

# Rebuilding Identities:

The difficulties and opportunities of rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage in post-war Yugoslavia

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Image at cover: The rebuild Mostar Bridge (Source:

[http://hdwpapers.com/walls/the\\_old\\_bridge\\_in\\_mostar\\_bosnia\\_and\\_herzegovina\\_wallpaper-wide.jpg](http://hdwpapers.com/walls/the_old_bridge_in_mostar_bosnia_and_herzegovina_wallpaper-wide.jpg)).

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war Yugoslavia

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## 1. Introduction

The reconstruction of cultural heritage forms an integral part of the post war rehabilitation process. States use reconstruction of cultural heritage as an active form of new policy development and the sites selected for reconstruction are 'in turn woven into a meta-narrative to construct a sense of national cohesion and history' (Viejo-Rose 2013, 1). The reason why states use this instrument as a contributive factor to post-war rehabilitation is found in the relationship between people and their heritage. This link is rooted in the concept of identity: people (individuals or persons) and peoples (for instance ethnic groups) create their identity based on a combination of factors: common descent, a certain set of attributes and behaviours and a social culture (Regmi 2003).

Self-determination is a basic human right and thus the creation of identity is a very delicate and sensitive matter (Kelman 1997). The creation of identity never stops and is always contextual and manipulable; delineation of identity is almost impossible (Regmi 2003). Besides being a part of one's identity, or 'self', cultural heritage forms a vessel of memory and as such becomes an intrinsic part of people's lives (Nora 2002).

The sensitive connection between cultural heritage and the combination of memory and identity makes cultural heritage an easy target for destruction. Through the physical destruction of cultural heritage, one destroys a people's mental self and thus effectively erases their very existence. The destruction of cultural heritage is not a recent tradition, but has a long history (Viejo-Rose 2007): early examples are found in the Crusades and during the regime of Napoleon (Boylan 2002). Those examples are however relatively small; large scale destruction of cultural heritage happened in more recent periods, where ethnic cleansing took place, such as the most recent Balkan War, fought between 1991-1995: the Yugoslav Wars (Bevan 2006).

Through violence and destruction, the Yugoslav Wars ruptured the former coherence between the Yugoslav countries. During this conflict thousands of people were killed and innumerable houses, public buildings, and cultural heritage sites were destroyed (Bevan 2006). The disruption of the sensitive balance between the ethnic groups living in the Yugoslav Federation acted as a catalyst, fueling hatred and creating ethnic divisions once again. During the Yugoslav Wars, as part of the pursuance of ethnic cleansing, numerous objects regarded as cultural heritage were destroyed. In Bosnia alone 3.226 buildings, officially listed on the national historic register, were destroyed or

severely damaged (Bevan 2006). This 'cultural cleansing' was 'designed to eradicate the historical presence as well as the contemporary lives of the target community' (Bevan 2006, 42). In the case of the Yugoslav Wars, the targeted communities were mostly the Bosniaks (Muslims) living in Bosnia and Croats living in Croatia. Both parties fought the Serbs who, through the vision of a greater Serbia, claimed Serbian territory on the base of various, often artificially created, national narratives (Bevan 2006; Musi 2012; Viejo-Rose 2013). This was further complicated by the Croats and Bosniaks, who also fought each other, disrupting ethnic balance and territorial propriety even more.

The title of this thesis is 'Rebuilding Identities' and I will focus attention towards the difficulties faced when rebuilding cultural heritage in post-war Yugoslavia as a means of rehabilitation. I will also discuss some opportunities I think we have in easing them. My main question is: what exactly are those difficulties regarding the rebuilding of cultural heritage in post-war Yugoslavia? Are they specifically connected to this war, and if so, why? What is the exact role of cultural heritage in relation to people living in the former Yugoslavia and of which ethnic groups are we speaking? Why exactly is cultural heritage such an easy target for destruction in civil war?

In order to answer these questions I will create a knowledge framework by explaining various general concepts, such as identity, memory, stakeholders, values, but also of concepts more in line with this topic, such as military necessity and deliberate destruction. To answer the question what these difficulties are in relation to the Yugoslav Wars, I will also cover the Yugoslav Wars in short and explain which ethnic groups were in war and why.

Besides this general cover of the Yugoslav Wars, I will dedicate two chapters to describing specific case studies in two countries of the former Yugoslavia. Though the former Yugoslavia consists of many countries, each with its own history and part in the Yugoslav Wars, it goes beyond the scope of this thesis to explain and discuss them all. Therefore, I will focus my research specifically to Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia. These were chosen because they each had a very distinct role in the Yugoslav Wars.

Bosnia is the most ethnically diverse of the Yugoslav republics and as a result, ethnic and cultural cleansing was most devastating there. Bosnia also has a very unclear and difficult management system regarding their cultural heritage. This is in sharp



contrast with Croatia, who, during the Yugoslav Wars, was of course also the victim of ethnic and cultural cleansing, but also acted as the aggressor. Furthermore, in Croatia the different layers concerning the management of cultural heritage are very clear and easy to understand.

What do these countries have in common regarding the rebuilding of cultural heritage? What are their differences? Each country will have its own chapter and two distinct case studies. In each case study, I will focus on a different aspect of rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage.

The case studies In Bosnia Herzegovina are the disputed reconstruction of the Mostar Bridge. There, I will focus on the interaction of cultural heritage reconstruction and people's identity. The second case study is the reconstruction of the Aladza mosque. Here, various conventions and texts stressing an authentic approach towards reconstruction were taken into account, resulting in a distinctive reconstruction strategy.

In Croatia, one case study is dedicated to the first city targeted during the Yugoslav Wars: Dubrovnik. Why was this city targeted? What was done to prevent destruction? How is the international community involved during and after the siege of Dubrovnik? The reconstruction of the Roman city of Siscia acts as the last case study. While not being a direct target during the war, because of its convenient position deep below the surface, the reconstruction of this Roman archaeological site is distinctive because of its involvement of the local and international community.

Each case study forms a piece of the reconstruction puzzle and, together, will give insight into various difficulties and opportunities regarding the rehabilitation through cultural heritage reconstruction.

Besides the difficulties regarding the reconstruction of cultural heritage in post-war Yugoslavia, I will also focus my attention to possible opportunities, overcoming these challenges. What is the role of archaeological heritage managers during war time? Can they prevent deliberate destruction of cultural heritage? Could we ask the local military or civilian forces for support, or should we refrain from any military involvement? What legal legislation or otherwise supporting texts exists to support reconstruction and what institutions are involved? In order to answer those questions, I again will first create a framework and this time I use some concepts from the field of

archaeology: the Value-Based Approach, and the use of ethics. This approach has a promising support in archaeological research, and will certainly be helpful in explaining the roles of various stakeholders in post-war Yugoslavia. The role of the archaeological heritage manager before, during and after the war will also be discussed.

It is important to note here that difficulties and opportunities are not always easily discernible. The various concepts and aspects described above could sometimes more easily be explained in the same chapter. Therefore, I have decided against splitting this thesis in half (difficulties and opportunities) but will discuss the contents theme by theme.

In chapter two I will discuss the concept of heritage, the, in the field of archaeological heritage management often used 'Value-Based Approach'. Furthermore, the concept of ownership and the use of ethics will be discussed. In chapter three I will explain why cultural heritage is often deliberately destroyed during (civil) war and I will support this explanation by covering the concepts of identity and memory. I will also explain what the role of the archaeological heritage manager could be before, during and after war time. Chapter four lists several institutions, such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe and explains their role in relation to the reconstruction of cultural heritage in post-war Yugoslavia. This role is often based on various conventions and texts regarding either the ethics or more technical matters of the reconstruction of cultural heritage. In chapter five I will first cover the history of the Yugoslav Wars and then explain the role of cultural heritage in that war. Various aspects of development in the countries of the former Yugoslavia are also covered. Together, these four chapters function as a general framework covering concepts and aspects which will facilitate in answering the research questions.

Chapter six, then, is dedicated specifically to the situation regarding the rebuilding of cultural heritage in Bosnia Herzegovina and covers two case studies. Chapter seven does the same for Croatia. These two chapters give in-depth information regarding the situation in those countries and together form the deeper layer of this thesis. Chapter eight functions as a discussion chapter where the several aspects related to the reconstruction of the reconstruction of cultural heritage as a means of rehabilitation in post-war Yugoslavia come together. Here we will see what the difficulties of this approach are and what I think we could do to overcome them.

## **2. Heritage, values & the use of ethics**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Although general concepts of heritage exist, a specific and unambiguous definition of the term is lacking (Skeates 2002). Before venturing into theories on how to manage archaeological heritage, I will first summarize here in short the concept of heritage and by so doing create a theoretical background of the heritage concept. Following on from this, I will discuss the concept of Value-Based Approach, used in the archaeological heritage management discourse and will touch upon some issues regarding the use of ethics and the concept of ownership.

Many concepts, such as the Value-Based approach, ownership and the use of ethics are rooted in the discourse of archaeological heritage management. While the rebuilding of cultural heritage in post-war Yugoslavia goes further than rebuilding archaeology, I would argue that, by using methods devised in archaeological heritage management, a more coherent strategy for the reconstruction of cultural heritage in post-war situations is developed. Before explaining why, let me first explain these concepts in more detail.

### **2.2 Heritage defined**

Heritage is part of the old tradition of inheritance and acts as a testimony of ancestral relationships (Davison 2008). Often a certain valued artifact would be given from one generation to another and treasured as a symbol of family or community bond. In this sense, heritage is tangible: a physical object. But there are forms of intangible heritage as well. One could think of teaching children how to perform a certain ritual or dance.

There are different scales to inheritance, for instance certain treasured objects could be held within the family, while other objects gain the status of sacred and inalienable and become part of a larger society (Theeuwes 2004). The same counts for intangible heritage: this can be seen on a small scale, for example in teaching the way of cooking a specific recipe, or large scale in performing a play in front of a large audience. Although an object or play could have a certain value or meaning at a particular moment in time, this value often changes over time.

The adjective *Archaeological* heritage adds other difficulties to this concept.

Archaeology involves the study of the human past through its material culture (Renfrew and Bahn 1991) and hence needs touchable material remains for studying the human past. In a strict sense, archaeology entails only tangible heritage, but these physical remains often say something about their abstract use or value. As such, they act as a proxy for intangible heritage. Whereas the value and meaning of heritage can change over time, it is also important to note that the study of archaeological heritage is always an interpretation of the past. Therefore, another layer of value giving (from the archaeologist) has to be added to heritage.

There are other definitions of heritage, each with its own pros and cons. For example, one could use the term archaeological resource, cultural resource or even cultural property to characterize archaeological heritage (Davison 2008). The word resource however implies that archaeological heritage could be 'used' as if nothing but a means to describe the past, forgetting the fact that we are dealing with irreplaceable remains of the human past (if not with human remains).

The term cultural heritage has the problem that, embedded in the term is a question: what exactly is culture? A discussion of this aspect goes beyond the scope of this thesis (but see Blake 2000 for an overview of this debate). However, because cultural heritage is widely used in literature and by various (inter)national organisations related to my research and because I think archaeological heritage forms a part of the broader concept of cultural heritage, I will use cultural heritage as the term-to-go, unless I am, as in this chapter, explicitly talking about the archaeological heritage (discourse).

Archaeological property, finally, implies that archaeology is owned by someone and leaves out the idea of a common, shared past which may not be owned by a particular person, group or institution. Given the difficulties described above and because reconstruction of heritage in Yugoslavia goes further than only the reconstruction of archaeology, I think it is best to use the term cultural heritage when describing the various forms of heritage in this thesis.

### **2.3 The Value-Based Approach in archaeological heritage management**

How do we deal with archaeological heritage? How do we assess the value of an archaeological site? The answers to these questions lie in the practice of archaeological

heritage management, which, by using ethics and a sound understanding of the politics in archaeology which, used in a right way, can prevent unnecessary discussion, conflict and destruction of archaeological heritage and support the countries which are already affected by such problems (Perring and Van der Linde 2009).

### 2.3.1 Values and Stakeholders

Values are implicit in archaeological heritage and can be ascribed to a certain artifact, fossil, monument or, indeed, every object a cultural society or even a single person holds dear. The reason why archaeological heritage is such delicate and sensitive material is due to the fact that every person involved has different values connected to archeological material. Values are related to ideology and reflect different ways of thinking: cultural, scientific and economic, but most importantly they reflect the time in which they were created. Some values, once considered valid, can be discarded in due time because ways of thinking have changed, be it socially or politically. Values ascribed to an object can cause a dispute if people have different conflicting interests. These interests can be economical, as seen in the debate about the economic value of archaeological and cultural heritage (Cernea 2001; Labadi and Long 2010), but often have more intrinsic sentiments: religion (seen in the debate about Jerusalem, see Greenberg 2009), aesthetics and environmental conservation. Whereas values attributed to material heritage are often thought to be objective and focused, later interpretations stress subjectivity, are dynamic and often seen in a much wider context, taking into account other actors in the field (Van der Linde 2012).

Because it is clear that values are an important part of archaeological heritage management and are important not only for the heritage project itself, but also for the broader context, international organizations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS promote the term Value-Based Approach. Here, cultural 'significances' are based upon different values of a range of stakeholders (Van der Linde 2012). Values in archaeological heritage management are fundamental for the investigation and management of archaeological material: they are the reason why decisions are made:

The assignment of value to material heritage is, in the end, seen at all stages of a project: value prefigures the kinds of research questions being asked, the choices made in what is conserved and what is destroyed (whether for development or research programmes), how we categorise the heritage, how we manage it and mitigate impacts, and whether the material is deemed heritage at

all. However, while the assignment of significance is a singular step within the process of determining how to manage a specific material heritage, it nevertheless affects and dominates the whole process (Lafranz Samuels 2008, 72-73, in Van der Linde 2012, 33)

Assessing the significance of archaeological heritage sites is based upon the idea that values are ascribed by various stakeholders. Together, these values and their stakeholders create a multi temporal, multi spatial and multi vocal playground for assessing significance to an archaeological heritage project and lie at the heart of the decision making process (Van der Linde 2012, 31).

This Value-Based-Approach thus defines the significance of an archaeological site based on the various values of stakeholders. This approach can, in my opinion, easily be translated into the field of reconstruction of cultural heritage. There too, we have to deal with various stakeholders, often with conflicting interests. By creating a clear-cut overview of the various values of stakeholders, we can prevent conflict during, but also after, the reconstruction of cultural heritage. The importance of this Value-Based approach is illustrated in more detail below (chapters 6 and 7).

## **2.4 Ownership & Ethics**

### **2.4.1 Ownership and Conservation**

Values are often based upon more profound and fundamental concepts which lie at the heart of much dispute. One of these concepts is ownership. Few things in the world of archaeological heritage have been more disputed than the ownership of things (archaeological artefacts or human remains) from the past, especially in countries like the United States of America and Australia, where various indigenous people are present and very often act as strong stakeholders in heritage disputes. Other major players with competing interests are national governments, international institutions, researchers in the fields of archaeology and anthropology, museums and private collectors (Skeates 2002, 19).

The most essential problem in dealing with material from the past and appurtenant ownership is that there often is no clear set of evidence available to assign rightful ownership. Archaeological artefacts unfortunately do not come with a badge saying to whom this piece should be transmitted. This also counts for the more broadly termed cultural heritage. The most easily used arguments to claim heritage is the

geographical location or the fact that it has been in the family for generations, but these claims are often contested. According to James Young (2006, 16) there are four different types of possible and rightful owners. They are:

- 1) Individuals (persons or institutions), founders of artefacts or legitimate buyers;
- 2) certain cultures;
- 3) nations;
- 4) the whole of humanity.

These four categories have a clear grading in terms of size and serve as a starting point in general ownership discussion. These categories may seem clearly defined and separated. The truth is that it is often very hard to put an archaeological object into one of these four groups. In general, the assumption is that if an artefact has particular value to a certain cultural group, that group as a whole has more right to be the owner of the piece than a single individual of that group and by sharing the object with the larger groups, the individual still remains owner.

The debate about who should be responsible for conservation and if archaeological heritage should be considered as 'belonging to all humanity' has important implications in local politics and in the field, especially in countries which have seen (armed) conflict. The concepts of ownership and conservation are used and interpreted differently by many important institutions and political actors. Because these concepts lie at the heart of the value-based heritage approach, they are delicate core-issues which should be handled with care.

#### 2.4.2 Ethics

Because we have to deal with a lot of different values, which are unfortunately not intrinsic, static or inherent but subjective, contextual, dynamic (Perring and Van der Linde 2009) and shifting, it is necessary to have an understanding of ethics in this field of work. By knowing what moves people to be a stakeholder in a particular case and by creating an acting framework based on universally working ethics, we as archaeological heritage managers can act as negotiators in disputed cases and try to create a balance in conflicting values. This balancing of values lies at the core of archaeological heritage management (Perring and Van der Linde 2009).

An understanding of ethics in the field of archaeological heritage management helps to facilitate this balancing of values. Besides the universally agreed ethics in working together (show respect to the other party, be polite, listen intently, etc), there are special codes of practice and conduct created for the field of archaeological heritage management. These codes help to counter the exploitation of cultural objects and act as a neutral agent in addressing different conflicts of interest by the relevant stakeholders. However noble the intentions, practice has shown that the world-wide implementation of these codes is difficult. These codes of practice and conduct are generally developed 'for the interests that arise in the conduct of commercially funded archaeological work by private and profit-making bodies' (Perring and Van der Linde 2009, 204) and are not directly implementable in developing countries; especially those countries with a non-western approach to archaeological heritage management.

Another danger lies in the fact that archaeologists, often working through governments and subsequent national heritage state policies, are seen as professional advisors with a strong (or even definite) opinion and potential important stakeholders (with other opinions) can be excluded from discussion. The view of archaeologists being professional advisors in archaeological heritage discussions is clearly shown in the preamble of the European Association of Archaeologists' (EAA) code of practice:

The archaeological heritage [...] is the heritage of all humankind. Archaeology is the study and interpretation of that heritage for the benefit of society as a whole. Archaeologists are the interpreters and stewards of that heritage on behalf of their fellow men and women. The object of this Code is to establish standards of conduct for the members of the European Association of Archaeologists to follow in fulfilling their responsibilities, both to the community and their professional colleagues.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the fact that archaeologists and their backing national states are considered a potential threat to the integrity of the heritage debate, because of their attributed importance, problems also arise when one tries to translate concepts of value from Western to non-Western countries. They are not translatable 1-to-1. This often leads them to being interpreted in the wrong way (Tarlow 2001). Moreover, critics have

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<sup>1</sup> Available at: [http://e-a-a.org/EAA\\_Code\\_of\\_Practice.pdf](http://e-a-a.org/EAA_Code_of_Practice.pdf) [accessed 14 January, 2013].



suggested that codes of conduct can lead to bureaucratization and instrumentalization of ethics, often showing a lack of field-knowledge and becoming only a matter of professional and governmental organizations (Perring and Van der Linde 2009). As a critic of these codes, Moshenska (2008, 163) writes that archaeology is 'now overburdened with statements, guidelines, codes and standards: the relationship of these dreary documents to archaeological praxis is very often a vague and formal one, and almost invariably unreflexive'. This is perhaps a bold statement, but holds truth: ethics are best imbedded in practice (Perring and Van der Linde 2009) and not in paperwork.

Other organizations and institutions with a broader focus than only archaeology, such as ICOMOS and the Council of Europe (see chapter 4), have a more communal focus in their ethics on archaeological heritage management. They promote the involvement of local communities and see archaeological heritage management only as a tool, a small part of the greater whole that is called 'cultural heritage for society' (Council of Europe 2005).

## **2.5 Conclusion**

Why are the concepts described above and working-methods regarding archaeological heritage management relevant for this thesis? Because they are relevant to the debate on how to perform proper reconstruction of cultural heritage in war torn countries. The same questions are relevant there: to whom does this piece of heritage belongs? What are the opinions about this object or monument and who are the stakeholders? By having an understanding of the use of ethics, the different views about ownership and conservation and the methodology of the Values-Based-Approach we can operate in a delicate and substantiated way.

This careful way of operating and knowing (how to work with) the stakeholders and their values is especially needed in countries where cultural heritage is destructed, such as in the former Yugoslavia. The reason for this lies in the delicate connection between people's identity and their cultural heritage. This will be further discussed in the following chapter.

### **3. Targeting cultural heritage and the role of archaeological heritage managers in conflict**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The Yugoslav Wars left a great impact on the minds of the people affected. Not only were houses and cultural heritage destroyed; people were forced to flee, the safety of place and environment were destroyed. It is important to understand the feelings and emotions of people towards their heritage and explain why heritage could possibly be so important as to wage war over it. I will discuss the concepts of memory and identity, which form the foundation of the intrinsic connection between people and cultural objects, below. In this chapter, I create a background understanding of the role of cultural heritage in conflict and why it is so often a target of destruction. This knowledge is a necessary prerequisite for the understanding of the ways Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina try to rebuild their archaeological heritage and the future of the debate on heritage protection.

#### **3.2 Memory and identity**

Pierre Nora, a French historian, speaks of '*lieux de mémoires*'- realms of memory. He writes that 'we are witnessing a world-wide upsurge in memory. Over the last twenty or twenty-five years, every country, every social, ethnic or family group, has undergone a profound change in the relationship it traditionally enjoyed with the past' (Nora 2002). In his opinion, our view of memory is already different from that of what we had in our 'peasant' past. History and society have accelerated and what we have to remember now is far more than what we used to. According to him, there are no 'real' and 'living' memories anymore, but only artificially constructed ones. Modern memory is only archival, and relies heavily on materiality. What was called history is now called memory (Nora 2002).

