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THE POLITICS OF MEMORY: THE FACE AND THE PLACE OF THE SARAJEVO ASSASSINATION

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Abstract: The paper examines the visual memory constructs synonymous with the Sarajevo Assassination in the period since the beginning of the First World War. The attention is given to the transformation of the official commemorations after the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofia on 28 June 1914, the ideologically motivated mythologising of Gavrilo Princip and Mlada Bosna conspirators and subsequent ‘museumification’ of their memory in the communist period. Following the chronological alignment of the Assassination visual memory constructs in hundred years to date, it is possible to identify the intervoven pattern of exclusivity, conflict and inclusivity, orchestrated by each consecutive regime in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in periods between three major wars. The exposition and interpretation of this divisive and contentious memory pattern, as suggested in the current Sarajevo ‘Sarajevo 1878-1918’ exhibition, provides an argument in favour of more complex and pluralist approach to the subject of Assassination, in keeping with the contemporary critical heritage discourse which is emerging among the transforming communities in Central and Eastern Europe.

Whilst much of the First World War was fought outside Bosnia-Herzegovina, the country is often seen as its symbolic epicentre due to the well-known political assassination of a Habsburg Crown prince and his wife in Sarajevo in 1914. This single action eventually drew a number of other countries into major conflict, resulting in the deaths of millions of soldiers and civilians across the European continent from 1914 to 1918.

The Assassination was seen as a catastrophe by the Austro-Hungarian authorities who ruled Bosnia at that time, while the captured assassin, a self-proclaimed Yugoslav nationalist and six other conspirators, claimed it as an act of ‘tyrannicide’ in protest against the foreign oppression.¹ This year’s centenary is marked by a local debate which is questioning the ‘ownership’ of the Assassination, as the commemorations cannot escape the fresh memories of the last war (1992 to 1995) and its legacy of destruction and point to the heart of the complex identity of Bosnian nationals.²



Plate 1: Gavrilo Princip, Franz-Ferdinand and Family, Graveyard for Bosniak soldiers from First World War in Austria (Sarajevo City Archives)

The 1990s war deliberately targeted the selected symbols of Bosnian cultural heritage aiming for the ‘obliteration of memory’, as correctly termed by Robert Donia. This was later continued in a form of the ‘segmentation of memory’ in which Sarajevo’s archives, libraries and museums, have been either devastated or actively neglected by the post-war political structure. Furthermore, the attempts to physically ‘trifurcate’ the records of libraries and cultural institutions by the nationalists’ political apparatus almost succeeded, in Donia’s words, ‘to reformulate’ the fundamental repository of records and information for future generations.³

The recent controversial accidental or ‘accidental’ burning of the part of the National Archives in the Presidency of B-H building, during the citizens’ protests in February in Sarajevo is the latest ‘obliteration’ attempt, yet to be fully understood.⁴ In parallel, same can be said for a large scale ‘post-modernist memory fabrication’

¹ Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo* (London: Macgibbon&Kee, 1966) 341

² Vahidin Preljević, ‘Čija je 1914?’, *Oslobođenje, Pogledi*, Sarajevo, 25.05.2013, 30

³ Robert J. Donia, ‘Sarajevo Archives and Cultural memory under Fire: destruction and the Post-war nationalist Transformation’, in *Historijski arhiv Bosne I Hercegovine*, 2004, <<http://www.arhivsa.ba/ica2004/robert.html>> [26.08.2013]

⁴ Bosnian media, have we been to the same protests? « Zašto ne <http://zastone.ba/en/bosnian-media-have-we-been-to-the-same-protests/>

in Emir Kusturica's Andrićgrad, with its specific appropriation of Mlada Bosna (Young Bosnia) symbolism and the significant political support in one part of Bosnia.⁵ Equally, the 'culture war' is raging between the 'modernists' who seek to contextualise the centenary commemorations within the European First World War discourse while the 'traditionalists' reject any revision that may alter a specific version of an identity-forming narrative. Thus the Sarajevo Assassination persists as a Bosnian meta-narrative, a memory in flux, continuously associated with the political instrumentalization in the last one hundred years.

This paper is a shorter version of the thesis on politics of memory of the Assassination, in which I applied methods from the visual studies setting to, as framed by Mieke Bal, to 'peel[...] off, ...[a] layer after layer of interwoven signs and signifiers, in order to deconstruct its make-up'.⁶ It is an overview of the official memory visualisations on location of the Museum Sarajevo 1878-1918 which replaced the former Muzej Mlada Bosna (Young Bosnia Museum) and it traces the path of memory-making and the elevation from the *place of memory* into a museum.⁷ However, the museological aspect of commemorations is only marginally dealt with here, in cognisance of the broader critical heritage discourse, as framed in Mathew Rampley's edition.⁸

Commemoration of the Victims and the Place Memory-making

The corner of former Franz Josef Strasse and Appel Quay at the time of the Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into Austria-Hungary, seen on a photograph from 1908 has a look of a Central European city street, as suggested by the architectural forms with classic pillars, pediments and medallions between window arches, typical of the period. (Plate 2). A row of young trees protected with timber guarding grow along the Appel Quay. The ground floor at the corner of the building houses a pastry

⁵ Press Online Republika Srpska: Andrićgrad - kulturna prestonica Srba! http://pressrs.ba/sr/vesti/vesti_dana/story/40347/Andri%C4%87grad+-+kulturna+preston... 29.06.2013.> [06.07.2013]

⁶ Bal, Mieke, *The Talking museum*, in *Double Exposures*, The subject of cultural analysis, Rutledge, New York & London, 1996, 88.

