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## BOOK OF PROCEEDINGS

### I International Symposium on Culture of Remembrance

### Bosnia and Herzegovina



INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO



pro kultura magazin pro culture magazine

### “Culture of Remembrance: Twilight or New Awakening”

BOSNIA  
AND  
HERZEGOVINA

Areas of ethnic majority (2001 census)  
2001 Census  
2001 Religion  
2001 Ethnicity  
2001 Language  
2001 Religion  
2001 Ethnicity  
2001 Language

Areas of ethnic majority (2001 census)  
2001 Census  
2001 Religion  
2001 Ethnicity  
2001 Language

International University of Sarajevo  
12—13 April, 2014 Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

**CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE**

*Book of proceedings*

**I INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM**

*“Bosnia and Herzegovina – Culture of remembrance:  
Twilight or new Awakening“*

*Editors*

Sabahudin Hadžialić

Alma Jeftić

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**I MEĐUNARODNI SIMPOZIJ  
KULTURA SJEĆANJA**

*„Bosna i Hercegovina – Kultura sjećanja:  
Sumrak ili Novo buđenje“*

**И МЕЂУНАРОДНИ СИМПОЗИЈ  
КУЛТУРА СЈЕЋАЊА**

*„Босна и Херцеговина – Култура сјећања:  
Сумрак или Ново буђење“*

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## **War of Architecture: Creating New Places of Competing Memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

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### **Abstract**

Kondžilo is a Bosnian Croat pilgrimage place in Northeast Bosnia established in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The main reason for pilgrimage is a miraculous painting of Mary, the Mother of God. Before the 1990s war pilgrimage to Kondžilo was just another pilgrimage place in Bosnia and Herzegovina: neither more prominent nor important than other similar shrines. After the war ended and the miraculous painting was returned to Kondžilo, the shrine's importance has rapidly increased. Pilgrimage to Kondžilo has become the symbol of the existence, homecoming, and survival for Croats from this area as well as for Bosnian Croats in general. The Catholic Church is now working with the local population and pilgrims to transform a small chapel in the woods into a sacred landscape with multiple functions. This process of place-making crucially involves the materialisation of symbols in the landscape in order to project an image and send out a story about the Bosnian Croat struggle and the need for national unity – thus creating new places of memory. Drawing on my own ethnographic research and experience as participant in the pilgrimage, I aim to demonstrate how building a shrine and creating new places of memory in the sacred landscape of Kondžilo affects pilgrims, their religious practices, and pilgrimage experiences, as well as the perception of their community. The construction and changes that have happened at Kondžilo and its environs recently have intensified the significance of this pilgrimage place, introduced new practices, created a sacred landscape consisting of prominent topoi, which seek to promote the sanctity of the home and the need for Croats to return to Bosnia to honour their ancestors and fallen soldiers, and to keep the faith in Christ and His Mother – the Queen of the Croats. This “programme” is materially present in the landscape, and while walking through this space people can easily learn what their heritage is, what the reality is and how they should work on the future.

**Key words: Kondžilo, Pilgrimage, Bosnian Croats, Sacred Landscape, Places of Memory.**

Bosnia and Herzegovina is struck by a “war of architecture”. Using architecture three national-religious communities of Bosnia and Herzegovina are trying to mark the landscape and expand or establish their natoscapes by building new places of competing memory. These places of memory are being used as “guardians” for important national narratives about memories from the past, mostly connected to last war in Bosnia, or they serve as “anchors” for memories directed to next generations.<sup>28</sup>

In this essay I analyse recent processes of building new competing places of memory, and marking the landscapes of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I first give a short overview of examples coming from all three constitutive nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats), and at the same time, the three major religious denominations (Islam, Orthodox, and Catholic) that are generally seen as linked to these nations. Later on I will focus on examples of marking the landscape by Bosnian Croats.

Most scholars agree that memory, landscape (place), narratives and practices are inseparable, and their often selective interweaving results in creating very distinctive places of memory embedded with “important” narratives that are performed in different contexts for different reasons (Smith 2008; Schama 1995; Sheldrake 2001; Nora 1996; Casey 1996; Ryden 1993; Symonds 1999; Connerton 2004, 2009).

