

WANDERING MONUMENTS OF ZENICA

LUTAJUĆI SPOMENICI ZENICE

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Through archival and field research in the central Bosnian industrial city of Zenica, a comprehensive list of monuments constructed between 1878 and 2023 has been established. Additionally, the study identified all of the changes affecting these monuments over the specified period, including whether they have been preserved, wandered off, completely disappeared, or been destroyed. The research also examined how these monuments were perceived in different historical periods, what was their role in constructing ideological narratives, and what was their function in hosting commemorative gatherings. Given the large number of identified monuments and their wide spatial distribution, the study focused on four specific locations that have undergone sedimentary and erosive processes over time, sometimes occurring simultaneously. Special emphasis was placed on a comparative analysis of two case studies with different outcomes to contribute to understanding why some monuments endure while others vanish. By combining historical and ethnographic research methods, the study provided an interpretation of the relationships between monuments and space, places and commemorative practices, highlighting the importance of a community's identification with symbols and narratives materialized in the form of monuments.

KEYWORDS: Zenica; monument; sedimentation; erosion; re-sedimentation

Na temelju arhivskog i terenskog rada izrađena je sveobuhvatna baza spomenika izgrađenih između 1878. i 2023. godine u industrijskom gradu Zenici, smještenom u središnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini. Istraživanje je identificiralo promjene koje su zahvatile kartirane spomenike tijekom navedenog razdoblja, uključujući jesu li sačuvani, premješteni, potpuno nestali ili uništeni. Ispitano je kako su se ti spomenici percipirali u različitim povijesnim razdobljima, koja je bila njihova uloga u izgradnji ideoloških narativa te koja je bila njihova funkcija u održavanju komemorativnih okupljanja. S obzirom na velik broj identificiranih spomenika i njihovu široku prostornu raspodjelu, istraživanje se usredotočilo na četiri specifične lokacije koje su s vremenom prošle kroz sedimentacijske i erozivne procese, ponekad istovremeno. Poseban naglasak stavljen je na komparativnu analizu dvaju studija slučaja s različitim ishodima kako bi se pridonijelo razumijevanju zašto neki spomenici opstaju, dok drugi nestaju. Kombinacijom povijesnih i etnografskih istraživačkih metoda, istraživanje je pružilo interpretaciju odnosa između spomenika i prostora, mjesta i komemorativnih praksi, ističući važnost identifikacije zajednice sa simbolima i narativima materijaliziranim u obliku spomenika.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Zenica; spomenik; sedimentacija; erozija; re-sedimentacija

INTRODUCTION

Monuments, by definition, are generally immovable cultural heritage. However, in the industrial city of Zenica in central Bosnia it seems that a significant number of monuments have grown legs and wandered from their original locations, despite being constructed of heavy materials such as stone, concrete, and even steel. Practice of ‘wandering’ monuments is not specific to Zenica, as similar processes have occurred in other countries (Asman, 2018; Jezernik, 2006; Rihtman-Auguštin, 2000; Tšerkassova, 2016). Although several monuments were built in the city by the Austro-Hungarian and Royal Yugoslav rulers, until the end of World War II Zenica remained largely a *tabula rasa* regarding monument construction. The socialist era (1945–1992) witnessed a hyper production of monuments in Zenica, most of which, but not all as it will be explained further in the text, have little to no aesthetic or architectural value but held significant importance in symbolical marking of the city’s space as an important site of representation of the strength and power of the new socialist system.

The shift in political and ideological systems after the fall of state socialism also meant a changed relationship with these monuments, leading to the disappearance or relocation of many of them from their original locations. The instruments of memory politics have remained unchanged; only the ideological content has shifted, resulting in another expansion of monument erection during the post-socialist era. However, Zenica is not a *tabula rasa* for monuments but rather a space with densely distributed monument sites that, for the new elites, not only lack significance but also hinder the implementation of their own memory policies. Some of these earlier monuments were relatively easily destroyed or relocated, largely due to the fact that residents did not consider them important or were not even aware of them. However, certain monuments, despite the change in ideological framework, have retained emotional and commemorative significance, and their removal was not feasible. Some

of these monuments have undergone reinterpretation or augmentation of symbolic narratives, while the existence of others has been tolerated, albeit pushed to the periphery of the town’s centre. These waves of changes lead us to consider monuments as *petrified narratives of the past* since besides their artistic, aesthetic, architectural, and urban components, they possess even more significant symbolic, ideological, political, identity, and interpretative dimensions, which indeed represent the true essence of these objects. In many cases monuments are dedicated to individuals or events from the past to which the ruling political elites have assigned great significance in legitimizing the ideas, messages, values, and norms they consider desirable. Thus, monuments become not only symbols but also ‘emitters’ of ideological narratives crafted by these elites. The narratives created are often ‘immersed in the past,’ yet they do not, in a conditional sense, represent an objective reflection of past events based on facts established through the methodology of scientific research. On the contrary, the prescribed narratives represent a preferred interpretation of the past, where the monument becomes an image of that past, authored by the political elites. However, just as political elites are subject to shifts and changes, narratives are likewise prone to new or alternative interpretations. In this context, the ‘petrified form’ of these narratives is not problematic, as monuments — like other solid structures — are subject to processes of sedimentation, erosion, and re-sedimentation, along with the messages they convey (Hayden & Katić, 2023).

Monuments constitute the central element of memory politics, and thus, in most cases, their erection is approached in a planned and organized manner, with careful consideration given to their appearance, spatial positioning, and unveiling date, all serving the purpose of crafting a clearly defined symbolism and accompanying narrative (Ćusto, 2013). The crafting of visitation scenarios to these monuments, in the form of pilgrimages or other forms of commemorative practices, not only imbues life into the metal, stone, glass, or other material from

which the monument is made but also serves as a measure of the successful implementation of the prescribed memory policy. Regardless of whether monument tours are directed and organized by certain centres of power, or represent a spontaneous expression of sentiments or needs of a segment of the population, regular or occasional commemorative practices enable monuments to fulfil their fundamental function. The moment a monument loses its power of attraction, the purpose of its existence is lost as well. And as it is presented in this article, the result may be their displacement into new locations, making them less visible or accessible.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

For the purposes of this study, 93 monuments in Zenica, constructed between 1882 and 2023, were analysed. Data collection involved both archival and field research. The monuments in Zenica were of interest to sever-

al researchers (Aslani, 2014; Džananović, 2017; Đulbić, 2020; Jović, 2016; Kesić, Sarić, 2006), although none of these authors focused specifically on the monuments themselves, but rather considered them within other contexts. Important information on socialist-era monuments in Zenica was also found on specialized websites such as *SpomenikDatabase* (a online resource for the most significant and notable abstract and modernist World War II monuments built in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from roughly 1960 to 1990) and *Spomenici NOB* (a website with a detailed map of monuments and memorials dedicated to the People's Liberation War from 1941 to 1945 located in Bosnia and Herzegovina), as well as in articles from the local newspaper *Naša riječ*. The most extensive data on socialist monuments were found in several reports prepared for the local authorities, particularly in a significant and useful report (*Spomen obilježja NOB-u*, 1989), which was made just before the collapse of the socialist system in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