⁷ Paul B. Miller, 'Compromising memory: The Site of the Sarajevo Assassination, EES Noon Discussion, 10.01.2007, 1-3.

⁸ Matthew Rampley, ed., 'Contested Histories: Heritage and/as the Construction of the Past: An Introduction', in *Heritage, Ideology and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe, Contested Pasts, Contested Presents*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012) 1-20.

shop with a name-plate above the entrance, with a text in German: Moritz Schiller Delicatessen. The frieze above the ground floor carries an advertising board along the corner of the building with inscriptions in Hebrew and Arabic. There are four languages and four alphabets on the same façade of the building.



Plate 2: Corner of former Appel Quay and Franz Josef Strasse, today Ulica Zelenih beretki and Obala Kulina bana ; 7th December 1908 -Public announcement of the Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, 1908, From Bogičević, Vojislav, *Sarajevski atentat, Stenogram glavne rasprave*, in Sarajevo City Archives

A group of people are reading the Public Announcement of the Annexation. The group consists of two soldiers, one of them Bosnian, judging by the fez on his head, two other adults and two Bosnian children, girl dressed in traditional *dimije* (baggy trousers). A dandy-ish looking young passer-by in a European-cut suit with a fez is joining the crowd to read the text on the poster in Bosnian/Serbo-Croatian and in Cyrillic, advising them that Austria-Hungary took formal charge of the country from the Ottoman Empire, after 30 years of ‘occupation’ and is now fully institutionalising the Habsburg rule under the imperial seal of the Emperor Franz Joseph.

Six years later, the same place became a scene of the infamous political assassination, during the ill-chosen timing of Archduke Franz Ferdinand’s official visit to oversee the military manoeuvres in Bosnia which were coinciding with the Bosnian-Serbs’ national feast day of Vidovdan-St. Vitus. The historic narrative of the Sarajevo Assassination is well known, and the event in which a son of a peasant eliminated the European Crown prince unleashing a huge catastrophic chain reaction, catapulting the key conspirators into the realm of symbols and legends or, in today’s terms, into the international celebrity. As a consequence, and after a brief period of

commemorations in honour of the deceased Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofia on location, with the departure of Monarchy from Bosnia, their memory was practically obliterated by the radical refocus on commemorating the perpetrator(s) on location of the assassination.

The Austria-Hungary officials immediately termed the act and the place of the assassination as the *Catastrophe*, the euphemism that appeared in newspaper reports. The spatial-visual elements were devised to mark the site of mourning, including memorial stamps and memorial plaque, accompanied by postcards and popular literature and publications (Plate 3). The historic site of assassination began to be, to paraphrase Pierre Nora, an ‘appropriation by a cult of death’.⁹



Plate 3: Corner of former Franz Joseph Street and Appel Quay, with Moritz Schiller's pastry shop and the place of the assassination, marked with +, 1914, (Photo : Sarajevo City Archives)

The heading on the postcard and the cross ‘+’ sign are pointing to the spot where the Archduke’s car was halted. The ground floor still houses the Moritz Schiller’s pastry shop, with some visible advertising embellishments on the façade and a text in Latin script and Bosnian/Serbo-Croat advertising Croatia insurance company office for Bosnia-Herzegovina on the fascia above the shop front. The draped dark flags at half-mast along the street indicate the period of official mourning (Plate 3).

This closer look on the photo show that the orderliness of architectural forms is contrasted by a plurality of dress code, textual and visual signs and languages,

⁹ Pierre Nora, ed. , ‘Entre Memoire st Histoire, La Problematique des Lieux, in *Les Lieux d Memoire*, (Paris:Gallimard 1984) 17-42.

signifying what Pierre Nora calls 'the ephemeral film of actuality'.¹⁰ Within a short period of time, a simple stone memorial plaque will be placed above the corner shop window as a first permanent visual commemoration of the victims of the Assassination. Some alterations to the façade had to be made to accommodate it.



Plate 4: Corner of Appel Quay and Franz Josef Street, location of the assassination, showing memorial plaque to Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Duchess Sophie von Hohenberg, and Spomenik Umorstvu-Monument to Killing during the official dedication of the monument, 28 June 1917, (Sarajevo City Archives)

On the third anniversary of the assassination on 28 June 1917, Spomenik Umorstvu (Monument to Killing) was officially unveiled on location, with an official Catholic consecration ceremony. The Spomenik Umorstvu (Monument to Killing) was based on the design by a sculptor Eugen Bory from Budapest, in a late Secession style.¹¹ It was an asymmetric composition, with a 12-meter high two-pillar structure and a bench at the mouth of the Latin Bridge bordering the former Appel Quay. From the bench across from the twin-pillars, the public could have had a direct view to the lower part of the pillars and two medallions with busts of Archduke and Duchess.¹² (Plate 4).

¹⁰ Nora, P., [1984], 18.

¹¹ Krzović, I., *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918*, (Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija Sarajevo, 1987) 229.

¹² Indira Kučuk-Sorguč, 'Prilog historiji svakodnevnice: Spomenik umorstvu-Okamenjena prošlost na izdržavanju stoljetne kazne', in *Prilozi* 34 (2005) 61-66.