Martyn Smith argues that every culture spreads out over its shared landscapes a layer of associations and narratives that assign meaning to otherwise insignificant spots on our earth. Significant narratives are thus mapped upon the physical landscape so that individuals within a culture feel themselves connected to places freighted with meaning and associations (Smith 2008: 5). As cultures change over time, their significant narratives also shift, and these narratives create new cognitive lenses through which the landscape is perceived (Smith 2008: 8).

Pierre Nora writes about material and non-material aspects of memory as ‘places of memory’. He defines places of memory as any important subject (material or nonmaterial) that by the decision of the people, or with time, becomes a symbolic element of heritage of some community (Nora 1996: 17).

However, it is not just the engagement with the landscape and/or place that is important in the relationship between people/community and their environment, but also the architecture that is built in that landscape. According to Lindsay Jones, architecture is the most visible and most powerful method of both expressing and stimulating religious emotions (Jones 2007: 251), I would extend this notion also beyond religious (from personal, communities, national, political, etc.). Jones claims that every built form functions as a multivalent symbol and evokes different meanings and responses from different audiences (Jones 2007: 257).

Although narratives and practices are inseparable from place of memory and keep the memory alive, architecture is how we create places, mark the landscape, emplace memory, and impose our interpretation of space and history, or in one word - dominate. By architecture I don’t consider only monumental buildings but also small-scale monuments, information boards, statues, different memorials, everything that is built in some landscape with the aim to send out a story, emplace a memory, and gather individuals or a community around some practices.

In the next section I give a short historical background for discussion about coexistence and religious sharing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I will also outline main anthropological research on sharing and key topics that emerged from this research.

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<sup>28</sup> I want to thank to John Eade for his encouragement in writing this essay. My special thanks go to Robert Hayden for enormous help, comments and advices.



## A short historical background of sharing and coexistence in Bosnia

Before the war (1992-1995) Bosnia and Herzegovina, like Yugoslavia as a whole, was perceived (by the outsiders but also many insiders), and presented, as a country of brotherhood and unity (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*), “small Yugoslavia”, of different nations and religions living peacefully together. The war ended that dream, or it was an awakening? The best known example of Bosnian tolerance is sacral buildings of Sarajevo standing next to each other (the Mosque, the Catholic and Orthodox churches). But if we historically contextualize these churches, we very easily realize that the picture, as it always is, is not black and white. Namely, the construction of the Orthodox Church, known as *Saborna crkva rođenja Presvete Bogorodice*, started in 1863, and was dedicated in 1872. That building was the first sacral object build in Sarajevo that was not Islamic in origin and it disrupted the Islamic construction monopole in the city centre. Although the Church was build with the Sultan’s political support and some financial assistance as well, the construction was not supported by local Muslims. Moreover, because of their resistance, the dedication of the church was prolonged for a year, and on the day of the dedication the ceremony was guarded by 1200 Ottoman soldiers. One of the main arguments against this Church was that it had a bell tower bigger than any Mosque Minarets of Sarajevo at that time, which was forbidden in Ottoman empire (Hayden 2013: 4).

The Catholic Cathedral Srca Isusova was build in 1889, when rule by the Ottoman empire had been succeeded by that of the Austrian-Hungarian kingdom, and the percentage of the population that was Catholic had increased from 3 % in 1878 to 25 % in 1889. The Synagogues of Sarajevo were built in 1902 and 1932. So, the most famous Sarajevo tolerance picture is the result of weakening and the end of Ottoman Empire and Islam as ruling religion and arrival of Austrian-Hungarian kingdom. It seems that the story of Bosnian and Herzegovinian religious coexistence, or to be more specific, the construction of the prominent sacral buildings of other religions (except Islam), started to profile at the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th century with political and religious changes (Baskar 2012: 52).