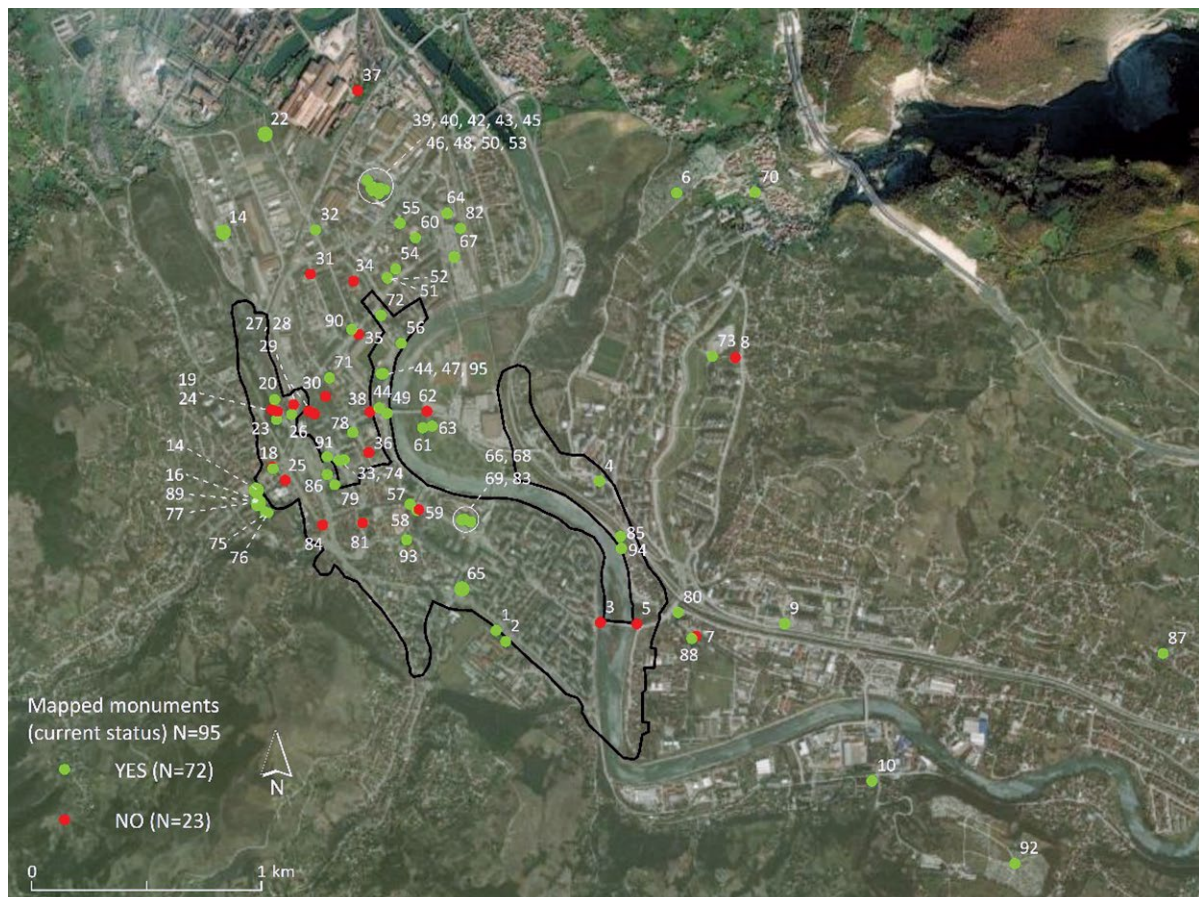


FIGURE 1 Locations of all monuments in Zenica (2023)

The report included a complete list of monuments, details on their construction, technical characteristics, their condition, and accompanying photographic and draft documentation, providing precise locations of the monuments. These 1989 location data were the basis for creating a map of the state of monuments in 1990 and a comparative map for 2023. These maps significantly expanded knowledge about the spatial distribution of monuments over different periods and their 'wandering' opening new perspectives in interpreting the data.

The field research component took place in 2023, involving the identification of the current state of known monuments and the dis-

covery of new monument locations. A list of 93 originally documented monuments was compiled, noting that 24 of these monuments no longer exist. Of the 69 monuments preserved today (Fig. 1), three were destroyed at different times for different reasons but were subsequently restored (Jozefinina fontana (*Josephine's Fountain*) ID 1, monument on Smetovi ID 11, and the statue of Our Lady of Lourdes ID 71). Additionally, many monuments suffered damage that has since been repaired. An interesting phenomenon in Zenica is the wandering of monuments from their original locations, some multiple times (e.g., the bust of Sead Škrgo ID 65), which in many cases was a crucial meas-

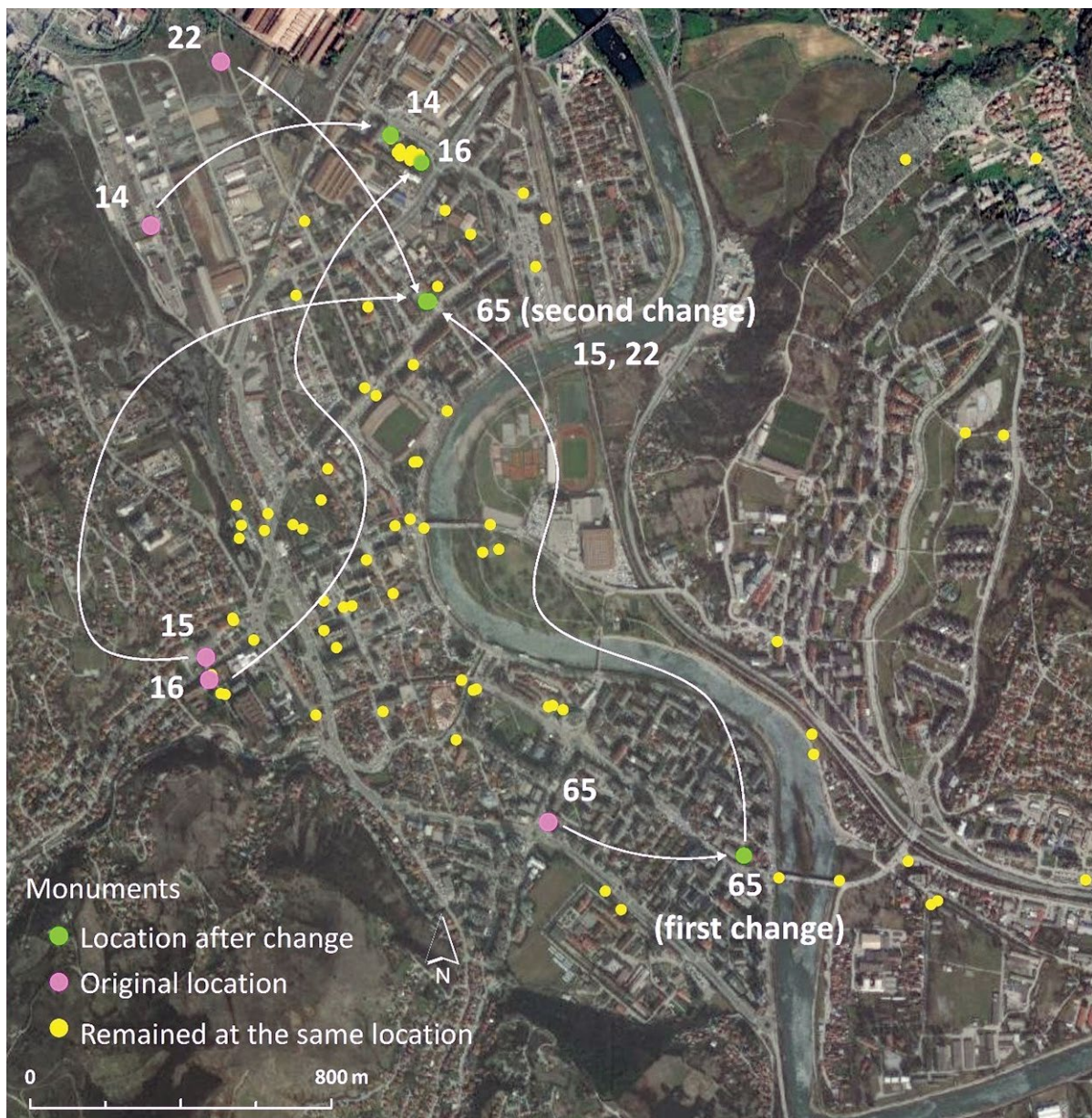


FIGURE 2 *The Wandering monuments of Zenica*

ure for their preservation, as many other monuments 'wandered into the unknown' (Fig. 2).

The first three monuments in Zenica were constructed during the Austro-Hungarian administration, which lasted from 1878 to 1918. During the existence of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, from 1918 to 1941, two more monuments were built. No monuments were constructed during the Ustasha regime from 1941 to 1945. The socialist era was a period of extensive monument construction, with 57 monuments of various dimensions, shapes, and contents built between 1945 and 1992, some becoming important gathering places in Zenica. Many socialist monuments were destroyed or have disappeared during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, and this practice continued to some extent after the war. However, a greater number of these monuments were preserved, and some socialist monuments were restored, resulting in the loss of 21 socialist-era monuments overall. From 1995 to 2023, a total of 31 monuments were erected.

The most common form of monuments in Zenica are plaques or reliefs (29), followed by busts or sculptures (22), and a diverse range of figurative and abstract artistic monuments and sculptures. These data confirm that simple monuments like plaques represent an effective and inexpensive means of marking space with dominant ideologies, and they remain popular and practical regardless of regime changes. The state of busts in Zenica is particularly interesting; of the 22 registered busts, 21 were erected during the socialist period, with only the bust of Alojzije Stepinac (ID 87) built after the war ended in 1995. Additionally, 7 busts were destroyed after 1992. The decline in the practice of erecting busts after 1995 is not surprising considering that during this period, political parties with a Bosniak majority held absolute power in the local government, and Islamic tradition does not permit figurative representations of the human form. Therefore, the only bust built after 1995 was financed by the Dominican Order, erected in front of their church located on the city's periphery (Fig. 1).

Finally, it is important to note that the list compiled for this study is not exhaustive and that some monuments from the socialist period and the period after 1995 may have been omitted due to a lack of information. However, we believe the discrepancies are minimal and do not significantly impact the interpretations offered in this text.

GIS Database

In order to analyse the location change of monuments in Zenica, the geocoding process was utilized as one of the main methodological steps. The full methodology workflow involved several steps, which included:

- (a) Compilation of the monument list - a comprehensive list of all significant monuments was created;
- (b) Geocoding - the locations of monuments were geocoded;
- (c) Attribute assignment - specific attributes were assigned to each monument (ID, name, construction year, location change, person who built it, etc.). This primarily involved historical dimensioning;
- (d) Database derivation - the arranged data were organized into a unique GIS database, and
- (e) Production of thematic maps - they facilitated the analysis and helped draw specific conclusions about spatial patterns.

This structured approach allowed for a detailed examination of the monuments' roles and meanings within their respective contexts, providing valuable insights into historical and symbolic dimensions.