Plate 5: View to Spomenik Umorstvu-Monument to Killing with double pillar and bench at Latinska Ćuprija-Lateiner Brucke erected to commemorate the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Duchess Sophie von Hőchenberg, 28 June 1917, (Sarajevo City Archives)



Plate 6: Postcard and photo of Spomenik Umorstvu-Monument to Killing at Latinska Ćuprija-Lateiner Brucke erected to commemorate the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Duchess Sophie von Hőchenberg, 28 June 1917, (Sarajevo City Archives)

The visual impact of the monument, the ritual and the selected gathering, dominated by military and police presence, was designed as a strong symbolic demonstration of ruling authority's wish to commemorate the victims, but also to

demonstrate confidence and restore the order according to its values. The timing was in particularly significant, given that this was the third year of the Great War.

Towering over the modest surrounding of smaller scale buildings each side of the Latin bridge, the monument was an attraction to visitors from the Metropolis to Sarajevo, as seen on a photo (Plate 5.) There were plans for building of a memorial church in a neo-Gothic/Alpine style based on designs by the same Hungarian sculptor on an unknown location, but this never went ahead.

Closer look to commemorative postcard and the photograph taken from the same angle show the graphic intervention at the background to the Monument and blotting out of the unsightly building under scaffold (Plate 6). This artistic embellishment can be seen as a handy metaphor for the *never-ending business of bringing order and harmony to this troublesome place*, as it must have been regarded by the authorities.

The first mention of the Monument to Killing during socialist Yugoslav period can be found in in the catalogue of the exhibition “Architecture in Bosnia-Herzegovina 1878-1918”, curated by the art historian Ibrahim Krzović for the National Art Gallery of Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹³ While restricting his observations to the architectural description of the monument, Krzović must have been aware of the significance of this discrete broadening of the commemoration narrative, made by the silent re-entrance of the victims in the public eye, without an overt challenge to the official communist narrative of the Sarajevo Assassination, in 1987.

Later on in 2004, Indira Kučuk-Sorguč delves a bit further into the politics of commemoration. She challenges the propositions to fully reconstruct the Monument to Killing on the original location in perspective, by contrasting it with the lack of commemorations of the older heroes of Bosnian resistance to the Occupation in 1878, namely Muhamed Hadžijamaković and Avdo Jabučica. While their names can be on the street plaques of two smaller Sarajevo streets, according to her, they have never been otherwise commemorated. With this, she highlights the need for the balanced versus selective ‘distribution’ of memory of the period which had been heavily dominated by the official memory of Mlada Bosna and Princip at the expense of other complex local narratives.

¹³ Krzović, I., 242.

Expropriation, Erasure and Reversal of Memory (1918-1941)

The new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later Kingdom of Yugoslavia succeeded the Austria-Hungary rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It has officially distanced itself from direct knowledge and association with the Mlada Bosna organization and condemned them at the international level, while the popular opinion in Serbia and parts of Bosnia was that Gavrilo Princip and the others 'sacrificed their lives for freedom'. The youth of conspirators, their conduct, the scale and harshness of the trial, the executions and sentences, all these commanded attention and often empathy, respect and admiration, not only among the Slavs but also by a number of international supporters.

At the same time, large segments of the population in Bosnia- Herzegovina felt excluded and threatened by the new authority which harboured many antagonistic, nationalistic and expansionistic tendencies at the expense of Bosnia, under the disguise of the 'liberating and unifying' Serbian military, political and royal leadership. As already noted by Alija Nametak and quoted by Muhidin Pelesić, the Serbian military commander Stepa Stepanović upon entering Sarajevo in 1918 effectively stated to the local leaders that he did not recognize Bosniaks as the indigenous people of the land.¹⁴ Yet his name—Obala Stepe Stepanovića, was immediately given to former Appel Quay in Sarajevo and remained such throughout the socialist Yugoslav period until it was changed to Ulica Zelenih beretki, after the defenders of Sarajevo in the 1992-1995 war.

The arrogance of the Serbian-dominated new rulers was matched by the attitude of Bosniak political leaders who were, in the turbulence of the events, mainly focused on their own economic and political survival, opportune tactical alliances and trade-offs with the new regime.¹⁵

From the beginning, the new administration started erasing the visual iconography of the former regime, firstly the one immediately associated with the former Monarchy and its legal and cultural role.¹⁶ Anything that reminded of the Austria-Hungary, the monuments, the portraits of the Emperor, the plaques and place-names, had to be removed, in parallel to 'cleansing' of the official language

¹⁴ Muhidin Pelesić, 'Drijemanje na ramenu vremena ili žudnja za vlašću predvodnika iznad nada i strahova sunarodnjaka', in *Historijska traganja* 3(2009) 51-89 (68).

¹⁵ Pelesić, M., 89.