'Cultural heritage in both its tangible and intangible manifestations- physical objects and structures as well as traditional knowledge, beliefs and forms of expression- has become central to contemporary perceptions of collective memory' (Viejo-Rose 2007, 102). The link between memory and materiality explains why certain objects, monuments and places are important for us and that, if destroyed or taken away, the

adherent memory quickly fades. This is the reason why places of memory, or '*lieux de mémoires*', are such good targets for destruction (Bevan 2006). 'The continuing fragility of civilized society and decency is echoed in the fragility of its monuments' (Bevan 2006, 8). 'The intentional collapse of buildings is intimately related to social collapse and upheavals' (Bevan 2006, 12).

Buildings and monuments are meant to last a long time. For centuries old buildings have had a function as a gathering space for certain groups. These are places where certain collective experiences and identities were shared (Bevan 2006). These places of history, whether they are buildings or cultural heritage monuments, are all intrinsically laden with people's memory and therefore susceptible of destruction by an enemy willing to destroy those remembrances.

At the other end of the spectrum, for those affected by the destruction of their patrimony, the loss feels deep and severe because not only is the physical remembrance of memory destroyed, but also with it the reality and reliability on the human world. It is the 'loss of one's collective identity and the secure continuity of those identities' (Bevan 2006, 13) what is felt. The feeling of social cohesion is even greater in times of civil war where (ethnic) groups clamp together in defense of a cause which often forms the very foundation of their collective identity.

Identity is a much debated concept, which has its own debates and theoretical viewpoints based in various scientific discourses, including anthropology (Leve 2011) and archaeology (Fowler 2004). Identity is 'a reflexive construct or experiential modality through which one knows oneself and claims recognition' (Leve 2011, 513). The claiming of recognition and its inherent moral imperative, took full swing after the well-known episodes of ethnic cleansing, such as the Second World War and the Balkan Wars (Leve 2011).

Identity can be based upon an individual, called 'personhood', or to a larger group of individuals, for instance an ethnic or cultural group (Fowler 2004). The most important thing to know about the concept of identity is that identity in itself is contextual, manipulable and changeable. Therefore it is 'almost impossible to delineate the boundaries of one cultural identity and the beginning of another' (Regmi 2003, 4). The formation of an ethnic identity is based on a combination of factors: common

descent, a relevant social culture and/or physical characteristics and a certain set of attitudes and behaviours (Regmi 2003).

Common descent can either be real or putative: a shared racial origin is not necessary for an ethnic group identity to form (Regmi 2003). Cultural attributes, for instance distinctive beliefs, institutions, language and traditions, and physical attributes (such as distinctive skin color or body-shape) are important factors which distinct members of one ethnic group from another. Members of ethnic groups share ideas, behavioural patterns, feelings and meaning and through this, they distinguish themselves from others (Regmi 2003). While the concept of ethnicity is complex, I think Regmi (2003) coins the term very well as being 'part sentiment, part ideology and part agenda' (Regmi 2003, 5).

Ethnic groups recurrently have disputes among themselves, often resulting in serious conflict. The reasons for ethnic groups to take up arms are manifold: from a response to cultural arrogance of another dominating group to the fear of erosion of their cultural identities. The resentment to being dominated and exploited by a dominating ethnic group or other force, is also a reason (Regmi 2003). According to Kelman (1997) the main reason for dispute between ethno-national groups is the fact that group identity is based in exclusive terms: 'defining components of their identity, such as land, history, language, or cultural products, are perceived as theirs and theirs alone' (Kelman 1997, 339). The claim to any of these elements from another group, as part of formulating their identity, is seen as a threat (Kelman 1997).

Cultural heritage forms a transmitter through which society tells itself stories of the past (Viejo-Rose 2007) and is thus one of the exclusive factors which determine a society's identity. The creation of national and ethnic group identity is based on the human right of self-determination (Kelman 1997) and the struggle for rights and recognition is articulated through ownership and representation of cultural heritage (Viejo-Rose 2007). Therefore, the destruction of cultural heritage belonging to a certain ethnic group goes further than its physical destruction: it is a part of an effective strategy to erase that group's identity and, therefore, its very existence.

### 3.3 Targeting cultural heritage

While the development of various legal instruments such as treaties, local law and non legal instruments such as charters and codes of ethics, grows, the ‘destruction and loss of cultural property has inevitably remained a pervasive feature of armed conflict’ (Boylan 2002). The targeting of cultural heritage in war time is not a recent development, but has a long history (Viejo-Rose 2007). Early examples of these acts can be found in the damage and looting during the Crusades, or the destruction and theft of art and antiquities in the time of Napoleon and during the Second World War (Boylan 2002). The destruction of cultural heritage has many forms and the objects destroyed are diverse (Figure 1).

Destructive action	Object destroyed or damaged	Type of conflict <sup>2</sup>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Plunder and looting</li> <li>• Deliberate targeting</li> <li>• Deliberate misuse/reuse</li> <li>• Neglect and selective memory</li> <li>• Vandalism</li> <li>• Collateral damage</li> <li>• Military reasons</li> <li>• Iconoclasm</li> <li>• Official cultural policy</li> <li>• Failure to safeguard</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Religious building/objects</li> <li>• Civilian building</li> <li>• Museum</li> <li>• Heritage site</li> <li>• Library or archive</li> <li>• Historical monument/site</li> <li>• Cemetery</li> <li>• Official building</li> <li>• Public art</li> <li>• Political memorial/site</li> <li>• Archaeological site</li> <li>• Infrastructure (bridges)</li> <li>• Natural heritage<sup>3</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stable states with disorderly transfers of power, continuity of bureaucratic/governance</li> <li>• State failure due to predatory or ineffectual governance</li> <li>• State erosion or failure due to ethnic/regional conflict</li> <li>• State failure due to ideological conflict</li> <li>• State change imposed from outside as a residual form of old imperialist intervention</li> </ul>

Figure1: Tentative typology of the destruction of cultural heritage caused during conflicts (Viejo-Rose 2007, 103).

Exactly what objects are destroyed, through which destructive action, is dependent on the type of conflict (Viejo-Rose 2007). In the case of the Yugoslav Wars deliberate targeting, deliberate misuse/reuse and military reasons were the most common destructive actions and the objects listed, except natural heritage, are, sadly, all involved (Šulc 2001). Because military necessity and deliberate destruction are two fundamental and most common destructive actions during the Yugoslav Wars, I will focus on those in the next few pages.

#### 3.3.1 Military necessity

Military necessity is often misused to account for the destruction of cultural heritage in conflict situations (Viejo-Rose 2007; Kila 2012). Cultural property can be the target of a

legitimate military action, but only if combatants see no other means to achieve their objectives. The problem with this is, that when a protected building becomes part of the military necessity, it loses its special status and becomes a legitimate target for the opposing party (this does not count for properties under 'enhanced protection' as stated by the second protocol of the 1954 convention which can never be the target of military action – see chapter 4.2.3) (Milligan 2008). An example of this can be seen in the use of the Iraq National Museum by Iraqi and US forces in 2003 (figure 2 in chapter 4). The museum was placed in a military position: between the Special Republican Guard compound and the al-Ahrar Bridge crossing the river Tigris (Bogdanos 2005). Regardless of the fact that Iraqi forces needed to use this protected building as a military object, when they did, the US forces had a legitimate reason to attack (Milligan 2008).

The location of important cultural objects, such as museums and monuments next to military targets forms thus a huge problem. Apart from the discussion whether it is legitimate for a military force to use cultural heritage as a military object, the destruction of these objects due to collateral damage, for example due to bombing or shelling of nearby targets, remains a considerable threat (although close cooperation with NATO can prevent much of such collateral damage (Kila 2012)).

### 3.3.2 Deliberate destruction

Besides destruction due to military necessity, cultural objects such as museums, monuments and places of religion, can be deliberately destroyed. Deliberate destruction is mainly used as 'a way to dominate over a particular group by eliminating any physical record of their history' (Milligan 2008, 98) and by doing so altering or eliminating unwanted versions of the past and present (Meskell 2002). Iconoclasm falls also in the description of deliberate destruction, but with the exception that iconoclasm is destruction of religious icons *within* a culture and not between cultures. Deliberate destruction of cultural heritage happened at an enormous scale during the Yugoslav Wars, where numerous monuments and places of various religious significance were destroyed. This is called 'cultural genocide' (Teiggeler 2006). Deliberate destruction can also be seen in single acts, for example the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddha's (Flood 2002) and the tearing down of the Babri Masjid at Ayodha (Barber 2006).

However both acts are disastrous for the conservation of cultural property, the difference to their causes can be seen in the scale of destruction. Destruction due to

military action results from singular events and is often seen as a unique exception. But deliberate destruction, especially seen in the light of ethnic cleansing, is the exact opposite.

### **3.4 The role of archaeological heritage managers in conflict**

Because the destruction of cultural heritage can be a real threat during war times, archaeological heritage managers are faced with a difficult and dangerous task. How can they best perform this dangerous work? What place do they take in the field among the various (military) institutions?

The most important difficulty to archaeological heritage managers in conflict situations, is working with the concept of neutrality. Because 'archaeological research is extensively drawn upon in describing, defining and legitimising national identities' (Perring and Van der Linde 2009, 199), archaeological heritage managers see themselves often situated between conflicting values. Neutral archaeologists, supposedly, have more freedom to perform their duties and are able to focus on their objective scientific tasks (Teijgeler 2006). The difficulty is to try and stay neutral in those conflicting territorial and ethnic disputes.

The concept of neutrality during conflict situations has its origins in the humanitarian aid, to be more precise: in classical humanitarianism (Teijgeler 2006). In humanitarian aid, neutrality means that 'assistance must be provided without engaging in hostilities or taking sides in controversies of a political, religious, or ideological nature' (Teijgeler 2006, 87). The International Red Cross (IRC) proclaimed their latest fundamental guiding principles in 1965. These are based on four humanitarian principles dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century: humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence (Teijgeler 2006).

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the character of war changed dramatically and the Yugoslav Wars are a prime example of this. No longer was the battlefield divided into clearly identifiable warring parties, but state armies turned into paramilitary units and local warlords, often corrupt, were ruling certain territories under a regime which supported looting and raping (Teijgeler 2006). During these 'new wars', full control and overview of the war was lost and the distinction between war acts and

human rights violations was often blurred (Teiggeler 2006). Political parties recognized the importance of fear and terror in order to establish political control.

These instruments became decisive weapons and people's identity and symbols became targets, leading to cultural genocide: 'the deliberate destruction of the cultural heritage of a people or nation for political or military reasons' (Teiggeler 2006, 89). In a failing state, the government is unable to provide safety and supplies for its people, let alone for humanitarian aid workers, or humanitarian NGO's. Therefore, they see themselves forced to work closely with militarized units in order to remain relatively safe and in order to reach distant and remote locations (Teiggeler 2006). In spite of these difficult working conditions, humanitarian NGO's were harshly criticized for their 'lack of effectiveness and even accused of exacerbating the conflict' (Teiggeler 2006, 90). Thus, the classical humanitarianism's fundamental principle of remaining neutral during these new wars was no longer self-evident and the debate on neutrality grew even more thanks to some questionable decisions the IRC made regarding situations where humanitarian law was compromised. IRC officers knew, for example, of the situation in the Abu Ghraib prison and repeatedly pressed for charges, but further chose to remain silent (Teiggeler 2006).

The implementation of humanitarian aid in conflict situations has a longer history than does archaeological heritage management in similar situations, but the problems faced by both are almost identical. Workers must operate in difficult and potentially dangerous political situations. Besides the difficult working environment, both archaeological heritage managers and humanitarian aid NGO's, working through international peace missions, have to operate under the military '3-D' policy, which 'specifies that only through progress in Defense, Development and Diplomacy can an armed conflict be ended' (Teiggeler 2006, 94).

This approach, once again, leads to neutrality being seriously harmed. The question remaining is, if this is at all problematic for archaeological heritage managers. Do they really have to be neutral? To a certain extent: yes. Neutrality is needed for archaeologists and archaeological heritage managers to perform their scientific duty. However, I think that there is a difference between scientific neutrality and operating neutrality. During times of war, archaeological heritage managers have other, more important, duties to perform than scientific research: their main duty is to prevent the



destruction of cultural heritage. Scientific research is mainly done in peace time (Teijgeler 2006). Archaeological heritage managers working in conflict situations are there often to assist international political bodies (Teijgeler 2006) and as such have already taken an active, non-neutral stance. But this is not a bad thing. Through these political bodies and their military support and protection, archaeological heritage managers often have access to certain stakeholders and are able to visit remote and dangerous places (Teijgeler 2006). This of course contradicts one of the much used rationales in favor of neutrality, stating that neutrality leads to better access to stakeholders. While this might be true in non-conflict situations, according to Teijgeler (2006), there are few examples to support this statement: hardly any archaeological heritage manager works independently in conflict situations (Teijgeler 2006).

Another advantage of working with the military is that we can explain them what cultural heritage is, what protection of these 'assets' means in terms of 'force multipliers': protection of cultural heritage cumulatively adds to sustainable conflict solutions (Kila 2012). Besides lecturing the military, archaeological heritage managers can also advise military bodies in, for example, precision strikes, telling them exactly at which co-ordinates certain cultural heritage monuments or buildings are located, hopefully preventing their accidental destruction. This has already led to some positive results (e.g. Kila 2012).

Some scholars are strongly against co-operation between 'neutral' archaeological heritage managers and the military, favouring to 'resist any attempts by the military and governments to be co-opted in any planned military operation, for example by providing advice and expertise to the military on archaeological and cultural heritage matters' (Hamilakis 2009, 58). Although one is free to think that way, scientific backing of such statements usually fail; not in the least because such statements are more based on ideology and personal principles. Moreover, the problem is that by taking the moral high ground and 'thereby failing to give clear guidance to those in positions of responsibility, we diminish the force of our critique when advice is ignored and failures occur' (Perring and Van der Linde 2009, 202). When working in the military however, openly criticizing military performance is restricted: 'to speak up in public is very difficult when wearing a uniform' (Teijgeler 2006, 103).

Archaeological heritage managers in conflict situations lack a set of rules, or guidelines, helping them performing their duty. This is in stark contrast to humanitarian aid workers who, thanks to their extensive history and vast amount of field-knowledge, have far more experience and guiding procedures (Teijgeler 2006). Because of this, the debate surrounding neutrality regarding their line of work is more mature. The archaeological community lacks this experience and history and, therefore, the neutrality discussion in 'our community remains quite academic' (Teijgeler 2006, 107).

Exactly how archaeological heritage managers should act in conflict situations then remains heavily debated. Some see archaeologists as neutral observers, refusing for example to lend any kind of support to military authorities and by doing this creating a 'moral authority' (Moshenska 2008), while others see changes for the better in working with or even in the military (Kila 2012; Teijgeler 2006; Stone and Farchakh Bajjal 2008), thus effectively abandoning neutrality.

In my opinion, archaeological heritage managers do not really have a choice: by working for international political bodies, such as the UN or NATO in peace and development missions in new wars, as is mostly the case, they inherently chose for non-neutrality, at least in their performance. This says nothing of the quality and objectivity of their scientific work (if they are able to perform such tasks in war zones). Working with the military has its disadvantages, granted, but I think the advantages far outweigh them. Besides this, I think one has the moral duty to prevent as much damage as possible. If this is done by, for example, co-coordinating precision strikes, than why not? Bombing would have commenced anyway, and now archaeological heritage managers have a chance to prevent loss of cultural heritage.

This is a solid objective choice. We should however be cautious with going too far in our 'use' of the military and become 'embedded archaeologists': they become too focused on the military aspect of their job and eventually 'run the risk of losing their objectivity by sympathizing too greatly with their employer' (Teijgeler 2006, 107).

I think it is also wise to prepare for in-conflict assignment by performing conflict zone analysis in peacetime: active research on possible stakeholders, dividers (factors that people are fighting about and cause tension) and connectors (bring people together and reduce tension) (Teijgeler 2006). Preparing archaeological heritage managers and cultural heritage in case of future conflict is also supported by the 1995 Hague

convention and its two protocols (see chapter 4.2). So there is legal backing for these preparations.

Because of the lack of field experience and clear guidelines for archaeological heritage managers in conflict situations, I think it is wise to perform fieldwork in the best way we can, keeping our objectivity (which is indeed not the same as neutrality) and learn from our experiences. As I already mentioned: the battlefield is changed from symmetrical to asymmetrical and with it the ethics of relief workers (including archaeological heritage managers) involved. We can only really prepare for future conflict if we move on from the debate on neutrality to a debate where we recognize military support is needed, but also recognize that the military needs archaeological heritage managers. With this settled, we can finally focus on ways of implementation of heritage protection- before the conflict, on the battlefield, and after the conflict.

## **4. International Institutions and legislation**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The epistemological understandings of heritage and its values have changed over time. This shifting perspective can also be seen in the changing views of international organizations and institutions working on international legislation, treaties and charters to help preserve cultural heritage the world over. Because these organizations and their conventions help countries create a legal framework concerning cultural heritage, including Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina, they are also important for the implementation of heritage management in practice. The number of conventions and legal texts regarding the importance of cultural heritage is vast. In this chapter however, I will summarize only the most important institutions and conventions and will explain how they contribute to the practice of post-conflict heritage management. We will see if their contribution indeed had effect in post-war reconstruction in Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia in chapter six and seven respectively.

### **4.2 UNESCO**

#### **4.2.1 Introduction**

Perhaps the most known and recognizable organization involved in the preservation of cultural heritage is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). They are known for their World Heritage List, which includes cultural and natural heritage projects from all over the world, and of their many international conventions regarding the safekeeping of, in their view, a shared cultural heritage.<sup>2</sup> Because this organization had and has such strong influence in the legal implementations, as well as implementations of archaeological heritage in the field, it is important to elucidate here on their main conventions and viewpoints and explain how these have changed the way heritage management is performed over the past decades.

UNESCO was founded by 37 countries directly after the Second World War, by the UN general assembly on November 16th 1945. Its purpose: the reconstruction of

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<sup>2</sup> Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> [Accessed 13 February 2013].

education systems when peace was restored.<sup>3</sup> At the same day the Constitution of UNESCO was signed and came into force after the ratification of 20 countries on November 4th, 1946, and defined the purpose of its organization as “to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations”.<sup>4</sup> Besides their important role in creating a legal framework for archaeological and cultural heritage management, UNESCO has other important objectives as well:

- Attaining quality education for all and lifelong learning;
- Mobilizing science knowledge and policy for sustainable development;
- Addressing emerging social and ethical challenges;
- Fostering cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and a culture of peace;
- Building inclusive knowledge societies through information and communication<sup>5</sup>

UNESCO has now 195 state members and 8 associate members of which three are not UN member states: Niue, the Cook Islands and Palestine (however the latter obtained Observer State status in 2012). All countries participate voluntarily in the UNESCO program and can select whether to ratify the conventions held. However, when a country does sign a convention, but refrains from ratifying it, the convention has no legal effect.

#### 4.2.2 UNESCO and cultural heritage

The history of UNESCO regarding cultural heritage starts also right after the Second World War. There was a need for international heritage legislation in response to the destruction of heritage in the Second World War and while this war was over, there was

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<sup>3</sup> Source: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/about-us/who-we-are/history/> [accessed 13 February, 2013].

<sup>4</sup> Source: [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=15244&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html) [accessed 13 February, 2013].

<sup>5</sup> Source: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/about-us/who-we-are/introducing-unesco/> [accessed 13 February, 2013].

great concern for more destruction of heritage in future conflicts (Milligan 2008).

International law on cultural heritage thus began with a small focus: the protection of cultural property in war time (Blake 2000).

In the course of decades various important UNESCO conventions have taken place concerning the preservation of cultural heritage, but I will discuss two conventions relevant for this thesis, since they play a role in the protection and reconstruction of cultural heritage during and after war time.

#### 4.2.3 Convention for the protection of Cultural Property in the event of Armed Conflict

The first UNESCO convention described here is the 1954 Convention for the protection of Cultural Property in the event of Armed Conflict, also called the Hague Convention. This convention is a direct response to the destruction and looting of monuments and works of art in the Second World War and the need for international legislation regarding future protection (Blake 2000). The goals of this convention were to lessen the consequences of armed warfare for cultural heritage and to take precautionary actions for the protection of cultural heritage in times of war, but also in times of peace.

Cultural heritage is, as UNESCO defines (UNESCO 1954, Article 1):

- a) movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above;
- b) buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a) such as museums, large libraries and depositories of archives, and refuges intended to shelter, in the event of armed conflict, the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a);
- c) centers containing a large amount of cultural property as defined in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b), to be known as 'centers containing monuments'.

It is also important to notice that, according to this convention, UNESCO sees cultural heritage as property of all mankind:

"Recognizing that cultural property has suffered grave damage during recent armed conflicts and that, by reason of the developments in the technique of warfare, it is in increasing danger of destruction; Being convinced that damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever

means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world" (UNESCO 1954, preamble).

As we will see in later chapters, using this Eurocentric view in the practice of the reconstruction of cultural heritage in post-war countries can be problematic. Note here too that UNESCO uses the term 'property'. The reason for this is because this convention is also set up to protect illicit movement of cultural items which are being treated as property to be traded on the market, without taking into account the cultural value (Blake 2000). Furthermore, the convention states that 'The High Contracting Parties undertake to prepare in time of peace for the safeguarding of cultural property situated within their own territory against the foreseeable effects of an armed conflict, by taking such measures as they consider appropriate' (UNESCO 1954, article 3), meaning that State Parties themselves are responsible for generating a list of important cultural objects to protect during times of conflict.

However, this is not always a simple task given the fact that many countries (in that time) did not have a specific political entity appointed to heritage preservation (Wegener 2010). That this difficulty is not only relevant to the past is seen in Bosnia Herzegovina, where it is still not clear who is responsible for the appointment of cultural heritage (Musi 2012). This issue is further elaborated in chapter six.

