

Not What Meets the Eye: Re-examining reconstruction in postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina

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This thesis is dedicated to my father Paul Kemezis and my brother Devin Galligan in loving memory. These great men taught me the power of an insatiable curiosity, an intrepid heart, and a good joke.

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Preface

In the middle of this research, I was fortunate enough to visit the Ferhadija Mosque reconstruction project in Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The short time I spent in the city and on the site revealed the distance I unwittingly experienced as a researcher in the United States. Before the visit, the project could only be another case study about a wayward community trying to resurrect their destroyed monument through reconstruction. However, after speaking to members of the project and touching the recovered historic stones, I could not help but feel pride and respect for the efforts of the project. Upon returning to Seattle, I realized that finishing this thesis now included the challenge of trying to maintain the clear-eyed approach of a research after emotionally connecting with the people of the project and the architecture of Banja Luka. Indeed, I learned a great deal during this thesis about the discipline of architecture, but I also learned an invaluable lesson about the personal challenges of studying the postwar context. The experience of the visit to Banja Luka certainly inspired new questions about reconstruction in postwar Bosnia, but it also made this thesis more complicated and a more valuable discussion.

Kathleen Kemezis
November 1, 2011

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The love and support of Kathy Kemezis, Temple Kemezis, and especially Geoffrey Bent made the lows of this project easier and the highs glorious.

“This magnificent house of prayers was built in the Name of Allah
By the benefactor Beg, the helper of believers
With a thirsty sword he chiseled his heroic name into the marble,
With his war fortune this chosen man built an estate,
On approaching the edifice, Sipahi told it a chronogram:
In the Name of Allah was this place built for believers.”¹

Inscription above the entry portal of the Ferhadija Mosque

This thesis will use the example of the Ferhadija Mosque to argue that scholarship on the reconstruction of historic structures in post war Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) must consider new factors to achieve a more complex and realistic understanding of the impact of this type of intervention on the local community. These factors include the long-term impact of reconstruction funded by the international community in postwar BiH, the impact of displaced people on the motivations for and meaning of reconstruction, as well as the employment of representations and digital media in the portrayal of the reconstructed object in postwar society. In the case of the Ferhadija Mosque, this reconstruction project struggles with the implications of international funding and support, of a displaced community, as well as of the value of the reproduction of the mosque to the Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Banja Luka.

The consideration of these factors is necessary, as the treatment of cultural heritage treatment becomes incorporated into and essential to peacekeeping discourse. By considering these factors, Western scholarship will gain a valuable critical perspective, which can inform future cultural resource policy at the national and international level. Cultural resource policy based on a more nuanced understanding of the impact of reconstruction might result in the

¹ “Historical sources on building of mosque, stone chronogram above the portal,” *Ferhadija 1579*, www.ferhadija.ba (accessed May 12, 2009).

narrowing of the gap between policy and practice much discussed among preservation professionals.

Historical and Political Context of Bosnia and Herzegovina

After seventy-four years as a republic of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its independence on March 3, 1992 (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).² This act of independence, and the subsequent recognition by the European Council on April 6, led to a four-year long war involving BiH, Croatia, and Serbia. The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina resulted in the death of over 100,000 people and the displacement of approximately 2.5 million.³ After four years of war and the political and military involvement of the United Nations and NATO, the American government hosted the representatives of each ethnic group at the Wright Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio. The three week long Proximity Peace Talks involved negotiations with Croatian President Franjo Tuđman, Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegović, and Serbian President Slobodan Milošević.⁴ Finally on November 21, 1995, the Peace Talks announced the achievement of a General Framework Agreement of Peace (General Framework), which was later formalized into the General Framework Agreement treaty. The three signatories, Tuđman, Izetbegović, and Milošević, then signed the treaty on December 14 in Paris at the Elysee Palace in the presence of the leaders of Spain, Germany, France, Russia, United States, and the United Kingdom (Figure 1.3).

² Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: a short history* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 234.

³ Andras Riedlmayer, "From the Ashes: Bosnia's Cultural Heritage," in *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 99.

⁴ Milošević spoke on behalf of Bosnian Serbs because their political leader, Radovan Karadžić, could not leave Serb territory due to outstanding warrants issued by the International War Crimes Tribunal for his arrest as a war criminal.

The Bosnian case study provides a particularly fertile ground for exploring the impact of reconstruction on postwar recovery. The war resulted in the extensive and deliberate destruction of monuments, religious structures as well as historic infrastructure and housing. Scholar and expert on cultural destruction from the Bosnian War, Andras Riedlmayer characterizes the assault of the war as having two clear features: “mass expulsion of civilians” for being “of the ‘wrong ethnicity and religion” as well as the “deliberate tagging and destruction of cultural, religious, and historic landmarks by nationalist extremists.”⁵ As nationalist factions conquered the land militarily, they cleansed it of any sign of the existence of ethnic groups deemed unwanted. This cleansing resulted in the shelling, burning, and dynamiting of over one thousand mosques, hundreds of Catholic churches and scores of Orthodox churches as well as other cultural institutions and repositories (Figure 1.4).⁶ The response to the extent of the damage is best illustrated by the devotion of an entire section of the General Framework, Annex 7 to the subject of cultural heritage.⁷

Among other things, this Annex of the General Framework established the *Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika* (Commission to Preserve National Monuments).⁸ This commission drafted a list of provisional monuments and accepted nominations for additionally properties. Since its inception, the commission has designated 640 monuments as National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹ The treatment of the sites then undergoes monitoring by the Komisija. In addition to the national commission, the two entities have preservation law. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Yugoslav era legislation forms the basis of the

⁵ Riedlmayer, “From the Ashes,” 98-99.

⁶ Riedlmayer, “From the Ashes,” 99. In his work *Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Amir Pašić includes an extensive matrix of Islamic cultural monuments including the level of destruction inflicted on each site up to 1994.

⁷ Please refer to Appendix A for the full text of Annex 8.

⁸ John H. Stubbs and Emily Gunzburger Makaš, *Architectural conservation in Europe and the Americas: national experiences and practice* (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, 2011), 369.

⁹ *Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika*, <http://kons.gov.ba/> (accessed on Oct. 31, 2011).

current law but with adaptation. In the Republika Srpska, new legislation passed in 1995. In both cases only some of the cantons have established preservation law, such as the canton that includes Sarajevo. Finally, some cities incorporate preservation law within urban planning initiatives.

Additionally, BiH serves as a unique case study for investigating the benefits and issues with international assistance in postwar recovery. Historically, BiH had a geographically peripheral position on the edge of Europe. Some scholars, most notably Maria Todorava, argue that the maintenance of Bosnia and the Balkans in a geopolitically and culturally peripheral position through rhetoric and political posturing, bolsters a specific idea of Europe as central, stable, and different.¹⁰ With this “othering” of Balkan countries, the current postwar context becomes even more complicated as BiH, Croatia, and Serbia take steps to enter the European Union. In its current political and geopolitical context, the Bosnian case provides important information on the complex relationship formed between local, municipal, state, and international (although predominantly Western) communities.

Finally, another reason to feature Bosnian reconstruction projects involves the legacy of preservation efforts in the country, which blossomed during the Yugoslav years.¹¹ During World War II, even before the establishment of his government, Communist partisan leader Marshal Josip Broz Tito passed orders, which directed military units to avoid destroying important historic structures.¹² After the installation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1948, Tito created regional institutes to oversee the restoration of historic sites from various

¹⁰ Maria Todorova, "The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention," *Slavic Review*, vol. 53, no. 2 (1994): 453; Herscher, Andrew, "Urban formations of difference: borders and cities in post-1989 Europe," *European Review*, vol. 13, no. 2 (2005.): 251-260.

¹¹ Pašić (1994) in his book *Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Hercegovina* suggests the first serious collective preservation activities originated with the Ottoman Empire in 1870. The Ottoman administration passed a decree, which ordered officials to handle all historically valuable objects and structures with extra care. This study focuses on the post-World War II era of preservation to focus solely on a more modern conception of preservation.

¹² Stubbs and Makaš, *Architectural conservation in Europe*, 361.

historic eras. Importantly, Yugoslav preservation practice employed a more liberal view with structures from many different eras (Illyrian, Bogomil, Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and Socialist) and of high and low architecture (civic buildings, tombstones, fortifications, religious structures, infrastructure, houses and other private structures).¹³ The Yugoslav regime also created the central *Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture* (Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments) in Belgrade. Support for historic preservation continued and increased during the Yugoslav year from the federal, regional, and local levels of government as well as public support.¹⁴ The country produced well-trained experts who crafted policy internationally through participation in conferences abroad and hosting conferences in the federation. This legacy of preservation still informs Bosnian policy in the postwar context as demonstrated by the Annex 7 of the General Framework.

Ferhadija Mosque

This research revolves around one particular national monument and reconstruction project in BiH: the Ferhadija Mosque of Banja Luka (Figure 1.5). This building is dated to 1579, and its construction stemmed from a historically important moment, when the newly appointed provincial governor, Ferhad Pasha Sokolović, installed an extensive *vakuf* or endowment of urban infrastructure including the exquisite Ferhadija Mosque. Typical Bosnian mosques of the time had a large central dome, which covered the entire central prayer space, and then three small domes over the porch (Figure 1.6). Contrary to this, the design of the Ferhadija Mosque followed more closely trends in the architecture commissioned by high-ranking Ottoman

¹³ Amir Pašić, *Islamic architecture in Bosnia and Hercegovina: Studies on the history and culture of Bosnia and Hercegovina*, no. 2 (Istanbul: Organisation of the Islamic Conference, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture 1994), 200.

¹⁴ Stubbs and Makaš, *Architectural conservation in Europe*, 362.

officials from Istanbul. Instead of just a central prayer hall with a dome, the structure included two side annexes covered by half domes, which created a more elaborate form and profile (Figure 1.7).¹⁵ The porch had three bays covered by three small domes, which sprung from pointed arches, and the columns holding up the arches included capitals decorated in geometrical and stalactite patterns.

On the evening of May 6, 1993, ultranationalist Bosnian Serbs blew up the Ferhadija Mosque.¹⁶ Individuals from the Muslim community watched nearby in shock. Within days, city officials ordered the site razed, and workers removed the burned stones and broken ornament, and threw some pieces into a nearby garbage dump and the city water reservoir (Figure 1.8). Prior to this destruction, jobs had slowly started to evaporate for the Muslim population. Individuals had been attacked in the streets, and hostile Bosnian Serbs had destroyed other mosques and cultural symbols. The total destruction of the locally and nationally respected Ferhadija Mosque represented a dangerous turn for the remaining Muslim population, and it inspired the largest wave of Muslims to flee the city. Before the war, 30,000-40,000 Muslims had lived in the city, and by the end, only 4,000 community members remained in the city.¹⁷

The idea to reconstruct the mosque emerged immediately after the war among the remaining community members and early returnees. Finally in 2001, the Islamic Community of Banja Luka held a ceremony for laying the cornerstone, although the ceremony was violently

¹⁵ Pašić, *Islamic architecture in Bosnia*, 62. The form and spatial design of the mosque changed over the years with an outer porch with a depth of 14 feet being added in the 19th century and removed in 1944. Even after this addition was removed, the column posts still betrayed its former presence.

¹⁶ Andras Riedlmayer, "News and Analysis: Banja Luka's Ferhadija Mosque rises again," *Bosnia Report of the Bosnian Institute*, March 3, 2008, http://www.bosnia.org.uk/news/news_body.cfm?newsid=2373 (accessed Apr. 15, 2010). Jeb Sharp, "Rebuilding a Bosnian Mosque," *PRI's The World*, <http://www.pri.org/theworld/?q=node/20341>. (accessed May 1, 2010). The seventeenth-century Arnaudija Mosque was also destroyed on this evening, and while fragments have been recovered, its site remains empty.

¹⁷ According to the assistant architect Denis Adrović of the project, approximately 10,000 people had returned by 2011.

interrupted and this temporarily slowed the project (Figure 1.9). Despite this attack and other setbacks, the reconstruction, directed by the Bosnian architect and professor Muhamed Hamidović, has progressed significantly, and the project expects to finish the mosque within a year (Figure 1.10).

The Ferhadija Mosque case study engages some of the major questions of reconstruction in postwar BiH. The reconstruction project proudly follows preservation standards of the International Community and the World Heritage Committee to create an authentic reconstructed building. However, the case study engages more than questions of materiality and authenticity, it provides insight into the correlation between reconstruction and reconciliation, the connection between reconstruction and the postwar social and economic environment, as well as the potential for reconstruction projects to use digital media in future postwar scenarios.

Archaeological Reconstruction

This research focuses on the type of intervention employed at the Ferhadija Mosque, which is called archaeological reconstruction. This term refers to the reconstruction of historic structures from original printed records, or extremely detailed construction documents, and employs some original material.¹⁸ This type of intervention often applies to historic structures destroyed or severely damaged due to conflict. In a typical post-conflict scenario, original material exists but has become significantly damaged and displaced from its original location in the structure. In this way, reconstruction could be understood as an extreme form of restoration.¹⁹

¹⁸ E. Burger, “The reconstruction of the *Frauenkirche* in Dresden,” in *The Revival of Dresden*, eds W. Jager and C. A. Brebbia. (Southampton/Boston: WIT Press, 2000), 141. The Frauekirche project of Dresden coined the term “archaeological reconstruction” in 1991.

¹⁹ Nicholas Stanley-Price, “The Reconstruction of Ruins: Principles and Practice,” in *Conservation: Principles, Dilemmas and Uncomfortable Truths*, eds. Alison Richmond and Alison Bracker (London: Elsevier, 2009), 33. Restoration focuses on repairing the existing material of a structure while reconstruction employs new material to

In addition to any original material, information for the reconstruction derives from sources deemed reliable by preservation authorities. These sources include architectural or engineering drawings and historical photographs, with a goal of achieving a high degree of authenticity.²⁰ Sometimes this form of intervention involves the revival of craftsmanship original to the historic structure.²¹ In postwar scenarios, it might also involve retrieving historic building material and repairing and organizing it utilizing advanced technologies and scientific equipment.²²

Conservation professionals have typically viewed archaeological reconstruction as an extreme intervention.²³ They resisted its employment because of the risk of speculation when source material provides an incomplete record of the original building. Conservation principles outlined in formal international conventions, declarations, and charters provide evidence of its peripheral position.²⁴ The Venice Charter of 1964 represents the conversation of professionals after the extensive rebuilding efforts in the wake of World War II. Significantly, it defined the key underlying principles of “conservation” and “restoration” that would influence later international law and evolve into the practices followed today.²⁵ The *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* reflects some of these principles and has

construct a replica of the structure. Archaeological reconstruction thus struggles to reconcile old and new material into a replica of the original structure.

²⁰ Stanley-Price (2009) discusses to great length the benefits and costs of reconstruction based on predominantly archaeological remains.

²¹ The Projects of the *Frauenkirche*, *Stari Most*, as well as the Ferhadija Mosque all touted the employment of local craftsmen schooled in traditional styles of masonry.

²² One such example of the types of technology developed to facilitate reconstruction is a software that stitches together dozens of photographs to form high definition composite photographs of building facades. The composite photograph can be transformed into construction drawings. He also conceives of this emerging technology as a potential insurance measure. In theory, in the case of disaster, the photographs and drawings will capture enough information to reconstruct exteriors with limited speculation. Battle Brown of Manassas Consulting is the developer of this new software.

²³ Stanley-Price, “The Reconstruction of Ruins,” 35.

²⁴ Stanley-Price, “The Reconstruction of Ruins,” 34. Charters mobilize standards in international conservation. They include clarifications and affirmations of existing standards for national governments and conservations to absorb into their policy and practice. Additionally, a number of different regional charters and international conventions officially recognize reconstruction albeit with different wording which can lead to multiple interpretations.

²⁵ Catherine Woolfitt, “Preventive conservation of ruins: reconstruction, reburial and enclosure,” in *The Conservation of Ruins*, ed. John Ashurst, (London: Elsevier 2007), 148.

had significant influence on preservation projects in developing countries. This influence is partly due to the growth of heritage tourism and its impact on local, regional and international economies. First published in 1972 by UNESCO, this legislation defines heritage, which has universal value, heritage eligible for placement on the World Heritage List, and outlines methods for appropriately maintaining this echelon of heritage. By 1980, these guidelines included a discussion on reconstruction, but the most recent version of the *Guidelines* describes it in the following manner:

In relation to authenticity, the reconstruction of archaeological remains or historic buildings or districts is justifiable only in exceptional circumstances. Reconstruction is acceptable only on the basis of complete and detailed documentation and to no extent on conjecture.²⁶

The wording of the *Guidelines* defines reconstruction as an intervention on the margins of preservation, and one that agencies, institutions, and projects should rarely employ.

On the other hand, conservation professionals and politicians consider reconstruction as an economic boon encouraging regional tourism market as well as catapulting cities into the international global tourist market.²⁷ A beloved building might be reconstructed just to maintain its function or role in the community. As this study explores, one or a combination of these various reasons could inform the decision to reconstruct, but it remains important to ask who are the different users of reconstructed buildings in the postwar context and what are their precise roles in the project. Additionally, what are the ultimate costs of reconstruction on the larger social and economic recovery of postwar BiH? Reconstruction clearly requires a lot of time,

²⁶ World Heritage Commission, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. (Paris: UNESCO, revised 2005), 86. For a state party who has ratified this convention, these words represent a legal obligation to maintain this standard in reconstructions projects.

²⁷ Ursula Faix and Paul Burgstaller, "The Power of UNESCO World Heritage," in *Visionary power: producing the contemporary city*, eds. Christine de Baan, Joachim Declerck, and Véronique Patteeuw, (Rotterdam, The Netherlands: NAI Publishers, 2007), 143.

skill, material, and thus funding. Often public authorities, NGOs, or wealthy benefactors contribute heavily to the funding a project. However, these types of patronage may not pay respect to guidelines of conservation theory, and thus jeopardize the quality of the reconstruction, or misrepresent the desires of the entire community of users. Extensive maintenance costs of the reconstructed structure can also jeopardize the quality of the work in the years after its completion.

As an artifact, the historic structure can become a dynamic tool for forming a collective identity and sense of place for an ethnic community. Additionally it can provide primary information about the history of a community and physical evidence of its presence.²⁸ The reconstruction of a lost structure then can become an educational experience that presents the history of the community to other ethnic groups.²⁹ Arguably, in this way, the reconstruction of the structures can become a healing or positive event for the larger community of multiple ethnic groups. On the other hand, some critics argue that maintaining the ruins is more meaningful than reconstructing the structure. When destruction of the structure happened prematurely as in war or natural disaster, the ruins definitely possess value as a memorial or informal memory site.³⁰ Because of these special circumstances, postwar reconstructions can attract criticism for not successfully addressing the physical rupture of the built environment and in the society caused by the war.³¹

²⁸ Stanley-Price, "The Reconstruction of Ruins," 37-40.

²⁹ Stanley-Price, "The Reconstruction of Ruins," 35-36. There is extensive debate about the interpretative and educational potential for reconstruction in the field of archaeology. The literature focuses more so on reconstruction with not original material for tourism and educational functions as oppose to recovery from conflict or natural disaster.

³⁰ For example, during the socialist regime of the GDR, the Frauenkirche ruins in Dresden served as an informal assembly site to remember the bombing of the city during World War II.

³¹ Architectural critic Dieter Bartzko, in particular, expressed this perspective, when he spoke about the Frauenkirche project: "...dangerous and obliging illusions are at work here: brand new, as though untouched by time and war, the three dimensional likeness of this Baroque architectural wonder presents itself as immortal." Bartzko is quoted in Jason James's article "Recovering the German Nation: Heritage Restoration and the Search for Unity."

This thesis studies the reconstruction project as an instrument for creating a sense of order at a time—the aftermath of a conflict—when disorder dominates. It asks how the act of reconstruction helps to re-form a collective identity after such trauma, but also what the consequences are. This aspect of reconstruction is particularly pertinent for reconstruction in BiH, because of the significant number people displaced by the war. Despite the rich and thoughtful scholarship so far conducted, little of it engages the role of historic preservation in the ongoing process of return and restitution for the over two million refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) exiled by the war. Understanding the impact of reconstruction on the recovery of the community can help to interrogate the value of reconstruction as a tool for negotiating the postwar political and economic environment of BiH.

Another key set of issues related to reconstruction are authenticity and reproduction. Traditional Western ideas of authenticity promote material originality and some connection to the historical author or creator of the structure. However, recently historic preservation professionals have challenged this conception. The “Nara Document on Authenticity” of 1994 represents a broader view by expanding the idea to include connection to “form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling.”³² This broadening of the definition has affected the types and natures of interventions at work. Of particular interest to this study, Robert Garland Thomson has suggested new conceptions of authenticity for reconstructions in the postwar context.³³ From Thomson’s point of view, architectural reconstructions in postwar contexts represent more than a construction project organized by commissioned professionals; instead, they provide physical

³² Participants of the World Heritage Convention in Nara, Japan produced the Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994 to standardize understanding of acceptable interventions.

³³Robert Garland Thomson, “Authenticity and the Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Historic Sites,” *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2008): 2.

and social space for people to negotiate and participate in shaping and building their social and built community. In light of the special circumstances, he distinguishes three new forms of authenticity including authenticity of connection, authenticity of renewal, and authenticity of experience.³⁴

However, there is a potential issue with expanding the definition of authenticity: does it condone a preservation intervention that does not contribute to the remembering of the atrocities? The rhetoric of authenticity suggests a direct connection to a perceived origin, and in simply expanding or qualifying this understanding, as opposed to employing a more nuanced terminology, the rhetoric of authenticity might create false connections or an irresponsible narrative of history. Garland recognizes this flaw, but does not include analysis of its impact. As scholar Susanne Vees-Gulani suggests, it is not clear what makes this structure more than just an imitation of the original.³⁵ This study will engage the relationship between reconstruction, reproduction and representation by focusing on the Ferhadija Mosque and a photo archive of the reconstruction of the mosque available on the project's website. The photographs provide an apt instrument with which to explore the reconstructed object. Additionally, the website's photographs interrogate the idea of reproduction as memory work within the context of the increasing employment of digital representation for interpretative purposes (Figure 1.6).

Literature Review

It is evident even from the brief overview of archaeological reconstruction that the topic spans disciplines, and this is especially true in a postwar context. Scholarship related to

³⁴ Thomson, "Authenticity and the Post-Conflict Reconstruction," 9.

³⁵ Susanne Vees-Gulani, "From Frankfurt's Goethehaus to Dresden's *Frauenkirche*: Architecture, German Identity, and Historical Memory after 1945," *The Germanic Review*, vol. 80, no. 2 (2005): 154. Additionally criticism came from some members of the clergy in Dresden who voiced concern for the expense of the project (\$150 million) at a depressed economic time in Saxony.

preservation and reconstruction in the postwar Bosnian context draws from a variety of disciplines including anthropology, geography, tourism studies, peace studies, and architectural history. Because of this array of sources, the scholarship engages a wide range of issues of reconciliation, economic incentive, technical concerns, cultural implications, and preservation theory. In addition, due to the relatively short time for scholarly reflection on the war, no one voice dominates the conversation although there have been major contributions by Amir Pašić, Andras Riedlmayer, Elizabeth Makaš, Paul Grodach, Sultan Barakat, Jon Calame, and Andrew Herscher.³⁶ These authors provide a strong historical understanding of destruction and reconstruction of key cities of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina including Sarajevo and Mostar. Amir Pašić has written an invaluable monograph on Islamic architecture in Bosnia, including a chapter on future of preservation in the country. Riedlmayer has also written on these efforts in smaller cities and towns throughout Bosnia. Riedlmayer, Makaš, Herscher, and Grodach speak to the cultural implications of reconstruction and create a discussion on the value

³⁶ Amir Pašić, *Islamic architecture in Bosnia and Hercegovina: Studies on the history and culture of Bosnia and Hercegovina*, no. 2 (Istanbul: Organisation of the Islamic Conference, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture 1994); Andras Riedlmayer, "News and Analysis: Banja Luka's Ferhadija Mosque rises again," *Bosnia Report of the Bosnian Institute*, March 3, 2008, http://www.bosnia.org.uk/news/news_body.cfm?newsid=2373 (accessed Apr. 15, 2010); Andras Riedlmayer, "From the Ashes: Bosnia's Cultural Heritage," in *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); Emily Gunzburger Makaš, "Interpreting multivalent sites: new meanings for Mostar's Old Bridge," *Centropa*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2005): 59-69; Carl Grodach, "Reconstituting identity and history in post-war Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina," *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2002): 61-82; Sultan Barakat, Craig Wilson, Vjekoslava Sankovic Simcic, and Marija Kojakovic, "Challenges and Dilemmas Facing the Reconstruction of War-Damaged Cultural Heritage: The Case Study of Pocitelj, Bosnia-Herzegovina," in *Destruction and conservation of cultural property*, eds. Robert Layton, Julian Thomas, and Peter G. Stone, 168-181 (London: Routledge, 2001); Sultan Barakat, "Postwar reconstruction and the recovery of cultural heritage: critical lessons from the last fifteen years," in *Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery: Papers from the ICCROM Forum held on October 4-6, 2005*, ed. Nicholas Stanley-Price (Rome: ICCROM 2007), 26; Jon Calame and Esther Ruth Charlesworth, *Divided cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Andrew Herscher, "Remembering and Rebuilding in Bosnia," *Transitions Online*, <http://www.tol.org/client/article/5093-remembering-and-rebuilding-in-bosnia.html> (accessed Jun. 8, 2010); and Andrew Herscher, *Violence taking place: the architecture of the Kosovo conflict* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press 2010).

of reconstruction to the process of reconciliation within the Bosnian and Balkan context.³⁷ In particular, Makaš and Grodach consider the negative implications of large international reconstruction projects in the country including economic reliance on tourism and misrepresentations of reconciliation. Notably, Sultan Barakat writes on the role of cultural heritage, with specific reference to Bosnia, in supporting the larger social and economic recovery project. Jon Calame also writes about cultural heritage in the larger recovery project but specializes in “divided cities” such as Mostar. Additionally Robert Bevan has looked at reconstruction in the light of political rebuilding and in so doing places the Bosnian example within a larger comparative, historical context.

There is a particularly rich scholarship regarding restitution and return in the BiH context especially by Scandinavian scholars.³⁸ Marita Eastmond, Richard Black, Stef Jansen, Rhodri Williams, and Anders H. Stefansson take strong positions in the critical assessment of the value of a “right to property” approach to post war resettlement.³⁹ This scholarship also juxtaposes the reality of the refugee or displaced person’s condition to the theoretical individual referenced in policy discussions, thus engaging how the refugees and IDPs interact with and view their pre-war home and the process of return. Legal policy is another area of investigation that shapes the

³⁷ Lebbeus Woods has written extensively about Sarajevo but his writings seem to focus on what architecture could be generally in a postwar scenario and not specifically the recovery of Sarajevo.

³⁸ Scandinavian scholars participate heavily in this debate because Sweden and Norway harbor large populations of refugees from all over the world including the Balkans.

³⁹ Marita Eastmond, "Transnational Returns and Reconstruction in Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina," *International Migration*, vol. 44, no. 3, (2006): 141-166; Richard Black, Marita Eastmond, and Saskia Gent, *Sustainable return in the Balkans: beyond property restitution and policy* (Geneva: International Organization for Migration 2006); Stef Jansen, "'Home' and Return in the Foreign Intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina: An Anthropological Critique," in *Deconstructing the reconstruction: human rights and the rule of law in postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina*, ed. Dina Francesca Haynes. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) 29-51; Rhodri C. Williams, "The Significance of Property Restitution to Sustainable Return in Bosnia and Herzegovina," *International Migration*, vol. 44, no. 3 (2006): 40-61; Anders H. Stefansson, "Homes in the Making: Property Restitution, Refugee Return, and Senses of Belonging in a Postwar Bosnian Town," *International Migration*, vol. 44 no. 3(2006): 115-139; Charles B. Philpott, "From the Right to Return to the Return of Rights: Completing Post-War Property Restitution in Bosnia Herzegovina," *International Journal of Refugee Law*, vol 18, no. 1 (2006): 30-80; and Marcus Cox, "The Right to Return Home: International Intervention and Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 3 (1998.): 599-631.

anthropological work on return, and Charles Philpott and Marcus Cox have done major research on the BiH postwar context and restitution.

The literature on monuments is vast and rich, though much of it remains outside of the purview of this project. The last twenty years has seen an explosion of scholarship related to the fate of monuments within the contemporary “crisis of memory” and the plurality of the past. Scholars have criticized the traditional monument for its inability to remember, instead only enabling forgetting. Additionally, the traditional monument, which attempts to maintain a single vision of the past, fails to engage individuals who now understand themselves as a unique blend of multiple identities, as they can no longer view themselves in the narrative of the monument. Current discussions of monuments and monumentality form a necessary component of the discussion of historic preservation; as preservation inevitably sets aside structures from the usual destructive forces of time, adaption, and use. French scholar Pierre Nora points out this distinction in his discussion of the historical object and his “lieux de memoire.”⁴⁰ Nora, like many other scholars, describes a crisis of memory and an impotency of memory and monuments. While he takes a fatalistic approach, Françoise Choay and Christine Boyer call for a reassessment of design and preservation practice to create a more meaningful, or “authentic”, urban experience.⁴¹ Françoise Choay focuses on an evolution of the historical monument in French culture, while Boyer with her seminal *The City of Collective Memory* takes a broader view of the historic monument in the urban form. As fragments embedded in the urban landscape, Boyer understands the modern city as incapable of reconciling disconnections between monuments, or points of collective memory. This scholarship is useful in viewing these

⁴⁰ Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, *Realms of memory: rethinking the French past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

⁴¹ Françoise Choay, *The invention of the historic monument*, (New York: Cambridge University Press 2001). M. Christine Boyer, *The city of collective memory: its historical imagery and architectural entertainments* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1994).

reconstructed structures as inheriting the same fate as the monument. These authors provide a language for discussing the fragility of reconstructed sites and critically engaging the museulization of urban structures.

The contribution of monument discourse is particularly pertinent to the post-conflict context due to its theorization of the metaphorical opportunity for the reconstruction to represent the collective experience of the traumatized group. Recent scholarship on the monument addresses the relationship between trauma, collective mourning, and monuments. This multi-faceted issue has emerged in a many disciplines. Vamik Volkan and Jeffrey Karl Ochsner employ psychoanalytic theories to understand the function of a monument or memorial the healing process.⁴² Additionally Volkan, a Turkish Cypriot psychoanalyst in America, has extended his investigations on collective space and mourning to consider refugees in Eastern Europe who have suffered incredible loss and change to their environment. In contrast, Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder found an aversion to the monument in post-totalitarian Argentina and an insistence on creating a living monument or intangible heritage as memory.⁴³

With a different focus, James Young, Kenneth E. Foote, and Sara McDowell write about the cultural and social politics inherent to memory work and monumentality especially after traumatic events in Germany, America, and Northern Ireland respectively.⁴⁴ The anti-monument and counter monument movements discussed in Young reconceived the monument as existing in

⁴² Vamik D Volkan, *Killing in the name of identity: a study of bloody conflicts* (Charlottesville, Va: Pitchstone Pub. 2006); Vamik D. Volkan, *Linking objects and linking phenomena: a study of the forms, symptoms, metapsychology, and therapy of complicated mourning* (New York: International Universities Press 1981); Vamik D. Volkan, "Mourning and Adaptation After a War," *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, vol. 31, no. 4 (1977): 561-569; and Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, "A Space of Loss: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 50, no. 3 (1997): 156-171.

⁴³ Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder, "The Politics of Memory and Oblivion in Redemocratized Argentina and Uruguay," *History & Memory*, vol. 10, no. 1(2011): 133-169.

⁴⁴ James E. Young, "The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today," *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 18, no. 2 (1992.): 267-296. Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed ground: America's landscapes of violence and tragedy*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997); Sara McDowell. "Commemorating dead 'men': gendering the past and present in post-conflict Northern Ireland," *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, vol. 15, no.4 (2008): 335-354.

everyday activities, instead of in its ritualized and materialized forms. An offshoot of the dematerialization of the monument is the emerging relationship between monumentality and new, or digital, media. Andreas Huyssen have identified the potential for a new monumentality to serve contemporary society (filled with millions of memories and divided into multitudes of identities) because of the advent of digital technology and accompanying forms of communication between individuals and groups.

A critical turn is just now emerging among scholars, such as Jeff Malpas, Yehuda E. Kalay, and Bharat Dave, who call for a re-assessment of the relationship between digital media and heritage.⁴⁵ In particular, Bharat Dave attempts to understand the costs and benefits of a virtual existence for the heritage site as well as the new expectations and role of the physical in light of the digital presence. Some work on digital media has even engaged sites emerging after traumatic events. For example, Ekaterina Haskins' work on The September 11 Digital Archive explores the potential for memory in the digital intersection of different experiences of the destruction of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001.⁴⁶ Despite the transnational nature of this medium, issues of regionalism, or at least a division between the first world and third world, inevitably emerge in this scholarship. Ljiljana Gavrilović writes on the politics of physical museums in the developing Balkan region and views digital media as a way to democratize and mobilize heritage, which she understand as a social and economic asset.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Yehuda E. Kalay, Thomas Kvan, and Janice Affleck, *New heritage: new media and cultural heritage* (London: Routledge, 2008); Fiona Cameron and Sarah Kenderdine, *Theorizing digital cultural heritage: a critical discourse* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press 2007); Bharat Dave, "Virtual Heritage: Mediating space, time, and perspectives," in *New Heritage: new media and cultural heritage*, ed. Yehuda E Kalay, Thomas Kvan, and Janice Affleck (New York: Routledge 2008) 43-47.