¹⁶ Seka Brkljača, 'Neke karakteristike integracijskih procesa Bosne i Hercegovine u novu državu, Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca /Jugoslaviju', in *Historijska traganja* 3 (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2009) 137-182.

and communication using the German terms.¹⁷ The instruction was issued to all local authorities for the removal of ‘all photographs, sculptures, coats of arms [and] plaques that remind of the old regime [...] in keeping with the spirit of our people and without offending the dignity of others.’¹⁸

Consequently, the Spomenik Umorstvu commemorating the victims of the assassination was removed in December 1918, but its parts were kept safe for more than ninety years by various individuals and authorities in Bosnia.¹⁹

By the time the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed most of Mlada Bosna conspirators were dead. Princip’s remains were exhumed on 9th June 1920, and together with those of Čabrinović, Grabež and others who died in Theresienstadt and Möllersdorf prisons, were transported to Sarajevo and buried in a common grave in Sarajevo’s graveyard Koševo. These were joined by the remains of Ilić, the elder Čubrilović, Jovanović and Žerajić.²⁰



Plate 7: The removal of St. Vitus’s heroes- G. Princip, V. Čabrinović, T. Grabež- Exhumation of remains, Handwritten text in Cyrillic: Na odru herojima Vidovdana pri iskopu kostiju u Terezinu 1919, (Sarajevo City Archives, date incorrect)

¹⁷ Rodinis, A., 237-255.

¹⁸ Ibid., 246; Full original quote in Bosnian: ”Naredite stoga, da se u svim javnim prostorijama poskidaju slike, kipovi, grbovi, natpisi, itd. koji podsjećaju na staru vladavinu. To treba izvršiti na način koji pristoji ugledu uredskih prostorija a i odgovara duši našeg naroda, jer on zazire od vrijeđanja tuđih osjećaja. Poskidane stvari pošaljite vladinom ekonomatu, osim onoga što možete zadržati za drugu sličnu potrebu.”

¹⁹ Kučuk-Sorguč, I., 61-66.

²⁰ Dedijer, V. 364.

The archival photograph of ‘The removal of the St. Vitus’s heroes’ shows a large crowd gathered around three coffins in Theresienstadt, before the transport of remains to Sarajevo (Plate 7) to be buried in a simple common grave. The return ‘home’ and re-burial, in a ‘freed country’ after the Great War offered a form of pilgrimage destination for Serbian youth. (Plate 8).



Plate 8: Photograph showing the visit and wreath-laying on common grave to Mlada Bosna conspirators; text on the ribbon in Cyrillic reads: ‘Športni klub Jugoslavija Beograd (Sport club Yugoslavia Belgrade)’, (no date) <<http://www.politikin-zabavnik.rs/pz/content/beograd-koga-vise-nema?page=3486>>[27.08.2013]

It took 11 years until the Kingdom of Yugoslavia officially marked the place of the Assassination in Sarajevo, with a simple black stone plaque at high level above the pavement, stating how Princip announced freedom on St. Vitus day in 1914 (Plate 9).²¹ The two dates for a day in June show observance both to Julian and Gregorian calendars, the former being used to mark the Serbian-Orthodox feast.

Princip navijesti slobodu na Vidovdan 15 (28) juna 1914
(English version):
Princip announced freedom on St. Vitus’s day on 15 (28) June 1914

Plate 9: Mock-up of the First memorial plaque to Princip, which was mounted on the external wall of the future Museum building in Sarajevo, on 2nd February 1930

²¹ Miller, P.,B., 2006, 2-3.

The original text on the plaque was written in Cyrillic, its wording made a linguistic link between *Princip-Freedom (Liberty) - St. Vitus*. The archaic expression *navijesti* elevates Princip to a ‘Herald of Freedom. This politically bold and provocative statement in the context of the time was constructed as a memory trigger with words and symbols whose meaning were rooted exclusively in the Serbian nationalist narrative. Rebecca West saw the plaque in Sarajevo, probably in the same position from which some time earlier the plaque to Franz Ferdinand was removed. She described it as ‘a very modest black tablet [...] to record the exact spot of the assassination for historical purposes, [...] placed so high above the street-level that the casual passer-by would not remark it’.²²

The news about the official commemorating of the plaque to Princip caused an international controversy. Alerted to the reactions, according to *The London Times* correspondent, only three days before the ceremony 2nd February 1930, the authorities pulled out from the official commemoration, stating that it was a family and private initiative and not one by a government-linked Narodna Odbrana-National Defence, otherwise implicated in organizing the assassination. Even the Belgrade press made every effort to tone down the significance of the event, which was nevertheless perceived as ‘honouring the memory of those who risked their lives for the Fatherland’.²³ But while the government in Belgrade exercised open restraint in canonizing the assassin, the religious leaders openly laid the exclusive claim to Mlada Bosna conspirators.

In 1939, the Serbian-Orthodox Church Community in Sarajevo commissioned a Belgrade professor of architecture Aleksandar Deroko to design a chapel on the common grave of St. Vitus’s Heroes, and build it in the Serbian-Orthodox Cemetery in Koševo part of Sarajevo (Plate 10). There is a simple inscription with names of eleven members of Mlada Bosna, all Bosnian Serbs, and the text in Cyrillic, arched around the Orthodox cross, which in English translation reads: ‘Blessed is the one with the eternal life-he had a reason to be born’, referring to self-sacrifice and martyrdom as a path to eternity.²⁴ The associative link created here is simple and clear: *St. Vitus-martyrdom-eternity*. This formal appropriation of the bodies and souls of the conspirators in a way seals the historic narrative with the Serbian-Orthodox/Nationalist stamp.

²² Rebecca, West, Blck Lamb and Grey Falcon, *A Journey through Yugoslavia*, [Edinburgh, New York, Melbourne, Cannongate, 2006] 351-352.

²³ Miller, P. B., 2006, 2-3.

