Četvrti jul*, 29. 6. 1965., 18; Toma Rasulić, „Pošumljavanje – životna potreba naše zemlje. Voja Leković govori o zadacima Pokreta gorana“, u: *Četvrti jul*, 3. 8. 1965., 1, 18, i dr.<sup>39</sup> Skromno spomen-obilježje podignuto je na isto lokaciji već 1949. godine. Franje Filipić, *Spomenik Pohorsku bataljonu*, Založilo ČZP Komunist, Ljubljana, 1978., bez pag.<sup>40</sup> Na pojedinima blokovima upisano je više imena (op. a.) Ibid.<sup>41</sup> „U borbu za slobodu svijeta / Otišli ste kao ponosni junaci / Vjenac je vječno zelen / Pohorje vam spomenik.“<sup>42</sup> Josip Seissel, Vojin Bakić et al., „Memorijalni kompleks Dotrščina u Zagrebu“, u: *Arhitektura – časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam, dizajn i za primijenjenu umjetnost*, 155, 1975., 32–33.<sup>43</sup> Saša Šimpraga, „Najveći zločin u povijesti Zagreba“, izvor: <http://www.dotrschina.hr/> (8. 4. 2015.).<sup>44</sup> Naziv proizlazi iz činjenice da su štreve ubijane i zakapane u uskoj dolini potoka i padinama brežuljaka.<sup>45</sup> Seissel, Bakić et al., bilj. 42, 32–33.<sup>46</sup> Ibid.<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 33.<sup>48</sup> Ibid.<sup>49</sup> Rješenje br. 01-98/3-1963, Konzervatorski zavod Zagreb, 31. 12. 1963.<sup>50</sup> „U Zagrebu otvorena izložba ‘Predlog spomenika Jasenovac’“, u: *Četvrti jul*, 19. 3. 1963., bez pag.<sup>51</sup> „Žrtvama Jasenovačkog logora podići će se veličanstven spomenik“ [Victims of concentration camp in Jasenovac will obtain a magnificent monument], *Četvrti jul* (March 19, 1963), unpaginated.<sup>52</sup> Milorad R. Blečić, „Spomenici o našem vremenu“ [Monuments of our time], *Četvrti jul* (July 21, 1964), 11.<sup>53</sup> The hospital was active from 1942–1944 and played an important role in the progress of People's Liberation Struggle in the areas of Primorje, Gorski Kotar, and Istria. With time, it gained importance in the broader area of Yugoslavia, receiving wounded Partisans from Montenegro, Bosnia, Serbia, Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, Banija, Žumberak, Slovenia, and even Italy. It is estimated that the total number of wounded Partisans who at some point stayed at the hospital is around 2000. Jela Jančić-Starc, *Vojno-partizanska bolnica u Drežnici 1942–1944* [Military Partisan hospital at Drežnica, 1942–1944] (Zagreb: Regional Institute for the Conservation of Cultural Monuments in Zagreb, 1971), 7–8.<sup>54</sup> “The hospital of Stupe was sometimes called ‘the hospital in the pine forest’ and was the first to be built after the hospital Kestenik, that is, the cottage on Veliko Brdo. Its construction began in May 1943. Even though its barracks were improvised, with a skeleton made of branches and poles covered with canvas, usually masked by scattered branches, with some forty beds, the hospital at Borik fulfilled its function very well. It was occasionally improved, but as early as August the construction of a new hospital started, which is in memoirs and other documents usually called Hospital No. 1 in the Kalnik region, whereas in the general master plan of the memorial and tourist area of Kalnik (1972) it is marked as the Partisan Hospital of Gabrinovec.” Žarko Miličević, *Kalnički partizanski odred* [The partisan unit of Kalnik] (Varaždin: TIVA, 2010), 230.<sup>55</sup> Cf. Milivoj Dretar, „Gabrinovec – tajna partizanska bolnica na Kalniku“ [Gabrinovec: A secret partisan hospital on Mount Kalnik], source: <http://povijest.net/v5/hrvatska/hrvatska-2-svjetski-rat/2010/gabrinovec/> (last accessed on April 8, 2015).<sup>56</sup> We therefore opt for the works that are closer to man and for man: instead of large memorials in the form of monuments, we are constructing utilitarian buildings.” Zdenko Kolacio, “O prostorima, spomenicima, izvorima umjetnosti” [On places, monuments, and sources of art], *Arhitektura – časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam, dizajn i za primijenjenu umjetnost* 155 (1975), 11. See also other articles in the same issue.