No one can deny that coexistence and even sharing the sacra existed in Bosnia and Herzegovina but it seems, like any sharing the sacra, it was a result of local context (historical, cultural, religious, etc.) and the concept of *komšiluk* (good neighbourhood) rather than a general picture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Robert Hayden disagrees with these ideas and considers them historical particularism. He is especially critical of the concept of *komšiluk* asking how is it that the concept is so strong in one minute yet apparently not in the next?<sup>29</sup>

As Robert Hayden and Slobodan Naumović emphasize, the Ottoman Empire was, in fact, explicitly and legally a state in which Muslims dominated over non-Muslims. Christians and Jews were indeed tolerated so long as they did not threaten the dominant position of Muslims. Thus, the peaceable relations celebrated in this Balkan tale were premised on a stable configuration of Muslim dominance. When the dominance was threatened, there was conflict between these groups and also very brutal repression to restore Ottoman rule and the supremacy of Islam (Hayden and Naumović 331).

The emphasis on sharing and coexistence also parallels recent work in anthropology on the sharing of sacred space, which explicitly aims to counter models of interreligious interaction in the Balkans, among other regions, that emphasize an inherent antagonism between religious communities (Hayden and Naumović 2013: 325).

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<sup>29</sup> From personal correspondence with Robert Hayden.

There are two approaches to sharing the sacra (an in a way, coexistence in general). At one side are Robert Hayden and his supporters. Hayden after extensive ethnographic research in India and the Balkans, and recently in Turkey, Portugal and Peru, developed a concept of Antagonistic tolerance. He argues that coexistence does not mean tolerance as a moral stance, and that it is more a pragmatic strategy (2002: 205). For him coexistence can manifest the negative definition of tolerance – passive non interference (2002: 206). He realizes that the syncretism is possible and a fact, but for him this is a manifestation of relationship between two different groups at one period of time. This approach introduces time in analytical observance of sharing the sacra and coexistence which means that the practice of sharing happens in a particular time period (2002: 207). According to Hayden, avoiding the conflict is a result of awareness that the cost of conflict is too high, and when conflict happens the sharing of sacra, and even the coexistence is hard to except (2002: 128). The tensions between two, or more, communities can exist but they do not have to lead to a open conflict as long as one of them is dominant, or, as long there is a strong political power that holds the tensions under control (Hayden 2013: 14).

On the other side of researches of sharing the sacra are scholars that tested Haydens hypothesis and do not agree with him (Albera and Couroucli 2012; Bowman 2012; Baskar 2012; Albera 2012; Belaj and Martić 2014). Dionigi Albera argues that there are many examples of interaction between different communities that is unduly neglected, and despite Hayden's hypothesis, after a period of violence the sharing can be continued. It seems that most of them agree on main characteristic of sharing. The sharing can be a practise of moment after which people who participated in that sharing return to their ordinary life and traditional ways (Bowman 2012: 12). Hayden instead argues that we are not talking about "return" but the formation of a new configuration of interrelationship.<sup>30</sup> Sharing is a very complicated process (Couroucli 2012: 4). So, if we want to characterize some place as a place of sharing and coexistence we need to know in detail what is happening in these places, what do people do, what are they saying while they are doing some practices, who is talking to whom and who is listening (Bowman 2012: 13).

It seems that when we are talking about sharing we are focused on local practices which are almost always located on the borders, far from city centres, and centres of power, it happens among local population living in peace next to each other (Couroucli 2012: 4). Sharing and coexistence depends on local relations and context and it should be observed in such a way (Katić 2013).

Although I agree with Glenn Bowman and David Henig that in researching of sharing and coexistence we should focus more on what is really happening in the place and take a bottom up perspective, in this essay I give a top-down overview. Henig argues that this kind of perspective has a tendency to ascribe agency to entities such as ethnic and religious groups, which are then taken for granted: *...such analytical essentialism often reduces complex social fabric to their collective identitarian dimensions while overlooking at the same moment other related processes taking place on the ground.* (Henig 2015: 133)

Henig suggests that the possible escape from this trap is in engaged and detailed ethnography. He shifts his perspective from groupism with emphasis on top-down control toward the grassroots activities of divergent social actors who construct and negotiate fluid meanings and practices (Henig 2015: 133). Why then do I focus again in this essay on institutional actions rather on individual and group practices? Although both perspectives are equally important, I believe that creating new places of memory and marking the landscapes is primarily a top-down process because almost no sacral object or national monument cannot be build in a nationally and religiously important place without the approval and help of religious and political institutions.

