

← DIRECTION OF CITY DEVELOPMENT



X CITY DEVELOPMENT – LOCATIONS OF THE OLYMPIC SITES
 X VÝVOJ MESTA – MIESTA OLYMPIJSKÝCH LOKALÍŤ
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Sarajevo Memories – the City of Sublime Disorder

Pamäť Sarajeva –
mesto vznešenej neusporiadanosti

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Vývoj miest, chápaný ako akumulácia hmotných foriem a súborov, ako aj vzťahov medzi jednotlivcami, skupinami a priestorom, nie je nikdy primárne daný či nemenný. Fyzická štruktúra miest sa neustále vyvíja, a to nielen kumulatívne a postupne, ale aj prelomovo a rýchlo, a to predovšetkým v obdobiach, keď sa mestá a spoločnosti dostávajú do neobvyklých situácií a udalostí väčšej mierky (Halbwachs, 1950). Tieto spoločenské a politické zmeny zanechávajú fyzické stopy, ktoré sú zachované predovšetkým v urbánnych a architektonických formách. Na jednej strane sú to stopy prekonania minulosti, zároveň však vo svojej hmotnej štruktúre zachovávajú aj veľký príbeh histórie.

Ľudská pamäť je priestorová, formovanie priestoru je tak ekvivalentom formovania pamäti (Hebbert, 2005). Samotný prázdny objem architektúry a mesta nevyjadruje špecifické sociálne a ideologické súvislosti, až jeho situovanie v neustále sa meniacom dobovo-sociálnom kontexte prenáša personifikácie do budovaných foriem. Architektúra získava svoju funkciu a význam budovaním vzťahov medzi sociálnym a stavebným prostredím, stáva sa strážcom času a tvorcom priestoru a pamäti. Bez ohľadu na to, že sú budovy počas svojej existencie objektom spontánnych aj zámerných transformácií, vzťahy medzi architektúrou a spoločnosťou sa nedajú tak jednoducho meniť, keďže je ľudská pamäť a identita zakorenená v telesnej skúsenosti bytia a pohybu (FRIED, Marc, 1963. *Grieving for a lost home*. In: Duhl, L. J. (ed.). *The Urban Condition: People and Policy in the Metropolis*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 151 – 171).

Výskum odhaľuje vzťah medzi kolektívnou pamäťou a meniacim sa charakterom sociálneho a vybudovaného prostredia. Čerpá pritom z teórií o kolektívnej pamäti a vytvára typ pamäťového experimentu usilujúci sa o viacvrstvové uchopenie podstaty kolektívnej mestskej pamäti, a to v súvislosti s dvomi mega udalosťami, ktoré radikálne premenili urbánnu formu a obraz Sarajeva na konci 20. storočia: Zimné olympijské hry (ZOH) Sarajevo 1984 a občianska vojna medzi rokmi 1992 – 1995. Výskum sa pokúsi sformulovať urbánnu paradigmu súčasného Sarajeva a akumuláciu pamätí prostredníctvom priestorových stôp zanechaných rozštiepeným dedičstvom ZHO a „neviditeľnými“ hraničnými líniami medzi znepriatelenými národmi z občianskej vojny určenými Daytonskou mierovou dohodou pod názvom (Inter-Entity Boundary Line, IEBL).

Pokúsime sa analyzovať súčasný stav kolektívnej pamäti Sarajeva tak, že dáme do juxtapozície pamäť miest (Nora, et

al.,1996), teda integrujúce a spájajúce dedičstvo ZOH, ktoré prestupovalo politickým, etnickým aj sociálnym členením mesta, s IEBL, ktorá prežala odkaz olympiád ako spomienka na ničenie a reprezentáciu rozdelenia, a to nie len samotného architektonického dedičstva olympiád, ale aj mesta a obyvateľov Sarajeva ako takých. Skúmanie pamäti na ZOH s odkazom na hraničné línie IEBL prispieva do dvoch dôležitých akademických diskusií. Na jednej strane je to potrebná debata o dedičstve architektúry olympijských hier, a na druhej strane akademický dialóg o rozdelených mestách. Sarajevo je exemplárnym príkladom Olympijského mesta, ktoré vytvorilo veľmi úspešnú symbiózu olympijskej infraštruktúry s existujúcim urbánnym tkanivom. Zároveň to je aj jediný príklad rozdeleného Olympijského mesta a bezprecedentný prípad meniacej sa identity v súvislosti s tým, ako sa mesto identifikovalo a zužitkovalo pre lokálne potreby olympijské dedičstvo pred občianskou vojnou, počas nej a po jej skončení.

V roku 1984 bolo Sarajevo personifikáciou juhoslovanského a olympijského ideálu – mier, bratstvo a jednota, na základe ktorého bol uvedený silný príbeh o juhoslovanskej dimenzii hier a Sarajeva ako symbolu zrkadliaceho „Juhosláviu v malom“. Mesto sa stalo dejiskom masívnej výstavby súvisiacej s týmto športovým podujatím, ktoré bolo hlavnou silou urbanistického vývoja vtedajšieho mesta. Sarajevo využilo zdroje dostupné pre infraštruktúru strategicky, so zámerom spojiť požiadavky pre Olympijské hry s dlhodobou zmenou urbánnej a priestorovej štruktúry mesta. Rast rezidenčného stavebného fondu, výstavba športovísk a zariadení pre služby zefektívniť dopravný systém rovnako ako nevyužitú prírodnú zdroj. To všetko viedlo k vzniku výraznej olympijskej stavebnej vrstvy v urbánnom tkanive Sarajeva.