⁴⁶ Ekaterina Haskins, "Between Archive and Participation: Public Memory in a Digital Age," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 4 (2007.): 406.

⁴⁷ Ljiljana Gavrilović, "Cyber museum: tools for heritage protection," in *Condition of the cultural and natural heritage in the Balkan Region: proceedings of the regional conference held in Kladovo, Serbia from 23th to 27th October 2006*, ed. Mila Popović-Živančević, 167-178 (Belgrade: National Museum in Belgrade, 2007).

This body of scholarship will allow this project to interrogate the different facets of the reconstruction process and study the reconstructed building in physical and virtual space. The context of preservation literature will provide a professional framework in which to understand the merit of the reconstruction projects in postwar Bosnia. This foundation and literature related to monumentality will provide a crucial theoretical framework for assessing the consequences of "historical reconstruction" and "archaeological reconstruction" at the local level and for drawing out discrepancies between the policy and the practice of reconstruction. However, this assessment requires understanding the role of these reconstructed structures in drawing back community members. The critical engagement with return policy provided by anthropologists gives important insights into the condition of the postwar refugee and IDP and their relationship with their pre-war home and built environment.

Methodology and Chapter Summary

This project seeks to understand the dynamic relationship between preservation theory, policy, and ground level preservation work in post war Bosnia. This work also requires giving consideration to a population of the community hardly discussed in the preservation literature. To achieve these objectives, it investigates policy assumptions and challenges the perceived best practices with case studies of reconstruction projects. Case studies allow for an in-depth comparison of the interventions as well as a careful consideration of the impact of the interventions at different scales – local, national, and international. This study focuses on the Ferhadija Mosque project in Banja Luka and juxtaposes it against other reconstruction case studies in Bosnia. Additionally, it includes case studies from German examples of reconstruction to incorporate the benefit of German preservation literature.

Research on these projects employs a comprehensive approach that utilizes analysis of primary literature related to the project, commentary on the projects captured by media sources, anthropological scholarship of the communities related to the project, and narratives produced by refugees and Internally Displaced Persons. For a thorough analysis of the relationship among the displaced individuals, their pre-war community, and the reconstruction project, it focuses on digital representations and promotional materials. Additionally it engages political, social, and art historical theories to contextualize its position. The research on the Ferhadija Mosque also draws on site visits and conversations with members of the Ferhadija project as well as first-hand experience of Banja Luka.

The chapters of this thesis discuss in depth aspects of postwar reconstruction, which are underrepresented in the western scholarship but have a significant impact on the social, political, and economic progress in postwar BiH. Chapter 2 will focus on the issue of reconciliation, which has been related to reconstruction through such high-profile projects as the *Frauenkirche* in Dresden and the *Stari Most* in Mostar, BiH. It will investigate the issue of authority inherent to reconstruction standards, like the standards set by UNESCO. In particular, it engages the impact of the utilization of universal standards of preservation on projects in cities still struggling with ethnic division and tensions. While reconciliation is often discussed in the preservation material on the postwar context, scholars often critique the success or failure of projects to foster reconciliation between former enemies. Chapter 2 questions whether a reconstruction project of building specifically associated with a particular ethnic group can ever foster reconciliation. It considers how the use of international standards creates a conflicted relationship between the International Community and a particular ethnic group that undermines the reconciliation process. It juxtaposes the Ferhadija Mosque project of Banja Luka with the high-profile

Frauenkirche and *Stari Most* projects. Additionally the chapter introduces the discrepancy between the rhetoric of reconciliation in Banja Luka and the reality of ethnic tension in the city.

Chapter 3 further considers the discrepancy among the policies created by Bosnian and foreign politicians, the rhetoric espoused by foreign dignitaries, and the experience of individuals and communities in BiH. It focuses on the policy, rhetoric, and experience related to the return of individuals displaced by the Bosnian War to their pre-war home. The General Framework includes an entire annex devoted to facilitating the return to their pre-war home of the 2.3 million refugees abroad and people displaced within the country. Since the end of the war, the experience of individuals and communities, as discussed in the scholarship of anthropologists and geographers, has demonstrated that the process of return is much more complicated than simply returning home. The chapter considers the implication of the complicated reality of return for the value of reconstruction projects and the reconstructed object. It focuses on the Ferhadija Mosque and Banja Luka to consider how the reconstruction project serves the Muslim community, which must negotiate not only the loss of community members but also the changed, postwar social and economic environment in the city. The chapter employs the construct of the “linking object” to interrogate how a reconstruction project allows the Muslim community to remain connected to the pre-war ideas of community by the recreation of the Ferhadija Mosque. Additionally, this chapter introduces the website of the reconstruction project, *Ferhadija 1579*, as valuable tool for displaced community members to connect to the project as well as a tool for the project to encourage the return of those displaced members.

The next chapter expands on the relationship between the reconstruction project and the individual viewer by analyzing the implication of a project’s digital presence and representations. It focuses on the *Ferhadija 1579* photographic archive to investigate the

potential of digital media to promote and document the reconstruction project as well as to facilitate an individual's participation and identification with the project and the community that sponsors the reconstruction. It explores the specific album associated with the excavation of historic stones at the city dump in Ramici. By employing the concept of the *punctum* as described by Roland Barthes, analysis of the Ramici photographs reveals a tension between the universalizing nature of photography and the idea of a photograph as a touchstone to a knowing viewer. Because of the unique relationship between old and new media inherent the digital photographs, analysis of historic postcards from Banja Luka help further to understand the relationship between self-identification with a portable photograph and the idea of exchange embodied in the postcard. It considers exchange as a key form of participation related to the concept of "digital heritage," which attempts to connect the individual to a collective interpretation of history. The ability to download, send, save, and print the image allows the viewer to associate themselves with the project, and this form of participation is essential to the success of digital heritage. The chapter expands on the idea of participation by surveying the forms of participation employed in digital heritage projects in postwar BiH. By examining projects through these filters, the chapter can establish the positive and negative consequences of using digital media to promote and also memorialize the reconstruction project, and it can consider the value of digital heritage as a type of memory work in its own right.

Finally, the conclusion reflects on the future of cultural heritage in the postwar context. The research and analysis in this thesis advocates re-focusing preservation scholarship to examine not only the reconstructed object but also the larger impact of the project on the individual's experience of the monument, the experience of the sponsoring ethnic community, as well as the impact the project has on other ethnic communities in the city or town. The Ferhadija

Mosque reconstruction project demonstrates that the reconstruction of a historic building in postwar BiH is a dynamic process, which has layers of meanings and interpretations. The sponsoring community, the Islamic Community of Banja Luka, assigns meaning to the reconstruction work and reconstructed object through many different methods. The project confirms that preservation professionals need to consider more than the authenticity of the materials but also the effect on the social, cultural, and economic environment that surrounds the historic building. The Ferhadija Mosque reconstruction project demonstrates that preservationists must connect reconstruction to other social and economic initiatives to contribute a preservation intervention, which complements the larger postwar recovery project.

Chapter 2: The Balance of Power in Archaeological Reconstruction

So the Moscow phenomenon of ‘a new vision of historical heritage’ spawned a Trojan horse that advanced deep into the heart of the city, with results that were not long in making themselves felt. The second reconstruction period, which began in the late 1990s and is still continuing today, has been distinguished by the mass demolition of historical structures and the violation of national legislation (the law of the Russian Federation ‘On items of the cultural heritage’, 2002). It can justifiably be called barbarous.¹

Architect and preservation scholar Natalia Dushkina has written passionately about the loss of strict principles in conservation practices in contemporary Russia. She describes reconstruction occurring in two periods. The first, the “romantic stage,” started in the late-1980s and led to the “renaissance of the Russian historical heritage” through the rapid but thoughtful reconstructions of several key historic structures including the Cathedral of Our Lady Kazan and the Resurrection Gate on Red Square.² In light of the scope and pace of this conservation work, a healthy and intense debate about appropriate methods and principles of reconstruction emerged among conservationists and architects. After a number of successful reconstruction projects associated with a re-envisioned nationality and ideology, these second-phase “reinstitution” projects destroyed historic structures only to rebuild them immediately in their historic form but with less expensive materials and without the historic structure or interior. The “barbarous” approach cut out the expensive, intellectually rigorous restoration work to make the structures economically feasible in the post-socialist economic environment of Moscow. Not simply the

¹ Natalia Dushkina, “Reconstruction and its interpretation in Russia – 2,” in *15th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: ‘Monuments and sites in their setting - conserving cultural heritage in changing townscapes and landscapes’*, (17 – 21 Oct 2005, Xi’an, China), 4.

² Dushkina, “Reconstruction and its interpretation ,” 3. The Cathedral of Our Lady Kazan was consecrated in 1625 but then Joseph Stalin ordered it destroyed in 1936. Reconstruction work started in 1990 and finished in 1993. The Resurrection Gate stood on the edge of Red Square from 1680-1931 when it was destroyed to allow larger military vehicles to drive into Red Square. Reconstruction work lasted from 1994-1996.

work of businessmen, Dushkina describes the second phase of reconstruction as supported by practicing architects.³

Dushkina's chronological approach to assessing reconstruction in the Russian urban context demonstrates the consequences of a universalized conservation theory on the social and economic pressures of a local community. She also points toward a mechanism for understanding a subtle shift in the meaning and power of reconstruction – the Trojan horse model. This chapter will examine two high-profiled European reconstruction projects of the 1990s to illustrate the act of reconstruction as a “Trojan horse.” In the era of preservation standards epitomized by UNESCO and the World Heritage List, reconstruction which follows international standards has the capacity to introduce tenuous political alignments which can complicate fragile postwar scenarios. It challenges the assumption that reconstruction according to World Heritage Convention standards can always be considered benign in the acceptance of a universalized set of conservation guidelines. The question is how can conservation professionals anticipate the costs of the extension of an international network into the political, economic, and physical landscape of a postwar city? This concern also applies to projects in post-socialist countries still undergoing transition into a democratic and capitalistic program.

This research question leads to a discussion of reconciliation. Can the act of reconstruction foster reconciliation between former war enemies? Does the symbolic power of reconstruction International Community motivate or pressure local politicians to put aside their party's agenda? Due to the nature of the war in Bosnia as described in the Introduction, this issue is essential to the Bosnian postwar context. Scholars from many fields have identified the social, political, and economic inadequacies of reconstruction projects driven by the International

³ Ibid.

Community in regards to this issue.⁴ Previous studies have focused on the success or failure of reconstructed structures to foster reconciliation. This chapter goes further to question whether the act of reconstruction should ever be framed primarily as an act that fosters reconciliation. In fact, despite the rhetoric of UNESCO that global awareness of sites will create a high level of protection, it argues that reconstruction to WHC standards has the potential to thwart reconciliation due to the inevitable alignment with a global authority. Indeed, understanding the dilemmas of international conservation practice is necessary for assessing and examining local reconstruction projects, including those in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH).

From the case studies of the *Frauenkirche* in Dresden and the *Stari Most* in Mostar, it is evident that the act of archaeological reconstruction can be more than simply the conservation or recovery of historic structures. The *Frauenkirche* project in Dresden, Germany is a prime example of reconstruction as a medium through which reclamation of a European identity occurs not only via the rebuilding process – in this case a Baroque church in a formerly socialist space - but also through the use of highly scientific conservation practices and principles. However, the removal of the Elbe Valley of Dresden, including the *Frauenkirche*, from the World Heritage List, confirms the tensions between this established European identity and the priorities of the local urban community.

The second case study, the *Stari Most* in Mostar, BiH reveals the value of reconstruction to the international community due to the high-profile politics and publicity associated with the postwar Balkan context. Additionally, this project suggests that the dominance of international

⁴ Elizabeth Gunzburger Makaš, Carl Grodach, and Andrew Herscher have commented on this issue in their work on the built environment. Emily Gunzburger Makaš, "Interpreting multivalent sites: new meanings for Mostar's Old Bridge," *Centropa*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2005): 59-69; Carl Grodach, "Reconstituting identity and history in post-war Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina," *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2002); Andrew Herscher, "Remembering and Rebuilding in Bosnia," *Transitions Online*, <http://www.tol.org/client/article/5093-remembering-and-rebuilding-in-bosnia.html> (accessed Jun. 8, 2010).

organizations in the reconstruction process can lead to a hollow monument only valuable to the local community only for its place in the international tourist marketplace.

These case studies help to define the effects of the larger arena of international conservation theory and practice established by archaeological reconstruction the local community. They also provide the basis for examining featured case study of this thesis: the Ferhadija Mosque. This thesis finds that the *Frauenkirche* and *Stari Most* case studies illustrate the correlation drawn between reconstruction and reconciliation (or reunification for the *Frauenkirche*) by foreign actors on postwar projects. The chapter assesses the impact of this correlation on smaller, local projects such as the Ferhadija Mosque reconstruction project. The point of this discussion is to offer a new perspective for anticipating the social consequences of reconstruction rather than to dismiss principles of international conservation theory.

Frauenkirche

The *Frauenkirche* reconstruction project began soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the German Democratic Republic (Figure 2.1 and 2.2). The *Frauenkirche* was a Baroque protestant church, the Church of Our Lady, originally constructed between 1726 and 1743 by the master carpenter George Bahr for the Elector Friedrich August II.⁵ The central design reflected Protestant theology, and the pure Baroque design included richly sculptured altar, pulpit and painted galleries. The great organ and acoustics garnered respect among musicians and cemented the cultural reputation of the city.⁶ Despite its location on a cramped site in the dense Neumarkt district, the towers and great 352-foot dome established the church as

⁵ Anthony Clayton and A. K. Russell, *Dresden: a city reborn* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 13 and 16.

⁶ Clayton, *Dresden: a city reborn*, 16. Musicians came to the church to play on its great organ. Johann Sebastian Bach performed on the three-story organ in December 1736. Richard Wagner also composed music to be performed in the building.

an immense physical presence both within in the Neumarkt as well as on the skyline of Dresden (Figure 2.3 and 2.4).⁷

The destruction of the church ironically proved to be more famous than its construction. During the last years of World War II, as air raids devastated German cities, residents of the city believed Dresden safe from attack due to its cultural and historical significance.⁸ However, from February 13 to February 15, 1945, Allied forces dropped almost 4,000 tons of fire bombs, incendiary devices, and explosives on the city (Figure 2.5).⁹ The urban population had swelled with refugees, and the increased population contributed to the large number of civilian fatalities from the bombings, some 25,000 deaths according to recent estimates.¹⁰ The bombings caused massive damage to the city, especially in the dense urban core.¹¹ Despite the air attack, the *Frauenkirche* remained standing and, according to one interviewed witness, it engendered hope in the midst of tragedy.¹² However, the day following the air raids the massive structure with its iconic dome suddenly collapsed into piles of rubble (Figure 2.6).

After the war ended, efforts to reconstruct the *Frauenkirche* sputtered for nearly fifteen years then stalled due to more pressing needs for basic survival in the city.¹³ Once the German Democratic Republic took office in 1949, some cultural icons were rebuilt in the city core, but the *Frauenkirche* remained a ruin— and one that helped the GDR leadership maintain the memory

⁷ The Dresden skyline featuring the Frauenkirche is immortalized in the drawings and paintings of Venetian artist Giovanni Antonia Canaletto (October 28, 1697-April 19 1768).

⁸ This belief is evidenced by the extensive and expensive restoration of the *Frauenkirche*, which finished in 1944 with a rededication ceremony. Additionally, Although Dresden held the largest military barracks for the Wehrmacht and provided some industrial support, the city did not contribute significantly to the Third Reich or the military effort.

⁹ Elizabeth A Ten Dyke, *Dresden: Paradoxes of Memory* (London: Routledge 2001), 82.

¹⁰ A Ten Dyke, *Dresden: Paradoxes of Memory*, 23.

¹¹ The subsequent infernos, raging at 1000 degrees Celsius, further destroyed any buildings not taken out by bombs.

¹² Clayton, *Dresden: a city reborn*, 63.

¹³ Despite not rebuilding the church, the GDR seemed to see potential in the war damaged historic structures as they passed legislation prohibiting people from taking the stones for other construction projects.

of the Allied bombing.¹⁴ Varying with the intensity of the Cold War, the rhetoric about the *Frauenkirche* either focused on the destruction during the war or on official demonstrations against the “imperial-fascist enemies of Socialism.”¹⁵ The ruins became an official monument with a plaque, which read “To the tens of thousands of dead and an inspiration to the living in their struggle against imperialist barbarism and for the peace and happiness of man” (Figure 2.7).¹⁶ Even in its ruined state, the use of the *Frauenkirche* as a memorial reflected the spatial and cultural significance of the building to the city. In addition to its formal uses, the site attracted impromptu congregations for worship and displays of hope.

With the reunification of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic in 1989, Dresden became an important stage for the creation of a new national narrative. West Germany Chancellor Helmut Kohl spoke for the first time to East Germans from the ruins of the *Frauenkirche* on December 19, 1989 (Figure 2.8). The use of the ruins as a stage underscored Kohl’s point that reunification was politically, economically, and socially essential for both German nations and initiated a call for the rebuilding of the *Frauenkirche*. He pointed to the ruins and said the destruction resulted from Germany going to war.¹⁷ He went further to vow that a reunified Germany would never go to war. With Kohl’s speech, the *Frauenkirche* reentered the national German narrative as a site of spectacle – an aspect reflected in the dramatic nighttime setting of the event. More than a socialist ruin in a newly liberated Dresden, it became an indisputable embodiment of reclamation of German heritage as well as an

¹⁴ Clayton, *Dresden: a city reborn*, 83. Reconstructions conducted during the Communist period include the Zwinger, the Semper Opera, the Court Church, the Royal Castle, and the Taschenberg Palace.

¹⁵ Susanne Vees-Gulani, "From Frankfurt's Goethehaus to Dresden's *Frauenkirche*: Architecture, German Identity, and Historical Memory after 1945," *The Germanic Review*, vol. 80, no. 2 (2005): 151.

¹⁶ Vees-gulani, "From Frankfurt's Goethehaus," 151 quoting Ian Buruma. *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan*, (New York: Penguin, 1994), 300. In 1982, people gathered on the anniversary of the raids to light candles in commemoration of those lost in the raids as well as protest the government.

¹⁷ Mike Leary, "E. German Crowd Hails Kohl and His Call for Reunification," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 20, 1989.

opportunity for the future. Through the image of the ruined *Frauenkirche*, a course seemed to be charted for the future of Germany which involved the return of the East German city back to a Western European urban identity.

The initial momentum for the *Frauenkirche* project came from a fourteen-member group of enthusiasts headed by Ludwig Guettler, a Dresden musician. They sponsored the Citizens' Initiative for the Rebuilding of the *Frauenkirche* in Dresden.¹⁸ The group quickly grew to 5000 members, and in 1991 the group formed the *Frauenkirche* Foundation with the Lutheran Church of Saxony. The reconstruction costs accumulated by the *Frauenkirche* Foundation included about \$156 million. Federal, state, and local governments as well as the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Saxony provided funding, but individual donations and private fundraising events made up more than half of the total amount.¹⁹

The *Frauenkirche* Foundation and Evangelical Lutheran Church of Saxony chose an approach for the project that is best described as an “archaeological reconstruction.” The workers carefully excavated, and thoroughly documented and catalogued the stones. This information later helped to identify the location of each stone in the original structure. The intensive effort attracted architects and engineers who worked to piece together “the giant jigsaw puzzle” of the 8,425 sandstone blocks from the rubble piles (Figure 2.9 and 2.10).²⁰ Three-dimensional computer models helped the engineers to place these stones as well as to identify inherent flaws in the structure. The final structure included about 43 per cent original material with the balance new stones from a sandstone quarry in the Elbe Valley. Despite the fact that the

¹⁸ W. Jäger and C. A. Brebbia, *The Revival of Dresden* (Southampton, (U.K.: WIT Press, 2000), 152. They made the “Call from Dresden” in February of 1990, which asked for donations to restore to the world “an architectural artwork of unique significance.”

¹⁹ A Ten Dyke, *Dresden: Paradoxes of Memory*, 24. In addition to donations from individuals and organizations in Germany, organizations formed in America (Friends of Dresden, Inc), England, (Dresden Trust), and France (Association *Frauenkirche* Paris).

²⁰ “Rubble forms 43 per cent of new *Frauenkirche*,” *Deutsche Press-Agentur*, October 28, 2005.

original fabric was minority in the final project, the availability of “exceptional” original source material legitimized the reconstruction as a responsible historic preservation intervention according to UNESCO.²¹ This understanding of “authenticity” also complied with the threshold this group has set for the consideration of a World Heritage Site. After eleven years, the reconstructed building opened on October 30, 2005 to a crowd of more than 100,000 people.

In 2004, UNESCO listed an eighteen-kilometer stretch of the Valley of the Elbe, centered on the Altstadt district of Dresden, on the World Heritage List as a cultural landscape.²² The designation sought to preserve the interplay between historic 18th and 19th century structures, 19th and 20th century suburban villas and gardens, and the natural areas along the river.²³ The historical significance of Dresden as a “crossroads of Europe” also contributed to its listing as well as the historic urban vistas immortalized in the paintings of Canaletto and others.²⁴ The stated mission of UNESCO is to create a global identity with the idea that the global awareness of sites will create a level of protection. The inclusion of the Valley of the Elbe on the World Heritage List also affected Dresden’s participation in international tourism. In addition to the global status achieved through the listing, it also provided with more media attention in new media markets.²⁵ Such increased attention often leads to new heritage tourists, which creates a greater awareness of a historic site and acts to further protect the site due to a higher economic value to the local community.

²¹ UNESCO Advisory Body Evaluation, 2003 A collection of sketches by the master carpenter George Bahr, drawings taken during the first restoration effort in the 1950s, and the visual record of photographs and paintings of the famous cupola provided “authentic” source material.

²² The cultural landscape runs from the Übigau Palace and Ostragehege fields in the north-west to the Pillnitz Palace and the Elbe River Island in the south-east.

²³ “Dresden Elbe Valley,” *UNESCO – World Heritage List*, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1156> (accessed Nov. 17, 2010).

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Ursula Faix and Paul Burgstaller, “The Power of UNESCO World Heritage,” in *Visionary power: producing the contemporary city*, eds. Christine de Baan, Joachim Declerck, and Véronique Patteeuw. (Rotterdam, The Netherlands: NAI Publishers, 2007), 143.

Under the auspices of archaeological reconstruction, the group behind the project presented Dresden as returning to a shared German history by showcasing an architecture visually pre-dating the GDR.²⁶ The news articles of the time reflected this vision of history by painting only a negative picture of the ruins during the GDR period.²⁷ Additionally, the articles referenced only the function of the ruins as an admonition for the “evils” or “horrors” of war, the ruins thus conveying the memory of the tragedy of the bombing.²⁸ These articles quite conspicuously ignored the use of the ruins as an impromptu memorial as well as positive symbol of congregation and protest. To see the ruins as historically significant in a more recent political context seemed too volatile and threatening to mention in these articles or in the rhetoric of reconciliation expressed in speeches and during the rebuilding process. This limited understanding of the ruins legitimized the decision to reconstruct rather than building a new structure or a structure of a new design incorporating the historic material.²⁹ With its emphasis on UNESCO standards and projected participation in the international tourist market, the reconstruction then represented the re-alignment of an “other” past towards a European future.

The costs of this future quickly became clear to the municipal government of Dresden. With the application to the World Heritage Committee in the first years of the 21st century, the monuments preservation office of Saxony made a proposal to construct a bridge across the Elbe,

²⁶ German officials and theorists have historically aligned of material culture with the health of the nation. The idea of Germany composed of a singular cultural landscape emerged in the nineteenth century, but notably, a resurgence of the rhetoric related to the cultural nation emerged in 1990 with the legitimization of the reunification of the FDR and GDR.

²⁷ After reunification, the language used to describe the ruins of the site highlighted the disorder and unnaturalness of the jumbled heaps of stone. One writer described the 50-foot ruins as “shards” of the building sticking out of the ground. This language seems to describe the decision to reconstruct the church as natural by returning to an appropriate order of things.

²⁸ Clive Freeman, “Dresden landmark *Frauenkirche* resurrected from war’s ruins,” *Deutsche Press-Agentur*, 10/28/2005; William A. Davis, “Dresden Builds a Future German City Reconstructs its Demolished Past,” *Boston Globe*, Mar. 5, 2000.

²⁹ Robert Garland Thomson uses the World Trade Center site in New York City as an example of a new design, and the Kaiser Wilhelm Gedachtniskirche in Berlin, Germany as an example of an intervention incorporating original material.

less than a mile from the historic district of Dresden. After the city received the World Heritage designation, the municipality of Dresden started looking into new options to mitigate traffic flow through the historic quarter. Finally, at the end of an extended legal battle challenging the right of the city to build the Waldschlosschen Bridge, the plan for the bridge was approved. Despite the fact that 67% Dresdeners voted for the bridge in a 2005 referendum, several cultural stewards spoke out against the bridge and advocated for prioritizing the World Heritage Site status.³⁰ Members of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee voiced concern over the impact of the proposed steel bridge as an addition to the historic old town as well as the change to the legendary vista of this historic district. Finally in June 2009, the Valley of the Elbe was removed from the list. This decision was not controversial in the local community as one survey at the time of the delisting found that 57% of the Dresden residents polled agreed the city could do without the listing.³¹

Notably, the World Heritage Committee has only removed one other site from the list. The managing authority of the Oryx Sanctuary in central Oman decided to reduce the size of the sanctuary by 90% to enable hydrocarbon prospecting and thus compromised the integrity of the site enough for it to be removed in 2007.³² In 2006, the Committee placed the Valley of the Elbe on the Threatened World Heritage List. The same year, UNESCO started a watchdog initiative to monitor yearly the status of sites threatened by external forces. In addition to Dresden, the initiative cited five sites in the Congo and one in Jerusalem as being in need of monitoring. Dresden was thus directly linked to developing countries either unable or unwilling to respect

³⁰ Nicholas Kulish and Victor Homola contributed reporting from Berlin, "Proposal to Better Unite City Leaves Dresden Divided," *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 2008. In an article, one museum director associated a 10% drop in tourism to the city as a sign of the impact of the delisting.

³¹ Kate Connolly and agencies, "International: Bridge takes Dresden off world heritage list," *Guardian*, Jun. 25, 2009.

³² "Dresden Elbe Valley," *UNESCO – World Heritage List*, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1156> (accessed Nov. 17, 2010).

their heritage. This association with endangered sites in the developing world somewhat ironically cements an understanding of Dresden's general conservation work - its hallmark, the reconstruction of the *Frauenkirche* - as re-inscribing the city with its lost European identity.

The developments in Dresden seem to be an apt illustration of the writings of Craig Young and Sylvia Kaczmarek. These scholars convincingly argue that postsocialist cities often attempt to suppress the history and memory of their socialist years, although these suppressed pasts often return to "disrupt dominant narratives."³³ The desire to integrate into regional, global, and, in the case of Dresden, national networks led to the suppression of the socialist history and memory including the understanding of the ruins as a positive symbol for the local community. The dominant narrative become one of destruction, neglect during the Socialist period, and rebirth in the period of reunification.³⁴ As the reconstruction of *Frauenkirche* paints Dresden as a place of reunification and international cultural importance, the delisting of the Valley on the Elbe reveals the disjunction between to the image of the historic site and the reality of its urban context.

With the concerted effort to view the *Frauenkirche* not as an artifact associated with the GDR but rather as one associated with the united history of West and East Germany, the delisting indirectly reveals the reality of the postsocialist city. The decision to follow through with the construction of the Waldschlosschen Bridge, despite the requests of UNESCO, reflects a degree of independence and confidence. It suggests as well a city with different histories and priorities, which cannot be swept aside so easily. The decision by the people of Dresden underscores a genuine respect for the function and life of the urban environment which does not

³³ Craig Young and Sylvia Kaczmarek, "The Socialist Past and Postsocialist urban identity in Central and Eastern Europe," *European and Urban Regional Studies*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2008), 53.

³⁴ Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities: Dresden/'Dresden,'" in *Memory and Architecture*, ed. Eleni Bastea, (University of Mexico Press, 2004), 58.

accord a dominant narrative that is “modern, international, capitalist, [and] European.”³⁵ It also reflects a desire to incorporate these historic buildings, including the *Frauenkirche*, into a vital urban core rather than just treating them as a cultural commodity.³⁶

The idea of disruption discussed by Young and Kaczmarek and illustrated by the *Frauenkirche* seems a worrisome consequence of the “archivalization” of history as conceived by Pierre Nora.³⁷ In the “Introduction” to *Realms of Memory*, Nora describes a rupture between memory and history. He argues memory is the “kind of inviolate social memory that primitive and archaic societies embodied,” and history is the construction, which modern societies use to “organize a past they are condemned to forget because they are driven by change.”³⁸ According to Nora, history relies on the hyper-archiving of the past through the deliberate preservation of documents, objects, sites, rituals, anniversaries, and other traces.³⁹ This “archivalization” provides an illusion of eternity when a community has no confidence in its “spontaneous memory.”⁴⁰ This “new consciousness” has inevitably elevated traces to a form of sanctity. Additionally, due to the excess of artifacts, sites, monuments, and memorials, it spurs the need or desire to authenticate as a way of limiting the number memory sites.⁴¹

The act of certification and authentication implies the existence of an authority assessing and approving the value of the monument. Although Nora does not directly discuss the idea of authentication as power, it is important to ask the question of who decides the standard of

³⁵ Young and Kaczmarek, “The Socialist Past and Postsocialist,” 53.

³⁶ The city had become a symbol before the designation, and within this context, the reconstruction of the *Frauenkirche* takes on a new meaning, as it underscores the rebirth of Dresden as a cultural capital of the 21st century.

³⁷ Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, *Realms of memory: Rethinking the French past. European perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 8.

³⁸ Nora and Kritzman, *Realms of memory*, 2. Nora applies this construct specifically to French society, but also suggests its universal application as well.

³⁹ Nora and Kritzman, *Realms of memory*, 8.

⁴⁰ Nora and Kritzman, *Realms of memory*, 7.

⁴¹ Nora and Kritzman, *Realms of memory*, 9 and 10.

authentication or what power the archive has.⁴² While these questions are not new to historical work, it is important to restate their pertinence to postwar reconstruction projects. In the *Frauenkirche* project, the effort to achieve an international standard of reconstruction in this postwar and postsocialist context unintentionally participated in the dominant narrative of reunification of Kohl's speech. The act of reconstruction then provides an opportunity to reinforce this narrative, as demonstrated by the language used by commentators. It also marginalizes alternate narratives, such as the idea of the ruins as a place of congregation. Other memories and meanings, associated with the monument, even the stained stones employed in the reconstruction, inevitably appear to contest, subvert, or forget this dominant narrative. It also exposes the tension between local needs and the desires of the "International Community."⁴³ The next case study, the *Stari Most*, will explore this tension in greater detail and with more serious implications for a local community recovering from war.

Stari Most

The high-profile reconstruction of the *Stari Most* in Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina is a Balkan example of the political dimension of reconstruction related to the international community. In 1566, Ottoman sultan Suleyman II commissioned architect Mimar Hayreddin to construct a limestone bridge over the Neretva River. Through the sultan's vision, Mostar became a fortified city, which strengthened the Ottoman presence at a strategic crossroads. He wanted a structure symbolizing the engineering and the cultural accomplishments of the

⁴² Nora and Kritzman, *Realms of memory*, 8. The act of archiving also produces the *lieu de mémoire* or the "...significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community."

⁴³ For the *Frauenkirche*, this label would include the World Heritage List committee, foreign dignitaries who used the *Frauenkirche* to homage to the pain of the people of Dresden in 1944, and the opponents of the Waldschlosschen Bridge who campaigned for ongoing international recognition.

expanding Ottoman Empire. Following its construction, simple Ottoman-styled buildings crowded around the bridge and extended along the river as Mostar became increasingly important to local merchants. Because of its role as a crossroads, Mostar developed a diverse, cosmopolitan population with Christian, Muslim, Orthodox, Sephardic Jewish, and Gypsy populations.

This cosmopolitanism ended with the Bosnian War. At the time, Mostar became a highly significant target for the Bosnian Serbian forces with assistance from the *Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*, the army controlled by the government of former Yugoslavia in Belgrade, (hereafter JNA).⁴⁴ The artillery and mortar fire damaged and destroyed historic buildings associated with all three ethnic groups. With the help of Croatian forces, the Bosnian Muslims successfully turned away the Serbian forces and expelled any Serbs still living in the city by May 1992. However, by this time Mostar had become a bargaining piece between Serbian President Slobodan Milošević and Croatian President Franz Tuđman in the secret Karadjordvo Agreement, which outlined the annexation of Bosnia into Serbia and Croatia.

As part of this agreement, Bosnian Croat forces attempted to capture Mostar with assistance from the *Hrvatske Vijeće Odbrane*, the Bosnian Croat militia, (hereafter HVO).⁴⁵ During this fighting, a main north-south artery, the *Bulevar Narodne Revolucije* or Boulevard of National Revolution, became the front lines with the Bosnian Croats of the city living to the east of the boulevard and the Bosnian Muslims to the west. This western area included the *Stari Grad*, or Old City, and the *Stari Most*, or Old Bridge (Figure 2.11). A Croatian General, Slobodan Praljak, ordered the historic bridge shelled because it would keep Croats and Muslims apart. Finally, after months of target practice by apathetic HVO troops, the *Stari Most* collapsed

⁴⁴ *Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija* translates to the Yugoslav People's Army.

⁴⁵ *Hrvatske Vijeće Odbrane* translates to the Croatian Defense Council.

into the Neretva River on November 1, 1993.⁴⁶ Somewhat ironically, this event occurred just seven years after a project in the *Stari Grad* led by architect Amir Pasić received an Aga Khan Architecture award for exceptional restoration and revitalization work.⁴⁷ The fighting in Mostar officially ended in December 1995 with the signing of the General Framework Agreement of Peace, but understandably, it has taken many years for the tensions to cool between the Bosnian Croats and Bosnians Muslims.