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<sup>30</sup> From personal correspondence with Robert Hayden.

How individuals and communities react is equally important but not in the context of this essay. As Henig himself has highlighted, sacred landscapes in Bosnia and Herzegovina have undergone tremendous transformations by the actions of Bosniak politicians and Islamic clerics, who exploit pilgrimages to promote themselves in the public sphere or for their own factional political gains (Henig 2015: 145). He also shows how although individual Bosniaks bitterly object to these processes that are happening throughout Bosnia, the choreography of prayers for (local *dova*'s) are also contested in some villages where new mosques have been built, often thanks initially to foreign Islamic "humanitarian aid organizations" (Henig 2015: 153). I would extend this from Bosniak to all three constitutive Bosnian and Herzegovian nations. The changing of landscape, local practices and even population of some regions in Bosnia (Halilovich 2013) is happening by top-down, institutional, very strong political and religious act with or without individual or local communities support.

Robert Hayden continued to develop his work further and connected *Antagonistic tolerance* with a new concept of *Relioscapes*, which refers to the distribution of space through time using manifestations of religious traditions. *Relioscapes* consists of those manifestations but also of the populations that build them (Hayden and Walker 2013: 9). Hayden and Walker are mostly interested in the situations in which two groups, with different religions, inhabit the same territory. In those situations two *relioscapes* are crossing and could overlap. They consider that the best way of observing and understanding the sharing of sacra and coexistence is to observe those places as knots in which the social interaction between different communities happens. As knots those particular places are not possible to segregate from the social networks that surround them, which could be observed from local community, region, all the way to state or empire (2013: 10). *Relioscapes* are fluid, since people move, carrying their religious practices with them, and potentially changing the environment so that it reflects their religion (2013: 10). Hayden and Walker argue that places of sharing must be observed in different scales, over a longer period of time, and in a context of moving borders of different *relioscapes*. If there is no overlap of *relioscapes* there will be no sharing. When a certain number of members of one community live close to members of different community the practice of sharing could happen, but when one group becomes dominant their superiority will be visible through physical markers of space (sacral objects). As long as different *relioscapes* overlap, we can expect periods of *antagonistic tolerance* (Hayden and Walker 2013: 24).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina nationality and religion are two sides of one coin. Building sacral objects is almost synonymous with building an object of national symbolism. Moreover, almost all "secular" objects, like monuments, have religious symbols integrated at some point. Hayden and Walker's *relioscapes* in Bosnia are, at the same time, *natio-scapes*. The first thing you see, or look at, when you arrive for the first time in some village or a town in Bosnia is the sacral object. If you see a church you can be pretty sure you are entering a Catholic (Croatian) village, if you see an Orthodox Church you are probably in a Serb village, and if you see a Mosque it most likely Muslim (Bosniak) village, if you see all of them – it is mixed village. This is the most common marker of space (landscape) and religio-national identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a result of this, recently, different religious and national communities are promoting Bosnia and Herzegovina to one of the biggest sacral building sites in Europe. Hundreds of mosques, churches, crosses and other religious monuments are being rebuilt and erected throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. The war in Bosnia ended in 1995, but the "war of architecture" is still going on. The Croats (Catholics) are building monumental pilgrimage sites like Kondžilo and St John of Podmilačje, crosses overlooking towns, and big bell towers like the one in Mostar that overshadows all the Minarets. The Bosniaks (Muslims) have developed further their main *dova* Ajvatovica to a national and cultural centre of Bosniaks (Sarač Rujanac 2013; Sarač Rujanac 2014, Henig 2012), old mosques are being restored with the help of Republic of Turkey, new mosques and minarets are taking over

Bosnian landscapes, and memorials for victims of war are erected at places of mass murders (Potočari). The Ajvatovica pilgrimage site is portrayed in public rhetoric as holy land, emblematic of a threatened Muslim community's historical continuity and cultural heritage. The Bosnian Islamic Community promotes Ajvatovica as the biggest annual Muslim gathering in Europe. The Ajvatovica pilgrimage includes a parade, "The Days of Ajvatovica", political gathering, and folkloric parade. Ajvatovica quickly became a powerful instrument in post-Yugoslav public Bosniak discourse that symbolizes and articulates the collective identity of Bosniaks (Henig 2015: 142).