²⁴ SH/The Bosnian text reads: ‘Blago tome ko do vijek živi-imao se rašta i roditi’



Plate 10: Orthodox chapel in Koševo cemetery, Sarajevo, designed by Belgrade architect Aleksandar Deroko, with graves of Heroes of St. Vitus, and memorial plaque dated 28 June 1939, (Photo SH, 5 July 2013)

‘Beheading’ of the Memory (1941-1945)

The Second World War coincides with a short-lived administration of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) in Bosnia, from 1941-1945. When the German troops entered Sarajevo in April 1941, the plaque to Princip was removed from the wall and sent as a birthday gift to Adolf Hitler.²⁵ ‘Sarajski Novi List’ from July 1, 1941 welcomes the removal of the plaque as ‘an act of cleansing of Sarajevo City from the St. Vitus’s disgrace’ (Plate 11).²⁶

Blogger Carl Savich shows more photos with the orderly removal of the plaque from the wall by a group of Yugoslav volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) under the watch of two Wehrmacht officers and the process was filmed by Hitler’s personal photographer Heinrich Hoffmann.²⁷ Savich explains that Hitler saw the plaque as a symbol of anti-German sentiment in the Balkans; he associated it with the German defeat in the First World War and in his *Mein Kampf* wrote extensively about the Sarajevo Assassination. He disliked Franz-Ferdinand for his ‘Slavicization’ of Austria-Hungary and for the plans to create a trialist Austrian-Hungarian- Slavic country, while he viewed Princip and comrades as ‘Slav fanatics’. The assassination played in his hand as a military opportunity for Germany to restore its power and the

²⁵ Husnija, Kamberović, ‘Ubojstvo Franza Ferdinanda u Sarajevu 1914.- devedeset godina poslije’, in *Prilozi* 34, Sarajevo, 2005, 14.

²⁶ Miller, P. B., 2006, 2-3.

²⁷ Savich, Carl, ‘Sarajevo, 1941: The Removal of the Gavrilo Princip Plaque’, 12 May 2013, <http://serbianna.com/blogs/savich/archives/2489?utm_source=feedbur...>, [12.05.2014]



Plate 11: Adolf Hitler examines the memorial plaque to Princip removed from Sarajevo and given for his 52nd birthday on 20 April 1941, aboard his special command and control train, Sonderzug Amerika, in Monichkirchen, Austria. The photograph was taken by Hitler's personal photographer, Heinrich Hoffmann. (Carl Savich, <http://serbianna.com>)

subsequent defeat and humiliation added more reason to lay a symbolic claim to the plaque in an atavistic manner of 'beheading' the enemy.²⁸

Canonization and 'Museumification' of Memory (1945-1991)

After the end of the Second World War, the new Yugoslav socialist state and its political structure in Bosnia-Herzegovina proclaimed the clear connection and ideological continuity of the partisan freedom fighters and Gavrilo Princip. The commemorations were held immediately after the liberation of the country on 7th May 1945, before the actual anniversary in June, likely wishing to link the assassination with the day of the Defeat of Fascism in Europe. Examining the archival reporting by the daily *Oslobođenje*, both Paul B. Miller and Vera Katz give a detailed account of the ceremonies and speeches held during the unveiling the second commemorative plaque to Princip and Mlada Bosna-Young Bosnia (Plate 12). In contrast to the restraint and diplomatic sensitivity shown previously by the 'Old Yugoslav' regime in 1930, this official celebration was a clear public demonstration of battle-emboldened new rule.²⁹

²⁸ Ibid. 5.

²⁹ Miller, P.,B., 2006, 4.

U znak vječite zahvalnosti Gavrilu Principu i njegovim drugovima, borcima protiv germanskih osvajača, posvećuje ovu ploču omladina Bosna i Hercegovine. Sarajevo, 7. maja 1945.

(English translation): The youth of Bosnia and Herzegovina dedicate this plaque as a symbol of eternal gratitude to Gavrilo Princip and his cammarades, the fighters against the Germanic conquerors.”
Sarajevo, 7 May 1945

Plate 12: Mock-up of the second memorial plaque to Princip and comrades, 7 May 1945

While the text on the plaque is devoid of any direct reference to Orthodox-Serbian patron saint Sv. Vid/St. Vitus, as was in keeping with the officially promoted atheism among partisans and communists, young communist Borko Vukobrat not only connected Princip's and his own birthplace Grahovo with the revolutionary tradition in his salutary speech, but more importantly, his message ensured the continuity and vitality of St. Vitus's heroes myth:

What Gavrilo Princip and comrades have started on St. Vitus's day in 1914, the youth which liberated Bosnia from Germans, have completed, and concluded the *Oslobođenje* article on St. Vitius's day in 1945.³⁰

A significant contribution to the official Yugoslav assassination narrative and its international promotion was made by the politician, former partisan Vladimir Dedijer in his epic volume *The Road to Sarajevo*, published after the 50th anniversary of the Sarajevo assassination. He follows the ideological code of the post-revolutionary Marxist language in keeping with the proclaimed 'Bratstvo i jedinstvo' (Brotherhood and Unity), a Yugoslav official slogan. Mindful of the international audience, he places the Mlada Bosna conspirators in the league of international revolutionaries and their justified anti-colonial and class struggle in Ireland and India. He terms Mlada Bosna members as 'primitive rebels' with high idealism and moral values, linking their act with the ideological foundations of the subsequent socialist Yugoslav state, and deeply influenced by the Kosovo legend.³¹ Dedijer's engaged, romanticised and idealised view of the assassins, dove-tail neatly into the nationalist

³⁰ Ibid., p. 5, Quote from *Oslobođenje* 74 (June 29, 1945), 2.; Bosnian text: "Ono što su Gavrilo Princip i njegovi drugovi započeli na Vidovdan 1914", zaključivao je članak u *Oslobođenju* na Vidovdan 1945, to su dovršili omladinci koji su oslobodili Bosnu od Nijemaca.