Two projects developed in the wake of the war. Amir Pasić initiated Mostar 2004 and developed the plan through three workshops held over numerous summers between 1995 and 2004.⁴⁸ This urban plan called for rebuilding the city from an urban planning perspective and viewed the destruction of the war as an opportunity to correct previous issues in the layout of the city. These issues included access between the *Stari Grad* and the river as well as development along the river. While the plan recognized the value of reconstruction of specific structures, this was just one of several strategies of the plan. This program also worked with the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture and other institutions to educate students in the larger process of postwar rehabilitation of the built environment.⁴⁹

UNESCO's plan for the *Stari Grad* focused more strongly on the reconstruction of historic structures as an agent for revitalization.⁵⁰ The international community focused the reconstruction due to its potentially symbolic value bridging the gap between the Croat and Bosniak, or Muslim, communities of the city. Funding for the project came from a \$4 million,

⁴⁶ Carl Grodach, "Reconstituting identity and history in post-war Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina," *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2002): 68.

⁴⁷ Ismail Serageldin, *Space for freedom: the search for architectural excellence in Muslim societies* (Geneva, Switzerland: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1989), 102.

⁴⁸ Andrew Herscher, "Remembering and Rebuilding in Bosnia," *Transitions Online*, <http://www.tol.org/client/article/5093-remembering-and-rebuilding-in-bosnia.html> (accessed Jun. 8, 2010).

⁴⁹ "The Old Bridge area of the Old City of Mostar: World Heritage Scanned Nomination," UNESCO World Heritage Committee website, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/946rev.pdf> (accessed Apr. 15), 32.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

35-year “Learning and Innovation Loan” from the World Bank as a pilot project that hoped to promote social reconciliation and development through the rehabilitation of cultural heritage.⁵¹ The World Bank raised \$11.5 million project with collaboration from UNESCO, the Aga Khan foundation, private individuals, and the foreign governments including Italy, Turkey, France, and the Netherlands.⁵²

Under the supervision of the UNESCO’s “International Committee of Experts”, an extensive survey of the *Stari Grad* and classification of its historic fabric was undertaken.⁵³ With regards to the *Stari Most*, because of the extensive drawings made of the bridge in 1986, rebuilding efforts could begin immediately after the war. In 1997, divers from the Hungarian Army, NATO military engineers, and US Army Corp of Engineers removed stones from the riverbed (Figure 2.12 and 2.13). Turkish masons quarried new *tenelijska* limestone from the original Mukosa quarry near the town.⁵⁴ Archaeological excavations and extensive studies of the materials sought to complement the information in the architectural drawings and photogrammetry made in 1955 and 1982. The actual reconstruction required a number of special teams providing expertise, but a Turkish company, ER-BU Ankara, won the bid to manage the work.⁵⁵ Finally, after five years of preparation, the actual reconstitution of the bridge began on June 7, 2001 (Figure 2.14 and 2.15).

In July 2004, the pristine newly reconstructed *Stari Most* opened to a large crowd of diplomats, heads of state, and foreign media, while locals could only watch from a designated

⁵¹ Robert Garland Thomson, “Authenticity and the Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Historic Sites,” *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2008): 2.

⁵² “Bosnia: Reconstruction of Mostar’s old bridge starts.” HINA News Agency. June 7, 2001.

⁵³ “The Old Bridge area of the Old City of Mostar: World Heritage Scanned Nomination,” 35.

⁵⁴ Vesna Peric Zimonjic and Marcus Tanner, “Old Bridge of Mostar rises from the ruins of war to bring once-bitter enemies together Ten years on, the Old Bridge over troubled waters of the Balkans begins a new life.” *The Independent*, August 9, 2003.

⁵⁵ “The Old Bridge area of the Old City of Mostar: World Heritage Scanned Nomination,” 36.

area further away.⁵⁶ The opening ceremony for the international community occurred on the ten-year anniversary of the start of the European Union reconstruction project. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands and President of the Council of Ministers of the European Union Bernard Bot spoke most eloquently about the symbolism of the finished bridge. He also expressed the value of the act of reconstruction in the larger international arena⁵⁷:

Ultimately, however, the future of this country is in the hands of Bosnia-Herzegovina itself. To reach Europe, Bosnia will have to cross the *Stari Most*. Like all arched bridges, the *Stari Most* will become stronger -its stones set ever more firmly -as more people cross it. I hope that many people will walk across to the other side, for that is what the European perspective entails: crossing old bridges in order to find a new future together.⁵⁸

A year later UNESCO added the “Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar” on its World Heritage List—the first World Heritage Site for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Figure 2.16 and 2.17). The World Heritage Committee placed the site under “Criterion VI.” This criterion relates to the sites that are “directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance”.⁵⁹ This criterion opens the World Heritage List to sites that have undergone exceptional circumstances, through speaking of “events” and “living traditions rather than historical value and attempts to underscore the altered authenticity of the site. Indeed, the reconstruction

⁵⁶ Emily Gunzburger Makaš, "Interpreting multivalent sites: new meanings for Mostar's Old Bridge," *Centropa*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2005): 59-69.

⁵⁷“Commissioner Patten to visit Sarajevo and Mostar,” *European Union at United Nations*, http://www.europa-eu-un.org/articles/en/article_3688_en.htm (accessed Apr. 15, 2011).

⁵⁸ “EU’s Bot urges Bosnians to work toward European future at Mostar ceremony.” *Onasa News Agency*, July 23, 2004. The European Union had set the reunification of Mostar as one of the pre-conditions Bosnia must fulfill before it can start negotiations on an association agreement with the bloc.

⁵⁹ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, “The Criteria for Selection,” <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> (accessed Feb. 13, 2011).

demonstrated a unique form of peacekeeping. For the international community it represented “NATO’s emphasis on overcoming ethnic divisions in Bosnia and Europe as a whole.”⁶⁰

Soon after the destruction of the bridge, Safet Oručević then mayor of east Mostar, articulated the symbolic value of the rebuilding the bridge. He stated that its rebuilding would “symbolize the restoration of [Bosnia] and the reconciliation of its people who will come together to rebuild the Old Bridge, and all Mostar’s bridges, to link them as a unified people once again.”⁶¹ The idea of the bridge as a symbol of a reunited people soon dominated the discussion of the larger social and economic reconstruction project of Mostar as well as of Bosnia. During the reconstruction and after its completion, this project repeatedly received criticism for not engaging the local communities in the decision making processes. As early as 1999, Andrew Herscher called for the participation of more local stakeholders, noting the inability of UNESCO’s reconstruction efforts to recognize that the Old City’s symbolic meaning is shaped:

...not only according to the lineage of its architecture, but also according to the politics of its rebuilding; if this rebuilding proceeds in the framework of a divided city, without the involvement of the citizens from both sides of the city, then the Old City can only convey the image that was imposed on it during the war.⁶²

Instead of a reconstructed structure with meaning to the entire local community, the dominant understanding of *Stari Most* seems to be its value in tourist dollars and for international visibility (Figure 2.18-2.21). Tourism is not a new industry to Mostar. Prior to the Bosnian War, the Yugoslavian government repaired historic buildings and promoted the identity of Mostar, and

⁶⁰ Philip Smucker, “Building ethnic bridges – NATO to restore storied span now in Bosnian river,” *The Washington Times*, September 27, 1997, A1.

⁶¹ Quoted in Makaš, “Interpreting multivalent sites,” 62.

⁶² Andrew Herscher, “Remembering and Rebuilding in Bosnia,” *Transitions Online*, <http://www.tol.org/client/article/5093-remembering-and-rebuilding-in-bosnia.html> (accessed Jun. 8, 2010).

the city attracted one million tourists a year.⁶³ UNESCO's plan viewed the reconstruction of the bridge as an investment in the economy of Mostar. It envisioned a multi-ethnic identity returning to the city because of the absence of typical postwar pressures, such as unemployment, a fragile financial sector, and economic isolation-- due to a viable heritage tourist market. This strategy has produced economic revitalization in the historic core, but the International Community-driven conceptions of the meaning of Mostar have had social costs. Due to the lack of participation of local community members, the involvement of the International Community in Mostar has resulted in the "neo-colonialization and creation of new market spaces through physical and economic intervention and privatization."⁶⁴ Tourists flock to Mostar; they buy souvenirs in the shops of *Stari Grad* and soak in a version of the local culture (Figure 2.23 and 2.24). However, the political and social benefits of this economic intervention have yet to generate clearly positive results for the local community.

By 2005, a degree of political unification had occurred in Mostar, and some families had moved across the *Bulevar* to their pre-war homes. However, this cooperation occurred only after a series of orders from the Office of the High Representative (OHR), or the international watchdog put in place in the General Framework Agreement for Peace, and in many cases, cooperation has existed only superficially.⁶⁵ Mostar still has two police forces, and separate healthcare, school, telephone, and university systems for the Bosniak population and the Croatian population. Commemorative monuments and art installations still suggest difficulty mediating the recent violence. Because of this ongoing social and psychological division, and despite the emphasis of reconciliation projected on the reconstructed monument by the International Community, the bridge remains a superficial symbol. As a 2003 report on Mostar

⁶³ Grodach, "Reconstituting identity and history," 75.

⁶⁴ Grodach, "Reconstituting identity and history," 73.

⁶⁵ Makaš, "Interpreting multivalent sites," 64.

by the International Crisis Group noted, the *Stari Most* acted as a “Potemkin Village, designed to create the illusion of inter-party, cross-national cooperation, rather than as a manifestation of the real thing.”⁶⁶ As of April 19, 2011, the leaders of the main Bosnian Croat parties met in Mostar and called for amendments to the constitution of the country, which would allow the Croatian ethnic community to form a political entity separate from the Federation of BiH and the Republika Srpska.⁶⁷

Due to the political significance of the reconstruction of the famed *Stari Most*, scholars have challenged the assumption made by politicians that reconstruction projects inherently foster reconciliation between previous enemies. Elizabeth Gunzburger Makaš has commented on the discrepancy between the image created by the new/old bridge and the reality of the community. Her work remains tied to the idea that reconstruction either helps or hinders reconciliation between former enemies. However, there is a serious question as to whether the intervention could ever have this capability. As demonstrated with the *Frauenkirche*, the steps necessary to achieve a “legitimate” and “authentic” reconstruction create a dominant narrative. In the case of Mostar, the international community championed the dominant narrative of reconciliation, but now the ongoing local issues undermine this vision. Despite the rhetoric to promote the project as reconciliation and the attempts incorporate other ethnic heritage, the project elevated one idea of historic Mostar by focusing on an image of Ottoman history. The *Stari Most* became a global *lieux de memoire* which does not serve the cultural needs of the local community.

⁶⁶ International Crisis Group, *Building Bridges in Mostar* (Europe Report 150). Sarajevo/Brussels. November 20, 2003, 5.

⁶⁷ “Bosnians Croats demand own entity,” SETimes, http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2011/04/20/feature-01 (accessed Apr. 20, 2011).

Conclusion: The Ferhadija Mosque

The politically motivated and spectacular nature of the *Frauenkirche* and *Stari Most* and similar archaeological reconstruction projects has created a correlation between reconstruction and the restoration of cultural or social order. In the German example, the *Frauenkirche* became a symbol of the reunification of Germany and the incorporation of the formerly socialist East Germany into German culture. However, the prioritization of local concerns over global status illustrated by the delisting exposed Dresden as a city with a unique postsocialist history at odds with the overarching European identity. In the Bosnian example, the International Community employed the reconstruction of the *Stari Most* to symbolize the reconciliation of the Bosniak and Croat populations. However, the reconstruction misrepresented the tense relationship between the two former war opponents. While these projects follow international standards of preservation, because of their highly publicized symbolic meaning, they have ironically result in a fixation on and market for the touristic dimension of reconstruction. The success of these projects seems placed on their impressive feats of preservation instead of on their larger impact on the community of users. These projects then represent a shift in the meaning of reconstruction towards valuing a project for its visual and symbolic effect rather than its response to the needs of the community or its contextualization with the urban context.⁶⁸

Further evidence of this shift privileging of the symbolic is found in the existence of the 2000 “Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction regarding Cultural Heritage” (Riga Charter hereafter).⁶⁹ ICCROM in conjunction with the Latvian government organized a regional conference in October 2000 to discuss the increased number of reconstruction projects

⁶⁸ In fact, both the *Frauenkirche* and the *Stari Most* projects include plans to match the city fabric around the historic monument.

⁶⁹ Herb Stovel, "The Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage: Riga, Latvia, October 2000," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, no. 4 (2001): 241-244. Despite being a regional charter, it has influenced conservation programs of England and Greece.

in the 1990's especially in post-socialist Europe.⁷⁰ The authors of the charter did not intend to put forth new ideas about reconstruction. Instead, organizers sought to affirm existing standards voiced in previous charters and conventions to prevent further “fanciful” projects.⁷¹ This reactive approach has been commonly understood by the preservation community as a *carte blanche* for future less rigorous reconstruction projects.⁷² As Natalia Dushkina has argued, the shift in the Russian “restitution” projects represents the valuation of economic potential and visual impact over conservation principles and cultural concerns.

The *Frauenkirche* and *Stari Most* demonstrate faith in the ability of a highly symbolic preservation project to change social relationships, and they have normalized this correlation because of the highly publicized nature of the projects. The Ferhadija Mosque reconstruction project provides evidence of this normalization. Rhetoric associated with the project illustrates the project understands reconstruction as literal expression of reconciliation. In 2003, Prime Minister of RS at the time Dragan Čavić and other RS officials met with the British Ambassador to BiH Ian Cliff, Director of the Non-governmental organization “Soul of Europe” Donald Reeves, Reis-ul-ulema Mustafa Cerić, and Banja Luka Mufti Edhem Camdzic.⁷³ After the meeting to discuss the Ferhadija Mosque project, Čavić noted that the reconstruction of Christ the Savior Temple in Banja Luka and the Ferhadija Mosque represents path by which historic injustice may be reversed.⁷⁴ The comment by Čavić demonstrates that this conceptualization of

⁷⁰ *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (Paris: UNESCO, revised 2003). 67. ICCROM stands for the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property. This organization was created by UNESCO in 1956 to improve the quality of conservation practice. Bosnia and Herzegovina became a member state of ICCROM in 2000.

⁷¹ Stovel, “The Riga Charter on Authenticity,” 241.

⁷² Dushkina, “Reconstruction and its interpretation,” 2.

⁷³ “Čavić meets Ian Cliff,” *June 4, 2003 OHR Media Round Up*, <http://www.ohr.int/ohr-dept/presso/bh-media-rep/round-ups> (accessed May 10, 2011). Soul of Europe was a major fundraiser of the Ferhadija Project until the non-profit bowed out of the fundraising role of the project in 2005.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* The Serbian Orthodox Diocese constructed the Church of the Holy Trinity in 1929 but German air forces destroyed the structure during World War II. The diocese reconstructed the building between 1993 and 2009 and

reconstruction has spread to the discourse related to other smaller projects in the country. As the *Frauenkirche* and the *Stari Most* has demonstrated, this view of reversal as reconciliation becomes problematic and can undermine the value of the historic structure. The attitude can overlook real social issues still plaguing postwar communities.

The Ferhadija Mosque project provides further evidence that the act of reconstruction along international standards alone cannot create a specific social order. The project defines itself as associated with the International Community in several ways. The Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina designated the Ferhadija Mosque a National Monument on May 7, 2003, when the site was only an empty lot (Figure 2.24 and 2.25).⁷⁵ This date also marked the tenth anniversary of the razing of the lot after the destruction of the mosque by ultranationalist Bosnian Serbs. A team of architects, historians, and leaders of the Islamic community in Banja Luka began research to reconstruct the Ferhadija Mosque soon after the Bosnian War. In a 2002 synthesis of the research generated by the project team, “the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Banja Luka, Riyaset of Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina, most members of the international community, UNESCO, Council of Europe, OHR” had requested the reconstruction of the monument.⁷⁶

Despite the definition and standards associated with the Bosnian Commission, the project also refers to this International Community for its reconstruction standards. In his letter celebrating the opening of the website, the leader of the Islamic Community in BiH, Reisu-ul-

renamed the church the Church of Christ the Savior. The reconstruction recreated the form of the church but as far as the author knows no original material was used in the construction. Instead, the diocese created an exhibit of architectural fragments of the original building which is located in the same public square as the church.

⁷⁵ “Decision on Ferhad pasa mosque and graveyard”

⁷⁶ Muhamed Hamidovic, *Study: Principles and methodological procedure for the rehabilitation of Ferhad-Pasha Mosque in Banja Luka*, Acta Architectonica Et Urbanistica (the of School of Architecture in Sarajevo) No. 2, May 2002, 5. It goes on to list “Mr. Jacques Klein, the entire Islamic world, and cultural public in general.” Jacques Klein served as the Principal Deputy High Representative for BiH with the OHR and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Coordinator of United Nations Operations in BiH.

ema Dr. Mustafa Cerić, notes the UNESCO standards used in the reconstruction.⁷⁷ This reference to these standards as well as display of pride in the international support suggests the project sought to contribute to a global “archive” of heritage as much as a Bosnian one. The international alignment seems to empower the project to move forward and reaffirm its claim to rebuild in Banja Luka. The website of the project includes numerous photographs that document the visits of foreign and Bosnian dignitaries, religious leaders, and even foreign tourist groups to the site (Figure 2.26 and 2.27).

The project clearly aligns its work with the universal standards of preservation advocated by UNESCO and even posts at the entrance to the project a signboard, which announces UNESCO as an investor (Figure 2.28). As demonstrated by the Mostar example, the use of reconstruction in postwar Bosnia has become associated with the idea of reconciliation for former enemies. Even if an alliance with the International Community arose out of the need for support to rebuild the Ferhadija Mosque, any image of reversal and reconciliation symbolized by Čavić’s statements seems removed from the reality experienced by the project team. Since its beginning, the Islamic Community has encountered resistance from municipal authorities in its efforts to rebuild all of its mosques. In 1999, it took a mandate from the Office of the High Representative, the resident watchdog of the International Community in BiH, to force the municipal government to cooperate with the project and to approve appropriate construction permits.⁷⁸ Even in 2011, cooperation from the municipal government continues to exist

⁷⁷ Dr. Mustafa Cerić. “Welcome Letter,” *Ferhadija Mosque 1579*, www.ferhadija.ba (accessed Apr. 15, 2010). Additionally, the project has received funding from various international actors including UNESCO and the American government.

⁷⁸ Andras Riedlmayer, “From the Ashes: Bosnia’s Cultural Heritage,” in *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 41. Branko Peric, “Rebuilding Ferhadija,” Institute for War and Peace Reporting, <http://iwpr.net/report-news/rebuilding-ferhadija> (accessed Apr. 15, 2010). Andras Riedlmayer, 2008. “News and Analysis: Banja Luka’s Ferhadija Mosque rises again.” *Bosnia Report of the Bosnian Institute*, March 3. http://www.bosnia.org.uk/news/news_body.cfm?newsid=2373 (accessed Apr. 15, 2010).

primarily only on paper according to the assistant architect on the project.⁷⁹ This evidence does not suggest the reconstruction incites hatred or conflict necessarily but instead demonstrates that reconstruction projects in BiH need to connect with other initiatives to foster reconciliation.

Despite the progress of the Ferhadija Mosque reconstruction, the city still suffers from ethnic tension, and this case study confirms the evidence from Mostar that the correlation of reconstruction and reconciliation is mistaken. The use of reconstruction as a symbolic gesture only has limited impact and could potentially hinder the social process of healing. The Ferhadija Mosque case study suggests that preservationist should re-examine the motivations and objectives for reconstructing a historic building in the postwar context. The next chapter will further explore the theme of motivations and objectives. It focuses on the Ferhadija Mosque project to discuss how reconstruction projects reflect the difficult issue of population displacement, which lingers from the massive migration of the war. It will explore the experience of the individuals separated from their pre-war homes who still engage the project from a far and the chapter considers the role of the reconstruction to connect this “out of place” population with the community in Banja Luka.

⁷⁹ Information shared with the author during a conversation with this member of the project.

Chapter 3: Reconstruction and the Reality of Return

The situation is still more complicated in postwar building, especially after wars that cause massive changes in the population. A city and the buildings it contains are instruments of and monuments to the political, social, and cultural life of a community. When this continuity changes, so do the meanings of the buildings they formerly inhabited. Postwar rebuilding, then, cannot simply rely on the pre-existing cultural value of a monument but has to recalibrate the relationship between the monument and its new public.¹

Andrew Herscher

In 1999, architect and architectural historian Andrew Herscher analyzed the preservation of the built environment in Mostar and recognized the need for more local participation in the rebuilding process. Perhaps most importantly, his words acknowledge a significant, though intimidating dilemma-- one faced by the various international organizations at work in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) as well as the Bosnian people-- the fate of refugees and people displaced by the Bosnian War. Herscher asked how should preservation professionals rebuild in the context of the massive migration that occurred during and after the war.²

Now, however, the context of the question of how to rebuild after such an enormous displacement has changed. Since 1999, many people have returned to BiH. However, more often than not, they did not return to their prewar homes.³ Instead they have settled where their ethnic group represents the majority of the population. Given that some people return and others do not, scholars must formulate new questions to understand the changes to communities during

¹ Andrew Herscher, "Remembering and Rebuilding in Bosnia," *Transitions Online*, <http://www.tol.org/client/article/5093-remembering-and-rebuilding-in-bosnia.html> (accessed on Jun. 8, 2010).

² Before the war, Mostar had a cosmopolitan population which included ethnic Croats, Serbs, Bosniaks, Jews, and other ethnic groups. Hostilities during the war forced a majority of the Serb population to flee the city. After the Croatian military forces turned against the Bosniak population, the communities separated from each other. Bosniaks began living in West Mostar and the Croats living in East Mostar.

³ Precise statistics on the amount of people who returned to their pre-war home have not been gathered.

the postwar recovery in BiH and how reconstruction projects help the communities negotiate these changes.⁴

Since the acknowledgement of the issue of exile and societal shift by Herscher, few scholars studying the built environment have explored the role of the displaced community in reconstruction projects either as participants or as spectators.⁵ Most of the Western scholars acknowledging the issue of return in BiH rely on a singular conception of return, which anticipates the return of the majority of former members of the community.⁶

Fieldwork by anthropologists and geographers has shown that the reality of return depends on a variety of complex factors and occurs over a very long length of time.⁷ For example, the refugee might demonstrate reluctance to return due to a better labor market in his or her host country. In this context, this thesis questions how the ongoing issues of return and repatriation can affect the meaning of reconstructed monuments. Can the reality of the return actually undermine the success of the monument or alter its meaning? In the actual circumstances, if reconstruction necessitates the recalibration of the cultural value of a monument, what characterizes this new value to the community?

This chapter will attempt to answer these questions by two means. First, it discusses the relationship between the official policies of return in BiH and the reality on the ground, as

⁴ This study employs the term “project(s)” to mean the community and professional team conducting the reconstruction.

⁵ In her study of Sarajevo, architectural historian Nada Capuzzo briefly discusses Herscher’s questions about what city to rebuild and assesses the question of reconstruction in light of the new, predominantly Bosniak population in the city.

⁶ An example would be the perspective of Andras Riedlmayer in his 2002 work “From the Ashes: the past and future of Bosnia’s cultural heritage.” Riedlmayer understands the return of pre-war populations as important to the healing of wounds and the reconstruction of historic structures as essentially to the process of return. This perspective views return to the pre-war home as the only way to achieve normalcy instead of exploring how preservation projects handle the reality of transnational and trans-entity community members.

⁷ The term “reality” of return will be used throughout to describe a more complex picture of return. This term does not mean to suggest return does not occur and does not intend to generalize a single conception of return. Vandiver (2001) employs this term to differentiate the actual experience of returnees from the experience anticipated by the International Community. Marita Eastmond and Anders Stefansson have specifically written on returning and refugee populations in Banja Luka.

documented in the work of anthropologists and geographers. This information about the actual experience of return is crucial to understand the significance of reconstruction to the return process and the postwar condition in BiH. This chapter then suggests the extent to which reconstruction projects negotiate the reality of return with a brief case study of the town of Foča in the Republika Srpska. The argument is that by investigating the ongoing issue of return, preservationists can formulate a clearer understanding of the meaning of reconstruction.

This chapter focuses on the return situation in Banja Luka. The Banja Luka case study describes the social and economic difficulties faced by the returning and recovering Bosniak community. This chapter then investigates the cultural role of reconstruction to the recovering Bosniak community by employing the concept of the “linking object,” as conceived by the psychoanalyst and scholar Vamik Volkan. This concept will illustrate the value of the act of reconstruction for the community confronting the loss of the pre-war community. This study does not suggest that all reconstruct buildings are linking objects, however this construct is useful in revealing that the process of reconstruct on Banja Luka reflects ongoing negotiations with the loss of both a pre-war identity and postwar community.

Post-Dayton Policy and Conceptions of Return

We arrived here safely. Everyone is fine. Please do not write us or try to contact us. We do not want to be reminded of anything.⁸

Anonymous family originally from BiH writing from Canada in 1994

By the end of the Bosnian War, more than 2.3 million people had fled BiH entirely or had moved to another part of the country where their ethnic group represented the majority.⁹ The

⁸ Julie Mertus and Jasmina Tešanović, *The suitcase: refugee voices from Bosnia and Croatia, with contributions from over seventy-five refugees and displaced people* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 163.

number of displaced people represents approximately half of the country's pre-war population of 4.4 million people. Approximately 1 million of these Displaced Persons (DP) stayed in BiH, and the other 1.3 million became refugees in other countries of the former Yugoslavia and throughout the world.¹⁰ During the war, the UN High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR) organized and negotiated refugee camps and resettlement programs in countries abroad including the United States, Canada, Australia, and a number of European countries.¹¹ The massive migration and deaths of over 200,000 people created zones of ethnically homogeneous populations. This un-mixing directly contrasted to the multicultural, heterogeneous character of much of pre-war Bosnia (Figure 3.1 and 3.2). This level of displacement meant that only 40 percent of the Bosnian population, immediately after the war, remained in their pre-war residence or location.¹²

Drafted during the Dayton Proximity Talks, the General Framework Agreement for Peace (GFAP) serves as an "operation manual for the entire post-conflict reconstruction process."¹³ This Agreement devotes an entire section Annex 7 to the rights of refugees and displaced persons. Notably, the GFAP establishes the right to return through property restitution for displaced people, although it does not provide guidelines or standards for this process. Due to the

⁹ Margaret Vandiver, "Reclaiming Korazac: Accompanying Returning Refugees," in *Reconstructing Multiethnic Societies: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina*, eds. Dzemail Sokolovic and Florian Bieber, (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001), 167.

¹⁰ Vandiver, "Reclaiming Korazac," 168.

¹¹ According to the 2005 UNHCR Statistical Yearbook for BiH, in 1996 Germany had a refugee population of 330,000, the United States had one of 31,658, the Netherlands had 22,042, Switzerland had 5, 144, Serbia and Montenegro had 250,744, and "Other" countries had a population of 354,282. Elizabeth Cousens, in *Toward Peace in Bosnia*, stated that Bosniaks constituted a heavy majority of the refugee population in Western European countries while ethnic Croats fled mostly to Croatia and ethnic Serbs fled to Serbia.

¹² Rhodri C. Williams, "The Significance of Property Restitution to Sustainable Return in Bosnia and Herzegovina," *International Migration*, vol. 44, no.3 (2006.): 43. This movement has prompted in depth examination of 'home' in postwar recovery as well as the reconstruction of homes. However, this chapter will focus on historic and monumental structures.

¹³ Dina Francesca Haynes, "The *Deus ex Machina* Descends: The Laws, Priorities and Players Central to the International Administration of Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina," in *Deconstructing the reconstruction: human rights and the rule of law in postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina*, ed. Dina Francesca Haynes, 3-28 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 5.

agreement of the asylum countries and the three signatories, the GFAP designates the UNHCR to create and implement a repatriation plan.¹⁴ The return process described in the agreement emphasized the timeliness of the issue and the importance of accomplishing the return quickly, with a focus on “early, peaceful, orderly and phased return of refugees and displaced persons.”¹⁵

Essentially, Annex 7 strove to reverse the path of those who had fled and to return them to their pre-war homes and communities.¹⁶ A Commission of Refugee and Displaced Persons outlined in the GFAP represents the focus on the return to pre-war home. This Commission processed claims to property made by returnees and had the authority to seize the property for its rightful owner.¹⁷ In general, different international organizations, like Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and UNHCR, provided political might to pressure obstructionist local officials, target aid, and direct assistance like escort vehicles and manpower for the return.¹⁸ Despite their resources, the repatriation efforts initially failed to meet the

¹⁴ The three signers were Croatian President Franjo Tuđman, Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegović, and Serbian President Slobodan Milošević.

¹⁵ *General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia Herzegovina* (GFAP) 1995 75 I.L.M. 138, http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content_id=380 (accessed May 10, 2011). As one would expect, many refugees felt a strong desire to return to their homes. They formed groups to facilitate return like the multiethnic Coalition for Return which lobbied for the creation of safe conditions for returnees.

¹⁶ Stef Jansen, "'Home' and Return in the Foreign Intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina: An Anthropological Critique," in *Deconstructing the reconstruction: human rights and the rule of law in postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina*, ed. Dina Francesca Haynes, 29-51 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 33. The policy of the “right to restitution” represents a break from a more tradition “right to return” policy. The emphasis on individual rights to property sought to maintain the rule of law in the recovering country. Some proponents of the restitution orient approach deemed BiH a success in 2005 for successfully processing 200,000 property claims. Critiques of the policy quickly pointed out that 200,000 claims did not equal 200,000 returnees to pre-war homes.

¹⁷ It also could negotiate the selling of property or make leasing arrangements.

¹⁸ UNHCR Office of the Chief of Mission for Bosnia and Herzegovina, *The Interface Between Migration and Asylum in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, January 2001, 10. Other international organizations which worked in BiH include United Nations Mission to BiH, the International Police Task Force, OHR, the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the International Organization for Migration. The local authorities at work include the national Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees, established in 2000, the State Border Service, Human Rights Ombudsman and Human Rights Chamber. Additionally, authorities exist at the entity, canton, and municipality levels.

expectations of these international organizations. UNHCR anticipated the return of 400,000 Bosnian refugees in 1996, but only 88,039 people returned that year.¹⁹

Additionally, UNHCR established programs to facilitate the process of an early return. On the sidelines of the Dayton Proximity Talks, UNHCR representatives brokered the Pilot Return Project among the leaders of BiH, Croatia, and Serbia.²⁰ In 1996, this initiative attempted to create a reciprocal exchange of displaced Bosniak and Croat people within the Federation. UNHCR chose four towns for the project- two Croat-controlled, Stolac and Jajce, and two Bosniak-controlled, Travnik and Bugojno (Figure 3.3).²¹ However, the architects of the program failed to anticipate the lingering animosity and the remaining potential for violence in these communities. In the years immediately after the war, returnees to these towns helped by the project encountered verbal and physical abuse. In Jajce, the violence and harassment grew to such an extent that the 400-500 Muslim returnees fled in 1997.²² In Stolac, graffiti and crosses created a threatening atmosphere for returnees. Bosniaks did not return to Stolac in significant numbers until 2000 (Figure 3.4-3.6).²³ In general, despite the call for an “early... orderly return” and the presence of highly organized return programs, 236,863 people originating in BiH remained of concern to UNHCR as of January 2010.²⁴ It is important to remember this number

¹⁹ Charles K Cater and Elizabeth M. Cousens, *Toward peace in Bosnia: implementing the Dayton accords* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001) 73.

²⁰ Cater and Cousens, *Toward peace in Bosnia*, 77. In addition to this Pilot Program, UNHCR also started the Open Cities Initiative in March 1997. This program rewarded eligible municipalities who welcomed minority returns with increase donor funding. This program met harsh criticism due to issues of transparency about the selection of Open Cities as well as the superficial commitment expected of municipal leaders, among other criticisms.

²¹ According Amir Pašić (1994), all four of these towns experienced violence towards Islamic religious structures ranging from “damaged” to “totally destroyed.”

²² Cater and Cousens, *Toward peace in Bosnia*, 77.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Marita Eastmond, Saskia Gent, Richard Black, "Introduction: Sustainable Return in the Balkans: Beyond Property Restitution and Policy," *International Migration*, vol. 44, no. 3 (2006): 7; “Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *UNHCR website*, <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/txis/vtx/page?page=49e48d766> (accessed May 1, 2011).

does not include people who have settled abroad. This re-settled population is approximately 650,000 people as of 2005.²⁵

Since the major wars of the 1990s, scholars from a variety of fields have challenged the policy of return and have critiqued its underlying logic.²⁶ Geographers and anthropologists have focused on the refugee population through the lens of placelessness or displacement. Their work has revealed the widely-held perception that the refugees' condition is unnatural, due to their being viewed as "uprooted" and "out of place."²⁷ Insistence on return then becomes problematic, because it normalizes the idea that refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are out of place. This normalization reinforces a natural or "national order" to which the refugees must return to be "back in their right place."²⁸ This assumption came through in the following quote from UNHCR in an annual assessment of the World's refugees: "There can be no hope of normalcy until the majority of those displaced are able to reintegrate themselves into their societies."²⁹

²⁵ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "The Balkans: After the War Was Over," *Refugees*, September 1, 2005, Geneva, Switzerland: Public Information Section of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 10.