MEMORY POLITICS AND MONUMENT ERECTION IN ZENICA

During the Ottoman period Zenica was a small town without larger significance. The onset of modern history and urban development in Zenica is tied to the late 19th century and the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia

and Herzegovina (Bjelovitić, 1968; Džananović, 2017; Hrelja, 1957; Jalimam, 2010). The imperial administration brought the railway, mining, and industry to this city, marking the beginning of planned urbanization, modern education, and the establishment of the first cultural institutions, among other things (Agić, 2011). Additionally, that period marked the initiation of organized memory politics, which was most prominently reflected in the practice of street naming and monument construction - a practice that would continue and intensify under subsequent regimes (Džananović, 2019). During that period, a total of three monuments were erected in Zenica. The first was *The Josephine's Fountain* (ID 1) built within the Central Prison compound, then Čaršijska česma (ID 69) commemorating Emperor Franz Joseph I's passage through Zenica, at the initiative of local authorities; and finally, the statue of Our Lady of Lourdes (ID 71) within the Roman Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary compound, initiated by a parish priest (Đulbić, 2020). It is notable that these monuments are located in different parts of the city and that all of them were erected at the initiative of individuals or a narrow circle of people. In fact, only Čaršijska česma was entirely public in nature, while the others were focused on a particular religious community or employees of a specific company.

In the period from the end of Austro-Hungarian rule in 1918 until the collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (former Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians) in a short war with the Third Reich in 1941, Zenica was one of the few cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina that did not experience complete stagnation. The economy in Zenica struggled and that has strongly reflected in urban development, while social and cultural life experienced expansion. Numerous cultural associations were established, the first magazines were published, and a new generation of local intellectuals emerged, bringing a new rhythm of life to the city (Jalimam, 2010). In line with the new political and ideological framework, street names were partially changed, two monuments from the previous period were preserved entirely, and *Joze-finina fontana* was destroyed, but also replaced by

a new, very modest fountain. It is difficult to explain why the fountain was not destroyed, given that it was erected in honor of a former ruler. It may be because it lacked symbols that would associate it with the Austro-Hungarian Empire or the Emperor himself. People in Zenica commonly referred to the fountain as the 'Bazaar Fountain' or even the 'Horse Fountain'. There is no consensus regarding the origin of the name 'Horse Fountain.' Some believe the name derives from the pipes through which the water flows, as their appearance resembles a horse's mane. Others argue that the name comes from the fact that people used to tie their horses near the fountain to water them. Additionally, two entirely new monuments were built: the statue of the Virgin Mary (ID 70) within the Roman Catholic Church of St. Elijah compound again focused on only one religious community, and *Spomenik posvećen stradalim u ratu za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje* (ID 25) dedicated to fighters from World War I (Jović, 2016).

Although Zenica was an important location for the Ustasha regime that lasted from 1941 to 1945, primarily due to its production capacities, no new monuments were built during this period. However, in the first days of the occupation *Spomenik posvećen stradalim u ratu za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje* was destroyed – an event that is explained in details later in the text (Kazazović, 1984).

The situation drastically changed after 1945 when Zenica came under control of the new communist elites. This period witnessed intensive economic and urban development, with the city's population increasing nearly sevenfold in just over four decades, making it one of the most important industrial centres in the entire Yugoslavia. Consequently, Zenica held a significant position in representing the values of the new system, and was often referred to as the 'child of the new Yugoslavia' (Džananović, 2017). Throughout the socialist era, a planned and well-organized memory politics was evident, aimed at creating an identity for Zenica as a Yugoslav and socialist worker's city. The materialization of this policy was best seen through the mass construction of monuments dedicated to the labour movement in the Austro-Hungarian and Kingdom of Yugo-

slavia periods, the People's Liberation Struggle, and the heroes of the new Yugoslavia. The entire city was interwoven with monuments that emphasized the values and goals of the new system, and some of them became important sites for regular and carefully planned commemorations.

However, by the beginning of the 1970s, the practice of erecting monuments with such socialist ideological content had largely ended, and a new trend emerged, involving the construction of a series of artistic monuments and sculptures. The reasons for this new practice can be found in Yugoslavia's new policy, which involved a stronger opening to the rest of the world, an important position in international relations through participation in the Non-Aligned Movement, and the desire to represent Yugoslavia as a cosmopolitan and modern country. At the micro-political level, these tendencies were manifested through the sedimentation onto the established socialist layer of identity of new contents in line with Yugoslavia's proclaimed cosmopolitan and modernist character. In Zenica this meant the construction of new purely artistic monuments, many of which had abstract forms that resonated interestingly with the residents. If we were to perceive these monuments as a part of the urban text (Radović, 2013), at the end of the socialist era, we could read their message as follows: Zenica is a Yugoslav but also cosmopolitan city, proud of its working-class and partisan past.

By 1991–92, both the Yugoslav federation and its socialist ideology had disappeared. Bosnia and Herzegovina became an independent and complexly democratic country, but it also went through a very brutal war. These events significantly affected Zenica and its monumental heritage. During the 1992–95 war, Zenica's industry completely ceased production, and the city became a major refugee centre (Spahić, 1997). The post-socialist transition after the war had profound consequences on the political, economic, and demographic development of the city. Local industry was on its knees, the population began to decline rapidly, and new elites created their own memory policy. A small number of monuments from the previous period were intentionally destroyed, while the vast majority was pushed

to the periphery and largely neglected, thereby condemned to gradual decay, the wandering monuments of our title. However, some monuments had much sentimental and symbolic value for the residents of Zenica, so the new authorities dared not to destroy them, and a smaller number had to be restored under strong public pressure. Therefore, the new memory policy involved not only the construction of new monuments but also the reinterpretation of memory spaces from the previous period, in line with the ideas and values of the new system. The result of such a policy is the emergence of several monumental complexes throughout the city with different monumental and ideological sediments.

Sedimentary Monumental Complexes: The Bazaar

The most common space for the enactment of memory policies is the centre of urban areas, and in the context of Zenica, this implies the space of the old bazaar, which, in the spirit of Ottoman urban tradition, represented the economic and social centre of the city around which residential settlements (*mahalas*) were built (Hadžibegović, 2004). The history of this part of Zenica vividly reflects the urban, social, and ideological development of the entire city, because all political elites sought to shape this space in ways that reflected the values of their systems. This is best observed through an analysis of changes in the street names passing through the settlement, as well as through processes of urban space formation with an emphasis on monument construction.

The bazaar area likely took shape during the 18th century and did not significantly change its appearance until the beginning of the 20th century. The first significant, albeit symbolic change, occurred in 1906 when the central street was named *Kaisserstrasse* (*Emperor's Street*), in honour of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph I. In 1910, the construction of the first city water supply system was completed in Zenica, and as part of the project, a modern public fountain was built at the beginning of *Kaisserstrasse*. The fountain's ceremonial opening was held in the presence of the most important representatives of lo-

cal political and social life on 30 May, 1910 – the day when Emperor Franz Joseph I visited Zenica on his way to Sarajevo (Đulbić, 2020). However, despite the careful timing of the ceremony by local authorities, and the fact that the fountain was dedicated to His Majesty, Emperor Franz Joseph did not attend the event, possibly because he was unaware of it – not that the information would change anything. In fact, the emperor's entourage stayed in Zenica for only about ten minutes, just enough time for the steam locomotive to receive the necessary coal for the journey to Sarajevo. Continuing his journey to Sarajevo he actually passed by Jozefinina fontana but, as in the case with 'his' fountain in bazaar area, he probably was not aware of that, either. (Fig. 3 section 1918)

The official name for the 1910 fountain was *Austrian* or *Imperial*, but after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the new Yugoslav authorities did not favour that name, so the new name – Čaršijska česma (*Bazaar Fountain*) – started to be increasingly used. This was not the only change the new regime had imposed. In 1921, the former single *Kaisserstrasse* was divided, with one part of the street being named after the new king Alexander Karadjordjevic, and the other after his father, the late king Peter I Karadjordjevic. The 'new regime – new street name' policy continued in the later period too, so during the Nazi occupation, both Alexander's and Peter's streets were named *Poglavnikova*, in honor of the latest ruler, *Poglavnik* (Supreme Leader) of the NDH, Ante Pavelić.

During socialism, the old bazaar area underwent thorough changes in its appearance, and of course, the street received a new name – Ulica Maršala Tita (*Marshal Tito Street*). The significance attached to street names is perhaps best illustrated by an episode from the past of this particular street. Namely, although Tito's name was adopted in 1950, in the mid-1960s a heated debate arose among representatives of the local elite about whether to retain this name. Given the disorder in the city center and the poor condition of 'Tito's street', part of the political elite considered it unworthy to carry the name of "the greatest son of Yugoslavia". So, their proposal was either to change the name or to proceed with the

renovation of the street. In 1968, the road was already modernized, and soon the entire old bazaar area received a new, modern look, so Tito managed to retain his street in Zenica (Džananović, 2019). As part of the modernization of the old bazaar, the construction of a large department store was planned, but the space on which it was to be built, among others, was occupied by *Austrijska česma* or *Čaršijska česma* (*Austrian* or *Bazaar Fountain*). Although the socialist authorities, especially in Zenica, did not have a positive attitude towards the legacy of the previous 'bourgeois' times and times under occupation, the fountain erected in honor of Emperor Franz Joseph I survived, but with a slightly changed location. (Fig. 3 section 1990) On its original location, a large and modern department store was erected, in front of which a smaller square was arranged. The street was divided again, so that one part closer to the fountain was called *Trg oslobođenja* (*Liberation Square*), and the rest remained *Ulica Maršala Tita*.

