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The Collective Memory Of Space: The Architecture Of Remembering And Forgetting

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**THE COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF SPACE:
THE ARCHITECTURE OF REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING**

by

Zhivka Hristova, BArchSci,
Ryerson University, 2006

A design thesis
presented to Ryerson University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Architecture
in the Program of
Architecture

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2010

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ABSTRACT

The Collective Memory of Space: The Architecture of Remembering and Forgetting

by Zhivka Hristova

Master of Architecture, Ryerson University, Toronto 2010

The formation of national memory depends to a large extent on a nation's success in constructing multiple commemorative forms: symbols, ceremonies and celebrations, museums and monuments, tradition, and cultural texts that provide symbolic arenas for narrating the nation. These forms assist the nation's memory in tracing themes of continuity between the past and present; they establish shared history and cultural heritage. Significant changes in the nation's life, whether social or political, alter the collective mind of its citizens. With political landscapes changing, existing forms of remembrance may be transformed or reinterpreted or they may be altogether demolished and new commemorative symbols constructed in their place. Remembering, as well as forgetting, becomes a social and highly politicized process.

A point of departure for this thesis is the city of Sofia, Bulgaria. It is studied as a palimpsest, uncovering layers of history from antiquity to the present. Studying the historical layers reveals not just the evolution of the city but also the political views and ideas shaping Sofia's morphology. The street becomes a locus of collective memory. A memory walk is developed, exposing the history of specific sites, rendering visible the specific memories and acknowledging the importance of the sites in the time period they existed. A narrative is constructed, travelling through space and rebuilding memories.

This thesis will look at issues of public commemoration, remembering and forgetting traumatic events. It will focus on political transformations of space, and erasing, shaping and rebuilding a nation's memory. Deliberate demolition of built fabric in an attempt to erase the collective memory of society will be examined.

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to my family

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PART ONE
Collective Memory of Space

MEMORY

You have 4095 KBytes of extended/expanded memory available. AutoCad needs 64512 additional bytes of regular memory (RAM) to use the last 4032 KBytes of this extended/expanded memory to make more RAM available. For extended/expanded memory bookkeeping, remove some memory resident programs, or specify a small value for CAR free RAM - (in autoexec.bat) or for buffers - or files - (in config. system). (Koolhaas, *S,M,L,XL*, p.926)

memory /'mɛm(ə)ri/ n. **1** the faculty by which things are recalled to or kept in the mind. **2** a this faculty in an individual. b one's store of things remembered. **3** a recollection or remembrance. **4** a the part of a computer etc. in which data or instructions can be stored for retrieval. b capacity for storing information in this way. **5** the remembrance of a person or thing. **6** the reputation of a dead person. **7** in formulaic phrases used of a dead sovereign. **8** the length of time over which the memory or memories of any given person or group extends. **9 the act of remembering.** (Oxford English dictionary)

INTRODUCTION

A point of departure for this thesis is the site of the former Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, a Bulgarian Communist leader and Premier from 1946 until his death in 1949. As a monument, the Mausoleum lent itself to markedly different readings in its life and death. Formerly a site for celebration, in 1989 with the fall of Communism it became a site of traumatic collective memory: memory of suppression and control. In 1999, after a heated debate, the Mausoleum was destroyed. Streets were renamed in an attempt to erase and reconstruct the memory of the Bulgarian people. With the fall of the Iron Curtain the nation's identity was shattered. Ten years after the demolition of the Mausoleum the site remains empty and underutilized, a void in the city's fabric.

The name of the Mausoleum's location also changed a few times in the last century. Prior to September 9, 1944, the day Bulgaria became a Communist state, the square was known as "Tsar's Square" because it was adjacent to the former royal palace. After the fall of Communism the name of the square changed from September 9th Square to Battenberg Square, named after Alexander Joseph of Battenberg, the first prince of modern Bulgaria.

When the Berlin Wall fell, the Germans collected pieces of it as souvenirs and to assure themselves that it had become an irretrievable part of their past. A similar thing happened in 1999, when the democratic government decided to "deconstruct" the Mausoleum where the body of Georgi Dimitrov, Bulgaria's first Communist dictator, had been on display for veneration from 1949 until 1990.



1.1 September 9th Square during Communism, Sofia, Bulgaria.

A mausoleum used to display
the embalmed body of Bulgaria's
Stalinist dictator Georgi Dimitrov.
Now it is a car park



1.2 September 9th Square, 2010, renamed Alexander Battenberg Square in Sofia, Bulgaria



1.3 Georgi Dimitrov

In Bulgaria there are still ongoing arguments about the justification for tearing down the Mausoleum. For some people it was the symbol of a foul regime and an eyesore blighting the centre of Sofia. For others, and for the same reasons, the Mausoleum should have remained where it stood as a reminder, and been put to some other use. Then there are those (the more nostalgically minded hangers-on of the Communist regime) who think that the “deconstruction” of the tomb of the “great statesman” Georgi Dimitrov was sacrilege.

The man who was extolled as the Leader and Teacher (with capital letters) was born in 1882 and became Bulgaria’s youngest MP in 1913. In 1933 Dimitrov made world news because of the Leipzig Trial: he was among the Communists charged with setting fire to the Reichstag in Berlin. The fabricated Nazi accusations caused a wave of outrage. Dimitrov was acquitted, received refuge in Moscow, and by 1935 was the General Secretary of the Comintern. In 1946 he was elected Prime Minister in the “People’s Republic” of Bulgaria.

His sudden death on 2 July 1949 in Moscow was completely unexpected. Originally considered a natural death, it is now widely believed that he was poisoned. The news shocked Bulgarians, who had been living under constant stress during the Communist terror, which found expression in the staged trials of opposition leaders, political assassinations and the creation of labour camps. Apprehensive about possible unrest, Communist functionaries decided to show everybody that, although Dimitrov was dead, his spirit was alive. On the night of the 2nd of July, the Council of

Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov

Presidency

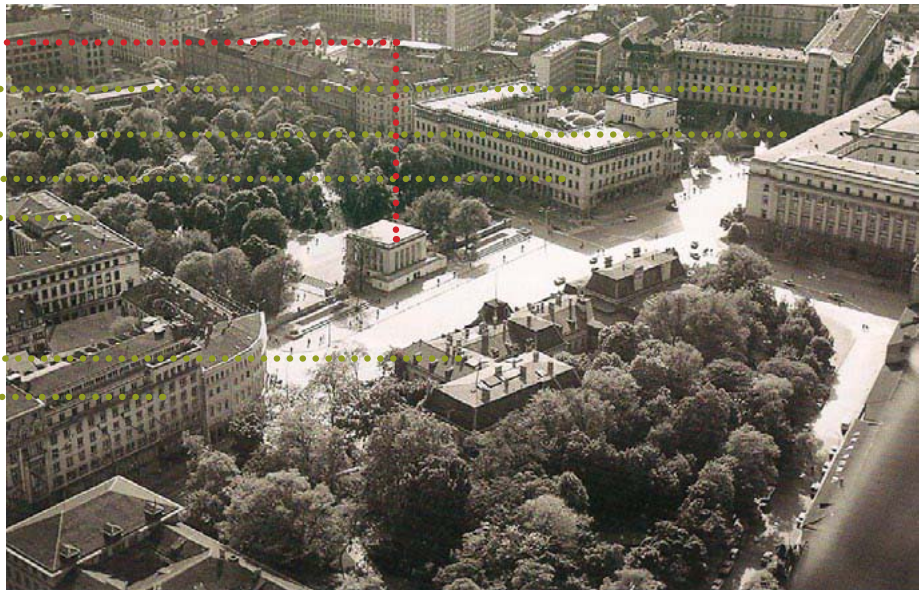
Party House

Bulgarian National Bank

Ministry of Defence

Palace

Hotel Balkan



1.4 G. Dimitrov's mausoleum

Ministers decided to embalm the Leader's body and put it on display in a special Mausoleum, like that of Lenin.

While the special train carrying Dimitrov's body was making its way to Bulgaria, Sofia was in frantic preparations. The army construction corps came to the site on the 4th of July and worked day and night. On July 10th the Mausoleum was ready and Dimitrov's body was laid in it after an official funeral procession.

Although macabre, the Mausoleum, with its entrance flanked by national guards, was a mandatory item on the itinerary of every organized tour from all over Bulgaria. Even children were taken on class trips to visit the Leader and Teacher in his Mausoleum.

1.5 Manifestation in front of the mausoleum

It was not simply a tomb. It also became a centre of Communist propaganda. Until 1989, all parades celebrating state holidays filed



past the Mausoleum. There, on a balcony, stood the heads of the Communist Party and the State, waving at the marching people, who were required to take part in the ceremonies.

After the fall of Communism, his embalmed body was buried.

The Mausoleum remained empty, but it was not forgotten.



1.6 Demolition - 2nd attempt

1.7 Demolition - 3rd attempt

Within a few years it was vandalized with graffiti inside and out. Its balcony was used as a stage for rock concerts. In 1997 it was painted with black spots for the Bulgarian premiere of Walt Disney's *101 Dalmatians*. There were many ideas for putting it to a new use. Mayor Stefan Sofiyanski suggested it should become an art museum, while Georgi Parvanov, then chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and now Bulgaria's President, opted for a monument of military glory. Some enterprising people wanted to convert it into a night club. A group of intellectuals suggested a museum of Communism and journalists from a daily newspaper favoured a tamagotchi cemetery. Sofia Opera proved that actions speak louder than words, when it used the Mausoleum as a set for its performances of *Aida*, *Tsar Kaloyan* and *Prince Igor*.

The end of the Mausoleum's existentialist drama came on August 21st, 1999. It had been constructed without public debate and it was demolished without it, by Ivan Kostov's democratic government and with the Mayor's approval.

The demolition of the Mausoleum was conceived and carried out with maximum publicity. It was a huge anti-climax. The building withstood the first controlled explosion on the 21st of August, and also the second. It was only the third detonation that managed to

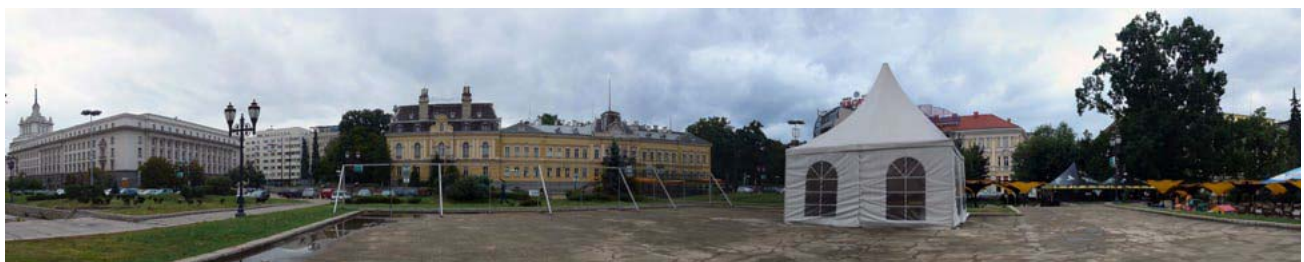
bring down the massive concrete walls, which had been reinforced to resist a nuclear attack. The last remains of the tomb were removed on the 27th of August. Contrary to government fears nobody organized mass protests against the demolition of the Mausoleum.

For the first time in several decades, Bulgarians could see the square (it was called the 9th of September under Communism) in the heart of Sofia as it was originally designed to be - empty; and they discovered that nobody had any clear idea how the void, and the memory of the brooding presence of the Mausoleum, could be filled. For a brief time, the site was covered with a flower garden dedicated to the EU, but that was soon abandoned and became a public toilet. Today, the place of the former tomb is taken up by a car park.

1.8 Bird's eye view of the site of the former mausoleum

1.9 View from the site, looking north

1.10 View towards the site, looking south



QUESTIONS

The thesis started with a series of questions, answers to which can be found in the following pages.

A city's past is not a single, linear history, but multiple layers of conflicting histories, still reflected in its built fabric. Is it difficult to narrate a city's actual history when parts of the urban layers are selectively destroyed? Can a "site of memory", to use Pierre Nora's term, also be about forgetting? Can and should the repressed collective memory of a traumatic past be revitalized and preserved? How can the physical structure of the public realm be repaired if parts of it are deliberately removed? How can the missing void in the nation's memory be filled? Who has the right, or power, or authority to decide what happens to a particular site? In a city where the political climate is often changing what is the effect of globalization on national, identity-forming, collective memory?

What is a monument? How do we, the people living in the 21st century, remember? How does a society wish to see itself remembered and/or memorialized? How has the role of the monuments changed? How do we memorialize our history and how else can we remember the past? What is the proper "tone" for a memorial; should it be a site of mourning, celebration or both?

The purpose of this thesis is to study the deliberate erasure of collective memory through the demolition of culturally, religiously or politically significant built fabric. It is a problem not limited to one part of the world or time period. Sofia, Bulgaria's capital, is used as a vehicle to study a specific instance of a more general condition. This thesis will address issues of remembering events and rebuilding the nation's memory as well as the city's fabric.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

I remember my grandfather always telling stories of his past. I was surprised by the level of detail he was able to share, I thought if asked he could vividly recollect his whole life, year by year, month by month. In our busy societies work absorbs all activities and people rarely have time for the act of recollection. Old people are tired of action and turn away from the present to immerse themselves in their past. They are in the most favourable position to evoke events of the past as they really appeared. I always admired his ability to recollect events and spaces and I thought I would never be able to remember my past in such detail; I sometimes feel I move so quickly through time that the past becomes a blur with few notable events popping out. Now, after reading some theories on memory I am able to construct my own theory of how he remembered his past. He was actively seeking to reconstruct it. He visited his childhood village, he read old letters, old newspapers and magazines. He was actively reviving his memories: discussing events with other people, he was uncovering images and memories buried in his sub-conscious since childhood. When he was not sharing what he remembered he was writing it. In short, the activity that is a distraction for most adults, recollection, reliving and retelling memories had become his true occupation.

One of the first projects I was asked to design when I entered architecture school was a single family, detached house. Eagerly I studied famous houses, by even more famous architects, trying to imagine and memorize the spaces, to experience them through images. Needless to say those learned memories did not impact my designs as did my personal lived experiences.

Having grown up in an apartment in Sofia, it seemed impossible to design a typical, single-family, middle-class, detached house. I walked through the streets of Toronto, memorizing the scale of the street, the proportions of the facades and trying to picture the layout of the houses. At such a young age I could not realize the relationship between memory and architecture, or architectural education.

Later on, when designing a Regent Park neighbourhood, I found myself again in the city of Sofia, again walking the streets of Bulgaria's biggest city: the busy streets, overflowing with life, the small parks between buildings, the daycare on the first floor of an apartment building, the short distance I walked to my elementary school. My first notions of home, community and city life were formed in Sofia, Bulgaria. These memories have served as a starting point for many of my designs of homes and communities.

I was twenty when I moved to Canada's largest city, Toronto. I missed the sense of familiarity of the space I had in Sofia. I was used to looking up from the street car in Sofia and in a matter of seconds remembering where I was. I could picture every street, every building in the downtown area. Even though I have been on a number of short visits since I moved to Canada, I am always surprised at the changes. I still remember the city as it was when I left, with the old street names, the old stores, the smell of the factories. The memories I have were made of habit, the repetition of this habit and its continuous reproduction.

In Toronto I was looking to create new memories in a new city, new associations with different places, new narratives. I was perhaps trying to find my Sofia in the city of Toronto: again I lived in an apartment building, in a neighbourhood considered "Bulgarian".

Let me quote Italo Calvino's "Invisible Cities": an imaginary exchange between Marco Polo and Kublai Khan:

"Sire [said Marco Polo to Kublai Khan], now I have told you about all the cities I know."

"There is still one of which you never speak."

Marco Polo bowed his head.

"Venice," the Khan said.

Marco smiled. "What else do you believe I have been talking to you about?"

The emperor did not turn a hair. "And yet I have never heard you mention that name."

And Polo said: "Every time I describe a city I am saying something about Venice."

"When I ask you about other cities, I want to hear about them. And about Venice, when I ask you about Venice. . . ."

"Memory's images, once they are fixed with words, are erased," Polo said. "Perhaps I am afraid of losing Venice all at once, if I speak of it. Or perhaps, speaking of other cities, I have already lost it, little by little." (Calvino, 1974, p.86-87)

Perhaps Sofia has become a yardstick with which I will measure all other cities; it is my own Venice.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In Plato's *Phaedrus*, the Egyptian god Theuth, the father of all arts, offers the pharaoh Thamus his latest invention: writing. The pharaoh criticizes him because he believes that the invention of the alphabet will deprive men of their most precious gift - the exercise of memory. To him memory is an internal feature of the mind, which is related with time but not with space (Eco, 1986).

Needless to say, the pharaoh was mistaken; the practice of writing has not killed the exercise of memory, it has only enriched it and made it more efficient. Since the most ancient times the art of memory has been closely linked to space. Architecture has always been one of the ways of fixing memories. To recall events people build monuments: columns, plaques, obelisks, etc. To remember mathematical and astronomical principles people constructed Stonehenge and the pyramids in Egypt.

From early on people developed different techniques of remembering. Before the advent of modern techniques of recording in the last century, people needed mechanisms to remember everything they needed in their studies or activities as an orator. A strong memory was required and mnemotechniques (techniques for remembering) were developed (Eco, 1986).

In ancient times people knew very well that they could remember a very small percentage of what they heard and if they saw or experienced an object or space they could remember it better. In *De Oratore* (II, 86-88) Cicero writes a story about the Greek poet Simonides dining in the house of a nobleman, when he is asked to leave the space for a short amount of time. As he exits the room, the roof falls, killing all invited and disfiguring their bodies beyond

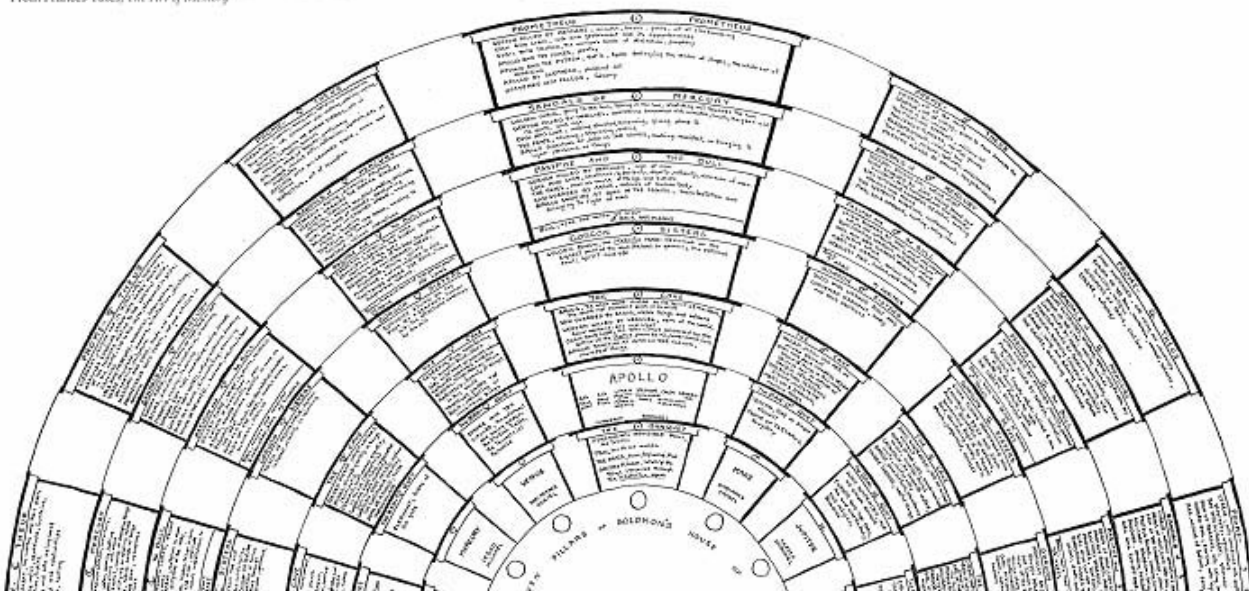
recognition. Simonides was able to recall everybody's exact position around the dinner table.

If we read Tolstoy's *War and Peace* for a month we'll be able to recall the story, but we will not be able to cite specific verses or books. However, if we spend a month in Venice, walking through the city we will be able to sketch a sufficiently precise map indicating the most important features used for orientation: different canals, Piazza San Marco.

These examples confirm the classical treatises on memory: people recollect events, descriptions, long lists of arguments, dates and even names by associating them with a space. In order to remember a long list of objects we must imagine them placed in a building, or a space. In Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, there is a long explanation of the precise way a building must be constructed in someone's mind: the flights of stairs, the corridors and rooms. Each object that needs to be remembered is placed in an imaginary room. Both the rooms and the buildings themselves must be exceptional so that we don't remove them from our minds. It is important to note that "... we must imagine a solitary building, in a deserted place, because the memory of the crowd tends to weaken the impression left by spaces" (Eco, 1986, p. 93).

1.12 The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo

THE MEMORY THEATRE OF GIULIO CAMILLO
From Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*



Frances Yates studies the different treatises on memory starting from ancient Greece to the Middle Ages and Renaissance in her work *The Art of Memory*. She restored the memory theatre of Giulio Camillo, whose work on remembering had been largely forgotten. Camillo created his memory theatre based on the writings of Vitruvius and on certain traditional ideas about the Temple of Solomon (Malkin, 1999, Yates, 1966).

“His Theatre was talked of in all Italy and in France; its mysterious fame seemed to grow with the years. Yet what was it exactly? A wooden theatre, crowded with images, was shown by Camillo himself in Venice to a correspondent of Erasmus; something similar was later on view in Paris. The secret of how it really worked was to be revealed to only one person in the world, the King of France. Camillo never produced the great book . . . in which his lofty designs were to be preserved for posterity. It is thus not surprising that posterity forgot this man whom his contemporaries hailed as “the divine Camillo.” (Yates, 1966, p. 129-130)

In his Memory Theatre Camillo used images to provide a physical model for memorization. The wooden theatre had seven levels and each was decorated with images from different traditions, thus creating a *mélange* of occult and mythic icons. Their placement created a mental trajectory and triggered remembering and understanding. In his Theatre the roles of the viewer and the viewed were reversed. The observer was on the stage, in the centre of the theatre and the images were in the place of the audience. Camillo’s intent was the same as the postmodern memory-theatre: “to evoke erased memory-narratives, rethink taboo discourses, intervene in the politics of memory and repression, and to engage (and occasionally enrage) the memoried consciousness of its audience - with whose memory, and repression, these plays are in constant dialogue” (Malkin, 1999, p. 3).

“And perhaps architecture has always wanted to be a theatre of memory. . . .It all depends on what you want to remember.” (Eco, 1986, p. 94)

chapter one

The Memory of the City

“To remember is like constructing and then travelling again through a space. We are already talking about architecture. Memories are built as a city is built.” (Eco, 1986, p. 89)

It seems cities are starting to pay attention to their past. Never before have we seen so many preservation societies, museums, conservation areas, listed buildings, etc. The past is everywhere. At times we could be overwhelmed by the feeling of an inexhaustible archive, of which the city is the most physical example and the memory of our computers is the most ethereal yet the most trusted. At others, we are afflicted by a fear that the material traces of the past might disappear, taking the memory of the past with them. Wiping, computer failure, demolition, redevelopment: all appear to be interchangeable threats. In the meantime, as if to compensate for the ease of memory loss, “musealisation”, even “self-musealisation”, becomes a way of life. We collect almost any kind of object and any kind of recorded memory. “Memory is both burden and liberation” (Crinson, p. xi).

The term memory, in our common understanding refers to two closely related aspects: our recollection or remembrance of past experiences and the ability to recall them. It is considered to be closely linked to the individual; it is our individual mind that activates a past event or experience, or forgets and erases. In a more modern view of the term, it can be seen as a subjective matter. We can project it from the individual by modifying it (memorial). We can also qualify it when we look through the collective sense of the recollection (Crinson, 2005).

The term “urban memory” is not as clear and as intuitive in an everyday sense. One way to justify it is as an anthropomorphism -the city having a memory. The more widespread view indicates the city as a tangible site and a collection of physical objects and practices that enable reminiscences of the past and that embody history through indications of the city’s building, demolition and reconstruction (Crinson, 2005). “Urban memory” encompasses people: those whose lives have been lived in the city and the occasional visitors who pass through it. The people physically manifest themselves in the memory of the city, it is their involvement that shapes what is remembered beyond the discourses of architects, developers, preservationists, and planners. But it is quite often those professions that strategically shape urban memory.

Memory and its relationship to history was first studied by Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945). He was a French sociologist, a student of Henry Bergson, whose works focused on social transformations. Halbwachs’ work *On Collective Memory* (1941) is considered by sociologists and historians to be his most innovative and influential. To him history is an instrumental and overly rationalized version of the past, by contrast with memory which is intimately connected to the collective experience. He first used the term collective memory, separating the notion from individual memory. Collective memory is shared, passed on and also constructed by the group, or modern society (Assmann, 1988). He argues that memory is a social practice, clearly oriented away from all forms of individual and psychological explanations. Halbwachs recognizes that the group does not have a mind of its own. According to him, remembering is an individual act, but it is performed by re-living shared experiences and reconstructing events. The memory of each individual is affected by the social groups he has encountered throughout his lifetime. The act of recollection is performed in the present, therefore it is also affected by current collectives (Scott, 2007).

Halbwachs argues that urban space is the receptacle of collective memory. “The place a group occupies is not like a blackboard, where one may write and erase figures at will” (1980, p. 128). The steadiness of a city’s grid and landmarks is a powerful social structure.

“What affects the material aspect of an urban quarter matters more to its residents than high politics, and in

the life of the city - war, upheaval, new roads, economic decay - people will always try to restore some elements of their familiar material environment.” (Hebbert, 2005, p. 584)

Halbwachs' thesis is leaning towards the reproduction of existing spaces and structures through the memory of different collective groups. He discusses the importance of prominent physical locations or material objects to which each group of individuals assigns a symbolic meaning. Tangible objects support the collective memory, and in this way it can be inscribed. To support this theory Halbwachs analyzes the localization of the holy places in the Gospels through various texts and historical accounts. He clearly shows that the reconstruction of religious sites is the result of an active effort by religious groups. *Lieux*, in French means places, more broadly, it is the recognition of the particular qualities specific to a place. *Lieux* obtains a stability of its own, because of its role for the memory of the group and also because of the group's subconscious resistance to radical changes to its surrounding environment. One space can be represented in many ways because there are numerous groups that have experienced it in a different manner (Scott, 2007).