²⁶ In the last two decades, the high-profile return programs have emerged after wars in Africa and the former Yugoslavia. Increasingly UNHCR has linked return with peacekeeping objectives, but this link has become problematic, as the international community has used return programs to assert legitimization of postwar governments. This shift to return has also emerged in state public policy with assisted return programs in 18 European countries increasing from four in 1996 to twenty by 2006. It is important to remember that the focus on return is a recent shift in treatment of refugees and DPs. This emphasis moves away from programs of permanent resettlement and assimilation employed during the Cold War. This point is quite complicated and debated among scholars. Some scholars feel this shift represents a form of institutionalized racism as the demographics of refugees have shifted in the last twenty years while other point to a "peace dividend" since the end of the Cold War which has made return more attractive to refugees. Chimni 1999 and Black and Koser 1999.

²⁷ Liisa Malkki, "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees," *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1992): 25.

²⁸ Malkki, "National Geographic," 25; Richard Black and Saskia Gent, "Sustainable Return in Post-conflict Contexts," *International Migration*, vol. 44, no. 3 (2006): 20.

²⁹ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *The State of the World's Refugees, 1997-98: A Humanitarian Agenda* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1997), 162.

The theoretical filter of place helps to explain the difficulty of policymakers to anticipate the “dynamic and open-ended” nature of return for many refugees and displaced individuals.³⁰ The policies implemented in BiH by the GFAP as well as the notions of return described by UNHCR and OHR are rigid and problematic. These policies assumed the displacement could simply be reversed and those people who had fled could return to their prewar home and find a sense of stability. Anthropologist Marita Eastmond has written compellingly on the strategies refugees adopt to maintain a sense of certainty and stability including periods of dual residence and back and forth movement.³¹ For the refugee, “return and reintegration is a dynamic and contested process which means having to negotiate one’s position in new contexts of power and inequality.”³² Her work also forces a reconceptualization of ‘home’ as contributing to a stable lifestyle by drawing on different resources from different locations.³³

Essentially the insistence on return promoted by policymakers has led to a reexamination of what constitutes a “sustainable return.”³⁴ While people have returned to their pre-war homes, the lack of work and diminished social network render minority communities stagnant. This phenomenon occurs in both political entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) and the Republika Srpska (RS). It has provoked the argument that political might and financial resources could have been better spent fostering socio-economic conditions towards the creation

³⁰Marita Eastmond, "Transnational Returns and Reconstruction in Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina," *International Migration*, vol. 44, no. 3, (2006): 141.

³¹ Ibid.

³² T. Ranger, “Studying repatriation as part of African social history,” in *When Refugees Go Home*, eds. T. Allen and H. Morsink, (UNRISD, Geneva, 1994), 291; Marita Eastmond, “Reconstruction and the politics of home-coming: repatriation of refugees in Cambodia, Working Paper 1,” *Legacy of Violence and War* (Project, Göteborg University, Göteborg 2002).

³³ Eastmond, “Transnational Returns and Reconstruction,” 153.

³⁴ According to the *Manual on Sustainable Return* of the UN Mission in Kosovo, “sustainable return” encompasses four areas: security and freedom of movement, access to public services, access to shelter, and economic options, through fair and equal access to employment opportunities.

of more “sustainable” communities. The “reality” of return then casts a different light on reconstruction projects in towns and villages still recovering.

Historic Structures and Displaced Communities

In light of this recent research by Marita Eastmond and others, preservationists must revisit the value and meaning of reconstruction in postwar contexts. Clearly, ongoing social and economic issues plague transitioning and returning communities in BiH, especially for minority returns of Bosniak, Croat, Serb, or other populations. How does the complex process of minority returns affect the value and meaning of the reconstruction? Do the lingering issues of return undermine the reconstructed monument as a symbol of hope and progress? For insight into these questions, this discussion will now examine into how reconstruction projects conceive of the displaced population.

Although the analysis of Andrew Herscher focuses on the specific context of Mostar, now over ten years later, and with the dilemma of return still plaguing the postwar recovery of Bosnia, these words resound with renewed importance. Immediately after the war, early discussions of “social reconstruction” posited the significance of rebuilding to encourage the return of minority populations.³⁵ However, early writing could only speculate on and describe the value of reconstructing historic and religious structures.³⁶

Unfortunately, scholarship on the reconstruction of historic structures after the Bosnian end of the war typically has not discussed the role of displaced community members in the

³⁵ Michael Platzer, “Lessons Learned from Social Reconstruction,” in *Urban triumph or urban disaster?: dilemmas of contemporary postwar reconstruction*, eds. Sultan Barakat, Jon Calame, and Esther Ruth Charlesworth. (York: Postwar Reconstruction & Development Unit, University of York, 1998). Marita Eastmond (2006) also used the term “social reconstruction” to refer to “processes of (re)creating, in new circumstances, the social relation, identities and (cultural meanings through which people in a postwar setting (re)connect to a particular place and community as ‘home.’”

³⁶ Christopher Merrill, *The old bridge: the third Balkan War and the age of the refugee*, (Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions, 1995).

reconstruction projects. When discussed, this participation usually only part of a larger conversation on reconciliation. A rigorous exploration of the complexities of the return process and their impact on reconstruction is left out.³⁷ One expert on the destruction of cultural heritage during the Bosnian War Andras Riedlmayer argues for a need to reconstruct, since it will draw displaced individuals home. He notes that international organizations and non-sectarian organizations have stayed away from projects involving religious monuments. “In this, they ignore the key role that such projects can play in promoting the return of minority refugees, one of the principal goals of the international community in post-Dayton Bosnia.”³⁸

Sultan Barakat, a scholar focused on postwar recovery, also viewed return as inevitable and as a major catalyst in the process of return. Barakat has given this displaced population the most consideration in his work on reconstruction of monuments and culturally significant structures. This research typically places the historic object in the larger context of social and economic recovery and political stabilization, and his consideration of this population reflects that tendency. However, his work assumes DPs will return to their pre-war homes, despite the difficulties faced by the return programs:

The stagnation in implementing that part of the Dayton Peace Agreement regarding the return of the displaced community emphasizes the need to define the conditions for their repopulation and provide for extended settlement by the existing occupants, seeking their co-operation and indeed involvement in the recreation of permanent community life in Počitelj.³⁹

³⁷ Architectural historian Elizabeth Gunzburger Makaš does not discuss in depth displacement in her examination of the “multivalent” meanings of the New Old Bridge of Mostar. However, she mentions the return of families to their pre-war homes across town, as an indication of some level of reconciliation or progress in the town.

³⁸Andras Riedlmayer, "From the Ashes: Bosnia's Cultural Heritage," in *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States*, 98-135 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 128. Further research needs to address whether the lack of rebuilding religious monuments contributes to the complicated reality of return described by the research of anthropologists and geographers like Eastmond.

³⁹ Sultan Barakat, Craig Wilson, Vjekoslava Sankovic Simcic, and Marija Kojakovic, "Challenges and Dilemmas Facing the Reconstruction of War-Damaged Cultural Heritage: The Case Study of Pocitelj, Bosnia-Herzegovina," in *Destruction and conservation of cultural property*, eds. Robert Layton, Julian Thomas, and Peter G. Stone, 168-181 (London: Routledge, 2001), 176. The town of Počitelj is located in the Čapljina municipality in southwest FBiH.

Clearly, a number of people do return and these communities have grown and stabilized to some degree. Examples of return are found all over the country, and Barakat's important work distills strategies from theory and practice to attract and accommodate the returnees. He views them as essential to the stabilization of the community.

Barakat's work is crucial for understanding the historic object as a tool for recovery and the stabilization of the community. However, western scholars must further interrogate the value of reconstruction to communities facing such extensive social change. Future work needs to engage the impact of the ongoing issue of return on the meaning of reconstructed heritage. Such an analysis will help to understand how the act of reconstruction and the reconstructed structure can contribute to and/or hinder the larger postwar reconstruction project.⁴⁰

It is clear the reconstruction projects in BiH already anticipate the attention of the displaced population. Language employed by supporters of the project seems to focus on this population. The leader of the Bosnian Islamic Community, Reis-ul-Ulema Mustafa Ceric, stressed this point at a ceremony marking the opening of the newly-constructed Sehidija Mosque in Gorazde in southeast Bosnia. He urged Bosniaks to return and to "not sell your property in eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina because, by doing so, you will be selling our freedom."⁴¹ Clearly he expected the words would reach the DPs, which implies that the ceremony would also attract the attention of this community.

The tendency to reach out to the DPs continues to be especially true of projects in the Republika Srpska where there is more social and economic pressure on the displaced community

⁴⁰ Recently there has been more interest in the synergy between cultural heritage and peacekeeping. A forum organized by ICCROM in 2005 focused on Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery. Professionals and scholars with experience in the field assessed the role of cultural heritage of all kinds in conjunction with other postwar social and economic reconstruction efforts.

⁴¹ "New mosque opens in divided eastern Bosnian town of Gorazde," *Federation News Agency*, September 18, 1994.

to return. This issue has become particularly heated recently as nationalist rhetoric has gained momentum. Seemingly influenced by Kosovo's recent declaration of independence in 2008, Milodrad Dodik the Prime Minister of the RS has increasingly endorsed the idea of the entities separating into two countries. Critics of the minister have accused him of consciously undermining the efforts to improve Bosnian Serb and Bosniak relations.⁴² This political atmosphere is definitely affecting the decisions of displaced people to return as well as increasing the desire of Muslims for displaced community members to return "home."

In the Republika Srpska, the reconstruction of the Aladža Mosque in the town of Foča also demonstrates a heightened level of concern for the displaced population. The Aladža Mosque, or "Colorful" Mosque, stood as an exquisite example of classical Ottoman architecture and dated to 1557 (Figure 3.7).⁴³ The interior murals displayed complex floral motifs in rich, vibrant colors, and the famed murals under the mosque's portico resembled prayer rugs and referenced the sculptural decoration on the mihrabs.⁴⁴ During the war in Foča, Bosnian Serb nationalists directed some of the most brutal violence against Bosnian Muslims including a "rape camp" housed in a local sports arena and a mass grave for Muslim victims and rubble from the local mosques.⁴⁵ They eventually destroyed all sixteen mosques in the town including the Aladža Mosque as an act of ethnic cleansing (Figure 3.8).

A report prepared by the Commission of Preservation of National Monuments of BiH lists one of the significant reasons for the reconstruction as "encouraging the return of Bosniac

⁴² Dan Bilefsky, "Ethnic Wins in Bosnia May Cause Deeper Splits," *The New York Times*, October 4, 2010, 6.

⁴³ Riedlmayer, "From the Ashes," 115.

⁴⁴ Denis Bašić. Aladža mosque: the mosque from the bottom of the river. (S.l: s.n 13. 2003).

⁴⁵ Colin Freeman, "Lone preacher: the Serb mayor who is trying to heal Bosnia's scars of war," *The Sunday Telegraph*, August 1, 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/bosnia/7920311/Lone-preacher-the-Serb-mayor-who-is-trying-to-heal-Bosnias-scars-of-war.html> (accessed on May 5, 2011).

refugees"-- a population that numbered almost 21,000 before the war.⁴⁶ The same report, a Business Plan prepared for consideration by the Southeast Europe Regional Programme, reinforced the connection between reconstruction and return by arguing that the reconstruction would "provide confirmation that there are progressive forces willing to make their political convictions a reality."⁴⁷

Despite the violence and killing of the war year, Foča represents a rare success story with regard to minority returns. The concerted efforts of the mayor, Zdravko Krsmanovic, have aided in the reconstruction of mosques, curbed nationalist Serb graffiti, funded and built necessary infrastructure for all ethnic groups to use, and created an atmosphere where the 4,000 returning Bosniaks feel safe.⁴⁸ His efforts have combined the reconstruction of the built environment with other economic and social strategies. Importantly, the work at Foča seems to confirm Barakat's argument that the reconstruction of cultural heritage can contribute to the postwar recovery, when it is implemented in concert with other economic and social initiatives.⁴⁹

From this example, it is clear that monuments may have value as symbols of recovery and tolerance. The communities behind reconstruction projects are acutely aware of the attention of the displaced population and communicate the status of the community through these symbols. The communication however creates a paradoxical relationship with the displaced population.⁵⁰ Because they are somewhere else, the DPs support the reconstruction of structures

⁴⁶"Integrated Rehabilitation Project Plan/Survey of the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage: Business Plan," (Sarajevo: Regional Programme for Cultural and Natural Heritage in South-East Europe, 2009) 12.

⁴⁷ "Integrated Rehabilitation Project" 12. The Southeast Europe Regional Programme is a cultural heritage program under the Council of Europe.

⁴⁸ Ibid. The municipality of Foča has seen 4000 returnees as of 2010.

⁴⁹ Sultan Barakat, "Postwar reconstruction and the recovery of cultural heritage: critical lessons from the last fifteen years," in *Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery: Papers from the ICCROM Forum held on October 4-6, 2005*, ed. Nicholas Stanley-Price (Rome: ICCROM 2007), 26.

⁵⁰ There is an irony in reconstructions. The violence towards these structures in the war represented the reduction and hardening of ethnic identity solely along religious lines. However, this violence became a creative act, which led to the maintenance of a more rigid ethnic identity to reinforce a sense of community. Instead of the destruction

and their related community in various ways.⁵¹ By living in stable economies with employment opportunities, this population can send home remittances and contribute to the rebuilding, but this population also remains an important object of the reconstruction, as demonstrated by the Aladža Mosque project. The rebuilding thus acts as a form of communication to DPs of a safe environment available to those who return to their pre-war home.

This discussion will now turn to a specific case study, Banja Luka and the Ferhadija Mosque, to explore these questions in more depth.⁵² Because of the research by anthropologists Marita Eastmond and Anders Stefansson, this study has insight into the complexity of the postwar social and cultural scenario in the city. The reconstruction of the Ferhadija Mosque and other indicators suggest progress for the Muslim community, however, with only a third of the pre-war population having returned, there are also indications of an ongoing struggle to re-establish their community.

Banja Luka: Ferhadija Mosque

Look at this stone, I told them. This stone has been listening to the call to prayer, to the text of the Qur'an, five times a day for 500 years. And you want me to throw this stone away and make a new stone?⁵³

Muhamed Hamidović

of the historic or religious buildings, now the reconstruction of them is an attempt to send a message to the displaced population and communicate presence. Of course, this motivation complements the efforts to reclaim a place in the physical and historical landscapes of each town and city. The irony grows a little darker when one realizes that the absolute endorsement and reconstruction of religious and heritage symbols might improve the healing of postwar wounds and promote return as envisioned by the IC. However, the IC shied away from overtly endorsing and financially supporting reconstruction projects of religious structures. Riedlmayer (2002) discusses this phenomenon.

⁵¹ Eastmond, "Transnational Returns and Reconstruction," 154; Barakat, "Postwar reconstruction and the recovery," 32.

⁵² While Western architectural historians have conducted little in depth scholarship on the capital of the RS, research conducted by anthropologists and geographers allow this study to examine the value of reconstruction to the transitioning postwar society.

⁵³ Jeb Sharp, "Rebuilding a Bosnian Mosque," *PRI's The World*, <http://www.pri.org/theworld/?q=node/20341>. (accessed May 1, 2010). An architect and historian, Hamidovic leads the Ferhadija Reconstruction Project and formerly acted as director of the Institute for Protection of Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and dean of the School of Architecture at the University of Sarajevo.

In discussing the Ferhadija Mosque reconstruction project, architect and historian Muhamed Hamidović speaks about connection between the Muslim community in Banja Luka and the materiality of the mosque. He argues that the stones themselves are connected to the history of Banja Luka as well as connects it to the generations of Muslim families who have lived there and used the mosque. According to this argument, the stones act as both survivor of and a witness to the events of the past. When it comes to the Bosnian War, these events chronicle the devastation if not complete destruction of the Muslim community.

During the war, while the city escaped collateral damage from combat due to the permanent installation of the Bosnian Serb Army, much of its non-Serbian cultural heritage and urban fabric associated with the minority populations was subject to deliberate attacks by ultra-nationalists.⁵⁴ Destruction of the city's built environment often spurred groups of minorities to leave. Approximately 60,000 inhabitants of an ethnic minority background, predominantly Bosniak and Croat, had lived in the city before the war. By the end, only 5,000-10,000 individuals remained, and of this population, 3,000-4,000 people were Muslims.⁵⁵ In addition to this flight of minorities, estimates assert that 70,000-90,000 displaced Bosnian Serbs sought refuge in Banja Luka.⁵⁶ In 1991, the population of Banja Luka was 195,139 according to the national census, but in the year 2000 after shifts in populations, the city had swelled to approximately 250,000.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Riedlmayer, "From the Ashes," 122. Mob violence destroyed sixteen mosques as well as eleven Catholic churches, according to Andras Riedlmayer.

⁵⁵ Anders H. Stefansson, "Homes in the Making: Property Restitution, Refugee Return, and Senses of Belonging in a Postwar Bosnian Town," *International Migration*, vol. 44, no. 3 (2006.): 121. *The Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina v. The Republika Srpska*, Case No. CH/96/29 Human Rights Chamber for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Decisions and Reports January–June 1999, 33-36.

⁵⁶ These Serbian IDPs often claimed a house or apartment abandoned by a fleeing minority individual. This practice occurred throughout the country as minority communities fled and refugees moved to join their ethnic communities.

⁵⁷ "General Information," *City of Banja Luka*, accessed November 1, 2011, <http://www.banjaluka.rs.ba/>. A national government has not conducted a census between 1991 and 2011, however Popis 2011 or Census 2011 should provide more precise data on populations movement and demographics.

After the war, minority returnees and visitors to the city faced obstruction, harassment, and violence. In 1999, the OHR ordered officials of both the FBiH and RS to streamline the processing of restitution claims and to uphold the commitments listed in Annex 7 of the GFAP. In 1999, after the order by the OHR to implement this policy, significantly more IDPs successfully achieved restitution of their property in Banja Luka. However, the minority individuals often simply sold the property and either stayed abroad or moved to a location in the FBiH. Alternatively, some Bosniaks spent the summers in Banja Luka at home in primarily Bosniak neighborhoods and then returned to their new homes at the end of each summer.⁵⁸

In addition to harassment and violence, the local population and returnees experienced bureaucratic obstruction, notably around the construction of the mosques of Banja Luka including the Ferhadija. Immediately after the war, these mosques had been removed from the master plans of the city, and Bosniaks attempting to acquire permits for reconstruction work faced intransigence from the municipal planning office.⁵⁹ In 1999, a letter from the OHR asked the municipal government to provide the appropriate permits and support for the Ferhadija reconstruction project. Despite the request of the OHR, the mayor at the time, Djordje Umicevic, refused to grant permission to rebuild any landmarks to the Bosniak population. The mayor supported his decision by calling the Ferhadija mosque “not a national monument of any of the three nations of Bosnia, but a monument to its Turkish conquerors who treated the indigenous inhabitants of this region more cruelly than the fascists.”⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Stefansson, “Homes in the Making,” 127. According to Stefansson’s informants, the ability for some people to keep two homes and only stay briefly in Banja Luka irritated individuals who lived in the city year round. The latter individuals perceived the former individual’s behavior as a flaunting of wealth.

⁵⁹ Riedlmayer. “From the Ashes,” 125.

⁶⁰ Branko Peric, “Rebuilding Ferhadija,” *Institute for War and Peace Reporting*, accessed April 1, 2010, <http://iwpr.net/report-news/rebuilding-ferhadija>. Andras Riedlmeyer, “News and Analysis: Banja Luka’s Ferhadija Mosque rises again,” *Bosnia Report of the Bosnian Institute*, March 3, 2008, accessed April 15, 2010, http://www.bosnia.org.uk/news/news_body.cfm?newsid=2373.

The obstructionist policies of Mayor Umicevic's government also resisted the ruling of the Human Rights Chamber in June 1999 that members of Bosnia's Islamic community "have been discriminated against, unable to enjoy their right to freedom of faith and peaceful enjoyment of the site."⁶¹ After this ruling, the municipal government inexplicably passed a law prohibiting new construction in an attempt to stall the construction of seven mosques and the reconstruction of the Ferhadija, all deemed necessary by the Human Rights Chamber. In November of 1999, Wolfgang Petritsch, the High Representative at the time, dismissed Umicevic from his post as a message for others obstructing the implementation of the GFAP and its tenets.⁶²

Even with the dismissal of Umicevic, the Islamic Community in Banja Luka faced opposition from non-Muslim citizens. In the midst of the challenges faced by many Bosniak returnees, the Islamic Community finalized their reconstruction plans for the Ferhadija Mosque (Figure 3.9). They arranged for foreign dignitaries, former residents of the city, and leaders in the Muslim community to join together for a high-profile cornerstone ceremony on May 7, 2001. Ultranationalist Bosnian Serbs organized a demonstration of several thousand people, which violently interrupted the ceremony.⁶³ The attack killed one elderly Muslim and trapped the participants, including the United States Ambassador Thomas Miller, in the adjacent Islamic Community offices for hours. As an expression of their opposition to the reconstruction, the

⁶¹ Brett Dakin, "The Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina v. The Republika Srpska (Case no. CH/96/29 Human Rights Chamber for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Decisions and reports January-June 1999): human rights in a multi-ethnic Bosnia," *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, no. 15 (2002): 246-247.

⁶² "Decision removing Mr. Djordje Umicevic from his position of President of the Municipal Assembly of Banja Luka," *Office of High Representative and EU Special Representative*, http://www.ohr.int/decisions/removalssdec/default.asp?content_id=290 (accessed May 15, 2011).

⁶³ Dakin says the crowd had 3000-4000 demonstrators. Dakin 260.

mob also burned an Islamic flag, stoned the car of Bosnia's Foreign Minister Zlatko Lagumdžija, and set fire to the busses that had transported Muslim visitors to the ceremony (Figure 3.10).⁶⁴

The disrupted 2001 cornerstone ceremony resulted in the resignation of two cabinet officials in the entity level government of Republika Srpska. In a gesture of sympathy, an Orthodox Church official spoke out against the violence, calling it “not in keeping with the Orthodox religion.”⁶⁵ Investigations by the RS Ministry of Interior leveled charges against sixteen people.⁶⁶ In the wake of this event, the Islamic Community held a second cornerstone ceremony on June 18, 2001.⁶⁷ The participants successfully positioned the cornerstone, but with a backdrop of 150 demonstrators held back by tear gas and water cannons. Despite this stark background, the message at the ceremony was one of hope when one speaker said, “let this mosque be a bridge of reconciliation between Muslims and Christians.”⁶⁸

The Ferhadija Mosque project of Banja Luka, or at least the Islamic Community that supports it, anticipates the displaced population as a major audience of its website and, by extension its reconstruction project. In his welcome letter, Mufti Cerić states that the purpose of the website is to deliver information “accurately and truthfully” to the “Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as our dear Diaspora.”⁶⁹ This reference to the “dear Diaspora” suggests a population not only out of place but still actively returning to their place through the virtual portal of the website. Both celebratory expressions of support and malicious expressions of

⁶⁴ Dakin, “The Islamic Community in Bosnia,” 260.

⁶⁵ Quoted in Dakin, “The Islamic Community in Bosnia,” 261.

⁶⁶ “A trial of those responsible for the last year’s violence in Banja Luka to start early in March” *February 2, 2002 OHR Media Round Up*, <http://www.ohr.int/ohr-dept/preso/bh-media-rep/round-ups> (accessed May 10, 2011).

⁶⁷ Dakin, “The Islamic Community in Bosnia,” 261.

⁶⁸ “The Ferhadija Cornerstone Laid in Spite of Demonstrations,” *June 19, 2001 OHR Media Round Up* <http://www.ohr.int/ohr-dept/preso/bh-media-rep/round-ups> (accessed May 10, 2011).

⁶⁹ Dr. Mustafa Cerić, “Welcome Letter,” *Ferhadija 1579*, [ww.ferhadija.ba](http://www.ferhadija.ba) (accessed Apr. 15, 2010).

opposition have reached the project through the website contact feature.⁷⁰ Although it is not clear if they are in Banja Luka, in BiH, or abroad, these communications indicate that members of the community do engage the project through the site.

In addition to directly addressing the displaced community through the Web, former community leaders have expressed confidence in interviews that the reconstruction would attract individuals back to the city. Bedrudin Gusic, a community leader before the massive flight of Bosniaks from the city, noted that, “Ferhadija is [a] very strong motive for original Banja Luka’s people to come back.”⁷¹ Gusic lived in the United States at the time of interview in 2008, but he included himself as someone who would respond to the reconstruction as a sign of stability and safety for the Bosniak population. However, Gusic went on to address another issue of postwar return when he said that, “unfortunately the time is going so fast you know and many of them in the meantime passed away.”⁷² This comment is particularly revealing, as the population most likely to return to their pre-war home is the elderly.⁷³ These individuals have more trouble establishing a life abroad than young adults and families, and thus they tend to want to return to the familiarity of their pre-war environment.

Despite the challenges faced by many Bosniak returnees, the Islamic Community raised money to rebuild thirteen of the fifteen destroyed mosques in the city. As of 2011, all of these projects are underway or completed. Some mosques and other historic structures were contemporaries with the Ferhadija Mosque. The Gazanferija Mosque dated to the end of the sixteenth century, but it has been rebuilt with new and some old materials and in the spirit of the

⁷⁰ This information came from the author’s conversation with President of the Islamic Community Kasim Mujicic and his translator Zahida Baštic Dakin on August 7, 2011.

⁷¹ Sharp, “Rebuilding a Bosnian Mosque.”

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Eastmond, “Transnational Returns and Reconstruction,” 153.

original structure (Figure 3.11-3.13).⁷⁴ In addition to the Ferhadija Mosque, the Islamic Community intends to reconstruct the architecturally renowned Arnaudija Mosque. This “wonderful palace and magnificent work of art,” dated to 1595, was a domed mosque with a stone portico and minaret (Figure 3.14).⁷⁵ Notably, it had an *akšam-taš* minaret built into the stone boundary walls, which was used for evening prayer. While other minarets of this kind exist or existed, this example had a finer architectural quality.⁷⁶ However, now the site of this mosque sits empty with only the covered foundations visible on the ground (Figure 3.15). The Islamic Community intends to start the project after the Ferhadija Mosque is completed and after the collection of sufficient funds for the reconstruction.⁷⁷

Acts of violence have since abated in the city, and the Islamic Community has experienced enough cooperation from the local government to move forward on the reconstruction and rebuilding projects. Despite these improvements, the postwar economic and social situation remains precarious for the Bosniaks in the city and generally in the RS. As of 2011, the population of Muslims had grown to approximately 10,000 people, which equals about a third of the pre-war population.⁷⁸ Although property restitution had reached 81% by 2005, the number of ethnic minority returns remained limited in Banja Luka due to discrimination in the

⁷⁴ “Gazanferija (Gazanfer-bey) Mosque (site and remains of architecture ensemble),” *Commission to Preserve National Monuments*, <http://kons.gov.ba> (accessed Nov 10, 2011). The Gazanferija Mosque is located in the Lesser čaršija on Mirko Kovačević street. On May 7, 2003 the National Commission designated the Gazanferija Mosque site a National Monument. The site includes the remains of the mosque two turbes, or masoleums, the *šadrvan* fountain, and *harem* (courtyard/burial ground) with surrounding walls.

⁷⁵ Quotations from inscriptions in stone slab above the entrance quoted in Miljko Šindić, *Banjaluka*. (Banjaluka: “Glas,” 1970).

⁷⁶ “Arnaudija mosque (site and remains of architectural ensemble),” *Commission to Preserve National Monuments*, <http://kons.gov.ba> (accessed November 10, 2011). On May 7, 2003, the Commission designated the Arnaudija Mosque a National Monument. The designation includes the site of the mosque, the remains of the building, *turbe*, *akšam-taš* minaret, stone fountain, *harem* with *nišan* headstones and courtyard as well as the stone boundary wall.

⁷⁷ This information came from the author’s conversation with President of the Islamic Community Kasim Mujicic and his translator Zahida Baštic Dakin on August 7, 2011.

⁷⁸ Information is from a conversation with assistant architect Denis Adrović of the Ferhadija Reconstruction Project on August 7, 2011. In 2003, UNHCR reported 9,000 Bosniaks and Croats had returned to Banja Luka and its suburbs. However, Stefansson notes local UN officials indicated that the number of “permanent” returnees was “probably much lower.”

labor market.⁷⁹

Additionally, the municipal government still seems reluctant to acknowledge the contributions of the Muslim community—which is something that can be seen in the presentation of the culture of the city to tourists. After a severe earthquake in 1969, the city published a paean to the collective efforts of the citizens to recover from the natural disaster.⁸⁰ The book included a history of the city stretching from prehistoric settlements to the recovery efforts after the 1969 earthquake.⁸¹ The English text gives generous amounts of information on all the ethnic groups in the city, and the historic black and white photographs document their architectural and cultural contributions as well.⁸² In contrast with this approach, the 1996 “Handbook of Banja Luka,” fails to mention any of the Islamic heritage in the city, despite the publication’s intention to “reinvigorate the remembrance about this wonderful city to those who couldn’t, by reason of war, visit for a long time.”⁸³

This shift persists in the materials available to tourists in 2011. The municipal tourism office located on the main street of the city provides free maps to English speaking tourists. The map includes a small symbol at the site of the almost completed Ferhadija Mosque, a national monument since 2003, but the legend associated with the map does not explain the symbol

⁷⁹ Stefansson, “Homes in the Making,” 123. According to the report “What is Republika Srpska” published in 2010, the Republika Srpska suffers from a high unemployment rate of 21.4% in 2010, which is slightly less than the FiBH rate of 26%.

⁸⁰ Šindić, n.pg.

⁸¹ The contemporary photographs focused on the busy factories with complicated technology and modern structures in the city.

⁸² The Muslim population is well represented with many photographs devoted to the interior and exterior of the Ferhadija Mosque and the Gazanferija Mosque as well as extracts of Muslim poets.

⁸³ Dakin, “The Islamic Community in Bosnia,” 246. Dakin also notes that the publication describes Banja Luka as the “cultural, university, economic, financial and commercial center of the Republic of Srpska.” Riedlmayer (2002) also described a museum exhibit in the Museum of the Republika Srpska immediately after the war which included historic photographs with the mosques airbrushed out.

(Figure 3.16).⁸⁴ Additionally, in the short texts around the map which highlight the “History,” “Traffic,” “Culture,” and other relevant information, there is no mention of the Ferhadija Mosque.⁸⁵ It is not even mentioned in the text on the administration of Ferhad-Pasha Sokolović discussed in the “History” section.

In this tense atmosphere, the act of reconstruction becomes a way of organizing the uncertainty of the world—an uncertainty that includes the transitional economic and social state of affairs in Banja Luka as well as the unknowable fate and decisions of the diaspora community. Notably, the act of reconstruction seems more important than the actual finished object.⁸⁶ This act can be envisioned along the same lines as anthropologist Anders Stefansson envisions the difference between a “house” and “home” in post war Banja Luka:

I believe the answer does not lie so much in the physicality of the house itself as in the way it is located in wider political and social contexts...while more and more displaced Bosnians during the last few years have managed to reclaim their houses, this does not necessarily mean that they believe themselves able to recapture their ‘home’ in the broader sense of this concept. For some, in fact, home is more easily (re)constructed in new locations rather than in the place of origin.⁸⁷

The act of reconstruction visibly connects the mosque to “wider political and social context” by demonstrating progress, stability, cooperation, and control. During the reconstruction, it is a blank slate, a non-functioning building in a conventional sense, which gives the community a place to project positive meanings onto the incomplete structure. It remains to be seen if, like

⁸⁴ Banja Luka Tourist Board. n.d. *Tourist Guidebook*. The brochure includes historic photographs of the city around the edges in a filmstrip motif. None of these photographs include architecture obviously associated with the Muslim population, especially to a Western tourist.

⁸⁵ Other sections include “Vrbas,” “Banja Luka,” “Accommodation,” “Gastronomy,” “Events,” “Picnic Grounds,” “Adventure,” “Srpske toplice,” “Krupa na Vrbasu,” “Trapisti,” and “Banj brdo.” It is also striking that the Church of Christ the Savior is mentioned several times, and its symbol is explained in the legend on the map.

⁸⁶ Issues related to the completed object will be discussed more in depth in the next chapter.

⁸⁷ Stefansson, “Homes in the Making,” 123.

Stefansson's houses, the mosque can recapture or foster the vibrancy of the pre-war community, especially with the memory of that lost community still fresh.

It can be argued that the act of reconstruction could provide the recovering community with a collective "linking object"—a theoretical mourning device conceived by psychoanalyst Vamik Volkan. The reconstruction could thus allow the former Muslim community to negotiate not only the loss of individuals, sacred religious buildings, and homes during the war but also the loss of their pre-war identity which stubbornly lingers after the war.

In the 1970s and the early 1980s, Volkan developed the concept of "linking object" while working with individuals facing issues related to a complicated mourning process.⁸⁸ Uncomplicated mourning goes through predictable phases: shock, anger, bargaining, and adaptation. According to Volkan, complicated mourning emerges when the loss causes massive change, and it can become fixated on one of the phases.⁸⁹ The linking object becomes a magical mechanism which connects the mourner to the lost object, environment or person. Linking objects are highly symbolic artifacts that create an "external bridge between the representations of the mourner and that of the lost person or thing."⁹⁰ The mourner intentionally or unintentionally employs the object to represent a specific conception of the relationship between the mourner and the person or item lost. Essentially, in a complicated mourning process that includes conflicted emotions about the loss, the linking object protects the mourner from needing to work through his or her grief. It allows the mourner to assert a level of control by

⁸⁸ Vamik D. Volkan, *Linking objects and linking phenomena: a study of the forms, symptoms, metapsychology, and therapy of complicated mourning* (New York: International Universities Press 1981).