The situation remained unchanged until the 1990s war in Bosnia and Herzegovina broke out. Zenica was not as severely affected by wartime events as other cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Consequently, it became an important military and political centre for the territory under the control of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with considerations even being made to designate it as the formal capital. In 1994, the new political elites carried out a re-naming of all streets in Zenica. In this process Tito, who was no longer a particularly popular figure, gave way to Kulin ban, a Bosnian medieval ruler who had an important place in the founding myth of Bosniak elites. The medieval period of Bosnia became a significant arena for ideological battles in contemporary political discourse. All constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina strive to 'appropriate' this era of Bosnian history to legitimize their current political demands. Bosniak political elites and their intellectual supporters are no exception, and the 'battle' for the Bosnian Middle Ages became particularly pronounced with the outbreak of armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. Kulin Ban, often perceived as the first significant ruler of medieval Bosnia, became

a central element of the modern Bosniak myth, only recently rivaled in popularity by King Tvrtko. It is important to note that the association of contemporary Bosniaks with medieval Bosnians began even before the war of the 1990s. This appropriation extended not only to rulers but also notably to medieval tombstones known as *stećci*. Consequently, during the 1990s, Kulin Ban and *stećci* became highly popular among the Bosniak elite, serving as markers of the ethnic territory of this community (for example, see: Bojić, 2001; Imamović, 1997). Zenica serves as an illustrative example for this assertion, as not only does Kulin Ban have a street named after him in this city, but a historical park dedicated to this medieval Bosnian ruler was also built, with ongoing initiatives to erect an appropriate monument. Additionally, annual events are held in this park to commemorate two significant events from the reign of Kulin Ban: the issuance of the charter to the people of Dubrovnik and the proclamation of Bilino Polje Declaration, named after the site where it was purportedly issued, which is Bilino Polje in Zenica. (Fig. 1, ID95) Interestingly, Kulin ban was actually the only figure from the period of medieval Bosnia who had his street even during socialism (Džananović, 2019). It was located in the peripheral working-class settlement Blatusa (also known as Korea), and was infamous for a large number of fights and other criminal activities. Namely, Blatusa was a working-class settlement that emerged during the construction of the Samac-Sarajevo railway. It consisted of a series of modest wooden barracks where workers and their families lived in very humble conditions. Due to the harsh living conditions and the lack of any social amenities in the small, densely populated area, Blatusa became notorious for its rampant alcoholism, prostitution, and crime. These problems were particularly pronounced in the early 1950s when the number of criminal activities surged, notably including murders and serious bodily injuries. Blatusa and the entire city of Zenica were at the top of the crime statistics in Yugoslavia. Given the concurrent Korean War, a local narrative emerged claiming that the number of casualties in Blatusa could only be rivaled by the casualties of the Korean War. Consequently,

Blatusa became informally known as 'Korea', a name that persisted until the end of the socialist era. Reflecting the changed social and ideological context, from the mid-1990s, Blatusa, formerly known as Korea, adopted a new, 'democratic' name – the Bronx.

In the new Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kulin ban got the central city street, and Tito was 'anathematized' and 'excommunicated'. However, in 2000, left-wing political parties came to power in Zenica which, with public approval, returned the name Ulica Maršala Tita. But Kulin ban did not remain left out either, because a large city boulevard was named after him. After the death of the first president of independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, in 2003 there was an initiative for the central street to bear his name, which was supported by part of the public in Zenica. The debates lasted for several years and were resolved by compromise in 2005, according to which part of the street closer to Čaršijska česma (*Bazaar Fountain*) was named Trg Alije Izetbegovića (*Alija Izetbegovic Square*), and the rest retained the name Ulica Maršala Tita (Džananović, 2019).

However, the story does not end here. The moment the street received name Trg Alije Izetbegovića, discussions about the need to modernize this area started again since, just like in the mid-1960s, it was in a rather poor condition. There were also initiatives to give the square a suitable visual identity in line with its name. That was to be accomplished by erecting a monument to Alija Izetbegovic or, strangely, in some variants to Kulin ban who, in the meantime, lost a good part of the boulevard, which was re-named after one of the former mayors of Zenica. However, these ideas were not realized, primarily with the explanation that Alija Izetbegovic was a devout Muslim, and Islamic tradition does not approve of anthropomorphic monuments. Another argument was that Alija Izetbegovic was modest by nature and that he would not approve of any monument being built in his honor. In the end, an optimal solution was found, which involved the construction of a central monument to 'shahids, fallen soldiers of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and all civilian victims of the city



FIGURE 3 *The bazaar monuments in 1918, 1990 and 2023*

of Zenica'. The monument is officially called *Stone Sleeper*, a reference to the book of the same name dedicated to Bosnian medieval tombstones 'stećci' by Mak Dizdar, and was opened in 2009. For its construction, a small square built during socialism was demolished (Svečano otvoreno spomen obilježje "Kameni Spavač", 2009, April 21). However, it should be noted that immediately after the war, within this small square, a modest monument dedicated to civilians killed during the bombing of Zenica by the HVO (Croatian Defense Council) on 13 April, 1993, was placed. That monument was integrated into the newly erected *Stone Sleeper*, and the nearby Čaršijska česma was also thoroughly reconstructed (Fig. 3 section 2023).

Since its construction, the *Stone Sleeper* has become the central place for commemorating all important local and national holidays or days of remembrance, and the scenario involves the gathering of representatives of the local, and often state, political elites, primarily from the ranks of Bosniaks, then other important figures from social and public life, including representatives of religious communities, mostly Islamic, a large number of residents, media organizations, and so on. The scenario usually includes playing the national anthem, laying wreaths, giving speeches, and mandatory statements to the media. However, the monument itself is often subject to public criticism, which usually includes expressions of dissatisfaction with its aesthetics, suspicions about the quality of the work performed, and discontent with its general maintenance. Especially frequent criticisms are directed at the torn and incorrectly placed national flag, but also generally poor maintenance of the monument, which is often damaged or dirty (Zenicablog, 2024).

Nevertheless, partly due to the fact that it

is located in the most frequent part of the city and mostly thanks to the efforts of local political elites, the *Stone Sleeper* managed to assume the role of the most important monument in Zenica, a position that was previously held by another monument built during socialist era - *Papirna* memorial ossuary.

Eroded and Newly Sedimented Monumental Complex: Papirna Memorial Ossuary

The onset of reconstruction following the World War II was marked by the construction of the railway line Šamac-Sarajevo, with Zenica designated as the headquarters of the youth brigades that were building it. The first monument from the socialist period in Zenica is directly associated with the construction of the railway, the grave of youth work brigade member Jelena, who was said to have drowned while working by the river. In the decades that followed, over 60 monuments of various forms and dimensions were erected, but one of the most significant complexes was the area near the former paper factory, after which the entire area was named *Papirna* (*the Paper Area*). *Papirna* Ossuary was built in 1954 according to the design of Juraj Neidhardt - one of the most renowned Bosnian architects who made the first urban plan of Zenica and a series of other buildings constructed both before and after the World War II (Džananović, 2018). The complex is dedicated to 52 partisan fighters who were killed during the war in the wider area of Zenica, representing the first true monuments erected in Zenica during socialism (Fig. 4 section 1990).

The location of the ossuary complex was carefully chosen, as the monument itself was situated between the factory building and a resi-

dential villa built for the accommodation of the factory's director, both of which held significant symbolic importance. In front of the factory building on 14 May, 1906, the first major workers' strike in Zenica took place, during which several participants were killed and a large number were arrested and fired (Jokanović, 1986). This was the first mass strike dedicated to the struggle for better working conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in memory of this event, a plaque was installed on the factory building in 1950 (Opština Zenica, 1966). Conversely, the villa intended for the director's accommodation symbolized everything that socialist ideology considered wrong. Besides being a symbol of the oppression of workers, during the World War II, the villa served as the headquarters of the local Gestapo department which, among other atrocities, carried out several successful actions against illegal partisan cells in the city. The result of these actions was the death of a large number of members of the illegal movement, as well as almost complete disappearance of the Partisan organization in Zenica in the final years of the war (Kazazović, 1984).

The location of the ossuary complex had an additional symbolic significance in the broader urban space of Zenica. Papirna was a site in the area known as Nova Zenica (*New Zenica*), which was formed during the first phase of industrialization in Zenica in the late 19th century. Essentially it represented a completely new city populated by workers from all parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, who lived a life completely different from that in the old Ottoman Zenica where people continued to live in a sort of a parallel world adhering to rules from past times. It is important to note that although the Ottoman bazaar was predominantly inhabited by Muslims, significant communities of Orthodox Christians, Catholics, and Jews (Sephardim) also lived in this part of the city. These communities were not particularly enthusiastic about the emergence of Nova Zenica, but they undoubtedly adapted and adjusted more quickly to the inevitable changes that followed. The first phase of urbanization in Zenica under socialism also took place in the area of Nova Zenica in the

immediate vicinity of Papirna, which became a small green oasis surrounded by modern residential blocks. Most of the buildings in Nova Zenica were also designed by Juraj Neidhardt, so it was not a surprise that he would also design the monument, especially since he had already made a similar monument in Sarajevo – Vječna vatra (*Eternal Flame*).