The Serbs (Orthodox), besides discovering churches and monasteries that are older than they possibly could be, are focused on erecting monuments that connects them to common, wider Serbian heritage, like erecting a statue of Stefan Nemanja in the centre of Banja Luka. On the other side the Serbs also erect memorials to war victims trying to present themselves as one of the victims of war, especially in places where mass murders from their side were committed (such as villages of Kravica and Zalazje near Srebrenica). Srebrenica is a very good example of competing memories through building of memorials and marking landscapes. The Muslim memorial of the massacre in Potočari on the spot where most of the women of Srebrenica last saw their sons and husbands, and Serb counter-memorial in nearby villages of Kravica and Zalazje, along with re-erection of the Kosta Todorović monument – a local Serbian World War I hero whose monument, erected in 1924, was moved in 1941 (Duijzings 2007: 147). New crosses, Orthodox churches and the destruction of mosques, are an effort to inscribe new a religio-national political order into the landscape and to send a clear message to the Muslims. Muslims on the other hand, through the commemorations and the creation of a memorial, are trying to re-establish their presence in Srebrenica and symbolically "undo" the results of Serb ethnic cleansing and genocide (Duijzings 2007: 153).

One of the functions of all these places and objects mentioned in the text, besides the primary one (for sacral objects, the religious ones), is to mark the space (landscape), to show the presence of one religious and national community, and in some cases to indicate dominance. These newly built places of memory compete with each other in carrying the memories of recent past but also, in some examples, these are places of memory for the future, and especially among Bosnian Croats. Every year more and more Croats are leaving Bosnia and Herzegovina, and with the decrease of population, the Bosnian Catholic Church is trying to, at least, mark the landscape where Croats use to live. In the next sections I present a brief example in which the Bosnian Croat community is trying, by building new places of memory and with practices connected to these places, to mark the landscape, show their presence, and reach out to younger and succeeding generations.

### **The example of Kondžilo<sup>31</sup>**

Kondžilo is a Bosnian Croat pilgrimage place located in the parish of Komušina, northern Bosnia, which is today part of the Republika Srpska (Republic of Srpska). Although most people living in the area were Croats before the early 1990s war, by 2014, the demographic situation had changed dramatically. In most of the Croatian villages surrounding the Kondžilo hill there are now very few permanent residents and these are mostly elderly. The main reason for pilgrimage to Kondžilo is the eighteenth-century miraculous painting of Mary, the Mother of God. The painting was probably brought by Franciscans, and since a Franciscan was the first to write down the oral tradition at the end of the nineteenth century about the arrival of the painting and the beginning of the pilgrimage, it seems that the Church was responsible for the creation of this pilgrimage place (Katić 2010). Before the 1990s war, pilgrimage to Kondžilo – the Feast of Mary's Assumption into heaven, on 15

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<sup>31</sup> This section is a short version of the paper published under the title: From the Chapel on the Hill to National Shrine: Creating a Pilgrimage "Home" for Bosnian Croats.

August – was just another pilgrimage place in Bosnian and Herzegovina: neither more prominent nor important than other similar shrines. After the war ended the miraculous painting that was in “exile” in Croatia returned to Kondžilo in 1999 on the Feast of the Assumption. In the last decade shrine’s importance has rapidly increased (Katić 2014: 16). The most important pilgrimage celebration still takes place on 15 August, when thousands of people arrive, mostly Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croats ‘temporarily residing’ in the European Union, and those from Croatia and Switzerland. In fact, pilgrimage to Kondžilo is one of the reasons, and frequently the only reason, for those who were displaced from the surrounding villages and parishes, to visit their houses, if only once a year. Pilgrimage to Kondžilo has become the symbol of the existence, homecoming and survival for Croats from this area, as well as for Bosnian Croats in general. The Catholic Church is now working with the local population and pilgrims to transform the small woodland chapel into a sacred landscape with multiple functions. This process of place-making crucially involves the materialization of symbols in the landscape in order to project an image and send out a story about the Bosnian Croat struggle and the need for national unity (Katić 2014: 17).