⁸⁹ Vamik D. Volkan, "Mourning and Adaptation After a War," *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, vol. 31, no. 4 (1977): 568.

⁹⁰ Vamik D. Volkan, "Individuals and Societies as "perennial mourners": their linking objects and public memorials," in *On Deaths and Endings: Psychoanalysts' Reflections on Finality, Transformations and New Beginnings*, ed. Brent Willock, Lori C. Bohm, and Rebecca C. Curtis (New York: Routledge, 2007), 50-51; Volkan provides examples of linking objects in concrete inanimate objects including photographs, personal possessions of the deceased, a gift the deceased made to the mourner maybe even at the last minutes, or a realistic likeness of the deceased like a painting.

“externalizing” the difficult process of mourning and sometimes postponing or slowing it by “giving the image of what was lost a new life in the linking object.”⁹¹

Volkan's initial conception of the "linking object" was connected to his encounters with patients who had become trapped in mourning, so he initially saw such objects as elements in what he considered to be pathological mourning processes. However, in subsequent work, Volkan came to recognize that linking objects could be found in complicated mourning processes that were not pathological; ultimately linking objects could be part of the healing process.⁹²

In his work, Volkan also developed the concept of the linking object for the shared mourning experiences of collectivities of people such as refugees or populations recovering from conflict or natural disaster.⁹³ In his research on Turkish refugees in Cyprus, Volkan applied the concept of the linking object to scenarios of extreme change to the community and environment.⁹⁴ Despite living as free men and women in a new village, he found the Turkish migrant community mourning the loss of their former village and a strong need to maintain continuity with it.⁹⁵ He referred to this phenomenon as the community giving up their “attachment to ground.”⁹⁶ In later work on the American War Orphans Network, he found that objects, especially elements of the built environment, would connect the mourners to lost loved

⁹¹ Vamik D Volkan, *Killing in the name of identity: a study of bloody conflicts* (Charlottesville, Va: Pitchstone Pub. 2006). 53. Volkan, “Individuals and Societies,” 49.

⁹² For an essay which uses Volkan's concept of the linking object to explore the non-pathological role of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in mourning processes, see: Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, "A Space of Loss: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 50, no. 3 (1997): 156-171.

⁹³ The first article to deal with the complicated mourning of groups is Vamik D. Volkan, "Mourning and adaptation after a war." *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, vol. 31, no. 4 (1977): 561-569.

⁹⁴ Volkan, “Mourning and adaptation,” 562. Volkan studied Turkish refugee populations in Cypriot who were forced to leave the southern Greek zone of the country around 1975 and resettle in a village abandoned by fleeing Greeks in the north.

⁹⁵ Volkan notes that only time would bring adaptation and an end to their mourning.

⁹⁶ Volkan, “Mourning and adaptation,” 568.

ones as well as to each other.⁹⁷ These objects create a space that washes away difference and reinforces the shared experiences, by creating an unconsciously agreed upon meaning.⁹⁸

As with individual mourners and their linking object, Volkan noted that a monument associated with a group's mourning can have positive and negative aspects.⁹⁹ The "positive" function could include locking up the difficult phases of the mourning process; this function could help a group adjust to its current situation by distancing the impact of the shared trauma and loss.¹⁰⁰ A monument could also have a "negative" function by extending the mourning process and keeping it active. Volkan understood this extension of the mourning process as a "hope of recovering what as lost" and leading to feelings of "revenge" or the reassertion of presence and power.¹⁰¹

Returning to the Ferhadija Reconstruction Project, the act of reconstruction provides a method to mourn the loss of the pre-war community members but also to negotiate the instability and unfamiliarity of the postwar city. The materiality of the reconstruction—the physical presence of the rebuilt mosque in the process of its reconstruction-- literally connects the present day community to the legacy of the structure—to the historic "stones." The reconstruction also resurrects an image of both the pre-war and postwar community. The Islamic Community and its constituents can control this image. In a postwar Banja Luka which barely promotes their existence, the Muslim community participates in an act which recreates the pre-war cityscape and one with which they hope to attract the attention of the displaced and hopefully to encourage

⁹⁷ Volkan, "Mourning and adaptation," 51.

⁹⁸ Volkan, "Mourning and adaptation," 53.

⁹⁹ Volkan found that communities could simultaneously experience the positive function of a linking object in one monument and the negative function in another monument.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. Volkan has done further work with the social issues of the Balkans. In a chapter in *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States*, Volkan looks at the cultural heritage associated with the Serbian ultranationalists. He views this heritage as representing a *chosen trauma* which is an image of an event shared by large group. The group chooses to mythologize and psychologize the event which causes the group to feel helpless, victimized, and humiliated by another group. He focuses on the Battle of Kosovo dating to June 28, 1389.

their return. With this image, the community gains an attachment to familiar ground, to use Volkan's terminology. They gain a visual, tactile connection with the familiar time, place, and community which has undergone extensive change.

Additionally, the Ferhadija Reconstruction Project provides various avenues to facilitate participation in the reconstruction. Participation in the reconstruction is found in conventional activities such as traveling to the cornerstone ceremony or visiting the reconstruction site.¹⁰² The project hosts visiting dignitaries and officials frequently, and the entrance to the construction site encourages curious passersby to watch the work. One can also participate virtually. The project has created a website which it updates frequently with pictures and news. The website allows for displaced community members to offer words of praise and support. Community members can also access its extensive photographic archive which documents the reconstruction project. These forms of participation create the impression of activities shared by the community – and this means the whole community, both in place and displaced. With every stone, with every email of support, with every visitor, with every photograph documenting the progress, the act of reconstruction ties these two groups together and gives them a place where they act against the instability of the postwar city. In this way, the instability becomes contained and controlled. For the present and former Muslim community of Banja Luka, the reconstruction thus acts as a linking object-- it creates a place where the trauma of war and the flux of the postwar condition can exist.

The next chapter will provide a more in-depth investigation of the website and the photographic archive of Ferhadija Reconstruction Project. It will focus on the issue of reproduction inherent in reconstruction work and emphasized by the existence of the archive of

¹⁰² The Islamic Community employs the unfinished structure to host meetings related to heritage protection of the Ferhadija and other mosques in the region.

photographs. The connection mentioned above to the pre-war community lies at the root of the issue of reproduction. Does reconstruction only produced a fixed, empty object to which the community cannot easily assign new meanings and functions? The chapter will turned to the photographic archive available on the website for insight into this question. It will interrogate how the photographic archive presents both the deconstruction and the reconstruction and its worth as a form of memory work and a nexus for Muslim community.

Chapter 4: The Digital Potential of Reconstruction Projects

The success of any monument will have to be measured by the extent to which it hooks up with the multiple discourses of memory provided to us by the very electronic media to which the monument as solid matter provides an alternative.¹

Andreas Huyssen

In his essay “Monument and memory in a postmodern age,” cultural theorist Andreas Huyssen found that the conceptualization of a monument needed to move into the digital realm in order to become a viable instrument of memory work. Almost twenty years after he wrote these words, increasingly, archaeological sites, museums, and memorializing movements have employed digital media, online sites, and virtual reconstructions to reach and educate tourists and community members.² Digital heritage, the intersection of digital media and cultural heritage, has become a burgeoning practice which has inspired an emerging field of scholarship.³ This rich academic debate continues to develop critical and productive theories for assessing the impact of digital media on how we understand and engage historic objects.

With regard to this thesis, the field of digital heritage is significant because of a growing awareness and scholarship on the positive and negative ramifications of digital media for diasporic populations.⁴ Research on diaspora and new media focuses on how interconnectivity

¹ Andreas Huyssen, “Monument and memory in a postmodern age,” *Yale Journal of Criticism*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1993), 255.

² Hanne-Louise Skartveit and Katherine J. Goodnow, *Changes in museum practice: new media, refugees and participation* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010). According to Skartveit and Goodnow, digital media is particularly important for spreading awareness of the social faced by refugees

³ Yehuda E. Kalay, Thomas Kvan, and Janice Affleck, *New heritage: new media and cultural heritage* (London: Routledge, 2008). Fiona Cameron and Sarah Kenderdine, *Theorizing digital cultural heritage: a critical discourse* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press 2007).

⁴ Two books are particularly useful for an introduction to the depth and breadth of the scholarship on digital diasporas: *Diasporas in the New Media Age* (eds. Andoni Alonso and Pedro J. Oiarzabal 2010) and *Digital Diasporas* (Brinkerhoff 2004). Specifically related to the Bosnian diaspora, Aida Hozic has written on personal

keeps an immigrant or transplant individual in touch with friends and family around the world. Additionally, it analyzes how access to information via new media sources can improve the ability of immigrants to prosper socially and economically in their host country. Because little of the research on digital heritage and digital diaspora discusses preservation projects specifically, preservationists need to consider the potential of digital heritage to utilize these networks. This research seems particularly valuable in the postwar context. As Bosnians reconstruct their historic monuments and promote the importance of their cultural heritage, new and old media increasingly help them to spread awareness of their heritage to their diaspora and the global community.

The Ferhadija Mosque reconstruction project provides a unique case study for exploring the potential of digital media to introduce new forms of interaction with the project. In the previous chapter, this thesis articulated the value of the project's website (*Ferhadija 1579*, hereafter) in extending participation of the project to the transnational and displaced community members. It introduced this website as a source of "accurate" information on the reconstruction project and a nexus of the "in place" and "displaced" populations of the Muslim community.⁵ This chapter expands on the theme of participation from Chapter 2 and considers how the digital form mediates the project and the reconstructed building for the individual. By examining implications of this form of representation, this chapter can reflect on the potential for reconstruction projects in postwar contexts to utilize digital media.⁶

First, this chapter turns to the photographic archive of *Ferhadija 1579* to understand how the individual relates to the historic building through the website. The archive is divided into

websites of Bosnian refugees as a means to escape loneliness in host countries. Additionally emerging evidence of diasporic tourists who return to their homeland indicates another manner in which people "return" to their homeland.

⁵ Dr. Mustafa Ceric, "Welcome Letter," *Ferhadija Mosque 1579*, www.ferhadija.ba (accessed Apr. 15, 2010).

⁶ This chapter uses "digital media" and "new media" interchangeably.

years (2004-2011), and each year is further divided into albums which document a specific event, record a milestone in the construction, or present photographs related to a specific topic. This chapter focuses on the digital photographs of a specific album-- Ramici. These photographs document the retrieval of historic stones from the city garbage dump at Ramici. The chapter focuses on the experience of the user who is familiar with the original mosque and asks how do the photographs further connect the former user of the mosque to the reconstructed mosque. This chapter employs the insight of Roland Barthes help to consider the implications of the role of personal memory to activate the images. It also discusses the tension between the seemingly universal digital medium and the images' connection to a particular time and space activated by an individual's memories.

Then the chapter turns to historic picture postcards of Banja Luka. The analysis of postcards can introduce issues of exchange and self-identification, which characterize the downloadable and portable digital photographs. The section investigates how the ability to download and exchange the digital photographs helps to create an individual's connection to the reconstruction project. It employs tourism literature on souvenirs to understand this aspect of the photographic archive.

The chapter then investigates to how digital media creates new forms of architectural heritage in postwar Bosnia. It interrogates how different forms of digital heritage introduce new kinds of participation for users. It argues that the forms of participation foster a sense of empowerment and authority, which is especially pertinent in the postwar context. This analysis provides insight into how digital media forges connections between individual users to build a collective experience. In assessing these three different levels of engagement, user to reconstructed object, user to project, and user to user, this chapter finds great potential for digital

media to complement reconstruction efforts by presenting the historic monument as dynamic and open to new meanings.

Online Photographic Archive and Memory at Ferhadija Mosque

I kept thinking as I watched the reconstruction in progress that someone ought to do a documentary film on this – it should not pass unrecorded.⁷

Andras Riedlmayer

When Bosnian architecture expert Andras Riedlmayer visited the site of the Ferhadija Mosque reconstruction project in the summer of 2007, the construction had just begun, and only one course of stone was in place. Riedlmayer reported on the project in an article for the Bosnian Institute, a British NGO, and he focused on the extensive efforts of the project to recreate the original mosque.⁸ These efforts included retrieving the original material, employing technology to return the stones to their former position in the structure, geochemical testing to find the original quarry, and even employing masons schooled in traditional techniques of masonry to place the stones. Clearly, these actions amount to an enormous effort and it is easy to understand why Riedlmayer called for the recording of not only the physical monument but the process of its recreation.

While not a documentary film, the photographic archive available through *Ferhadija 1579* does provide an engaging and extensive record of the reconstruction project (Figure 4.1-

⁷ Andras Riedlmayer, “News and Analysis: Banja Luka’s Ferhadija Mosque rises again,” *Bosnia Report of the Bosnian Institute*, March 3, 2008, 2010 http://www.bosnia.org.uk/news/news_body.cfm?newsid=2373 (accessed Apr. 15). It is also important to remember that photography has informed the work of historic preservation practically since the discovery of the daguerreotype in 1839. Already on July 3, 1839, a French official reported to the French Chamber of Deputies on the potential for this new technology to help not only the sciences but also the arts and cultural fields. This technology provided hitherto unknown access to intricate details and recorded the state of historic structures before restoration work covered original material or before conservation stabilized original work and blended in new material. Photography remains an authoritative technology providing formal “evidence” used in reconstructions and other less extreme interventions.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

4.3).⁹ While it is unclear when photographs began to be posted to the website, it is clear that it is important to the project to photograph thoroughly every event and milestones since 2004 to the present.¹⁰ Updates written up about new developments on site often include a sentence noting that “everything was documented, photographed” and often sketched or described in a journal.¹¹ The extent of the archive, maintenance of the images, and professed interest in documenting through photographs demonstrate that this record of the mosque and its reconstruction is an important part of the project’s online presence.

The website of the Ferhadija Mosque project provides a unique opportunity to assess the potential for digital media to complement reconstruction projects, and the photographic archive specifically provides a chance to understand how the individual relates to the digital representations of the reconstruction project and the historic building. This section suggests that for the displaced community member experiencing the project partially through the photographs, the individual finds meaning in the images due to the capacity of the photographs to inspire memory of the original building. The album related to the retrieval of fragments from the city dump at Ramici is particularly compelling, because it invites the viewer to attach meaning not only to images of the reproduction of the mosque but also to the memory of the original mosque.¹²

⁹ *Ferhadija 1579*, www.ferhadija.ba, (accessed Apr.1, 2010).

¹⁰ The albums are ordered in a rough chronological order within the year categories. Albums are generally subject based around a specific reconstruction activity, such as the retrieval of stones from the city dump in Ramici, an event, such as a meeting or conference in the mosque, a record of daily work, such as images of empty half constructed mosque scattered with tools and towels, and visitors, such as dignitaries.

¹¹ “City Waste Dump- Ramici,” *Ferhadija 1579*, www.ferhadija.ba (accessed May 12, 2009).

¹² A detail explanation of the retrieval of the stones exists on the website as well. Without necessarily indicating that it is a roadmap for future projects, the explanation relays a systematic method to uncover the fragments and to excavate them carefully. If this explanation relies on an orderly system balanced with efficiency, the photographs of the actual retrieval provide a different experience of the process.

Before delving into how the photographs act as touchstones, inspiring memory of the original structure, it is important to describe the main themes of the Ramici album. The album displays a variety of subjects related to the excavation of historic material from all the mosques of Banja Luka destroyed in the war. Some photographs capture the barren landscape surrounding the *deponija* or garbage dump and only the team of experts and workmen populate the images (Figure 4.4-4.6). Often these images also feature the giant machines needed to unearth the buried stones, steel braces, and bricks (Figure 4.7-4.9). They document more than the state of the stones. Instead these images suggest the mood of the crew and record the landscape against which they must battle to retrieve the fragments, which do not belong in this place. The images paint the materials as out of place in a place of refuse. They convey the logic of the reconstruction effort: these stones are out of place, because they are beloved, sacred, and prized by the community. They are worthy of the extensive work and expense put into retrieving them.

Additionally in this album, images also document the state of the stones, brick, and metal ties found in the *deponija*. Some photographs capture the stones in the landscape or in the thick of the landfill. Despite the grime and trash hanging off the stones, they stand out in their color and their hewn or inscribed form (Figure 4.10-4.12). Others images face the stones squarely in an attempt of cataloging and standardization (Figure 4.13-4.18). Despite the two treatments of the content, these images of the material characterize them as distinct from the rest of the waste in the landfill. Both sets frame the stones as recognizable and known as oppose to the mounds of the landfill.

While the act of documenting the excavation of the landfill appears a mundane recording of an unusual event, this study posits that the images are capable of much more especially for the diasporic viewer. The resurrected, found, and cataloged stones in the photographs appear

seemingly unfamiliar, but they potentially could be recognizable to a displaced or resettled individual who formerly visited the historic mosque. These images ask the viewer to utilize personal memories to transform the unfamiliar into the familiar. While for the financial backer or the curious graduate student, this photograph isolates an event and just an object within that event. Potentially for someone familiar with the mosque, these photographs represent something real. They say “that, there it is, lo!”¹³ They could inspire a knowing viewer to try to remember the location of that stone in the mosque (Figure 4.10-4.12 & 4.13). In this way, they can conjure up an image of the old mosque and potentially act as a touchstone, which can “transport an individual across time and space.”¹⁴

The last writings of Roland Barthes on photography investigate the ability of the photograph to activate a memory of its subject.¹⁵ In *Camera Lucida*, Barthes hypothesized on the true grip, the *punctum*, of an ordinary photograph and described this feature of a photograph as not just shocking the viewer but instead wounding him or her. Barthes notes that the *punctum* arrives not from the photographer’s skill or talent but from “simply being there.”¹⁶ He understands a *punctum* which grips him the most is not posed or prepared but as a partial object which the photographer cannot “not photograph.”¹⁷ This description suggests the photograph binds together the intended object and the “partial object” which must also be captured in the frame.

¹³ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010) 5.

¹⁴ Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, "On souvenirs and metonymy," *Tourist Studies*, vol. 5, no.1 (2005): 42.

¹⁵ Numerous architecture scholars have investigated the relationship between photography and the architectural object. Early preservationists, Eugene Viollet-le-Duc and John Ruskin both wrote about the advantages and potential of photography as a tool for preservation. More recently, Beatriz Colomina edited the seminal work *Architectureproduction* which explored how photographic representation affected the architect’s understanding of a building and approach to design. Additionally, in his essay, “A Short History of Photography,” Walter Benjamin wrote that the work of the French photographer Eugene Atget represented the moment when photography becomes liberated by tradition. He focuses on the Atget’s photographs of architecture and street scenes.

¹⁶ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 47.

¹⁷ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 47.

For Barthes, this accidental detail can take on different roles from acting like a folly “that is at once inevitable and delightful” to having the “power of expansion” and activating memories of the viewer.¹⁸ The uncertain landscape of memory also acknowledges the distance of time and engages tension between the awareness of distance in time but desire for this past moment. Famously, Barthes comes to this understanding of the photograph through the discovery of the Winter Garden picture of his mother as a young girl- a photograph in which he feels he can really see the woman he knew and not just a likeness. *Camera Lucida* is very much a personal journey seeking value in photographs of lost loved ones. However, this study finds the idea of the *punctum* valid for images of the reconstruction process, especially since the project perceives and promotes the mosque as an essential point of connection among the community. Additionally, the concept of the *punctum* implies that the meaning of the photograph can change based on the memories of the viewer. While context of the Winter Garden picture remained removed for Barthes, the grip of the photograph allowed him to assign his own meaning to it. This point importantly suggests that photographic archive of *Ferhadija 1579* also gives the viewer an opportunity to assign new meanings and interpretations to the historic monument.

The form of the archive also contributes to the individual user’s experience of the reconstructed object. Photographic archives are characterized as collections of photographs which have been organized and catalogued. As noted by photography scholar Allan Sekula, archives create a “territory of images,” by which he means the owner of the archive significantly imposes the unity of the images not the photographers who authored the individual images.¹⁹ The meaning of the individual photograph becomes liberated from their use or the

¹⁸ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 45.

¹⁹ Allan Sekula, “Reading an Archive: Photography Between Labour and Capital,” in *The Photography Reader*, ed. Liz Wells, 443-452 (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 444.

photographer's original intention, and instead it derives from the existence in the archive. Sekula views archived photographs as abstracted and losing the context of use.²⁰ The similarities and differences of use which charge disparate photographs with meaning become reduced down to simply visual differences. Additionally, the digital form of the photographs displayed online and viewed through a monitor could further distance viewer from the original intention of the photographs.

Sekula's points are relevant to the photographic archive of *Ferhadija 1579*. While the photographs of the Ramici album originally recorded the excavation and catalogued the recovered stones as suggested by the online write up of the efforts at Ramici, the online archive does not clearly indicate the original function of the photograph. Instead, it weaves the photographs into a narrative about the reconstruction of the mosque. The images become about the mosque and not the stones. However, Sekula is interested more in reproduction and display of the archived photographs. He assumes an audience, which has no relation to the making of the photographs or even their subject. The photographic archive of *Ferhadija 1579* requires moving beyond his ideas about the archive. It is important to remember that a portion of its audience of the website has a sentimental investment in the existence of the photographs. They might not be familiar with the use of the photograph outside of its incorporation in the online archive, but they have the knowledge of the particular context of the photograph and its subject. The theater of the website provides a context for understanding the project, which spurred the creation of the photographs. For the diasporic viewer the context created by website only enriches their personal experience of the war, destruction, and relationship with the Bosniak community.

²⁰ Sekula, "Reading an Archive," 445.

Importantly, the tension between the universalizing form of the digital archive and emotional, contextualized content suggests that the archive further presents the historic monument as having “multivalent” meanings- layers of meaning which might even conflict.²¹ In conjunction with the theater of the website, the photographs from Ramici present the mosque as transitory and vulnerable as a physical object as well as permanent and vibrant as a cultural artifact. The stones are both out of place and reduced to rubble, but they are also recognized and desired by the photographer. In this way, these photographs of the reconstruction project complement the actual physical monument. Soon the reconstruction process will be over, and the new/old Ferhadija Mosque will stand again in the center of Banja Luka. Since students from the project cleaned the old stones with a special detergent, the mosque will not have the tell-tale stained stones such as the Frauenkirche. It is unclear how the contested meanings of the mosque will be presented when it is finished. However, a community member who has engaged these photographs from afar due to digital media might have a different experience of the new/old mosque.

The Ramici album presents the tension between the physical experience of the reconstruction project and the virtual narrative available to the user of the website. The conceptualization of photography put forth by Roland Barthes suggest that the displaced community member who views the photographs has more agency to form his or her own understanding of the reconstruction project because of the memory of the original structure. This insight seems to confirm that the photographic archive contributes to a multivalent understanding of the mosque. However, what other ways does the user engage the reconstructed object through the digital photographs? The chapter will now turn to historic postcards of Banja Luka to

²¹ Emily Gunzburger Makaš, "Interpreting multivalent sites: new meanings for Mostar's Old Bridge," *Centropa*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2005): 59.

understand how ability to download and exchange the photographs allows the individual to identify his or herself with the project. Because of the digital nature of the photographs, it is important to consider the implications of their portability for the user. By considering these implications, this study can assess the potential for digital media to connect the individual to the project and its sponsoring community.

Greetings from Banja Luka

“You can take our letters, our homes, our land, and even our family,” the letter writer declares, “but you cannot destroy our dreams, our love.” When refugees pass around postcards and photographs of their homes and even build models of their towns, they are shouting, “I remember. And this memory you can never take from me.”²²

Julie Mertus and Jasmina Tešanovic quoting unnamed author

In a book compiling voices of refugees in Bosnia and Croatia, scholars poignantly describes the ability for representations of their homes and towns to contain memory. Through these representations, these diasporic populations create a connection not only to other displaced people but to the subject of the photograph. This chapter has explored the capacity for the digital photographs on *Ferhadija 1579* to contain memory of the historic building for the displaced viewer. Now it focuses on the portability of the photographs to explore how the digital images create a connection between the individual and the reconstruction project. Since the photographs on *Ferhadija 1579* are digital files, the viewer can download and save them or send them to another individual. This type of interaction brings up questions about how an individual identifies with the project and the meaning of exchanging the representations. Investigation into

²² Julie Mertus and Jasmina Tešanović, *The suitcase: refugee voices from Bosnia and Croatia, with contributions from over seventy-five refugees and displaced people* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 73.

this connection is important to understanding the value of digital media for postwar projects especially those projects with a large diasporic population.

Scholarship on postcards discusses the meaning of exchange, and it provides a sound foundation for contextualizing the *Ferhadija 1579*. Scholars in tourism studies in particular have argued for the importance of looking at postcards and souvenirs to understand the tourist's experience.²³ This section analyzes historic postcards of architectural monuments from Banja Luka to gain insight into how these representations mediate the experience of the monument. Additionally, by exploring these postcards, this chapter can start to build a comprehensive understanding of visual constructions of the city and its architecture. Indeed, the popularity of postcards with architectural monuments led to the monuments becoming synonymous with the city.²⁴ They have also been used as a historical resource for tracing the transformation of the city.²⁵ Even the comprehensive study of principles and methodological procedures for the reconstruction of the Ferhadija Mosque includes a 1934 postcard as an historical image.²⁶

While their specific origins are disputed, many scholars argue that picture postcards in Europe emerged as a private initiative modeled after the use of postal cards for formal state correspondence in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. In the Balkan region, the first picture postcard design is attributed to Petar Manojlovic, a Lieutenant of the Serbian Army, around

²³ Rodney F. Allen and Laurie E. S. Molina, "People and Places on Picture Postcards: A High-Interest Source for Geographic Education," *Journal of Geography*, vol. 91, no. 3 (1992): 106-12; Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, "On souvenirs and metonymy," *Tourist Studies*, vol. 5, no.1 (2005): 29-53.

²⁴ Jeb Sharp, "Rebuilding a Bosnian Mosque," *PRI's The World*, <http://www.pri.org/theworld/?q=node/20341>, (accessed Apr. 15, 2010).

²⁵ Snjezana Vicic and Dragan Vicic, *Pozdrav iz Banjaluke 1897-1941: Banjaluka na starim razgledicama*, (Atelje-Vicic, 2006).

²⁶ Muhamed Hamidovic, *Study: Principles and methodological procedure for the rehabilitation of Ferhad-Pasha Mosque in Banja Luka*, *Acta Architectonica Et Urbanistica* (the of School of Architecture in Sarajevo) No. 2, May 2002, 5.

1870.²⁷ As the popularity of postcards increased at the end of the nineteenth century, the biggest publishers and printers of postcards of the region around Banja Luka were located in Leipzig, Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, and Munich.²⁸ It was not until later that publishers established print shops in Banja Luka. Postcards of the city have recognizable main genres including topographic scenes, scenes of an event, portrait cards, reproductions of works of art, as well as postcards with images of daily life, work of peasants, and even ethnic costumes.²⁹

The postcards of Banja Luka reflect three distinct phases of development of this form of cultural representation. The appearance and rapid circulation of postcards happened between 1897 and 1919. As a new means of representation, the production of postcards reflected a modernizing phase and the publishers of postcards were well known.³⁰ The period from 1919-1929 defines the golden age of postcard production across Europe and also the period when circulation reached its highest level.³¹ Between 1930 and 1941, postcards reproduced photographically dominated the market. New publishers entered the market and produced rich collections of postcards, but additionally, the state government entered the market.³² The

²⁷ He created an image, which combined symbols of Asia and Europe with a former front cover of the satirical magazine of Novi Sad, *Zmaj*.

²⁸ Vicić, *Pozdrav iz Banjaluke*, 3. Early postcards were drawings and water-colors copying photographs. Postcards later featured photographs touched up with watercolors. Reproduction of picture postcards involved three forms of printing: high, even and deep print. The printing technique was lithography, chromolithography, typography (autotype), collotype, offset and deep print.

²⁹ The original material of postcard could be a drawing, watercolor, photograph, or photograph touched up with medium. At the end of the 19th century, when the local newspaper did not include images, the postcards could provide documentation of notable events such as military parades.

³⁰ Publishers of postcards of Banja Luka from this period are Josef S. Wolf, J. Patzelt, Spiridon Ugrenovic and Jevto Maslesa.

³¹ This golden age seems to relate to postcard production across Europe. Publishers of this period include Alija Germovic, Fanjo Simic, Marko Primorac and Josip Caklovic.

³² Publishers of postcards of Banja Luka often adjusted the picture. Photographs of the city would be colored in with watercolors or a daytime image of a building might be transformed into a night scene with the addition of a moon and clouds.

Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes produced picture postcards of important government buildings, historical monuments, and natural landscapes.³³

Some of the picture postcards capture the transformation of the town into a modern city through a variety of ways. The postcard as a document can record the urban fabric of a particular historical period, and thus a collection of these images can provide a record of changes to the physical urban fabric.³⁴ Postcards of the Ferhadija Mosque illustrate the changing streetscape (Figure 4.19-4.21), while ones of the Serbian Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity also document the addition of the city hall to the central plaza (Figure 4.28-4.31). Additionally, they can represent the spirit of modernization through images of juxtaposition. One set of postcards include images of an airplane flying over the Ferhadija Mosque and Church of the Holy Trinity (Figure 4.24 & 4.26). The juxtaposition between historic architecture of the Ferhadija Mosque and a prominent symbol of the modern age suggest a distinct tension between these forces in Banja Luka in 1929.

Through postcards, cities become fragmented into isolated monuments and at the same time assembled as vistas and landscapes. The monument with its cropped urban context allows the building to dominate the frame. This division into isolated monuments can create a narrative about the city through these buildings which results in the meaning of the city becoming understood by means of its representations.³⁵ Through the combination of fragmentation and assemblage, postcards present an image of the architectural monument that engages the citizens as well as being recognizable to new visitors. Even the postcards of the Ferhadija Mosque seem

³³ The Kingdom had a similar geographical boundary to the Former Yugoslavia.

³⁴ While Vicic argues that postcards are a valuable source of the historic cityscape, others are that scholars should find corresponding sources when using the information documented by picture postcards.

³⁵ C. K. Corkery and A. J. Bailey. "Lobster is Big in Boston: Postcards, Place Commodification, and Tourism," *GEOJOURNAL*, vol. 34, no. 4, (1994): 493.

to present the viewer with a guide to understanding the monument by suggesting and creating views (Figure 4.22 and 4.23). In this way, the picture postcard can shape the practice of viewing the city and engaging its monuments.³⁶ The postcard thus crystallizes the experience of transforming something unfamiliar into something familiar and even iconic.³⁷

Picture postcards also act as economic commodities.³⁸ They represent the edge between the purveyor and the purchaser.³⁹ Even if they are kept as souvenirs, postcards represent an act of economic exchange, since publishers manipulated original photographs or drawings to generate a marketable image and respond to demand.⁴⁰ It is important to note that tourists are not the only users, since visitors, travelers, and residents also purchase and use postcards in different ways.⁴¹ This exchange can lead to postcards having a social function in situations where they act as proof of traveling for other people to see and create an association between traveler and destination. As souvenirs, they might also act as “touchstones” with the power to inspire memory about a visit or even a familiar building.⁴² As a touchstone, the postcard can memorialize the event of visiting a foreign or familiar location. The isolation of a building in these representations allows the possibility for the monumental to create meaning by connecting people along networks now at work in their lives.⁴³ According to cultural theorist Andreas Huyssen, when Christo wrapped the Reichstag in Berlin in 1995, he created an instant spectacle,

³⁶ G. Waite and L. Head, “Postcards and Frontier Mythologies: Sustaining Views of the Kimberley as Timeless,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, no. 20 (2002): 324.

³⁷ Even if the actual image of the photograph is unfamiliar, perhaps an aerial view, the postcard of architectural monuments still represents and communicates a new familiarity with the subject.

³⁸ Rodney F. Allen and Laurie E. S. Molina, “People and Places on Picture Postcards: A High-Interest Source for Geographic Education,” *Journal of Geography*, vol. 91, no. 3 (1992): 106-12; Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, “On souvenirs and metonymy,” *Tourist Studies*, vol. 5, no.1 (2005): 29-53.

³⁹ Corkery and Bailey, “Lobster is Big,” 491.

⁴⁰ Corkery and Bailey, “Lobster is Big,” 494.

⁴¹ Corkery and Bailey, “Lobster is Big,” 493. Morgan and Pritchard, “On souvenirs and metonymy,” 31.

⁴² Morgan and Pritchard, “On souvenirs and metonymy,” 41.

⁴³ Andreas Huyssen, “Monumental seduction: Christo in Berlin,” in *Present pasts: urban palimpsests and the politics of memory* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003), 46.

which reached the public through t-shirts, coffee mugs, photographs, and other representations. After the event, its memory lingers on through these traces of the event as they become both mnemonic devices and everyday objects.⁴⁴

The understanding of the monumental as a representation that is widely disseminated grounds its potential in the current age characterized by new technology and the digital realm. It suggests the monumental can exist despite its migration “from the real into the image, from the material into the immaterial, and ultimately into the digitized computer bank.”⁴⁵ This conceptualization of the monumental helps to understand the value of the digital photographs to the Ferhadija Mosque project. Once an individual’s memory activates the photographs and assigns a meaning to them, virtual space allows the viewer to download and share them with others. The easily exchangeable and status of these images indicates the “social, active and relational rather than private and passive” nature of consumption in the digital realm.⁴⁶ The various acts of exchange, such as, identification, viewing, and sending feedback give meaning to the website and project and infuse the context for viewing the digital images with a collective energy.

This section has explored how the individual relates to the project through the digital media, and to some degree, it has posited how the representations allow individuals to identify with the event of reconstruction and the project. The chapter further explores the relationship digital media creates between community members by focusing on the ideas of participation and empowerment.

⁴⁴ Morgan and Pritchard, "On souvenirs and metonymy," 37.