Len osem rokov po úspešnom usporiadaní olympiády sa Sarajevo ocitlo v boji. Išlo pri tom o najdlhšie vojenské obkľúčenie mesta v moderných dejinách. Spoločenský kolaps juhoslovanského národa úzko súvisí s brutálnym konfliktom a úmyselným ničením architektonického dedičstva vrátane pamiatok a symbolov olympiád. Navyac vojnové podmienky priniesli aj nové využitie olympijských objektov. Miesta športového zápolenia sa zmenili na kľúčové body delostrelectva, iné olympijské lokality boli zmenené na cintoríny, a hotely zas za centrály vojnového spravodajstva; odkaz hier sa premenil na odkaz devastácie. Mesto známe ako priesečník civilizácií, náboženstiev

a architektúry bolo viac ako štyri roky brutálnou bojovou zónou, ktorá napokon vytvorila zo Sarajeva rozdelené mesto. Dedičstvo olympiád bolo rozdelené, alebo „zdieľané“ medzi dvoma mestami, Sarajevom a Východným Sarajevom, rovnako ako spomienky spojené s týmito miestami.

Napriek skutočnosti, že súčasné Sarajevo nie je fyzicky rozdelené tak ako Nikózia alebo Jeruzalem, výsledkom IEBL v urbánnom priestore bolo rozdelenie sociálne, demografické a psychologické (Bollens, 2007). Línia rozdelenia nie je fyzická ani viditeľná, mesto nie je terorizované násilím a ľudia slobodne a na dennej báze prechádzajú medzi dvoma časťami. Napriek tomu dvadsať päť rokov po vojne táto administratívna línia mesto stále psychologicky rozdeľuje, a naznačuje, že Sarajevo je v traumatizujúcom stave, ktorý vychádza zo spoločenskej a priestorovej identity. IEBL ovplyvňuje, kde a ako ľudia bývajú, kde sa rozhodnú spolu komunikovať. Racionalizujú tak abstraktnú líniu, čím z nej vytvárajú účinnú hranicu (Bollens, 2007).

Štúdia predkladá tézu, že priestorové zmeny urýchlené spomínanými udalosťami transformovali existujúce formy pamäti v momente, ako sa objavili nové formy na ich mieste. Konkrétne tvrdí, že rozdelené dedičstvo ZOH je premenené do dvojakého diskurzu kolektívnej pamäti, ktorá znemožňuje vytvorenie novej priestorovej a socio-kultúrnej rovnováhy. Okrem toho IEBL – neviditeľná pamiatka rozdelenej spoločnosti

a rozdeleného olympijského dedičstva, vytvára priestorové a sociálne napätie a zhoršuje budovanie autentických nových súborov spomienok a mestských zážitkov. Boj o nájdenie vhodného súčasného vizuálneho žánru pre súčasné vojnové rozdelené mesto v dnešnom zjednodušenom architektonickom slovníku a v nepretržitom opakovaní toho istého (ZEJNILOVIĆ, Emina and HUSUKIĆ, Erna, 2018. Culture and Architecture in Distress – Sarajevo Experiment. *Archnet-IJAR: International Journal of Architectural Research*. 12(1), pp. 11 – 38.) je v skutočnosti bojom o nájdenie rovnováhy medzi históriou, pamäťou a budúcnosťou. Výrazné stopy odkazu zimných olympijských hier, s ich spojujúcim a integračným charakterom, môžu byť pozitívnym impulzom pre budúci sociálno-priestorový rozvoj, ktorý by vniesol empatiu pre stratené celky a mohol by viesť k súdržnejšiemu a homogénnejšiemu mestu.

Zakladaním si na odkaze pozitívneho olympijského prostredia a na transformovaní priestorového a mentálneho poňatia hranice by sa Sarajevo mohlo posunúť smerom k vytvoreniu autentických nových súborov spomienok a mestských skúseností. Existujúce pamäťové tkanivo týchto udalostí by tak mohlo byť priestorovým spojením medzi búrlivou minulosťou, plachou súčasnosťou a nepredvídateľnou budúcnosťou, vďaka ktorým možno súčasné Sarajevo považovať za mesto vznešenej neusporiadanej.

Introduction

The development of cities as well as collective memory is not a linear process, but one strongly related to the ever-changing dynamics of time and space. The manner in which urban tissue evolves through anticipated events, or is disrupted by unforeseen, often chaotic happenings, comes together in a myriad of networks that generate different levels of socio-spatial complexity.

In a city like Sarajevo, whose fate has been determined by numerous historic events, the built fabric is a mirror image of fragmented memory elements that continue in space through mosaics of events. Chronologically arrayed, historical layers of the city stand in sharp contrast, strikingly opposing but beautifully coexisting. In its linear progression, it unapologetically narrates the tale of its changing architectural and cultural identity, comprehensible in its disarray. However, architecture of the post-war city in transition, imposes questions of visual identity and character of the inheritance in the making. In specific, contemporary additions, congest the dense urban fabric of Sarajevo, with ambiguous visual expression and persistent disregard to the complex built setting, as the city and the society are imprisoned by the opposing collective memory discourse.