<sup>57</sup> One should also keep in mind that a reduction in the commission and production of monuments would have implied less involvement of visual artists, which is why the professional associations of artists and architects were against this idea.<sup>58</sup> „Bolnicu Stupe su neki zvali bolnicu u boriku, izgrađena je prva nakon bolnice Kestenik, odnosno bježe na Velikom brdu. Njezinu izgradnju pristupilo se u svibnju 1943. godine. Iako s improviziranim objektima, kosturom od granja i kolaca, prekrivenim šatorskim krilima i platnom, obično maskiranih s nabacanim granjem i s oko četrdesetak ležajeva, bolnica u Boriku dobro je služila za vrijeme svojeg postojanja. Ta bolnica povremeno je dotjerivana, ali već u kolovozu se prišlo izgradnji nove bolnice, koja se u memoarskim i drugim napisima zove Bolnica broj jedan Kalničkog područja, dok se u generalnom prostornom planu memorijalno-turističkog područja Kalnik (1972.) označava kao partizanska bolnica Gabrinovec.” Žarko Miličević, *Kalnički partizanski odred*, TIVA, Varaždin, 2010., 230.<sup>59</sup> Vidi: Milivoj Dretar, „Gabrinovec – tajna partizanska bolnica na Kalniku“, izvor: <http://povijest.net/v5/hrvatska/hrvatska-2-svjetski-rat/2010/gabrinovec/> (8. 4. 2015.).<sup>60</sup> „Opredjeljujmo se, stoga, da djela blizu čovjeku i za čovjeku; umjesto velikih memorijala spomeničkih pretencija gradimo utilitarne građevine.“ Zdenko Kolacio, „O prostorima, spomenicima, izvorima umjetnosti“, u: *Arhitektura – časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam, dizajn i za primijenjenu umjetnost*, 155, 1975., 11. Vidi i ostale tekstove u ovom broju časopisa.<sup>61</sup> Na umu valja imati i činjenicu da bi se redukcijom narudžbi i spomeničke produkcije smanjivala i potreba za angažmanom likovnih umjetnika, zbog čega je interes stručnih udruženja umjetnika i arhitekata bio protivan ovoj ideji.<sup>62</sup> Fedor Wenzler, „Spomen područja kao specifična kategorija obilježavanja lokaliteta i memoriranja značajnih događaja iz Narodnooslobodilačke borbe“, u: *Arhitektura – časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam, dizajn i za primijenjenu umjetnost*, 155, 1975., 19.<sup>63</sup> Aktivna zaštita definirana je kao „spoj djelatnosti na području konzerviranja objekta i prirode u užem smislu, tj. održavanje njihova stanja i ambijenta u njihovom izvornom historijskom i prirodnom obliku. Sastojeći se u rekonstrukciji objekata i ambijenta ukoliko su oštećeni utjecajem bilo prirodnih, bilo antropogenih faktora, te istraživanju, i to arheološkom, na samom terenu kao i arhivskim istraživanjem u vezi s događajima na njemu. Svrlja aktivne zaštite postiže se time da se zaštiteći historijski ili prirodnji objekt uredi za organiziranu posjetu, boravak i rekreaciju, na taj način uključi u kontinuitet suvremenog života, a za to je potrebno i ovo područje obogatiti i novim privlačnim elementima i sadržajima, posebno turističkog značaja.“ Ante Marinović Uzelac, „Smjernice za uređajnu osnovu spomenpodručja Petrova gora“, u: *Arhitektura – časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam, dizajn i za primijenjenu umjetnost*, 155, 1975., 26.<sup>64</sup> Boro Pavlović, „Memorijalni park NOB Petrova Gora“, u: *Arhitektura – časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam, dizajn i za primijenjenu umjetnost*, 155, 1975., 24.<sup>65</sup> Wenzler, bilj. 58, 19.<sup>66</sup> Vidi: *Uredjajna osnova memorijalnog parka Petrova Gora. Generalni prostorni plan, programska analiza i obrazloženje*, Zavod za urbanizam Arhitektonskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 1969.