“When a group is introduced into a part of space, it transforms it to its image, but at the same time, it yields and adapts itself to certain material things which resist it. It encloses itself in the framework that it has constructed. The image of the exterior environment and the stable relationship that it maintains with it pass into the realm of the idea that it has of itself.” (Halbwachs, as quoted by Aldo Rossi, 1966/1982, p. 130)

Halbwachs' theory was largely forgotten after WWII. Aldo Rossi re-introduced the topic in *The Architecture of the City* (first published as *L'Architettura della Città* in 1966 and translated into English in 1982), and Christine Boyer continued the discussion in her *City of Collective Memory* (1994). Rossi argued that “the soul of the city” becomes its history and its memory.

“One can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the locus of the collective memory. This relationship between the locus

and the citizenry then becomes the city's predominant image, both of architecture and of landscape, and as certain artifacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge. In this entirely positive sense great ideas flow through the history of the city and give shape to it (Rossi, 1982, p. 130) . . . The union between the past and the future exists in the very idea of the city that it flows through in the way that a memory flows through the life of a person; and always, in order to be realized, this idea must not only shape but be shaped by reality." (Rossi, 1982, p. 131)

Rossi argues that a city remembers through its buildings, so the preservation of the old urban fabric is analogous with the preservation of memories in the human mind. The change to the cityscape is the main sphere of interest of history, but the succession of events is the essence of a city's memory and thus is the preferred psychological context for making sense of the city. Our choice of preservation or demolition of built fabric shapes our collective memory of the space. If many or significant buildings are demolished memory loss and identity crisis threaten. The city loses its distinctiveness and cannot continue to act as a guide or exemplar for the people living in it. Thirty years after Rossi's work Christine Boyer writes about the city of collective memory - it is a refreshed view, highlighting the recent changes in society and the contemporary metropolis. The modernist city is washed from the slate of memory and we have lost the interpretive means to "translate memories and traditions into meaningful contemporary forms" (Boyer, 1996, p. 28). According to Boyer, "the purities of modern urban planning have left us face to face with displacement, disengagement, and disenchantment when it comes to the urban experience" (p. 28).

The city is the collective expression of architecture and it carries memory traces of earlier architectural forms, city plans, and public monuments. Even though the name of the city may never change, its physical expression is always transforming, being deformed or forgotten, modified to suit other needs or destroyed for other purposes. "The demands and pressures of social reality constantly affect the material order of the city" (Boyer, 1996, p. 31). The collective forms and private realms of our memory tell us of the changes that are taking place; they help us differentiate this city from others. Our memories are carried forward to the present through the physical

artifacts: the city's streets, monuments and architectural forms, and traces (Boyer, 1996, p. 31).

Related ideas on history and memory appear in the French historian Pierre Nora's volumes on sites of memory. He claims that we spend so much time thinking about our past because there is so little of it left: "... even if references to memory are ever present in the contemporary world it is paradoxically because we are currently living in a historical society where memory functions as a mere historical trace that can exist only as a simulation of the past. *Lieux de mémoire* exist because there are no longer any *milieus de mémoire*, settings in which memory is a real part of everyday experience" (Nora, 1996, p. I). In *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (sites of memory) he explores the collective memory of different sites in France. He argues that the resonance of the sites of memory is weakening in a mobile and culturally diverse society. To him history and memory are far from being synonymous, they are almost opposites. Aldo Rossi makes a similar distinction:

"History exists so long as an object is in use; that is, so long as a form relates to its original function. However, when form and function are severed, and only form remains vital, history shifts into the realm of memory. When history ends, memory begins... History comes to be known through the relationship between a collective memory of events, the singularity of place (*locus solus*), and the sign of the place as expressed in form." (Rossi, 1982, p. 7)

To Nora memory is a present phenomenon, emotional and vulnerable to a number of factors. History, on the other hand, is an intellectual activity, it calls for analysis and critical discourse. Memory evokes loss, it has been eradicated by history, the bonds of identity have been broken. "If premodern societies reenact memory through traditions and rituals where present and past exist simultaneously in a kind of atemporal space in which act and meaning coalesce, then the historical world of the present is one that represents historical consciousness and disembodied memories. The creation of realms of memory takes place because real environments of memory have disappeared. The projection of a realm of memory is therefore the sign of memory's disappearance and society's need to represent what ostensibly no longer exist" (Nora, 1996, p. xii). For Nora's

postmodern history collective memory no longer exists, instead, sites of memory exist. *Lieux de mémoire* are historical figures, books, emblems and commemorative events, but they are also buildings, monuments and places (Crinson, 2005).

Another aspect of the relationship between history and memory has been brought into consideration - modernism. An idea that was in dialectical opposition with the preceding urbanism, modernism sought to erase memory from the city. Le Corbusier's urban visions, for example, never allowed for monuments or memorial sites (Abrason, 2001).

"Modern urban design in the twentieth century sought to dissolve the city, leading it to deny the city as a cultural form which had evolved historically, and as a place of collective memory. Today our treatment of the city as an essential manifestation of life is determined not by the model of *tabula rasa* which modernism used to sacrifice existing substance and make way for the new, but by dialogue with the features of place and memory"(Burg, 1997. *Planwerk Innenstadt Berlin*. As quoted by Hebbert, 2005, p. 591).

The International Style created a memory crisis, the absence of memory it left is similar to the lack of memory in a post-war period. In the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century there was a sense of separation from the traditional forms of memory. In postmodern times there is a loss of continuity of memory with the nineteenth-century city. Michael Hebbert provides a great summary in his essay "The street as locus of collective memory": "... early-20th-century modernism celebrated the street, a mid-20th-century modernism spurned it, an end-of-century postmodernism seeks to repair it" (p. 583).

In the last century many cities dealt with the topic of overcoming the past and creating or rebuilding memories. Some of the most interesting cases include totally destroyed cities of the losing sides in war such as cities in Japan and Germany. Both dealt with issues ranging from erecting faux historic buildings to replace the old fabric destroyed by the war, to designing modernist buildings, to preserving relics as testimonies to the end of difficult periods of time such as the Berlin Wall. Berlin, once a forward-looking modernist

city, is now an example of a historically conscious city with its quick recovery, reconstruction and extension of the public realm.

Human memory is spatial. As space is shaped, so is memory. The city, the street, the plaza, any public shared space can be a locus of collective memory. This urban space can have a double function. It can be seen as a receptacle or as an indicator of collective memory. It can identify a group, through physical manifestations such as monuments and symbols, commemorative sites, street names, etc. and it can express the accumulation of memories, through traces left by everyday use.

chapter two

The Exercise of Memory: Remembering

How do we, the people living in the 21st century, remember? How does a society wish to see itself remembered and/or memorialized?

Our experience of the present depends largely on our knowledge of the past and the way we remember it.

One of the ways we remember is through commemorative ceremonies. On the eleventh hour, of the eleventh day, of the eleventh month we stop our daily activities to observe a two-minute silence, reflect on our past and remember the lost veterans of war. It is a practice that started in England after the First World War. It was suspended during the Second World War and now it is carried out in many countries including Canada and the US. A survey was conducted in the 1930s that reveals the thoughts of people during the two-minute commemoration. The survey concluded that people did not think about the nation or the army as a whole but rather spent time reflecting on their relatives and friends lost in the war (Winter, 1999). To many, public monuments are inert, even useless and worth little in comparison to the memory that is alive in people's minds and hearts (Savage, 1999). This brings us back to Nora, who reminds us that when we stop experiencing memories from within, spontaneously, then we begin to "create" memory, to create its external signs and traces, such as monuments and museums.

Jay Winter specifies three different ways we experience traumatic war memories in his essay "Remembrance and Redemption" (1999). The first is through commemorative ceremonies as discussed above. The second is a more private memorial, almost unnoticed by the general public. It is the social bonding effected between

war veterans. Those who have the war marked on them struggle to resume their lives, to come back to civilian life. They turn to each other, form a kinship. With their disfigured bodies, marked by the signs of war they become in a sad way a “site of memory”.

The third type of remembrance is through the creation of public memorials. Winter argues that the creation of smaller, more intimate monuments closely related to the community they are placed in is much more successful than monuments on a national level. The bond between place and experience, sites and agents of remembrance is stronger when it is on a local level. Often local, small scale activity can best preserve the original emotion, charge and conviction that existed after war or a tragic event. It is difficult for a monument to connect to a whole nation and inspire strong feelings.

The act of remembrance and the creation of sites of collective memory and experience is irrepressible, it expresses the fundamental truth about the needs of people, people of different religions, beliefs and locations, to face the emptiness of a loss, together as one.

Monuments

“The world around a monument is never fixed. The movement of life causes monuments to be created, but then it changes how they are seen and understood. The history of monuments themselves is no more closed than the history they commemorate.” (Savage, 1999, p. 3)

Society often inadvertently experiences architecture as a medium of communication. A number of architects, planners, historians, etc. have referred to the ability of buildings to carry a message through time. “Objects speak” (Turner, V, 1974. *Liminality and the Performative Genres*. As quoted by Paces, 2004, p. 47). Victor Turner’s famous dictum refers to messages embedded in tangible objects: buildings, statues, sites (Walkowitz, 2004, p. 47).

Victor Hugo wrote in the *Hunchback of Notre Dame* “the book will kill the building” meaning that the advent of the printing press will result in the dismissal of architecture as the primary means of communication. More than five centuries after Gutenberg’s invention, society has completed a full circle. It is just over a decade after the

popularization of the Internet as a communication tool and we are overloaded with information. There is print media, television, online content. Their overabundance almost negates their effect as a long term carrier of messages and architecture once again emerges as the most powerful communication tool.

Monuments, no matter their size, location, shape or materiality carry an aura of timelessness, unity and universality. In most cases they help celebrate national history and provide a sense of closure to a historical period.

In marking death, the permanent marker we make can be considered an “intentional monument,” as defined by Alois Riegl in the essay, “Modern Cult of Monuments” published in 1903.

Alois Riegl discusses the constantly changing role monuments play in culture in his essay “The Modern Cult of Monuments”. He divides monuments into two groups: artifacts which commemorate a person or event, and “unintentional” monuments of art and architecture. Classifying a building or an object as designated involves a loss of usefulness and demands preservation. Riegl recognized the vastly different readings a monument, artifact or building may have over time. Some could be restored and preserved for future generations while others could decay or even be demolished. (Forster, 1984)

Riegl’s initial category was that of “intentional monuments.” These we “erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events alive in the minds of future generations.(Riegl, p. 21)” According to Riegl, the intentional monument has “intentional commemorative value,” which he described as the attempt “to preserve a moment in the consciousness of later generations, and therefore to remain alive and present in perpetuity” (Riegl, 1982, p. 21).

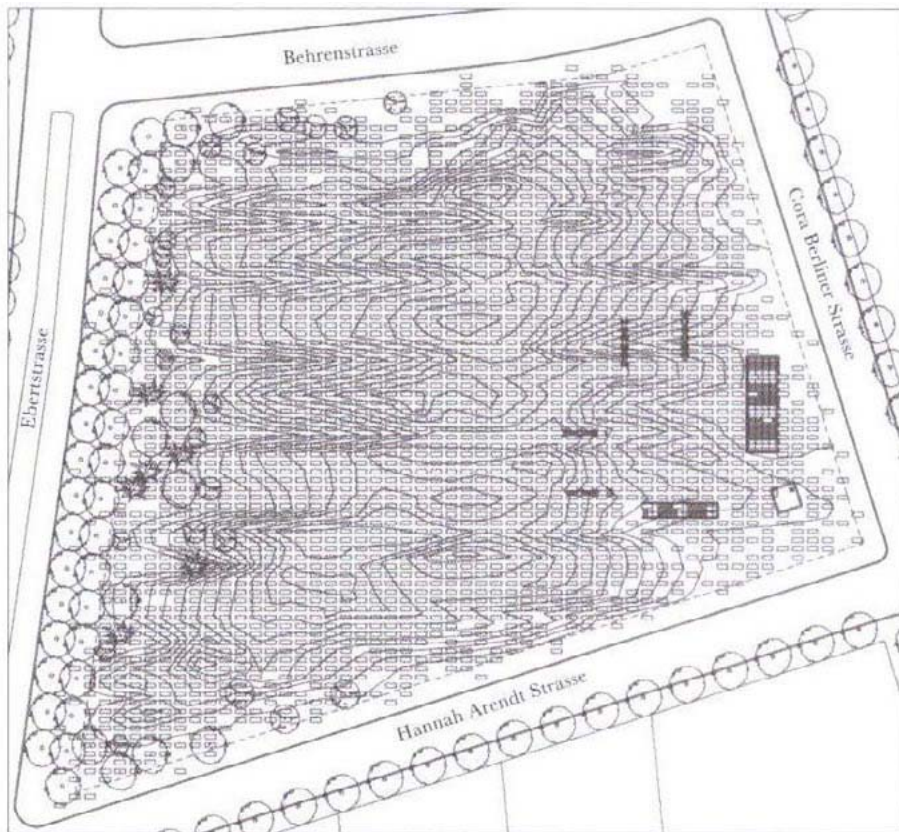
The success of the monument is that it has become a linking object between the viewers and the past, it extends the life of the memory beyond the life of those who remember.

THE ENIGMA: The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe

Peter Eisenman

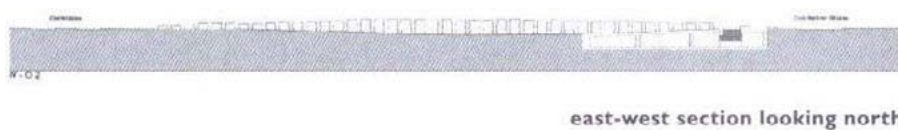
Peter Eisenman's memorial in Berlin questions the way we see and experience remembrance. It is not a typical memorial where the visitor stands in silence, overwhelmed, making faces, saddened. It does not describe an experience, it asks the viewer just to wander around the concrete grid and feel.

It is a forest of 2,711 dark concrete stelae, each 90 centimeters wide, nearly 2.5 meters long, with heights varying to more than 4 meters, all of them tilting at various angles (Davey, 2005).



site plan

1.13 Site plan



1.14 East-west section looking north



1.15 North-south section looking east

The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe does not demand remembrance. It does not call on its visitors to perform an emotional ritual. They are drawn in by the concrete field and as they walk they find themselves immersed by stelae, having brief encounters with other visitors, who have also just turned a corner.

The monument is free of memory, people are invited to experience it in a way that is suited for them. There is no single entrance, no start or endpoint, no explanations. The monument does not even have the names of murdered Jews on the stelae. Eisenman was adamant in this argument, insisting that the monument needs to capture “the unforgettable” while an underground information center records all known murdered Jews.



1.16 Field of stelae

People approach the field of memory from the busy economic, political and symbolic core of the city. The first stelae are low, often used as benches, drawing people slowly in, maybe a metaphor for the slow start of Nazism, or maybe not. The assurance of the grid is undermined by the tilting of the concrete stelae (Page, 2005). People lose themselves, experience fear, feel a little nauseated because their gravity and verticality are being questioned. There are no rules for the use of this memorial: some visitors reflect on their past, while children play hide and seek. It has become a true public, urban space.

The selection of the site is as important as the monument design. The memory field is a few hundred yards south of the Reichstag, reunified Germany's parliament building. It is north of Potsdamer Platz, across the street is the new American Embassy and on the other side are the new government buildings of each of the German states. Just to the East of the memorial are prefabricated apartment buildings from the last years of the East German regime - these buildings occupy the site of Hitler's Reich Chancellery, destroyed in 1945. The area is Nazism's "ground zero" (Page, 2005).



1.17 Entrance to the underground information center

THE SCAR: Vietnam Veterans Memorial

Maya Lin

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington is one of the few examples of a monument that manages to successfully evoke remembrance. It captures the nation's hearts and souls. It is dedicated to an event that resonates with the memory of the country. The war is still etched in the people's memory - it is their fathers and grandfathers who fought in Vietnam. The monument deliberately does not speak about the war itself - it is dedicated to the people. It is attempting not to be heroic by deliberately setting aside the controversies surrounding the war with a highly political move. The soldiers become the focus of the monument, with their names engraved in the order in which they died.



1.18 One of the two inscriptions at the apex of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial

First inscription:

IN HONOR OF THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE ARMED
FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES WHO SERVED IN THE
VIETNAM WAR. THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO GAVE
THEIR LIVES AND OF THOSE REMAINING MISSING ARE
INSCRIBED IN THE ORDER THAT THEY WERE TAKEN
FROM US.

Second inscription:

OUR NATION HONORS THE COURAGE, SACRIFICE
AND DEVOTION TO DUTY AND COUNTRY OF ITS VIETNAM
VETERANS, THIS MEMORIAL IS BUILT WITH PRIVATE
CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

NOVEMBER 11, 1982.



1.19 Vietnam Veterans
Memorial. Designer Maya Lin

The reflective surface of the wall brings the viewer into the “space” of the wall and allows simultaneous perception of the names of the dead, the reflections of other visitors, and the reflection of oneself. It forces a proximity with the dead, and the simultaneous experience of connection and separation (Ochsner, 1997).

When faced with an experience of incomprehensible loss, our response is to create a permanent marker in the belief that it will survive. With a memorial we anchor our experiences in space and time. We wish to keep the dead alive, not life in action, but alive in human interaction. The difficulty is that memories fade with time. We seek to create objects of remembrance - a permanent public record in the form of memorials or monuments, in an attempt to extend their life in the memory of the living (Ochsner, 1997).

Through commemoration the Vietnam Veterans Memorial has a healing effect: the visitors recognize their loss, experience the resulting pain and begin to heal. However, it was not well received by many veterans, for whom it was too abstract and not “heroic” enough. A second, more traditional monument named *The Three Soldiers* was designed. The statue was unveiled in 1984 and depicts three soldiers, purposefully identifiable as White American, African

1.20 View of Vietnam Veterans Memorial towards the Lincoln Memorial



American, and Hispanic American. The statue and the Wall appear to interact with each other, with the soldiers looking on in solemn tribute at the names of their dead comrades. The distance between the two allows them to interact while minimizing the impact of the addition on Lin's design.

THE INVISIBLE: Monument of Jan Žižka

1.21 Monument to National Liberation and Memorial to Jan Žižka of Trocnov on Vítkov Hill



The monument of Jan Žižka overpowers Prague's skyline, it is visible from almost anywhere in the city, yet it is somehow unnoticeable. It follows Robert Musil's theory about the invisibility of monuments: "there is nothing in the world as invisible as a monument" (Savage, 1999). The Žižkov monument, or to state its full name, the Monument to National Liberation and Memorial to Jan Žižka of Trocnov on Vítkov Hill, was built between 1925 and 1933 to commemorate the victory of General Jan Žižka and the Hussites in 1420 against the Papal forces. The memory of the warrior Žižka was transferred from generation to generation and a decision was made in 1869 to rename an entire neighbourhood "Žižkov". In 1913 a public competition was held for the creation of a statue, attracting over sixty submissions. On the eve of WWI efforts concentrated on the battlefield but with the end of the war there was a renewed interest in a monument dedicated to Jan Žižka. A new competition was held in 1925 in the newly autonomous Czechoslovak Republic for an edifice to house ceremonies and meetings and the remains of fighters for an independent country. Jan Zázvorka won the commission with his three storey proposal consisting of a commemoration hall, presidential meeting room, mausoleum and a memorial to the fallen soldiers. A statue of Jan Žižka was to be located at the front of the building along with a tomb of the unknown soldier. Construction continued for almost thirteen years during tumultuous political times. Finally the building was ready to open in October 1938, just in time for the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of independence. Weeks prior to the event, the

Munich Agreement was signed that forced Czechoslovakia to give a part of its lands to Hitler's Germany. A celebration for a monument dedicated to the national liberation was considered out of place. With the arrival of the Wehrmacht in Prague in 1939 the building was instantly occupied. Nazis called for the destruction of all objects symbolizing Czechoslovak autonomy, trying to erase the citizens' memory of the past. Many of the portable objects in the Vítkov Hill monument were saved by patriots. Ironically, they also plastered over many of the building's intricate mosaics and marble reliefs in order to save them, in a way foretelling the structure's progressive erasure in the following decades.

In the early years of Communism the message presented by the building changed. In fact, even though the largest equestrian statue in Europe and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier were designed in 1925 they were constructed after 1948. Politicians changed the meaning of the monument: they portrayed a message that liberation occurred not in 1918, but in 1948. In the years after 1948 the monument became an important symbol for Communists all over the world - it became a mausoleum for Klement Gottwald, the "first workers' president". Busloads of Soviet visitors and students came to pay their respects to Gottwald's mummy. The memory of the slowly decaying body is still vivid in the memories of those visitors (Witkovsky, 2001). Even though the massive structure attracted thousands of visitors over the eight years that Gottwald's body was displayed, the building was not present in the everyday life of Prague. It was slowly fading from the memory of the citizens of the capital of Czechoslovakia. Klement Gottwald was cremated in 1962 and the part of the building that housed his mummy was sealed off to visitors. The structure stood on the hill, only the exterior available to a declining number of viewers. A perfect example of Musil's theory - the massive monument had become unnoticeable to the citizens of Prague. Foreign heads of state were welcomed there, they placed wreaths at the base of the statue, but apart from them nobody noticed the structure.

With the fall of Communism the future of Vítkov Hill's monument was uncertain. The Ministry of Culture even leased the building to entrepreneur Vratislav Čekan who created plans for a hotel and entertainment complex. He even rented the monument to friends for gala parties. The building came to symbolize the consumer capitalism of post-communist society.

In 1997 a revival of the area became a part of the municipal plan. Jan Vavřík, an architect hired by the city to oversee the revitalization process, states his opinion about the building in 2000: “It’s a funereal, cathedral-like building. Who could find a use for that today?” (Witkovsky, 2001). His ideal uses would consist of an outdoor cafe, picture gallery and attractions in the seven-mile-long park around the building. 80% of visitors would not even need to enter the building.

In the beginning of the 21st century some people wanted to emphasize the building’s role during communism, others wanted to place importance on its pre-communist history. Both the building and the park around it are undergoing changes. The building is reconstructed as a modern historical museum with a café offering a beautiful panoramic view of the city (Witkovsky, 2001).

Vítkov Hill monument manages to showcase the strengths of the 1920s and 30s and at the same time reflects the strengths in the 1950s, two periods that reflect opposite political ideologies. In a city where there is an abundance of tourist attractions, churches, squares, bridges and where art is the main draw for visitors, the historical museum has yet to make an impact on the memory of the city’s inhabitants and guests.



1.22 Statue of Jan Žižka - the largest equestrian statue in Europe

THE GHOST: Prague's Marian Column

Cynthia Paces argues in her essay *The Fall and Rise of Prague's Marian Column* that “empty spaces tell as many stories as ... historical monuments” (Paces, 2004, p. 47). Pierre Nora expresses a similar notion. He emphasizes that the creation of a monument or any kind of permanent marker lulls people into complacency. “If the marker does the memory work for us, we are less vigilant and can allow ourselves the luxury of forgetting” (Nora, 1992, p. 56).



1.23 Marian Column of Old Town Square c.1900

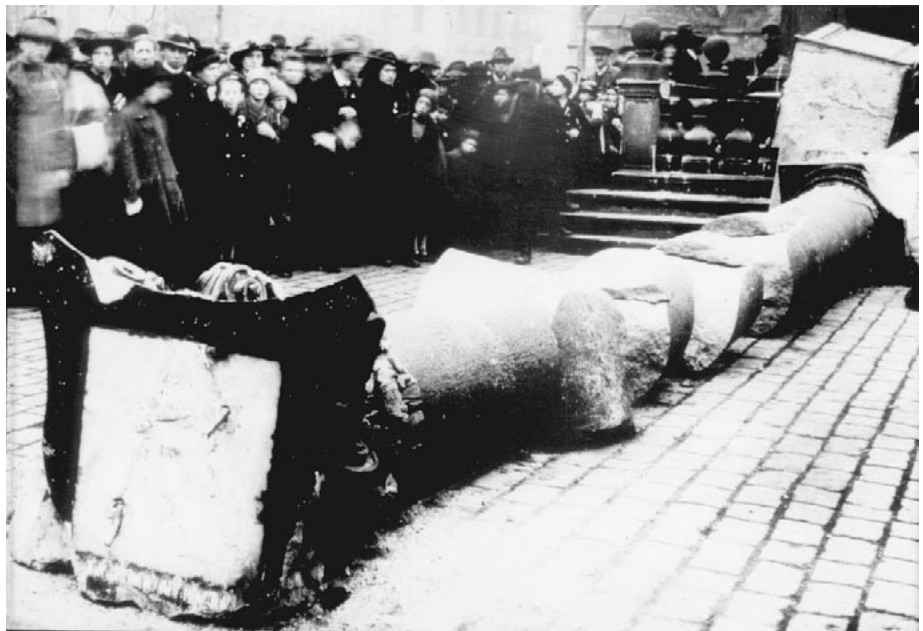
Prague's Marian Column, a baroque monument to the Virgin Mary, stood in Old Town Square since 1650 and was considered one of the most important pieces of baroque public art in Central Europe. It was a gift from Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand III and his intent was that the column celebrate the Habsburg defeat of Sweden and the following Swedish retreat from Prague and the end of the Thirty Years War. During the nineteenth century the people's attitude towards the sculpture changed. Nationalists saw it as a symbol of oppression, a symbol of the Austrian presence in Prague and not as a Roman Catholic sculpture and a sign of victory. On November 3, 1918, just a week after Czechoslovakia became an independent state from the rule of Austria-Hungary, the Marian Column came down. A former religious symbol, it had changed its meaning to become a political symbol of imperial domination and a symbol of the defeat of Czech culture. The

sculpture was not demolished by the ruling party, but they did not act to prevent the act or punish the vandals. In the following years citizens of Prague started to argue that nationalism and Catholicism should be one whole in order to truly reflect the character of the Czech nation. They called for a new statue of the Virgin Mary on the former sanctified site, representing a new form of Czech nationalism.