³¹ Dedijer, V., 446.

Serbian programmes, with an underlying ambiguity towards the Bosnian Muslim population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.³²

It can be said that the official socialist Yugoslav narrative, that otherwise distanced itself from 'the old Yugoslavia, practically recycled, appropriated and rejuvenated the old narrative rooted in the Serbian folk mythology, continuing and expanding its associative power as a linguistic memory trigger constructed with words and symbols: 'Princip- Freedom-St. Vitus-Youth-Liberation'.³³ In effect, a Serbian national narrative was implicitly transposed into a new Serbo-Yugoslav narrative, and 'it looked as if the socialist Yugoslavia was born on the ideas of Gavrilo Princip', to quote Husnija Kamberović.³⁴

The peak of glorification of the Sarajevo Assassination and Gavrilo Princip was the opening of the Muzej Mlada Bosna (Museum Young Bosnia) in 1953 in the building near which the Assassination took place. This literally 'cemented' the site into a place of memory, with the famous footsteps imprinted onto the pavement (Plate 13).



Plate 13: Princip's cousin, Museum curator points to Princip's footsteps. from A. Rhodes, 1956, [courtesy O. Hadžiselimović]

³² Ibid., 366-400.

³³ Ibid., 4. Quote from "U znak vječne zahvalnosti Gavrilu Principu i njegovim drugovima," *Oslobodjenje* 1945 (May 9, 1945), 6.

³⁴ Kamberović, H., 2005, 14.

The new memorial plaque was placed onto the wall of a new Museum in 1953, positioned to mark the place where allegedly Princip stood while firing the fatal shots. The plaque, which was carved in a rough Bosnian Hreša stone with a red-painted inscribed text in Cyrillic and placed low on the wall above the footsteps, is in contrast with the rest of an elegant façade. The wording was changed, written in Cyrillic, more explicit in use of militant terms and cumbersome in style (Plate 14).



Sa ovog mjesta 28 juna 1914 godine Gavrilo Princip svojim pucnjem izrazi narodni protest protiv tiranije i vjekovnu težnju naših naroda za slobodom

(English translation):

From this place on 28 June 1914 Gavrilo Princip expressed with his shot a popular protest and an eternal aspiration of our people for freedom

Plate 14: Third memorial plaque and Princip's footsteps impressed in the concrete paving in front of the Muzej Mlada Bosna-Young Bosnia Museum in 1953; Footsteps used to mark the position where Gavrilo Princip stood at the time of the assassination. (image taken in 1987, before steps were removed in 1992 and plaque changed from Cyrillic to Latin script), < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assassination_of_Archduke_Franz_Ferdinand>[28.08.2013]

The disappearance of the footsteps after they were removed by the Bosnian defenders in the 1990s war, created speculation and even popular nostalgia.³⁵ Jelica Kapetanović describes the making of the imprint of the footsteps by one of Najdhart's team, sculptor Radenko Mišević, who worked on the project of Mlada Bosna Museum. His small size shoes were chosen for the task as they were likely to correspond to Princip's size!³⁶

Zagreb-born Najdhart who had worked in Europe with the well-known modernist Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier up to 1936, returned to Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1938. He worked with Professors Dušan Grabrijan, architect and Hamdija Kreševljaković, historian with whom he co-authored a seminal work *Arhitektura*

³⁵ Savich, C. 2013, 7.

³⁶ Jelica Kapetanović, 'Stvaralaštvo arhitekta Juraja Najdharta', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo, 1988), 344-348.

Bosne i put u savremeno (The architecture of Bosnia and the road to Modernity). In 1952, Najdhart was given a task by the Narodni odbor Sarajevo (Municipal Committee of Sarajevo) to design and oversee the adaptation of the existing building into a Museum dedicated to Mlada Bosna and Gavrilo Princip, with the team of artists, colleagues and students from the Faculty of Architecture in Sarajevo. He saw it as a real opportunity to apply his internationally gained *Modernist* skill and also as ‘a big step towards the renaissance of the interior architecture and applied arts in the country’.³⁷ With a team of best artists and craftsmen in the country,

He set on to creatively interpret and build on the assassination narrative, interweaving it with the minimalist adaptation of the traditional Bosnian architecture forms shaped in the Ottoman period. The idealised bust of Princip sculpted by Andrija Kostović was a key feature in the small Museum space (Plate 15).

The exterior of the building was adapted to receive a modernist smooth stone façade placed to cover the original profiled neoclassical décor around arched windows. In place of the first memorial plaque for Franz Ferdinand and later first one for Princip, there was a modern low-relief Mlada Bosna *motif*, showing a group of young people holding hands as if advancing towards some imaginary goal. The museum was officially opened on 28 June 1953, the 39th anniversary of the assassination by the Narodni Odbor President Dane Olbina, born in Bosansko Grahovo like Princip.