The ossuary complex was not only an important marker in the space, but at the time of its construction it represented one of the few social facilities in this part of the city. Due to the massive influx of people to Zenica, there was a constant shortage of housing, so the authorities rushed to build residential blocks to accommodate new residents. However, such a policy did not leave enough space or money for the construction of additional facilities that would enrich the social life of new residents, so parks represented an important segment of it, and Papirna became a monument within the green area (Džananović, 2017).

Thus, immediately after its construction, Papirna became the central venue for a series of commemorations throughout the year. It was a stage for mass gatherings, formal speeches and ceremonies dedicated to marking significant dates and events from the past of Zenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Yugoslavia. Papirna did not lose its significance even when a large monument with an ossuary was built on Smetovi in 1968, probably due to its central urban position - which was not the case with the new monument.

The breakup of Yugoslavia and the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina marked a new stage in the history of Papirna, but not necessarily in the way one might expect. During the war, there were no major reports of Papirna suffering significant damage, and the complex itself was actually enriched with new content. Even before the war began, in 1991, the first instances of vandalism on some monuments in Zenica were recorded. The earliest acts of vandalism on monuments in Zenica were focused on the busts of the heroes from the WWII period. The most common form of vandalism involved the toppling of busts from their pedestals or defacing them with spray paint.

Journalists from the local newspaper documented these incidents with dismay, noting that these busts were ‘once sacred, and any damage to them would have been strictly punished,’ whereas today, ‘even much more serious offenses go unpunished’ (Ima li mjesta u muzeju?, 1992, February 14). Ultimately, several busts and memorial plaques were destroyed, and the largest socialist-era monument to be lost was the monument at the bus station, which disappeared in 1993. These cases gradually became more frequent, prompting the city authorities to decide to group socialist monuments scattered throughout the city at several locations, one of which was Papirna.

Thus, during the war, busts of Sead Škrgo (leader of the Zenica branch of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ) who was killed in May 1942 during a Chetnik uprising in the broader area of Smetovi) and the Dietrich Sisters (Tihoslava, Borislava, and Miroszlava, affectionately known as Lina, Borka, and Mira—were collaborators of the National Liberation Movement (NOP) in Zenica executed in April 1945 in Jasenovac) were moved there, and after the war, the memorial ingot, an

enormous piece of steel cast at the ironworks in Zenica on 8 May, 1980, during Marshal Tito’s funeral, was also transferred there. The latest addition to the complex was the installation of a plaque dedicated to the fighters and civilians from Zenica who lost their lives during the ‘fascist terror’ from 1941 to 1945. The plaque was installed on 25 November, 1999, on the occasion of the Statehood Day of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by the local association of World War II veterans. (Fig. 4 section 2023) The text on the plaque is quite interesting: ‘In the National Liberation and Anti-Fascist War and armed revolution of 1941–1945, participants from all ethnic groups in Zenica took part. Throughout the four-year struggle, the historical statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina was restored, and other emancipatory goals of the National Liberation War were achieved. A total of 1,370 individuals from Zenica fought for these achievements. The lives of 349 fighters from the Zenica region and 857 victims of fascist terror were sacrificed. The dearly won freedom demands gratitude and perpetual remembrance.’ The association between the Partisan struggle under communist leader-



FIGURE 4 *Papirna complex and its monuments in 1990 and 2023*

ship during World War II and the struggle for independence and sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 1992–1995 war is notably prominent in many Bosniak-majority areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Notably, the day of the State Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBiH) in 1943 is celebrated as Statehood Day in contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina, at least in areas with a Bosniak majority. Paradoxically, in these areas, many streets and institutions that were named after national heroes or other Partisan figures have been renamed, sometimes honoring individuals who were collaborators with the occupiers or were at least opponents of the Partisan movement. An additional paradox is that the political elites of Bosnian Serbs also, at least partially, embrace the tradition of the Partisan movement, viewing it as a Serbian liberation movement whose goals allegedly align with the desire for autonomy or complete independence of the Bosnian Serb entity Republika Srpska.

Moreover, the complex underwent two thorough reconstructions in 1982 and 2019, retaining its important role in commemorative practices in Zenica to this day. In fact, alongside the Stone Sleeper, the memorial ossuary Papirna is the most important venue for holding annual commemorations. While the Stone Sleeper serves as the central location for commemorations dedicated to events from the war of 1992 to 1995, Papirna shares a similar role for the events from the period of the World War II. However, when marking the Statehood Day of contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is linked to the events of 25 November, 1943, both Papirna and the Stone Sleeper, are venues for events.

Sedimentary Monumental Complex: Željezara Head Office Park

Željezara (ironworks) was the most important industrial enterprise in the city throughout the 20th century, and during the socialist era it became the center of a large corporation that employed over 50,000 workers throughout Yugoslavia, with almost half of those employees

located in Zenica. The company was the main source of funds for building residential neighborhoods, municipal infrastructure, health-care, education, sports, and cultural facilities, as well as for financing all sports and cultural collectives and events in the city. As a result, Željezara wielded not only economic but also significant political power, with the company's headquarters serving as an important spatial and symbolic marker in Zenica's urban space. A new head office of Željezara, known as *Direkcija*, was completed in 1960, marking the boundary between the residential and industrial areas of the city. Given the large number of employees in the factory facilities, a significant flow of workers passed by the head office daily, commuting between the industrial and residential areas of the city. Consequently, the location for the new head office was carefully chosen to allow the creation of a large green area in front of the building intended for the construction of a monument (Džananović, 2017).

The initial idea was to construct a large monument complex in the open space in front of the head office, leading to the announcement of a Yugoslav public competition for conceptual solutions in 1961 (Horvatinčić, 2014). Ten authors submitted entries, and the work of Kosta Angeli Radovani and Zdenko Kolacio from Zagreb was selected as the best solution (Angeli Radovani & Kolacio, 1962). Their proposal envisioned the establishment of a large water and green area with a central monument consisting of ten metal reliefs embedded in a massive concrete block. The authors aimed to create a monumental structure that would become the symbol of both the factory and the city, serving as a central gathering place for all city residents, especially workers and officials of Željezara (Angeli Radovani & Kolacio, 1962). However, for unknown reasons, this project was never realized, although the park in front of the head office was adorned with monuments. In 1966, six busts of fallen local resistance fighters from Zenica were created and installed in the form of an 'eternal guard' on the landscaped green area in front of the head office (Bdije bronzana straža, 1968, July 25). The following year, another monument was erected in memory of

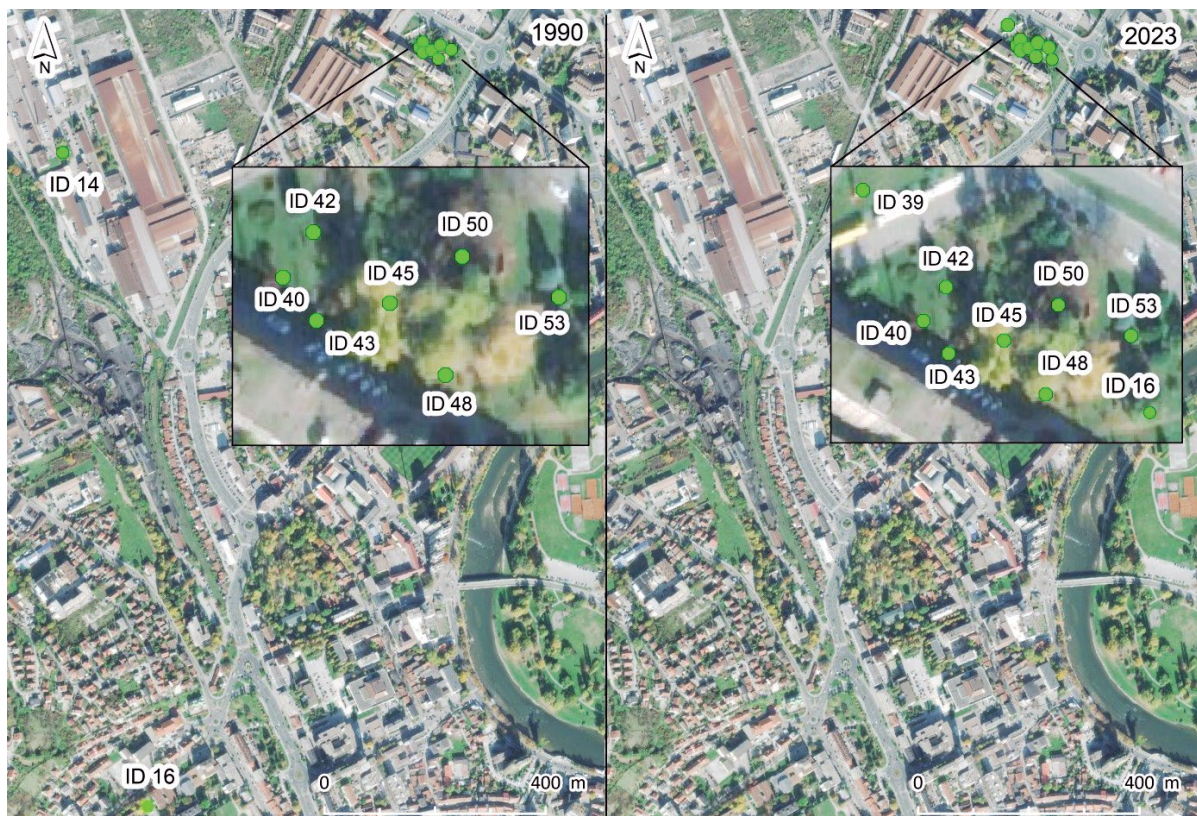


FIGURE 5 *Željezara head office park and its monuments in 1990 and 2023*

the 196 workers of Željezara who died during the antifascist struggle in World War II completing the appearance of this space during socialism. (Fig. 5 section 1990)