The memory of the sculpture lived on during tumultuous periods. During Communism, Catholic activists attempted to gain support for its resurrection, but the government had no interest in religious revival and suppressed all campaigns. With the change of political leadership, the Marian Column had taken new meaning - a symbol of the oppression of religion. Czech emigrants in the United States were calling for the construction of a replica to honour all victims of the religious oppression in Communist states. After the fall of Communism a Society for the Recovery of the Marian Column was established. In 1993 they laid a plaque into the cobblestones inscribed in four languages, reading:

Here did stand and will stand again

The Marian Column of Old Town Square



1.24 Toppled Marian Column on Old Town Square, Prague, Nov. 1918.

Almost a century has passed since the tearing down of the Marian Column. The monument may be gone, but its memory is still in the Old Town square (Paces, 2004).

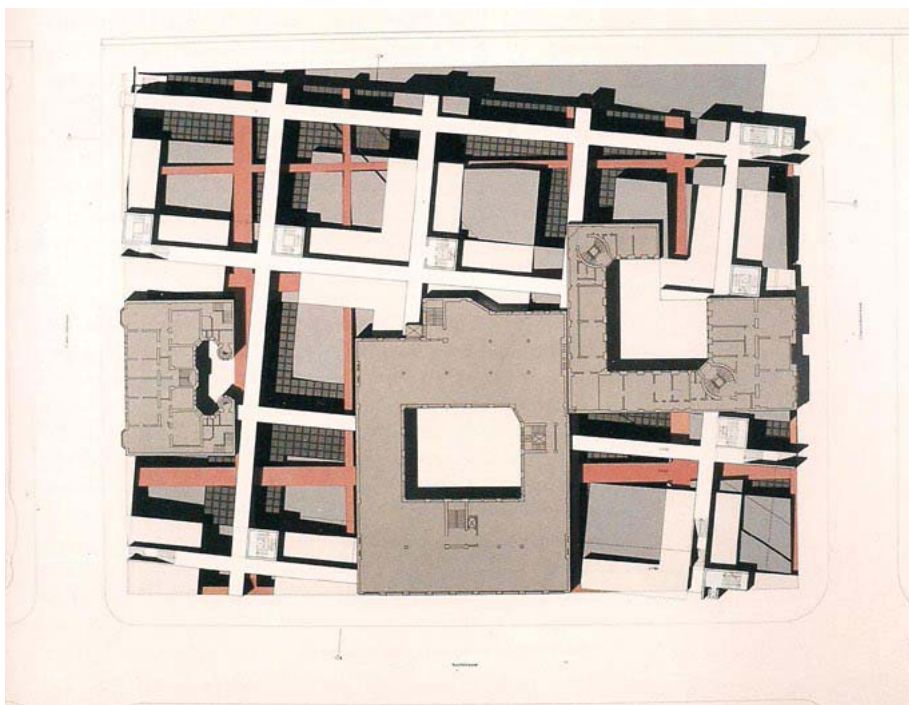
THE FICTION: The City of Artificial Excavation Peter Eisenman

South Friedrichstadt as a Place to Live and Work

Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1984, 1980-1981

The International Building Exhibition organization held a competition in 1981 for housing on South Friedrichstadt, on a site adjacent to Checkpoint Charlie with the Berlin Wall on its northern perimeter. The program was designed to include housing both new and in existing turn-of-the century courtyard buildings. Eisenman Robertson Architects won the competition's special first prize.

Peter Eisenman, the partner in charge of the design, used the site's relationship to the Wall as a means to explore the history of the site and the city of Berlin. He developed two grids on the ground plane: one grid represents the old Berlin brick foundation walls and a second of limestone walls (to be 3.3 meters high, as was the Berlin Wall) is based on the Mercator projection. Through the interposition of these new walls, Eisenman transforms the substance and meaning of the Berlin Wall. The project has not been realized as the city of Berlin wanted major site modifications that the architect was unwilling to make. Eisenman says of the project, "...ours was an attempt to keep the traces of history, to create a site of artificial excavation" (Eisenman, 1983, p. 16).

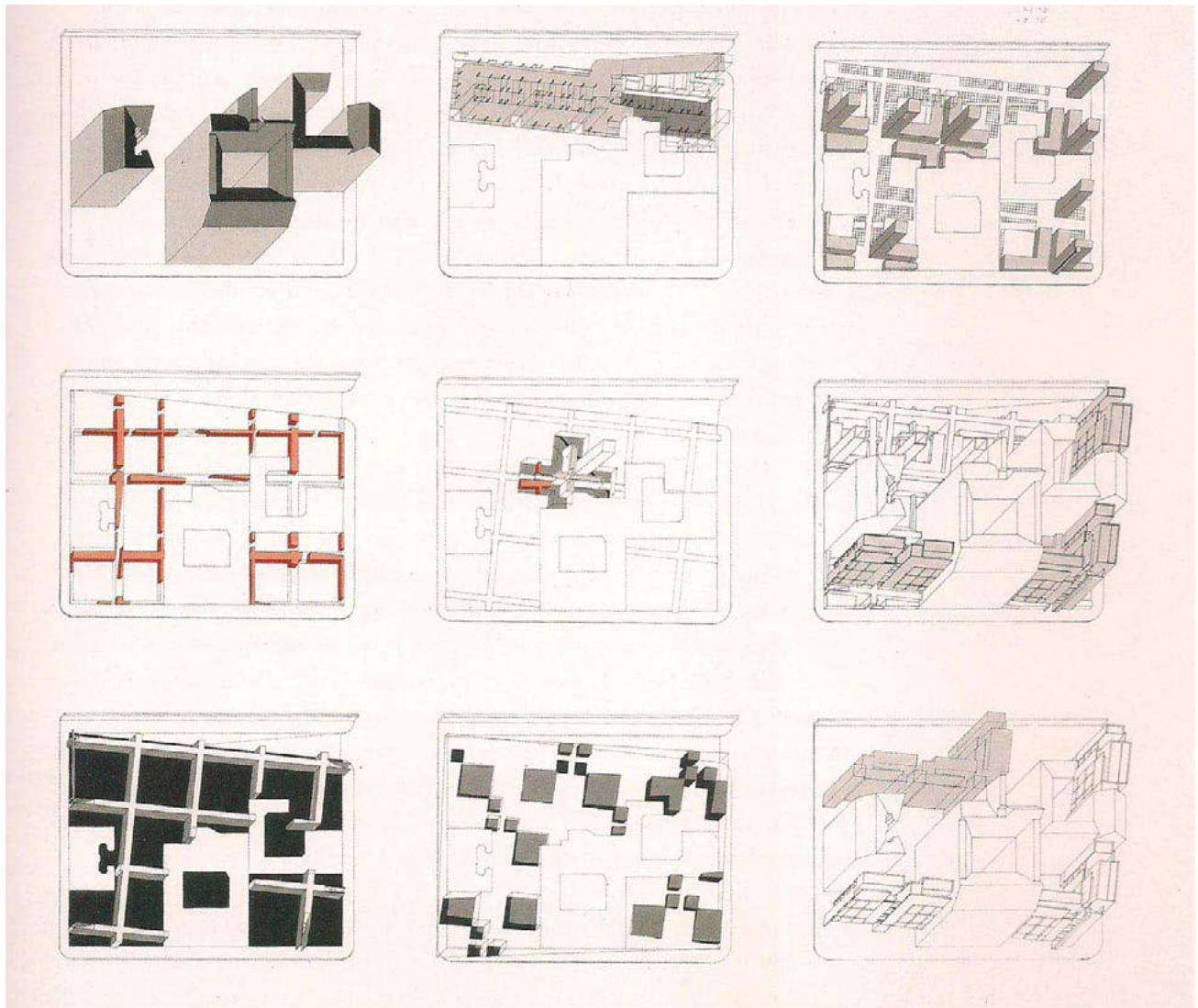


1.25 Presentation drawing:
site plan, 1980
Office of Eisenman/
Robertson Architects

"Site, for an architect, usually means context. The context is traditionally thought of as the gestalt of all of the positive object buildings. But, site could also mean non-buildings - the spaces between buildings or the absence of objects configured in images which we traditionally think of as buildings." (Eisenman, 1983, p. 16)

Eisenman uses the second approach to site context in the South Friedrichstadt area of Berlin.

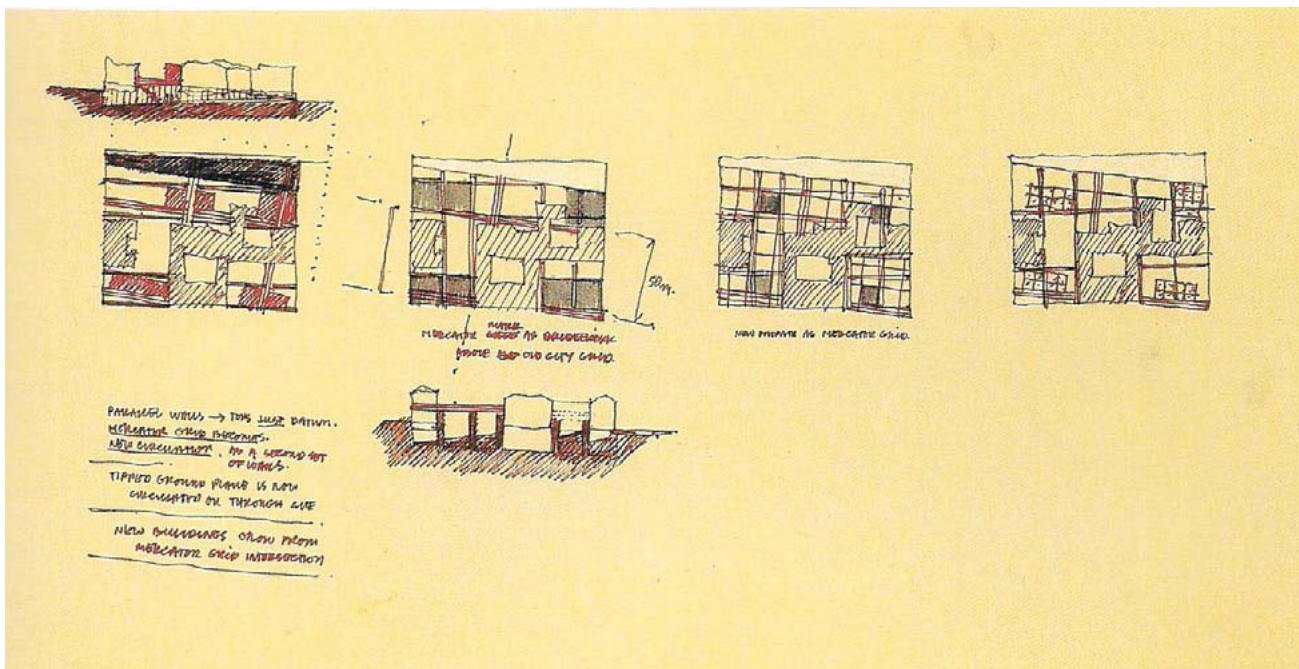
1.26 Conceptual diagrams,
1980
Office of Eisenman/
Robertson Architects

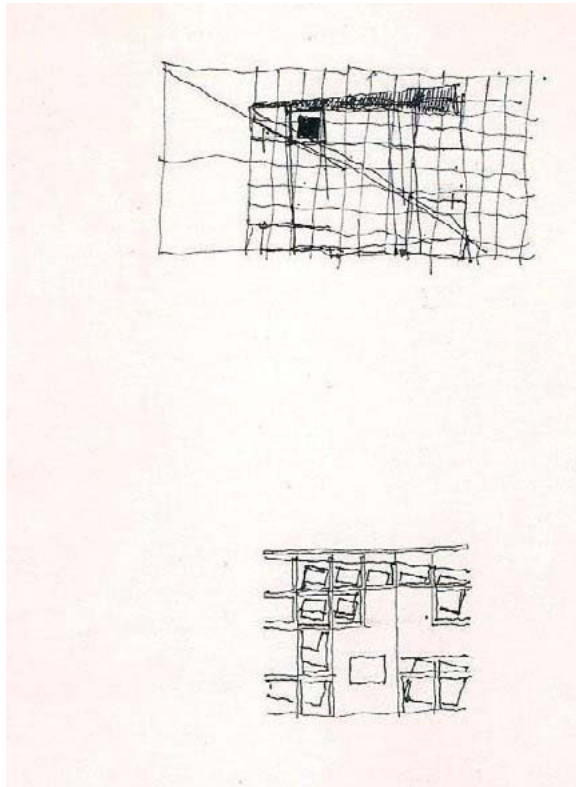


"Our strategy for developing the site was twofold. The first intention was to expose the particular history of the site, that is, to render visible its specific memories, to acknowledge that it once was special, was someplace. The second was to acknowledge that Berlin today belongs to the world in the largest sense, that its specificity and identity have been sacrificed on the altar of modern history, that it is now the crossroads of every place and no place. In the process of materializing this duality the architecture attempts to erect the structure of both somewhere and nowhere, of here and not here: to memorialize a place and to deny the efficacy of that memory." (Eisenman, 1980/1994, p. 74)

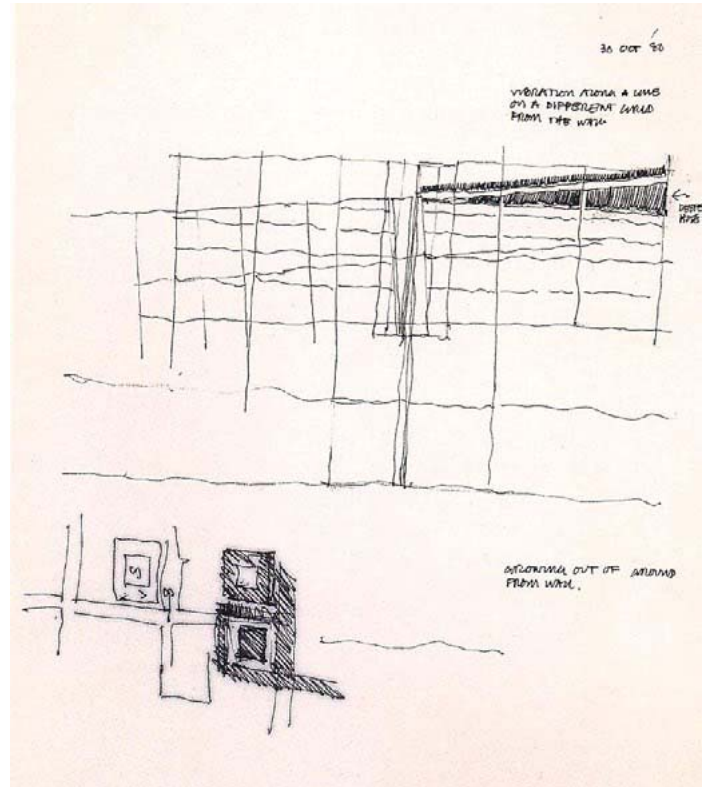
The site selected for the competition represents the city's most dramatic transformations in the last centuries. In the eighteenth century the site was the only space where the city wall was incomplete. In the following centuries the city grew with development of the area. Two different grid patterns can be read: a small square grid, realized with tight blocks with courtyards and an elongated rectangular grid with open space behind them. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the area transformed drastically: it became a centre for commercial activity. The bombings of World War II left the site in ruins. The Berlin wall was constructed in 1961, removing the city from its past. A part of the city became a memory.

1.27 Sketch site plans and sections showing urban and Mercator grids laid on site with existing and proposed buildings.





1.28 Left: Sketch site plan showing urban and Mercator grids with trace of the eighteenth-century fortification wall (upper part) and el structures within the urban grid laid on the site (lower part)



1.29 Right: Sketch site plan showing intersection between urban and Mercator grids and (lower part of image) diagram of solids and voids.

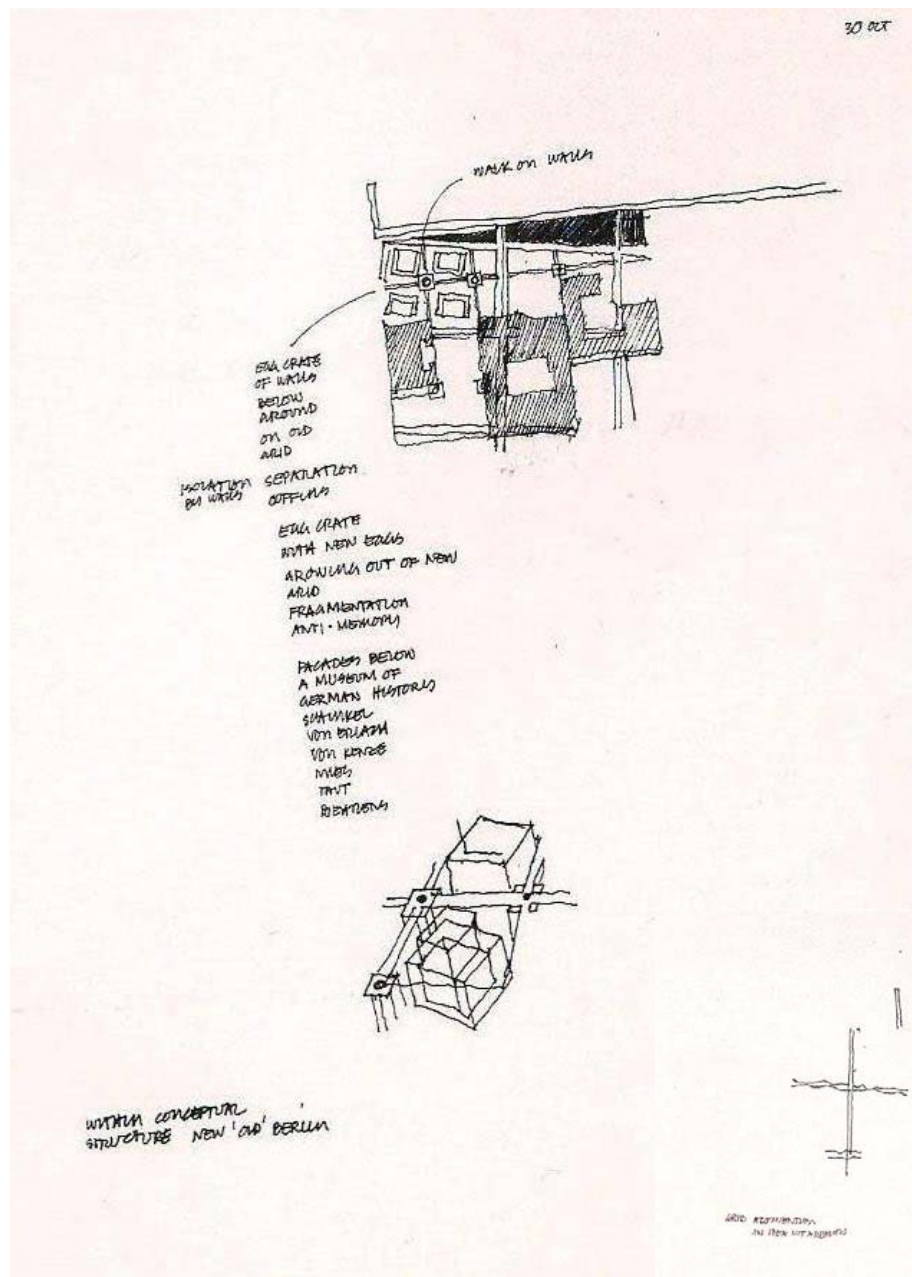
In the design for the social housing project, the eighteenth-, nineteenth- and twentieth-century street grids are memorialized in an idealized, Bauhaus-reminiscent grid rotated 3.3° from the real pattern of streets and retained buildings and fragments. The “real” grid is destroyed by its own memorial, elevated (layered) above it; and the agenda is to produce an “artificial excavation”: “In the conscious act of forgetting, one cannot help but remember.” (King, 1996)

Eisenman and Robertson write “antimemory” - they are not demanding or looking for a past, or future. They are denying the present reality of the Berlin Wall and turn to a nostalgic, sentimental memory. The Berlin wall’s presence is acknowledged by elevating the new walls to a height of 3.3 m, the same height as the Berlin wall. The ground plane becomes a metaphor for the division and oppression in Berlin: it is disconnected both vertically and horizontally from the existing city, creating an architectural condition of blockage and division. “The purpose of antimemory is to reveal to us what the past is doing now and what the myth of human progress is doing to us now (Benjamin’s “to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up in a moment of danger”), so that the present with its oppressions and divisions (the moment of danger) can now be accepted and

confronted for what it is and so that out of the present we can create some place.” (King, 1996, p. 162.)

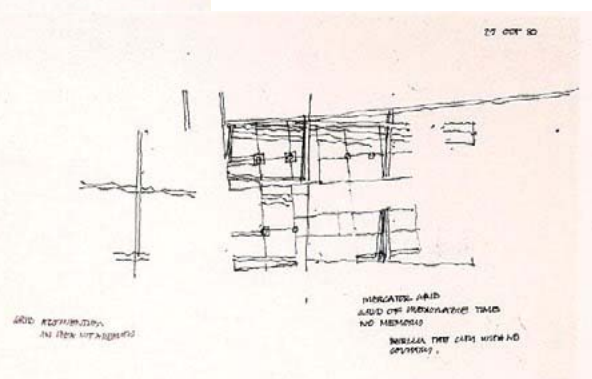
Memory and anti-memory work opposite but in agreement with each other and produce an object, suspended in time: “a frozen fragment of no past and no future, a place. Let us say it is of its own time” (Eisenman, 1994, p. 78).

The street facades symbolize their own time by a gridded wall, the eighteenth century foundation of Friedrichstadt is represented by another grid at 3.3° to the first, with each intersecting and interrupting the other, and the link to the world and the geopolitics of the Berlin Wall by the imagined Mercator grid.



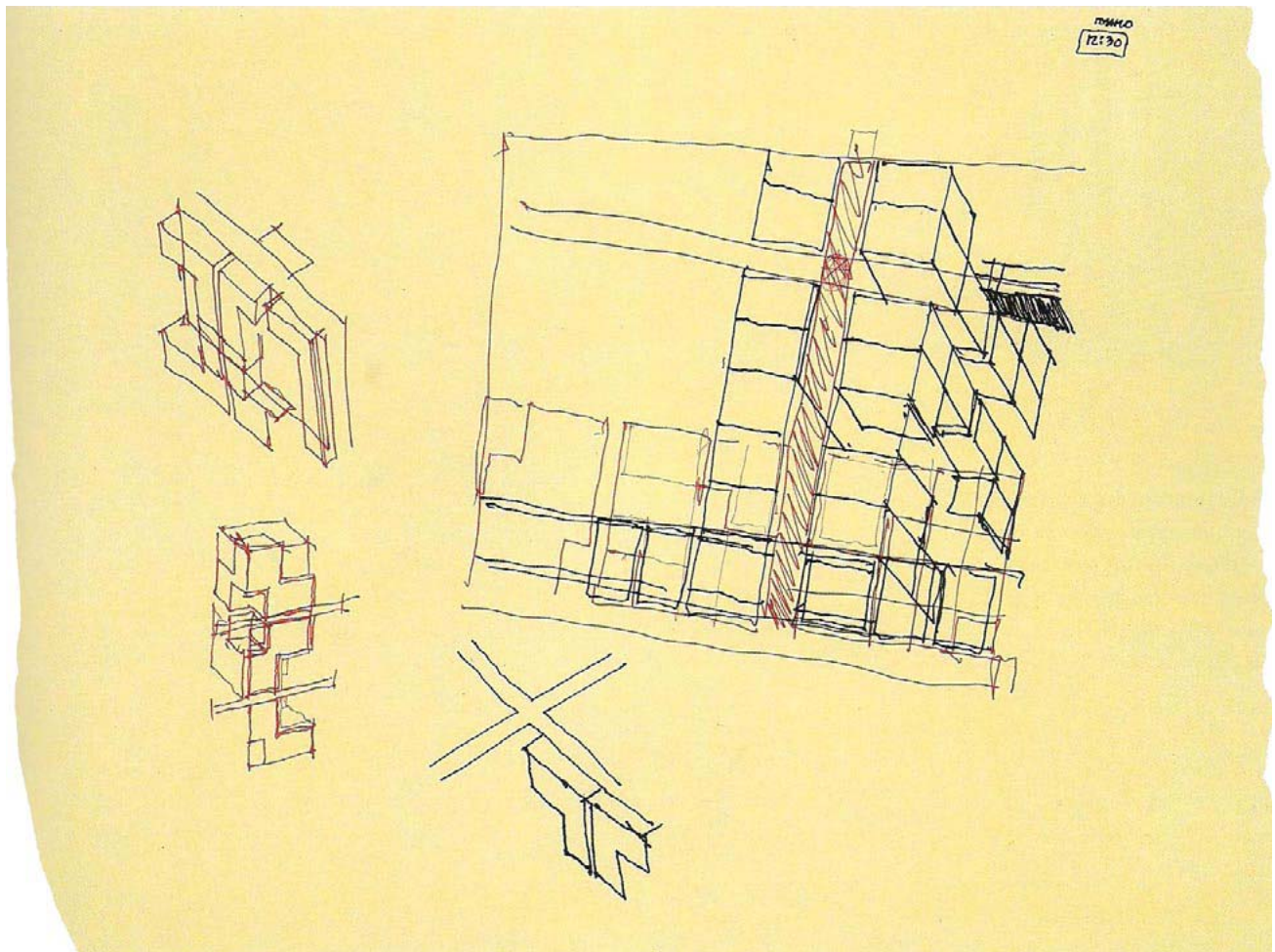
1.30 Left: Sketch site plan and axonometric showing el structures within urban grid

1.31 Right: Sketch site plan showing intersection between urban and Mercator grids



"The architecture of the Mercator grid thus begins by taking up the structure of its unique Friedrichstrasse site conditions and then, in the process of its own realizations, fragments and destroys this former structure. Through superimposition and erasure it reveals the double nature of memory and anti-memory; the fragments become a whole as the whole becomes fragments. Time is collapsed into a nondirectional moment in which the three isolated core towers become the sign of this stasis. Are these towers in the process of growing or of disappearing? The architecture does not predict this, additions and subtractions, further erasures of memory in which the new project itself becomes a fragment of history, could ensue. The architecture admits of these possibilities without preconceiving them. But the object designed for this space neither progresses nor looks back; it is suspended in the present archaeological moment" (Eisenman, 1994, p. 80).