⁴⁵ Huyssen, "Monumental seduction," 47.

⁴⁶ Morgan and Pritchard, "On souvenirs and metonymy," 31.

New Media + Cultural Heritage = New Heritage

Digital heritage offers an alternative method for preserving cultural heritage through digital media.⁴⁷ Scholar of new media and architectural design, Yehuda E. Kalay offers a clear definition for thinking about heritage in digital media:

The ability to represent environments and artifacts in digital form makes it possible to manipulate the information in both spatial and temporal ways, then transmit it to remote viewers who have the power to further manipulate it.⁴⁸

Despite being an emerging technology, digital heritage is experienced in a variety of forms, such as simple webpages with text and photographs which follow more or less a linear narrative, online archives or forums, digital objects, film and audio clips, and even complex interactive 3D virtual world.⁴⁹ Museums, libraries, galleries, archives, archaeological projects and other cultural institutions and efforts have used these forms of digital media for promotional, educational, memorial, and other functions.

Evidence of the value of digital heritage also comes from recent efforts by UNESCO to manage digital artifacts and documents. UNESCO's *Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage* recognizes that digital materials can be ephemeral and "require purposeful production,

⁴⁷ The term cultural heritage refers to valuation of physical artifacts or intangible events because of their perceived continuity with the past. Heritage creates connection where it not might exist between the present and past, and it distorts and invents understandings of the present and past. In his book *Possessed by the Past*, geographer David Lowenthal argues that heritage is the cultural twin to history. If history currently refers to what actually happened, heritage refers to what people believe happen, and while the twins emerged from the 19th century, the phenomenon of heritage has explored only since the 1980s. Because of the increasing availability of digital media, expressions and reproduction of cultural heritage has entered the virtual realm, and the use of digital media has contributed significantly to the explosion of heritage. Other key sources on heritage include David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Kenneth Foote's *Shadowed Ground*, and Pierre Nora's *Realms of Memory*.

⁴⁸ Yehuda E. Kalay, "Introduction: Preserving cultural heritage through digital media" in *New Heritage: New Media and Cultural Heritage*, eds. Yehuda E. Kalay, Thomas Kvan, and Janice Affleck, 1-10 (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 3.

⁴⁹ Bharat Dave, "Virtual Heritage: Mediating space, time, and perspectives," in *New Heritage: new media and cultural heritage*, ed. Yehuda E Kalay, Thomas Kvan, and Janice Affleck (New York: Routledge 2008) 43-47. This chapter provides a helpful introduction to the evolution of digital heritage projects.

maintenance and management to be retained.”⁵⁰ The charter also recognizes that the protection of digital heritage assures that cultural representation of all peoples, nations, cultures, and languages. This assertion reflects the ubiquitous nature of digital media in the world. The growth in digital heritage projects has resulted in increasingly more scholarly attention devoted to this topic. Scholarly debate developed after the publication of the seminal book *The Language of New Media* by Lev Manovich in 2002.⁵¹ The book introduced a comprehensive discussion of digital media engaged the positive and negative ramifications of the new medium. Importantly, it provided concepts and terminology which scholars could use to articulate a critical theory of digital media.

This section employs this scholarship to assess its capacity of digital heritage to connect community members who use it to each other. The previous sections have explored how the individual connects to the historic building through digital photographs as well as how the individual connects to the larger reconstruction project. By focusing on digital heritage project in postwar BiH, this chapter can expand on the idea of exchange and understand the relationship between diasporic. This investigation gives the chapter a comprehensive foundation for determining the potential for digital heritage in postwar scenarios.

Because of its low cost and capacity to generate awareness through widely accessible channels of communication, digital heritage can serve many functions.⁵² After the Bosnian War,

⁵⁰ The charter lists digital materials such as texts, databases, still and moving images, audio, graphics, software, and web pages and acknowledges that the range of digital formats continues to grow. Additionally, it extends existing systems of preservation to materials “born digital” which are materials not simply a reproduction of documentary heritage. UNESCO, “Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage,” http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=17721&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (accessed Dec. 15, 2011).

⁵¹ Lev Manovich, *The language of new media*, (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2002).

⁵² B. Ramic-Brkic et al., “Augmented Real-Time Virtual Environment of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Mostar,” in *The 10th International Symposium on Virtual Reality, Archaeology and Cultural Heritage VAST (2009)*, ed. K. Debattista et al., 141.

digital media and online communication increasingly has served as a medium for experiencing historic sites, artifacts, as well as the memorializing of wartime events. The use of virtual reconstructions has gained momentum, especially due to the expertise in this particularly type of digital media at the University of Sarajevo.⁵³ Of crucial importance to this discussion are the types of participation afforded by digital heritage as well as its capability to empower underrepresented communities. These issues are particularly relevant to the Ferhadija Mosque reconstruction project but also more generally to postwar communities in recovery.

One of the greatest potentials for heritage in cyberspace is the ability to act “as a two-way street in a world where the dominant medium (television) has been unidirectional.”⁵⁴ This interaction allows visitors to navigate their own path through a set of hyperlinks, provide feedback, and even supply content to virtual sites.⁵⁵ These exchanges foster a greater engagement with heritage than the passive viewing of images of a historic building or event as found in television, print media, and even interpretative placards in museums. Through its interactive dimensions, virtual heritage has the potential to create an individually meaningful experience through the capacity to choose the order of the images and consequently formulate particular messages from the site.⁵⁶ The ability to provide feedback through a contact mechanism even further reinforces the user’s role in interpreting the images by giving them a method to share the meaning they experience with a wider audience.

⁵³ Ramic-Brkic argues that virtual reconstruction can generate awareness of the heritage and gather support for its reconstruction. An opposing argument put forth by Selma Rizvić et. Al. (2008) finds that implementation of virtual reconstructions could protect the physical heritage because it avoids potentially destructive interventions.

⁵⁴ Laura Gurak, *Cyberliteracy: Navigating the internet with Awareness*. (44) Quoted in Haskins 405.

⁵⁵ Ekaterina Haskins, "Between Archive and Participation: Public Memory in a Digital Age," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 4 (2007): 406.

⁵⁶ Haskins, "Between Archive and Participation," 406.

One digital heritage project, Virtualno Sarajevo, focuses on preserving the built environment of the historic city core (Figure 4.32).⁵⁷ This website uses 3D environments, interactive maps, and film shorts to help create an experience of the city.⁵⁸ By means of a variety of digital media, Virtualno Sarajevo attempts to provide a richer engagement with heritage by creating multi-sensory experiences with sound and visuals. Participation is an issue particularly pertinent to the Virtualno Sarajevo project. Virtualno Sarajevo presents a variety of ways to learn about the heritage of the city. Fourteen interactive 3D reconstructions give the visitor the ability to wander through historic buildings and spaces including Baščaršija Square, Sarajevo Synagogue, and the Cemetery at Kovaci (Figure 4.33).⁵⁹ The site allows the visitor to engage with these works in an order meaningful to the visitor and also to connect to the actual places in Sarajevo with video clips and stories about the sites. Additionally, the developers and researchers post a link to their individual websites and contact information for any feedback. This virtual display of cultural heritage confirms that this new technology has “the potential to move the state of art of preservation beyond static displays, capturing in cinematic or interactive form the social, cultural, and human aspects of the site.”⁶⁰

⁵⁷“Virtual City of Sarajevo,” <http://www.virtualnosarajevo.com.ba> (accessed Nov. 18, 2011). This project is a joint venture between professors and students of the College of Electrical Engineering at the University of Sarajevo and BH Telecom. BH Telecom is a commercial company which provides telecommunication services to Bosnian users including voice and data services. BH Telecom was a corporation owned by the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since 2004, it had a public offering and lists itself as a public company although the FBiH still owns 90% of its stock.

⁵⁸ Selma Rizvić et. al. “Virtual Reconstruction and Digitalization of Cultural Heritage Sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina” *Pregled NCD* no. 12 (2008): 82-90. This article provides in depth detail of the technologies used to create the Virtualno Sarajevo experience.

⁵⁹ Notably, the project includes historic buildings from all major ethnic groups as well as heritage of city and country.

⁶⁰ Kalay, 2.

One concern with digital heritage is the individual experience overwhelms the public understanding of remembrance and memory.⁶¹ When meandering through the virtual site of Sarajevo, it hard to imagine the formation of a collective consciousness or reinforcement of a collective identity. Clearly the answer to this question is dependent on the structure and content of each virtual site.⁶² While the new media technologies at work certainly can privilege individual engagement of an historic building or historical event, it is important to acknowledge that these technologies are as part of larger cultural and social networks. Another Bosnian digital heritage project can provide some insight into the ability of digital heritage to connect users to a larger community of participants. Indeed, *Tools of Survival*, seeks to educate the public about the siege of the city from 1992-1996 as well as memorialize this historical event.⁶³

The Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina launched a virtual museum of the Siege of Sarajevo in 2010.⁶⁴ Staff at the museum worked in conjunction with computer science students at University of Sarajevo, to create an online exhibit that presents “Sarajevo survival tools,” which is also the name of the virtual exhibit (Figure 4.34).⁶⁵ The virtual museum reproduces these tools featured in the real museum exhibit as digital artifacts, and through a combination of film shorts, sounds, photographs and text that contextualize the exhibit within the larger context of the siege (Figure 4.35). The architecture of the virtual world places the visitor

⁶¹ Haskins, “Between Archive and Participation,” 407. Haskins points out that user participation on the Internet has been shaped largely by commercial patterns of experience which values individuality. She also discusses the work of Lev Manovich (2001) who points out “logic of new media fits the logic of the postindustrial society, which values individuality over conformity.”

⁶² Haskins (2007) discusses *The September 11 Digital Archive* which allows users to post texts, images, video, and audio related to their experience of the events of September 9/11. This format allows another level of participation for the user as they respond to and adjust the content of the archive.

⁶³ The siege of Sarajevo started in April 1992 and lasted over one thousand days, ending in February 1996. The 500,000 residents of Sarajevo suffered mortar attacks and sniper bullets from Serbian paramilitary forces, which hid in the surrounding hills.

⁶⁴ “Virtual Museum on Sarajevo Siege Launched,” *SETimes.com website* <http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/newsbriefs/2010/12/17/nb-11> (accessed Dec. 17, 2010).

⁶⁵ Tools include water jugs, gas lamps, and ingenious inventions used to maintain a familiar standard of living.

inside the underground tunnels by citizens used to escape the city. This virtual theater positions the visitor as both a witness to the siege and a participant in its remembrance.

Indeed, in contrast to Virtualno Sarajevo, the visitor can also sense a tangible group of people whose lives were affected by the siege through the survival tools. Each digital “tool” has a webpage with text to contextualize its use and value of the survival tool. This page also includes a brief description of the provenance of the physical object donated to the exhibit and in some cases the names of the donors. This information helps the visitor to experience a larger community implicated in the memory work of the siege. In this way, the Siege of Sarajevo virtual exhibit engages each participant with the collective dimension of the Bosnian War.

While the first digital heritage projects in this section are a product of conventional sources of institutionalized cultural memory, these representations also have the ability to give more voice to underrepresented groups. It also can give authority to vernacular forms of memory work.⁶⁶ In postwar Bosnia, this potential is particularly attractive to former victims of ethnic cleansing who experienced the misrepresentation of their history through destruction. Ljiljana Gavrilović has written on the value of the “cyber museum” in the protection of heritage at a recent conference of Balkan heritage professionals.⁶⁷ She links the increased use of cyber-museums to a phase of “de-elitization” of access to knowledge.⁶⁸ In contrast with this view, she argues that physical museums inevitably impose an ideological agenda by providing a selective, static narrative of history.

⁶⁶ Haskins, “Between Archive and Participation,” 405. In addition to displays of architectural heritage, the extensive destruction of historic books, manuscripts, maps, and other print media during the Bosnian War inspired projects to digitize remains materials. Andras Riedlmayer (200x) and Lejla Kodric (2006) have written about and the Gazi Husrev-Bey’s Library in Sarajevo, respectively.

⁶⁷ Ljiljana Gavrilović, “Cyber museum: tools for heritage protection,” in *Condition of the cultural and natural heritage in the Balkan Region: proceedings of the regional conference held in Kladovo, Serbia from 23th to 27th October 2006*, ed. Mila Popović-Živančević, (Belgrade: National Museum in Belgrade, 2007) 167-178.

⁶⁸ Gavrilović, “Cyber museum,” 167.

Cyber-museums, and other forms of digital heritage, also give power to the user to make individual choices and connect to other narratives via links-- decentralizing and democratizing the process of digitizing heritage. Thus visitor engage the perspective of the cultural professional, or other users of heritage, and become empowered because the website has placed “much of the authority – and responsibility- for constructing the narrative in the hands of the viewer.”⁶⁹ However, there are obstacles to this interaction. Only through the thoughtful construction of digital infrastructure can the fluid access to multiple meanings be achieved. Additionally, the democratization created by digital heritage risks creating a white noise of meanings with no context to validate and value meanings assigned by different users.⁷⁰ Awareness of these risks can allow digital heritage to give meaning to the online presence of communities previously erased by ethnic cleansing.

In Banja Luka, there is evidence of the complicated relationship between institutionalized memory and the minority population.⁷¹ During the Bosnian War, the Museum of the Republika Srpska held a retrospective exhibition of historic photographs, which displayed the city, or during the First Yugoslavia (1929-1941).⁷² These photographs also captured the political and social atmosphere of the 1990s, as every mosque of the city had been either removed or covered up. The postwar circumstances for the Muslim population have included finding ways to gain representation in an unfamiliar political, social, and economic environment.

⁶⁹ Gavrilović, “Cyber museum,” 171. Kalay, “Introduction: Preserving cultural heritage,” 7.

⁷⁰ Dave, “Virtual Heritage,” 49.

⁷¹ In chapter 2, this thesis has mentioned some examples namely the erasure of the mosques from city master plans and the underrepresentation of Muslim heritage in tourist materials.

⁷² Andras Riedlmayer, News and Analysis: Banja Luka’s”; Andras Riedlmayer, "From the Ashes: Bosnia's Cultural Heritage," in *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002). Zeljko Cvijanovic, “Srbi i Ferhadija: evolucija koje nije bilo,” *BH Dani Archive*. < <http://www.bhdani.com/arhiva/205/t20512.shtml> > (accessed May 15, 2010).

Digital heritage has clearly become a tool for this minority group to have a voice in defining their heritage. *Ferhadija 1579* definitely creates a space where the Muslim community can celebrate the progress they have made in a postwar city that has been openly hostile to their efforts to rebuild a community. In addition to the actual reconstruction of the mosque, the website conveys the support of the Islamic Community of BiH through the welcome letter and the photographs documenting visiting dignitaries. In the virtual space of the website, the Islamic Community can tell its own story and mediate the reception of its historic buildings. Additionally, it can portray the reconstruction project as a collective effort involving the support of foreign officials, local leaders, and community members.

This section has demonstrated the ability of digital heritage to connect community members to each other and foster a sense of collective experience albeit in new forms of engagement. While the individual can create their own experience through hyperlinks, interactive 3D reconstructions, and other forms of digital media, he or she can also engage narratives and meanings of heritage formed by collectivities. The ability for digital heritage to give voice to an underrepresented group further helps to create a collective experience for the individual user. For a digital diaspora or a diaspora that engages “its members in activities related to information technology,” interconnectivity can empower on multiple levels.⁷³ In addition to the website giving voice to the recovering Muslim population in Banja Luka, it also can connect individuals to a supportive community, even if they are physically distant.

Conclusion

⁷³ Michel S. LaGuerre, “Digital Diaspora: Definitions and Models,” in *Diasporas in the New Media Age*, eds. Andoni Alonso and Pedro J. Oiarzabal (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2010), 50.

The chapter understands *Ferhadija 1579* as a productive nexus. It universalizes the project in Banja Luka and provides access for anyone interested in the project to contribute feedback. As this chapter has demonstrated, the website allows the individual user to engage the project on multiple levels. The individual can engage the memory of the original mosque and assign new meanings to it through the photographic archive. Additionally, because the digital photographs allow the user to fragment the experience of the project, he or she can share the “souvenirs” of the project and associate his or herself with the project. The digital media of the website also conveys the project as a collective experience through the photographs, updates, and options for feedback. It is important to remember the success of the website also comes from its mere existence. In the tense atmosphere of Banja Luka, the website provides the community with place to celebrate their history represented in the reconstruction project. This case study illustrates the ability of digital media to broadcast out a rich expression of the reconstruction project- a project with layers of meaning including individual, collective, cultural, and historical.

The potential for digital heritage lies in the new forms of participation including self-constructed experiences of the website with the user in control of the order than he or she engages different information (i.e. looking at the photographs in the order provided or choosing to look only at specific images). But with what are you engaging? Around what does this participation revolve? There is the concern that participation with digital heritage never could provide a whole experience, which includes a sense of the building in time and place.⁷⁴ However, this conceptualization seems short-sighted and generalizes the users. This chapter demonstrates that users of digital heritage employ a variety of different resources and

⁷⁴ Jeff Malpas, “Cultural Heritage in the Age of New Media,” in *New Heritage: new media and cultural heritage*, eds. Yehuda E Kalay, Thomas Kvan, and Janice Affleck (New York: Routledge 2008), 25. This argument follows the famous essay of critical theorist Walter Benjamin “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” in which Benjamin asserted that mechanical reproduction stripped the work of art of its aura.

experiences to make sense of the media. For some viewers, resources could include first-hand experiences of the original structure, memories related to its destruction, or even experience on the reconstruction site. The reality of return provides support for the existence of digital heritage viewer with these resources, and because of this research, it seems there is great potential for digital media to complement the experience of the reconstructed object.

A recent architectural publication, *Beyond Shelter: Architecture and Human Dignity*, argues that architectural interventions should shift to long-term solutions to post-disaster response and recovery. In the book, the successful and compelling case studies are by architects who “bridge the gap that separates short-term emergency needs from long-term sustainable recovery.”¹ The book represents a larger call to action for architects to contribute their ingenuity, design skills and project-oriented work ethic to post-disaster scenarios. Additionally, the publication reinforces the call for critical approaches, not necessarily reactionary efforts, to inspire the creation of the post-disaster built environment. In an attempt to encourage architects to contribute meaningful and sensitive design to the post-disaster scenario, this publication calls for a prioritization of cultural heritage in the postwar recovery. The privileging of cultural heritage in postwar recovery certainly seems warranted and an important addition to the larger social and economic recovery process.

The focus on the long-term recovery was echoed at forum organized by ICCROM in 2005 called “Armed conflict and conservation: promoting cultural heritage in postwar recovery.”² This event was inspired by an urgent call by preservation professionals for cultural heritage, such as a reconstructed building, to be a part of post-conflict recovery strategies. The forum represents a response to the commonly held idea that cultural heritage is a luxury that does not need immediate attention in such dire circumstances. The assumption being that cultural

¹ Marie Jeannine Aquilino, *Beyond Shelter: architecture and human dignity* (New York, NY: Metropolis Books, 2010), 8.

² Nicholas Stanley-Price, “Preface,” in *Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery*, ed. Nicholas Stanley-Price (Rome: ICCROM 2009), vii.

heritage could be a part of the immediate response to a conflict.³ More specifically, it was argued that the stabilization and preservation of cultural heritage could help to shape policies that would work towards a long-term recovery for the region instead of policies focused only on immediate problems. The inclusion of cultural heritage in immediate postwar response efforts would help to prioritize a “thread of continuity” which would help individuals adjust to the postwar condition.⁴

These recent publications are an affirmation of the basic arguments of this thesis which has identified the need to rethink the reconstructed object in the postwar scenario. One especially difficult issue in postwar reconstruction efforts is the need for preservationists to find a balance between the recovery of each ethnic community and their need to become a part of a multi-ethnic, functioning society. It has been argued that the assessment of reconstruction should not focus on the materiality of the historic object but instead on its impact on the sponsoring community and their relation to the larger world around them. This type of assessment involves understanding the reconstructed building as more than a constructed object but instead process that constantly changes meaning in a dynamic social, political, and economic environment.

By reconsidering the reconstructed object, preservationists can gain more comprehensive understanding of the value of a reconstruction project to various audiences. In the postwar scenario, the conceptualization of the reconstructed object as a bearer of reconciliation has proven flawed, and in this void, new functions and meanings of the project show a more complicated reality that potentially helps to reinforce ethnic identities and communities.

³ Nicholas Stanley-Price, “Introduction,” in *Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery*, ed. Nicholas Stanley-Price (Rome: ICCROM 2009), 1.

⁴ Nicholas Stanley-Price, “Introduction,” in *Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery*, ed. Nicholas Stanley-Price (Rome: ICCROM 2009), 27.

Additionally, it has been argued that the use of reconstruction entrenches these communities in a Western sanctioned understanding of preservation that does not seem to serve adequately and sensitively the needs of the postwar community. The International Community sanctions a model of reconstruction that revolves around the spectacle of the object. As an alternative to this approach, postwar reconstruction efforts need to connect with other systems of recovery including social, cultural, and economic initiatives.

The Ferhadija Mosque project has provided insight into the ways a reconstruction project can reinforce ethnic identities and communities. The *Frauenkirche* and *Stari Most* projects have shown how the use of reconstruction as an international spectacle has changed the meaning of the intervention to symbolize reconciliation. In a similar manner, the Ferhadija Mosque was portrayed by former prime minister of the Republika Srpska, Dragan Čavić as a reversal of historical injustices. As in Mostar, the tension between ethnic groups in Banja Luka is illustrated by the ongoing lack of cooperation from the municipal government. In this context, the Ferhadija Mosque becomes a monument to the ongoing disconnect between political representations of the postwar condition in Bosnia and the reality experienced by the people. This thesis suggests Ferhadija Mosque also illustrates how the employment of international standards in fact can undermine the process of reconciliation. By employing international standards promoted by the World Heritage Committee and UNESCO, ethnic communities sponsoring the project associate themselves with the International Community. Without proper treatment of the situation, this association can continue aggressor and victim identities among ethnic groups created during the war.

The difficult issue of return remains an under explored topic in preservation scholarship about BiH. However, the Ferhadija Mosque project confirms that reconstruction projects can

anticipate the attention of the displaced and resettled community members. More than simply engaging this population, the reconstruction acts as a “linking object” that helps the community to negotiate the impact of the war on the social and economic environment of Banja Luka. It connects the Bosniak community to the pre-war image of the community through the reconstruction of the pre-war form of the mosque. Additionally, through the website an interface, the project allows the local and the displaced community to experience the progress of the mosque through a shared medium. It seems this effort helps this community to overcome lasting impacts of the war such as discrimination in the labor market and underrepresentation to tourists and visitors by the city. The construct of the “linking object” demonstrates the dynamic role of the reconstruction project to foster a strong collective identity. Additionally, the Ferhadija Mosque project confirms the need to balance reconstruction projects with other initiatives that foster equality among ethnic groups through social and economic mechanisms.

The Ferhadija Mosque project also illustrates the potential value of digital heritage not to simply provide entertainment and education but also to create a space for the physically reconstructed building to represent multiple, dynamic meanings. Digital heritage places more value on representations of the building, and with the low cost of creating a digital identity of the reconstructed building, it has a great potential to give voice to former victims of ethnic cleansing or other forms of oppression. In light of the ongoing issue of return, digital heritage seems to present a compelling forum for complementing reconstruction efforts and the memory work associated with the project. The photographic archive of *Ferhadija 1579* demonstrates how individuals can experience the reconstructed building and assign new meanings to it. Additionally, the photographs demonstrate the ways digital media can encourage an individual viewer to identify and interact with the project. Importantly, digital heritage is a new medium

about which preservation professionals, especially in the postwar context, must be aware. This technology not only provides tools for representation and expression, but it can also create a unique new form of heritage and collective memory work, which could help diasporic communities negotiate the memory of the war but also the postwar context.

By exploring these important themes and questions about postwar recovery, this thesis challenges existing theoretical frameworks and establishes new filters for understanding archaeological reconstruction. By understanding the reconstructed building as more than an object, preservation professionals can better anticipate the impact of their decision to reconstruct instead of employing another type of intervention. Only by considering the reconstructed building as integral to other social, cultural, and economic networks can preservationists make informed decisions for their constituent community while respecting the larger social issues of the postwar context. Changing attitudes towards preservation and cultural heritage have created an urgent need to address these issues. Shifts in the peacekeeping and disaster relief discourses increasingly focus on long-term interventions, which incorporate the stabilization and preservation of cultural resources.

Figures

Figures for “Chapter 1: Introduction - Archaeological Reconstruction: Past, Present, Future”



Figure 1.1: Post-Yugoslavia map of republics, federations, and other independent political entities. Map produced by the Central Intelligence Agency.



Figure 1.2: Present day Bosnia and Herzegovina. Map produced by the Central Intelligence Agency.



Figure 1.3: Signing of the General Framework Agreement of Peace at the Elysee Palace in Paris on December 14, 1995. Seated at the table, from left to right, Serbian President Slobodan Milošević, Croatian President Franjo Tuđman, and Bosnian President Alija Izetbegović. In the back, from left to right, Spanish premier Felipe Gonzales, U.S. President Bill Clinton, French President Jacques Chirac, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, British Premier John Major, and Russian Prime Minister Viktor. (AP photo/Michel Lipchitz)

Destruction of Islamic religious buildings in Bosnia 1992-1995

| Building Type | Total no. before the war | Total no. destroyed or damaged | Percentage destroyed or damaged |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Congregational mosques | 1,149 | 927 | 80.68 |
| Small neighborhood mosques | 557 | 259 | 46.50 |
| Total no. of mosques | 1,706 | 1,186 | 69.52 |
| Qur'an schools | 954 | 87 | 9.12 |
| Dervish Lodges | 15 | 9 | 60.00 |
| Mausolea, shrines | 90 | 44 | 48.89 |
| Buildings of religious endowments | 1,425 | 554 | 38.88 |

Figure 1.4: Reproduction of data presented by Andras Riedlmayer in his article “From the Ashes: The Past and Future of Bosnia’s Cultural Heritage.” This data further contextualizes the impact of the war on the built environment for the Bosniak population.



Figure 1.5: Photograph of Ferhadija Mosque in Banja Luka circa 1982. Photograph by Husrev Redzic from Archnet.org.

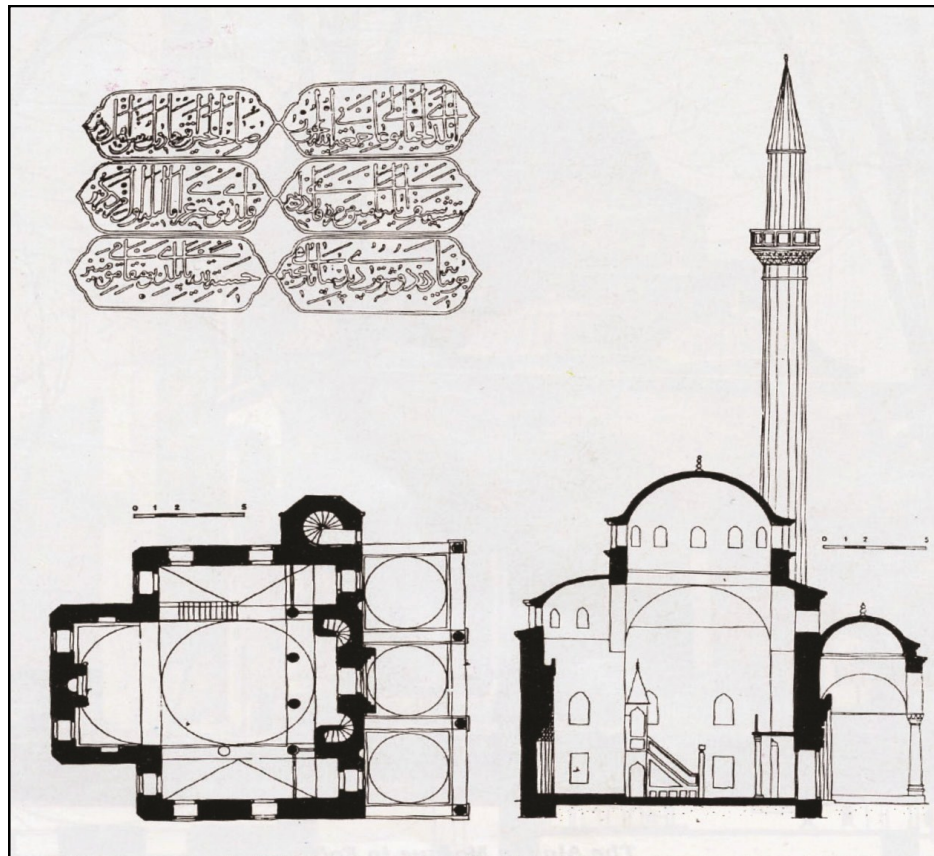


Figure 1.6: Inscription with date of construction, plan, and cross section of the Ferhadija Mosque in Banja Luka. Figure from *Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina* by Amir Pašić.

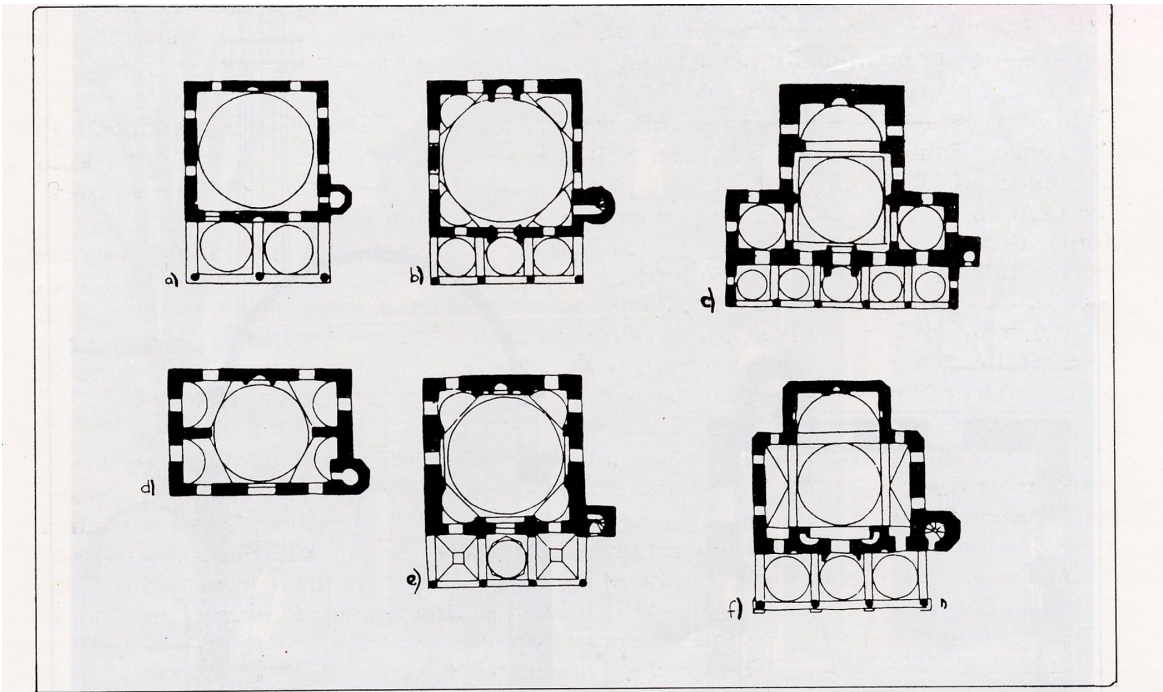


Figure 1.7: Basic plan of domed mosques in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Ferhadija Mosque is letter F in the lower right hand corner. The comparison of plans shows the two annexes on either side of the central space of the mosque, which distinguishes the Ferhadija Mosque. Figure from *Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina* by Amir Pašić .



Figure 1.8: This collage of photographs shows the damaged mosque after the May 6, 1993 attack by Bosnian Serb soldiers in the images on the left. The images on the right show the empty lot which marked the location of the mosque. All images are from the Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnian and Herzegovina.



Figure 1.9: This photograph shows the buses set on fire by the violent mob which protested the cornerstone ceremony of the Ferhadija Mosque held by the Islamic Community of Banja Luka on May 7, 2001. The buses transported displaced Bosniak individuals to the ceremony from other parts of the country. Image from the Associated Press.



Figure 1.10: Photograph of the reconstruction of Ferhadija Mosque in Banja Luka in August of 2011. This view also shows the main entrance to the site for visitors. They are immediately confronted by the site's virtual presences. Photograph taken by author.

Figures for “Chapter 2: The Balance of Power in Archaeological Reconstruction”



Figure 2.1: Dresden is in south-eastern Germany about 120 miles south of Berlin. Map produced by the CIA.

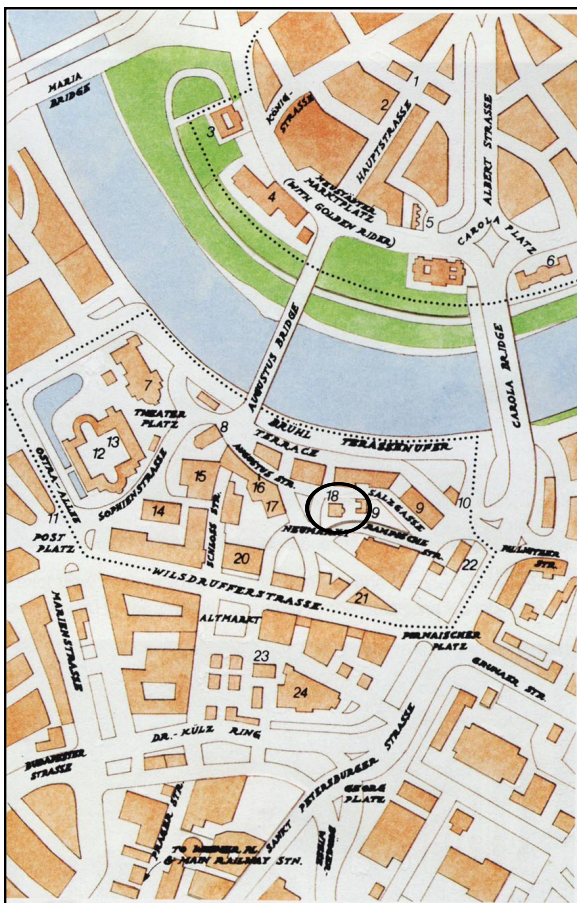


Figure 2.2: Map of Dresden's urban core. The *Frauenkirche* is circled. Map from Clayton 2001.