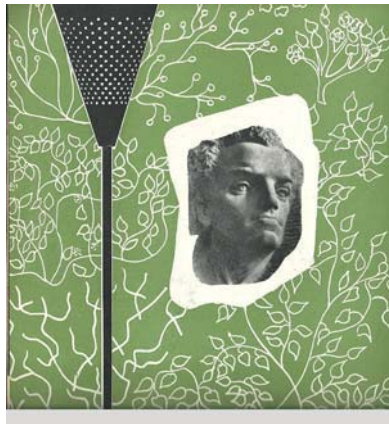


Plate 15: Muzej Mlada Bosna- Princip's head 'growing' from the wall, by A. Kostović ; Images of the interiors, in Grabrijan, D. and Najdhart, J., 1957, *Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno* (The architecture of Bosnia and road to Modernity), (Copy from Arch. Said Jamaković), p. 438

³⁷ Grabrijan, D. and J.Najdhart, 1957, 437-440; SH/combined translation from Bosnian and English version.

The records about the work of Muzej Mlada Bosna until its closure in 1992 are sketchy at present (Plate 16). It is evident that the Assassination narrative was expanded to include documentation and artefacts from the Second World War partisan epic, together with Mlada Bosna documentation.³⁸ Najdhart's fine interiors seem to have been reduced and replaced with more austere display, losing the intended air of elegance and serenity.

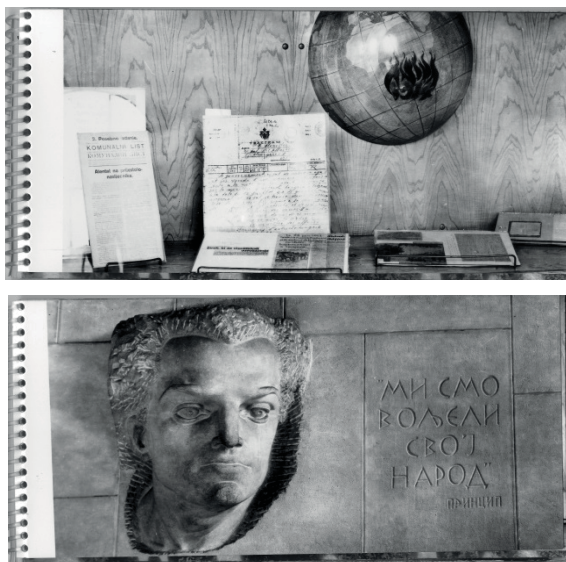


Plate 16: Copies of catalogue images from Muzej Mlada Bosna, year unknown,
(Source: Mirsad Avdić, Curator, Museum of City of Sarajevo)

By the 50th anniversary the official Yugoslav authorities began to feel uneasy about glorifying the Assassination, while at the same time the predictable influx of foreign visitors on occasions demanded preparations and continuation of commemorations. However, there were no government officials' speeches and the local officials tried to get the journalists to concentrate on the more recent past.

However, as Miller points out, irrespective of all the ambivalence, all figurations of memory, Princip's footsteps, Museum display, street names and other memories of the Assassination remain in Sarajevo all through 70th anniversary and 1984 Olympic Games up until the 1990s war. The siege of Sarajevo became a watershed,

³⁸ SH- Interview with Mirsad Avdić in the Museum of City of Sarajevo headoffice in Sarajevo, (04.07.2013).

everything was rejected- the footsteps removed and thrown into the river Miljacka and the museum closed. The Mlada Bosna collection survived unharmed though, due to the extraordinary dedication of its curator, late Bajro Gec.³⁹

Broadening of the Memory

It took almost ten years in a post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina to revisit the way of marking of the Sarajevo Assassination memory. In 2004, the city authorities took a decision to reinstate a memorial plaque on the location, with a restrained factual statement about the historic event.⁴⁰

It reads: 'From this place on 28 June 1914 Gavrilo Princip assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofia' (Plate 17).



Plate 17: Fourth memorial plaque on the wall of Museum of Sarajevo 1878-1918 mounted in 2007 and replacing the previous, in Bosnian and English language; The Bosnian text reads: " Sa ovog mjesta 28. Juna 1914. Gavrilo Princip je izvršio atentat na austrougarskog prestolonasljednika Franca Ferdinanda i njegovu suprugu Sofiju", (Photo: SH, 31 .12. 2012)

The text is for the first time in Latin script, which is used predominantly but not exclusively in Bosnia, with an English version as well. There are no emotional declarations, just the bare facts. More significantly, for the first time, apart from Gavrilo Princip, the wording includes mention to the victims of the assassination,

³⁹ Miller, P. B. 5.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 3.

Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofia. So, some ninety years after the historic event, the Sarajevo's lieu de memoire came full circle. A simple grey stone set low on the Museum wall is a formal acknowledgement of the fatal clash between a number of individual destinies on a day in the past on the particular spot, with far reaching consequences beyond that particular place and time. It offers to public to seek the meaning, without indoctrination (Plate 18).



Plate 18: Museum Sarajevo 1878-1918, corner Ulica Zelenih beretki and Obala Kulina bana, Sarajevo, (Photo: SH/ 5 July 2013)

It is not certain if they are the same ones as conceived by Neidhardt, but the imprint of footsteps on a concrete slab awaits the visitors at the entrance to the new Museum, in recognition of the meaning this 'fake artefact' acquired in the past. The new permanent exposition was themed Muzej-Museum 'Sarajevo 1878-1918' and opened in 2007 in the same building of previous Mlada Bosna Museum. The museum exposition has now more headings illustrating a multiple cultural clash that have shaped the history of Bosnian people during the period of Austria-Hungary rule.