1.32 Sketch axonometric showing massing of the structures



THE PALIMPSEST: *San Clemente, Rome*

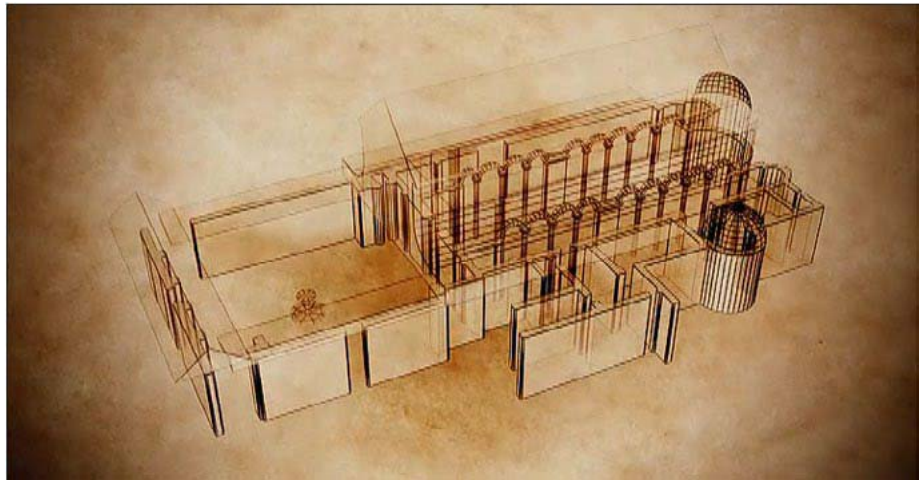
In San Clemente the visitor can experience the different layers of history, see and feel their textures. Unlike most of Rome, where the most ancient layer is on display and centuries of history are lost, in San Clemente there is a clear connection between the distinctive epochs. In San Clemente the visitor can see a part of the ancient sewer system of Rome, and experience three different parts of Roman history.

In 1857 Fr Joseph Mullooly, the then Prior of San Clemente, began excavations under the present basilica, uncovering not only the original, fourth-century basilica directly underneath, but also, at an even lower level, the remains of a first-century building.

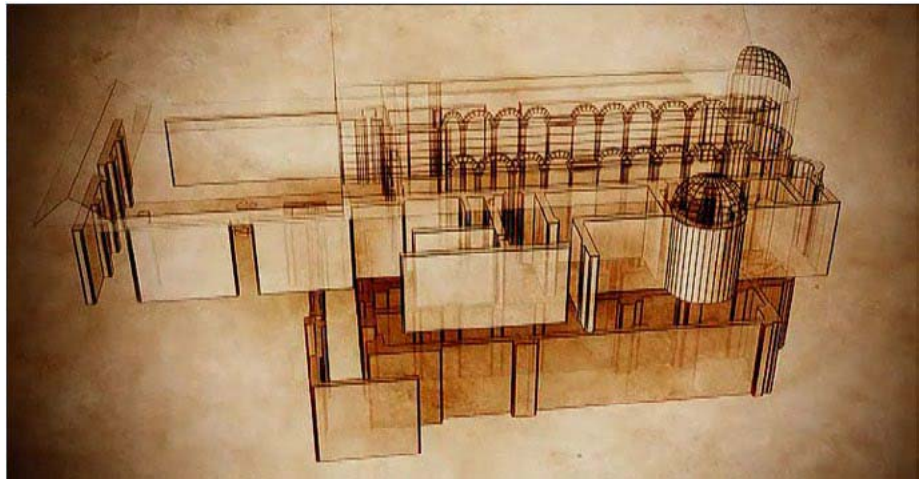
The lowest level is a brick insula, with remains beneath of foundations from the republican era, and a more magnificent rectangular structure. In the courtyard of the insula a Roman pagan temple dedicated to Mithras was constructed at the end of the second century AD. The intricate Roman house was originally owned by Roman consul and martyr Titus Flavius Clemens, who was one of the first among the Roman senatorial class to convert to Christianity. The upper level of his house was used as a church. After Christianity became the official religion of Rome, the church was expanded, acquiring the adjoining insula and other nearby buildings. It was expanded by filling the first level of the structure to provide for foundations.

The completed basilica survived until about 1100 AD when it was found that the building was unsafe and should be abandoned. The fourth-century basilica was then filled in with rubble to the top of its pillars and on this foundation a replica of the old basilica was erected. The current basilica is one of the most richly adorned churches in Rome.

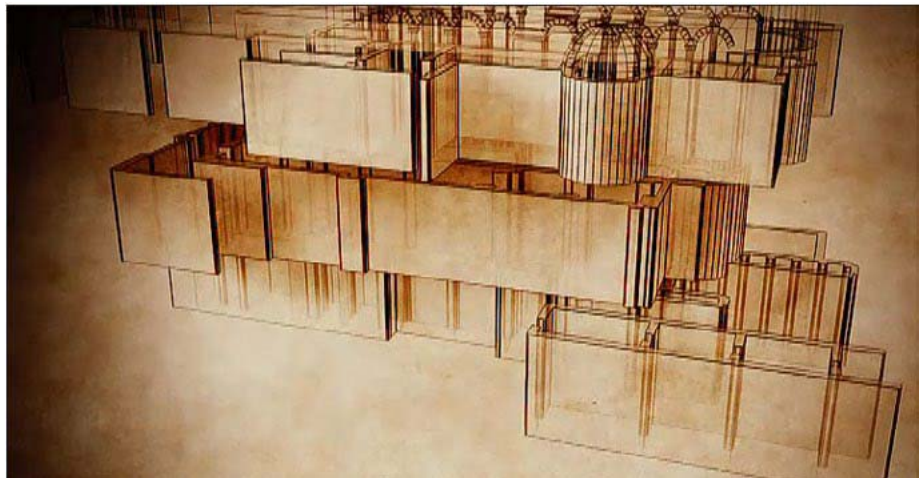
1.33 Top layer
Upper church, built in the 12th century - one of the most richly decorated churches in Rome.



1.35 Second layer
The lower church, converted into a church after Christianity became the official religion during Constantine.



1.34 Lower layer
Insula and a mansion dating from the 1 century AD are the first layer - they are built on top of an earlier structure destroyed by the great fire of 64 AD under Nero.





1.36 12th-century choir and altar in the Upper Church of San Clemente.



1.37 Base of stairs descending from the upper church to the lower church.



1.38 Central nave of the lower church, with pillars added in the 12th century.

1.39 Side aisle of the 4th-century Lower Church of San Clemente.



1.40 Altar in the lower church, at the west end of the central nave.



1.41 Tomb of St. Cyril (d.869) at the west end of the left (south) aisle of the lower church. Just out of sight to the right is the stairway down to the 1st-century Roman houses.





1.42 4th-century stairs leading beneath the lower church to a 1st-century Roman insula and the Temple of Mithras.



1.43 The 3rd-century Mithraeum, or Temple of Mithras, designed like a cave.



1.44 The sound of rushing water can be heard throughout the lowest level of the excavations, and occasionally seen. It is part of a 1st-century aqueduct running towards the Tiber via the Cloaca Maxima, the main sewer of ancient Rome.



1.45 Pointe-à-Callière

THE REVEAL: Pointe-à-Callière

Dan S. Hanganu

“Memory and inventory constitute the major themes employed in the elaboration of this project. Given the significance of the site, the architecture of the museum’s components is influenced by the events which have place here since the founding of Montreal, and where more than six centuries of history are superimposed.”
(Hanganu, 2009, hanganu.com)

The site of Montreal’s Museum of archaeology and history has an important place in the history of the city - it is located where de Maisonneuve founded Montreal in 1642. The building stands on top of more than four centuries of archaeological remains, which are exposed in the galleries below ground. It rises from the foundations of its predecessor - the Royal Insurance Company building. The museum’s name, Pointe-à-Callière, is a reference to the history of the site. A 17th century French colonist named Chevalier Louis-Hector Callière lived on the very same piece of land in 1688.

The triangular Éperon, designed by Dan S. Hanganu with Provencher Roy, is an extension of all the façades along Rue de la Commune, conforming with the historic quarter, matching the roof lines and the proportions of walls and openings, while making strong allusions to the 1862 Royal Insurance Building which formerly occupied the site, but at the same time being a modern looking building of its time.

It houses a theater, exhibition spaces, offices, a restaurant on the top floor, and in the basement, the permanent exhibition *Where Montreal Was Born*.

chapter three

Sites of Memory

Is it difficult to narrate a city's actual history when parts of the urban layers are selectively destroyed? Can a "site of memory" also be about forgetting?

Politics shape our cities as much as architecture and urban planning do. It is politicians that make decisions about city bylaws and planning affecting all urban fabric. It is also politicians that impact the transformation of public space. Politicians decide on the erection of monuments, statues, memorials and their placement in the city plan. They shape the public's identity, the perception of their past. They select what is to be remembered and memorialized and what should be forgotten.

"Architecture is not political; it is only an instrument of politics."

Léon Krier, 1981, p. 401

“The great majority [of a city's inhabitants] may well be more sensitive to a certain street being torn up, or a certain building or home being razed, than to the gravest national, political, or religious events. That is why great upheavals may severely shake society without altering the appearance of the city. Their effects are blunted as they filter down to those people who are closer to the stones than to man - the shoemaker in his shop; the artisan at his bench; the merchant in his store; the people in the market; the walker strolling about the streets, idling at the wharf, or visiting the garden terraces; the children playing on the corner; the old man enjoying the sunny wall or sitting on a stone bench; the beggar squatting by a city landmark.”

Maurice Halbwachs, “Space and the Collective Memory”, as cited by Eleni Bastea (2004)

“Politics constitutes the problem of choices” states Aldo Rossi (1966/1982, p. 162). Politics is in the foundation of city construction. If we consider the city as a man-made urban structure, then we cannot disregard the effect of politics, which is the decisive moment, on the architecture of urban artifacts. (Rossi, 1966/1982).

The discussion of the deliberate erasure of memory is not a new idea of postmodern historians. The social and political arena in which the past is made and unmade includes a broad spectrum of social agents, including politicians, architects, interest groups and the military. Political transformations serve as triggers for renewed struggles over the legacy of the past.

Architecture and urban design may not on their own alter the course of national politics, but many nations rely heavily on them for expressions of national identity. A number of European cities have experienced deliberate erasure of parts of their built fabric. Both Napoleon III and Mussolini removed layers of history in order to achieve a political vision.

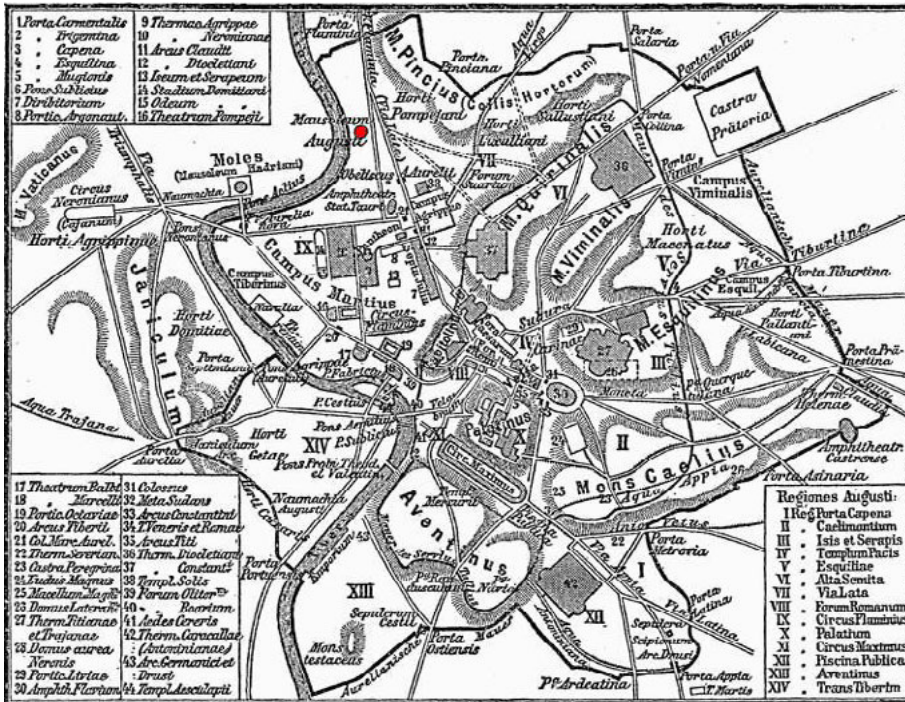
After Napoleon III declared himself Emperor in 1852 he embarked on the rebuilding of Paris. The capital of France at the time was a medieval city with narrow interweaving streets and cramped

buildings. Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, Napoleon III's chief engineer, proposed new streets through the heart of the city and had entire sections of the medieval core demolished. At the time Haussmann faced criticism from planners in other cities who were trying to incorporate some of the jumbled patterns of medieval cities but he was determined to transform Paris into a modern metropolis. He laid new water and sewer systems and added new parks, widened and straightened the streets and created boulevards. Both Napoleon III and Haussmann believed that the creation of broad boulevards would make civil unrest impossible, because artillery would be able to fire on rioting crowds and their barricades (Roth, 2007).

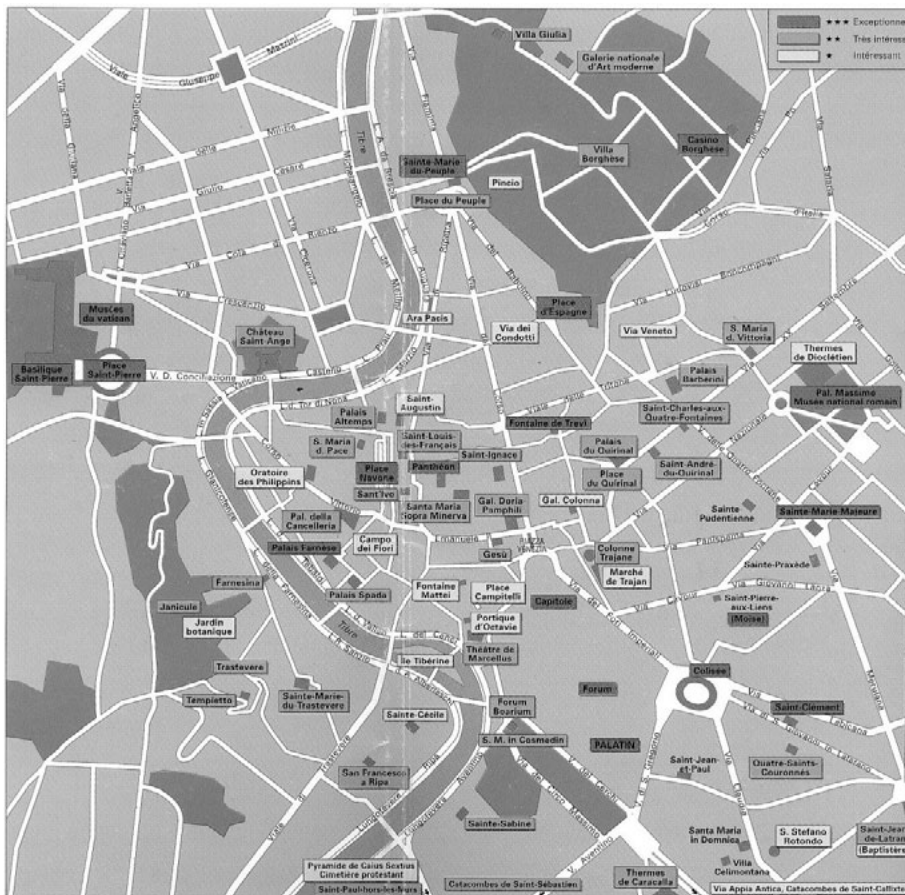


1.46 Paris after Haussmann

Rome experienced changes to its fabric in the first half of the 20th century in order to showcase a political regime. Rome was to become a “centerpiece of [the] Fascist revolution” (Painter, 2005, p. xv). Mussolini started an ambitious series of urban renewal projects seeking to demonstrate that the new fascist regime was the natural continuation of the Roman Empire. The linking of the present with the “glorious” past (Painter, 2005, p. xv) consisted of the demolition of old working-class neighborhoods in order to “liberate” ancient monuments, improve the flow of traffic, and create new



1.47 Ancient Rome



1.48 Mussolini's Rome

sites for Fascist spectacles that celebrated the regime's ongoing achievements (Cardoza, 2006). The past that was not worthy of the new "empire" was erased to make space for the construction of a new imperial Rome.



1.49 Albert Speer's never realized plan for Berlin

Albert Speer, Hitler's architect, had ambitious, but never realized, plans for Berlin. The city had to suit the new regime and he proposed a monumental five-kilometer boulevard, beginning with a triumphal arch, a reference to empire, and ending in an assembly hall able to house 180,000 people. Part of Speer's plan also involved expropriating property from Jews - a deliberate act of erasure. Again architecture was a political tool in an attempt to showcase the power of a new regime.

The impact of politics in the transformation of public space can be seen not only at the scale of the city, but also in all alterations to the streetscape. Memory sites - both efforts to memorialize national traumas and the need to reinterpret the ancient past - are always affected by political shifts. Monuments are the sites most time-honoured, spatially fixed, and unquestioningly acknowledged as "public history". Publics have been trained to view monuments and historical markers, whether massive obelisks, towering representational statues, or modest plaques, as timeless carriers of message. Yet the decision about which sites to mark and the formal aspects of the monuments are often highly politicized and contentious.

The location of monuments is also greatly affected by local, regional or national politics. Every tribute to a person or event is built on public land and is therefore influenced by the administration of the day.

Subtle shades of meaning can be traced in the placement of a specific memorial. Some memorials are raised at prime locations, while others are erected in out of the way locations or do not appear at all (Foote, 2003).

Even though a memorial or monument evokes a sense of timelessness and permanence, after drastic political changes memory artifacts can be perceived in a radically different way.

The decisions on which sites to sanctify and the formal expression of the monument are always highly politicized and debatable.

Kenneth Foote in his book *Shadowed Ground* looks at historically violent and tragic sites and studies the reasons people memorialize certain sites and avoid others. He divides the sites of tragedy into four categories: sanctified, designated, rectified, and obliterated.

Sanctification

Sanctification is the creation of a sacred space, dedicated to the memory of a person, group or event. It almost always involves the creation of a permanent marker - a memorial, building, park. Sanctified sites are clearly distinguished from their surroundings and to be maintained indefinitely. Usually there's a change of ownership of the land from private to public. Sanctified sites frequently attract continued ritual commemoration - annual memorial service or pilgrimage. Sanctified sites often attract other, sometimes unrelated monuments and memorials through the process of accretion. According to Foote, the creation of memorials has a dual purpose, it not only honours the victims of the disaster, but helps the community mourn and heal (Foote, 2003).

Designation

Designation has less impact on a site. A site is considered designated when it is marked for its significance, but there's no consecration.

Rectification

Rectification is the process used most often on sites of tragedy. The site is quickly used again, after temporary notoriety. It is the most common process after a tragedy occurs. A site could be neglected or even abandoned but it's quickly put to use. Sometimes the use could be changed. Rectification is the most common outcome when tragedies come to be viewed as accidents and when violence is interpreted as senseless. It occurs on sites touched by tragedy and violence, that "fail to gain the sense of significance that inspires sanctification or designation and lack the shameful connotations that spur obliteration" (Foote, 2003, p. 23).

Obliteration

The site is scoured. It is a more powerful tool than rectification because the site is not just cleaned, but all evidence from a tragedy is removed. "The site is not returned to use but more commonly removed from use. If the site is occupied again - usually after a long period of time - it will be put to a wholly different use" (Foote, 2003,

p. 24). It is almost the opposite of sanctification, consequently the events that lead to effacement are almost the opposite of those that motivate sanctification. Obliteration leaves only stigma on the site. Sometimes stigmatized sites attract abuse: graffiti and vandalism. It is an interesting opposition to sanctification of the site: after a great community tragedy, the creation of a monument or memorial often marks the end of a grieving period or becomes the focus of a release of grief. However, a site that is stigmatized has a sense of shame attached to it, that prevents this healing process - people are discouraged from caring for the site, it becomes neglected, even if the victims of the violence that occurred there deserve memorialization.

“The shaping of the past worthy of public commemoration in the present is contested and involves a struggle for supremacy between advocates of various political ideas and sentiments.” (Bodnar, 1992, p. 13) At times of change people reflect on the past and reinterpret events and ideas.

“They look for patterns, for order, and for coherence in past events to support changing political sentiments, as well as changing social, economic, and cultural values” (Foote, 2003, p. 28). Often the actual site of the event becomes a centre of discussion - should it be forgotten or remembered? Before society comes to terms with violence and tragedy they go through a process of struggle over meaning and memory.

The Land-Shape of Memory and Tradition

The four types of site treatment are not always final. Minor and major changes can occur, sometimes many years after the event. “In extreme cases obliterated sites may be rediscovered and venerated, and sanctified sites may be effaced. The motive for change is retrospective interpretation. Looking back, people reappraise an event’s significance” (Foote, 2003, p. 214).

The Representation of Local, Regional, and National Identity

“Many sites of violence are shaped to commemorate significant moments in the national past or formative events in the histories of cities, states and regions” (Foote, 2003, p. 28). A key to understand

significant sites is time. Time must pass before the general public, the historians and all participants are able to look back and assess events and comprehend their meaning.

The way a society perceives its past, patriotism and identity changes as time passes. Winston Churchill's quote "history is written by the victors" has inspired many studies on the topic of historical truth and the shaping and reshaping of the past to reflect the political views of the time and demands of the contemporary society. ". . . (this) is to claim that facts and events are filtered, screened, and interpreted to fit certain contemporary demands" (Foote, 2003, p. 29).

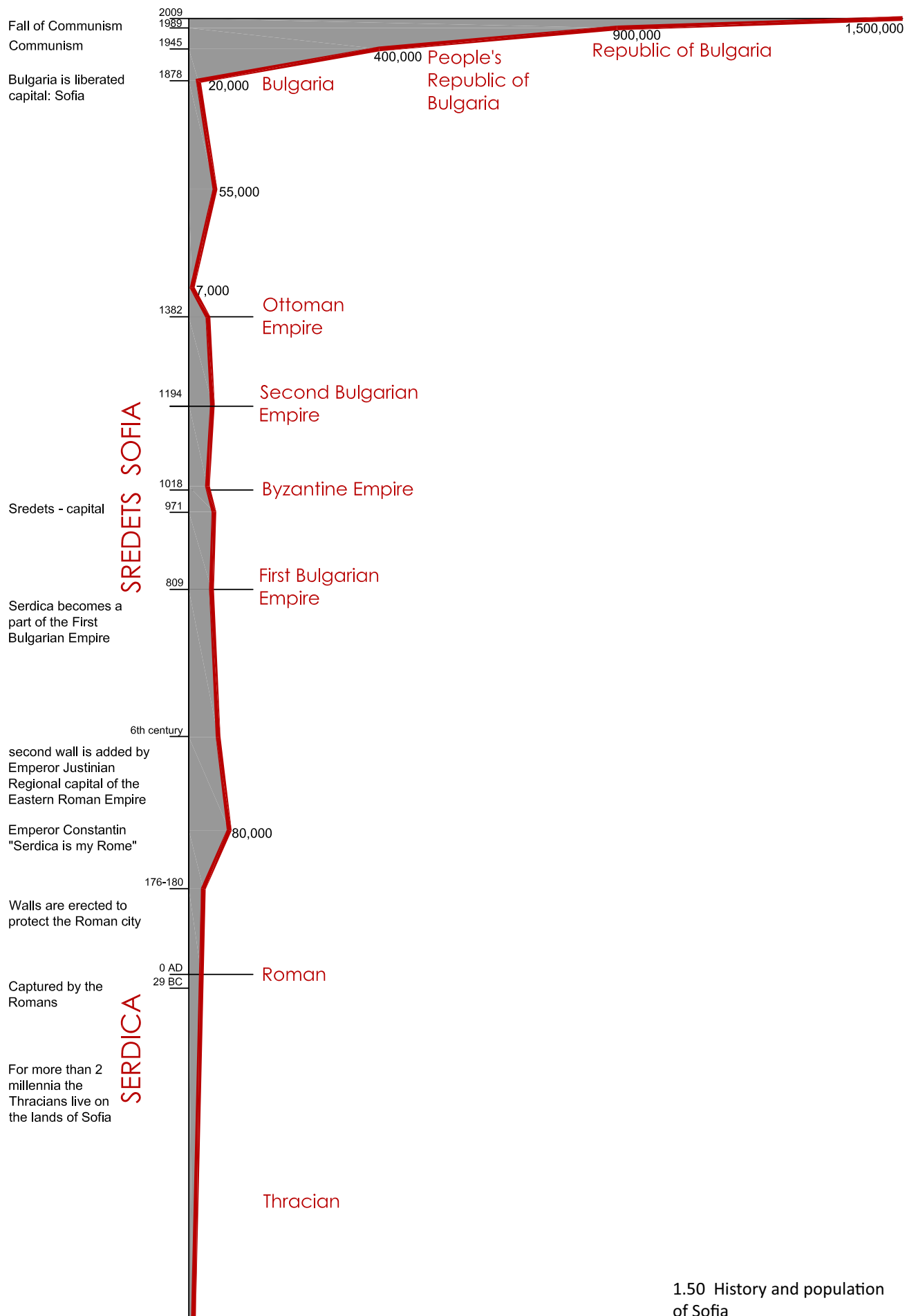
Landscape and Memory: What is Forgotten?