Consequently, this research suggests a type of memory experiment, involving the multilayered nature of collective urban memory, related to two mega events that radically transformed the urban form and image of Sarajevo at the end of the 20th century: the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games (SWO) and the 1992 – 1995 war. Specifically, it will address the urban paradigm of contemporary Sarajevo and the accumulation of memories, through the spatial traces created by the divided legacy of the SWO and the 'in-visible' Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL). It attempts to analyze the current state of common remembrance by juxtaposing the sites of memory: on one side the integrative and connecting inheritance of the SWO that transgresses political, ethnic, and social divisions, and the IEBL on another, that cuts through the Olympic legacy, is the reminiscent of destruction, and a representation of division of not only the Olympic heritage, but also of the city and the inhabitants of Sarajevo.

By overlapping these sites of memory, and examining the impact on city and memory development, the paper seeks to open a dialogue between place and memory and the continuity of meaning through space and time. By analyzing the established spatial and temporal setting, the paper aims to open a discussion on the current state of shared remembrance in a fractured pluralist society and consider whether a legible, trusted public realm can be established.

In understanding the urban space of the divided Olympic city of Sarajevo as a receptive locus of collective memory, the research starts by establishing a theoretical framework related to socio-spatial dialectics, attempting to introduce the memory processes through granting ontological priority to the essential connection between spatiality and beings. Subsequently, it explores the Olympic legacy within the context of a divided city, and the IEBL the 'in-visible' model for memorization, one that is not material but rather spatial and metaphorical. Finally, the accretion of memories through spatial traces in the selected sites of memory is put side by side and reflections are made on the novel equilibrium and altered relationship of the society to the space amid post-war circumstances.

The City and Collective Memory

Much has been written about the *ars memoriae* – the art of memory, which since ancient times has been closely linked to space. In Platos's *Phaedrus*, Cicero's *De Oratore* and *Rhetorica ad Herrenium*, explanations have been made about the different remembering mechanism and technics people have been developing to establish remembrance.² In particular, treatises of memory were analyzed through the association between remembrance and space, arguing that the process of remembering grows out of spatial metaphors of connection and topography.^{3,4}

Memory and its relationship to the history was first studied by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in the 1920s, who in parallel with the art historian Aby Warburg independently developed theories of a 'collective' or 'social memory'.⁵ He argued that all memory is socially constructed around the concept of space, and that only spatial imagery has the stability to allow us to discover the past in the present.⁶ In his work, he made a clear distinction between history as an instrument and overly rationalized version of the past, and memory which he intimately connected to the society – the carrier of collective experience through time.⁷

The post-WWII psychology of memory departed from the theory that spaces are inscribed in the memory of collective groups. Instead, it took the single-minded premise that remembering and forgetting are individual, not collective activities.⁸ The topic was reintroduced by Aldo Rossi, who claimed that a city remembers through its buildings, comparing the preservation of the old urban fabric to the preservation of memories in the human mind.⁹ He presented the city as a totality, a thing in itself and the most authentic expression of collective will.¹⁰

Three decades after Rossi, Christine Boyer in *The City of Collective Memory* suggested a similar viewpoint, criticizing the practices of the contemporary city of disruption and arguing that the purity of modern urban planning has left us face to face with displacement, disengagement, and disenchantment when it comes to the urban experience.¹¹ Once again, the city is defined as a collective expression of architecture that carries in its physical fabric memory-traces of early architectural forms, city plans, and public monuments. As noted, the past is carried forward to the present through the physical realm of the city, defining it as a theater of memory, and questioning the fundamental relationship between architecture, urban form and history.

The correlation between history and memory was also studied by Pierre Nora in his multi-volume *Sites of Memory* in 1984. The French historian in fact coined the concept of 'place of memory'. Similar to Halbwach before him, Nora recognized a clear distinction between history as an intellectual activity and memory as an emotional and vulnerable phenomenon. According to him, the creation of memory happens as a social need to represent what no longer exists once the real environments of memory have disappeared.¹²

As spatiality always remains open to further transformation, the correlation between space and time was put under intense strain during the modernist period, moving instead towards a disconnection with the city memory, and suggesting a substantial change in its linguistic expression. By destroying the perception of architectural illusion that the 19th century put into place, it broke the continuity of meaning and created a memory crisis.

The architecture of the 1970s and 1980s attempted to restore the public realm of the city and to reconstruct a sense of collectivity.¹³ Postmodernity was unsympathetic to the claims of any building, space, or monument embodying the shared past, as it was claimed that in a city of heterogeneity, space has no collective meaning.¹⁴ Accordingly, it was argued that the very act of memorialization provokes disconcerting questions about exclusion, institutionalized amnesia, nonrepresentational, nondisplay, and dis(re)-membering.¹⁵