When you visit a Kondžilo pilgrimage place during the main pilgrim event on 15 August, the first thing you come across is a big sign in the neighbouring parish on the road one must take to go to Komušina and Kondžilo, which says: ‘Welcome back to your homes!’ This is a symbolically very powerful sign, which etched itself into the memory. People are being prepared, psychologically and spiritually, for the rest of their journey and given various mental images which were food for thought. The second item that appears in the landscape, attracting attention through its appearance, size and position, is the bell-tower by the old parish church ruined in 1992. The old parish church is situated on the hill above the current church, giving it a dominant position, but since it was ruined and overgrown, it did not stand out. Now, however, one could see from afar an imposing, hollow bell-tower, made from non-corrosive aluminium, which dominates the landscape in all its shiny glory. The first time I saw it I headed straight up to the bell-tower. As I was approaching, I realized that it was not a bell-tower at all but a monument to soldiers who had died in the war. At the foot of the monument, on four sides were plaques containing the names of fallen soldiers, while at the front there were a few wreaths left over from a delegation visit. Later I found out that the hill had been given an official name – *Kalvarija* (Calvary) – symbolizing the suffering of people from that region in all wars (Katić 2014: 26). Since the 2012 construction of the memorial park (as it is called on the official website of the shrine), many delegations have laid wreaths at the monument, including the president of the Federation of BiH, representatives of the Ministry of Defence of BiH, a number of generals and various veterans’ organizations.

On 10 August 2012, after laying wreaths and paying respects to fallen soldiers, a Stations of the Cross procession began, which led up to Kondžilo, thereby connecting two sacred topoi – *Kalvarija* and Kondžilo. The old parish church had also been rebuilt. The only part left standing – the altar section – was preserved and partly reconstructed, while the altar had become the ‘altar of peace’ dedicated to all Croatian victims throughout history (Katić 2014: 27). The old chapel, from Kondžilo mountain, had been given a new function enabling it to be both symbolically and physically close to the painting. As it happens, the old chapel was moved next to the parish church and functions as the outdoor altar. Although the roof and roof construction had been entirely changed and the closed middle section had gone, leaving the chapel looking more like a gazebo, its familiar shape and the stone foundation, where the builders of the first chapel inscribed the year of construction (with letters which are now emphasized), did indeed confirm that this was the chapel of Kondžilo. This is where the painting is now kept during the Mass for the sick on 14 August, when pilgrims fulfil their vows and the cardinal kneels while saying the rosary. On the morning of 15 August, the procession with the painting leaves for Kondžilo, first passing through the old chapel as if through a door, making its way towards Kondžilo and the new chapel (Katić 2014: 28). This new practice connects the old and new chapels and, metaphorically, the older generations who

had built the old chapel, and the new generation building the new chapel and modern shrine, which is rooted in and connected to the past and tradition (Katić 2014: 29).

The construction and changes that happened over few years have intensified the significance of this pilgrimage place and introduced some new practices. They have also created a sacred landscape consisting of a prominent topos, where the emphasis is put on the home, the Croatian struggle during the war, the sacrifice of those killed, Christ's Way of the Cross, as well as Kondžilo itself as the central place and symbol of Croatian survival in Bosnia. Together, all of the topoi in this sacred landscape constitute the fundamental mission, which Kondžilo as an institutional pilgrimage aims to promote: the sanctity of the home, the necessity of Croats' return to Bosnia, honouring one's ancestors and fallen soldiers, and keeping the faith in Christ and our Mother – the Queen of Croats. Deliberately or not, it is as if the religio-political programme is present in the landscape, and while walking through this space, one can easily learn what our foundation is, what the reality is and how we should work on the future (Katić 2014: 31). Kondžilo is becoming a religious-national theme park, where visitors/pilgrims can see and experience all the things that make them a part of the Bosnian Croat community, and the things that make Komušina and Kondžilo a Croatian place (Katić 2014: 32).