The exposition commemorates the period rather than the event that marked it, moving the earlier narrative into a broader context leading to the First World War. The presentation of artefacts is an embodiment of complex and multi-layered narrative, a form of 'interwoven memories', a term borrowed from Rampley's translation of a German original, describing the emerging discussion within Central European cross-cultural heritage studies.⁴¹ It is showing the lesser known aspects

⁴¹ Rampley, M., 2012, 17; Rampley uses the translation of the German 'verflochtene Erinnerungen', from the volume (Aust et al 2009) about the interwoven historical memories of Poland, Germany, Russia, the Soviet Union and Lithuania.

of national heritage which no longer fit in the simplified and old Serbo-Yugoslav one. What was uncomfortable, problematic and concealed, is now exposed in an acceptance of ambiguity and possibility of an inclusion.

It is easy to describe today's Bosnia-Herzegovina as a divided society seeking refuge in the separate national narratives, with the nostalgic, imperial or revolutionary tone and the three parallel visions of history among Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks. But a closer look in fact shows a positive departure from the narrow focus of previous periods. The centenary of the First World War is a timely occasion for a broader reflection and understanding of the troubled past as a way of addressing the present divisions among the Bosnians. The Catastrophe ultimately led to the appeasement of former enemies in Europe, now living in peace and democracy in the European Union, which is founded on the principles of cooperation, trade and commerce, with respect for culture and diversity. It is to be hoped that the Bosnians and Herzegovinians will see and take their place among these nations.

Summary

The Sarajevo Assassination, in which a son of a peasant eliminated the European Crown prince, was a catastrophic event of much bigger scale than the term first anticipated. After the initial commemorations in honour of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofia, their memory was obliterated by the accelerated radical refocus of memory to the perpetrator on location of the assassination, whose human dimension was also sacrificed to the symbolic one. The history of commemorations show they were based on the exclusive, idealised, ambiguous, divisive and reductionist memory of assassination, constructed as an official political propaganda. The presentation of memory developed over a period of time and was formulated and actively promoted by each official political structure in charge of cultural heritage, with the ambition to influence, engage and educate the population within the dominant ideological system. The identification with the assassination and subsequently with commemoration of Mlada Bosna was an imposition on the city of Sarajevo and Bosnia- Herzegovina and its people, in which they did not have full participation.

From the association with the Catastrophe, the place of assassination was catapulted into a place of memory symbolising a 'Herald of Freedom', based on deeds of Gavrilo Princip and his Mlada Bosna comrades. Leading up to the 50th anniversary of the Sarajevo Assassination, the visual symbolism on location of the assassination, employed by each respective authority in charge, was a demonstration of the exclusivity of their power and vision, and in a reactive relationship with

one another, as is demonstrated by the placement of memorial plaques and their messages, as well as by the erecting and removal of the Monument to Killing, and later the Footsteps.

The commemorations were taken further by the establishment of the museum dedicated to the assassination heroes. Under the brief from Socialist Yugoslav authorities, the curators made a conscious effort to move away from creating 'a shrine to the dead' and celebrate a new imagined life, with some subtle interior interventions as attempt to promote the elements of traditional Bosnian material culture, mixed with revolutionary content.

The Mlada Bosna museum was a largely a monochromatic version of the historic context, which suppressed and disallowed the complexity other subjectified experience about the start of the First World War and its connection to the Yugoslav national-liberation narrative. The official commemoration solidified in the museum was an incomplete and unrepresentative interpretation, and became an unwanted memory construct which was ultimately rejected and silenced in period of 1992-2004.

Whilst it can be argued that the socialist regime used a singular memory interpretation in the name of a supra-national unity, the present extreme and opposed popular positions vary between the nationalist Bosnian-Serb ones, claiming the memory of Princip as a symbol of [their] national liberation struggle, to the nationalist Bosniak ones, likening him to a modern-day terrorist. In the absence of a unifying Post-Dayton Bosnian national consensus, each relevant regional public administration shapes the scope of manifestations of memory as they see fit. This regression makes the contemporary politically divided situation in Bosnia comparable with the situation in the last years of Austria-Hungarian rule. However, this memory 'revivalism' or 'revisionism' can be also seen as an opportunity to develop a new more balanced understanding and interpretation of the collective memories or at least agree to disagree.

The case of former Mlada Bosna museum collection, its closure and reopening within the broader scope, is a positive signal of facing up to the difficult past and re-examine rather than destroy its evidence. The revival, reinterpretation and reintegration in the Museum 'Sarajevo 1878-1918' show that Bosnia and the city of Sarajevo are taking a closer look into their own heritage. Here, Bosnia speaks about itself primarily to itself and then to others. This means that it is 'coming to terms' with conflicting and unwanted memories, substantiated by research and dialogue, rather than by exclusivity of a political or clerical manipulation.

By displaying previously ignored local story of the Bosnian resistance and compliance with the Austro-Hungarian authorities, the exposition opens up an inquiry

into the period which brought European capitalist modernization, administration and urbanization and left gaps in education and social policy measures. This is a more inclusive and engaging pluralist approach, reaching out both to local and international visitors, and in line with current discourse about the cultural heritage preservation and management.

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