Figure 2.3: A drawing by Canaletto of the *Frauenkirche* and the Neumarkt. Image from the *Frauenkirche* website. www.frauenkirche-dresden.de>



Figure 2.4: Photograph of the *Frauenkirche* in Dresden circa 1936. Photograph by Mary Anderson Boit and from Artstor.

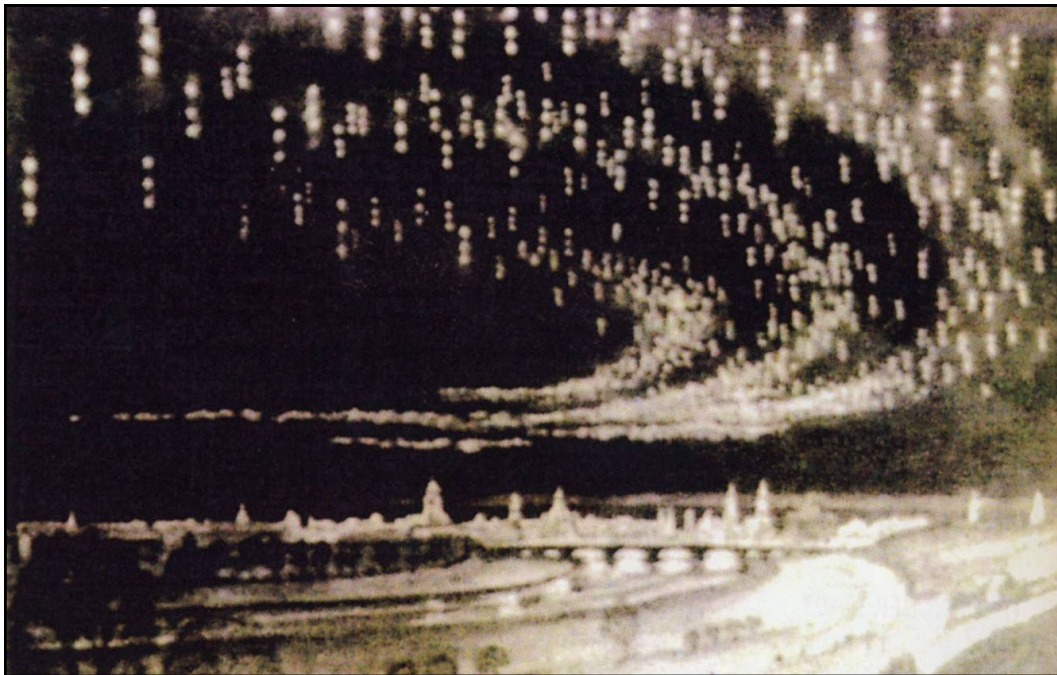


Figure 2.5: Photograph of the illuminating target lights dropped during the first air raid on Dresden on February 13, 1945 Image from Clayton 2001.



Figure 2.6: Central Dresden circa 1955 with sheep grazing in front of the *Frauenkirche* ruins in the Neumarkt. Image from the Sächsische Landesbibliothek and reproduced in Clayton 2001.



Figure 2.7: Young people first gathered at the ruins with candles on February 13, 1982. Then the ruins became a symbol for the peace movement in Eastern Germany and a place for non-violent protest. Image from *Frauenkirche* website <<http://www.frauenkirche-dresden.de>>



Figure 2.8: Photograph of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's speech at the *Frauenkirche*. Image from Artstor.



Figure 2.9: The reconstructed *Frauenkirche* with darker, original stones visible in the lower, left hand corner of the structure. Image from *Frauenkirche* website.

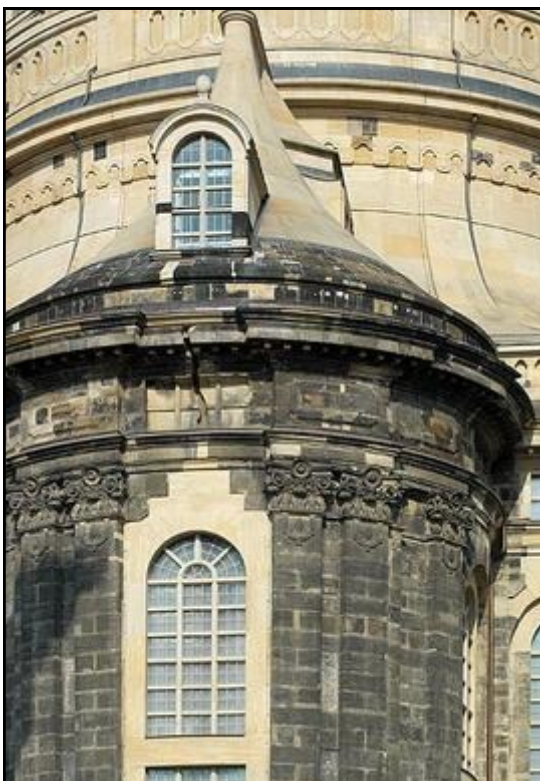


Figure 2.10: Detail of *Frauenkirche* reconstruction. The original material is distinguished from the new sandstone by staining. Photograph from *Frauenkirche* website. <www.frauenkirche-dresden.de>

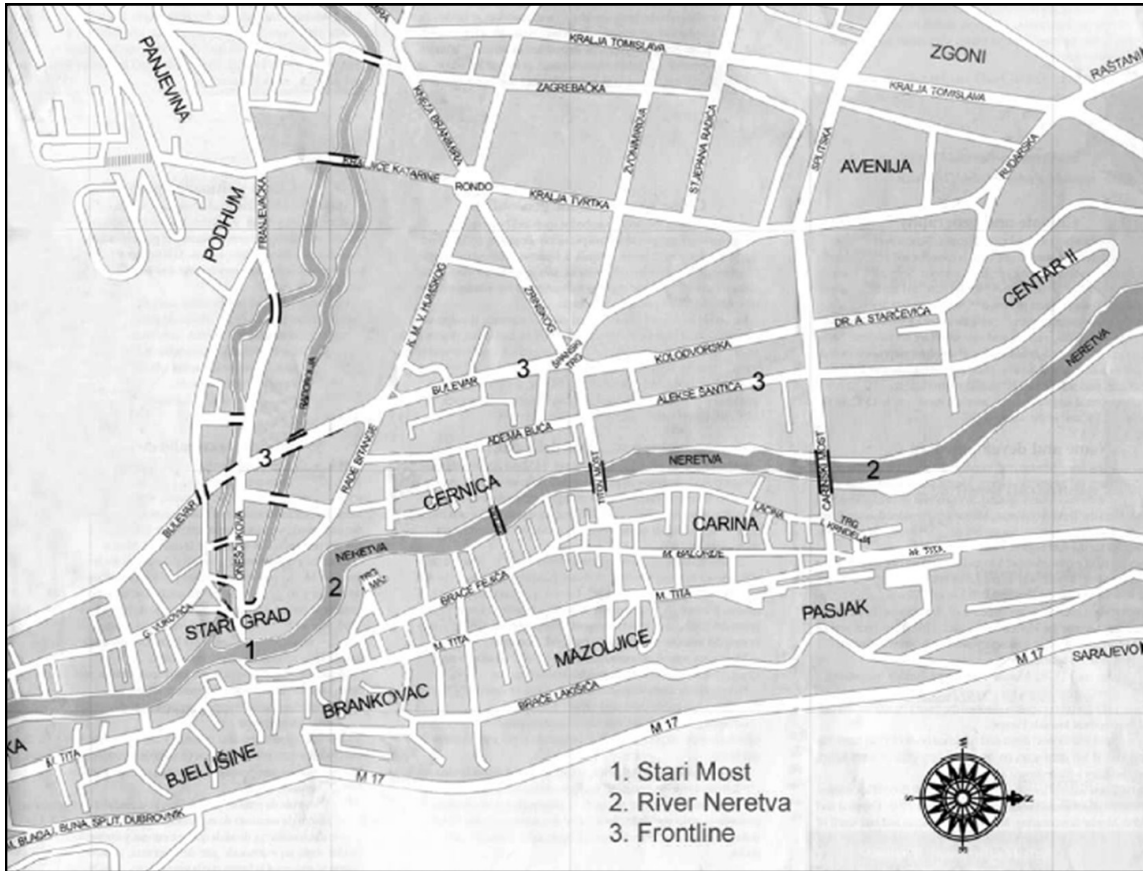


Figure 2.11: Map of Mostar. The *Stari Most* (Old Bridge) is located in the part of the city called *Stari Grad* (Old City). The Neretva River flows through the city and separates East and West Mostar. Image from Grodach 2003.



Figure 2.12: Hungarian SFOR engineers lift stones from the *Stari Most* out of the Neretva River on Monday Sept. 29, 1997. Photograph from AP Photo/Jojo Pavkovic.



Figure 13: Photograph of the staging for the salvage and reconstruction of *Stari Most* in 1998. Photography by Jon Calame.



Figure 2.14: Temporary bridge over the Neretva River prior to the reconstruction. Additionally, damage to the buildings along the river is visible in the photograph. Photograph by Jon Calame.



Figure 2.15: A temporary wooden bridge sits next to the *Stari Most* under reconstruction on April 9, 2004. Photograph from AP Photo/Hidajet Delic.



Figure 2.16: Photograph of the completed *Stari Most* reconstruction project. Image from June 2004.



Figure 2.17: Reconstructed bridge and photograph of the first bridge in 2005. Photo by Josef Koudelka.

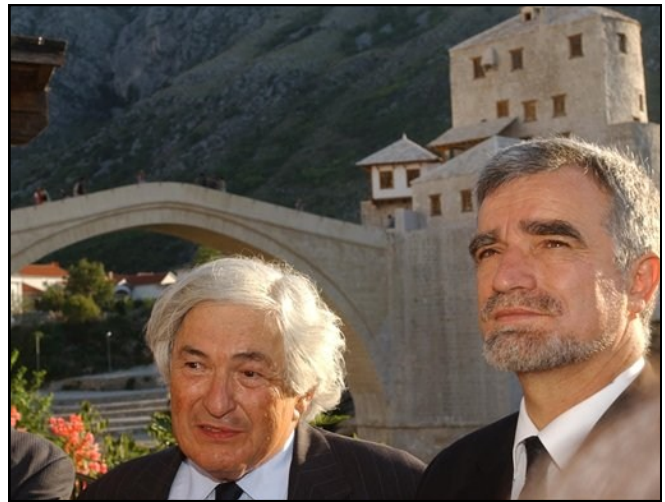
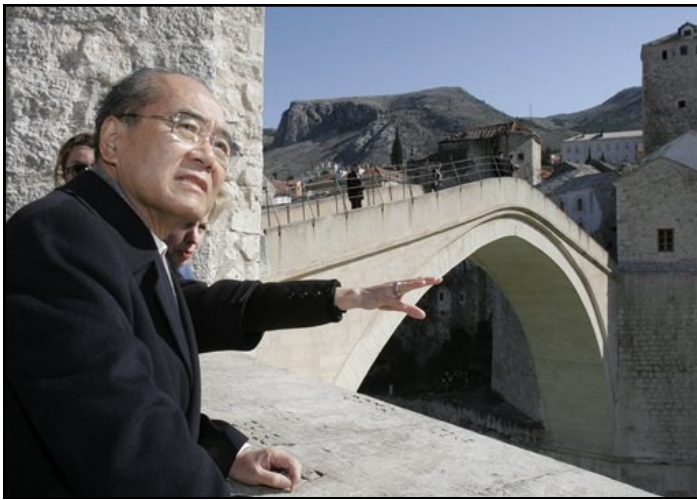


Figure 2.18 (Left): Director of UNESCO Koichiro Matsuura stands near Stari Most on March 26, 2008. Figure 2.19 (right): World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn, left, and the mayor of Mostar, Bosnian Muslim Hamdija Jahic in front of the “Old Mostar Bridge” during Wolfensohn's visit to Mostar on Sept. 6, 2004. Photographs from AP Photo/Amel Emric.



Figure 2.20 (left): Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his wife Emine poses for photographers at the reconstructed Stari Most on Thursday, Feb. 17, 2005. Photography from AP Photo/Amel Emric. Figure 2.21 (right): Britain's Prince Charles, center, and British ambassador to Bosnia Jan Kliff, right, walk through the Stari Grad during the opening ceremony of the Stari Most on Friday, July 23, 2004. Photograph from AP Photo/Hidajet Delic.



Figure 2.22: Local Street vendor presents a rug with the *Star Most* image. Image from AP.



Figure 2.23: Woman holds up a model of the *Star Most* for sell as a souvenir in her shop. Image is from AP.



Figure 2.24: The site of the Ferhadija Mosque in 2002. The building in the background is the office of the Islamic Community in Banja Luka. Image by Andras Riedlmayer and available on Arch-net.org.



Figure 2.25: Photograph from approximately the same vantage point as Figure 23 but in August 2011. The project team anticipates finishing the construction in one year. Image by author.



Figure 2.26: Photograph documenting the visit of American ambassador Charles English to the reconstruction site on April 28, 2008. Image from www.ferhadija.ba.



Figure 2.27: Photograph recording the visit of a Austrian tourist group who came to the site on May 3, 2008. Image from www.ferhadija.ba.



Figure 2.28: Photograph illustrating the identification of the Ferhadija Mosque reconstruction project and foreign investment and support. Photograph taken by author.

Figures for “Chapter 3: Reconstruction in the Reality of Return”

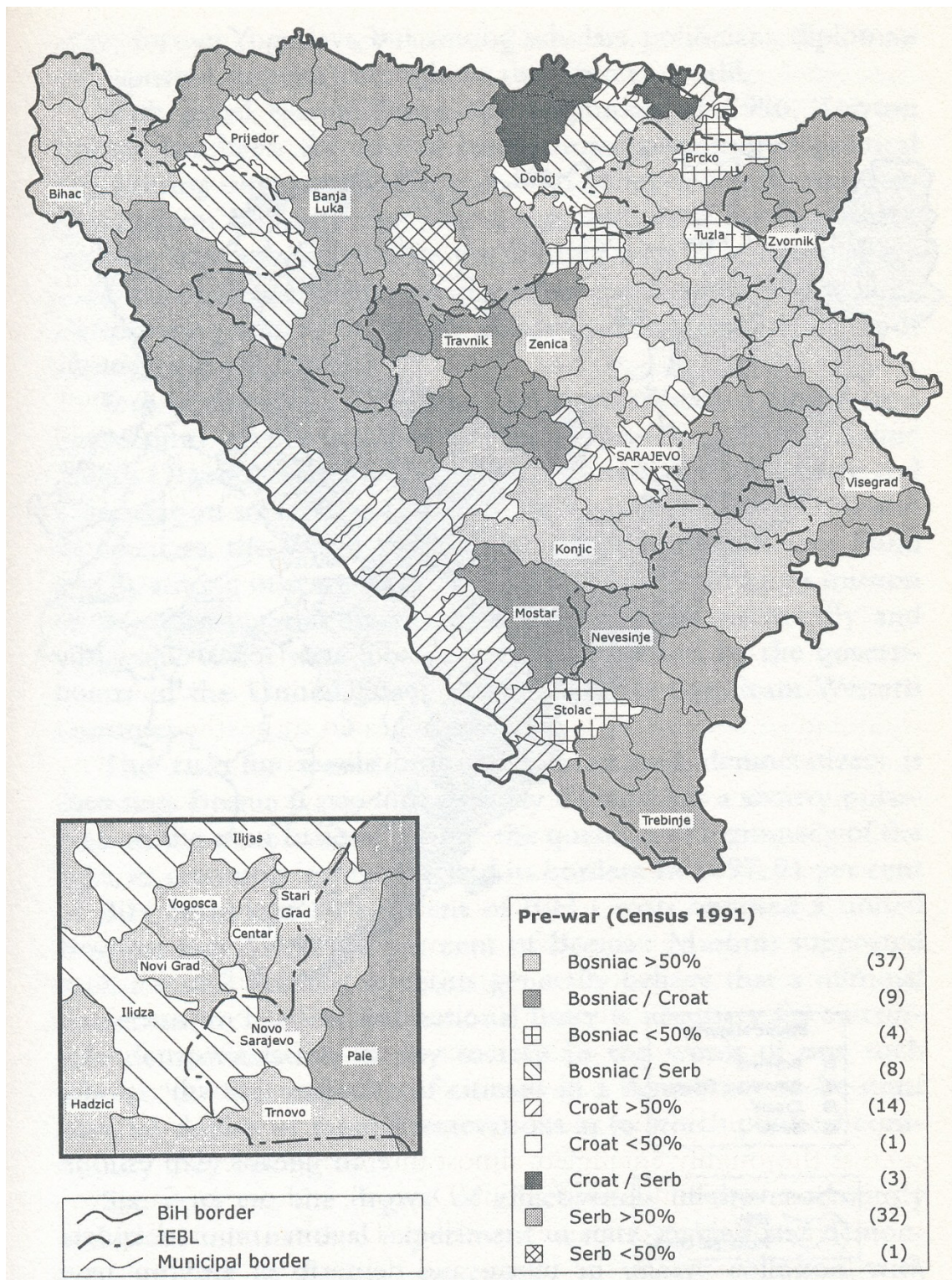


Figure 3.1: Map of Political Geography of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991. The inset focuses on the area around Sarajevo. This map indicates the heterogeneous distribution of ethnic groups in the country. Map from Bose 2001.

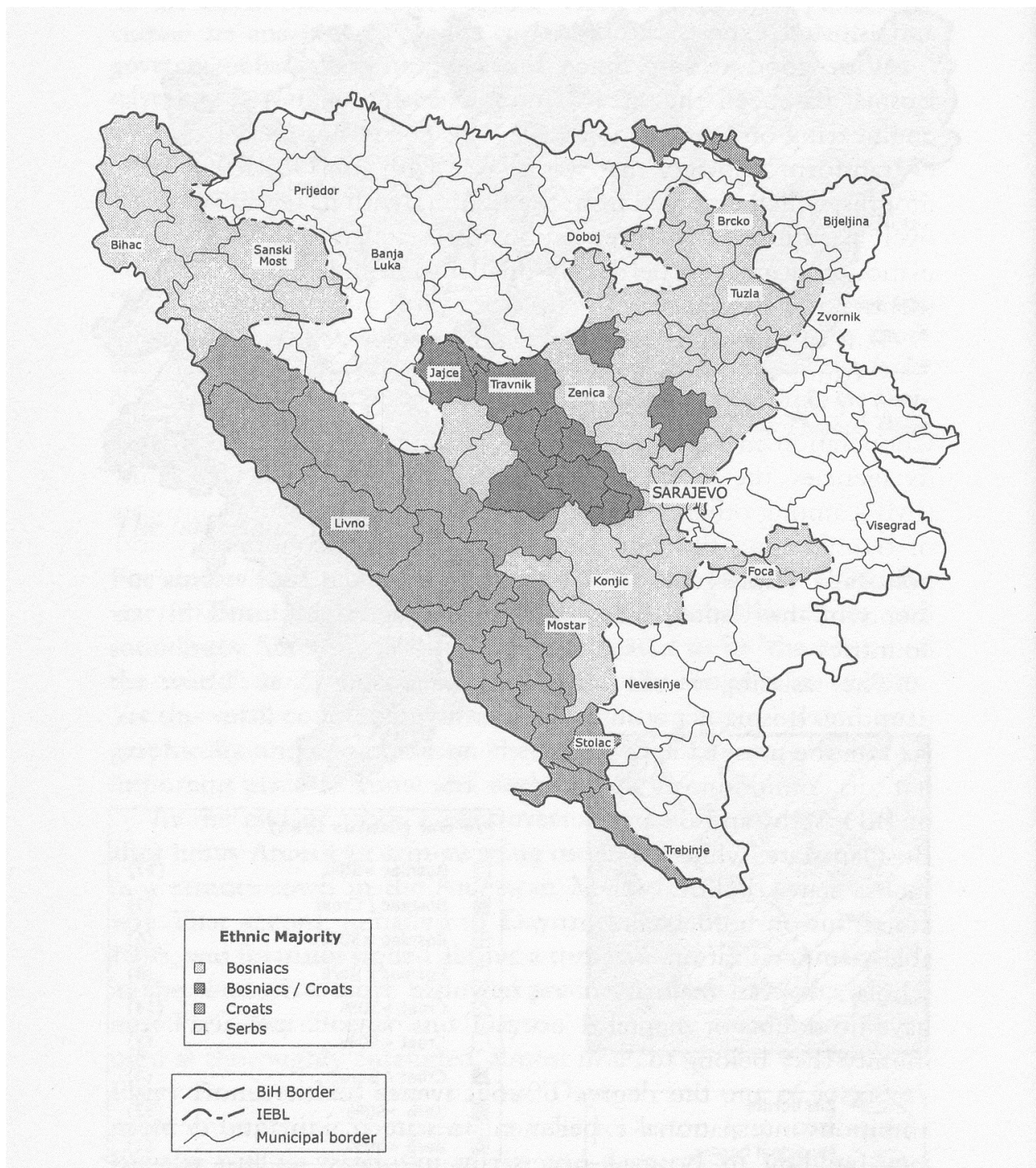


Figure 3.2: Map of Political Geography of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2000. The inset focuses on the area around Sarajevo. This map indicates the homogeneous distribution of ethnic groups in the country. Map from Bose 2001.

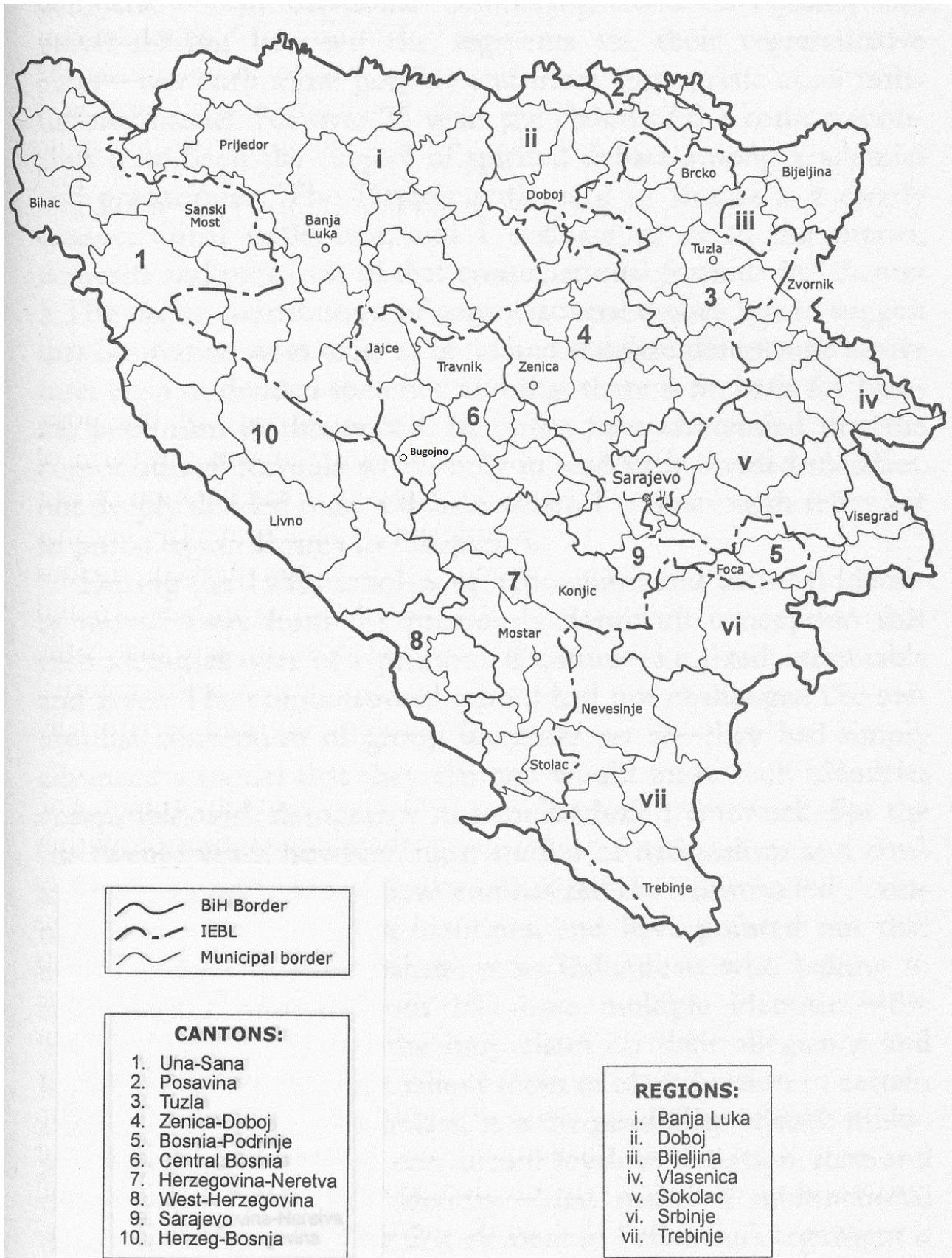


Figure 3.3: Map of Intra-Entity political divisions. Republika Srpska has 7 Regions and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Is divided into 10 Cantons. This map also shows the four municipalities which participated in the UNHCR Pilot Return Project. Map from Bose 2001.



Figure 3.4, 3.5, 3.6: The Čaršija Mosque in Stolac was constructed in the early sixteenth century and destroyed during the Bosnian War. The local community has rebuilt the mosque employing some original materials. Images from the website of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments.

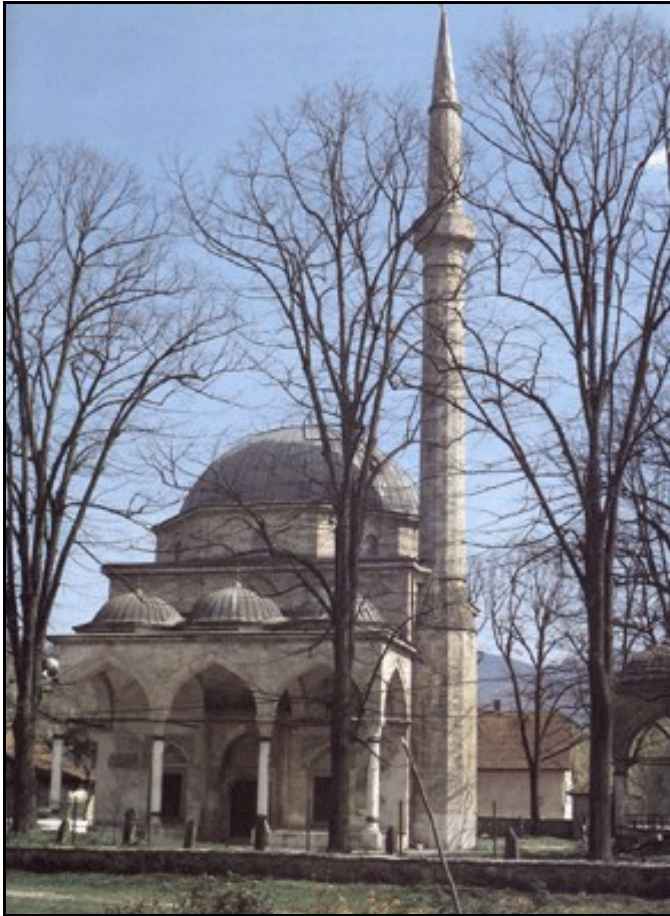


Figure 3.7: The Aladža (Multicolored) Mosque in the Drina River town of Foča in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina. Built in 1551 by Hasan Nazir, a Bosnian Muslim native of Foča, the Aladža Mosque was considered one of the masterworks of southeastern Europe's Islamic architectural heritage. The mosque was famous for its harmonious proportions and its colorful painted interior. Photo taken in the 1980s.



Figure 3.8: The empty site of the Aladža Mosque with the outline of its foundation in the foreground in 1996. It was bombed and bulldozed in April 1992 by Bosnian Serb extremists. Image by Andras Riedlmayer and available on Archnet.org

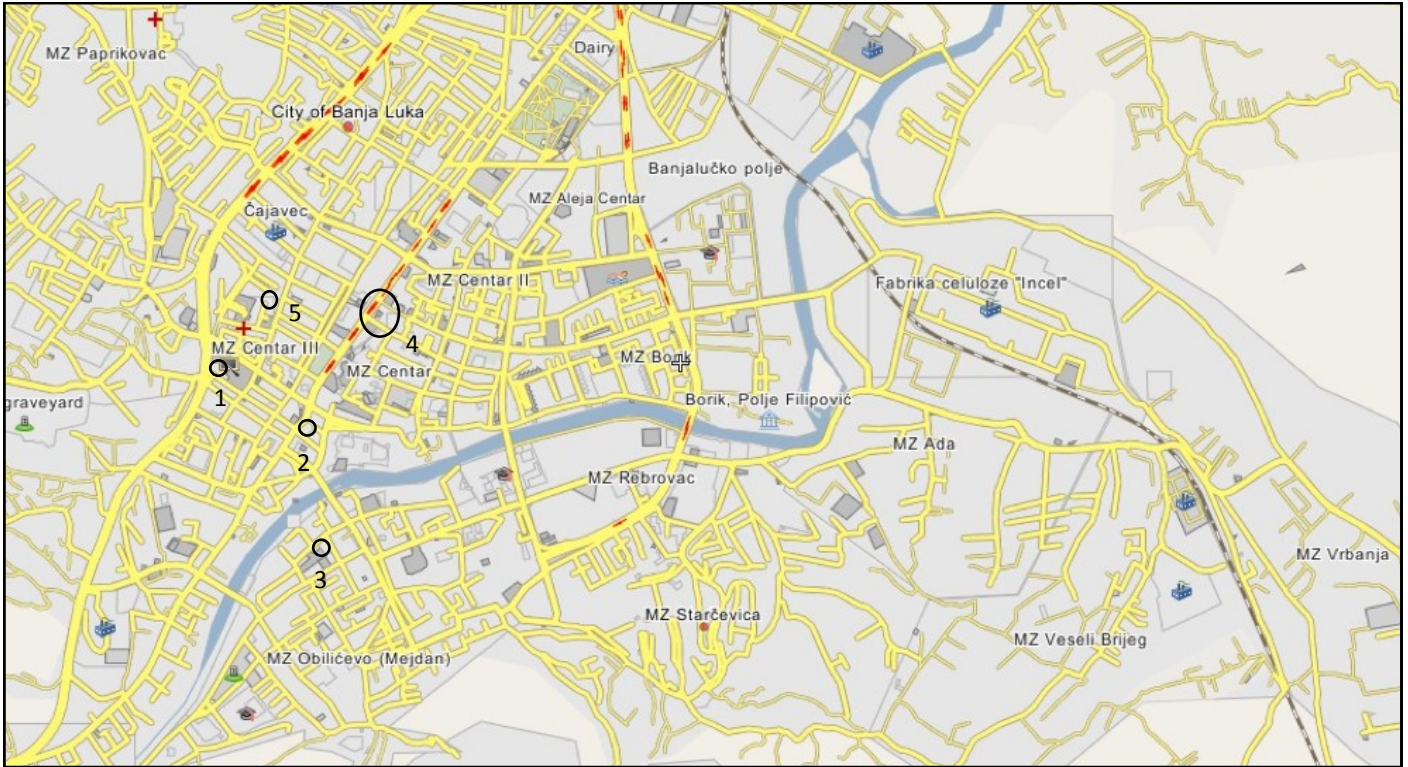


Figure 3.9: Map of the center of downtown Banja Luka. The Vrbas River cuts through the city. MZ stands for *Mjesna zajednica* or local community center which gives a political voice to the neighborhood. Map from Wikipapia. The author has included some indicators of the location of relevant structures.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Site of the Arnaudija Mosque | 5. Branch Office of the Embassy of the United States |
| 2. Ferhadija Mosque | |
| 3. Gazanferija Mosque | |
| 4. Central plaza with the Church of Christ the Savior. This plaza is flank by City Hall . | |



Figure 3.10: At the cornerstone ceremony for the Ferhadija Mosque on May 7, 2001, thousands of protesters disrupted the event and set fire to the several buses used to bring Muslims to the event. Even before the ceremony started, the protesters threw stones over the heads of the police present to protect the visiting Muslims. Photo from Associated Press.

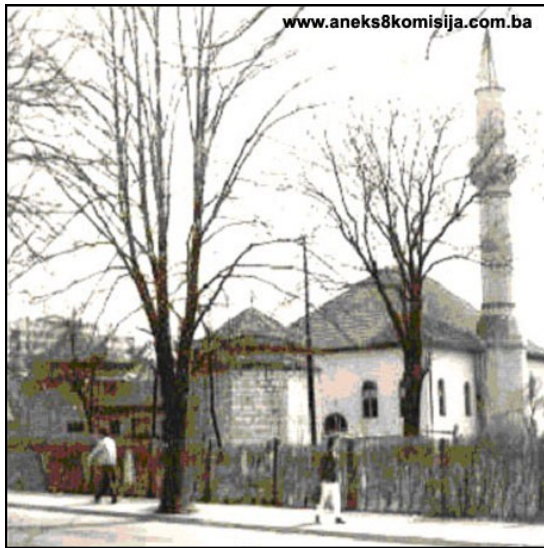


Figure 3.11: The Gazanferija Mosque is a contemporary of the Ferhadija Mosque. The original mosque had a domed roof until at least the end of the 18th century. Figure 3.11 is from the National Monument decision available on the website of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments.