**THE HOLIDAY INN AND
THE ZETRA OLYMPIC HALL**

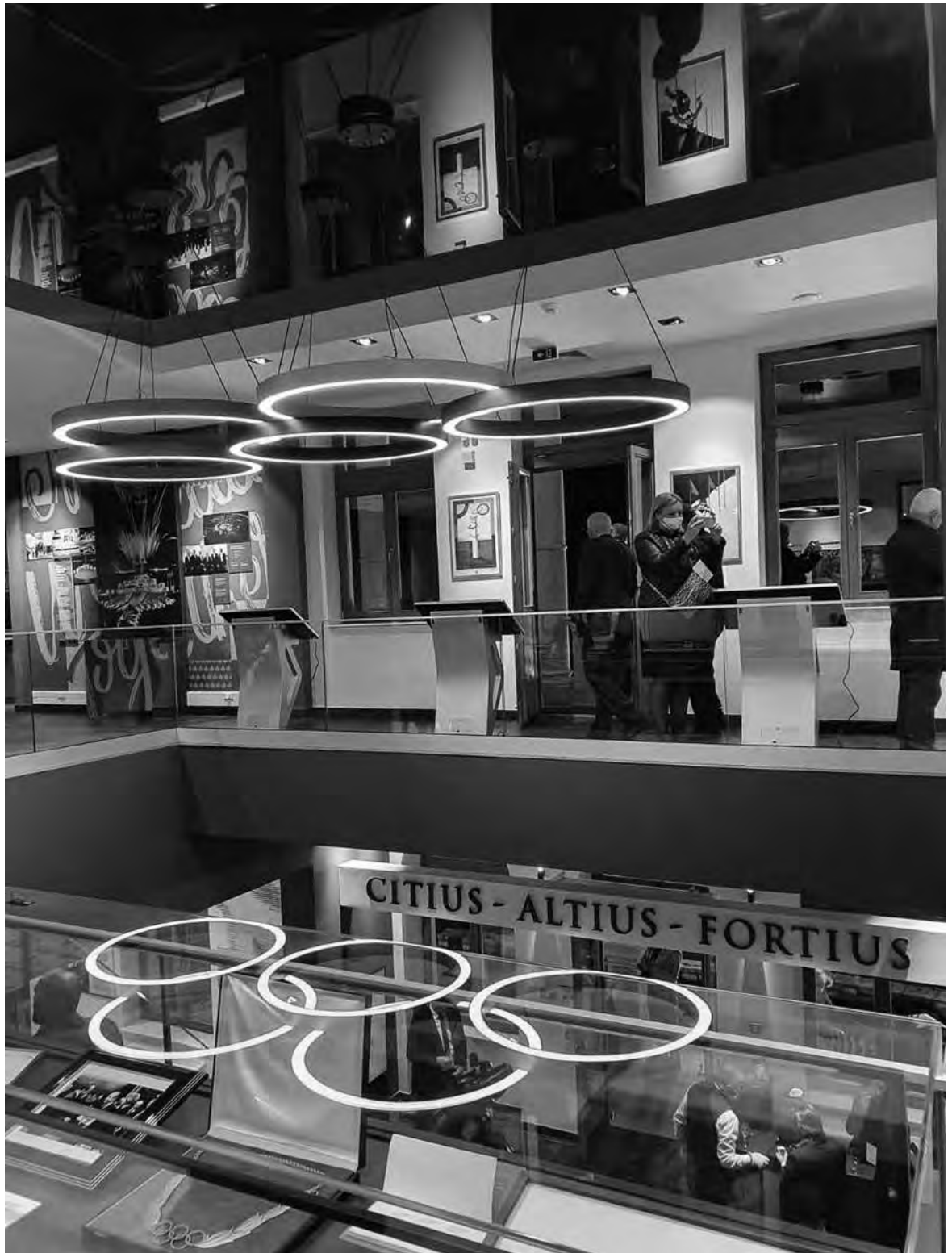
HOLIDAY INN
A OLYMPIJSKÁ HALA ZETRA

Photo Foto: Emina Zejnilović,
Erna Husukić

Regardless of the presented opposing theoretical approaches vis-à-vis fluctuating nature of the spatial narrative and its reciprocal social interpretation, the transformation of spatial order continues, and has been particularly obvious during the last century. Many cities, including Sarajevo, have experienced the shift within the urban structure associated with social tensions and contradictions. Forms evolve, are deformed, or neglected, adapted or eradicated, affecting the material organization of the city and the flow of urban memory. This paper is established around these continuous processes, which unlink city spaces and memory, making them struggle to attain spatial coherence and homogeneity, overcome the past and rebuild memories.

Architecture and Memory – The SWO Legacy

An event crystallizes itself in collective memory once it has entered into history.¹⁶ Sarajevo wrote its history when it became the center of the world's winter sports for two weeks in February 1984. The presence of physical traces in the city related to the Olympics is so strongly etched in the urban tissue and local social identity that even the physical destruction of Olympic legacy was unable to create memory loss or identity crises. The memory system around the SWO is fixed in the cultural field of doxa, and is at most constructed around the Olympic symbols scattered around the city, the inter-generational communication of social memory, and the physical architectural legacy developed during the massive urbanization that preceded the Games and entered into the city's building fund. At the time, the event was a display of a modern and tolerant Yugoslav state and society,¹⁷ yet



INTERIOR OF THE RE-OPENED
OLYMPIC MUSEUM
INTERIÉR ZNOVU OTVORENÉHO
OLYMPIJSKÉHO MÚZEA

Photo Foto: Emina Zejnilović,
Erna Husukić

today it is a connecting factor in a deeply separated society, one that transgresses political disagreements and divisions.

At the time, Sarajevo was considerably less developed in comparison to its competitors, Sapporo and Göteborg. Nevertheless, in 1978 this honorific role was given to a city that hardly seemed the obvious choice, but formed the embodiment of the Yugoslav and the Olympic ideal – peace, brotherhood and unity across Yugoslavia, a country said to base all its relations on the principles of the Olympic Charter.¹⁸ A strong narrative was built around the Yugoslav dimension of the games and Sarajevo – ‘Yugoslavia on a small scale’ – as its demonstrative symbol.