The connection between landscape, culture and collective memory is deeply rooted in the way society deals with tragic events. Culture is perceived as a collection of beliefs, values and traditions that create a community. An individual's life is greatly influenced by them and on his/her own they cannot change the traditions. Those customs are built over a long period of time, often centuries, and changes happen slowly. The repetition of certain events, traditions and customs, becomes a way of remembering. Culture becomes almost a social, or collective memory. This idea of memory creates an important relationship between culture and landscape, because the modifications to the built environment are often related to the way a society wishes to be sustained and memorialized. The permanence of the monuments/memorials in the built environment help carry a message through time, they assist the collective memory in transcending time. The landscape becomes a communication tool capable of extending the "temporal and spatial range of communication" (Foote, 2003, p. 214). Foote argues that the physical landscape becomes the most durable tool for carrying meaning into the future. Rituals and oral traditions also help sustain collective values and beliefs but they are slowly evolving through time and are not as precise as a tangible object. Landscape stands out as the most durable, visual representation of a message through the centuries.

chapter four

Sofia: History and Memory

“History is not continuous. It is made up of stops and starts, of presences and absences. The presences are the times when history is vital, is running, is feeding on itself and deriving its energy from its own momentum. The absences are the times when the propulsive organism is dead, the voids in between one run of history and the next. These are filled by memory. Where history ends, memory begins”. (Eisenman, 1994, p. 73)



1.50 History and population of Sofia

People have occupied the lands of present-day Sofia for more than four millennia. There have been many starts and stops, presences and absences, peaks and declines in the city's long run of history. The city changes its name, it gradually grows but it never moves its centre, the same location that is now considered "the ideal centre" of Sofia. Every epoch has left its traces. The architecture and morphology of Sofia is a memory site of national identity. These memories are all the more contested when political transformations create new urban political identities.

The Thracian tribe Serdi inhabited the area in small settlements around the warm mineral springs. The first remains of a built fabric, dated prior to Roman times, give evidence of a culturally rich life.

In 29 BC the city became a part of the Roman Empire and was named Serdica, referring to the Thracian tribe Serdi. The mineral springs were the main draw for the Romans along with the strategic location: the polis was situated at the crossroads of Central Europe through the Balkans to East Asia and from Northern Europe to the Mediterranean.

During the first three centuries, the occupants preserved many of their Hellenistic traditions, including the cult of multiple gods. Special attention was paid to Serapis, a Hellenistic-Egyptian god, whose temple was located at the intersection of present day Graf Ignatiev



1.51 Serdica's location in the Roman Empire - III century AD

Street and Angel Kanchev Street. Roman baths were constructed at the location of the present-day Sofia Public Mineral Baths. For more than 2 millennia this site has been associated with the mineral springs.

The first wall that bound the city and limited its growth was constructed during Roman times, between 176 and 180 AD. The city walls are oriented to the cardinal directions. Even though the city was a target for different tribes, life inside the walls never stopped. New stores, housing, public buildings were built, structures were renovated. In 2004, construction workers excavating at 12 Knyaz Alexander Dondukov discovered ruins which archeologists date back to the 2nd or 3th century AD. It has been identified as an amphitheatre. It is not fully restored as the downtown of the city is densely populated however, the oval shaped arena, some 60 by 43 m long, was only 10m shorter than the Colosseum in Rome and could seat 20,000 people.

The 4th century of Roman rule marked a new beginning for Serdica. Constantine the Great (274-337), or Saint Constantine, as he is known in the Eastern Orthodox Church, allowed the construction of Christian temples. In Serdica quickly appeared the first churches. One of the surviving monuments from this period is the Basilica of St. Sofia. During the next three centuries Serdica established itself as an early Christian centre.

Around the 6th century, during the rule of Emperor Justinian (482-565) a second wall was added to the existing one in order to strengthen it which made the total thickness of the wall almost four meters. Under Justinian the Great, the city recovered its status as regional capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. Now pedestrians can walk on the very streets which were part, some 1,400 years ago, of the main city thoroughfare. Less than a kilometer to the north-west parts of the North Gate have been uncovered, inscribed with praises to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

In 809 Khan Krum forced the surrender of Serdica. The First Bulgarian Empire was established by Khan Asparuh in 681AD in the area of present-day northeast Bulgaria. Serdica was used as a main base by the later rulers of the country to expand their borders and influence to the south and southwest. Khan Krum preserved the Roman public buildings, as well as the Christian temples, Basilica



1.52 First Bulgarian Empire
early to mid 900s

St. Sofia and the St. George Rotunda, even though he was a pagan. Serdica was renamed Sredets to reflect that the city was not a Thracian city in the Roman Empire, but a part of the Bulgarian Empire.



1.53 St. George Rotunda



1.54 Basilica St. Sofia in 1915.
Now it is fully restored and operational.

Sredets, with its strategic location, became a trading city and a cultural centre for the country. In 971 the capital of the Bulgarian Empire, Veliki Preslav, was captured by the Byzantines and Sredets became the capital. During the next almost half century the city-fortress withstood many battles. The Byzantine Emperor Vasili II managed to capture the city in 1018, after the death of the last ruler of the First Bulgarian Empire. For one hundred seventy six years, Sredets was a part of the Byzantine Empire.

The Second Bulgarian Empire was established in 1185 and lasted until 1396. It became the dominant power of the Balkans and was among the most advanced states in Europe. The Empire was quickly expanding and Sredets was recaptured in 1194. Sredets was flourishing and became a cultural as well as a scholarly centre. In the area of Sredets gold and iron were mined, the city was famous for its craftsmanship. It became known as Sofia, named after the Basilica St. Sofia, the literary and religious centre of the city.



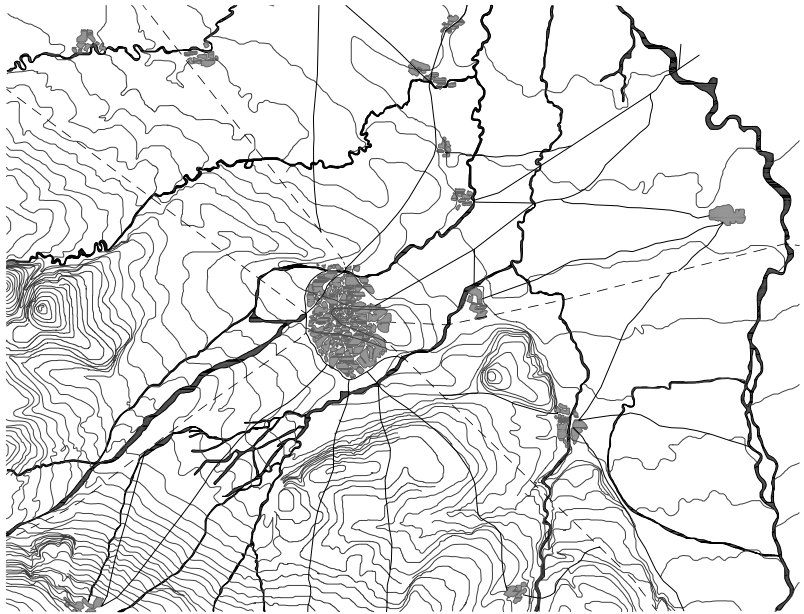
1.55 Second Bulgarian Empire 1230 to early 1300s.

For three months in 1382 the city was surrounded by the Ottoman army. Archeological surveys show that the wall of the fortress near the western gate was undermined for around 15 meters and as a result it fell and the Ottoman army gained access to the city. By 1396 all lands belonging to the Second Bulgarian Empire were under Ottoman rule. At the beginning of the 15th century the Roman walls of the city were demolished. By 1440 Sofia was again a major regional Imperial centre, administratively in charge of 25 provinces. The Ottomans built on the foundations they found in place, re-establishing with lavish scale the Roman baths in the centre and re-structuring a number of churches, with the exception of St. Sofia, into mosques. Until the 18th century Sofia was the “European capital” of the Ottoman Empire. There was a significant Muslim population in the city, which retained the Christian temples, and added mosques. The city went into decline with the rest of the Ottoman Empire from the latter half of the 18th century.

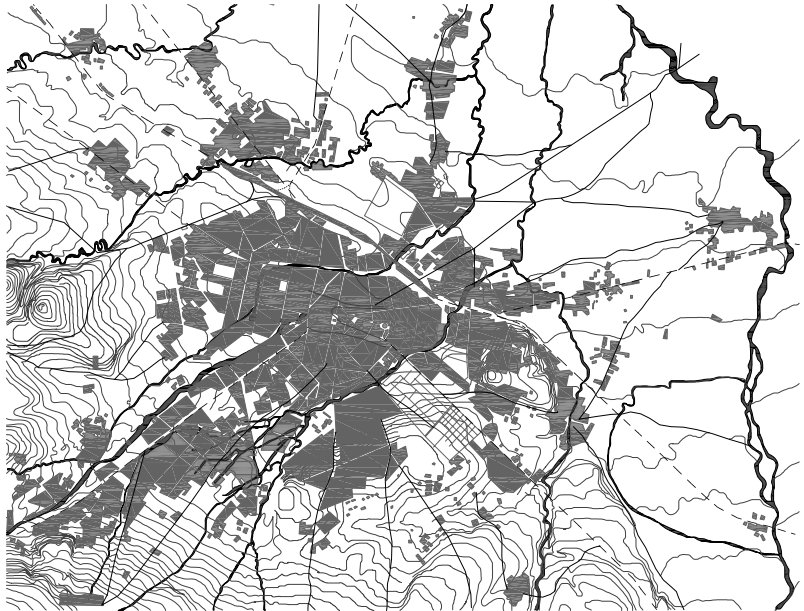


1.56 Map of Sofia dated 1878 with an underlay of 1937's map.

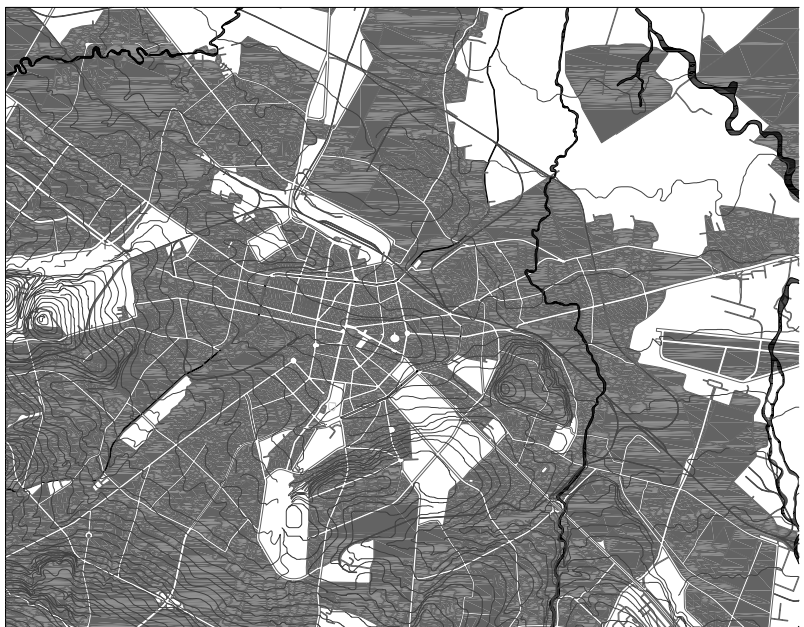
1.57 Sofia map 1878
population 20,000



1.58 Sofia map 1937
population 400,000



1.59 Sofia map 1990
population 1,000 000



In 1878 Bulgaria was liberated as a result of the Russian-Ottoman War. Sofia almost missed being voted capital of Independent Bulgaria because of its dejected appearance: it resembled a large village, complete with chickens, pigs and cows and with a population of only 20,000. There were no cobbled streets and the city administration struggled to create a European-style capital in a short time. Czechs, Poles, Italians, French and other Europeans flooded in to rebuild the city.

By the late 1930s Sofia had modeled itself after the great Central European capitals, consciously imitating above all Vienna and Budapest and employing leading Austrian and Italian architects to achieve the desired effect. From the beginning, the city's elders decided to make it as green as possible, laying down its major parks (Borisov Park, South Park, Loven Park, Vrana Park, West Park) in the inter-war period. A string of smaller parks, such as the Doctors' Garden, Crystal Garden and others, still punctuate the city centre. The city had major male and female schools, a university, a tram-based public transport service. It also came to take pride in its ethnic and religious tolerance. Religious buildings were among those that survived the erasure of the "medieval" fabric of the city. To this day, the visitor can still capture in one camera frame the city's major churches, the central mosque and the central synagogue, all within a stone's throw of each other.



1.60 Sofia after the Second World War bombings

When World War II began, the government of the Kingdom of Bulgaria declared an official position of neutrality, though with an eye on territorial gains. But in 1941, Bulgaria was forced to join the Axis powers when German troops insisted on passing through Bulgarian territory. Much of the consequences of joining the Axis forces affected Sofia the most, as it led to the city being heavily bombed

by Allied aircraft in late 1943 and early 1944. Bulgaria's ruling regime was thus overthrown, and Sofia became capital of the Communist-ruled People's Republic of Bulgaria which would last 45 years.

Sofia was in a state of despair, with massive damage to the street fabric by the bombings of the Allies. The "soul of the city", the city's distinctive and definitive character, the historical fabric and the structure of the city was in ruins. The *locus* of the collective memory was shattered after the Second World War. Communism came into power and rapidly started creating new memories through totalitarian architecture. New buildings in the typical Socialist style were erected with the intention of becoming the main representation of the city. The Largo, which was built in the 1950s, became a prime example of Socialist Classical architecture in Southeastern Europe and one of the main landmarks and attractions of the city. It consisted of three buildings: the first housed the headquarters of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), the second edifice accommodated the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria and the biggest department store in the country and the third structure was occupied by the Hotel Balkan, the Ministry of Education and the President's Office. In a location central to the tripartite ensemble was placed the statue of Vladimir Lenin. The headquarters of the Party were at the centre of the symmetrical composition and the building was crowned with a massive red star on a pole, visible on the city's skyline.

The Largo was built in the typical Stalinist style - it was a labour-intensive and time consuming masonry project. Its location was at the centre of the rapidly expanding capital. The previous



1.61 The Largo

structures were in ruins after the bombings and the site was quickly allocated for the massive development. With the construction of the tripartite composition massive ruins dating back to Roman times were uncovered. Some of them were exposed in the underground pedestrian walkways in front of the Party House while others were destroyed.

The politics of memory have changed in significant ways since the fall of Communism. First, there was a renewed interest in the individual, who was oppressed during Communism. Second, they involve more generations: the generation who fought or remember World War Two, the generation that was born at the beginning of Communism and the young population, barely graduated from universities, who critiqued their parents and grandparents. Third, issues of representation have assumed a new importance in the politics of memory: all those generations that experienced Communism as perpetrators, passive bystanders and victims are dwindling and visual evidence, memorials, museums or commemorative spaces, have come to the fore.

The state leaders after 1989 continued the politics of erasure. Streets, cities, squares whose names were associated with the Communist past were renamed. It was a typical practice carried out in all countries of the former Soviet bloc. After the fall of Communism many cities in Russia restored their pre-communist names. The collective memory of the society was being tampered with. In Bulgaria many cities, towns, streets, parks and squares were renamed during the period of Communist rule to honour Soviet or Bulgarian Party leaders. After the fall of Communism in 1989 names were changed again, leaving the public searching for their identity. Politicians were negating their past. It was slowly slipping away as the number of people that remembered was declining. It is in those post-communist times that the decision was made to demolish Sofia's prime representation of the Communist past - the mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov. It is these conscious acts of forgetting and attempts to erase the citizens' memory that one cannot help but remember.

Politics of Public Monuments in Socialist Bulgaria

Monuments command us not merely to remember, but to remember a triumph. As our present and future changes, we reinterpret our past, review and reconsider our history. Monuments that are meant to celebrate glorifying histories, now can be seen as tragic (Esbenshade, 1995).

“Memory is never shaped in a vacuum; the motives of memory are never pure.” (Young, 2003, p. 2)

The fall of state socialism in Bulgaria left hundreds of monuments and statues of idols from the Communist past on streets and squares across Sofia, not to mention in the country's towns and villages. During the socialist period in Bulgaria (1944-1989), monuments developed not only as centralizing symbols and articulate forms of ideological representations, but also as expressions of “triumph over death. The euphoria of political display in celebration, the incentives to organize space and time according to ideological texts - all of these were powerful motives in monument building, which the socialist period utilized in a very persistent way. For four decades, filled with ideology and propaganda, monuments were constructed in Bulgaria, documenting the gradual, uncompromising shift from commemorative intentions to political celebration (Vukov, 2006).

The beginning of Communism was marked by the upheaval of cultural activities propagating the new socialist ideas: a significant part of the Party's activity was concerned with the preservation of the memory of the fallen soldiers, partisans, fighters for “freedom”. The memorializing and remembering of the sacrifices of Russian or Bulgarian heroes became an act of respect as well as obligation to the Party. Implying that these heroic victims did not fall in vain, the propaganda impelled the living to confirm that what these martyrs struggled for was worth the sacrifice. Death was not the end, it was viewed as the beginning of immortality.

**“He who falls in fight for freedom,
he never dies...”**

Hristo Botev, a 19th century revolutionary and poet

For at least a decade after 1944 the focus of public commemoration was on the soldiers of the Soviet army. The destalinization process that swept Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was felt in Bulgaria as well. The name of the second largest city reverted back from Stalin to Varna, and statues dedicated to the Soviet dictator were removed as well. Apart from the elimination of Stalin as a Soviet figure no changes in the expression or ideas portrayed in the monuments was felt. In the 1950s there was an increase of local and regional monuments to partisans and antifascists and in the 1980s national historical figures were celebrated along with all of the socialist heroes who died for the freedom of Bulgaria. Following the logic of lavish monumental display at the time, monuments grew larger and larger, becoming huge memorials of doubtful artistic quality.

Most of the monuments built during Communism were commissioned by the State and the role of the Party in their approval was critical. The designers were always selected by competition, the requirements of which were determined by the party officials. The monument building activity involved some of the most talented Bulgarian sculptors of the time, who found in this an opportunity to develop their talent along the ideas propagated at the time. After the fall of Communism these monuments suffered attack, partial dismantlement or destruction.

In 1878 Bulgaria became an independent country as a result of the Russian-Turkish war (as it is referred to by Bulgarian historians). In 1944, again the Soviet army entered the boundaries of Bulgaria. The historical link between the two countries was celebrated with more than 450 large monuments dedicated to the Bulgarian-Russian brotherhood and many more were dedicated to the friendship and collaboration with the Soviet state. In the case where a monument devoted to the Russian army in 1878 was present, another one was added in close proximity, thus deriving symbolic importance from the spatial co-existence. As can be read in Aliosha's monument in



1.62 The pedestal for Aliosha's monument in Plovdiv, depicting the friendship between the USSR and Bulgaria.



1.63 Aliosha's monument in Plovdiv



1.64 Statue of G. Dimitrov in Moscow

Plovdiv: “a symbol of those, to whom we owe our freedom twice and with whom shoulder to shoulder we are building the present”. The notion that Bulgaria was twice liberated by the Soviet army distinguished the monuments built there from other countries in the Eastern bloc. The media further politicized the monuments by reporting in detail the many expressions of respect and gratitude.

Monuments of individual figures expelled the concept of death. The dead political figures or heroes transcended into the eternal present not through their deaths, but through the lives that they had “sacrificed” in the service of “immortal” ideals (Vukov, 2006).

Together with the monumental representations of Lenin, the figure that was most often represented in Bulgarian monuments was that of Georgi Dimitrov. Monuments to him were raised while he was still alive, two cities were named after him. After his death, the number of monuments increased significantly as if to emphasize that he was still with his people, guarding and leading them. Monuments to Dimitrov were raised in the centres of many Bulgarian and Soviet towns and several of the centres were turned into huge memorial complexes and parks.

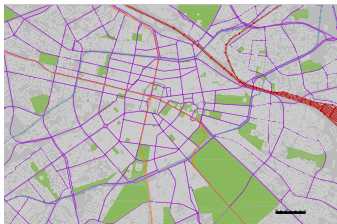
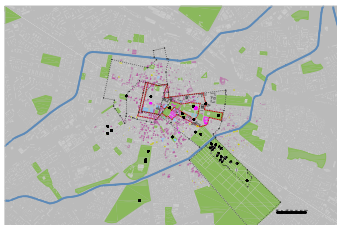
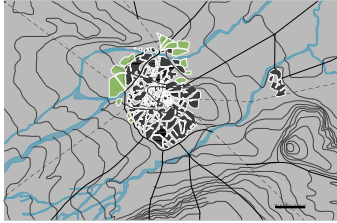
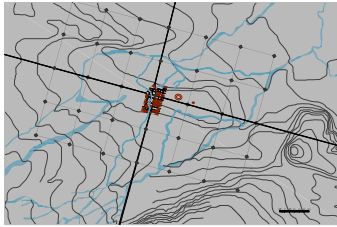
An expressive example of the process of eternalizing Dimitrov’s memory was the Mausoleum in the centre of Sofia with his embalmed body exhibited for national commemoration. As an ultimate representation of death, the Mausoleum reworked the mortuary theme into one of perpetual vitality. It was the place where Dimitrov would be exhibited and seen not as dead, but present (Vukov, 2006).

Individual monuments were often busts, full size figures, or memorial plaques. Collective ones included sculptural compositions, lists of the names of the dead, and a crypt containing the mortal remains of the heroes. Although the monuments were representations of the deceased, the large majority of these monuments did not focus on the ideas of mourning and sorrow, but rather on the power to overcome and transcend death. Representations of dying and of mourning did exist, but they were subsumed within the themes of battle, of overcoming sorrow, or of the continuity of a struggle that eventually led to a victorious end. The sanctified space was usually in a garden, with a central monumental composition and a system of memorial sites, depicting either topography of burial places, or a cohesion of physical markers denoting death. An interesting

and popular type was a monument fountain that combined the commemorative function with its role in the architectural decoration of parks and gardens.

The preservation of memory by the socialist regime in Bulgaria focused on fighters for the Party and its ideas. While some were honored and commemorated, collective discussion of other, less acceptable forms of loss was silenced throughout this period (Merridale, 2000). Some areas of remembrance were not addressed at all, nor did they receive any monumental representation until 1989. The terror of the People's Court, the brutal treatment of the democratic opposition after 1944, the purges and terror of the Stalinist regime were not only deprived of commemoration, but were not even mentioned publicly. Details of the inter-war history, such as the Hitler-Stalin pact, or events such as the Hungarian revolution and the Prague Spring, the crude reality of the camps, etc. were topics that public memory did not bring to light. Victims of the regime were not considered subjects that were worthy of commemoration, and all those who did not follow the strict guidelines and framework of behavior were left in neglect and oblivion.

PART TWO
The City of Memory



chapter five

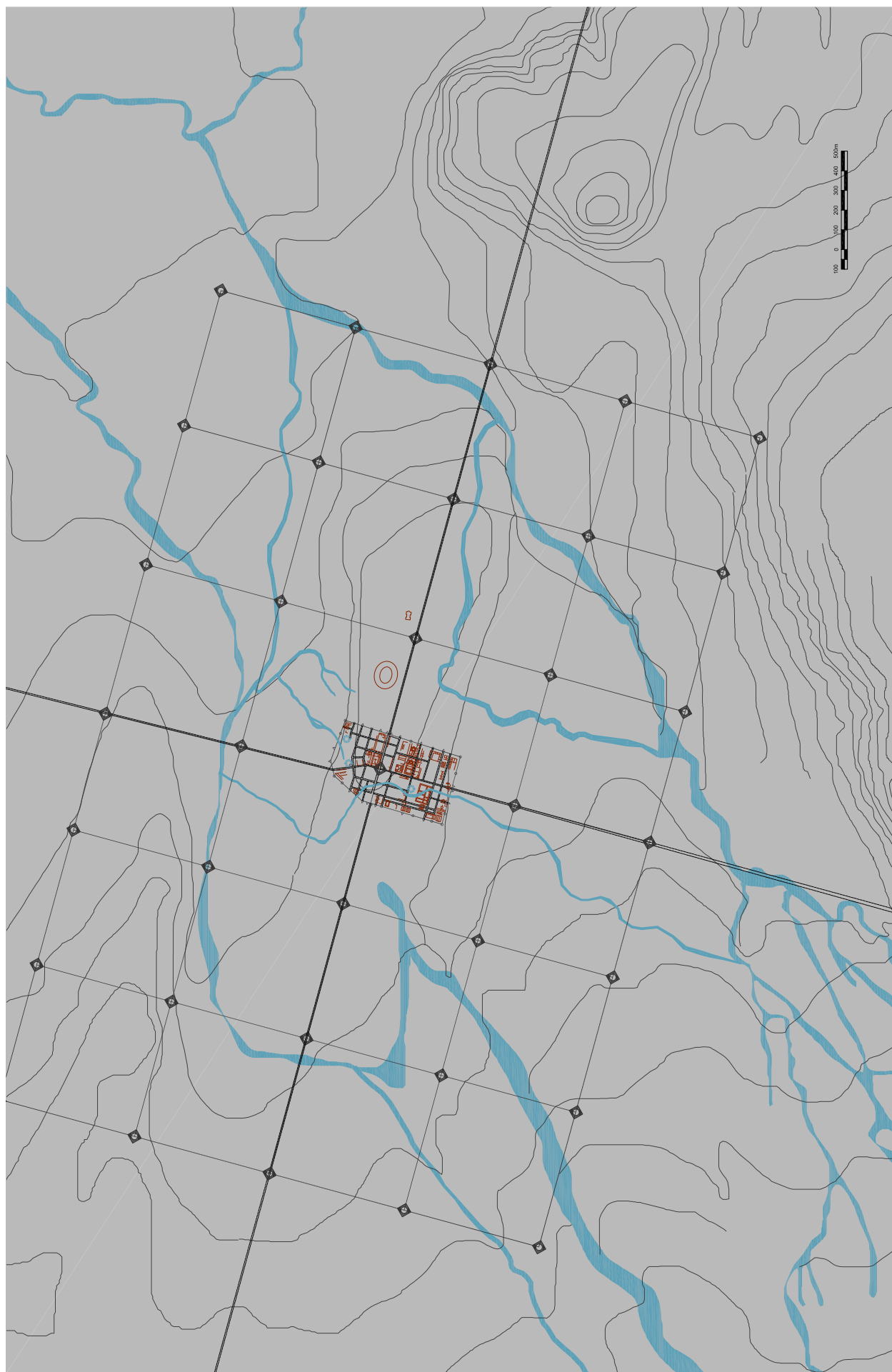
The Cities of Sofia

In Sofia one can find layers of history. Ancient fabric has been uncovered dating back to the first century AD. By 1878 the city had been a part of five Empires. In the 20th century it was a capital of a kingdom, a Communist republic and, since 1989 the Republic of Bulgaria.

The city will be studied as a palimpsest. Each empire has left its imprint and attempted to erase the preceding power. Sofia now consists of the accumulation of material strata, from Roman to Byzantine, two Bulgarian Empires, the Ottoman Empire and the built fabric of the last century. In order to fully understand the city one must study the layers of history from antiquity to the present; to juxtapose them, to study them separately and as a whole.