<sup>67</sup> Vidi: *Generalni prostorni plan memorijalno-turističkog područja Kalnik, Skupština zajednice općina memorijalnog područja Kalnik, fond za uređenje Kalnika*, Zavod za urbanizam Arhitektonskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 1972.<sup>68</sup> Vidi: Franc Štefe, *Udin boršt*, Komunist, Ljubljana, 1982.<sup>69</sup> Wenzler, bilj. 58, 19.<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 20.<sup>71</sup> Povijesni je značaj upotpunjeno legendom o sudbonosnoj bitki na Gvozd 1097. godine, arheološkim nalazima iz starog vijeka i ostacima srednjovjekovnih zamakova i samostana, što govori u prilog kontinuitetu povijesnih zbiljanja na tom području.<sup>72</sup> Osobit je naglasak stavljen na turizam kao pokreć privrednih djelatnosti, poput uzgoja stoke, pri čemu se predviđa suradnja s poduzećima *Sljeme* i *Gavrilović* te ruralna proizvodnja jedne lokalne vrste sira. Planiran je bio i razvoj moderne keramičke industrije koja bi uključivala i primjenu zanatskog lončarstva, tradicionalnog folklornog tipa, što bi doprinjelo stvaranju kreativne klime oko moderne industrije. Marinović Uzelac, bilj. 59, 29.<sup>73</sup> Ta je pojava bila osobito prisutna u Sloveniji u kojoj su brdski sportovi tradicionalno razvijeni. Tako je *Vodnik po belokranjskih partizanskih poteh* koncipiran kao informativni džepni priručnik s kartom i rubrikama za žigove koji su se nalazili na kontrolnim točkama predviđene rute označene markacijama. Kad bi korisnik sakupio svih 12 pečata, dobio bi spomen-značku. Zvonko Rus (ur.), *Vodnik po belokranjskih partizanskih poteh*, Belokranjski muzej, Metlika, 1984.<sup>74</sup> „Tragovima partizana. Prvomajska tradicionalna akcija izvidača u Hrvatskoj ‘Kalnik 1963’“, u: *Četvrti jul*, 30. 4. 1963., 2.<sup>58</sup> Toma Rasulić, „Zeleni spomenici“ [Green monuments], *Četvrti jul* (April 7, 1964), 8; D.P., „Savezni odbor podržaće akciju „Podžemo zelene spomenike““ [Federal Committee will support the action of ‘green monuments’], *Četvrti jul* (March 9, 1965), 2; Vladimir Dimitrijević, „Velika akcija Gorana – Zeleni spomenici“ [The great action of the Goran movement: Green monuments], *Četvrti jul* (April 13, 1965), 18; Branislava Lazić, „Prevorice zemlju u veliki zeleni park“ [We will transform the country into a single green park], *Četvrti jul* (May 4, 1965), 18; Branislava Lazić, „Požarevački gorani i borci uvek zajedno“ [The Gorans of Požarevac and the veterans: always together], *Četvrti jul* (June 29, 1965), 18; Toma Rasulić, „Pošumljavanje – životna potreba naše zemlje. Voja Leković govori o zadacima Pokreta gorana“ [Forestation as the primary need of our country: Voja Leković speaks of the tasks of the Goran movement], *Četvrti jul* (August 3, 1965), 1, 18, and elsewhere.<sup>59</sup> A modest memorial was built in this locality as early as 1949. Franje Filipić, *Spomenik Pohorskemu bataljonu* [Monument to the Battalion of Pohorje] (Ljubljana: Založilo ČZP Komunist, 1978), unpaginated.<sup>60</sup> Some blocks contain several names (author's remark). Ibid.<sup>61</sup> Original verses in Slovenian language: “V boj za svobodu sveta / Ste šli kot ponosni junaki, / Venec je večno zelen, / Pohorje vam spomenik.”<sup>62</sup> Josip Seissel, Vojin Bakić et al., „Memorijalni kompleks Dotrščina u Zagrebu“ [Memorial complex of Dotrščina in Zagreb], *Arhitektura – časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam, dizajn i za primijenjenu umjetnost* 155 (1975), 32–33.<sup>63</sup> Saša Šimpraga, „Najveći zločin u povijesti Zagreba“ [The greatest crime in the history of Zagreb], source: <http://www.dotrschina.hr/> (last accessed on April 8, 2015).<sup>64</sup> Its name reminds that the victims were killed and buried in the narrow valley of the rivulet and the hill slopes.<sup>65</sup> Seissel, Bakić et al., „Memorijalni kompleks“ (as in n. 42), 32–33.<sup>66</sup> Ibid.<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 33.<sup>68</sup> Ibid.<sup>69</</sup>