During the 1992–95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, additional monuments were added to this complex, including a monument to Hasan Brkic (a partisan and high-ranking politician who died in 1965), originally erected in 1966 in front of the metallurgical institute bearing his name. Additionally, a memorial ingot, cast in 1950 in honor of the transfer of Željezara to the workers' hands as part of the development of the self-management system in Yugoslavia, was incorporated into the complex. The metallurgical institute received a new name, but the monument to Hasan Brkic was preserved, while the fate of the memorial ingot is no longer known. Moreover, in 1997 an abstract sculpture named Pandora was installed in front of the entrance to the head office building, and at the beginning of the new millennium, an enormous monument was erected to the workers of Željezara who died during the war from 1992 to 1995 (Đulbić, 2020). This monument is located in the central part of the green area and is

surrounded by monuments from the socialist period, and it dominates the space in terms of size. It is conceived as the central place for commemorating the anniversary of the formation of Željezarski bataljon (*Željezara batallion*), one of the first military units formed in Zenica at the beginning of the war in 1992 (Brigada na koju su svi ponosni, 2010, May 25).

However, after the multinational corporation Arcelor Mittal took over Željezara in 2007, the entire monument complex, both from the socialist and the post-socialist period, has been neglected and poorly maintained. The monument to the fallen members of Željezara batallion is particularly in poor condition. Despite regular annual commemorations, veterans' associations appeal every year for better maintenance of the monuments. Nevertheless, the multinational company's focus is certainly not on the preservation of the local community's cultural heritage. After all, Hasan Brkic and the six fallen resistance fighters fought for greater workers' rights, the pinnacle of which was the transfer of ownership of the means of production to the workers, which represents Arcelor Mittal's worst nightmare. (Fig. 5 section 2023)

Sedimentation, Erosion and Re-Sedimentation: Layers of Symbolic Strata in Zenica's 'Bermuda Triangle'

Although Zenica was particularly known for steel production during the 20th century, the beginning of industrialization was linked to the opening of the first modern coal mine in 1880. The exploitation of coal created the prerequisites for the development of other industries, leading to the construction of a thermal power plant in 1888. This power plant enabled Zenica to become the first city in Bosnia and Herzegovina to have electric public lighting (Sarač-Rujanac, 2024). Additionally, the mine and the power plant were also the reasons for the construction of the Central Prison, the paper factory (Papirna), and eventually the ironworks in Zenica. All these facilities were built in the northern part of the city, outside the Ottoman bazaar but along the railway line, becoming the nucleus of the area later known as *Nova Zenica*.

The administrative building of the mine was erected shortly after the start of coal exploitation and was extended several times over the following decades, reaching its final appearance in the 1920s (Jokanović, 1980). The building consists of a ground-level structure and a clock tower leading many visitors, and even residents of Zenica, to mistakenly perceive it as a religious rather than an industrial building. Its spatial positioning is intriguing as it is located between an Orthodox and a Catholic church, each approximately 50 meters away, likely contributing to the confusion about its purpose.

The area within the triangle formed by the towers of the Catholic and Orthodox churches and the mine's administrative building has become a significant stage for the representation of memory politics throughout the periods covered by this research. (Fig. 6)

It is important to note that all three towers represent the highest points of larger complexes:

1. Near the tower of the Orthodox Church (called The Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary), there are three houses owned by the Serbian Orthodox Church

intended for the accommodation of priests, as well as the building *Sokolana* with a large exercise hall and rooms for numerous church and Serbian cultural societies. The large Spomenik posvećen stradalim u ratu za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje was also located here. (Fig. 6 section 1941),

2. The tower of the mine's administrative building marks the entrance gate to the mining production area, around which Rudarska Bolnica (*Miners' hospital*), Rudarski dom (*Miners' house*) and Hotel Rudar (*Miner Hotel*) were built. Within this complex, there were also several monuments of various shapes and sizes. (Fig. 6 section 1990),
3. The Catholic Church of St. Elijah and its tower were designed by the renowned architect Josip Vancaš and represent the only Art Nouveau structure in Zenica. Alongside the church, the Parish House, a statue of Our Lady of Lourdes, a school, and the Catholic Burial Society building of St. Anthony were constructed. Not far from this complex, a large building of the Croatian Cultural Society 'Napredak' (Progress) was erected, and the green area behind the building was used by the nuns for cultivating various crops. (Fig. 6 section 1941)

All the mentioned structures, except for the Hotel Rudar, were built by 1941 and served the needs of the institutions that constructed them. Additionally, by the beginning of World War II in Yugoslavia, only Spomenik posvećen stradalim u ratu za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje, the statue of Our Lady of Lourdes, and the reliefs of St. Anthony and St. Elijah existed within this 'triangle.' The monument to the fallen was demolished immediately after the occupation of Zenica in the spring of 1941, and the statue of Our Lady of Lourdes and the relief of St. Anthony were removed shortly after the establishment of communist rule in Zenica in 1945. In the early years after World War II, the nationalization and repurposing of properties owned by religious communities took place, and the nuns' agricultural land was converted into a large city park. Between 1950 and 1970, within the

area of these three mentioned complexes, five busts of national heroes (Otkrivena bista Omeru Masliću, 1968, July 10) and six plaques (*N. V. K.*, 27. 05. 1964) dedicated to events from World War II or miners' struggles for better working conditions were erected (*Spomen obilježja NOB-u*, 1989). The entire area was completely redefined and adapted to the needs and goals of the new ideology, with the symbolic representation of religious communities entirely eliminated (Fig. 6 section 1990).

However, the busts of national heroes were the first monuments from the socialist period to come under attack after the democratic changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as reported by local media. Despite certain initiatives to move the busts to another location in the city or temporarily store them in the local museum's depot at the beginning of the Bosnian War in 1992, all busts disappeared, and their fate remains unknown to this day (*Ima li mjesta u muzeju?*, 1992, February 14). Additionally, half of the six plaques installed during the socialist era disappeared, with two lost during the war and one removed in the 21st century during the renovation of the miners' house

and its conversion into a restaurant, suggesting that the removal motives were not ideological. However, a very specific monument was erected within the mining complex. At the beginning of the 21st century, in line with contemporary trends, the management of the mine erected a monument dedicated to men who fell in the war from 1992 to 1995. Similar monuments were erected by the administrations of the ironworks and the post office in Zenica, but the monument erected by the mine's administration was different. The name of the monument is particularly interesting: *Spomenik posvećen stradalim rudarima u ratu za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1992. do 1995. (Monument to the Fallen Miners in the Defensive-Liberation War in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995)* (ID 23). The term 'fallen miners' stands out, instead of the usual terms such as *martyrs of Islam (šahidi)*, fallen soldiers, or defenders. The phrase 'fallen miners' echoes the terminology used in the construction of monuments during the socialist era, rather than the period following the dissolution of that system. The practice of enterprises erecting monuments to their fallen workers was



FIGURE 6 Bermuda Triangle in Zenica and its monuments in 1941, 1990 and 2023

inherited from the socialist period, but in no other case, at least in Zenica, has the terminology from the previous period been retained. It appears that the cult of miners and mining solidarity, which are indeed strongly present in Zenica, managed to materialize in the retention of the monument's name.

In July 1993, a new statue of Our Lady of Lourdes was placed in the yard of the Church of St. Elijah, at the site of the previous one, removed in 1946. The statue was installed with the support of Bosniak local authorities to demonstrate that Zenica still maintained a multi-confessional and multi-national spirit, countering the propaganda narrative of Serbian and especially Croatian political centers portraying Zenica as a city of mujahideen and increasingly becoming the 'Balkan Tehran' (Spahić, 1997). Additionally, in the years following the war, the nationalized properties of the Orthodox and Catholic churches were returned: the Serbian Orthodox Church leased Sokolana to a private restaurateur, and the administrative part was once again occupied by the Serbian Educational and Cultural Society 'Prosvjeta' (*Enlightenment*); next to the Church of St. Elijah, a modern school building with a kindergarten, elementary school, and high school was constructed, the Croatian Cultural Centre regained its original purpose, and the fresco of St. Anthony was restored. The city park remained one of the most popular and frequented locations in the city, but it no longer contained any monuments - only a monument's pedestal is left. Zenica triangle of towers became the 'Bermuda Triangle' for monuments from the socialist period (Fig. 6 section 2023).