The Cities of Sofia are representations of the plan of the city from different periods, each at the same scale and orientation. They represent distinct changes in the city's fabric and political visions. Studying the historical layers reveals not just the evolution of the city but also the political views and ideas shaping Sofia's morphology.

The cities of Sofia represent six plans: the city of water, the city of darkness, the city of light, the underground city, the city of artifacts, and the city of networks: consciously or not, they are an expression of a political design and showcase the values and obsession of their era. Those cities coexist simultaneously today.

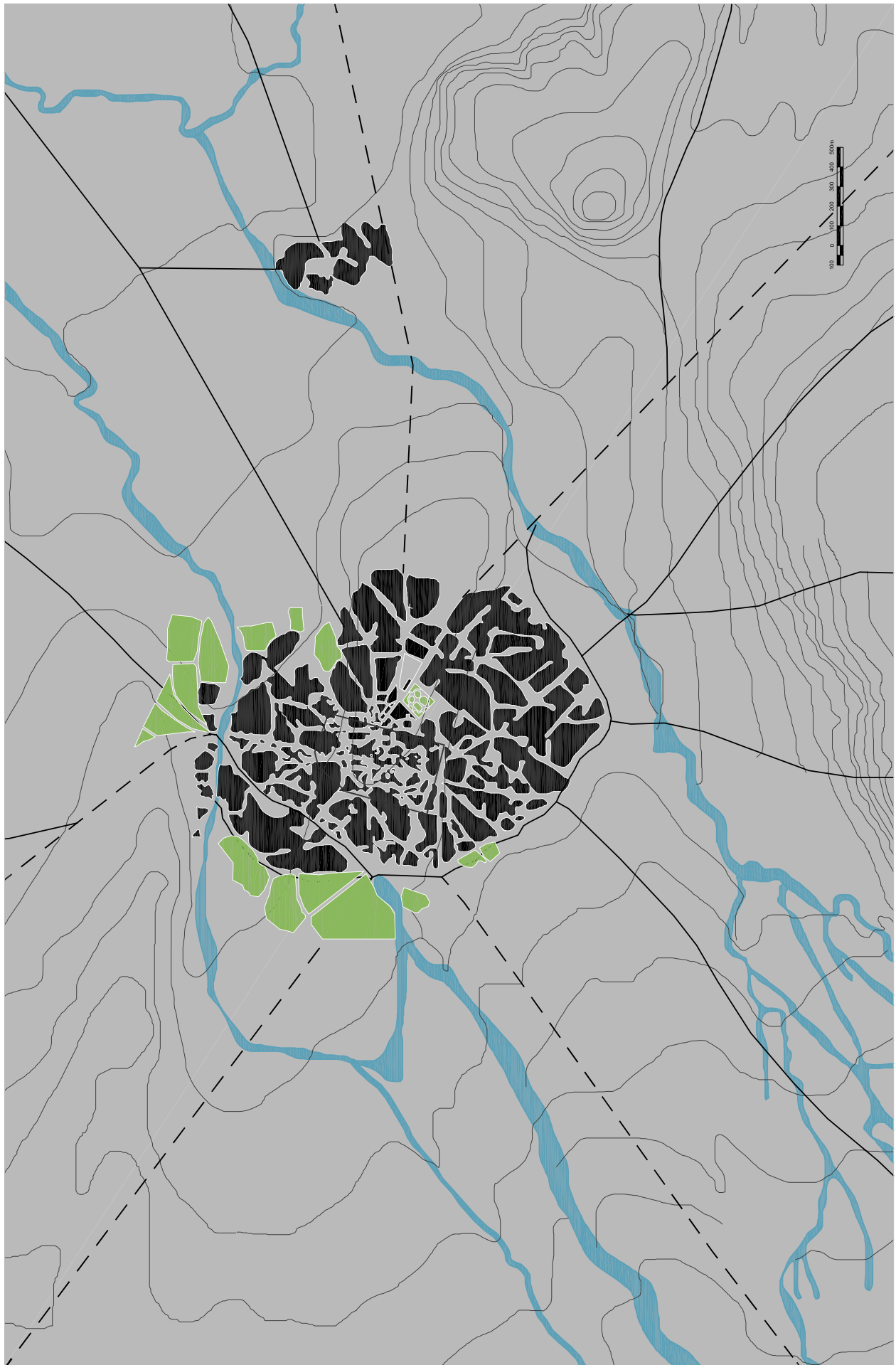


Leaving there and travelling for many days toward the east, you reach Serdica, a city of water. It is surrounded by high mountains and many rivers. It is a city that no one, having seen it, can forget. It has the quality to remain in your recollections point by point with its succession of streets, buildings along the streets, doors and windows. The

buildings are nothing special or unique, though they capture the consciousness of the visitor. The streets are paved with stones, the buildings are two or three storeys high and you hear the trembling sounds of water. All streets lead to the sound of water. Luxurious baths tower in the centre of Serdica, which is also surrounded by rivers, brooks and streams.

THE CITY OF WATER

Mineral water has been flowing and life has gravitated around the springs ever since the settlement, known today as Sofia, came into existence. Romans knew about the springs and intentionally selected the location of their town Serdica. One can hardly imagine a Roman city without its thermal baths and there have been many of them in Serdica. The mineral water played a major role in the life of the city throughout the centuries. At the time of the Ottoman occupation hamams (oriental baths) were built at the sites with thermal water.



The traveler walks for a day in Sredetz, lost, trying to navigate the narrow, winding streets. There are no sidewalks, no signs, nobody can show him the way, because the language the population speaks is different. He returns to the same square a few times, before he discovers the familiarity of the space. As time passes he starts feeling comfortable with the city, starts understanding the people, who are no longer just a familiar face. The oriental texture of the city begins to bring the feeling of belonging. The streets and crumbling facades are no longer

noticeable. Colours are the prevailing feature: rope ladders, hammocks, clothes lines, baskets on strings, children playing with chickens and piglets, pots with trailing plants.

The city is a minute part of an Empire. The population's past is not tied to the Empire, they have been a part of many domains. They continue living, without belonging to anybody but the place. Life in Sredetz seems suspended in time, the inhabitants feel less certain of their future.

THE CITY OF SHADOWS

The year 1382 determined a large part of Sofia's history: the city became a part of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire conquered the city and most of the surrounding regions, and a period of violence, persecution and crusades began that would last into the modern era. At the beginning of the 15th century, Ottoman Turks began to settle the predominantly Bulgarian city, and many of Sofia's citizens, particularly the elite classes, were persecuted. However, the period was also one of growth, with many Ottoman buildings emerging, though today the only surviving mosque is Banya Bashi. The Muslim population arose among the Bulgarian and small Jewish population, and although there was obvious animosity between the groups, nevertheless trade and ordinary life persisted and the city grew exponentially. Sofia was considered the "European capital" of the Ottoman Empire. As the Empire went into decline, the city resembled a large village, complete with chickens, pigs and cows and a population of 20,000.



Lita, the glorious city, has a tormented history. Several times it decayed, then flourished again, always keeping the first Lita as an unparalleled model of every splendour.

The city rebuilt itself and slowly became populated again as the survivors emerged. In the new city a newly found splendour was there, almost nothing of the former beggared streets existed.

The days of poverty were followed by more joyous times. The new abundance made the city overflow with new materials, new buildings, new boulevards, even new people flocked in from outside; all without a connection to the former Lita. The more the city expanded and settled triumphantly into the location

and name of the former Lita, the more it became clear that it was moving away from the old city, erasing its memory.

Despite the pride in its new wealth, the heart of the city was incongruous.

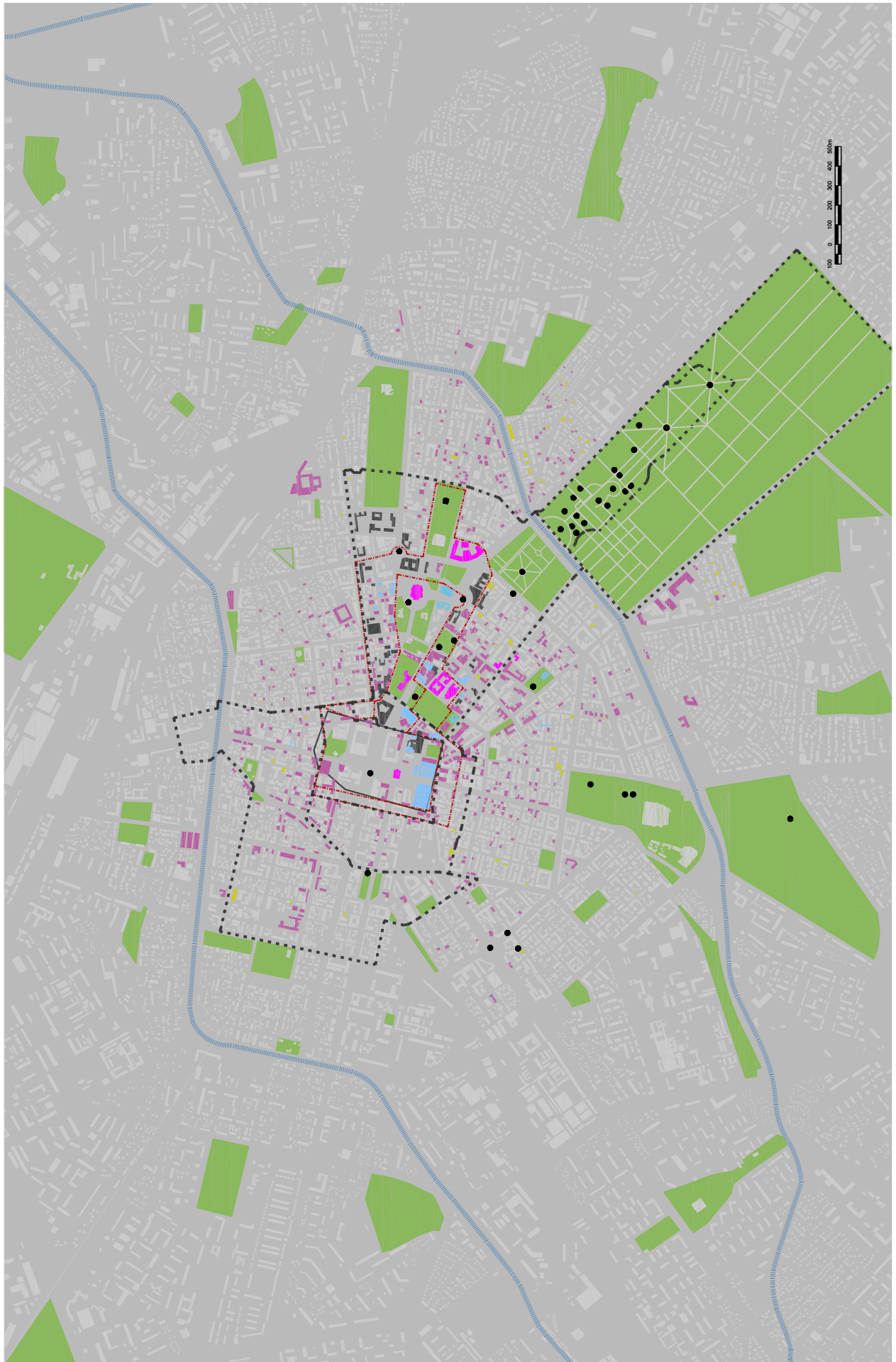
Parts of the memory of the past city were preserved. They were gathered, collected and locked in glass cases, in grand rooms. They were kept not because they might be used again, but because people wanted to reconstruct through them a city of which no one knew anything now.

More decadences, more burgeonings have followed one another in Lita. Population and customs have changed several times. The name and the site, as well as the streets filled with light, remain.

THE CITY OF LIGHT

New roads and railways linked Sofia with the Balkans and the rest of Europe. Wide boulevards, beautiful parks and picturesque gardens characterize the city in the 1930s. The city was modeled after Vienna and Budapest, employing leading Austrian and Italian architects to achieve the desired effect. The street facades also mimicked Viennese architecture with classical proportions and detailed ornamentation. The most prestigious place to live was in an apartment building, in the downtown of the city, among the green spaces and the European architecture.

Many churches were converted from mosques to orthodox churches. The city took pride in its religious tolerance, having a church, the central mosque and the central synagogue all in close proximity.

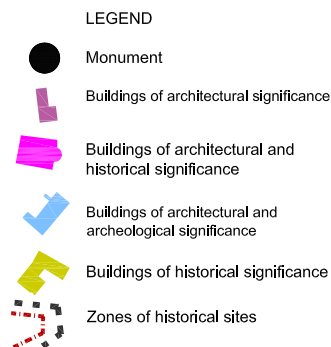


In Artifa, the people who move through the streets are all strangers. At each encounter no one greets one another, eyes lock for a moment, then dart away, looking for other eyes. Artifa is a new city, with a population that constantly renews itself. More and more people flock to the newly formed suburbs. They try to connect with the past of the city, try to recreate it, to relive it, in an attempt to feel the belonging to a space. The streets

end in monuments, historical figures of the reconstructed or artificial past. Each park or garden is dedicated to a political personage, with a bust or sculpture constructed to honour the character. After a while Artifa's population got exhausted of the enforced selection of memories. The streets became simple links followed to work every day, with no links to the past. It had long been forgotten.

THE CITY OF ARTIFACTS

In 1945 Bulgaria became a Communist country. Georgi Dimitrov's vision of liberated Bulgaria was closely tied with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The state commissioned thousands of monuments dedicated to Soviet friendship, the Soviet army, and the Communist leaders. The new government set out politics of creating and reshaping the nation's memories. They erased existing city fabric and started creating massive, monumental structures in the typical Stalinist style. Totalitarian architecture took over the downtown of the city. Streets were renamed to honour the Russians, who have twice been a part of Bulgaria's liberation - first in 1878 and in 1945.





Sepulcra is long and narrow, colourless, situated on a difficult path where few people can access it. I have never seen it, but through other memories I can relive, reconstruct and reimagine it.

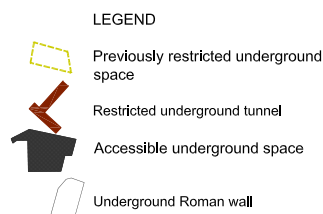
The streets are narrow and long and routes are drawn between two points suspended in the void: the shortest way to reach the new location, avoiding other people. The path is clad with stones and the surrounding city walls are made of concrete. You can meet selected few

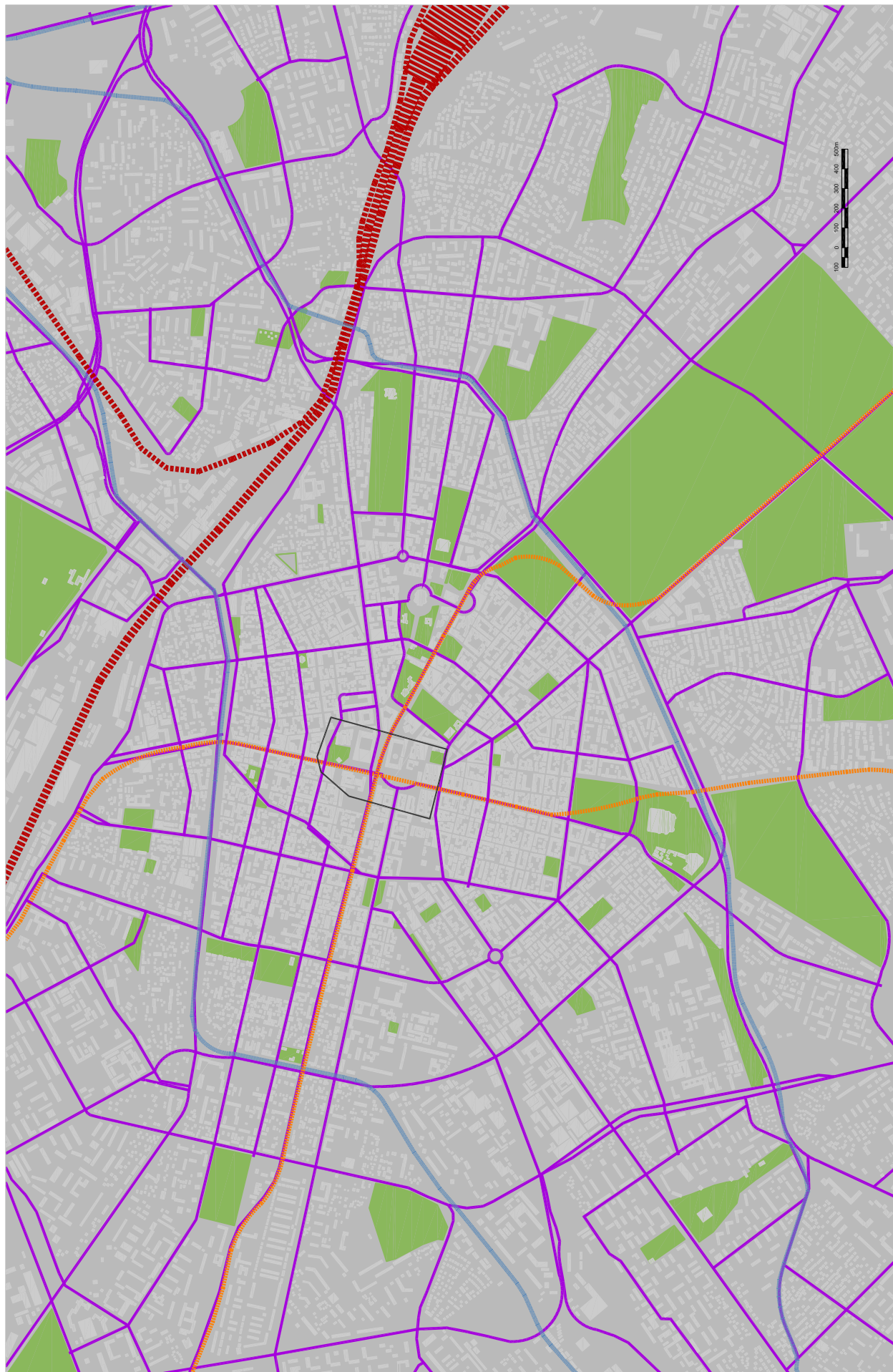
people in this city. People do not regret having to leave the city, as they cannot find happiness there.

But if it happens that they must stay in the city they spend days wandering the streets: the monotony kills their thrust for life. After a while they start to distinguish one street from another by its twists and turns and the location of doors and stairways. The rest of the city is invisible.

THE UNDERGROUND CITY

The underground city is the Communist city that the general public never saw. They knew it existed, there were rumours, stories, it was in the people's consciousness. The underground city truly represents the political scene during Communism: a scene of oppression, lack of freedom and independence. Parts of it were accessible to the citizens of the city, however the majority of the passageways were solely for the Party's purposes.



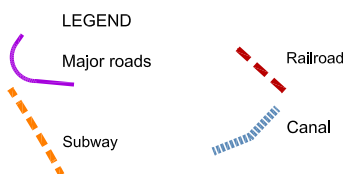


Netillia can be reached in many ways: by plane, train or car or even on foot or bicycle. It displays a different face to the traveler arriving by air or by land. Once the visitor is in the city however, the experiences are all the same. The visitor feels like a small, not-needed part of a well-working machine. In Netillia, the traveler is lost in the

crowd. The flow of people moves him forward from one network to another. After a while he becomes acquainted with the city enough to stand on his own and navigate. He is hardly able to glance at the surroundings, is the city old or new, he would not remember, nor will the passersby be able to tell him.

THE CITY OF NETWORKS

After the fall of the Iron Curtain, Sofia's population continued to grow. The last master plan of the city was implemented in the 1950s and it was for a city of 700,000 people. In 1989 the city had close to a million inhabitants and in 2009 the people living there numbered about 1.5 million. Large infrastructure projects were initiated, including the construction of a much-needed subway system. The subway started running in 1998 with 5 stations and by 2009 it expanded to 14 running diagonally through the city. The construction of the subway was delayed because of the historical layers underneath the core of the city.





THE CITY OF MEMORY

The cities have mingled. As you move along the city, different cities reappear. Sofia today contains all its past. The memory of Sofia is etched on the surface of the city and visitors can experience it as they move through the city. The memory and history of the city remain in the visitors' recollections. Sofia has changed: different cities follow one another on the same site. Now, there is communication between the cities, they

are legible and can be examined. Every inhabitant can examine the cities at his own pace. They can choose which history and memory they would like to revisit. There are many paths which a visitor can take, and they all reveal a different story. When a visitor follows a specific path, then concealed memories become exposed. The powerful story the city tells becomes known.

chapter six

The City of Memory

“...different cities follow one another on the same site and under the same name, born and dying without knowing one another, without communication among themselves.” (Calvino, 1972, p.30)

Description of Sofia

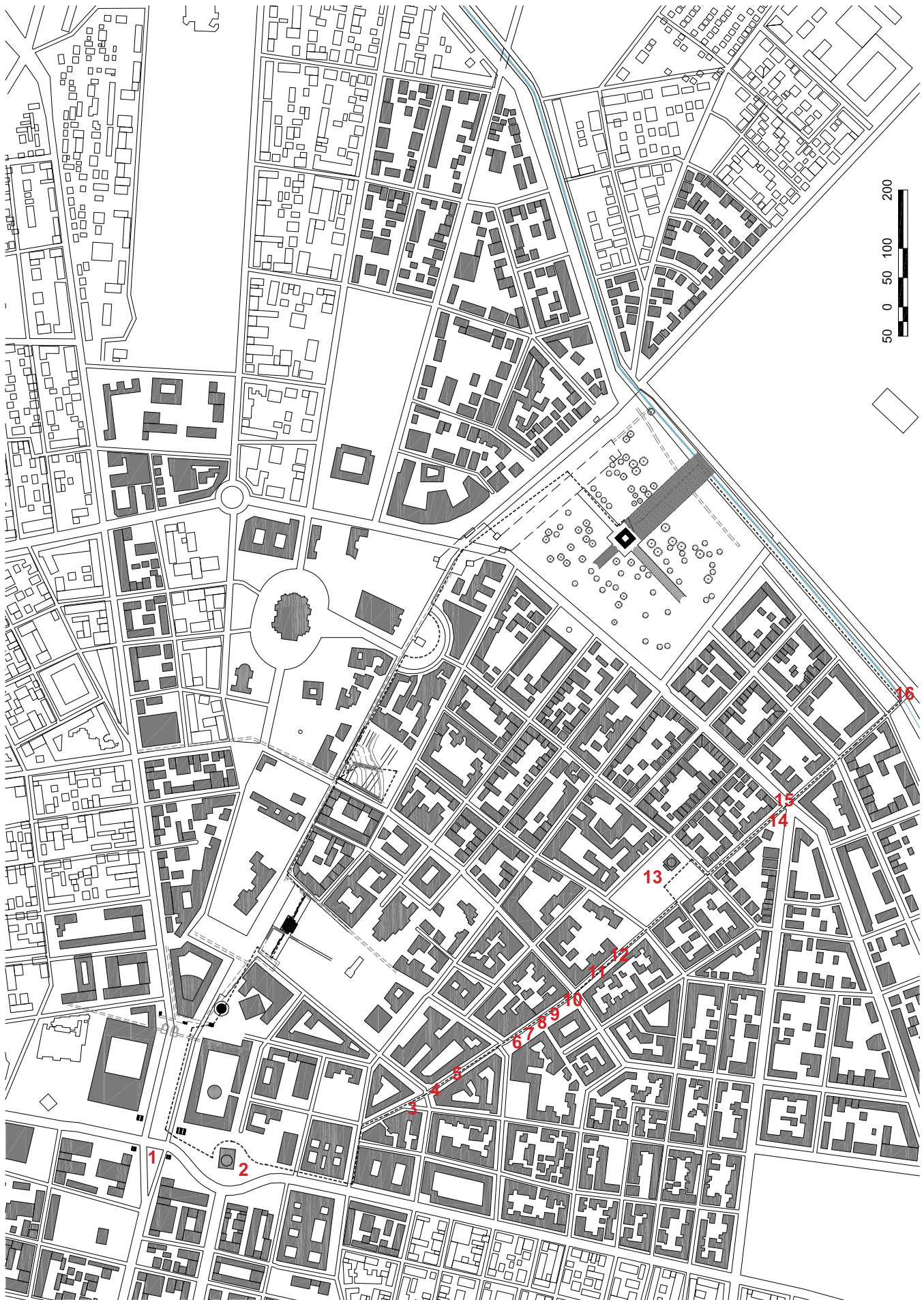
A description of Sofia as it is today should contain all Sofia's past. The city, however, does not tell all of its past. Some are hidden, obscured and frankly erased from the surface of the city.

As a result of this intervention the wave of memories flows in. In a tour of the city, the visitor discovers the past, unearthed from the ground, written in the streets, the steps, the surfaces. The hidden cities are uncovered and exposed.

The tour of the city starts at its origins: the projection of the intersection of the *cardo* and *decumanus* of the Roman settlement to the current level of the city [1]. The traveler walks south, where just a few steps away is the church of Sveta Nedelya [2], built around the 10th century. The church carries the memory of previous times, when religion was central to the society, and when the church was at the center of a public square. Probably not many people will remember how every ten years the streetcar lines were moved on either side of the church. At one point they even were surrounding it. It is an example of historical short-lived memory. Alexander Battenberg square is the place “dedicated” to demolition of all that could remind of the past, complete erasure even of the memory. This is the fate of the city. In Sofia a change of the political landscape of the country



2.8 View from above, church Sveta Nedelya [2]



2.9 Map of Tour



2.10 A tree on the facade.

As the width of Graf Ignatiev Street does not allow for any vegetation, it grows on the facade [5].



2.11 Change

The surface asks the question: Will there be a chance for change [7]?



2.12 Bas-relief

At the spot where Graf Ignatiev meets Rakovski St., the bas-relief of the Bulgarian revolutionary from the revival period Georgi Rakovski towers above an electric panel and faces the rising sun [10].

becomes an inevitable destruction of yesterdays' architecture. The destruction becomes a symbol of the irreversibility of the changes.