The 1954 UNESCO convention consists of two protocols which together are ratified by more than 100 countries.<sup>6</sup> Whereas the first protocol is short and provides general guidelines for import and export of cultural property during armed conflict (Milligan 2008), the second protocol tries to fix an important ambiguously interpreted concept: military necessity. This concept is mentioned in the sentence 'The obligations mentioned in paragraph 1 of the present Article may be waived only in cases where military necessity imperatively requires such a waiver' (UNESCO 1954, article 4.2). The concept is troublesome because during the implementation of the 1954 convention and its first protocol over the years, and especially during the Balkan War, it became clear that the term 'military necessity' was used as an exceptional safeguard by warring states

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<sup>6</sup> Source: [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=13637&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13637&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html) [Accessed 18 March, 2013].

for the deliberate destruction of cultural heritage (Kila 2012), instead of an ultimate action called for by the exigencies of war (O’Keefe 2006, 25). Right after the Balkan War in 1995, where ‘military necessity’ was misused at an impressive scale, UNESCO states called for a rethinking of the 1954 convention and in 1999 the second protocol was put up which ‘attempts to strengthen the protective regime by raising the threshold for military use of cultural objects’ (Milligan 2008, 94). It does this by providing a list, called the ‘International Registry of Cultural Property under Special Protection’, where states can submit important buildings, monuments and other pieces of exceptional cultural value. These objects then become essentially immune from destruction: they cannot be the object of destruction, nor can they be used as a protective shield during armed combat (UNESCO 1954, Second Protocol 1999, Art 10). Furthermore, this protocol considers attacks on civilian property (including cultural property) as an act punishable as war crime (Driver 2000 and see chapter 5.4.3). The second protocol is however not signed by many states and as a result, those countries cannot fall back on this protocol and its legal implications.

Besides a legal framework, the 1954 UNESCO convention and the second protocol provides states with an opportunity to mark their cultural property with a blue/white shield and by doing so letting enemies know these objects are under protection by the 1954 UNESCO convention.

There is a gradation in the use of the blue shield which is based on whether or not states signed the second protocol. The 1954 UNESCO convention first protocol provides states with the first gradation in cultural heritage protection called ‘General Protection’. States may put a single blue shield on buildings, monuments and other objects considered cultural heritage (figure 2) and mark them as henceforth protected by the 1954 UNESCO convention. The second protocol provides states (who signed the second protocol) with a higher gradation in cultural heritage protection: the list for ‘Cultural Property under Special Protection’. Buildings and monuments submitted to this list may be flagged with three blue shields instead of one and are then immune in times of war: they cannot be targeted and used as a protective shield (as stated by the second protocol).

These options provide a practical way of visualizing important cultural buildings and monuments for protection against destruction, but whether or not to use the blue



shield remains a point of discussion. The donning of a blue shield, for instance, makes it easy for the enemy to recognize important cultural heritage and could be seen as a form of provocation, resulting in targeting and destruction (Kila 2012).



Figure 2: A blue shield painted on the Iraq National Museum prior to the 2003 invasion (Source: <http://www.cemml.colostate.edu/cultural/09476/images/chp04-10-shieldroof-800w.jpg>). Photo courtesy: Dr John Malcolm Russel.

The 1954 UNESCO convention, in conclusion, plays a very important and integral part in the protection of cultural and archaeological heritage and creates important implications for the protection of heritage in future conflicts. Whether this convention and its legislation had actual effect in the Yugoslav Wars can be seen in the case study of Dubrovnik in chapter 7.2, which was actually on the list of properties under general protection during the attack.

#### 4.2.4 Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage

The 1972 UNESCO convention 'Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage', also called the World Heritage Convention, is perhaps the best known convention from UNESCO regarding cultural heritage. This convention is prepared in the

context of a growing internationalization, accompanied by the belief that people around the world share the same universal values: not only do people have an interest in heritage in their own country, but also of heritage in other countries than their own (Byrne 1994). This 'global interest' of cultural values is expressed through a list containing cultural and archaeological works all over the world: the World Heritage List. Although UNESCO says that 'deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world',<sup>7</sup> only items which are deemed to be of 'outstanding universal value' are placed on the list (for discussion on this issue: see Cleere 1996; Thitchen 1996). The World Heritage List was established during the World Heritage Convention of 1972 and became operational in 1975. Since then a total of 962 so called properties have been included: 745 cultural, 188 natural and 29 mixed properties (figure 3).

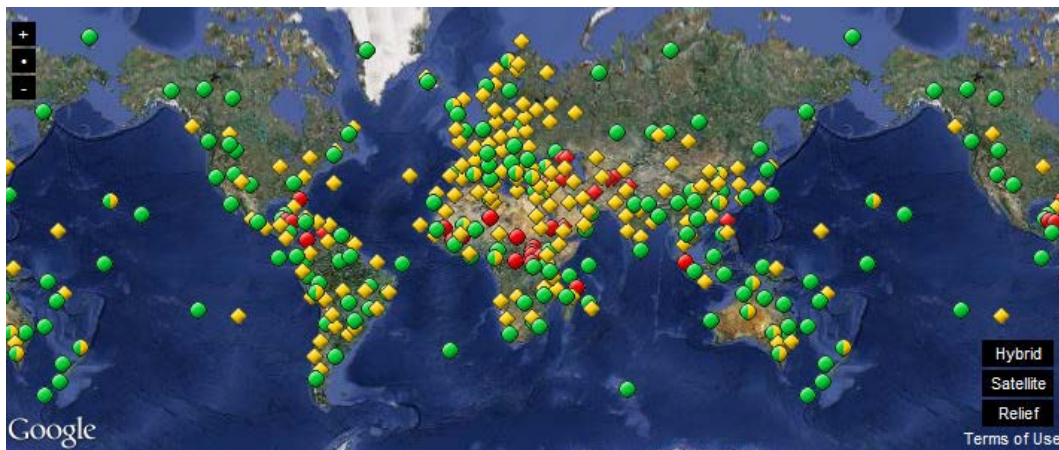


Figure 3: Map showing the 962 properties of the World Heritage List. Green represents natural properties, yellow cultural properties and green/yellow mixed properties (Source: <http://daydreamtourist.files.wordpress.com/2011/07/world-heritage-map.jpg>).

A property has to meet one or several criteria, before it can be nominated for a place on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2012). These criteria range from 'representing a masterpiece of human creative genius' to 'superlative natural phenomena' and thus includes both criteria for cultural and natural heritage (UNESCO 2012). After being criticized by an expert council, for example ICOMOS, a property can be placed on a

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<sup>7</sup> Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> [Accessed 18 February, 2013].

national tentative list. This list with properties a nation sees as 'important for all humanity' then can be sent to UNESCO for possible acceptance on the international World Heritage List.

The World Heritage List, while politically influenced and imbalanced (Steiner and Frey 2012), can be seen as a major step in the protection of archaeological and cultural heritage all over the world, not only because of the list itself and the required protection of properties inscribed, but even more through the political attraction it radiates. This political attraction is also seen in the two countries of focus in this thesis: the Old Bridge of Mostar, located in Bosnia Herzegovina, and the historical town of Dubrovnik, Croatia, are both inscribed on the World Heritage List and discussed in chapter 6.2 and 7.2 respectively.

### **4.3 International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)**

#### **4.3.1 Introduction**

ICOMOS is an important advisory body for UNESCO and cooperates closely on various levels of heritage management. One of their most important tasks is acting as the Advisory Body of the World Heritage Committee for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention of UNESCO. ICOMOS reviews nominations for the World Heritage List and watches the conservation status of properties listed closely. While being an advisory body, ICOMOS has no legal power but develops charters and text which provide expert guidance to heritage conservation professionals in their work. ICOMOS has developed numerous charters in respect to cultural heritage preservation since their foundation in 1965 in Warsaw. The 1964 Venice Charter, which focuses on the preservation and restoration of historic buildings and stresses the importance of internationally accepted standards that would secure the maintenance of archaeological sites, is a good example of such a charter. The 1999 (revised) Burra Charter is another example. Here a humane character and approach towards preservation of cultural heritage is stressed, which is quite the opposite of various top-down oriented Western conventions and legislations.

#### 4.3.2 The 1964 Venice Charter

The 1964 Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, also known as the Venice charter, is a code of standards concerning the restoration of historic monuments (ICOMOS 1964). In tradition of the views at that time, these historic monuments were seen as common heritage, and thus 'The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity' (ICOMOS 1964, 1). In the view of ICOMOS, this 'full richness' can be achieved by proper reconstruction, focused on the use of traditional working methods and materials (ICOMOS 1964).

Furthermore and in line with the operational guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 2012), article 15 of the Venice Charter states that 'All reconstruction work should however be ruled out "a priori". Only anastylosis, that is to say, the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts, can be permitted. The material used for integration should always be recognizable and its use should be the least that will ensure the conservation of a monument and the reinstatement of its form' (ICOMOS 1964, 3). An example of the ways in which this charter is used in practice can be found in the case study of the Aladza mosque in Foca, Bosnia Herzegovina (chapter 6.3).

#### 4.3.3 The 1999 (revised) Burra Charter

This charter was originally adopted in 1979 by the Australian ICOMOS, in the historic mining town of Burra, Australia. The charter is in essence the 1964 Venice Charter, but geared towards the specific and difficult cultural heritage situation in Australia. The charter has been revised in 1999 and since then adopted by several councils spread across Australia. The importance of this charter is found in its humane character and cautious approach towards preservation and conservation of places of cultural significance, taking into account not only the Western European (UNESCO) view of the importance of cultural heritage for all mankind, but also the opinions of local people (ICOMOS 1999).

The role of people involved in the conservation of heritage places and their gentle approach to it can also be seen in the aims of the Burra Charter. People involved

in the conservation of heritage places:

- 1) 'Make decisions on the future of a heritage place based on an understanding of the place, its cultural significance and its meaning to people;
- 2) Involve the communities associated with the place;
- 3) Care for the significant fabric and other attributes, taking into account of
- 4) all aspects of significance;
- 5) Care for the place's setting;
- 6) Find an appropriate use for it;
- 7) Provide security for the place'.<sup>8</sup>

This bottom-up approach is significantly different from the top-down approach often linked to the UNESCO conventions. It provides an alternative view on the social and practical ways cultural heritage can be managed. The importance of this approach can also be seen in the rebuilding of cultural heritage in Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia, where tension exists between international and local involvement and their approach to the reconstruction of cultural heritage. I will discuss this difficult issue further in the chapter 5.4 and the chapters dedicated to Bosnia Herzegovina (6) and Croatia (7).

The Burra Charter also has a few articles dedicated to the practical side of the reconstruction of cultural heritage. In article 1.8, a distinction is made between reconstruction and restoration: reconstruction means 'returning a place to its known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material to the fabric' (ICOMOS 1999, 7). Furthermore, article 20.1 states that 'Reconstruction is appropriate only where a place is incomplete through damage or alteration, and only where there is sufficient evidence to reproduce an earlier state of the fabric' (ICOMOS 1999, 12). With these statements, the Burra Charter follows the 1964 Venice Charter closely in its view on the reconstruction of historic monuments.

Both the Venice and Burra charters include specific views on the practical side of the reconstruction of cultural heritage. They both uncompromisingly say that reconstruction can only be carried out when there is sufficient evidence on the exact materials and construction methods used (Stanley-Price 2009) and when restoration, or

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<sup>8</sup> Source: <http://heritageperth.com.au/your-heritage/the-burra-charter/> [Accessed 21 February, 2013].

anastylosis, fails in captivating the former state of the building. The importance of primary evidence is further endorsed by the World Heritage Operational Guidelines (UNESCO 2012), which states that reconstruction is 'acceptable only on the basis of complete and detailed documentation and to no extent on conjecture' (UNESCO 2012, 22). Based on these restrictions and options, such as restoration, reconstruction seems almost non-relevant. There are however some cases where reconstruction is an option. Nicholas Stanley-Price (2009) recognizes a number of justifications for this: National symbolic value, continuing function or re-use, education and research, tourism promotion and site preservation.

I agree with these justifications largely, but also would like to say that reconstruction should only be used as a last resort. Options such as restoration or anastylosis are often enough to captivate former state and that is what rebuilding is about: not to reconstruct a building or monument in its fullest former state by using alien materials, just because we can, but the restoration of the essence of the building or monument with the use of traditional material and techniques.

## **4.4 Council of Europe**

### **4.4.1 Introduction**

The Council of Europe (CoE) is an intergovernmental body which 'seeks to develop throughout Europe common and democratic principles based on the European Convention on Human Rights and other reference texts on the protection of individuals'.<sup>9</sup> Based in Strasbourg and founded in 1949, the CoE now has 47 member countries, including Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia. Their objectives are as follows:

- 1) to protect human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law;
- 2) to promote awareness and encourage the development of Europe's cultural identity and diversity;
- 3) to find common solutions to the challenges facing European society;
- 4) to consolidate democratic stability in Europe by backing political, legislative and constitutional reform.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Source: <http://www.coe.int/aboutCoe/index.asp?page=nosObjectifs&|=en> [Accessed 21 February, 2013].

<sup>10</sup> Source: <http://www.coe.int/aboutcoe/index.asp?page=nosObjectifs> [Accessed 21 February, 2013].

While the main focus of the Council of Europe is to protect the human rights, the ways in which they try to achieve this goal is multi-layered and also includes the protection of cultural heritage. A CoE convention important for (future) protection of archaeological heritage, also, or perhaps especially, in countries of the former Yugoslavia, is the 2005 Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, otherwise called the Faro convention. Here cultural heritage is seen as a resource for human development. Human development is seen as essential in the way forward and rehabilitation process of war-torn countries by the CoE (Vos 2011) and is implemented in the former Yugoslavia through the Ljubljana process (see chapter 5.4).

#### 4.4.2 Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society

This 'Faro' convention is a prime example of the changing views about cultural heritage. Where cultural heritage was subjective, it's worth already coined for all of humankind, in need of protection, and seen as a mere instrument for international cooperation, the Faro convention stresses the re-examination of the inherent value of cultural heritage and focuses on the way in which heritage can be used and valued instead of just conserved and protected.<sup>11</sup>

The text of the convention is based on the idea that knowledge and use of cultural heritage are part of the (cultural) life of citizens, which is defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Instead of a mere object, here heritage is seen as a resource for human development and it is a source for the enhancement of cultural diversity and economic development, as can be read in the convention preamble:

- 1) Recognizing the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and crossdisciplinary concept of cultural heritage;
- 2) Emphasising the value and potential of cultural heritage wisely used as a resource for sustainable development and quality of life in a constantly evolving society;
- 3) Recognising that every person has a right to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice, while respecting the rights and freedoms of others, as an aspect of the right freely to participate in cultural life enshrined in the United Nations

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<sup>11</sup> Source: Vos, C., 2012. Personal Comment. From notes taken during a presentation on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and guaranteed by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966);

- 4) Convinced of the need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage; Held in 2005, the convention is signed by 13 European states as of today including all countries of the former Yugoslavia (Council of Europe 2005).

Held in 2005, the Faro convention is hitherto ratified by 14 member countries of the Council of Europe, including all countries of the former Yugoslavia. As we will see in the following chapters, this convention is very important for the rebuilding of the archaeological heritage in Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia as there are questions regarding the values of the heritage to be protected.



## 5. Cultural heritage in the Yugoslav Wars

“War is the continuation of politics by other means.”

- Karl Von Clausewitz

### 5.1 Introduction

With the general concepts and legislation regarding the rebuilding of cultural heritage discussed, it is now time to focus on the situation in the former Yugoslavia. As sad as it is, cultural heritage is often destroyed during war times and other types of conflict. The reason for this is the comprehensive intrinsic link between people’s identity and their cultural heritage (Chapter 3). By destroying important cultural heritage objects, the identity of people connected is also destroyed. To fully understand the difficulties regarding the reconstruction of cultural heritage in countries of the former Yugoslavia, I will explain the motive behind the wars and the war timeline first. After that, I will discuss the role of cultural heritage during the Yugoslav Wars, and explain why this heritage was such an easy target for destruction there. After the war, the international community was focussed on helping the former countries of Yugoslavia in their goals for rehabilitation. The Council of Europe, together with the European Commission were particularly involved in this effort, mainly through reconstruction of cultural heritage. This will be discussed in the last part of this chapter.

### 5.2 The Yugoslav Wars

The Federation of Yugoslavia was created after the First World War and consisted of 6 republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia (Figure 4). It lasted from 1918 until 1941 when Yugoslavia was invaded by the Axis forces. In 1943 the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was established under the rule of Josip Broz Tito. Tito’s reign was strict and authoritarian, but there was nonetheless peace in Yugoslavia, at least at the surface. After Tito’s death however, relations between the six republics soon began to deteriorate: there was no federal regime left and the republics began to search for greater influence and autonomy within the Yugoslav Federation; nationalism grew strong.



Figure 4: Map showing the six republics of Yugoslavia in 1991(Source: <http://www.icty.org/sid/321>).

This search for influence eventually resulted in the rising of Slobodan Milošević regime, effectively excluding authority from Slovenia and Croatia, and the subsequent outbreak of the Yugoslav Wars. These ‘Yugoslavian Wars’ were fought in the 1990’s and were the last ones in a long series of wars fought in the Balkans and were very complex in character: as said, republics sought their independence while Belgrade wanted to keep control over the sovereign state of Yugoslavia, but people of the republics also fought between each other. This ethnic conflict between Serbs, Croats, Bosnians and Slovenes resulted in numerous deaths and destruction of much of those countries build cultural heritage (Chapman 1994). The Yugoslav Wars started in a time where tensions were raised high and ultimately resulted in the first conflict, known as the Ten Day War.

### **The Ten Day War (1991)**

This conflict was initiated by the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) on June 26<sup>th</sup> 1991. The JNA, in general, sought to preserve the unity of Yugoslavia, but when Slovenia seceded from the republic, the JNA was sent by the federal government to protect border crossings in Slovenia resulting in skirmishes between the JNA and the Slovenian Territorial Defence.

### **The Croatian War for Independence (1991 – 1995)**

This war started when the Serbs in Croatia announced their secession from Yugoslavia. The Serbs in Croatia were against Croatia's independence, and when they were, in their eyes, portrayed as a minority group in Croatia, things escalated quickly. The JNA had, prior to this conflict, disarmed Croatia's forces, but because the leaders of the JNA were predominantly staffed by Serbs or Montenegrins, Croatian Serb rebels had nonetheless easy access to weapons (United Nations 1994). While fighting happened all across Croatia, border regions were also the target of shelling from forces within Serbia and Montenegro. The shelling of Dubrovnik, as discussed in chapter 7.2, is an example of this. When the JNA failed to hold Croatia within Yugoslavia's control, the Serbs started their own party: the Republic of Serbian Krajina which, during the final months of the war, held more than a quarter of Croatia under control. Finally, thanks to the help of international forces, Croatia launched two major offensives named Flash and Storm in May 1995, which ended the war in its favor.

### **The Bosnian War for Independence (1992 – 1995)**

The Bosnian War for Independence actually started due to the war in Croatia. There, control over Croatia was seized by Ratko Mladić and his JNA forces. These JNA forces, while fighting Croatian forces against their independence, together with other armed Serb militant forces also attempted to prevent Bosnian citizens from voting Bosnian independency. This division in political agenda eventually led to the Bosnian war and the siege of Sarajavo.

This war, which was mostly about control over territory (Bosnia Herzegovina already had its independence at that time), was basically fought between local Bosniaks (Muslims) and Croats backed by Zagreb, and Serbs backed by the JNA forces and Serbia. Of all the Yugoslavian War atrocities committed, 90% was done by Serb militants, of which most under the authority of Radovan Karadžić (Meštrović 1996). In order to connect Serbian controlled regions, Karadžić issued for the ethnic cleansing of Bosniaks who lived in between Serb controlled regions and forced their removal. After the successful Croatian military operations Flash and Storm, the Croatian Army, together with Bosnian forces, pushed back Serbian militants from Bosnia Herzegovina and this, together with NATO bombing on Bosnian Serbs, lead to negotiations between the

fighting forces. The war in Bosnia Herzegovina ended with the signing of the Dayton Agreement on December 14<sup>th</sup> 1995, resulting in the hitherto division of Bosnia Herzegovina (Figure 6, see chapter 6).

### **The Kosovo War (1998–1999)**

The Kosovo War was mainly fought between oppressed Kosovo Albanians, who were fired from public institutions and were denied access to universities and Kosovo Serbs. After several violent demonstrations and the founding of the Kosovo Liberation Army, Kosovo Albanians rebelled against Belgrade which eventually resulted in a full-scale war. The violence caused by the Serbs led to the fleeing of 700.000 Kosovo Albanians.<sup>12</sup> The Kosovo War ended after the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia (Operation Allied Force) on March 24<sup>th</sup> 1999.

Most countries of the former Yugoslavia now have their independent and sovereign status, recognized by various international institutions as the UN, NATO and EU. While at the surface peace remains, the intrinsic differences between ethnic groups are still present (Musi 2012). This leads to serious difficulties in the rehabilitation process in countries of the former Yugoslavia, especially when it comes to the reconstruction of cultural heritage. These difficulties will be elucidated in the chapters dedicated to Bosnia Herzegovina (6) and Croatia (7) and especially through the case studies discussed (Chapter 8).

### **5.3 Cultural heritage in the Yugoslav wars**

The richness of the Balkan's cultural heritage is founded in its complex history of being a meeting point between the Eastern and Western Roman empires, in between Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires, and between NATO and the Eastern Bloc (Bevan 2006). Much of the Balkans cultural history consists of places of religion: churches, cathedrals, mosques, monasteries and graveyards (Bevan 2006).

This diversity in cultural heritage (and in religion), played an important role in the ethnic disputes in the Yugoslav Wars. The inherent link between cultural heritage

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<sup>12</sup> Source: <http://www.icty.org/sid/10070> [Accessed 12 March, 2013].

and the identities, and thus the self-determination of ethnic groups (Kelman 1997), made it an easy and viable target for destruction. Civil war is seen as the 'uncivil destroyer of cultural heritage' (Viejo-Rose 2011, 53) and when civil war is based on ethnic conflict, as is the case in the Yugoslav Wars, the threat of destruction to cultural heritage grows (Bevan 2006).