The period before the Games was marked by event-driven urbanization, and it was a major force in the city.¹⁹ Sarajevo strategically used the resources available to develop the urban infrastructure, aiming to make the Olympics a key event for long-term change in the urban spatial structure. An increase in the residential building stock, construction of sports and hospitality facilities, an improved transportation system, as well as the use of previously unexploited natural resources, all converged to transform Sarajevo into an Olympic sporting-recreational center, and prepare it for the greatest winter sporting event in the world. The city grew, in physical size and modernity, while the representative architecture generated strong markers of memory and urban icons. The ‘games of joy’, as described in the local newspaper *Oslobodjenje* at the time, were achieved through a matrix of well-designed spatial elements, combined with the promoted ideals of the Yugoslav nation, resulting in the pictorialization of space and time, that still resonates in the memory of Sarajevans.

However, only 8 years after the immensely successful games, the Olympic city of Sarajevo was subjected to a siege that completely blocked and encircled the city: it lasted 1,395 days, killed 11,000 civilians, including 1,600 children, and damaged or destroyed 60 % of the city’s buildings.²⁰ The social collapse of the Yugoslav nation was intimately related with the brutal conflict and the intentional destruction of architectural heritage. And it is no accident that specifically the Olympic legacy was ferociously and intentionally targeted.

When considered in a societal and historical framework, the desire to obliterate selected buildings rests precisely in the reasons for their presence within the context of memory and identity. Architecture thus acquires a totemic quality, as to its enemies the buildings represent the presence of a community, events, and ideas marked for erasure.²¹ The Olympic heritage of Sarajevo, just like the other cultural heritage of Bosnia, is a spatial repository of diverse collective histories and meanings. It is an assembly of historical recollection, strong sites of memory, and an evidence of the presence of others, which extends into the past, legitimizing it in the present and on into the future. Academic discourse defined the massive destruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia as brutal spatial violence or ‘urbicide’ – the destruction of a built fabric that represented the city’s multicultural history and the visual heterogeneity that constituted Sarajevo’s distinct urban character.²²

Significantly, it was the Olympic Museum (Villa Mandić, constructed during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1903) which was the first cultural institution in Sarajevo to be intentionally targeted, struck by five direct shells at the end of April 1992 and completely burned out while adjoining houses and apartment blocks were left untouched.²³ The museum’s director, Edin Numenkadić, commented how officers of the Yugoslav Army – still living nearby in the early days of the conflict – stood firing their revolvers at the burning museum demonstrating their loathing for all it represented.²⁴ The museum reopened only in October 2020.

The Hotel Holiday Inn, built to accommodate members of the IOC, was ceremonially opened in October 1983 by the IOC’s then president, Juan Antonio Samaranch. Nine years later, its location placed it in the ‘Sniper Alley’²⁵ one of the most dangerous zones in the city, in immediate proximity to the front line. It was used as international media headquarters, and described as ‘ground zero’ – a place where the war comes to you.²⁶

The peak of Mt Trebević, once the site of Olympic downhill events, assumed a dark role in the history of the city, by becoming a key battleground, as it was an ideal position for besieging artillery.²⁷ Once it became a site of heavy fighting, the memory and identity of the Olympic landscape was erased, altering the knowledge about the celebration of the Games and creating new spatial experiences.