No one remembers the square of Sveta Nedelya church as it was meant to exist. Now the awkward positioning of the surrounding buildings leaves the citizen unsure of his feelings, thoughts, memories. Lost in the sea of people, hurriedly leaving the subway station he walks south towards Garibaldi square [3], and arrives at the beginning of Graf Ignatiev Street [4]. The city of networks has the quality to remain in memory point by point, with its succession of squares, facades, street cars and display windows. The long and narrow street satisfies the hunger for urban life, but it also "devours" an enormous amount of people. The other streets which cross it systematically feed it with pedestrians. Hordes of passers-by wait at the intersections in order to walk past each other upon the command of the traffic light. After that, long black rows start moving, parallel to the street car lights.

This place sucks you down like a funnel. It makes you feel the herd mentality, to brush with the crowd and take in, together with everybody else, the aroma of roasted chestnuts.

Graf Ignatiev St. bears the name of a Russian diplomat and statesman. In the past, it was known as Samokovska St. because along it continued the muddy road to the town of Samokov. For three years now the street has been pedestrianized, and only streetcars and absent-minded people circulate along it. A successful hybrid between an artery of communication, a commercial area and a social factor. And also a compilation of noise, emotions and visual surprises. Graf Ignatiev St. has a specific soundtrack consisting of rhythmically repeating side streets which cross it, the colonnades of the former department store "Valentina", the clinking of the street car, and the street musicians who try to outcry each other.

The outdoor book market is full of life [6]; people browsing through old and new books mix with the hurried passers-by. And the harvest market follows soon after. One stand follows another, positioned on the already crowded, narrow street and suddenly the street becomes fully calm in the garden in front of the Sveti Sedmochislenitsi church [11]. A place of special energy. Before it was reconstructed into a church, the building used to be a mosque. The minarets were erected in over the remains of an old Christian



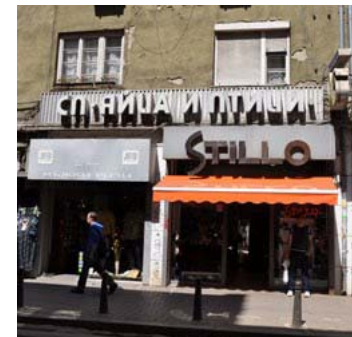
2.13 White slabstone

Some house, some person from the national Revival period, some poet, high above the eyes of the passers-by [8].

2.14 A memorial plaque with air-conditioners (left image) [9].

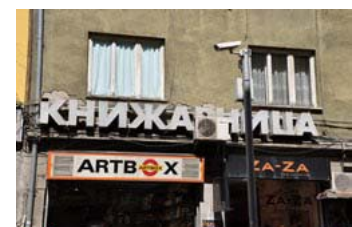
temple from the 5th-6th century and an even older ancient Byzantine sanctuary.

Again the visitor is drawn to the crowd and his feet carry him forward to a sudden stop - a junction that is a favorite meeting spot for both young and old people [14]. "Popa" or "the Priest" is the nickname for the monument Patriarch Evtimii - the last patriarch of the Second Bulgarian Empire. The city of networks becomes more peaceful after the intersection of three main streets in front of the small monument. The continuation of Graf Ignatiev street now resembles a typical street with streetcars, jaywalking people, cars. It carries on for two more blocks until it reaches the next subway station.



2.15 Eggs and Poultry

For a long time now, there has been neither eggs nor poultry under this sign. On the facades of Graf Ignatiev Street one can read the layers of history. The streets enchants us even without having removed its make-up from 50 years ago [11].



2.16 Old bookstore sign [12]

2.17 Sv. Sedmochislenitsi [13]

2.18 “Popa” [14]



2.19 The bird on the facade across “Popa”

It is very trendy now, at the background of speaking about energy efficiency, to erase facades which are important for the image of old Sofia, by means of insulation panels and coatings in bright colours. The owners of this building did not manage to deal with the thermal insulation around the wings of the bird and that is why they have chosen insulation by means of some high-tech paint [15].

There the visitor moves from one city to another [16]. The city of water is welcoming him with its tranquility as he is leaving the active city of networks. He changes levels through a flight of stairs and he can hardly hear the noise of the streets, they feel more distant. He walks beside the canal, one of the two rivers containing the old city of Sofia. The old canal is now transformed into a long, narrow park with many points of entry. The visitor moves at a slower pace now, the crowd of Graf Ignatiev Street is not there to push him forward. He has time to explore the stepped walls, the different vegetation. The only remainder of the busy city is the faint noise and the tops of the facades. He continues moving through layers of history, uncovering hidden memories as he explores the underground passageway and the five sites dedicated to the memory of the cities of Sofia.

Now the cities of Sofia have mingled. They are everywhere, all at once.



Site selection

Five sites are selected, all of them located along an important tunnel, which connects the former Party House with the former Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov. The tunnel originated in Roman times and was further developed during Communism for the use of the Party leaders. The underground passageway is used as a connecting device for the five sites.

Each of the five sites is deeply rooted in the collective memory of Sofia's citizens. Each one was a site of importance at a specific point of the history of the city. As the city changed, those memories were deliberately erased from the surface of the city. Now, the collective memories are unearthed and exposed.

In the following maps, the five sites are studied throughout the history of the city and major axes are examined.

2.20 View of the connected five site

Site One: Eastern Roman Gate

Site Two: Site of the former Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov

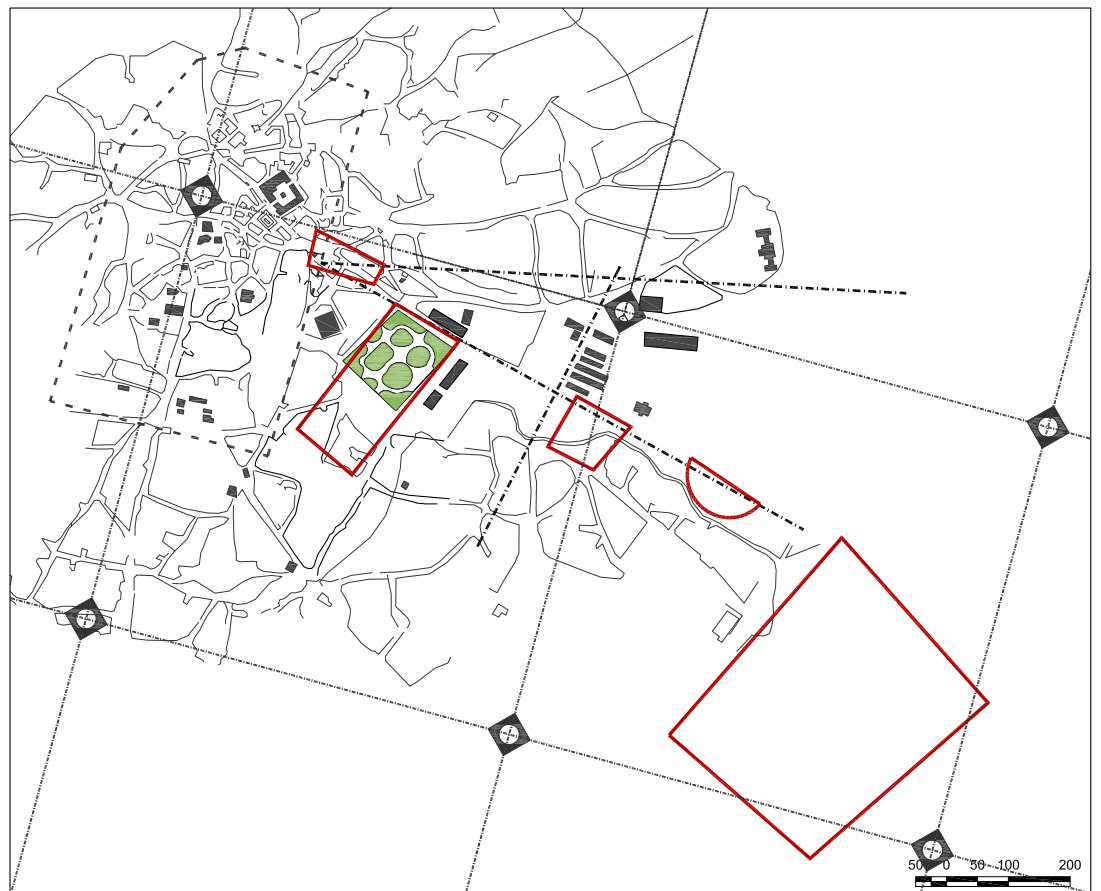
Site Three: Point of intersection of all axis from different periods

Site Four: Monument of Russian Tzar Alexander II

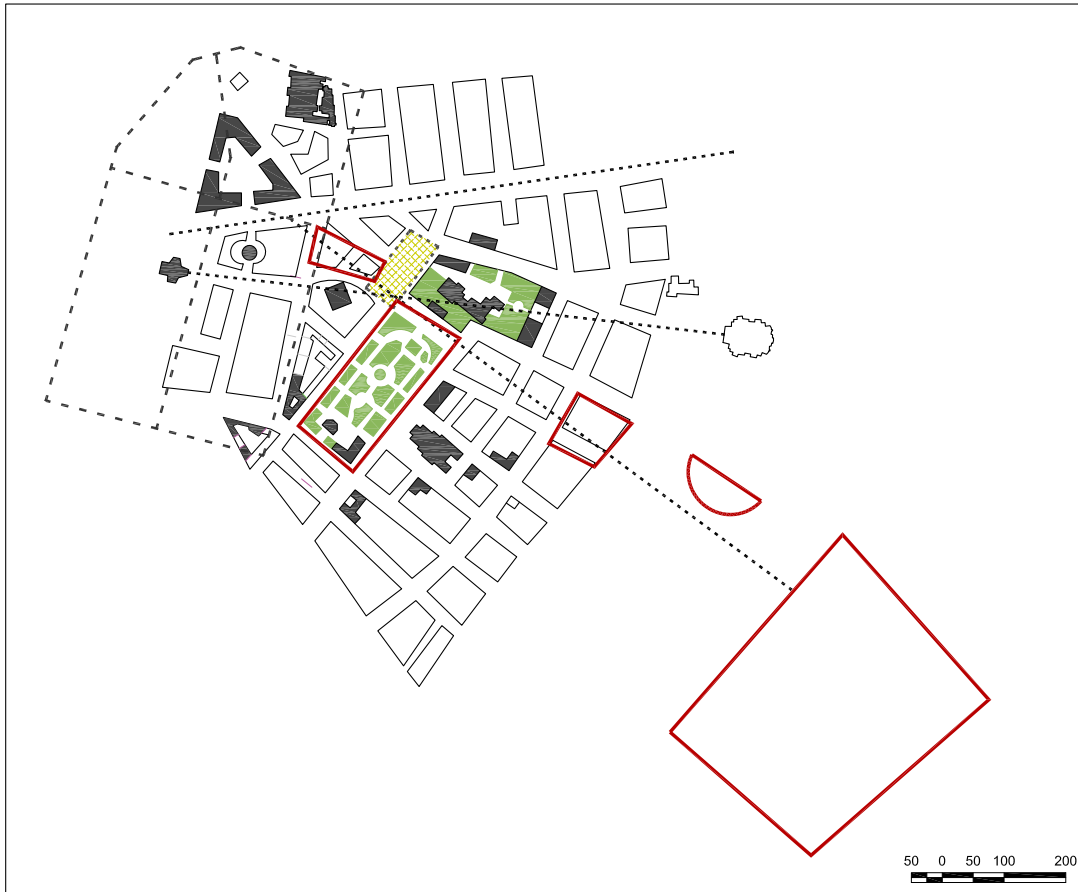
Site Five: Soviet Army Monument



2.21 Roman centuriation map



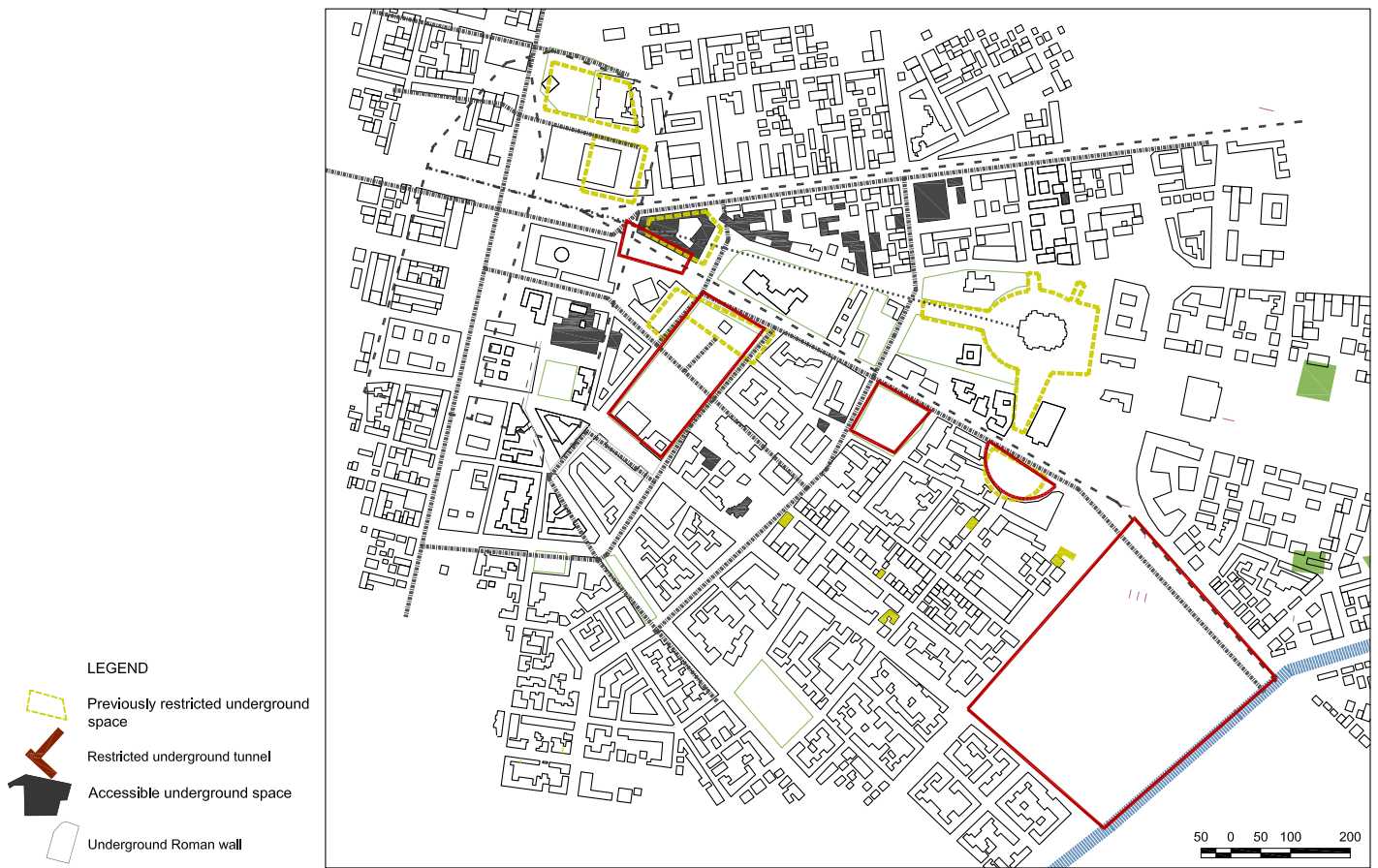
2.22 1878 map with an underlay of the Roman centuriation map



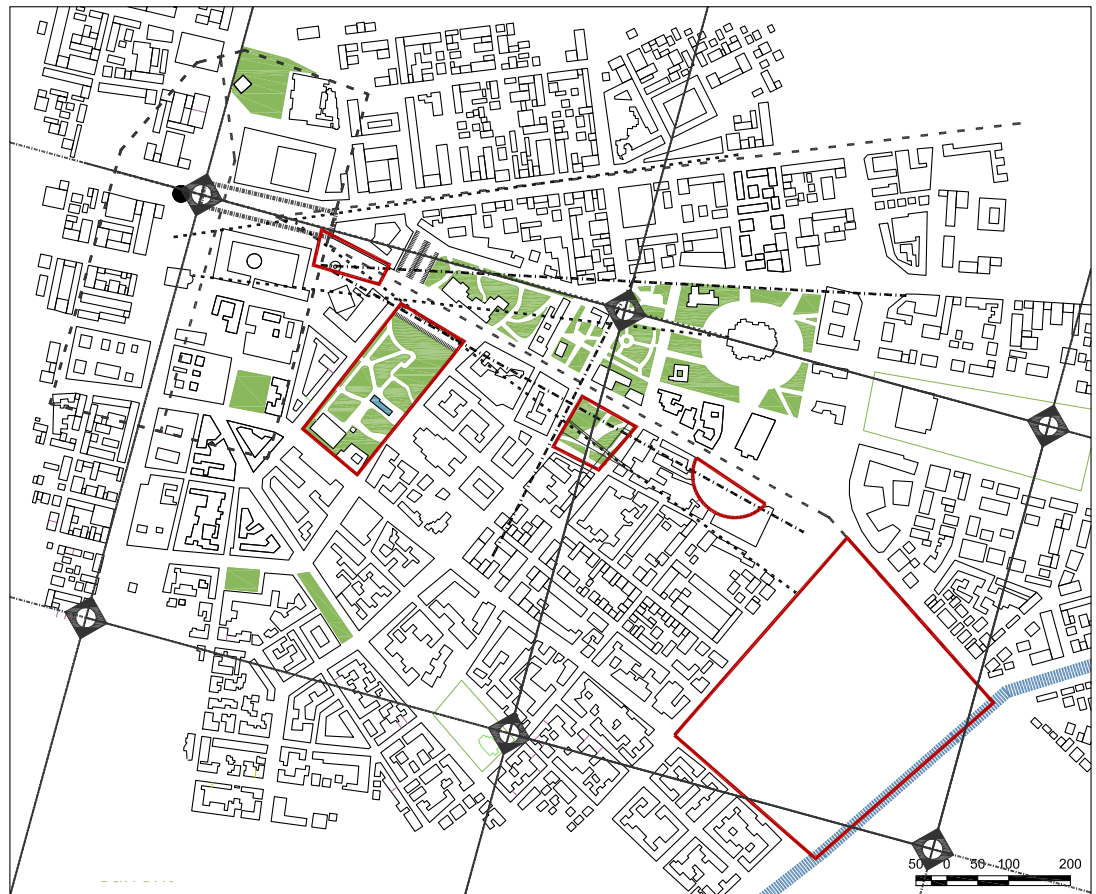
2.23 1927



2.24 1960 City of Artifacts

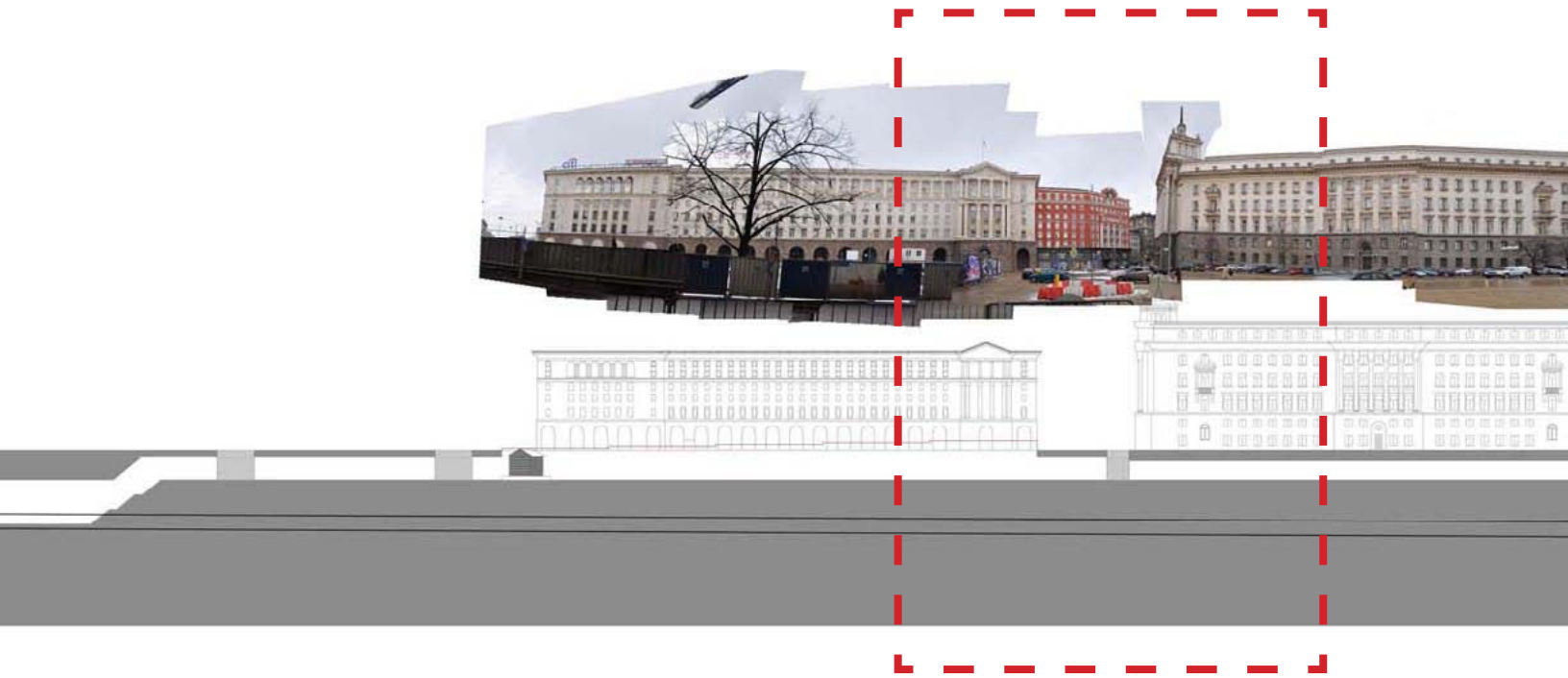


2.25 1960 Underground City



2.26 2010 Plan

site one

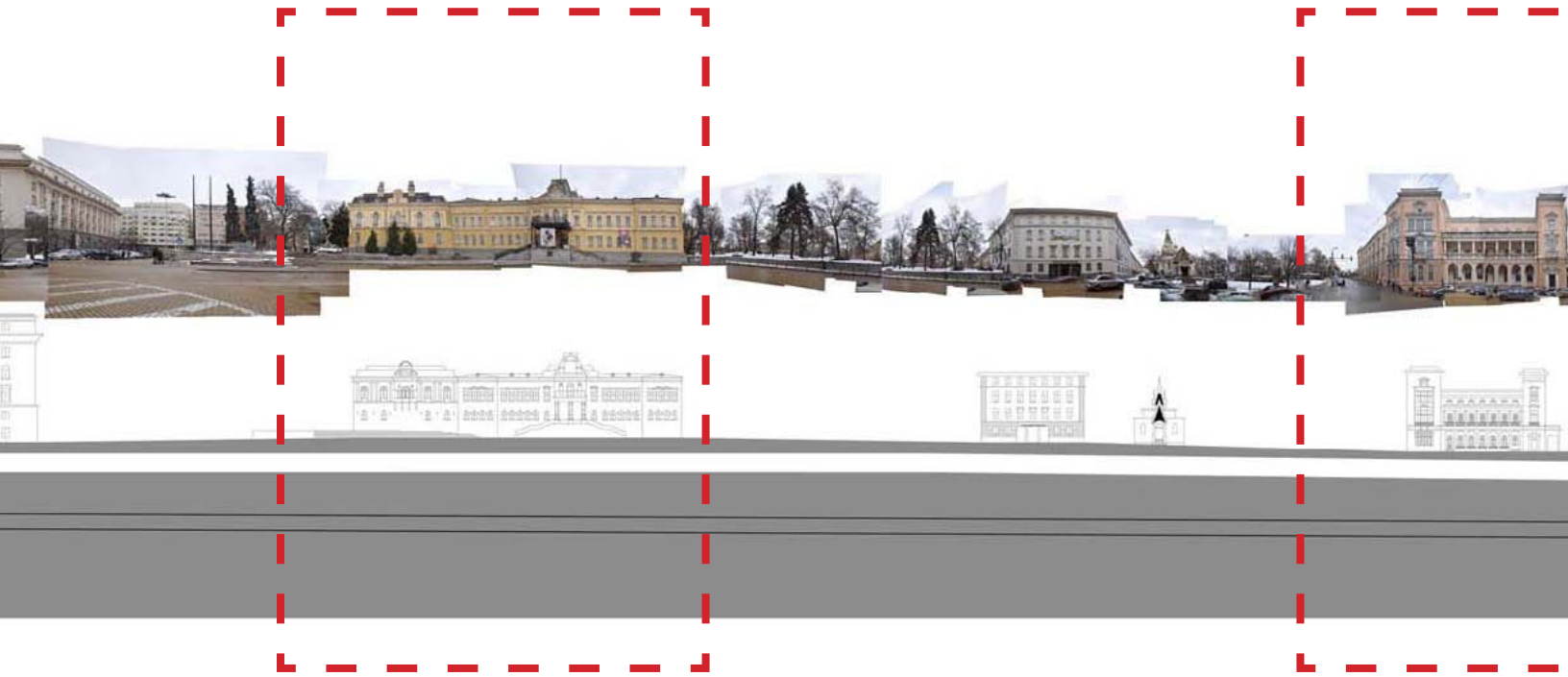


2.27 Section through five sites

Work in progress shows
a section through the
underground tunnel,
connecting all five sites.