The connection between cultural heritage and national identities grows stronger when nationalism surfaces. Important national symbols, such as buildings or monuments, become anchor points through which people identify themselves as a nation (Bevan 2006). Nationalism grew strong during the demise of communism and the Yugoslavian Federation (Goulding and Domic 2008). The demise of communism brought an end to the battle between the capitalist West and the communist East. 'This golden age in history promised new hopes and aspirations, only to self destruct as fresh hatreds among old enemies resurfaced in the name of 'nationalism'' (Goulding and Domic 2008, 89).

These old hatreds form the motive behind the Yugoslav Wars and explain the reason behind the destruction of cultural heritage in countries of the former Yugoslavia. Because of this and because it will help with the reflection on the ways of reconstruction of cultural heritage in both Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina in later chapters, I will now focus my attention on explaining the relationship between cultural heritage and the Balkans history.

Before the Ottomans conquered the Balkans, a great part of the Balkans' cultural heritage consisted of Christian and Catholic churches and cathedrals. After the conquering of the Balkans by the Ottoman Empire however, Islamization followed and many mosques were constructed, Franciscan monasteries were destroyed and some churches even became mosques (Bevan 2006). Ottoman rule was not totally benign, but there was some level of tolerance towards other faiths and ethnic groups (Bevan 2006).

Milošević used the, as ignominious considered by the Serbians, Ottoman conquest of the region as fuel for his desire of creating a greater Serbia (Bevan 2006). Because of this, the Islamic religion, including its mosques and other forms of Islamic religious expression were seen as part of the conquerors identity and thus had to be banished. This was especially the case in Bosnia Herzegovina, where Bosniaks (Bosnian

Muslims) were seen as 'Turks', and as such, outsiders with an alien culture. Serbian leaders, conveniently, also stated that the Bosniaks were at root Serbians, with no valid separate history (Bevan 2006), but this was of course only a way to incorporate Bosnian territory into the greater Serbia.

The architectural history of the indigenous Muslim culture in Bosnia, spanning half a century, had to be removed, along with its resistant people. Only then would a Greater Serbia be feasible (Bevan 2006). Much of Bosnia Herzegovina's cultural history, however, was linked to this Bosniak heritage. The Ottoman quarter in Sarajevo, for example, was heavily damaged during the war, including Ottoman baths and historic mosques. Striking is that not only Ottoman buildings were attacked, but also secular cultural buildings, including Sarajevo's National and Universal Library buildings and the National Museum, because all these buildings housed remnants of Bosnia Herzegovina's Muslim past (Bevan 2006). The National Library, for example, housed more than 3 million items, including a 'Moorish' reading room with books dating back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Now only 10 per cent remains (Bevan 2006). The same counts for the National Museum, housing Roman archaeology, Ottoman folk art, and Bosnia's natural history and uniquely carved tombstones (Bevan 2006); indeed, the collection 'reflected the multi-ethnic character of the country' (Bevan 2006, 39). Nonetheless, it was targeted and attacked.

A slightly different situation arose in Croatia. There, Croatians who resisted the Croatian Serb uprising were the targets of ethnic cleansing. Destruction of cultural heritage and ethnic cleansing gained momentum after Croatia's declaration of Independence in 1991. Many Croatian cities, including Vukovar and Dubrovnik were sieged (Bevan 2006).

In Vukovar, a Baroque town, rebuilt after being destroyed by the Ottoman Turks in 1692, many monuments were destroyed, including the Fransiscan friary, the Municipal Museum, the History Museum and the New City Hall (Bevan 2006). Catholic churches, monasteries and other historic monuments had been desecrated. The same happened in Dubrovnik (see below), except for the fact that Dubrovnik had no warning. Being a World Heritage site, Dubrovnik has no military importance whatsoever and Serbians had no real historic claim to the city (Bevan 2006).

It is clear that destruction of cultural heritage during the Yugoslav Wars happened on account of ethnic cleansers who, through destruction of cultural heritage, and thus identities, tried to eradicate certain ethnic groups. Cultural heritage takes a central place in ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia: 'Violence against heritage thus exposed the equation used by nationalist ideologies to fashion ethnicised group identities based on essentialised notions of culture and religion linked to territory. This equation is rooted in the nexus among place, identity and heritage' (Musi 2012, 2). Viejo-Rose describes destruction of heritage as 'an attempt to rewrite history to erase physical evidence that the other party was there' (Viejo-Rose 2007, 106). In the case of Yugoslavia, Serbia's aggressors, and in time accompanied by Croat forces, tried to eradicate the identities of Bosniaks and Croatian non-Serbs, who reflected an unwanted history.

The old hatreds, motive behind the Yugoslav Wars, were unfortunately not resolved at the end of the Yugoslav Wars. Because of this, they play an important part in the approach of cultural heritage reconstruction in countries of the former Yugoslavia. For example, in the city of Mostar, a clear divide still exists between Bosniaks Muslims living in the eastern part of the city and Croatian Catholics in the west. At the heart of this divide lies the now reconstructed Old Bridge, listed as a World Heritage. Reconstruction of the bridge was therefore difficult and is discussed further in chapter 6.2. The physical violence in the Yugoslav Wars can, through specific selection of a new identity, history and memory, by certain parties in power, continue on a symbolic and ideological level (Viejo-Rose 2013).

## **5.4 Heritage & Development after the Yugoslav Wars**

### **5.4.1 Introduction**

Because 'the wars of disintegration of Socialist Yugoslavia [...] brought about a massive destruction of built cultural heritage, carried out systematically to damage in particular, religious buildings, buildings of cultural institutions such as libraries, museums and archives, and items that could be assumed as symbols of the 'other'' (Musi 2012, 2), the reconstruction of this torn cultural heritage was, according to various European institutions, the perfect tool for reconciliation (Vos 2011; Viejo-Rose 2013). European institutions, especially the Council of Europe and the European commission, are two of

the few executors of post-conflict rehabilitation programmes which focus on reconstruction of cultural heritage and are supported by international governmental organizations, such as UNESCO, development agencies, diplomatic and cultural cooperation agencies, NGO's and various bilateral cooperation initiatives (Viejo-Rose 2013). Together, these institutions and organizations are often called the 'international community', a convenient term which I will also use in this thesis.

The reconstruction of cultural heritage is often viewed as an instrument to boost tourism and is perceived as important for the local economy and social work, a process called 'normalization' (Viejo-Rose 2007). As we will see in the coming chapters, this view falls 'neatly into place within the predominant peace building framework [...] for political and economic 'liberalization' through democratization and marketization respectively' (Viejo-Rose 2013, 2). It remains, however, questionable if this is the right way to go about it. We, as Westerners, cannot often fully comprehend the intrinsic meanings and memories connected to cultural heritage, as is the case in the former Yugoslavia. As a result, through our western 'top-down' approach, the opposite of what we want to achieve can become the result (Vos 2011).

The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia plays an important role in the reconciliation process of countries of the former Yugoslavia. Here, ethnic cleansers are being prosecuted on various accounts, including, relevant for this thesis, the destruction of cultural heritage, which is seen as crimes against humanity. Implications of this will be discussed in chapter 5.4.3.

#### 5.4.2 The Ljubljana process

The Regional Programme on Cultural and Natural Heritage in South East Europe (RPSEE), launched as a collaboration between the European Commission and Council of Europe in 2003, sees heritage as an important instrument for promoting the European identities of former Yugoslav countries (Vos 2011). According to the Council of Europe, 'the ultimate challenge is the long-term reconciliation between individuals and communities, a necessary pre-condition for setting up solid and sustainable regional cooperation'.<sup>13</sup> The foundation of this RPSEE programme was laid in the 1990's when the European

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<sup>13</sup> Source: [http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/cooperation/SEE/default\\_en.asp](http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/cooperation/SEE/default_en.asp) [Accessed 12 March, 2013].



Commission (EC) and the Council of Europe (CoE) became involved in the Western Balkans (Vos 2011). There, EU membership was promised as a way to provide new directions for the Balkan countries and through becoming part of the EU, the region could 'leave the past behind' (Batt 2005, 66).

However, the EU had a paradoxical stance towards their approach. On the one hand they claimed that the Balkans were moving closer towards the EU, while on the other hand the Western Balkans were kept at a safe distance from integration (Vos 2011). This led to a situation of disbelief and uncertainty by governments ruling the Balkan countries and cooperation with the EU stalled. Because of this, the EU developed programmes in the region to enhance visibility and the introduction of cultural programmes was part of this new approach. These cultural programmes were based on the principle of subsidiary (Vos 2011).

At this time the cooperation between the EC as financial facilitator and the CoE as heritage manager started. However, the involvement of the EC led to a call for strict monitoring of the projects, in order to control money flow, which in turn led to bureaucratization (Vos 2011). The RPSEE has two main objectives (Vos 2011):

- 1) The programme should lead to reconciliation and increased regional cooperation.
- 2) Heritage should be used as a generator of social and economic capital, increasing stability and prosperity in the region.

The first ideological aim is expressed through the motto 'unity in diversity', which implies that 'those countries that were part of former Yugoslavia should learn to accept each other's diversity and see that as a richness within a unified Europe' (Vos 2011, 225).

Because the EC and CoE had not made entirely clear what heritage should be selected for reconstruction (and by doing so cleverly avoiding the debate on the 'goodness' of heritage) the project became increasingly unmanageable (Vos 2011). As a result, strategies had to be adjusted and a new stage of the programme was launched in 2008: the Ljubljana process. Countries involved in the programme, including Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia, were able to select three heritage sites each, so-called consolidated projects (figure 5). Two of those consolidated projects function as case

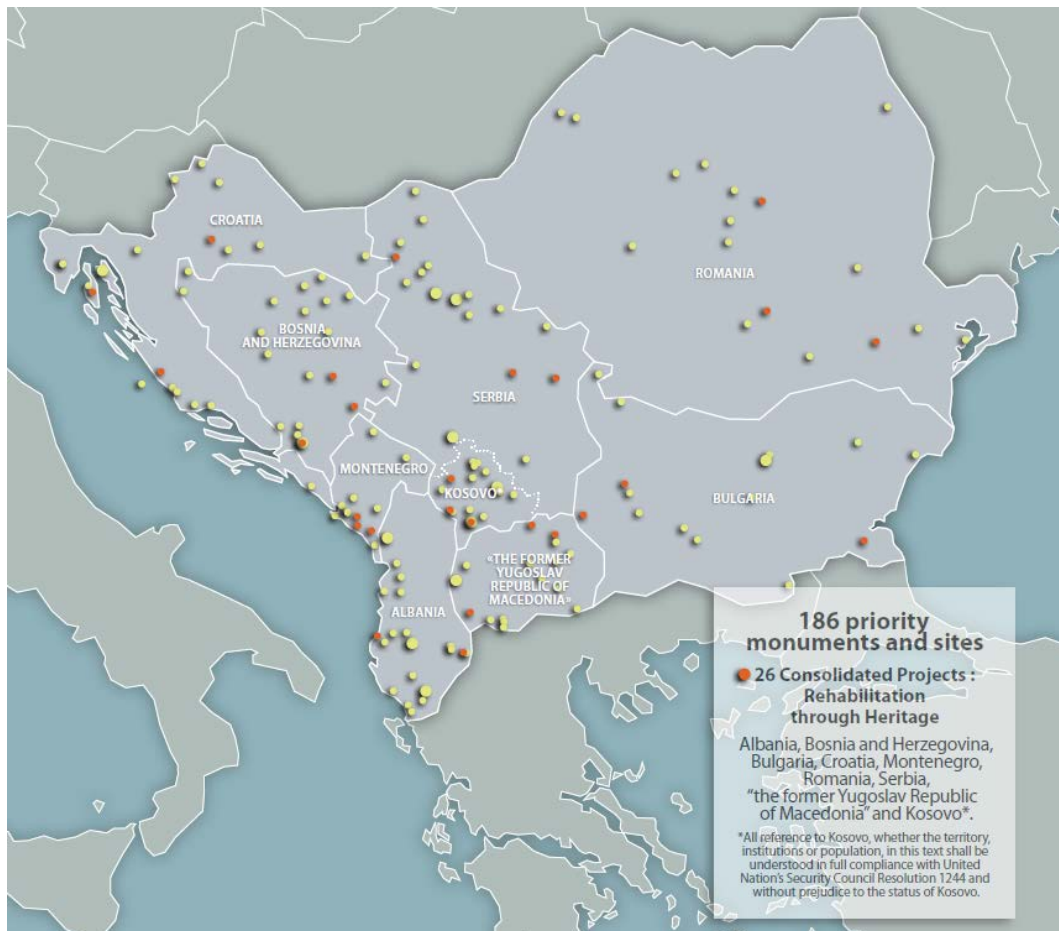


Figure 5: Map showing the 26 consolidated projects chosen by countries involved in the Ljubljana process (EC-CoE Joint Programme 2004, 2).

studies in this thesis: the Aladza Mosque in Bosnia Herzegovina (chapter 6.3) and the Roman city of Siscia in Croatia (chapter 7.3).

The description of the Ljubljana process no longer mentions reconciliation and regional cooperation as main goals, indicating a shift from ‘Europeanization as a trigger for regional stabilization to Europeanization as a trigger for modernization and revitalization’ (Vos 2011, 228). In general, there was again a reluctance to cooperate with the programme by funders and institutions, based on earlier experiences working with the EC and CoE and the distrust in state administration (responsible for implementation of the process) made matters even worse (Vos 2011). Whether these, rather negative, delineations of the implementation of the Ljubljana process, which are

essentially based on the implementation in Serbia (Vos 2011), also count for the two case studies in this thesis, will be discussed in their own chapters.

#### 5.4.3 International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

The officially named International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991 (ICTY), is a body of the United Nations, situated in The Hague and prosecutes crimes committed by military leaders in the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990's. The court, established on May 25<sup>th</sup> 1993, has jurisdiction over four clusters of crimes committed on Yugoslavian territory (Aldrich 1996):

- 1) grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions;
- 2) violations of the laws or customs of war;
- 3) genocide;
- 4) crimes against humanity.

The tribunal now has 161 persons indicted for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and has laid foundations for what is now seen as the generally accepted norm for conflict resolution and post-conflict development.<sup>14</sup>

Important for this thesis is article 3d of the Statute of the ICTY, which establishes the jurisdiction of the Tribunal over violations concerning 'seizure of, destruction or willful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences, historic monuments and works of art and science' (International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, 2009a). Furthermore 'The Trial Chamber found that the law of armed conflict criminalizes the destruction or willful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion, charity, education, and the arts and sciences, and to historic monuments and works of art and science. The Trial Chamber considered this crime to represent a violation of values especially protected by the

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<sup>14</sup> Source: <http://icty.org/sections/AbouttheICTY> [Accessed 8 March, 2013].

international community'<sup>15</sup>, which can be seen in the various statements of the court to trials of former military leaders, such as the Blaskic, Kordic and Naletilic.<sup>16</sup>

These statements and jurisdictions have important consequences for the protection of cultural heritage in future conflicts as they show military leaders that deliberate destruction of such heritage can indeed be followed by court trial as an act of war crime.

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<sup>15</sup> Source: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001407/140792E.pdf> [Accessed 8 March, 2013].

<sup>16</sup> Source: <http://www.icty.org/action/cases/4> [Accessed 8 March, 2013].

## **6. Rebuilding identities in Bosnia-Herzegovina**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Together, chapters two through five were introductory chapters explaining the basic concepts regarding (destruction of) cultural heritage in post-war countries and covered concepts such as identity and memory. We have seen that the feelings and emotions towards cultural heritage by a particular ethnic group are based on that group's identity and self-recognition. Cultural heritage forms a transmitter through which these emotions are expressed and forms a part of intrinsic ideas, goals, ideologies and 'lifestyle' of an ethnic group. Therefore it is susceptible for destruction when this interferes with another group's goals and aims. The Yugoslav Wars are an example of this: an incredible amount of cultural heritage is destroyed in countries of the former federation, mostly as a side effect of territorial drift and subsequent ethnic cleansing performed by Serbs and Croats.

The Yugoslav Wars had a profound impact on the cultural heritage in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) in particular. Whereas the other chapters gave answers on the general questions regarding the role of cultural heritage in post-war rehabilitation, this chapter is dedicated to the situation regarding cultural heritage in Bosnia Herzegovina. In this chapter, I answer some questions concerning the reconstruction of cultural heritage and the rehabilitation process there. What is the role of cultural heritage in BiH? Why is the reconstruction of cultural heritage such a difficult task there? Does the reconstruction of cultural heritage indeed add to the rehabilitation process of BiH? How is the international community involved? Before answering these questions in the concluding part of this chapter, it is important to first introduce the country's history in short and explain the background of much of its inner dispute. After that, I will explain the situation regarding the management of cultural heritage in BiH which forms part of the difficulties to the reconstruction of cultural heritage. After that, two case studies will be discussed: the reconstruction of the Mostar Bridge in Mostar and the reconstruction of the Aladza mosque in Foca.

Both reconstruction efforts contribute to an understanding of the difficulties and opportunities to reconstruction of cultural heritage in BiH, although in a different and specific way each. In the Mostar case study I will focus on its main difficulty: identity

and its connection to cultural heritage. In the Aladza case study I will focus on the specific and practical way reconstruction took place. I will there answer the question if this approach was effective and should be implemented in future reconstruction strategies.

#### 6.1.1 Bosnia-Herzegovina, a short, recent history

In 1918, right after the First World War, BiH joined the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, also known as Yugoslavia. When Bosnia was split up into 6 oblasts (administrative divisions), totaling the 33 oblasts of Yugoslavia, these oblasts corresponded to the 6 sanjaks (also administrative divisions) from former Ottoman times, effectively matching the country's traditional territorial boundary. This historical link was broken when, in 1929, the administrative regions were redrawn into baninovas (Malcolm 1994). These baninovas were intentionally drawn not to correspond to former World War 1 or ethnical group boundaries and therefore adding to the endeavor of uniting the former nations into a single kingdom. These new boundaries did not hide the fact that the already built cultural heritage of BiH showed centuries of coexistence between ethnical groups, offering an image of heterogeneity (Musi 2012). This can especially be seen in places of worship of the main monotheistic religions: Muslim, Orthodox, Jewish and Catholicism.

Yugoslavia was invaded by Axis forces on April 6<sup>th</sup> 1941 and came under Nazi regime: the Independent State of Croatia. Its leaders decided that Roman Catholicism and Islam were the two allowed national religions and therefore prosecuted and killed between 197.000 and 580.000 orthodox Serbs (Žerjavić 1993). During the Second World War, two resistance groups emerged. The Serbs created their own army called the Chetnik and a new multi-ethnic resistance group was lead by Josip Broz Tito which also gained allied support: the Partisans. Both resistance groups fought the Nazi forces, but they also fought each other. At the end of the War, with Tito as victor of both the Nazi and Chetnik forces, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was founded which made BiH one of six republics in the state of Yugoslavia. Under Tito's communist regime Yugoslavia's nations coexisted peacefully for almost 40 years. During these seemingly tranquil times, however, something was stirring because right before and after Tito's

death in 1980, political climate became increasingly nationalistic (Goulding and Domic 2008). This eventually resulted in the 1992-1995 Bosnian War for Independence.

At this time, Croatia was only for a small part multi-ethnic (78% Croatian and 12% Serbian), BiH had an ethnical composition of 43.5% Bosniak, 31% Serbian and 17% Croatian (1991 Yugoslav census, see table 1) resulting in it being the most ethnically diverse of the Yugoslav republics. BiH declared its independence from Yugoslavia in April 1992. The following internal war resulted in a massive destruction of built cultural heritage. This destruction was done on the account of the different national ideologies housed within the present ethnical groups. Their identities, based on 'essentialised notions of culture and religion' (Musi 2012) and linked strongly to territory, conflicted with one another and resulted in 'ethnic cleansing'.

<b>Census</b>	<b>Bosniaks</b>	<b>Serbians</b>	<b>Croatians</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Total</b>
1971	39.6%	37.2%	20.6%	2.6%	100%
1991	43.5%	31.2%	17.4%	7.9%	100%
2013	48.0%	37.1%	14.3%	0.6%	100%

Table 1: Ethnical composition of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina  
 (Sources: <http://www.fzs.ba/Dem/Popis/NacStanB.htm> and  
[http://www.indexmundi.com/bosnia\\_and\\_herzegovina/demographics\\_profile.html](http://www.indexmundi.com/bosnia_and_herzegovina/demographics_profile.html)).

Thankfully, in 1995 the General Framework Agreement for Peace in BiH was signed, which is still in effect today.<sup>17</sup> As a result BiH consist of two political divisions: a joint Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) and the Repulika Srpska (RS) (Figure 6). Brčko district is a self-governing administrative unit, part of both the FBiH and the RS. It remains however under international supervision. Whereas the FBiH consists of cantons subdivided in municipalities, the RS consists only of municipalities. The separation between the two entities runs along the so called 'Inter Entity Boundary Line' which was a key component in the accord and referred to in many annexes. The Federation is

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<sup>17</sup> Source: [http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content\\_id=380](http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content_id=380) [Accessed 6 February, 2013].

mostly controlled by Bosnian Serbs (although Sarajevo, the capital of BiH is in control of the Bosniaks) whereas the RS consists of Bosniaks (53%) and Croats (41%).<sup>18</sup>

The overall BiH ethnic composition remains largely unchanged since the 1991 census: recent estimates place the Bosniaks at 48%, Serbians at 37% and the Croatians at 14% of total ethnical composition (Table 1).



Figure 6: Map of the political division of BiH (Musi 2012, 6).