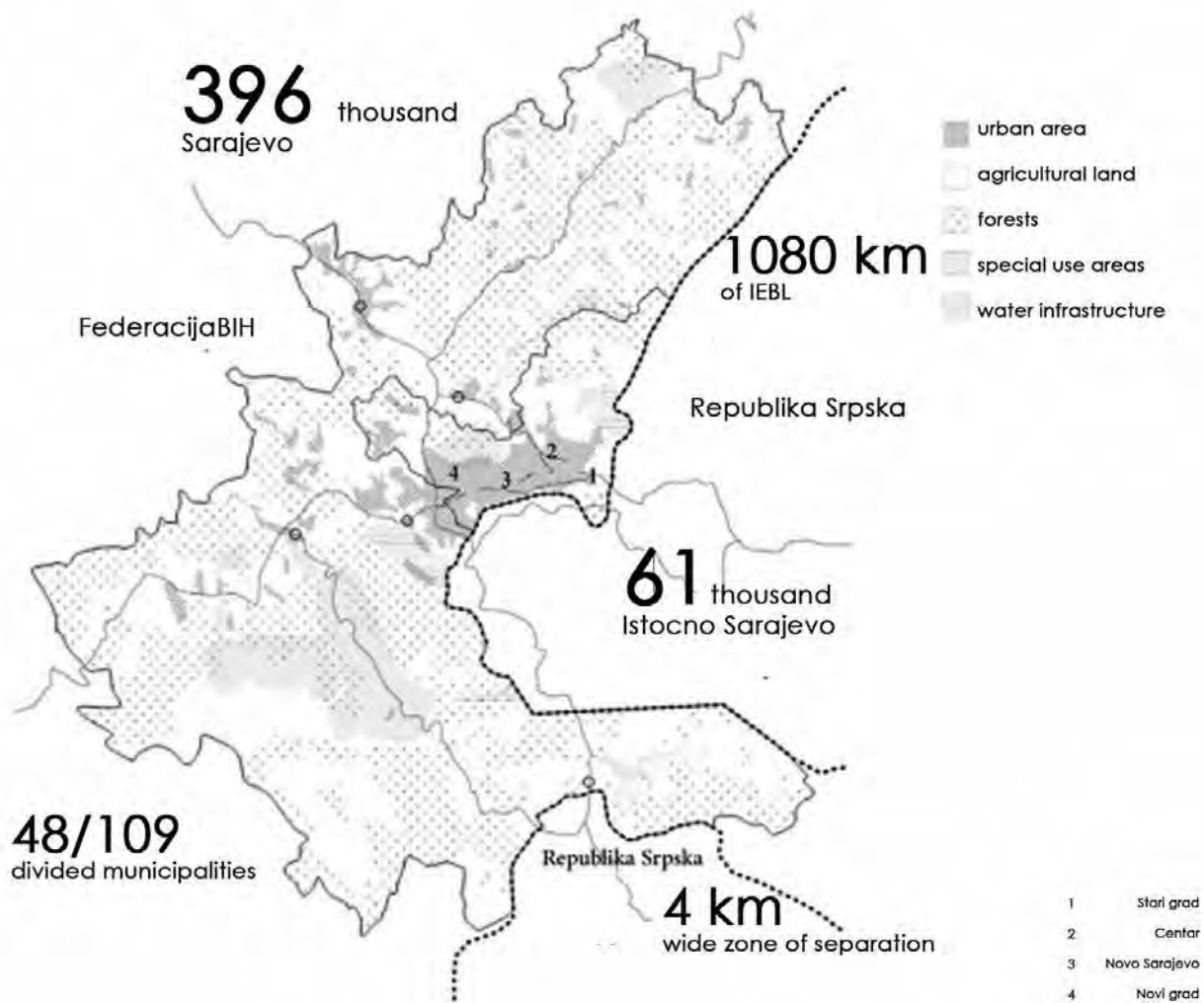
Building after building, the 1984 Winter Olympics legacy was shelled and afire, shattered and burnt. The Olympic hall Zetra, the venue of the ice hockey and figure skating events and the closing ceremony of the SWO, was set on fire and destroyed in May 1992. The Mojmiło Olympic Villages in Sarajevo and Hotel Igman on Mt Igman, sports infrastructure like the bobsleigh run on Mt Trebević



**OVERLAPPING OLYMPIC MEMORY:
THE OLYMPIC LEGACY BEFORE
AND AFTER THE WAR**

**PREKRÝVAJÚCA SA OLYMPIJSKÁ
PAMÄŤ: DEDIČSTVO OLYMPIÁD PRED
A PO VOJNE**

Photo Foto: Emina Zejnilović,
Erna Husukić



DIVIDED SARAJEVO
ROZDELENÉ SARAJEVO

Source Zdroj: PERAGINE, Richard Lee, 2019. Public space in the peri-urban settlements of Sarajevo. A project for the mahala of Širokača. *Territorial identity and development*. 4(1), p. 15

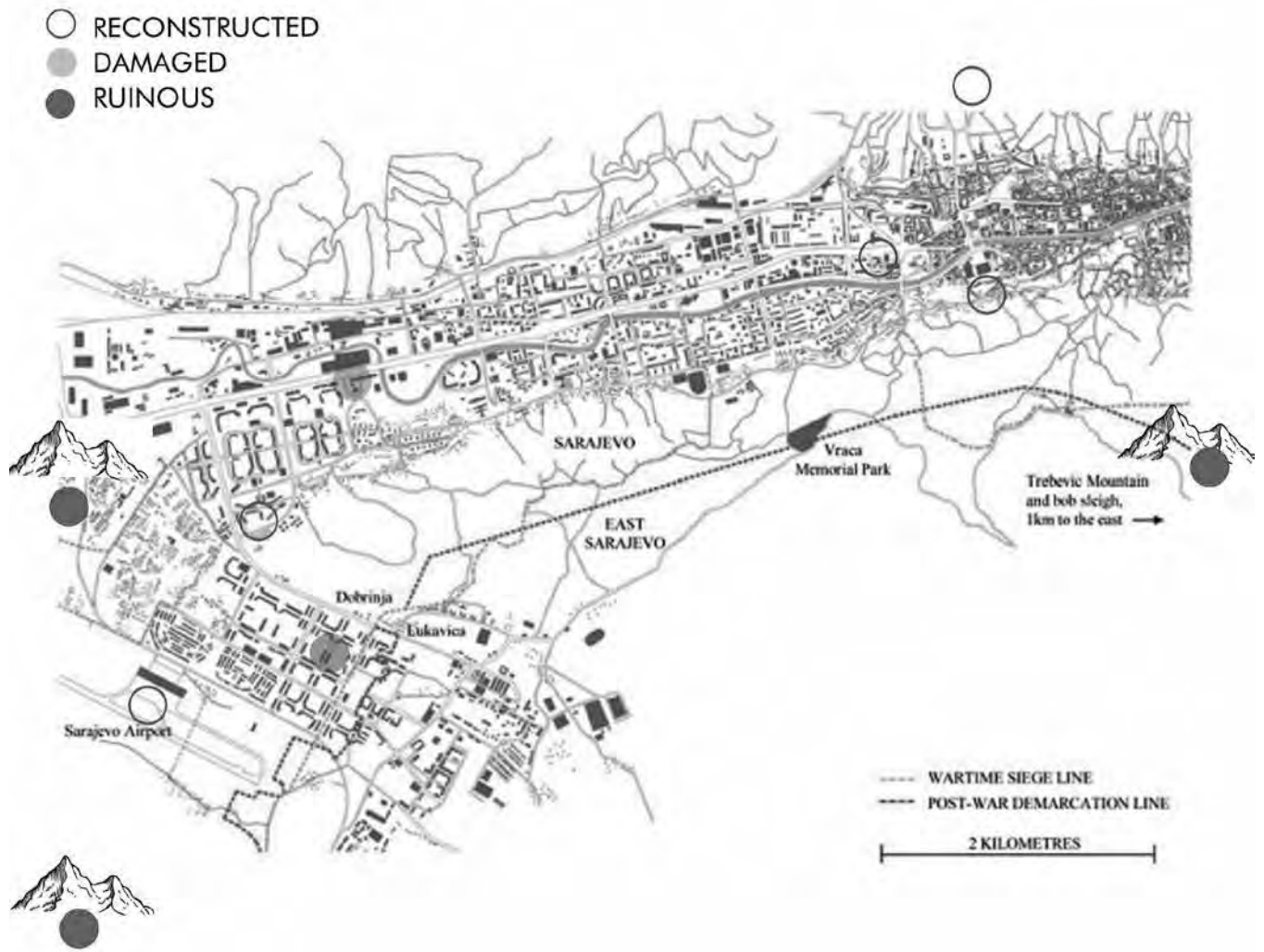
or the ski jump on Mt Igman, the Famos hotel in Bjelasnica, the Feroelektro hotel in Sarajevo, and many others were instances of how the siege transformed the legacy of the Games into a legacy of devastation.