### **Concluding thoughts**

The main role in this “war of architecture” has the institutional Churches which are focused on sacral buildings and objects, which have, in the same time, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, national features as well, as well as political elites that use these “sacred” landscapes for their own purposes but also create new one mostly memorials connected to last Bosnian war.

In this very complex interweaving between top-down and bottom-up processes and practices; sharing and coexistence, antagonistic tolerance, building new sacral and national objects, creating and preserving individual and collective memories, creating and emplacing new and selective narratives, changing landscapes, population, Bosnia and Herzegovina is going through a massive transformations that could only be compared to Ottoman conquest and the end of Medieval Bosnian kingdom, and later on, with the end of Ottoman rule and Austrian-Hungarian “protectorate” in the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. What will be the final outcome of this “war of architecture” is yet to be seen.

Kondžilo is a good example of these processes. Once a small local pilgrimage place marked by wooden chapel built by local population today is a monumental national shrine of Bosnian Croats. Although this place has no importance without people (pilgrims), so it's a bottom-up perspective that is important as Bowman and Henig emphasize, the fact is that without official institutional initiative and support this pilgrimage place would never rise to this level (top-down). It's the interrelationship of these two poles that can create new places of memory and new practices of memorialization. Another fact is that, except pilgrimage days, Kondžilo surrounding villages are almost abandoned. This meaningful landscape with important places of memory is not in “use”. So for who is it built? If we rely on Hayden and Walkers *religioscapes* and/or in the same time *natio-scapes*, it could look as this (and not just this, as other examples from Bosnia and Herzegovina that I mentioned earlier show) sacred memorial landscape is a *natio/religioscapes* intentioned to mark the landscape, show the presence of one national and religious community and to emplace selective nationally important narratives for this and next generations.

Robert Hayden is especially critical to observing sharing and coexistence in local relations, and in the context of concept of *komšiluk* in Bosnia, arguing that it makes little sense to analyse any single site as if it were an isolate. He concludes that the critics of the AT model all present examples of a

single ethnographic present and then claim to be contradicting a diachronic model.<sup>32</sup> But, it seems to me, that he neglects the fact that the sharing and coexistence is a bottom-up process, located in a single site, happening in a specific time period. I think this is the main reason why we have two “camps” and different approaches to the concept of sharing the sacral and coexistence of different national and religious communities.

Hayden and his supporters are using diachronic perspective while their opponents are more focused on contemporary situation and observe the practices as they are happening (like Bowman and Henig). They have a problem understanding each other because Hayden is trying to generalize and create a grand theory of sharing and coexistence; others are using their local ethnographic research. Both are discussing the same thing but from a different perspective. Local practices sometimes contradict general theories, and vice versa. Bosnia and Herzegovina for example is so diverse that in just a few kilometres you can find yourself in completely different situation that contradicts your previous knowledge and assumptions. Not to mention different time periods even at the same location. I agree with Bowman, Henig, Couroucli and others that sharing does happened and is a local practice, but I also agree with Hayden that this can come to a roughly end, but this is more the result of a top-down influence that is reflected in local context. Hayden and Walker actually acknowledge this arguing that places of sharing must be observed in different scales, over a longer period of time, and in the context of moving borders of different religioscapes. And I think that they are on the right track with these ideas that could connect these two approaches and give more profound answers to many question concerning sharing and coexistence. But so far this is just an idea. Only using both approaches (bottom-up and top-down; diachronic and synchronic) at one local place of sharing we can try to get a better insight into practices of sharing, co-existence, antagonistic tolerance and war of architecture.

It will be interesting to follow up this process and the development of creation of these competing places of memory, and to see how this will influence Bosnia and Herzegovina landscape as well as local communities and their everyday life and interrelationship.

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<sup>32</sup> From a personal correspondence with Robert Hayden.



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