### 6.1.2 Cultural Heritage Management in Bosnia-Herzegovina

One important aspect of the Dayton Agreement is that one of its annexes is solely dedicated to the creation of a Commission to Preserve National Monuments. This Commission is in charge of heritage designation and preservation and remains one of the most important entities on the preservation of heritage in Bosnia (although, in the first years of its existence, its first and foremost task was to safeguard endangered

<sup>18</sup> Source: <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/22/DemoBIH2006a.png> [Accessed 10 March, 2013].



heritage from being completely destroyed) (Musi 2012). The Commission is under control of the National Government and office of the High Representative (the highest authority in BiH) and is composed of 5 members: two members from the FBiH, one member of the RS and two more members appointed by UNESCO (USA State Department 1995). The principal task of the Commission is stated in Annex 8, Art IV: 'The Commission shall receive and decide on petitions for the designation of property having cultural, historic, religious or ethnic importance as National Monuments' (USA State Department, 1995). Although the Commission has the authority to designate important movable or immovable property as National Monument, it has no executive power. Therefore, if a property is deemed a National Monument, the Commission has to inform the entity in which the property is situated and give them control over the preservation. The entity, officials and organs in turn are obliged to cooperate and have a set of measures to be taken: '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' (USA State Department, 1995).

The Commission has a strong international character stressing on the importance of intercultural cooperation. In article three of the eighth annex it is said that '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' (USA State Department, 1995).

Furthermore, according to Musi, the fact that annex eight comes after annex seven, which focuses on the return of Refugees and Displaced Persons, signifies an important link between heritage and the territorial dimension of cultural identity of groups (Musi 2012, 10). This is also stated in the preamble of the decision imposing the RS Law on Implementation of Decisions of the Commission: 'the proper protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of the designated National Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina is of utmost importance for the reconciliation process

throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as for the return of displaced persons and refugees into their pre-war places of residence’ (UNESCO 2002, 1).

Whereas the Commission has a typical ‘top-down’ character, at the entity level of heritage care things become much more complicated: there is no real structure and heritage care is therefore ‘inherently fragmented and characterized by overlapping

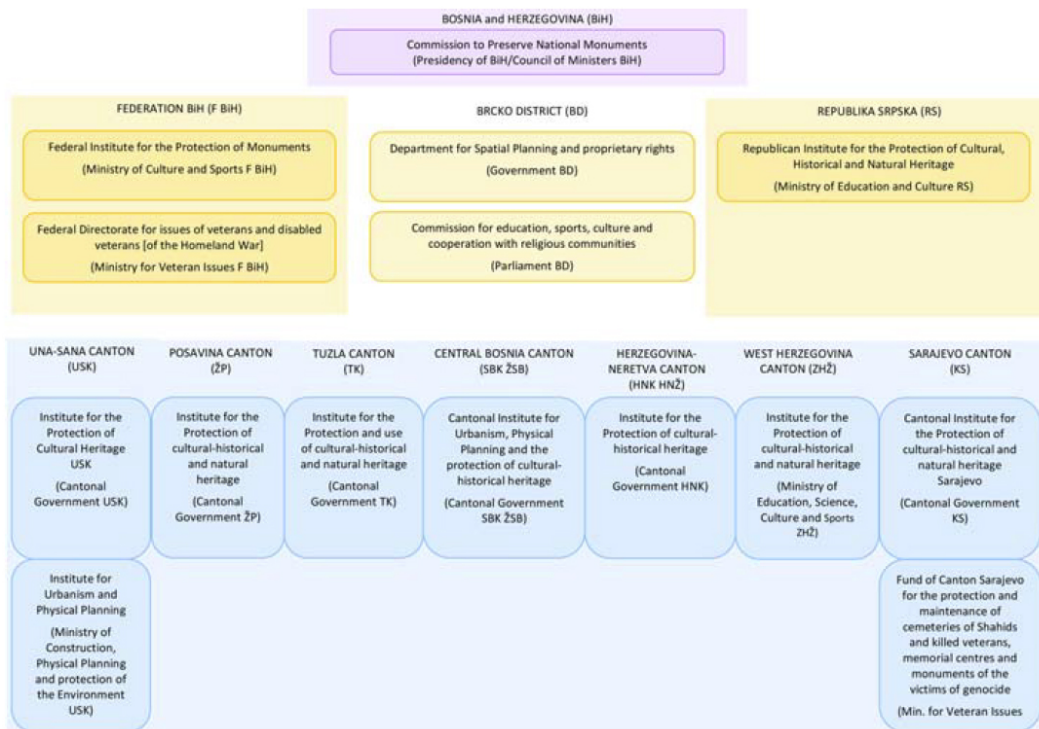


Figure 7: Overview of bodies in charge of (archaeological) heritage management in BiH at various administrative levels (Musi 2012, 9).

competencies and responsibilities, while lacking an overarching unit of direction and supervision at its top’ (Musi 2012, 6). There is, for example, no state level ministry specifically entitled with culture; all matters related to this realm are the responsibility of the Ministry of Civil Affairs. The entities do have their own ministry of culture and appurtenant department, but their legal provisions are fragmented. For example, besides the Law on Cultural Property in the RS and the Law on the Protection and Preservation of the Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage in the FBiH, relevant provisions are split up in laws on land use, environmental protection and urban/regional planning (Musi 2012). The fact that there is no consensus regarding laws and provisions

on cultural heritage reflects the underlying ethnical affiliations at the lower administrative levels and ‘puts heritage management at the centre of cultural policies marked by dissent and contestation’ (Musi 2012, 7). The Commission, then, stands between national and international interests and serves as a bridge in counseling matters (Figure 7). The tension between national and international interests serves as a case study on the way reconciliation can best be achieved: through a shared narrative of the war, or through recognition of divergent war memories. Because this subject goes beyond the borders of Bosnia Herzegovina, I will discuss it further in chapter 8.

## 6.2 The case of Stari Most, Mostar

### 6.2.1 Introduction

With the background of Bosnia Herzegovina regarding its history, cultural heritage and ethnic groups set, it is now time to focus on one of the iconic reconstruction processes in BiH after the Bosnian War for Independence. While the reconstruction of the Stari Most is finished, the way it is reconstructed still remains heavily debated (Calame and Pašić 2009; Krishnamurthy 2012; Viejo-Rose 2013). In this case study I will examine the difficulties regarding its reconstruction and explain why this reconstruction is so debated. Who were involved? What can we learn from this debate for future reconstruction efforts?

The historic town of Mostar is located in the mid-south of BiH (figure 8) and built on both sides of the Neretva River. Developed in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries as an Ottoman frontier town and during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries Austro-Hungarian period, the town is known for its old Turkish houses and its famous Stari Most (Old Bridge) (UNESCO 2005a).

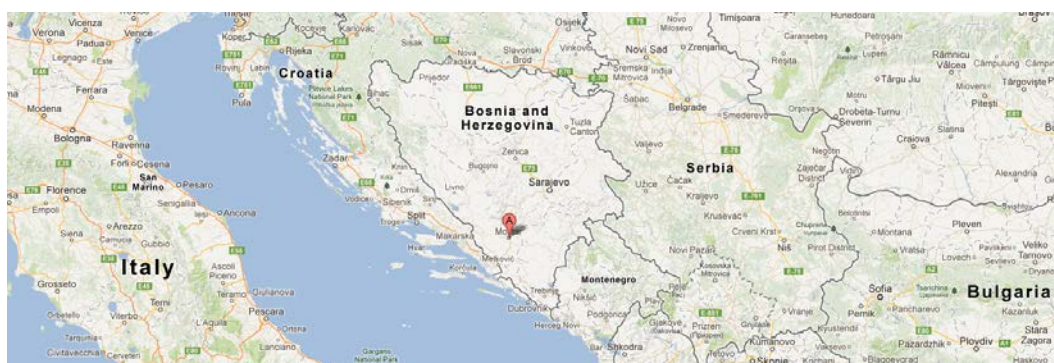


Figure 8: Map showing the location of the town of Mostar in BiH (Source: Google Maps).

Because of the town's convenient position between the Adriatic Sea and mineral rich regions of BiH, the town grew quickly and eventually became the leading town in the Sanjak of Herzegovina and the centre of Turkish rule came the Ottoman Turks (UNESCO 2005b). Because of these various inhabitants and occupiers of the city, Mostar is,

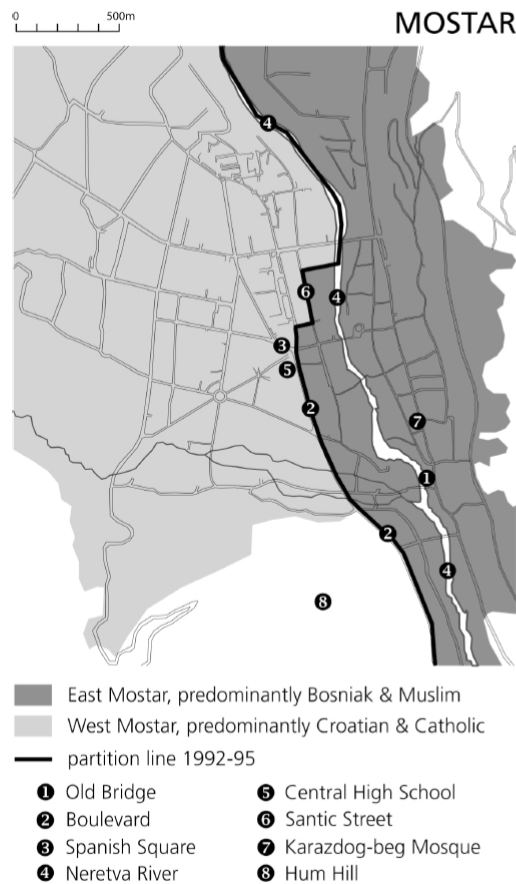


Figure 9: Map showing the ethnic divide between the eastern and western part of Mostar. It also shows the location of the Stari Most (1) and the Boulevard (2) which functioned as a military front-line during the Yugoslav War (Calame and Pašić 2009, 7).

bridge (Popovac 2006). Although the bridge was essentially made of stone, the centering was made of wood and this presumably made the bridge very unstable during its initial construction phase; there are even tales of the designer, Mimar Hayruddin, fleeing in fear of the bridge colliding before it was finished (Popovac 2006).

besides its historical buildings, also known for its rich and mixed population, resulting in Mostar being seen as a cosmopolitan city with room for various religious faiths among its inhabitants (Krishnamurthy 2012).

During the rule of Josip Broz Tito, Mostar also grew as an industrial and agricultural capital (Krishnamurthy 2012). The city of Mostar is now the second largest in BiH, with a population of around 126.000 inhabitants and an ethnic diversity of 29% Croats, 34% Muslims, 19% Serbs and 18% Yugoslavs or other (Pašić 2005).

The name Mostari is first mentioned in a document from 1474 and literally means 'bridge keepers': referring to a wooden bridge crossing the Neretva River and supporting trade lines, soldiers and travelers (Krishnamurthy 2012). This old wooden bridge was replaced in 1566 by Sultan Sulejman the Magnificent, who ordered the construction of a stone

The actual destruction of the Stari Most happened on November 9<sup>th</sup> 1993, during the Bosnian War for Independence, as a result of shelling by Bosnian Croat forces. The town of Mostar was sieged for 18 months, between 1992 and 1993. As a result of this (and later inter-ethnic hostilities during the war) several thousand residents of Mostar died, including combatants and non-combatants (Calame and Pašić 2009). Furthermore, about 75% of the cities fabric was destroyed (Krishnamurthy 2012). In the same period, 40.000 prewar residents left the city, 30.000 residents stayed but were forced to leave their homes and about 10.000 male residents were detained in local prisoner camps (Calame and Pašić 2009).

During these times of conflict in Mostar, the Bosniak residents who tried to protect the historic eastern portion of the city from the Croatian paramilitary, formed a frontline along the Austro-Hungarian Boulevard. This line functioned as a physical and functional divide during the war, and led to the city being ethnically divided by two national groups: Bosniak Muslims on the east bank and Croatian Catholics on the west bank of the Neretva river. Local residents and scholars argue that this ethnic divide between the eastern and western part still holds today (Calame and Pašić 2009, see figure 9).

#### 6.2.2. Rebuilding the Stari Most

Reconstruction of the town of Mostar almost immediately commenced after the war. Because of the Bosnian War for Independence, the city of Mostar and BiH in general, had little money. Furthermore, communication between Mostar's rival politicians remained difficult. Help was found in international bodies, such as the European Union, UNESCO, the World Heritage Fund, the World Bank, War Child, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, and others (Calame and Pašić 2009). The European Union alone spent more than 100 million dollars into the rebuilding of Mostar (Calame and Pašić 2009). This amount was raised by a 4 million dollar loan from the World Bank and by various donations (UNESCO 2005b). Thanks to these generous donations, a large number of buildings could be rebuilt, including the Old Bridge.

In 1998, UNESCO established an international committee of experts to oversee the design and reconstruction of the old bridge, and it was decided to build the bridge as a copy of the destroyed one, using the same materials and techniques. This was done in the years between 2001 and 2004 by using materials from a Turkish building company

and using Ottoman building techniques (figure 10). The 'New Old Bridge' was finally inaugurated on July 23, 2004. The final result of the reconstruction is indeed a replica of the Old Bridge, albeit much whiter.

Whether this reconstruction indeed helped the people of Mostar in their quest for rehabilitation after the war is still some matter of debate. The Old Bridge is known among its residents as a place where one could drink coffee and where youth playfully jumped from, into the river, as a 'rite of passage'. Lovers used the bridge as a romantic location and newly married couples used the bridge as a background for their wedding photographs (Krishnamurthy 2012). Thus, residents of Mostar see the Old Bridge as a place of memory: 'as a marker/site of memory in urban space, the familiarization of/with the bridge has led to deep unbreakable associations and the creation of tangible memories with the inhabitants of the place in the process' (Krishnamurthy 2012, 88). This view of the Old Bridge, being a living, breathing and everlasting entity, without any religious aspect, is in stark contrast to what the international community sees: a symbol useful for bringing the various ethnic groups together after years of conflict. The Old Bridge is no longer an intentional bridge, but an unintentional monument in the city (Krishnamurthy 2012). This monumentalization is seen in the fact that the Old Bridge and its immediate surroundings are on the World Heritage List of UNESCO since 2004. It is inscribed on the World Heritage List in accordance of criterion IV and V:

"Criterion iv: The Old Bridge area of the Old City of Mostar, with its exceptional multi-cultural (pre-Ottoman, eastern Ottoman, Mediterranean and western European) architectural features, and satisfactory interrelationship with the landscape, is an outstanding example of a multicultural urban settlement. The qualities of the site's construction, after the extremely ravaging war-damages and the subsequent works of renewal, have been confirmed by detailed scientific investigations. These have provided proof of exceptionally high technical refinement, in the skill and quality of the ancient constructions, particularly of the Old Bridge.

Criterion vi: With the "renaissance" of the Old Bridge and its surroundings, the symbolic power and meaning of the City of Mostar - as an exceptional and universal symbol of coexistence of communities from diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds - has been reinforced and strengthened, underlining the unlimited efforts of human solidarity for peace and powerful co-operation in the face of overwhelming catastrophes." (UNESCO 2005b, 182-183).



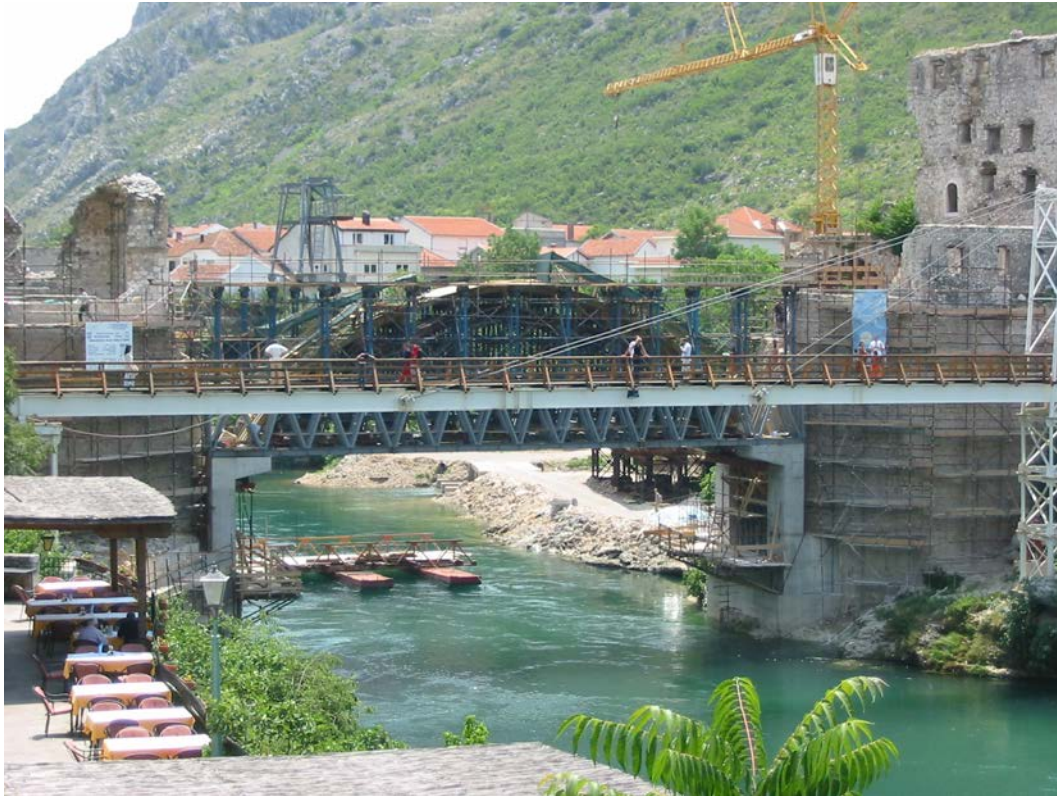


Figure 10: A photograph showing the reconstruction of the Old Bridge spanning the Neretva river. Reconstruction was made possible due to donations of various institutes as UNESCO, the World Bank, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture foundation and the World Monuments fund. Reconstruction happened by using the same materials and construction techniques (Ottoman) as used by building the Old Bridge (Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Bosnia,\\_Mostar,\\_old\\_bridge\\_2.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Bosnia,_Mostar,_old_bridge_2.JPG)).

According to UNESCO, the reconstruction of the Old Bridge acts as a symbol for the peace and powerful co-operation in the city of Mostar, but this is not how the residents of Mostar see it: 'The bridge I see today is not a new bridge, it is just a better kept bridge than before' (Krishnamurthy 2012, 92). While some residents hope for a positive change in ethnic co-operation, they cannot seem to get past their feelings of reminiscence: 'I said at the time that it should be left as a reminder for future generations of what mad people in mad times are capable of doing. But now I hope its reconstruction will make this town less divided, and that it will bring the two sides together again. I'm proud, of course. But, you know, I still feel that something has been murdered here. The old bridge had its recognizable patina' (Balić 2003).

While the Mostar rebuilding efforts are noble and well intended, some authors see that financial and other forms of support could be better spent on the

reconstruction of public buildings, such as schools or the headquarters of the Land Bank and residential houses (Calame and Pašić 2009). Furthermore, not only the objects of reconstruction are debated, also the way in which this happened: local professionals were overlooked as potential reconstruction partners and when local politicians were given responsibility over programme components, the international organizations assumed that they simply would let go of their ethnical struggle and magically work together for a common cause (Calame and Pašić 2009).

### 6.2.3. Conclusion

This study of the Old Bridge has shown that 'not only do the dynamics and dialects of physical structures come to the foreground, but that objects that are part of daily landscapes bring forth issues of complexity of attachment [...]' (Krishnamurthy 2012, 98). This complexity of identities and meanings to cultural heritage is overlooked by the international community, who through reconstruction of the bridge, sought to overcome inter-ethnic dispute. The failure of the international community to identify the underlying memories and meanings to this bridge and ignorantly stuck to their reconstruction strategy, is the exact reason this reconstruction project is so debated. The reconstruction of the Mostar Bridge was seen by the international community as an easy, literal and metaphorical, message of rehabilitation, reconnecting the two sides of the city. As a result, huge amounts of money became available. This money is however, in the eyes of the citizens of Mostar, not well spent at all: money was better spent to the reconstruction of residential and public spaces rather than monuments.

In fact, one could wonder if the reconstruction of a bridge, evidently destroyed by 'the other side', is the right way to support the rehabilitation process at all, especially since it has been less than 20 years after its destruction and both warring parties still inhabit the city. In 2004 a local artist created a bronze statue of Kung-fu legend Bruce Lee, saying that Lee is a hero to all the ethnicities living in Bosnia (Viejo-Rose 2013).

Perhaps it is better to give the rehabilitation process more time in future reconstruction efforts and let the inhabitants chose themselves what they see as cultural heritage and if they think reconstruction of this heritages indeed adds to their rehabilitation process, because that is after all what the reconstruction of cultural heritage is all about.



## 6.3 The case of Aladza Mosque, Foča

### 6.3.1 Introduction

In this case study the reconstruction of a well-known mosque in Bosnia Herzegovina is discussed. I will not so much focus on the identities connected to this piece of cultural heritage and the involvement of the international community, but will focus more on the practical way reconstruction is done. Who are the stakeholders here? What do the conventions and advisory texts regarding reconstruction strategy, discussed in chapter four, have to do with the way reconstruction is undertaken? Is this reconstruction strategy useful for future reconstruction efforts?

The town of Foča lies in the Eastern part of Bosnia Herzegovina, in the Republika Srpska entity (figure 11). Foča was called Hotča in medieval times and acted as an important trading route between Ragusa (now Dubrovnik) and Constantinople (now Istanbul), Turkey (Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2005). In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Foča prospered under Ottoman rule and became the largest trading centre in eastern Bosnia and a high standard of culture evolved (Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2005).