The destruction of the Olympic heritage meant the erasure of the remembrances, history, and identity attached to architecture of these sites of memory, but it also created a new set of memories. A significant number of Olympic heritage structures are still derelict sites, forgotten and ruinous,²⁸ making them the most significant symbols of resistance against the unrelenting spatial terror to which the Sarajevans were subjected. As a result, the sequence of these opposing events reflected through the urban fabric allows for memory spaces to represent and be represented in more than one way. In the memory maps of the contemporary city, the reconstructed as well as the ruinous Olympic heritage carries a dual set of memories: the nostalgic reminiscence of the city's magnificence, and the materialization of the traumatic experience of the eradication of Sarajevo.

The City Divided – the In-Visible Wall

Another major shift in the spatiality of Sarajevo happened during the 1992 – 1995 war. The town, which has been known as the point of intersection of civilizations, religions, and architecture, was turned into a brutal war zone for more than three years, ultimately becoming a divided city marked by the IEBL.

The set boundary was entirely alien to the existing physical and social environment.²⁹ The line does not follow the topography of the natural landscape, nor does it run along lines of historic



POST-WAR SARAJEVO THE STATE OF THE OLYMPIC LEGACY

POVOJNOVÉ SARAJEVO STAV DEDIČSTVA OLYMPIÁD

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significance.³⁰ For most of its length, it passes through marginal urban areas, forming a green belt between the dense urban districts of Sarajevo to the north, and the peripheral urban zones of East Sarajevo to the south. The ambiguity of the location of the boundary line possibly comes from the use of a map scale of 1:600,000 when it was demarcated, or because it was a purely pragmatic solution that accepted the existing combat fronts.³¹ After ethnic disputes, the original borderline was modified in 2001 into a new division line (the Sheridan Line), which meanders through a residential zone dividing buildings and public spaces. The territory of the city was thus subdivided into two parts, the Canton Sarajevo and East Sarajevo, significantly influencing post-war city planning and development. Its western section cuts through the Olympic press village, now the residential areas Dobrinja I and IV,³² as well as through the Olympic Mountains, dividing shared spatial memories.

Territorial demarcation into two cities has transformed the border zone into a labyrinth and established new memory cyphers. In Dobrinja, no spatial metamorphosis of division is immediately observable, and the circulation of inhabitants between two cities is free. However, it is enhanced through semiotic symbols of street names, plate colors and the use of the Cyrillic versus Latin alphabets. This differentiation reinforces the presence of the spatial boundary, establishing a distinct opposition in the linguistics of the city, and making ethnic division more visible in space.³³ Less tangible strategies of spatial segregation generate 'intimate enemies', where memories are vying for physical expression.³⁴ The demarcation manifested by the void along the former lines of division still creates a heightened spatial consciousness of the past and future on both sides. Most recently, the tensions were amplified in Dobrinja at the IEBL, when the municipality of East Sarajevo



**DOBRINJA AND THE IN-VISIBLE
DIVIDE: EAST SARAJEVO AND
SARAJEVO**

DOBRINJA NEVIDITELNÉ
ROZDELENIE: VÝCHODNÉ
SARAJEVO A SARAJEVO

Photo Foto: Emina Zejnilović,
Erna Husukić

initiated the construction of a residential building beside a parking lot, only three meters away from the 'Sheridan line'. The municipality of Novi Grad Sarajevo responded to what was defined as a 'non-neighborly act', by proposing the construction of an 'art installation' – a large-scale mirror panel, at the suggested construction site. Such spatial interventions provoke the materialization of the IEBL, questioning the 'illusion of opacity'³⁵ produced by the lack of a physical barrier, and the freedom of movement that the inhabitants of both cities enjoy. Remembrance and identity are therefore being actively and consistently re-negotiated, as the line of division forms a fertile ground for spatial manipulation and reformulation related to memory discourse.