Figure 3.12: Two symmetrical *turbes*, or mausolea, frame the entrance to the mosque and survived the war only partially damaged. Figure 3.11 & 3.12 are from the National Monument decision available on the website of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments.



Figure 3.13: The Islamic Community decided to rebuild the mosque in the spirit of the original late sixteenth century structure. This is status of the construction as of August 2011. Figure 3.13 is courtesy of the author.

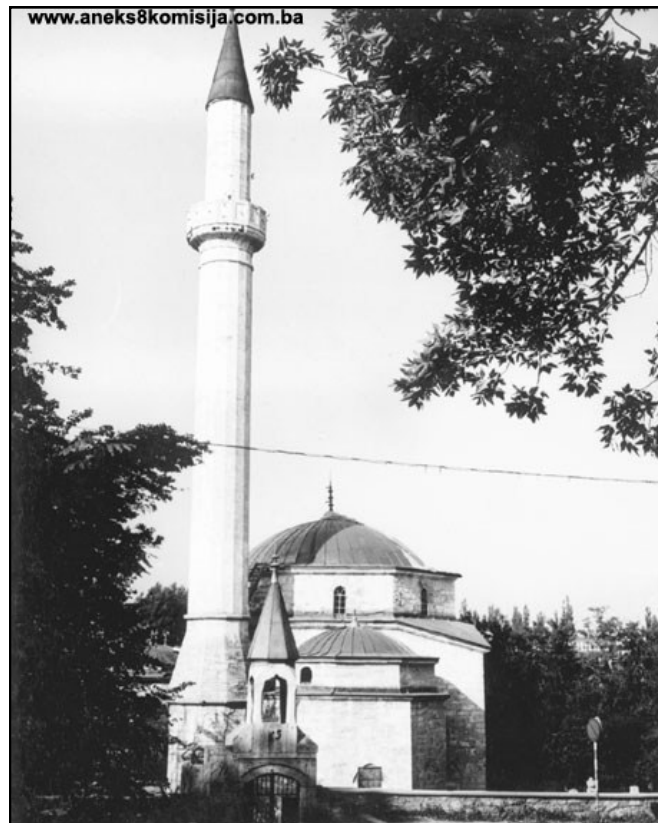


Figure 3.14: The Arnaudija Mosque in Banja Luka dated to the end of the sixteenth century, and the site included a fine example of an *akšam-taš* minaret. It is visible in the foreground on the wall surrounding the complex. Figure 3.14 is from the National Monument decision available on the website of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments.



Figure 3.15: The site remains protected in anticipation the reconstruction of the mosque. This is status of the site as of August 2011. Figure 3.15 is courtesy of the author.



Figure 3.16: This map is the central panel of a brochure distributed at the official city tourist office located on the main street. Notably, the map includes a symbol at the location of the architecturally renowned Ferhadija Mosque (arrow added by author), but it does not offer an explanation of the symbol in the legend (inset). Importantly, the Church of Christ the Savior also is also indicated on the map, and the legend includes an explanation of the symbol (Pravoslavna crkva or Orthodox church).

Figures: for “Chapter 4: The Digital Potential of Reconstruction Projects



Figure 4.1: The entry portal for *Ferhadija 1579*, the website of the Ferhadija Mosque reconstruction project. Image from www.ferhadija.ba



Figure 4.2 and 4.3: The front page of the Bosnian side of the website with a list of updates sharing progress of the reconstruction as well news of visitors. The inset zooms in on the updated image of the mosque included on the page. Image from www.ferhadija.ba.



Figure 4.4: This image shares the theater of the webpage which suggest the mosque as a symbol of Islam in conjunction with the prayer rug background, and dome graphic with a crescent. The photograph conveys the chaotic landscape of the Ramici garbage dump. Image from www.ferhadija.ba



Figure 4.5: The chaotic landscape of the dump and a portrayal of the search for stones. Image from www.ferhadija.ba



Figure 4.6: This image characterizes the dump site as repulsive and helps to portray the stones as being out of place. www.ferhadija.ba



Figure 4.7, 4. 8, 4.9: An photograph convey-
ing the unfamiliar site as well as showcase
the extent of the work with the bulldozer.
While only documenting the work, they
evoke ideas of exhuming and contribute to
the idea putting the stones back in place.
Images from www.ferhadija.ba





Figure 4.10, 4.11, 4.12: These images document the location of stones in the dump site, but they also present a viewer familiar with the mosques with a challenge. Do you know these stones? The photograph itself suggest these blocks of stone have value to the photographer and warrant the documentation.
www.ferhadija.ba





Figure 4.13, 4.14, 4.15: Some images seem to actively catalogue recovered fragments. www.ferhadija.ba





Figure 4.16, 4.17, 4.18: In relation to the other photographs of the album, these images portray stones as extracted and collected by the community.
www.ferhadija.ba

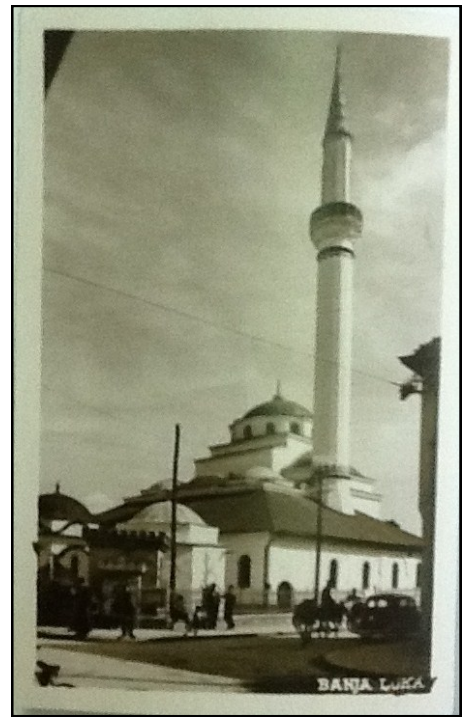
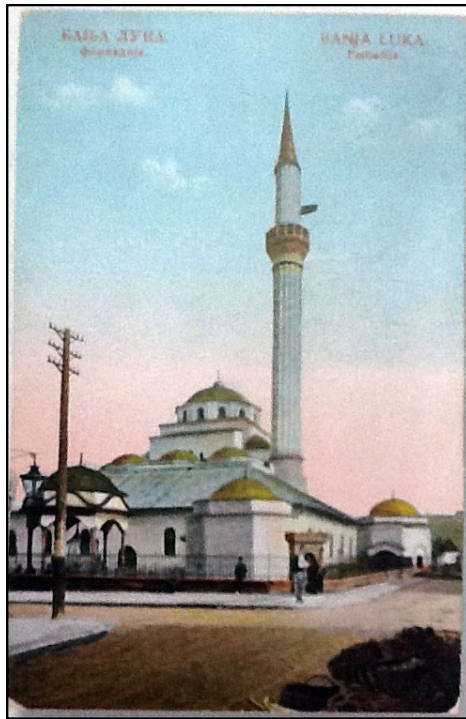
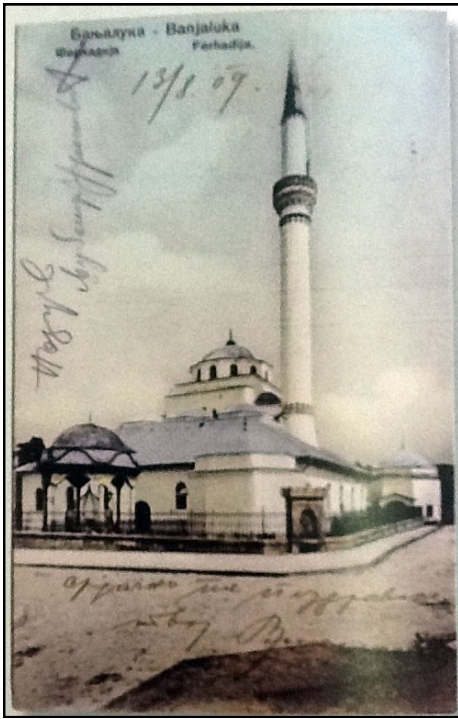


Figure 4.19, 4.20, 4.21: Picture postcards featuring the Ferhadija Mosque. From left to right the cards date to 1908, 1910, and 1940. All images from Vicić and Vicić 2006.



Figure 4.22, 4.23: These postcards feature the šadrvan or fountain outside the mosque, and both cards date to 1910.



Figure 4.24: This postcard dates to 1929 and speaks to the tension between tradition and modern technology.

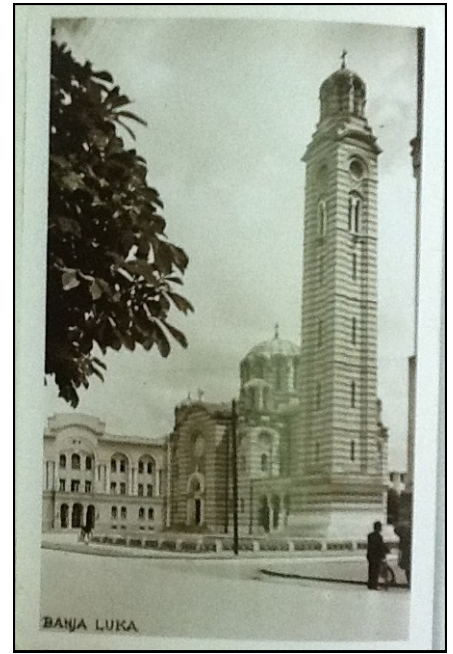
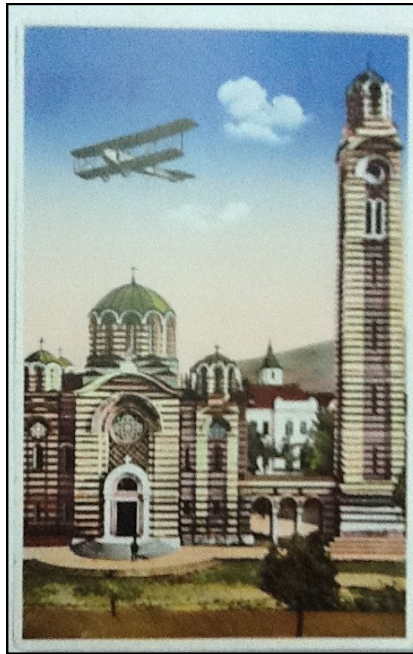
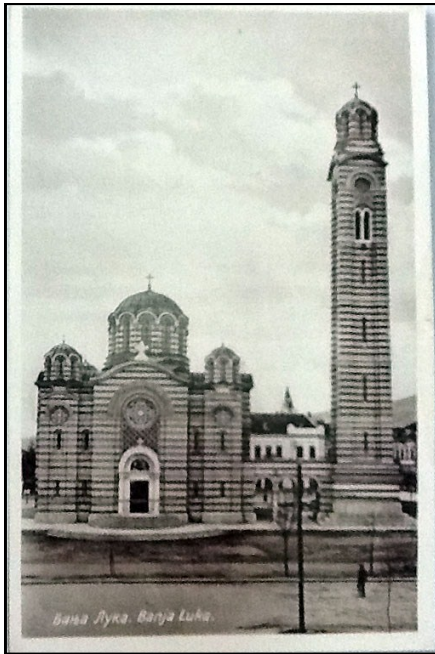


Figure 4.25, 4.26, 4.27: Picture postcards featuring the Church of the Holy Trinity. From left to right the cards date to 1929, 1929, and 1934. All images from Vivic and Vivic 2006.

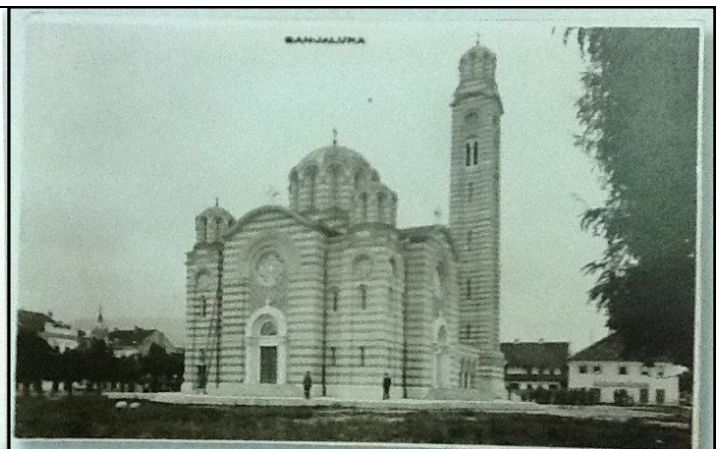


Figure 4.28, 4.29: These postcards and Figure 4.30 & 4.31 represent the explosive building movement in Banja Luka from 1929-1935 in an effort to create an architectural character for the city. These postcards both date to 1929.

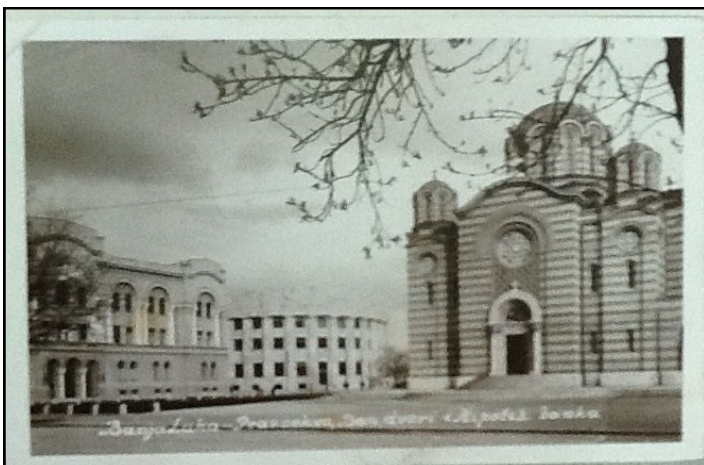


Figure 4.30: is a postcard from 1936, and the newly constructed Ban's Palace is visible to the left of the church. Figure 4.31 dates to 1934 and shows the Palace Administration.



Figure 4.32: English-language portal of Virtualno Sarajevo with the option of opening photographs, video clips, stories about historic places and buildings, and virtual 3D models. Image taken from <http://www.virtualnosarajevo.com.ba/>.

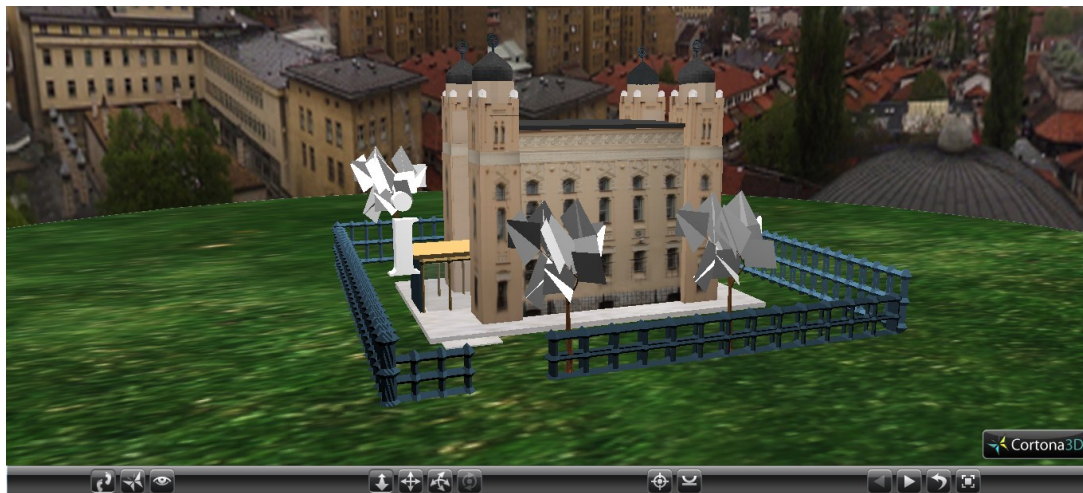


Figure 4.33: Still of the 3D interactive reconstruction of the Sarajevo Synagogue in Virtualno Sarajevo. Image taken from <http://www.virtualnosarajevo.com.ba/>.



Figure 4.34: A still from “Tools of Survival” virtual exhibit of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The exhibit tells the story of the Siege of Sarajevo (1992-1996) through the digital objects of real tools on display in a physical museum exhibit. Image from <http://h.etf.unsa.ba/srp/vmuzej/index-e-1.htm>

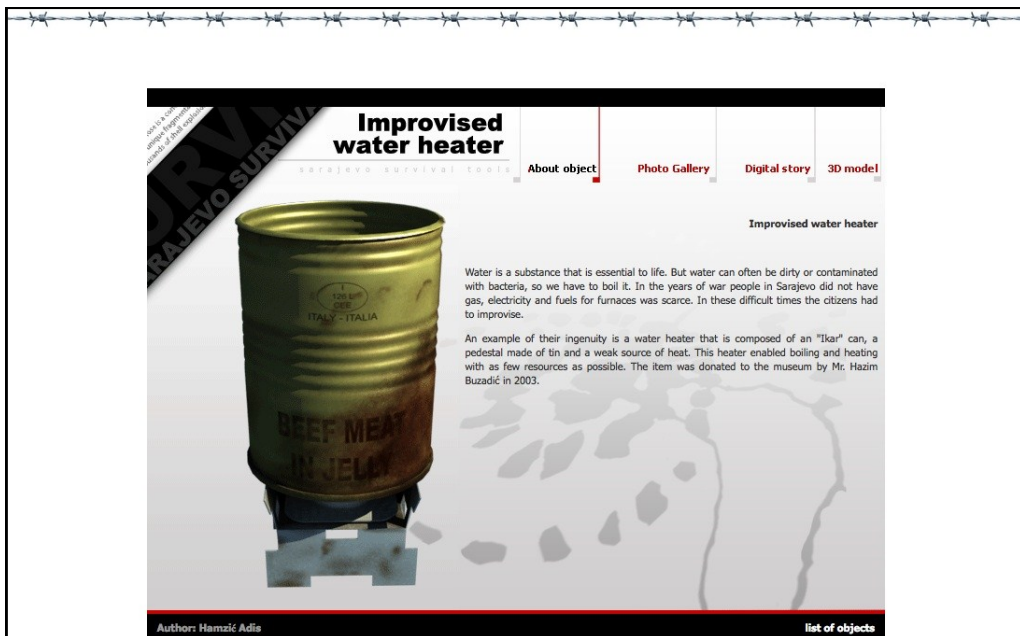


Figure 4.35: An example of the multimedia presentation of a digital “tool of survival.” In addition to the digital object, the visitor can engage photographs of the real object, read a narrative, or manipulate a 3D model. Image from <http://h.etf.unsa.ba/srp/vmuzej/index-e-1.htm>

Agreement on Refugees and Displaced Persons¹

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Republika Srpska (the "Parties") have agreed as follows:

Chapter One: Protection

Article I: Rights of Refugees and Displaced Persons

1. All refugees and displaced persons have the right freely to return to their homes of origin. They shall have the right to have restored to them property of which they were deprived in the course of hostilities since 1991 and to be compensated for any property that cannot be restored to them. The early return of refugees and displaced persons is an important objective of the settlement of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Parties confirm that they will accept the return of such persons who have left their territory, including those who have been accorded temporary protection by third countries.
2. The Parties shall ensure that refugees and displaced persons are permitted to return in safety, without risk of harassment, intimidation, persecution, or discrimination, particularly on account of their ethnic origin, religious belief, or political opinion.
3. The Parties shall take all necessary steps to prevent activities within their territories which would hinder or impede the safe and voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons. To demonstrate their commitment to securing full respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all persons within their jurisdiction and creating without delay conditions suitable for return of refugees and displaced persons, the Parties shall take immediately the following confidence building measures:
 - a. the repeal of domestic legislation and administrative practices with discriminatory intent or effect;
 - b. the prevention and prompt suppression of any written or verbal incitement, through media or otherwise, of ethnic or religious hostility or hatred;
 - c. the dissemination, through the media, of warnings against, and the prompt suppression of, acts of retribution by military, paramilitary, and police services, and by other public officials or private individuals;
 - d. the protection of ethnic and/or minority populations wherever they are found and the provision of immediate access to these populations by international humanitarian organizations and monitors;
 - e. the prosecution, dismissal or transfer, as appropriate, of persons in military, paramilitary, and police forces, and other public servants, responsible for serious violations of the basic rights of persons belonging to ethnic or minority groups.
4. Choice of destination shall be up to the individual or family, and the principle of the unity of the family shall be preserved. The Parties shall not interfere with the returnees' choice

¹ This version of Annex 7 of the GFAP came from the website of the Office of the High Representative.

of destination, nor shall they compel them to remain in or move to situations of serious danger or insecurity, or to areas lacking in the basic infrastructure necessary to resume a normal life. The Parties shall facilitate the flow of information necessary for refugees and displaced persons to make informed judgments about local conditions for return.

5. The Parties call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees ("UNHCR") to develop in close consultation with asylum countries and the Parties a repatriation plan that will allow for an early, peaceful, orderly and phased return of refugees and displaced persons, which may include priorities for certain areas and certain categories of returnees. The Parties agree to implement such a plan and to conform their international agreements and internal laws to it. They accordingly call upon States that have accepted refugees to promote the early return of refugees consistent with international law.

Article II: Creation of Suitable Conditions for Return

1. The Parties undertake to create in their territories the political, economic, and social conditions conducive to the voluntary return and harmonious reintegration of refugees and displaced persons, without preference for any particular group. The Parties shall provide all possible assistance to refugees and displaced persons and work to facilitate their voluntary return in a peaceful, orderly and phased manner, in accordance with the UNHCR repatriation plan.
2. The Parties shall not discriminate against returning refugees and displaced persons with respect to conscription into military service, and shall give positive consideration to requests for exemption from military or other obligatory service based on individual circumstances, so as to enable returnees to rebuild their lives.

Article III: Cooperation with International Organizations and International Monitoring

1. The Parties note with satisfaction the leading humanitarian role of UNHCR, which has been entrusted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations with the role of coordinating among all agencies assisting with the repatriation and relief of refugees and displaced persons.
2. The Parties shall give full and unrestricted access by UNHCR, the International Committee of the Red Cross ("ICRC"), the United Nations Development Programme ("UNDP"), and other relevant international, domestic and nongovernmental organizations to all refugees and displaced persons, with a view to facilitating the work of those organizations in tracing persons, the provision of medical assistance, food distribution, reintegration assistance, the provision of temporary and permanent housing, and other activities vital to the discharge of their mandates and operational responsibilities without administrative impediments. These activities shall include traditional protection functions and the monitoring of basic human rights and humanitarian conditions, as well as the implementation of the provisions of this Chapter.
3. The Parties shall provide for the security of all personnel of such organizations.

Article IV: Repatriation Assistance

The Parties shall facilitate the provision of adequately monitored, short-term repatriation assistance on a nondiscriminatory basis to all returning refugees and displaced persons who are in need, in accordance with a plan developed by UNHCR and other relevant organizations, to enable the families and individuals returning to reestablish their lives and livelihoods in local communities.

Article V: Persons Unaccounted For

The Parties shall provide information through the tracing mechanisms of the ICRC on all persons unaccounted for. The Parties shall also cooperate fully with the ICRC in its efforts to determine the identities, whereabouts and fate of the unaccounted for.

Article VI: Amnesty

Any returning refugee or displaced person charged with a crime, other than a serious violation of international humanitarian law as defined in the Statute of the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia since January 1, 1991 or a common crime unrelated to the conflict, shall upon return enjoy an amnesty. In no case shall charges for crimes be imposed for political or other inappropriate reasons or to circumvent the application of the amnesty.

Chapter Two: Commission for Displaced Persons and Refugees

Article VII: Establishment of the Commission

The Parties hereby establish an independent Commission for Displaced Persons and Refugees (the "Commission"). The Commission shall have its headquarters in Sarajevo and may have offices at other locations as it deems appropriate.

Article VIII: Cooperation

The Parties shall cooperate with the work of the Commission, and shall respect and implement its decisions expeditiously and in good faith, in cooperation with relevant international and nongovernmental organizations having responsibility for the return and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons.

Article IX: Composition

1. The Commission shall be composed of nine members. Within 90 days after this Agreement enters into force, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall appoint four members, two for a term of three years and the others for a term of four years, and the Republika Srpska shall appoint two members, one for a term of three years and the other for a term of four years. The President of the European Court of Human Rights shall appoint the remaining members, each for a term of five years, and shall designate one such member as the Chairman. The members of the Commission may be reappointed.
2. Members of the Commission must be of recognized high moral standing.

3. The Commission may sit in panels, as provided in its rules and regulations. References in this Annex to the Commission shall include, as appropriate, such panels, except that the power to promulgate rules and regulations is vested only in the Commission as a whole.
4. Members appointed after the transfer described in Article XVI below shall be appointed by the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Article X: Facilities, Staff and Expenses

1. The Commission shall have appropriate facilities and a professionally competent staff, experienced in administrative, financial, banking and legal matters, to assist it in carrying out its functions. The staff shall be headed by an Executive Officer, who shall be appointed by the Commission.
2. The salaries and expenses of the Commission and its staff shall be determined jointly by the Parties and shall be borne equally by the Parties.
3. Members of the Commission shall not be held criminally or civilly liable for any acts carried out within the scope of their duties. Members of the Commission, and their families, who are not citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be accorded the same privileges and immunities as are enjoyed by diplomatic agents and their families under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.
4. The Commission may receive assistance from international and nongovernmental organizations, in their areas of special expertise falling within the mandate of the Commission, on terms to be agreed.
5. The Commission shall cooperate with other entities established by the General Framework Agreement, agreed by the Parties, or authorized by the United Nations Security Council.

Article XI: Mandate

The Commission shall receive and decide any claims for real property in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the property has not voluntarily been sold or otherwise transferred since April 1, 1992, and where the claimant does not now enjoy possession of that property. Claims may be for return of the property or for just compensation in lieu of return.

Article XII: Proceedings before the Commission

1. Upon receipt of a claim, the Commission shall determine the lawful owner of the property with respect to which the claim is made and the value of that property. The Commission, through its staff or a duly designated international or nongovernmental organization, shall be entitled to have access to any and all property records in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to any and all real property located in Bosnia and Herzegovina for purposes of inspection, evaluation and assessment related to consideration of a claim.
2. Any person requesting the return of property who is found by the Commission to be the lawful owner of that property shall be awarded its return. Any person requesting compensation in lieu of return who is found by the Commission to be the lawful owner of that property shall be awarded just compensation as determined by the Commission. The Commission shall make decisions by a majority of its members.

3. In determining the lawful owner of any property, the Commission shall not recognize as valid any illegal property transaction, including any transfer that was made under duress, in exchange for exit permission or documents, or that was otherwise in connection with ethnic cleansing. Any person who is awarded return of property may accept a satisfactory lease arrangement rather than retake possession.
4. The Commission shall establish fixed rates that may be applied to determine the value of all real property in Bosnia and Herzegovina that is the subject of a claim before the Commission. The rates shall be based on an assessment or survey of properties in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina undertaken prior to April 1, 1992, if available, or may be based on other reasonable criteria as determined by the Commission.
5. The Commission shall have the power to effect any transactions necessary to transfer or assign title, mortgage, lease, or otherwise dispose of property with respect to which a claim is made, or which is determined to be abandoned. In particular, the Commission may lawfully sell, mortgage, or lease real property to any resident or citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or to either Party, where the lawful owner has sought and received compensation in lieu of return, or where the property is determined to be abandoned in accordance with local law. The Commission may also lease property pending consideration and final determination of ownership.
6. In cases in which the claimant is awarded compensation in lieu of return of the property, the Commission may award a monetary grant or a compensation bond for the future purchase of real property. The Parties welcome the willingness of the international community assisting in the construction and financing of housing in Bosnia and Herzegovina to accept compensation bonds awarded by the Commission as payment, and to award persons holding such compensation bonds priority in obtaining that housing.
7. Commission decisions shall be final, and any title, deed, mortgage, or other legal instrument created or awarded by the Commission shall be recognized as lawful throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.
8. Failure of any Party or individual to cooperate with the Commission shall not prevent the Commission from making its decision.

Article XIII: Use of Vacant Property

The Parties, after notification to the Commission and in coordination with UNHCR and other international and nongovernmental organizations contributing to relief and reconstruction, may temporarily house refugees and displaced persons in vacant property, subject to final determination of ownership by the Commission and to such temporary lease provisions as it may require.

Article XIV: Refugees and Displaced Persons Property Fund

1. A Refugees and Displaced Persons Property Fund (the "Fund") shall be established in the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina to be administered by the Commission. The Fund shall be replenished through the purchase, sale, lease and mortgage of real property which is the subject of claims before the Commission. It may also be replenished by direct payments from the Parties, or from contributions by States or international or nongovernmental organizations.

2. Compensation bonds issued pursuant to Article XII(6) shall create future liabilities on the Fund under terms and conditions to be defined by the Commission.

Article XV: Rules and Regulations

The Commission shall promulgate such rules and regulations, consistent with this Agreement, as may be necessary to carry out its functions. In developing these rules and regulations, the Commission shall consider domestic laws on property rights.

Article XVI: Transfer

Five years after this Agreement takes effect, responsibility for the financing and operation of the Commission shall transfer from the Parties to the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, unless the Parties otherwise agree. In the latter case, the Commission shall continue to operate as provided above.

Article XVII: Notice

The Parties shall give effective notice of the terms of this Agreement throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in all countries known to have persons who were citizens or residents of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Article XVIII: Entry into Force

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature.

For the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

For the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

For the Republika Srpska

Office of the High Representative

Agreement on Commission to Preserve National Monuments¹

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska (the "Parties") have agreed as follows:

Article I: Establishment of the Commission

The Parties hereby establish an independent Commission to Preserve National Monuments (the "Commission"). The Commission shall have its headquarters in Sarajevo and may have offices at other locations as it deems appropriate.

Article II: Composition

1. The Commission shall be composed of five members. Within 90 days after this Agreement enters into force, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall appoint two members, and the Republika Srpska one member, each serving a term of three years. The Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization shall appoint the remaining members, each for a term of five years, and shall designate one such member as the Chairman. The members of the Commission may be reappointed. No person who is serving a sentence imposed by the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and no person who is under indictment by the Tribunal and who has failed to comply with an order to appear before the Tribunal, may serve on the Commission.
2. Members appointed after the transfer described in Article IX below shall be appointed by the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Article III: Facilities, Staff and Expenses

1. The Commission shall have appropriate facilities and a professionally competent staff, generally representative of the ethnic groups comprising Bosnia and Herzegovina, to assist it in carrying out its functions. The staff shall be headed by an executive officer, who shall be appointed by the Commission.
2. The salaries and expenses of the Commission and its staff shall be determined jointly by the Entities and shall be borne equally by them.
3. Members of the Commission shall not be held criminally or civilly liable for any acts carried out within the scope of their duties. Members of the Commission, and their families, who are not citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be accorded the same privileges and immunities as are enjoyed by diplomatic agents and their families under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

¹ This version of Annex 8 of the GFAP came from the website of the Office of the High Representative.

Article IV: Mandate

The Commission shall receive and decide on petitions for the designation of property having cultural, historic, religious or ethnic importance as National Monuments.

Article V: Proceedings before the Commission

1. Any Party, or any concerned person in Bosnia and Herzegovina, may submit to the Commission a petition for the designation of property as a National Monument. Each such petition shall set forth all relevant information concerning the property, including:
 - a. the specific location of the property;
 - b. its current owner and condition;
 - c. the cost and source of funds for any necessary repairs to the property;
 - d. any known proposed use; and
 - e. the basis for designation as a National Monument.
2. In deciding upon the petition, the Commission shall afford an opportunity for the owners of the proposed National Monument, as well as other interested persons or entities, to present their views.
3. For a period of one year after such a petition has been submitted to the Commission, or until a decision is rendered in accordance with this Annex, whichever occurs first, all Parties shall refrain from taking any deliberate measures that might damage the property.
4. The Commission shall issue, in each case, a written decision containing any findings of fact it deems appropriate and a detailed explanation of the basis for its decision. The Commission shall make decisions by a majority of its members. Decisions of the Commission shall be final and enforceable in accordance with domestic law.
5. In any case in which the Commission issues a decision designating property as a National Monument, the Entity in whose territory the property is situated (a) shall make every effort to take appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of the property, and (b) shall refrain from taking any deliberate measures that might damage the property.

Article VI: Eligibility

The following shall be eligible for designation as National Monuments: movable or immovable property of great importance to a group of people with common cultural, historic, religious or ethnic heritage, such as monuments of architecture, art or history; archaeological sites; groups of buildings; as well as cemeteries.

Article VII: Rules and Regulations

The Commission shall promulgate such rules and regulations, consistent with this Agreement, as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

Article VIII: Cooperation

Officials and organs of the Parties and their Cantons and Municipalities, and any individual acting under the authority of such official or organ, shall fully cooperate with the Commission, including by providing requested information and other assistance.

Article IX: Transfer

Five years after this Agreement enters into force, the responsibility for the continued operation of the Commission shall transfer from the Parties to the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, unless the Parties otherwise agree. In the latter case, the Commission shall continue to operate as provided above.

Article X: Notice

The Parties shall give effective notice of the terms of this Agreement throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Article XI: Entry into Force

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature.

For the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

For the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

For the Republika Srpska

Office of the High Representative

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