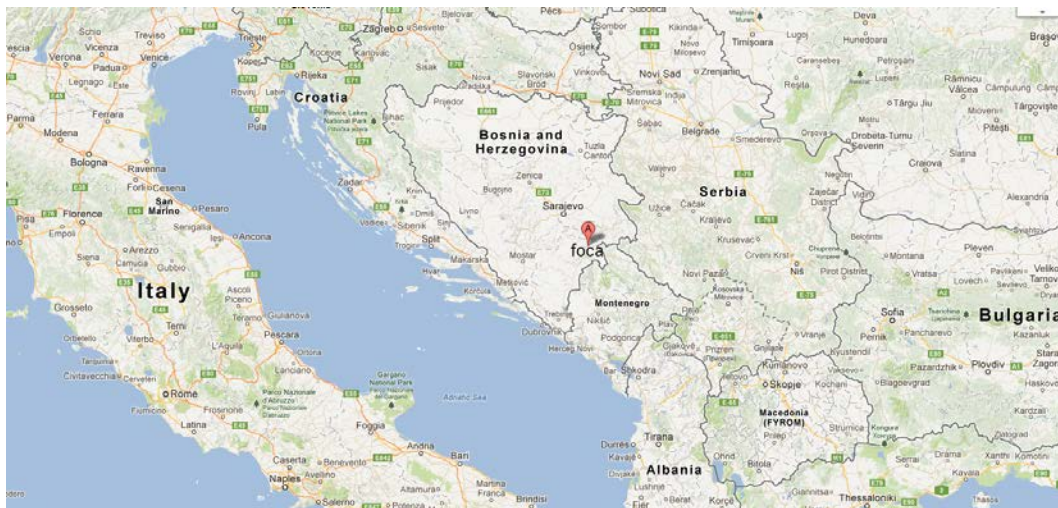


Figure 11: Map showing the location of the town of Foča in BiH (Source: Google Maps).

During the Second World War, Foča already was a site of mass murder: Chetnik forces killed over 9000 Bosnian Muslims (around 1200 fighters and up to 8000 civilian victims: women, old people, and children) in various killing sprees (Hoare 2006). Muslim buildings were destroyed and their occupants left the area.

The municipality of Foča consisted of an ethnical population of almost 50% Muslim and 50% Serbian during the Bosnian War for Independence (table 2), according to the 1991 population census of Bosnia Herzegovina.<sup>19</sup>

	<b>Muslim</b>	<b>Serb</b>	<b>Croats</b>	<b>Yugoslavian</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>Municipality of Foča</i>	51.6%	45.3%	0.3%	1.1%	2.8%	100%

Table 2: Ethnical composition of the 1991 population in Foča municipality (Source: <http://www.hdmagazine.com/bosnia/census/cens-i.html>).

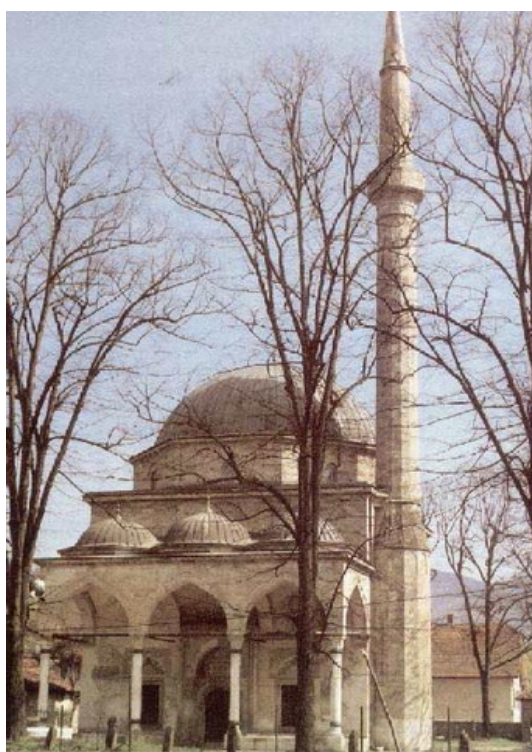


Figure 12: Photograph of the Aladza mosque before its destruction in 1992 (Source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=700330&page=25>).

In 1992, the town of Foča came under control of Serbian paramilitaries and, as a result, most of the Bosniak (Muslim) residents were, once again, the target of ethnic cleansing. During the rule of Serbian paramilitaries approximately 22.500 Bosnians fled the city, the remainder was either killed (man) or raped and killed (woman) (International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2007). The Serbian paramilitaries also destroyed houses and other buildings, including 13 mosques in the area, of which the Aladza mosque was one.

After the signing of the Dayton Agreement, which ended the war, Foča was renamed Srbinje meaning “place of the Serbs”: there were no other ethnicities left

<sup>19</sup> Source: <http://www.hdmagazine.com/bosnia/census/cens-i.html> [Accessed 18 February, 2013].

in the city. In 2004 the name was reverted to Foča at the order of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the National Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### 6.3.2 Rebuilding the Aladza Mosque

The Aladza mosque is seen as one of the most important buildings in Bosnia Herzegovina (Andrejević 1972). The mosque, built in the 1550's is 'an outstanding example of single-space domed Mosque built in the classical Ottoman style, with an open exterior portico and with a minaret abutting the right hand side' (Commission to Preserve National Monuments 2009, 7). The mosque was built by Ramadan-gha, a chief representative of Koca Mimar Sinan, who was the leading architect of the Ottoman Empire from 1548 to 1588. Known for its beautiful decorative stone fittings, wall paintings and because of the symbolic and ontological value of the building, the Aladza Mosque was declared a monument in 1950 and was placed, together with its associative buildings (the turbe of Ibrahim, son of the founder of the mosque, the surrounding burial ground and the tombstone of the founder Hasana Nazira, the sadrvan (fountain) in the wall of the mosque courtyard), under state protection in 1962. In 1980, the building was considered a Category I cultural and historic property, and in 2004 it came on the Provisional List of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Commission to Preserve National Monuments 2005).

The reconstruction of the Aladza mosque is backed by Annex 8 of the Dayton Agreement and international organizations such as the Council of Europe which, together with the European Commission, runs the Integrated Rehabilitation Project Plan/Survey of the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage (IRPP/SAAH) in countries of the former Yugoslavia. More specifically, the reconstruction of the Aladza Mosque is one out of three projects in BiH who are part of the Ljubljana process and is therefore a strongly influence by European ideology regarding post-war rehabilitation.

Together with the Bosnian Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a plan was made to rebuild the mosque to its former state. This is done with the help of local craftsman and the use of original material: when the Aladza mosque was destroyed, the fragments were buried together with human bodies in a nearby mass grave (Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2005) and are thus available for re-use.

The re-use of these materials for the reconstruction of the mosque add to the authenticity of the project. Authenticity plays an important part in the high level of standards needed for archaeological reconstruction. Many conventions and charters put authenticity as its main requirement.

The Operational Guidelines for implementation on the World Heritage List, for example, speaks of the Test of 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' (UNESCO 2012, 22).

The Venice charter of 1964 says that 'all reconstruction work should however be ruled out. Only anastylosis, that is to say, the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts, can be permitted' (ICOMOS 1964, 3). Other charters are less strict and place more emphasis on the involvement of the local community (for instance the ICOMOS 1999 Burra charter).

While in this reconstruction process the original material is re-used, it is nonetheless a reconstruction, and not a restoration process. The Commission to Preserve National Monuments has an important argument for the use of the reconstruction strategy- it's symbolic power to people: 'bearing in mind the extreme symbolic, artistic, aesthetic, historical and townscape value of the Aladža Mosque, recently demolished by war, a complete reconstruction is fully justifiable' (Commission to Preserve National Monuments 2009, 17).

The institutions responsible for the reconstruction thus place a large emphasis on the practical implementation of the various advisory texts. Besides this, they also places large emphasis on the involvement in local craftsmanship and have a better future for the Foča community in mind, as can be read in their main aims of the project:

- a comprehensive, authentic reconstruction of a building that is both a religious, artistic and historical asset - a cultural monument of outstanding value, one of the most important monuments in the region;
- to strengthen the economic capacity of the local area by promoting its tourist potential and all the economic activities and benefits that go with this;
- to develop deeper ethnic and social cohesion among the population by enhancing the quality of life as a whole and to encourage the return of those who were driven from their homes;

- to raise awareness of the importance of rehabilitating the Mosque within the process of return and reconciliation, understanding that heritage is of shared value for all citizens and that rehabilitation is inseparable from human rights;
- to contribute to the capacity building of students and young professionals with regard to conservation and reconstruction methodologies and principles (Commission to Preserve National Monuments 2009, 4).

Because the mosque will be given to the Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina after its reconstruction, the project does not provide for it to be used on a profit-making basis (although revenue from tourists is included in the business plan). This, of course, has implications for funding, since commercial companies cannot use the reconstruction as an investment. The total cost of the reconstruction is based on various aspects and is totaled at 4.6 million Euros (Table 3).

Specifications	Expenses
Pre-rehabilitation: planning, reconstruction drawings (Figure 13), site preparation	€ 364.551
Construction	€ 4.269.946
Post-rehabilitation: maintenance	€ 7.000 (annually)
Total	€ 4.641.497

Table 3: Expenses for the reconstruction of the Aladza mosque (Commission to Preserve National Monuments 2009).

According to the 2009 brochure of the Ljubljana process there is still a need for 2.772.560 euro's to complete funding for reconstruction (EC-CoE Joint Programme, 2009).

### 6.3.3 Conclusion

The reconstruction of the Aladza mosque is, in my opinion, a good example of a solid co-operation between local development programs (through the Commission to Preserve National Monuments) and international institution (mainly the Council of Europe and the European Commission) in regard to the execution of a reconstruction strategy. Here, several values of stakeholders (the Islamic community, building companies, local and international institutions) are successfully combined into a single reconstruction act.

Furthermore, because the heritage managers on the Aladza mosque reconstruction project took notice of the standards, opted in various legal and non legal texts, concerning the rebuilding of cultural material, the scientific value is preserved, as well as the social value. In chapter four I already stated that reconstruction should only be used as a strategy when there are no other options available. However, I think in this case reconstruction, instead of mere restoration, is the better option of the two. This mosque is known nationally for its distinctive beauty and the fact that the mosque will once again be used as a place of worship adds to my support of the reconstruction strategy used here.

Whether this strategy is also useful for future cultural heritage reconstruction projects remains to be seen. It all depends on what has to be reconstructed and if the object is to be used again. Therefore, I think that restoration still has to be the first option in the choice between restoration and reconstruction because it *de facto* ensures greater scientific objectivity and thus authenticity. Reconstruction should only be undertaken by exception and only when authenticity can still be guaranteed.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I summarized the history of Bosnia Herzegovina in short and discussed some of the difficulties regarding its ethnic division. This division was not only present during the Bosnian War for Independence, but is still visible today, albeit in another, non-direct, way. In some cases (for example in the case of Mostar) this divide is also physically present. This split between the ethnic groups forms, in my opinion, the main difficulty in the use of cultural heritage for rehabilitation purposes here.

While the joint effort between the Council of Europe and the European commission, at least initially, visioned that through the reconstruction of cultural heritage a certain mutual understanding, or better even- co-operation, between the ethnic groups would emerge (Vos 2012), this is actually hardly the case in BiH. This disinterest in co-operation is most evident in the way the management of cultural heritage is treated in BiH. It is not clear in the government of BiH who is actually in charge of maintaining the cultural heritage. The responsibility regarding the reconstruction of cultural heritage, which is often in direct need of at least stabilizing due to the effects of warring, is not taken either. The commission, situated at the top of

the management layer, is the only organ with a bit of say in the matter. They decide what cultural heritage is and what not, but they have no executive power.

The difficulty in the divide between the decisive and executive powers is strengthened by the fact that there exists 'discrete parallel politics at various administrative and political levels, which (re) construct both memory and identity within a particular and potentially exclusivist perspective' (Musi 2012, 14). Viejo-Rose states it like this: 'One Criticism of the implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords in Bosnia is that in consciously trying to create a balance of power, it has further cemented the differences between groups' (Viejo-Rose 2013, 10). The commission only 'constitutes an overarching superstructure whose work is concretely limited to setting a minimal common ground that might accommodate all groups avoiding frictions' (Musi 2012, 13). In short, there is no clear view on what to do with cultural heritage, and if something is to be done, it is done in a particular exclusivist way, effectively suiting the ethnic group with the most say in the matter.

Another major difficulty in the process of rehabilitation in BiH is the involvement of the international community. By using a western view on cultural heritage, these institutions claim that the (and preferably by an inter-ethnic joint effort) reconstruction of cultural heritage helps these groups in working together (again) and boost economic and social factors. The case study of Mostar forms a good example in how this western top-down view fails in achieving rehabilitation and creates the exact opposite effect. Of course, international involvement, in its core, is a great effort and indeed the funds generated are often more than welcome. The only problem is the way in which the international community presents itself and their ideology in reconstruction matters. The international community is also very eager in its efforts to help post-war countries. Maybe a bit too eager because, as Viejo-Rose (2013) claims, the one of the things people need the most in their efforts of rehabilitation is the time to commemorate. When the international community rushes to help countries in their rehabilitation efforts, though, this time for commemoration is greatly reduced.

Though these difficulties in reconstruction of cultural heritage in BiH are indeed present and may seem overwhelming, there are opportunities too. The involvement of local craftsman and local construction companies in the reconstruction process is a way to add more emphasis on the local community.

Furthermore, the use of traditional construction methods and original material can add to the authenticity of the reconstructed heritage and this, in turn, will add to the rehabilitation process of the local community, because the identity and memory connected to this heritage is also reconstructed.



## **7. Rebuilding identities in Croatia**

### **7.1 Introduction**

In the previous chapter, we have seen some major difficulties regarding the rehabilitation process through the reconstruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia Herzegovina. The main problem there was the divide between decisive and executive powers in governmental cultural heritage management. This problem is reinforced by the steadfast divide between the ethnic groups who are unwilling to solve lingering frictions. Are these difficulties regarding the rehabilitation process through the reconstruction of cultural heritage the same in Croatia? What is the main difficulty here? How is the international community involved?

In the previous chapter I recognized some opportunities in rehabilitation through cultural heritage reconstruction. Are there any opportunities to be found in Croatia as well? And if so, what are they? To answer these questions, I will first start with an overview of the implications of the Croatian War for Independence and how the management of cultural heritage is organized. After that I will discuss two case studies. In the case of Dubrovnik, my focal point will be the involvement of the international community and the use of the blue shield. For the reconstruction of the Roman town of Siscia, I will focus the involvement of the local and international community in the reconstruction of cultural heritage as a possible rehabilitation opportunity.

The most recent war in Croatia is part of the Yugoslav Wars and raged between 1991 and 1995. The war has various names, but here I will use 'the Croatian War for Independence' as a reference. Here too a war was fought between rival ethnic groups resulting in the displacement of thousands of people and the large scale destruction of residential homes, public buildings and cultural heritage sites.

#### **7.1.1 Croatia, a short, recent history**

The geographic location of what we now call Croatia, has been inhabited since the Palaeolithic (Potrebica and Dizdar 2002). Archaeological evidence suggests that this area was almost continuously occupied during the Iron Age (Potrebica and Dizdar 2002), Roman period (Wilkes 1995) and Middle Ages (Greene 1985). Between 1500 and 1900 Croatia had a tumultuous time: various wars were fought (most importantly against the

Ottomans) and the changes in political rule resulted in territorial splits (Greene 1985). In 1918, Croatia joined Bosnia Herzegovina, the Serbs and Slovenes into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, or Yugoslavia resulting in a relatively tranquil time.

Census	Croats	Serbiens	Hungarians	Other	Total
1971	79.4%	14.2%	4,1%	2.3%	100%
1991	78.1%	12.2%	0,5%	8,8%	100%
2011	90.4%	4.4%	0,3%	4,9%	100%

Table 4: Ethnical composition of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Source: [http://www.dzs.hr/Eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/usp\\_03\\_EN.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/usp_03_EN.htm)).

During the Second World War, Croatia was again split into several territorial states (one being a Nazi puppet state called the Independent State of Croatia (NDH)). The NDH regime, led by Pavelić and Ustaše, introduced anti-Semitic laws and were responsible for large scale acts of ethnic cleansing and genocide against Serbian and Roman inhabitants of the NDH (Kolanović 1996). About 30.000 Jews were killed during the war (Levy 2005).

During the Second World War, a partisan army, backed by Allied support and under the control of Josip Broz Tito, regained control over much of Yugoslavia. After the Second World War Yugoslavia came under communist rule by Tito and was renamed to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Croatia was part of this new Yugoslavia, but since the foundation of the SFRY, Croatia pushed for a greater degree of autonomy repulsed by Yugoslav politicians. This, together with growing nationalistic views, resulted in the Croatian War for Independence.

The Croatian War for Independence was fought mainly over territorial (and underlying ethnical) disputes. Serbian Croats (12.2% of the total population, see table 4) were against Croatia's call for independence and strongly hung on to Slobodan Milošević words and goals of creating a 'greater Serbia'. He wanted a centralized Serbian state encompassing the Serb-populated areas of Croatia and Bosnia and all of Kosovo (Brown and Karim 1995). This difference in political view (and ethnical background) resulted in a war fought between the Serbs living in Croatia and the Croatian population. The Serbs created the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) within Croatia (figure 13).

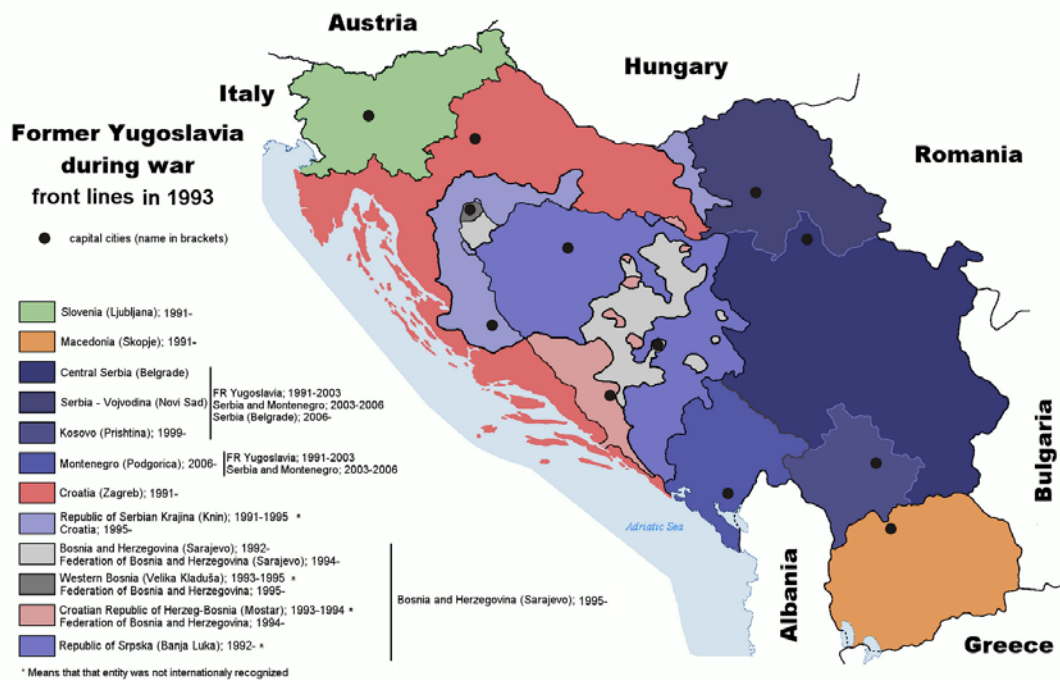


Figure 13: Map showing the various states in the Former Yugoslavia in 1993 (Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Map\\_of\\_war\\_in\\_Yugoslavia,\\_1992.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_war_in_Yugoslavia,_1992.png)).

Between 1991 and 1995, various battles were fought in Croatia and multiple cease fires were signed (and broken), mainly at important pivotal points between the RSK and Croatian border.

The Croatian War for independence effectively ended after a huge Croatian offence (with the help of the UN) called Operation Storm in 1995 (The New York Times 1995). Sadly though, thousands of homes, public buildings and cultural and natural heritage sites were destroyed (Chapman 1994). Recent estimates state that 2271 protected cultural monuments were destroyed and 204 museums, galleries and museum collections were destroyed or damaged (Šulc 2001). The rebuilding of these destroyed pieces of collective memory is an important part of Croatia's rehabilitation process.

### 7.1.2 Cultural Heritage Management in Croatia

Croatia is rich in its cultural heritage, which spans a great amount of time and various cultures (Council of Europe 2008). This cultural heritage is represented not only in large scale outstanding buildings, but also in the forms of small rural farms and local churches.

However, most of them are prone to dilapidation and are threatened by uncontrolled building activities. The disappearance of excavated items is also a threat to the cultural heritage (Council of Europe 2008).

Croatia's National Register of Cultural Heritage has 5200 pieces inscribed, including archaeological sites and monuments, but also historical villages. Most of these are permanent inscriptions, but some are on the list for temporary protection (Council of Europe 2008). According to the Council of Europe's Priorities Intervention List of Croatia 2008, actual priorities for the protection of said heritage lies at finishing the Priorities Intervention List as well as to establish the rightful owners.

Croatia has various national as well as international types of legislation concerning cultural heritage, but the most important one is the 1999 law on protection and preservation of cultural property. This is because this law encompasses all activities regarding the protection and reconstruction of cultural heritage:

This Act regulates the types of cultural objects, the establishment of protection of cultural objects, the obligations and rights of the owners of cultural objects, the measures to protect and preserve cultural objects, the performance of activities of protection and preserving cultural objects, the performance of administrative and inspection activities, the operation and scope of work of the Croatian Council for Cultural Objects, the funding of protection and preservation of cultural objects, and other issues related to the protection and preservation of cultural objects (House of Representatives of the Croatian Parliament 1999, preamble).

This law has been amended in 2003 to 'harmonize Croatian law with European legislation' (Council of Europe 2008, 10).