Similarly, the divided peak of Mt Trebević – the former main Olympic sports ground turned key artillery frontline – is still a legitimate witness of the ongoing struggles between the memory narrative and the overlap of exclusive and inclusive place identity. In 2008, the derelict bobsleigh track was stenciled with images of Sarajevo symbols of ethnic coexistence and peace for the purposes of a recreational event, only to be covered with new nationalist graffiti over the existing ones soon after it.³⁶

Nevertheless, it is argued that the associations with the SWO by the general public are very positive, and the perception of the Olympic Games as a non-polarizing, unifying factor holds an important place in people's memory. This finding suggests that what marks the material aspect of an urban space matters more to its residents than high-level politics, and that even with the division, the SWO legacy has a highly integrative potential that may influence future collective memory-building. Significantly, it has been acknowledged that the SWO evokes, explicitly or implicitly, the contrast between the times of the Games and the post-war era, correlating opposing attributes with them such as joy then, depression now, dynamism then, lethargy now, solidarity then, egoism now, togetherness then, division now.³⁷

The most significant effort that recognized the potential of the Olympic memory as a social unifier within the divided city was made in February 2019, when Sarajevo and East Sarajevo were given the honorary role of the XIV winter European Youth Olympics Festival (EYOF) hosts, under the highly symbolic slogan *'Two Cities, One Dream'*. A new memory layer was added to the cities, with the Olympic symbols placed once again in the 1984 Olympic Village, and the 'flame of peace' once again lit at the Kosevo Stadium in Sarajevo. Defined as a historic event, the EYOF attempted to revive the Olympic spirit among Sarajevans, but was also used to create new spatial markers and thus a collective legacy that celebrates sharing of a common vision, and hope for the possibility of building stronger relationships among the young generations.

IEBL – SPATIAL TENSIONS

IEBL – PRIESTOROVÉ NAPÄTIE

Author Autor: Emina Zejnilović,
Erna Husukić



Perpetual Overlap – Interlocking Memory

The dynamics between place and memory, remembrance and amnesia, pervade the contested environment of Sarajevo as the city struggles with social production of space in the contexts of a divided city. Elements of opposing memories of the two sequential mega-events appear non-directional and fragmented in space, forming intense moments of often conflicting shared history, and slowing down the development of a common post-war socio-cultural setting. The new memory forms of the divided Olympic legacy are the result of lateral memory accumulation, one that is considered in a simultaneous, unstructured, and reiterative manner. The resulting spatial-compositional nodes represent the symbols of the rise and the fall of the city, and further question the spatial linkages and totality of the city image, as well as the continuity of meaning through time and space.

Can then Olympic legacy of the divided Sarajevo be an active integrative tissue, a trigger for the development of a trusted public realm?

Change in the dialectic between memory contradiction and spatial division is a process demanding that passive acceptance of the present socio-spatial setting must be turned into active, coordinated transformation. Current gaps in the continuity of thought and space must be challenged in creative ways, filled with ideas, images and thoughts that are altogether more pleasant and less doubtful. This argument may seem overly naïve and optimistic, if not even impossible. However, recent studies on territoriality, disappearance of borders and construction of socio-spatial identities advocate the exploration of the concept of boundary phenomena within a multidisciplinary framework.³⁸⁻⁴¹

In specific, they encourage the debate on the contrary and simultaneous nature of boundaries: to divide and connect, to exclude and include. The presence of lines of division enables the prolongation of the notion of 'us' and 'others', yet it paradoxically stimulates us to look and see through or even over it. Ironically or fortunately, what is seen across both sides of the divide in the case of Sarajevo are memories of the largest collective project in the history of Sarajevo: one of the few that is still called 'ours', one that still triggers national pride and stand as a symbol of the city in the memory of the majority of Sarajevans.

Yet another casualty of the war, but also a memory guide, the SWO legacy can proactively be used as an attractor, a common denominator, which can engage both sides in communal spatial dialogue, as initiated during the EYOF. A shift towards the mental dismantling of the invisible barrier can happen through similar joint endeavors, and through challenging the boundary to function as space of communication rather than as 1080 km long area of separation. Fortunately, the soft boundary of the administrative IEBL, which is not a plane but a zone, not physical but



A NEW MEMORY LAYER: OLYMPIC RINGS CONSTRUCTED FOR 2019 EYOF WITH THE MOJMILO OLYMPIC VILLAGE A IN THE BACKGROUND

NOVÁ VRSTVA PAMĚTI: POHLAD NA OLYMPIJSKÝ ZNAK S OLYMPIJSKOU DEDINOU MOJMILO V POZADÍ

Photo Foto: Emina Zejnilović,
Erna Husukić

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socio-spatial, not a division of things but a negotiations of flows,⁴² offers constant prospect for spatial and societal relationships to be re-forged and re-negotiated.

By building on the foundations of the positive impressions of Olympic memory, and transforming the spatial and mental notions of the boundary, Sarajevo could move in a direction of creating authentic new sets of memories and city experience, which would reveal an empathy for lost totalities, contribute to the development of culture, and even speak out in favor of a visually coherent and homogeneous city. The existing memory tissue of these events can be a spatial link between the turbulent past, the unresolved present and the unpredictable future, making contemporary Sarajevo once again a city of sublime disorder.

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