Monuments Confronted: World War I Heroes Monument vs. World War II Heroes Monument

Over a span of four decades two significant monuments dedicated to soldiers fallen in the world wars were erected in the area of Zenica. These monuments differed in terms of their construction period, appearance, location, function, and ultimately, their fates. The first monument, dedicated to the fighters from WWI, had a very short lifespan; it was thoroughly de-

stroyed and never reconstructed, and today it is completely erased from the collective memory of the people of Zenica, with only a few photographs witnessing its existence (Asman, 2018). The second monument, dedicated to the fighters from the WWII, became one of the city's symbols, and although it was vandalized several times, and even completely destroyed on one occasion, it was quickly restored to its original appearance due to public pressure and remains an important spatial and identity marker for Zenica and its citizens.

After World War I numerous monuments were erected across Bosnia and Herzegovina in honor of the newly established state of the South Slavs, initially known as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and from 1929, as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Most of these monuments were dedicated to King Peter or his son King Alexander, with monuments to the fallen soldiers of the Serbian army from the Great War also being quite common. A few years after the end of the war an initiative was launched to erect a monument to King Peter the Liberator in Zenica. But in 1925 the decision was changed to propose the construction of a high school named after the king. The idea was to house both a gymnasium and a mining school in the new building, with a memorial ossuary in front of the school to contain the remains of 350 war prisoners who had died performing forced labor in Zenica's industrial enterprises (Spomenik kralju Petru u Zenici, 1925, December 6). The envisioned project was highly ambitious and its realization would have been of great significance as it means that Zenica would have had its first functional high school, or rather, two schools – a grammar school and a mining school. However, of the planned activities, only the construction of a large memorial ossuary in the urban zone of the city, near the Orthodox Church complex, was realized. Interestingly, the opening of the high school, which the Initiative Committee failed to realize, was achieved by those who demolished the monument – Ustaše. On 26 November, 1941, in the presence of high-ranking Ustaša officials, the first high school in Zenica's history – the State Mining and Smelting School

– was ceremoniously opened (Novo razdoblje rudarskog veleobrtā, 1941, November 27), though it was short-lived and closed by 1943.

This monument is actually quite mysterious. We lack data on when its construction began or when it was completed (sometime between 1927 and 1937). It is also unknown who financed the construction, who was the project author, when the official opening took place, or

whether any regular commemorations were organized. In fact, we are not even certain of the exact name of the monument, as it is referred to by various names in the few sources and testimonies available. Four photographs of this monument have been preserved to date, and information about it is drawn from two newspaper articles and several subsequent records about the monument preserved in Ljetopis srp-



FIGURE 7 *Spomenik posvećen stradalim u ratu za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje*

Source: Jović, 2016.

ske pravoslavne parohije u Zenici (Chronicle of the Serbian Orthodox Parish). Given that the Cyrillic inscription visible in the accompanying photographs mentions the name Yugoslavia, it is reasonable to assume that the monument was erected after 1929 when the official name of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was changed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. A 1937 newspaper article states that the monument was erected 'recently,' so it was likely opened in the mid-1930s, which is currently the most precise dating we can offer. It should be noted that the chronicle mentions 1927 and 1928 as the years of construction in several places, but no sources are cited to support these claims. The exact year of the ossuary's construction and its precise name are not known, but from preserved photographs it is evident that it was of monumental dimensions, featuring a relief of a Serbian soldier within a large cross and an inscription in Cyrillic: 'We selflessly laid down our lives for the King, the glory, and the honor of Yugoslavia.' (Fig. 7) The monument dominated the space and was deliberately placed in a location visible from the railway station and the local administration headquarters. Several newspaper articles from that period mention the general enthusiasm of Zenica's residents about the monument's erection (Nov spomenik u Zenici, 1937, May 20), especially its appearance, though these reports should be taken with caution as it is hard to imagine that the majority Muslim population of Zenica would react positively to a monument prominently featuring a large cross. In any case, the monument had a short lifespan; immediately after the Ustaše entered Zenica in April 1941, it was mined, the Orthodox Church was closed, and the building Sokolana was turned into a camp where numerous residents of Zenica, primarily Jews and Serbs, were tortured and killed (Kazazović, 1984).

After World War II, representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church collected some of the remains from the site of the demolished monument and reburied them in a communal grave at the old Orthodox cemetery in Meokušnice, a location not far from the original monument. The new ossuary was marked with a large wood-

en cross, which was a significantly more modest marker compared to the demolished monument. However, the movement of the remains was not finished as the Orthodox cemetery ceased to be used in 1968, and in 1977 it was completely relocated as part of a project to dismantle the old railway and build a new modern road. Documents preserved in the archives of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Zenica indicate that the ossuary, along with the cross, was moved to the city cemetery in Crkvice (Jović, 2016). Indeed, there is a plot at the city cemetery where stone crosses from the old Orthodox cemetery are embedded, with a modest marble plaque above them listing the names of about 50 people whose remains were relocated to the new site. The plaque makes no mention of the remains from the ossuary, and judging by the list of names of those reburied there, it is clear that the bones of those killed in World War I have been permanently lost. Although Spomenik posvećen stradalim u ratu za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje (*Monument to the Fallen in the War for Liberation and Unification*) was built in a central urban area and its monumental dimensions surely drew attention, today it is completely erased from the collective memory of the city where it was erected.

On the other hand, the monument on Smetovi had a significantly different fate. It was erected in 1968, by the design of the renowned Bosnian-Herzegovinian artist Arfan Hozzić. It was supposed to become the central monument dedicated to the National Liberation Struggle in Zenica. Initiatives for erecting this monument were launched almost a decade before its construction, with various locations considered for its placement. Ultimately, it was decided that the monument would be placed on a hill above Zenica, dominating the valley and being visible from all parts of the city. An all-Yugoslavia competition was announced in 1967, and six entries were received, including works by prominent Yugoslav artists such as Vladimir Herljević, Edo Šmidihen, and Petar Krstić, but Arfan Hozzić's design from Sarajevo was ultimately chosen (Popov, 1968, April 3). The monument consisted of an ossuary containing the remains of 32

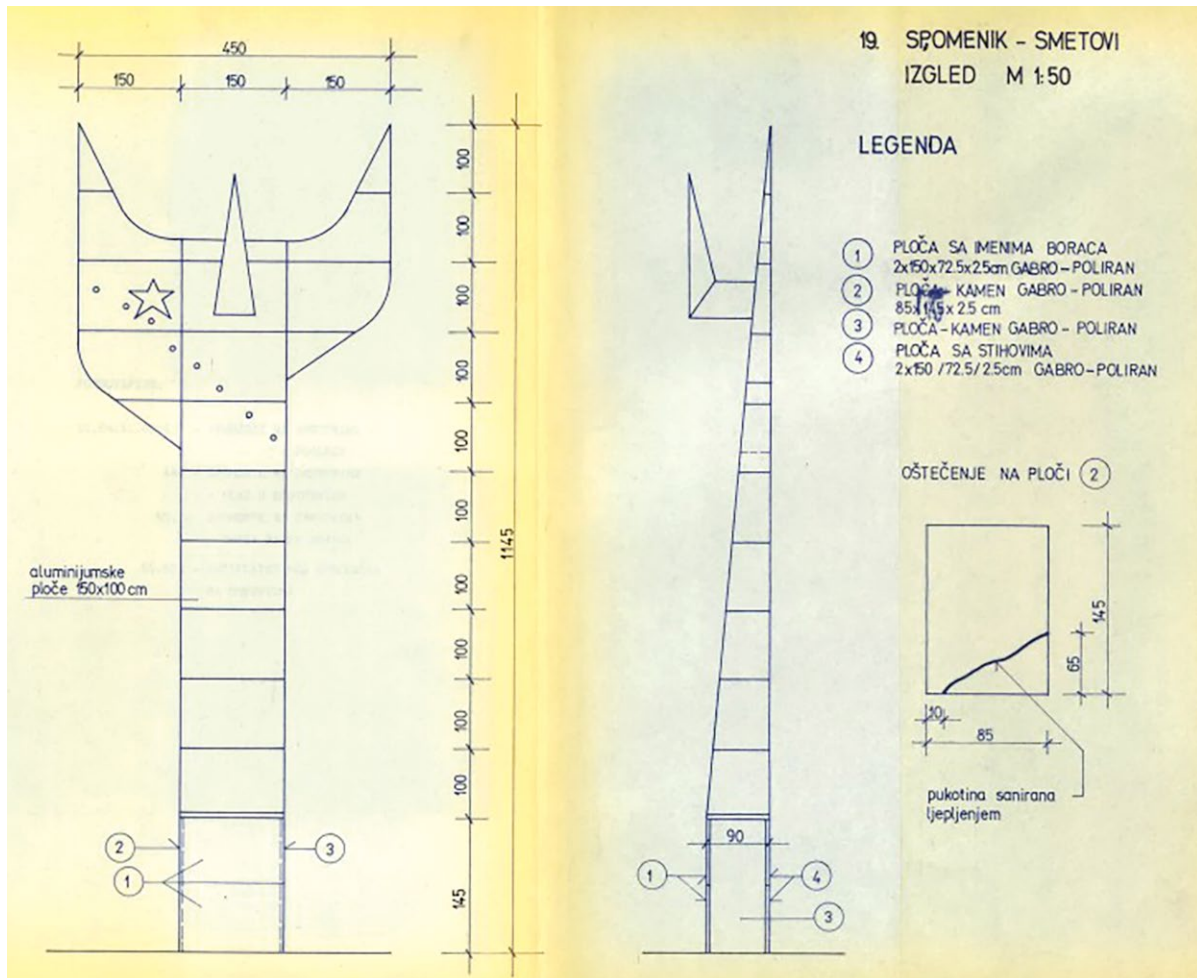


FIGURE 8 The project of the monument on Smetovi
Source: Spomen obilježja NOB-u (1989)

fighters killed in a putsch by the Chetniks in May 1942 on the broader area of Smetovi, and a 12-meter-high metal pillar with a branched top and a red star. The monument also featured two marble plaques, one listing the names of the fallen fighters and the other containing an excerpt from the poem 'Rođeni dvadeset treće, strijeljani četrdeset druge' (Born in nineteen twenty-three, executed in nineteen forty-two) by Bosnian-Herzegovinian writer Izet Kiko Sarajlić (*Spomen obilježja NOB-u*, 1989). The surroundings of the monument were also arranged, including a small amphitheatre intended for commemorative and cultural events. (Fig. 8).