While the management of cultural heritage in Bosnia Herzegovina is 'lacking an overarching unit of direction and supervision at its top' (Musi 2012, 6), management of cultural heritage in Croatia is straightforward and exclusively supervised by the Ministry of Culture. In Croatia, the Cultural Heritage Protection Department performs administrative and expert duties on protection of said heritage, while the 'responsibility for the overall cultural heritage, regardless of the type, lies with the owners of, and persons vested with other rights regarding the cultural good, as well as other holders of cultural goods' (Council of Europe 2008, 11).

The Inspectorate Section of the Department is responsible for all kinds of protective measures regarding cultural heritage and supervises the application of legal

regulations in practice (Council of Europe 2008). The inspectorate is also responsible for monitoring the trade of cultural objects and the performance of heritage restoration on land and under water. Restoration done to cultural heritage is exclusively done by the Croatian Restoration Institute which employs 122 craftsmen on a permanent basis (Council of Europe 2008). The Cultural Heritage Protection Department works with the Ministry of Environmental Protection, Physical Planning and Construction, which is responsible for spatial planning.

According to the Council of Europe website, the 'authorities have a clear recognition that heritage protection is not an end in itself, but should be regarded as part of a larger programme of revitalization, incorporating the cultural heritage into the everyday life of the citizens, based on the principles of sustainable development, for the benefit of both local people and tourists. This understanding has also been reinforced at local level. Tourism, in sustaining Croatia's remarkable legacy of monuments, sites and ensembles, is surely today one of the most important economic factors in the development of the country'.<sup>20</sup> The importance of tourism is seen in the running programme of the Ministry of Tourism which funds the promotion, conservation, reconstruction and inclusion of cultural and natural heritage. Between 2000 and 2006 a total of 264 projects were co-financed for 3 million euro's (Council of Europe 2008).

Besides these national institutes, Croatia also gets help from international organizations such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO. Heritage experts working for the Council of Europe are deployed for the Preliminary Technical Assessment of the architectural and archaeological heritage in Croatia, while UNESCO supports Croatia's heritage by their World Heritage List (Council of Europe 2008). Experts from UNESCO are teaming up with the committee of local experts, which monitors renovation and reconstruction works in Dubrovnik (see chapter 7.2). Other important institutions working on the protection and reconstruction of cultural heritage in Croatia are the World Bank and the World Monument Fund.

The organizational structure in Croatia regarding the protection and reconstruction of cultural heritage might be clear, there is however a problem. The long

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<sup>20</sup> Source: [http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/cooperation/see/countries/Croatia\\_en.asp](http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/cooperation/see/countries/Croatia_en.asp) [Accessed 18 March, 2013].

tradition of practical expertise on protection of cultural heritage in Croatia diminishes since there is a lack of financial motivation for graduates to remain in the conservation institutions and because the vast destruction of the war, the need for conservation experts rises (Council of Europe 2008).

## **7.2. The case of Dubrovnik**

### **7.2.1 Introduction**

Dubrovnik was the first city to be attacked in the Croatian War for Independence, even though Serbian forces had no real purpose for doing so (Bevan 2006). Because of this, the shelling of Dubrovnik came as a surprise and much of the city's heritage and residential buildings were heavily damaged and destroyed. What was the role of the international community in and after the war? How is the reconstruction process organized?

These questions form the main focus of this case study and the answers could give us some insight regarding the prevention of destruction of cultural heritage in future conflicts, but also how the reconstruction process should be organized.

Dubrovnik, also called 'the pearl of the Adriatic', lies at the southeastern edge of Croatia and is situated at the eastern coastline of the Adriatic Sea (figure 14). Dubrovnik, derived from the Croatian word 'dubrava' which means oak woods, was founded in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC by Slav refugees from Epidaurum (UNESCO 1993).

Because of the city's strategic position at the Adriatic Sea, Dubrovnik soon became a major player in the sea trade that took place there. Although the old part of the city (within the city walls, see figure 16) is known for its famous buildings from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, the 'golden age' of the city (the 12<sup>th</sup> century) was decisive for the final development of the city in terms of style and growth direction (UNESCO 1993).

Archaeological research done in the old part of the city revealed two major churches with three aisles, a quadrilobed memoria, some fortified walls, a baptistery tower and several houses and tombs (UNESCO 1993). These buildings, dating to the Paleo-Christian period and the early and late Middle Ages and evidence of architectural innovation from the mid-thirteenth century, changed the interpretation of historiographers regarding the city's evolution (UNESCO 1993).

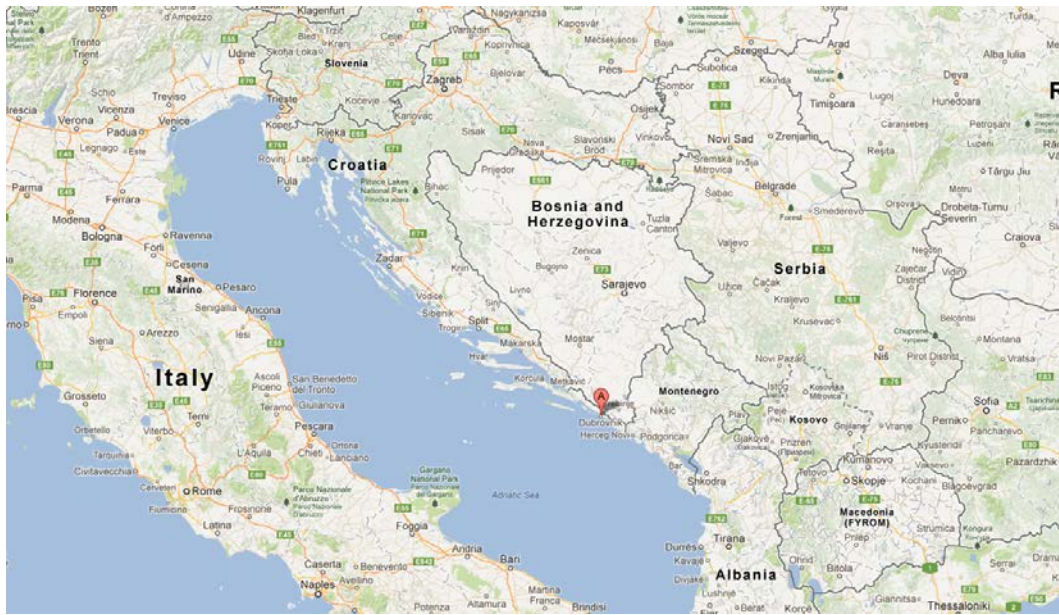


Figure 14: Map showing the geographical location of Dubrovnik in Croatia (Source: Google Maps).

From the time of its establishment, Dubrovnik was protected by the Byzantine Empire, but due to Venice's growing role in sea trade Dubrovnik eventually came under the sovereignty of Venice (in 1205-1358). After the 1358 Treaty of Zadar, it became part of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. Between the 14<sup>th</sup> century and 1808 Dubrovnik ruled itself as a free state, but also as a vassal of the Ottoman Empire. After that, it came under the Austrian (Hapsburg) rule which lasted until 1918 when Austria-Hungary fell and Croatia became part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Dubrovnik became a victim of the Yugoslav Wars in 1991 and 1992. Various types of mortars landed in parts of the Old Town, destroying the famous rooftops and stone wall constructions. Although Dubrovnik was listed on the World Heritage List since 1979 and the monuments indeed bore the blue shield emblem of the 1954 UNESCO convention, in less than 20 days total, but over the course of two years, some 2000 shells destroyed 68% of the Old City (563 of the 824 buildings)(UNESCO 1993). In total, over 680 cultural monuments were damaged during the war in the area of Dubrovnik and Neretva county. Most are situated in Dubrovnik itself (Šulc 2001).

On 31 January 2005, the trial chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia sentenced the retired General Pavle Strugar, who was then leader of the Yugoslav People's Army, to eight years in prison. Strugar had been found guilty of





Figure 15: Aerial photograph of Dubrovnik. The Old City lies within the city walls (Source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=1061137&page=43>).

war crimes and, under article 3d of the Tribunals Statute ('seizure of, destruction or willful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences, historic monuments and works of art and science' (International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2009b, 5)), of the destruction of a number of historical and cultural sites located in the Old City of Dubrovnik.<sup>21</sup>

### 7.2.2 Rebuilding Dubrovnik

The rebuilding of the various residential houses, monuments and other types of buildings actually began during the 1991-1999 mortar attacks. UNESCO officials were there at that time and, after each initial bombing strike, they would take notes of the destruction and began detailed surveys (Harmon 1994). These officials, together with national authorities made it possible to put Dubrovnik on the World Heritage List in

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<sup>21</sup> Source: [http://www.icty.org/x/cases/strugar/cis/en/cis\\_strugar\\_en.pdf](http://www.icty.org/x/cases/strugar/cis/en/cis_strugar_en.pdf) [Accessed 2 February, 2013].



Danger directly after the first strikes in 1991.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, after each strike, local residents with the help from the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and the newly founded Institute for the Rehabilitation of Dubrovnik, would set to work making repairs (Harmon 1994). The Institute for the Rehabilitation of Dubrovnik was founded exclusively for the rehabilitation work in Dubrovnik and, as a result, functions as a separate institution next to the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments.

After the final shelling on June 20<sup>th</sup> 1992, an Expert Advisory Commission for the Rehabilitation of Dubrovnik was set up (Harmon 1994). This commission, consisting of experts from various institutions such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM, came up with a plan of action (UNESCO 1994, 37):

- Identify, protect, preserve and present cultural property damaged by the shelling in 1991 and 1992 within the limits of the city as defined by its inscription on the World Heritage List;
- Develop by means of proper professional training the human resources of agencies and organizations involved at local, municipal, national and regional levels;
- Identify, develop and promote the restoration projects and a strategy for the preservation and presentation of the old city;
- Ensure that the various operations necessary for the protection of cultural property can be carried out in the best possible conditions and according to the restoration principles and methods so as to preserve the exceptional unity of the urban fabric;
- Ensure the participation of the national and international communities in the various operations;
- Communicate project needs to decision-makers and public opinion in order to obtain broad-based participation from the national and international communities in the form of financial contributions, services and materials.

One of UNESCO's roles in this is the monitoring of the norms and standards used and to make sure that the restoration is being done according to the various applicable conventions and charters. Furthermore, UNESCO is willing to help facilitate the recruitment and training of local experts, but notes that they cannot be held responsible for the project if this is done on a bilateral basis (UNESCO 1993).

The role of the international community is discussed by Branka Šulc, who states that 'In accordance with international conventions, the Republic of Croatia had, in a timely fashion, sought the assistance of UNESCO and other international bodies

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<sup>22</sup> Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/147> [Accessed 20 March, 2013].

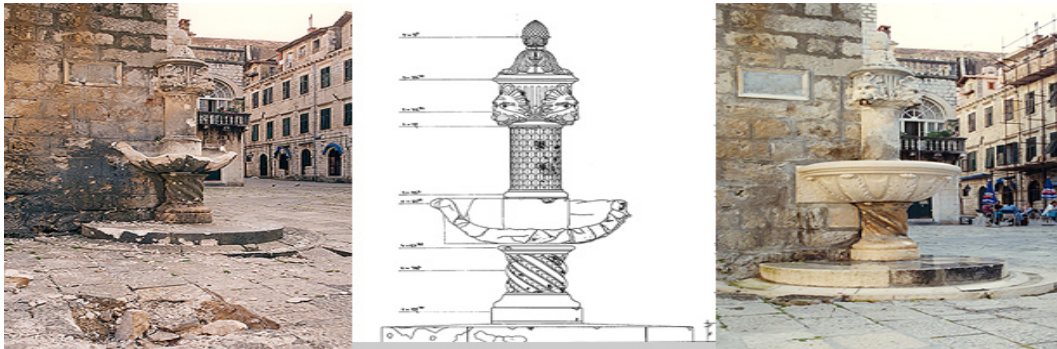


Figure 16: Destruction and reconstruction of the Amerling Fountain in Dubrovnik's Old City (Source: <http://www.zod.hr./eng/novost.php?id=52>).

providing legal protection for cultural monuments' (Šulc 2001, 158). This legal protection, mostly in the form of the in 1956 signed Hague Convention, however did not protect cultural heritage during war time. The blue shield which was visible on the walls of Dubrovnik was clearly ignored. This was more or less expected, since the aggressor did not show any signs of respect to ambulances either (Šulc 2001). The disrespect for cultural heritage during war time forms one of the main difficulties in implementing cultural property protection and is fuel for the debate on whether the blue flag is indeed necessary (Kila 2012).

There are numerous objects destroyed or damaged during the 1991-1992 shellings in Dubrovnik, including palaces, houses (and their rooftops), religious buildings, streets, squares, stairways, fountains (figure 16), ramparts, gates and bridges. These are all set in an order of priority, category wise, and reconstructed accordingly (when money was available). During the reconstruction there is also room for archaeological research because the sites are often within physical reach and this is a golden opportunity: to be done right before final reconstruction.<sup>23</sup>

Because of the great initial success of the restoration work done in Dubrovnik and the quick and targeted help of UNESCO, it was possible to remove the Old City of Dubrovnik from the List of World Heritage in Danger in 1998. This success is also endorsed by ICOMOS, which writes that 'it was greatly impressed by the restoration works undertaken in Dubrovnik' (UNESCO 1998). Restoration work in general, but also in

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<sup>23</sup> Source: Institute for the Restoration of Dubrovnik. See: <http://www.zod.hr> [Accessed 20 March, 2013].

Dubrovnik, is still an important task for the Croatian government which seeks guidance from various international experts and institutions (Šulc 2001).

### 7.2.3 Conclusion

The Croatian War for Independence had an unfortunate result for the cultural heritage present in Dubrovnik. There numerous monuments were destroyed or at the least heavily damaged. This is done even though the city was inscribed on the World Heritage List and Croatia had, already in 1956, ratified the Hague Convention. This disrespect for cultural heritage in war time is one of the most important difficulties in war time protection, if not a totally insurmountable fact.

Although destruction did happen, I think that the restoration of Dubrovnik's Old City is a good example of the effectiveness of the 1954 convention after the destruction: UNESCO officials were able to act quickly and prevented further destruction of property by performing rescue repairs and damage assessment. Besides this, in September 1991, the Museum Documentation Centre in Zagreb published the 'Handbook on the Basics of the Protection of Museums, Archive and Library Holdings' (Šulc 2001) which contained practical instructions for other institutions on how to prevent further loss of heritage material.

The international community, mainly through the UNESCO conventions, thus, played an important role during the war. The international community still plays an important role, namely in the process of cultural heritage reconstruction. Many foreign experts are flown in to help Croatian institutions assess the total loss of heritage, but also help the local craftsmen in performing reconstruction work.

### 7.3 The case of the Roman city of Siscia

The reconstruction of the Roman city of Siscia is part of joint programme between the Council of Europe and the European Commission: The Ljubljana process. As stated, this joint programme has a very western and top-down approach towards the role of cultural heritage. This approach shifted from first seeing cultural heritage as a trigger for regional stabilization to a trigger for modernization and revitalization. Because the reconstruction of the Roman city of Siscia is not a direct result of war damage, and thus rehabilitation, the focus on this project lies above all on revitalization and the boost of Siskaks' economic and tourist situation.

Thus, this case study forms a sort of exception in regard to the other case studies discussed in this thesis. It nonetheless has important information regarding the role cultural heritage has in 'rebuilding a country after the war', albeit in a slightly different way. How is this Lubljana project beneficial for the local community? How does this project fit into the regional county development plan? These are the main question I will try to answer in the coming pages and by answering these questions we will gain insight in the way an international heritage programme is implemented in local development.

### 7.3.1 Introduction

Sisak is a small rural town lying in the center of Croatia (figure 17) with buildings dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The total population of the city is 33.049 and it has a surface of 422 square kilometers. Sisak is also the seat of Sisak-Moslavina County, which has a total population of 185.000 people. The town lies on the confluence of three rivers: the Sava, the Kupa and the Odra. The town is known for its Roman history: underneath what is now present day Sisak lies the Roman town of Siscia (Council of Europe 2010).

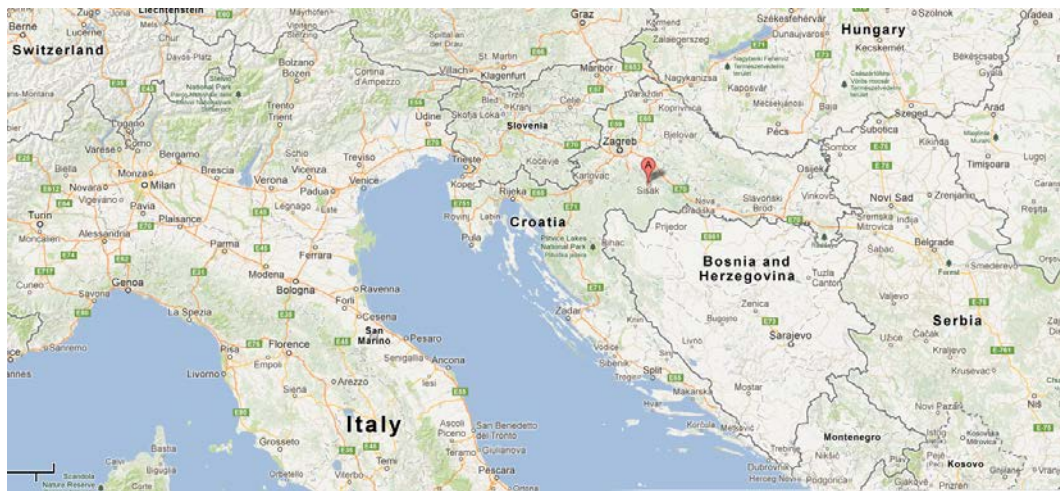


Figure 17: Geographic location of Sisak (Source: Google Maps).

Sisak also was an important location in the war between Ottoman Bosnian regional forces and the Roman Empire because here, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1593, the 'battle of Sisak' was fought, which resulted in a major victory for Croatia and for Christian Europe (Surhone *et al.* 2010). As a remnant of this battle, the 16th century triangular fortress of the Old Town attracts many visitors from Croatia and neighboring countries. Besides the

fortress, the Baroque palace of Mali Kaptol and the Old Bridge over the river Kupa, are major visitor attractions (Council of Europe 2010).

Sisak is seen as an industrial town: many crafts are performed, for example metallurgy, farming, and leatherworking, and other factories such as food processing plants and oil refineries are situated in Sisak as well (Council of Europe 2010).



Figure 18: Coin minted at the Royal Mint in Sciscia. The front shows a portrait of Vetrano and dates 350 AD (Source: [http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d0/Maiorina-Vetrano-siscia\\_RIC\\_281.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d0/Maiorina-Vetrano-siscia_RIC_281.jpg)).

Sisak is known nationally and internationally for its Roman History. Beneath the contemporary houses rest the remains of one of the largest Roman settlements in the Roman province of Pannonia: Siscia. Siscia acted as a military stronghold, but also as an economic, spiritual and political centre. In the first century, Siscia became one of the four most important Roman towns of the Pannonia province and the strongest military outpost, built for conquering the east (Council of Europe 2010).

Because of its proximity to various rivers, Siscia had a fleet and port and consequently functioned as a trade junction between Dalmatia, Pannonia, Italy and the east and (Council of Europe 2010). In the third century, the Royal Mint was established (figure 18) and Siscia became the centre of the diocese (Council of Europe 2010). Various Roman finds surfaced due to archaeological excavations, from small coins to large buildings. The Roman town of Siscia has various public buildings: a bath house, a



granary, *forum*, a *domus*, *insulae*, five necropolises and a sewer system (Council of Europe 2010). The representative residential house (*domus*) dates from the 2-4<sup>th</sup> century AD, as do the simpler houses (*insulae*). The exact location of the military encampment is unclear at present, but remains of such encampments have been found alongside the rivers (Council of Europe 2010).

Besides these larger structures, various smaller (and mobile) archaeological finds have been found and stored at the Museum of Archaeology in Zagreb and the City Museum Sisak.

### 7.3.2 Rebuilding Siscia

The Roman town of Siscia was not directly threatened, as the previous case studies, by collapse or other kinds of damage directly related to the Croatian War for Independence: the archaeology remained safe under the ground (the average relative depth of findings is around 1 meter (Council of Europe 2010)). Siscia remained safe during the war, but the town of Sisak was indeed damaged due to the war and many buildings are destroyed or at least heavily damaged. Consequently, reconstruction work is being done by various contractors at various locations but not always done properly.

This is a serious threat for the archaeology (Council of Europe 2010). Because of these risks and the high archaeological potential of the St. Quirinus location (figure 19), the town of Sisak and the Ministry of Culture decided to construct an archaeological park there (Council of Europe 2010) themselves. International (European) support is found in the joint programme between the CoE and the EC in the form of the Ljubljana process.

According to the Council of Europe, 'the results of the Siscia - St. Quirinus Archaeological Park Project would bring a great transformation for the community in improving their quality of life. This project could become a cultural and economic turning point for industrial population of a low-profit industry impoverished by transition processes' (Council of Europe 2010, 12). The Council of Europe has several reasons to make these assumptions: besides the archaeological dig itself an interpretation centre will be built, which manages the site (maintenance of the archaeological park, restoration works, workshops, and targeted research). A redundant industrial complex next to the future archaeological park is being appointed for this purpose (after it is thoroughly renovated) (Council of Europe 2010). The St. Quirinus

Archaeological Park project also follows the County Development Strategy, which focuses on small entrepreneurship and tourism in the region (Sisak-Moslavina County 2007). This document recognizes the archaeological and touristic potential of the Roman city and explicitly gives it a 'role of a moving force of the County's economy' (Council of Europe 2010, 11).

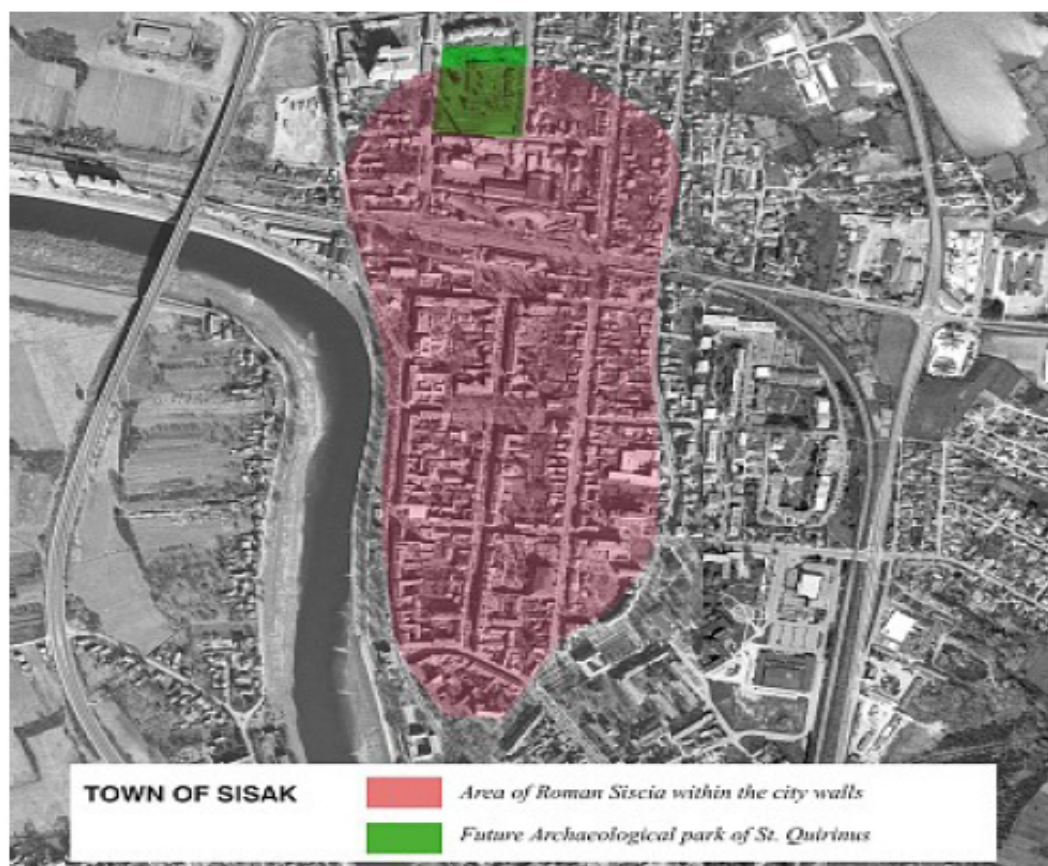


Figure 19: Future location of the Archaeological park of St. Quirinus  
(Council of Europe 2010, 8).

Back in the year 2000, the town of Sisak had no touristic appeal, but due to the construction of the St Kvirin site, as a small archaeological park, the display of some of the Roman walls (figure 20) and the future construction of the St Quirinus archaeological park, the aim is to make Siscia a major tourist attraction in the centre of Croatia. The construction of the St Quirinus Archaeological Park 'would enable an insight into a first class fascinating site which is a northern complex of the Roman urban structure of Siscia, the most important city of the Roman province Pannonia' (Council of Europe 2010, 12).

By using the redundant industrial complex as interpretation centre, the memory of the city as an industrial town will be kept. Besides a touristic benefit, the several reconstructions of the town's archaeological heritage (and the St Quirinus Archaeological Park in particular) will help rise the education and awareness of the local community and will result in the creation of jobs (Council of Europe 2010).



Figure 20: photograph of the st. Križ site showing the remains of the Roman city walls (Source: [http://www.studioxxl.hr/images/siscia\\_gallery/siscia\\_02.jpg](http://www.studioxxl.hr/images/siscia_gallery/siscia_02.jpg)).

The St Quirinus Archaeological Park will be owned by the town of Sisak, which also conducts the site management (Council of Europe 2010). Reconstruction will be done in close collaboration with the Ministry of Culture, and the Conservation Departments in Zagreb and Sisak, but the town of Sisak is responsible for submitting financing requests and for the coordination and implementation of these finances. Local craft experts and subcontractors will be appointed for the construction of the park by the town of Sisak, but expert supervision will be done by the chief conservator for archaeological heritage of the Ministry of Culture (Council of Europe 2010). Furthermore, 'All expert activities required for the Archaeological Park's implementation will be conducted in accordance with the existing legal regulations of the Republic of Croatia' (Council of Europe 2010, 14).

Besides the Ministry of Culture, the ministries of Tourism and Science and Education are also closely connected with the project (Council of Europe 2010). The project will cost about 2.5 million Euro's (figure 21); most of the costs will be going to



the archaeological research prior to the construction of the park (Council of Europe 2010).

Revenue will be based mostly on tourist numbers, but at this time it is difficult to make a clear estimate. Sisacko-Moslavacka County has just started building and expanding its Development Programme and the revenue of an archaeological site depends entirely on the attractiveness of the material remains and the ‘feeling for one’s own history’ (Council of Europe 2010, 16). Estimates are that with the development of

SPECIFICATIONS	DURATION	EXPENSES €
Archaeological research + documentation + restoration of movable findings	600 working days	2 000 000 €
Geophysical research + documentation	30 working days	6 000 €
Site conservation study	2 months	15 000 €
Conservation-restoration work + documentation	Following the research	400 000 €
Transport and town planning study for Sisak-north	3 months	15 000 €
Site presentation project+ facilities for tourist admission	6 months	30 000 €
Implementation of the presentation project	Estimation not possible	
Interpretation centre project	6 months	30 000 €
Site management plan + maintenance plan + preventive conservation + marketing strategy	6 months	30 000 €
Tendering expenses		30 000 €
TOTAL	2 556 000 € +Presentation Project implementation	

Figure 21: Overview of the costs for the construction of the St Quirinus Archaeological Park (Source: Council of Europe 2010, 15).

the counties tourism (by building Spa’s, Health Resorts and supporting rural tourism), revenue for Sisak will rise. If this is not the case, then the town of Sisak will give financial support for the maintenance, management and promotion of the park.

### 7.3.3 Conclusion

The construction of the St Quirinus Archaeological park can be seen as a joint effort between the international community, though the Ljubljana process, and the Sisacko-Moslavacka County. This construction is in line with the views on cultural heritage, as an instrument for economic and social growth, by the European Commission and the Council of Europe. Croatia has a very western approach towards cultural heritage (Šulc 2001) and so this programme fits neatly into the counties view of sustainable development.

The construction of the archaeological park will not only stimulate local tourism and thus money influx, through the construction of the park, the local community also

benefits. Their identity is preserved (the city of Sisak will remain an industrial city) and through the construction of the archaeological park jobs will be created and on site renovation of buildings will be conducted.

Although exact numbers on tourist growth are at the moment unavailable, the Sisacko-Moslavacka County nonetheless suspects an increase. Whether the reconstruction of the archaeological park will indeed stimulate tourism is a question which can only be answered after exact numbers are in.

Meanwhile, the process of the reconstruction and the co-operation between local government and the international community, who both have the prosperity of the local community in mind, forms an inspiration for future projects in cultural heritage (re)construction.

#### **7.4 Conclusion**

The Croatian War for Independence had great implications for the state of various cultural heritage sites. Here, too, many movable and immovable objects of cultural heritage were destroyed or severely damaged. In the Croatian War for Independence the religious targets were mostly Catholic, since this war was fought most importantly between the Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats. Religious buildings, which form a large part of Croatia's cultural heritage, were the second most destroyed objects during the war, the first one being residential houses (Šulc 2001). Insofar the Croatian and Bosnian War for Independence look pretty much alike; cultural heritage was in both wars the target of cultural genocide. The biggest difference between those two countries is their view on the management of cultural heritage and the involvement of the international community. In Bosnia Herzegovina the management of cultural heritage is divided between decisive and executive powers and in local and national government. The situation is the opposite in Croatia.

Here the management of cultural heritage is an exclusive matter of a central governmental body: the Ministry of Culture. This Ministry of Culture, through the use of various departments and co-operation with other Ministries, covers all aspects of cultural heritage management: from listing the objects as a National Monument, to tracking of illegal trade and the reconstruction of cultural heritage objects.

Another big difference can be seen in the involvement of the international community. Whereas Bosnia Herzegovina has somewhat troubling experiences in working with international institutions (as for example in the case of the reconstruction of the Mostar Bridge) and, just as Serbia, is more or less hesitant in working together with international institutions, the opposite counts for Croatia. Croatia makes active use of the various international conventions and their legal support and is the first one to call on foreign heritage experts when they are needed. Indeed, Croatia has a very western view on the use of cultural heritage (Šulc 2001) and because of this, relies heavily on western (European) support.

The difficulty to the reconstruction of cultural heritage in Croatia lies not in the management, or the divide between its ethnic groups, but in its executors. Local craftsmen are put in to reconstruct cultural heritage in an authentic way and are supervised by national and international experts. As we have seen in the case study on the Roman city of Siscia, the local government is fighting improper reconstruction of cultural material, often performed by inexperienced craftsmen. Because of the sheer amount of restoration work that has to be performed, the lack of experienced craftsmen means that restoration works fails in achieving authenticity. Šulc (2001, 161) states that 'the imbalance between the number of artworks and monuments that need restoration and the number of professionals able to work on them will remain, as will other financial and logistical needs'.

Opportunities are to be found in the co-operation between local government and the international community, as can be seen in the case study of the reconstruction of the St Quirinus Archaeological Park in Sisak. When these two parties join together, this can result in a sustainable development plan which uses cultural heritage as an instrument to achieve economic growth. This is not a bad thing in my opinion, especially when the needs of the local community are also taken into account.

With the help of the international community and local experts and subcontractors, Croatia has taken great steps in its rehabilitation process and lets the reconstruction of cultural heritage take a major part in achieving its rehabilitation goals.

## **8. Discussion**

With a thorough knowledge of the role of cultural heritage in the Yugoslav Wars and the concepts of identity, memory and deliberate destruction explained, we can now focus towards the underlying problems in the process of rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage and see if there are possible solutions to resolve these problems.

### **8.1 Shared narrative or recognition of divergent war memories?**

In the previous chapters we have encountered some difficulties and opportunities regarding rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage in post-war Yugoslavia. The main difficulty seems to be in defining the role that cultural heritage plays in the identity and memory of people, because this indirectly leads to the destruction of cultural heritage in war time and causes dispute over the reconstruction of cultural heritage after war time.

In the case of Bosnia Herzegovina, 'gaps in the coherence and coordination of the system of heritage management risk being instrumentalised to the ends of segregation and exclusivism' (Musi 2012, 9). The entities in BiH, with their own heritage management and administration and working through parallel policies, effectively reconstruct postwar memory and identity within their own exclusivist perspective (Musi 2012). This is exactly the opposite of what the country, but also the international community, wants to achieve: cooperation between the entities and a shared rehabilitation process.

Countries of the former Yugoslavia, under strong influence of the international community, seek rehabilitation through a shared narrative and the reconstruction of cultural heritage forms a convenient tool for this. These reconstruction projects are chosen by the state, but are not chosen by the inhabitants of those countries and are thus forced upon the population as rehabilitation symbols. Through this imposed process of rehabilitation and through a shared narrative, the opposite is achieved. Further reinforcement of post-war ethnic struggles results.

In Croatia, this can be seen in, for example, the changes in the names of the roads around the heritage sites from Serbian to Croat, destruction of communist symbols and the shutting down of museums with a Yugoslavian theme. At the same

time, Croatian (historic) war victories were celebrated in festivals (Goulding and Domic 2008). Thus, while the reconstruction of cultural heritage sites, such as the construction of the St Quirinus Archaeological Park, seek to establish a sense of community and co-operation, through other means this effect is effectively canceled out: 'to deny the histories of others leads to an ethnocentric view of the past and reinforces the idea of 'us' and 'them' or the concept of 'otherness'' (Goulding and Domic 2008, 99).

The reconstruction of cultural heritage is seen as a positive instrument in the rehabilitation process (Viejo-Rose 2013), while people's negative feelings, emotions and memories connected to these heritage objects are still very active and profound (Goulding and Domic 2008). I think, that it is too soon to use cultural heritage as a tool for the rehabilitation process. In fact, I think it is much too force rehabilitation upon the inhabitants of war-torn countries through a forced shared narrative. People still see other people as 'the former enemy' (Goulding and Domic 2008) and this will not diminish by forcing people to co-operate with each other.

Through this knowledge and by 'dispelling the nomenclature that characterizes heritage as a container of exclusively positive values and narratives' (Viejo-Rose 2013, 15), and above all, by giving people time to rehabilitate, can we actually achieve the diminishing of ethnic struggle and co-operation will eventually follow. The ultimate goal of war-torn countries is to create a national identity and thus the reconciliation of ethnic groups. However, we must not force this issue. Rather, we should let people develop their own 'divergent war memories'. Only then, and through a steady process of 'joint reconstruction of identity, in a negotiating process that fosters reciprocity, mutual respect, and pluralism, can transform the quest for national identity into a force that is primarily constructive, rather than primarily destructive, as it is today' (Kelman 1997, 340).

## **8.2 International policy versus national reality**

I have just discussed the difficulty of post-war rehabilitation and came to the conclusion that a great deal of this problem lies in the fact that rehabilitation is more or less forced upon by the national governments. While this is true, the international community plays a significant role too because they put a lot of pressure on national governments, especially through the prospect of financial aid and a possible EU membership. Because

of this, the governments of countries of the former Yugoslavia see themselves forced to implement European ideology on how rehabilitation should be undertaken.

Luckily, there is a shift in focus, from stabilization and rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage towards a more modern approach based on revitalization. This can be seen in the various conventions that were held: where the World Heritage Convention focused on the importance of cultural heritage for all humankind, more recent conventions focus more in the human-side of things (the Faro convention for example).

The ideas and wishes of the local community become more important and cultural heritage is evermore seen as an instrument for economic growth and social development. This can be seen in the projects from the Ljubljana process, described in this thesis (chapters 6.3 and 7.3). They do not so much focus on rehabilitation (such as the UNESCO project of the Mostar bridge), but more on community benefits and economic capital (often through tourism). This latter approach of the international community is actually in line with my previous thoughts on how we should handle post-war rehabilitation: through a steady process of the reconstruction of identity, based on mutual respect and pluralism. Therefore, I do not see the involvement of the international community in creating a rehabilitation process in post-war countries as a bad thing as such, but more on the way how they (were and) are involved. In this respect, I agree with Vos (2012, 237) that ‘for the time being, a thoroughly practical approach to European heritage is preferred, leaving the ideological aim to “leave the past behind” [...] a prospective for future times’.

### **8.3 Considerations for the future**

It was difficult to achieve exact and up-to-date numbers of costs of reconstruction, and without being actually in the field to do conduct qualitative research, actual data considering people’s opinion on heritage reconstruction was also hard to find. This is unfortunately also true for the four case studies discussed. These case-studies do however give a glimpse of the direction of the reconstruction: top-down or bottom-up, and give valuable insight in the way the international community is involved. An open and more transparent view of the state of the reconstruction projects is advised.

It is important to note here, that there are more countries in the former Yugoslavia than the two discussed in this thesis. While Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia represent two distinct countries, each with its own approach towards rehabilitation and rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage in particular, they are only a part of the whole picture. Serbia, for example, has other specific approaches towards rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage (Vos 2012). Because each country has its own specific difficulties and approaches towards heritage and rehabilitation, I think it is important that future reconstruction projects should be implemented case by case. A thorough understanding of the country, its ideology and people, is paramount because 'Given the varied roles that culture plays in conflict, it would seem that any practitioner entering a conflict situation in some other culture with an eye toward transformation or peace-building must have a formidable amount of substantive knowledge about the other culture: its key symbols, sacred signs, root metaphors, cognitive schemas, and worldviews, all of these embodied in a potentially 'foreign' language and wrapped, often contentiously, around competing versions of narrative history' (Avruch 2002, 79).

Here, I see a role for the archaeological heritage manager. As discussed, the archaeological heritage managers work through a discourse where concepts such as stakeholders, ownership and ethics are thoroughly used and mastered. These concepts merge in a specific working-method: the values-based approach. I think that this method will work exceptionally well in countries of the former Yugoslavia, because the method takes into account the values of all stakeholders, not only the ones with the most power or otherwise strongest influence.

Archaeological heritage managers, through working with the values-based approach, form an important link between the local community and national government (including various international NGO's and advisors). This is seen in their work during conflict situations, where, most of all, the protection of cultural heritage is important, but also after the conflict, when there is time and room for reconstruction. Archaeological heritage managers working on a reconstruction project, through the values-based approach, is done in peace time.

Archaeological heritage managers can, though, be deployed at three specific moments: before, during and after conflict. Working with the military is advised before and during the conflict, because they can help the archaeological heritage manager in

achieving his goals: the prevention of cultural heritage. This co-operation is not one way, though: archaeological heritage managers can help the military too, for example through training or advice in strategic bombing.

Archaeological heritage managers also have a thorough knowledge of the various conventions and other texts concerning the value of cultural heritage. As discussed in chapter 4, these conventions have their differences in terms of their view towards cultural heritage. It is the role of the archaeological heritage manager to work with these texts and implement them in the best way possible, through the values-based approach.

While this thesis gives some insight into the most profound difficulties regarding the rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage, more research is needed to complete this analysis. Because much research stays at the, more or less, birds-eye-view of the role of cultural heritage, the individual is overlooked. Therefore, qualitative research is especially needed, and should be focused on the needs and opinions of the local community, because they are, after all, what the reconstruction of cultural heritage is about.



## 9. Conclusion

Cultural heritage plays an important part of people's lives. It represents the physical form of people's identities. The dispute between identities, in the form of ethnic groups, forms the motive behind civil wars and, indeed, also in the Yugoslav Wars. This ethnic dispute has a very long history, going back to Ottoman times, and the relatively peaceful time during the rule of Tito was only a temporal truce. Because identity is linked to cultural heritage and the identity of 'the other' was the target during the Yugoslav Wars, cultural heritage formed an easy and opportune target for deliberate destruction.

After the Yugoslav Wars, the countries of the former Yugoslavia started a rehabilitation process based on the creation of a national identity: co-operation and socialization between ethnic groups was stimulated. The reconstruction of cultural heritage forms a part in this rehabilitation process, but there are some difficulties in its implementation. The main difficulty is that countries of the former Yugoslavia, fueled by western ideology through the involvement of the international community, use a forced 'shared narrative' in their rehabilitation process, while at the back, they stimulate ethnic segregation.

The reconstruction of cultural heritage forms a central role in this problem, because here the western ideology and the local approach clash and create dispute. The involvement of the international community is disputed among scholars and local communities because they seemed to, at least initially, overlook the needs and feelings of the local communities. Now, through the Ljubljana process, an ideology shift is noticeable: no longer is the reconstruction of cultural heritage seen as a trigger for regional stabilization, but as an instrument for modernization and revitalization. This can also be seen in the shift in international conventions regarding cultural heritage: where the focus was on the importance of cultural heritage 'for all humankind' (in for instance the World Heritage Convention), the importance of the local community is recognized (for instance in the Faro convention). Advisory charters, such as the Venice and Burra charters, form a useable toolkit in the practical implementation of reconstruction: they advise reconstruction workers and managers in how authenticity is preserved.

Other difficulties in regard to the reconstruction of cultural heritage are the lack of local heritage experts and a lack of a clear and transparent overview of the destruction to cultural heritage in exact numbers.

Thus, for rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage to work, special attention has to be paid to the wishes and ideologies of the local communities, because they are the reason why reconstruction of cultural heritage takes place. An opportunity lies here for the commission of archaeological heritage managers. They, through their specific discourse and appurtenant understanding of concepts such as identity, memory, ownership and ethics, have the required knowledge to work at these complicated cases. Besides their relevant knowledge, they also use a very applicable methodology in their work: the Values-Based Approach. Inherent to this approach is the assigning of the significance to cultural heritage based upon values ascribed by various stakeholders.

This approach is especially useful here, since there are many different values ascribed to cultural heritage in the Yugoslav Wars and each value is weighted and considered in extent. The archaeological heritage manager can also be useful before and during war time. At these moments, the archaeological heritage manager has a task besides his scientific research: the protection of cultural heritage from destruction. Before the war, this can be done through the use of various legal texts and with the help of the international community. During the war, this can be achieved by working closely with the military.

Concluding: rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage is possible, but only through a steady and specific and case to case approach, where the various stakeholders and their diverse ideas and ideologies are taken into account and where the local community, in all its ethnic diversity, forms the reason behind reconstruction.

## **Abstract**

Cultural heritage plays an important part in the rehabilitation process in post-war societies because it forms the physical part of an ethnic groups' identity. In countries of the former Yugoslavia, a shared narrative is used for rehabilitation purposes and implemented through the reconstruction of cultural heritage. Because the various ethnic groups living in countries of the former Yugoslavia have their own divergent memories to the war, reconstruction as a form of rehabilitation is difficult and disputed. In this thesis, I will show that the main difficulty of rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage lies in the fact that it is used as a forced shared narrative, which does not enhance co-operation between ethnic groups, but effectively cements the already existing ethnic segregation. The archaeological heritage manager plays a key role in resolving this problem. Through his extensive background knowledge and methodology, the archaeological heritage manager forms a link between the local community, the national government and international community. Thus, while the national governments, through the involvement of the international community, saw the reconstruction of cultural heritage as a trigger for regional stabilization, results show that it is better used for the revitalization of the local community. Through this, rehabilitation will follow. This thesis focuses on the rehabilitation through the reconstruction of cultural heritage in countries of the former Yugoslavia and focuses on the difficulties there. However, through recognizing these difficulties and coming up with opportunities, the results will be implementable in comparable situations and will add to the solution on how rehabilitation in post-war countries can best be achieved.

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