Spomenik na Smetovima (*Monument on Smetovi*), as it is commonly known, was grandly opened on 27 July, 1968, on the Day of the Uprising of the People of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with numerous cultural events, speeches by local government representatives, high-ranking party officials, military representatives, veterans'

associations, and attended by several thousand residents of Zenica and surrounding towns, for whom transportation was organized (*Durano- vić*, 1968, July 31). Until the end of socialism in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the monument on Smetovi was the central place for commemorating significant dates from the history of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. This site was 'alive' throughout the year as it became the central feature of the city's main picnic area (Fig. 9).

The site is also linked to the first combat activities in Zenica in May 1992, at the very start of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first successful military action by units from Zenica in this war took place in the area of Smetovi (Keleštura, 2014), and in 1999, a smaller memorial was erected near the monument on Smetovi to commemorate those events. The monument on Smetovi survived the fighting in its vicinity and remained intact until the end

of the Bosnian War in 1995. After the war, the monument on Smetovi continued to be an important gathering place for picnickers and a site for commemorations marking significant dates from 1941 to 1945 (Organiziranim antifašističkim frontom protiv nemani nacizma, 2009, July 28), as well as for remembering events from May 1992 (Manifestacija “Majski zov slobode

2010”, 2010, June 1).

The fact that it has been the center of a very popular picnic area for decades likely contributed to the public’s identification with this monument, which later probably influenced the strong public pressure for its restoration. In 2003, unknown vandals destroyed the monument completely, including its steel structure



FIGURE 9 *The monument on Smetovi in 1989*

Source: Spomen obilježja NOB-u (1989)

and the removal of the metal casing that held the red star (SpomenikDatabase, 2024). That event provoked a strong public outcry which exerted significant pressure on local authorities to restore the monument. Indeed, the monument was soon reconstructed but the new metal cladding was made from lower-quality materials leading to rust and corrosion. By the 40th anniversary of its construction, the monument was in very poor condition (Kako protiv hrđe?, 2008, January 29). However, in the following year, 2009, the *Monument on Smetovi* was restored to its full glory after renovation work funded again by local authorities and prompted by public pressure and local associations that organize commemorations of significant dates from the period of antifascist struggle of 1941–1945. The monument on Smetovi has survived numerous challenges, from neglect and damage to complete destruction, yet despite these erosive processes it has managed to return to its original state.

Considering the individual histories of the monuments dedicated to soldiers from the two world wars and their different fates, the question arises: why did one monument completely disappear both materially and from the collective memory of Zenica's residents, while the other became an irreplaceable symbol of the city? Ideological reasons cannot provide a satisfactory answer, as the monument on Smetovi survived a period when the ruling ideology did not look favorably upon symbols from the socialist era – as it was a case with several monuments in the urban city zone that were permanently destroyed. The monument on Smetovi was also an easier 'target' for demolition since certain combat activities took place nearby, and its location is far from the urban zone and out of the public eye.

However, several important factors favoured the monument on Smetovi. First, the fact that it existed for a quarter of a century within the system that erected it allowed people to identify with its aesthetics and the values it promoted. Additionally, during this 25 year-long time-span the monument on Smetovi was the central site for numerous mass and well-planned commemorations, further strengthening identifica-

tion of people with the monument. Its location in the center of a popular picnic area certainly contributed to its association even among those not necessarily aligned with the values the monument represents. The existence of formal organizations that uphold the values of the antifascist struggle and regularly organize the commemoration of significant dates from that period may have been crucial for the monument on Smetovi, as these organizations were the main pressure medium on local authorities for the reconstruction and restoration of the monument when it was subject to erosive processes. Finally, the attitude of the ruling local elites towards the socialist period has changed, no longer viewing it as a threat to their values. On the contrary, as seen with the example of the Papirna monument and partially with the *Bermuda Triangle*, the socialist past is used to complement and further legitimize the current value system.

In the case of the monument on Smetovi, we also see the sedimentation of new 'petrified narratives of the past' with the construction of a monument dedicated to events from 1992–1995. All these factors were missing in the case of Spomenik posvećen stradalim u ratu za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje and an additional 'minus' for this structure compared to the monument on Smetovi was certainly its aesthetics. The motif of the cross and the relief of a soldier in a Serbian uniform were unlikely to become symbols of identification for the Muslim and Catholic populations of Zenica, even if organized commemorations existed. On the other hand, the abstract aesthetics of the monument on Smetovi provided a good foundation for people to connect with this structure, despite the presence of ideological symbols and messages such as the red star and verses from Izet Sarajlić's poem.

CONCLUSION

The research results reported here demonstrate that the area of Zenica is interspersed with monuments of various dimensions, purposes, and aesthetics, corroborating the hypothesis that monuments serve as a crucial tool in the

symbolic marking of space. Although the practice of erecting monuments began in the threshold of the modern era, marking the onset of industrialization in Zenica in the late 19th century, the commencement of mass monument construction in this city started in the period following World War II. The first wave began just a few years after World War II and extended throughout the socialist era, until its collapse in 1990. The second period of hyperproduction of monuments started during the Bosnian War from 1992 to 1995, with a renewed impetus for monument construction following the end of the conflict in 1995.

Comparative analysis of memory policies from these two periods reveals both similarities and differences in their implementation. Notably, both periods regarded public space in the city as a vital stage for representing their goals and values, thus approaching its careful shaping in a planned and systematic manner. The practice of mass monument erection is another common feature, as is the dominance of commemorative plaques as the simplest and cheapest means of marking space. However, unlike the socialist period, when the practice of erecting busts of notable individuals was widespread and second only to commemorative plaques, this approach almost entirely disappeared in the post-socialist period. In fact, the only anthropomorphic monuments built in this period are associated with the activities of the Catholic Church (the statue of the Virgin Mary and the bust of Alojzije Stepinac). The reason for this is that the political scene in Zenica after the war was dominated by parties under the control of Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks), and the construction of anthropomorphic monuments contradicts Islamic tradition.

Additionally, during the socialist era, the majority of monuments dedicated to events from the antifascist struggle or the history of the labour movement were erected before the 1970s. From then until the end of the socialist system in 1990, mainly figurative and abstract artistic sculptures were erected. It could be concluded that by the early 1970s, political elites felt secure, believing that the desired narratives

and values had taken root, thus finding no further need to construct 'ideological' monuments. Consequently, the focus shifted to the construction of artistic, non-ideological monuments aimed at enriching public space and strengthening the city's urban, cosmopolitan identity. If this assumption is correct, then the developments at the local level in Zenica were contrary to the trends prevalent in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslavia, as the 1970s and 1980s saw the construction of some of the most monumental memorials (Sutjeska 1971, Kozara 1972, Jablanica 1978, Vraca Sarajevo 1981, Petrova Gora 1981, etc.). Following the collapse of socialism, some monuments in Zenica were destroyed or damaged, but the majority were preserved, and several were restored. The most significant monuments outlived socialism and still serve as venues for regular commemorations. The new value system has built its own monuments but has also reinterpreted some socialist ones, integrating them into its own narrative, as exemplified by the Papirna monument and the monument on Smetovi. Although the new political elites place greater emphasis on the continuity narrative from the medieval period with Kulin Ban and stećci as 'main heroes,' references are also made to the continuity with antifascist and libertarian values from 1941 to 1945. This stance significantly contributed to the preservation of socialist monuments, but the emotional attachment of the residents and the efforts of associations upholding the legacy of the antifascist struggle should not be underestimated. The pressure from these organizations and the public was crucial for the restoration of the demolished monument on Smetovi, preventing it from sharing the fate of the monument dedicated to World War I fighters.

Ultimately, it can be observed that monuments, although defined as immovable cultural assets, tend to 'wander' in Zenica, some moving from one location to another, and others wandering to the 'unknown.' Moreover, considering monuments as 'petrified narratives of the past' is definitively not possible, as narratives are subject to reinterpretation through processes of erosion, sedimentation, and re-sedi-

mentation, with these processes sometimes occurring simultaneously. Therefore, researching monuments inevitably involves a 'geological analysis of the symbolic stratum' from which the layers of accumulated narratives and texts can be 'read.'

It is these narratives that constitute the most crucial part of any monument, rather than its dimensions or aesthetics. Without the symbolic text being instilled in the 'pilgrims' through commemorations and similar events, there is a significant chance that the monument will eventually 'wander away.'

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