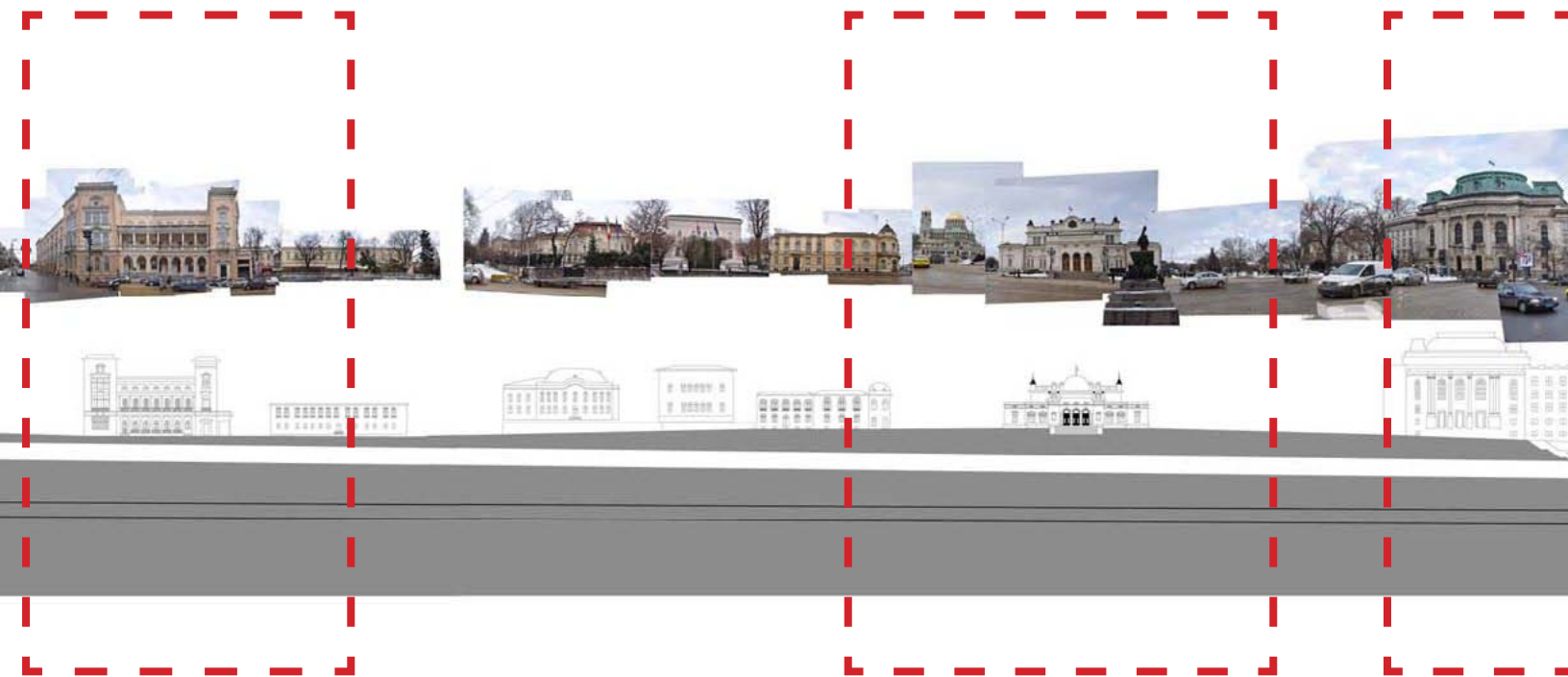
site two

site three



site three

site four

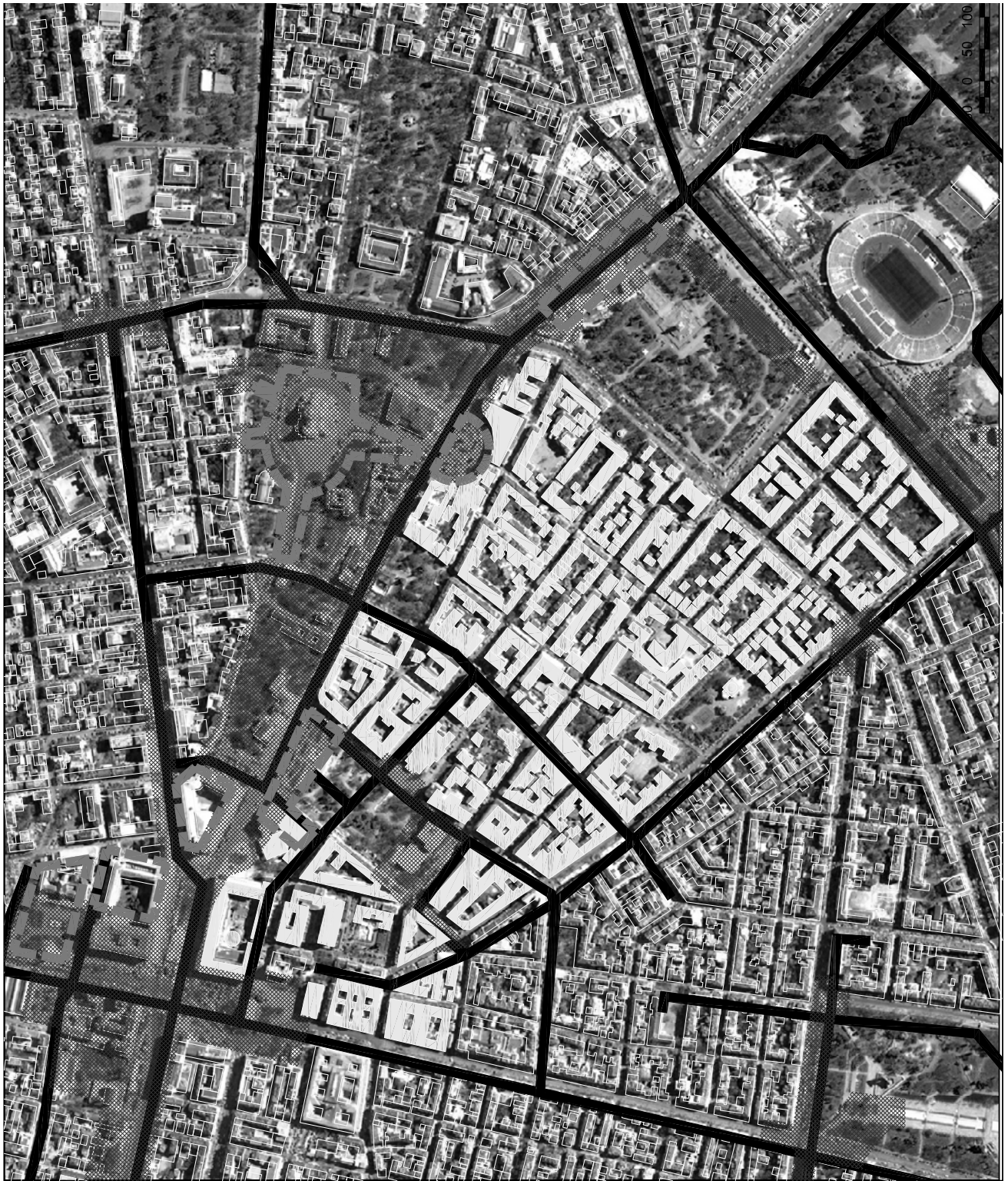


site five



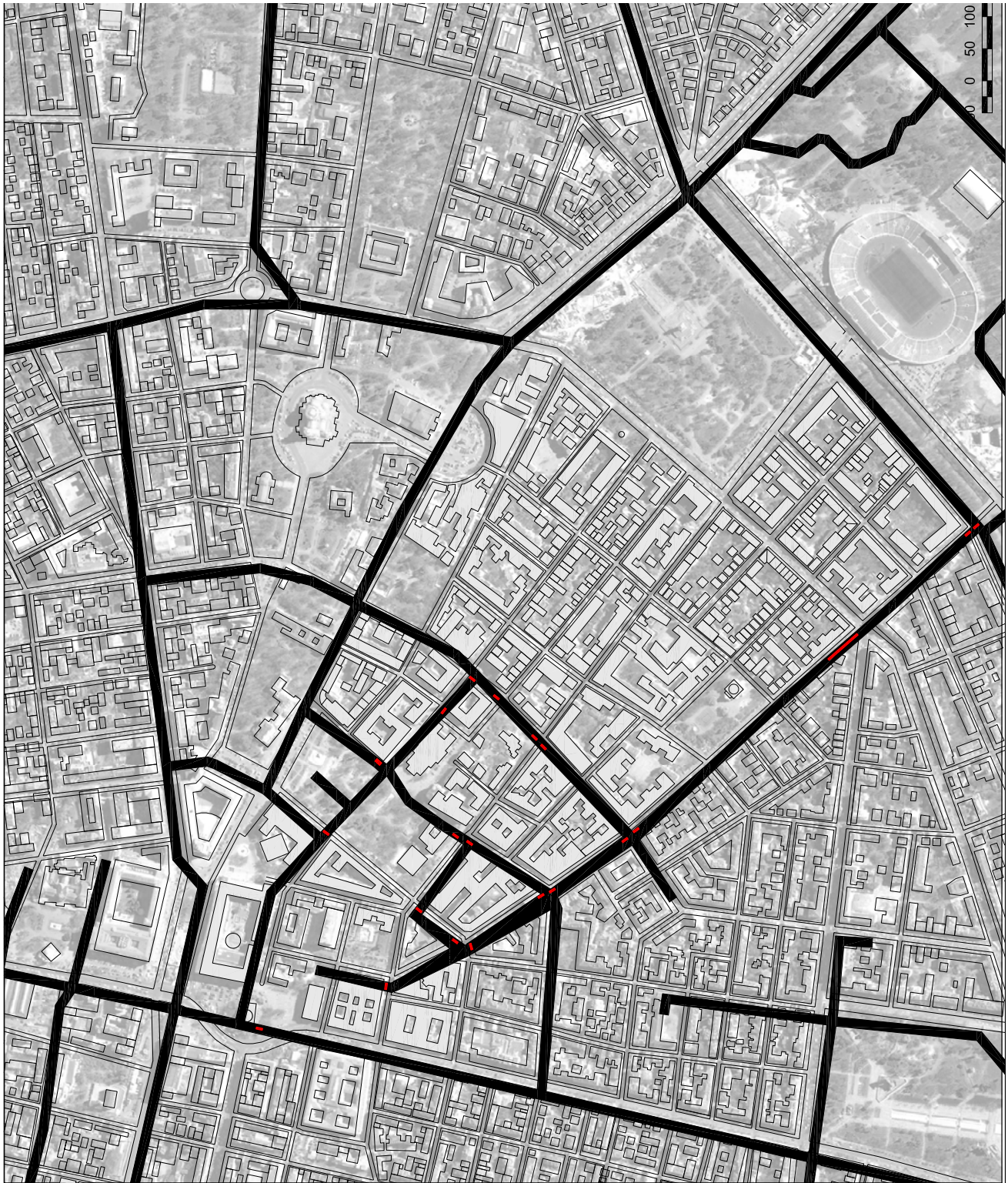


2.28 Master plan



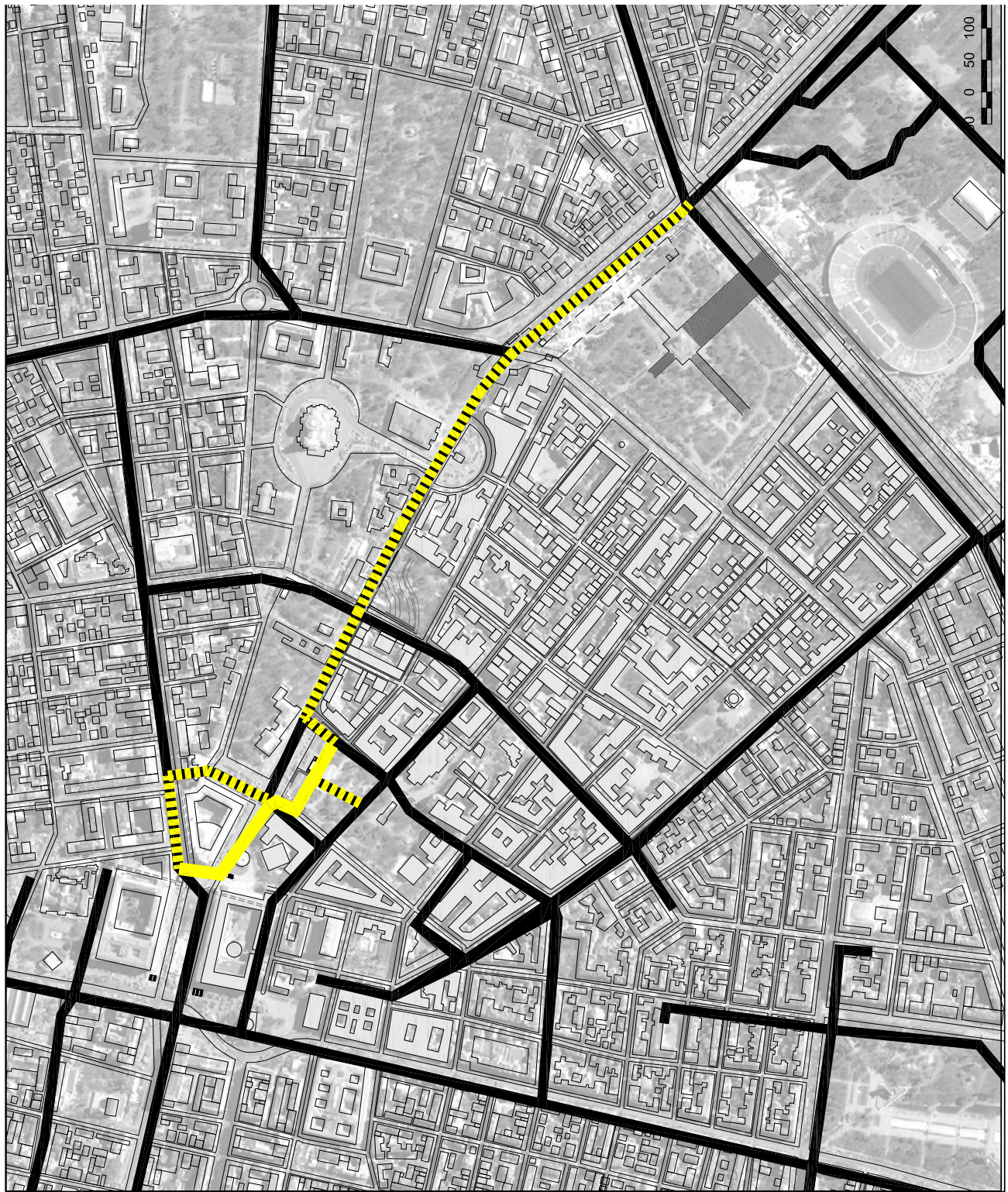
2.29 Master plan showing inaccessible tunnels

In Sofia a system of underground tunnels was developed during Roman times. It was further expanded during Communism to cover a large part of the historical downtown of the city. Twenty years after the fall of Communism, the tunnels remain a scar on the collective psyche of the citizens. They continue to be inaccessible, and their location is still a mystery to the majority of Bulgarians.



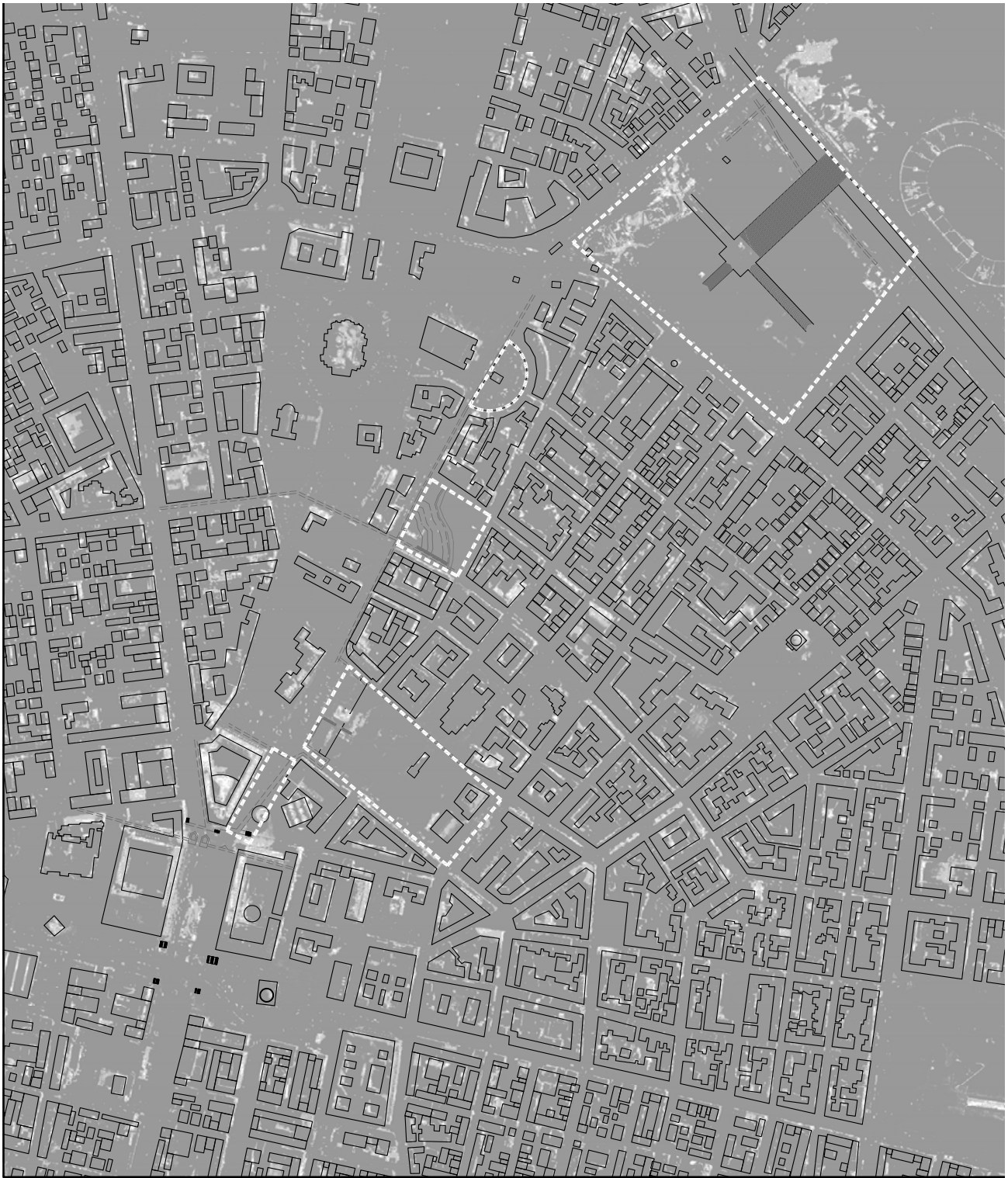
2.30 Master plan showing location of new reveals of the underground tunnels

A large part of the tunnels remain inaccessible. However, their presence in the city is marked on the ground with opaque glass surface. The scars are now exposed and the collective mind of Sofia's citizens can begin to heal.



2.31 Master plan showing location of accessible tunnel and new tunnel

The former Communist Party House was constructed above the Eastern Gate of the Roman city. A Roman underground tunnels was extended in order to connect the Party House with the Mausoleum of G. Dimitrov, the Parliament and other important buildings. The tunnel is now accessible and becomes a starting point for the development of the five sites.



2.32 Master plan showing
location of 5 sites

chapter seven

A Memory Tour

“To remember is like constructing and then travelling again through a space. We are already talking about architecture. Memories are built as a city is built.” (Eco, 1986, p.89)

“History is not continuous. It is made up of stops and starts, of presences and absences. The presences are the times when history is vital, is running, is feeding on itself and deriving its energy from its own momentum. The absences are the times when the propulsive organism is dead, the voids in between one run of history and the next. These are filled by memory. Where history ends, memory begins.” (Eisenman, 1994, p.73)

The strategy for developing a memory tour included exposing the history of the sites, rendering visible the specific memories and acknowledging the importance of the sites in the time period they existed.

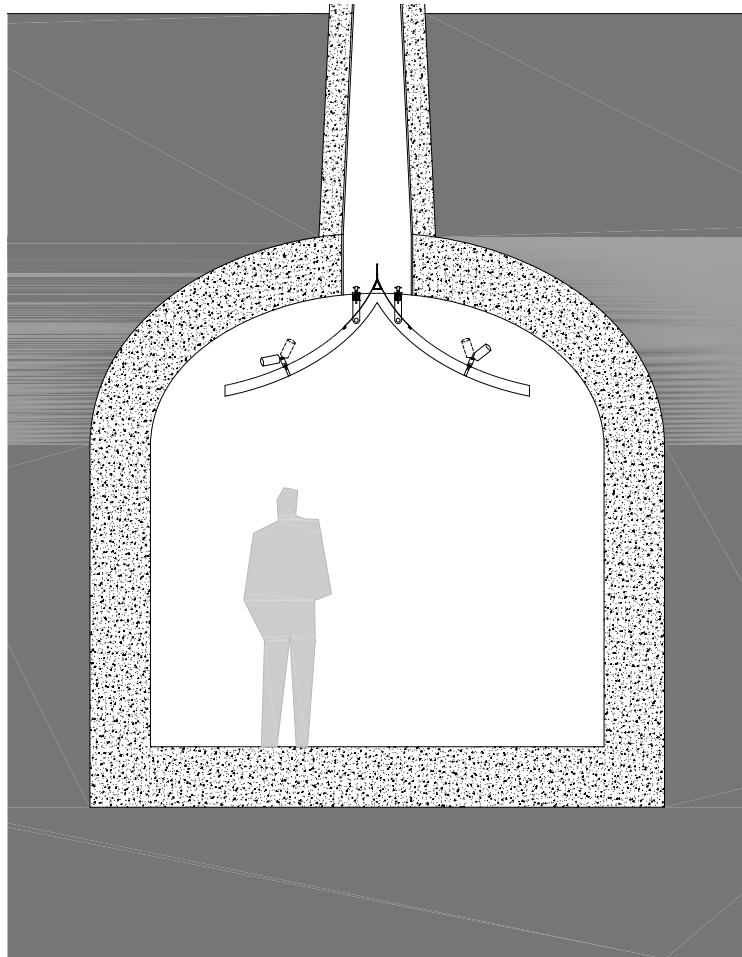
The act of memory obscures the reality of the present. The memory tour develops on a number of levels. Reflections of the past become visible on an underground layer, whereas current memories are rendered visible on the ground surface. In the current politics of designing national memories, there is an attempt to deny the Communist past, the existence of underground passageways. In the conscious act of remembering, the underground path becomes an important layer in the memory tour of the city, a dynamic layer which transports people through different memory sites of activities and reflection.



2.33 View of inaccessible tunnel

During Communism a systems of underground tunnels, covering a large part of the central city, was developed. Citizens of Sofia were aware of them, although very few people had access to the underground city. Nobody could freely talk about them or knew their exact location and points of entry.

Now, a part of that system of tunnels is accessible. Natural light enters the space and illuminates it frequently. At night time light from the tunnel marks the presence of another layer below grade. Occasionally the visitor is able to see another communist tunnel, but is not able to access it. The dark, damp space left as a reminder of the oppression, lack of freedom and independence is visible. The visitor meets other people, some exploring, some hurriedly walking past him. He is squeezed through the tunnel, and is experiencing the changes in the tunnel, the turns, the expansions and contractions. Occasionally he hears traffic and voices of people above him. The tunnel effortlessly leads the visitor from one site to next.

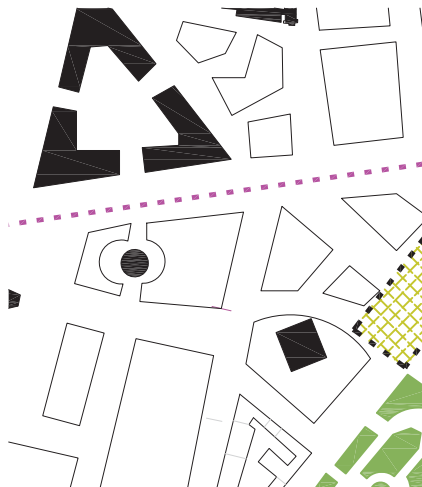
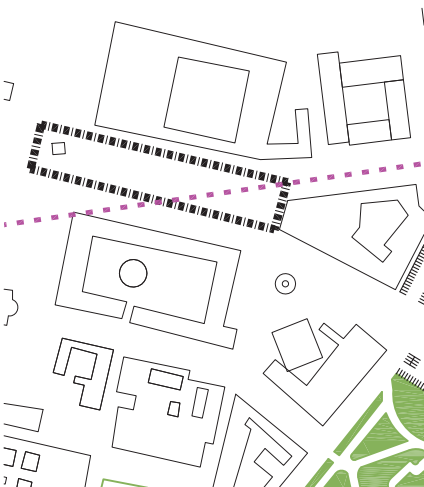
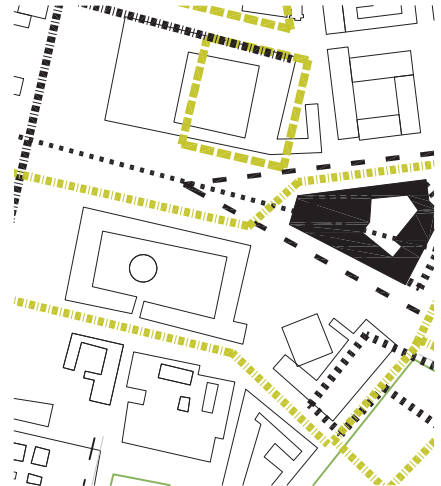
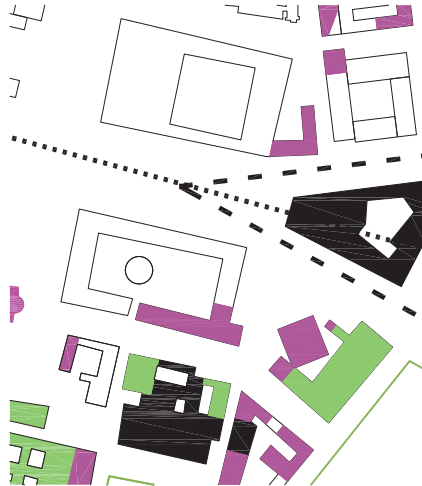
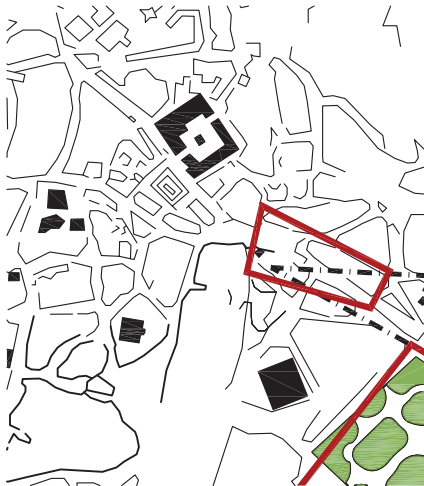


2.34 Modified accessible
tunnel
Natural light enters and
illuminates the space

2.35 View of tunnel



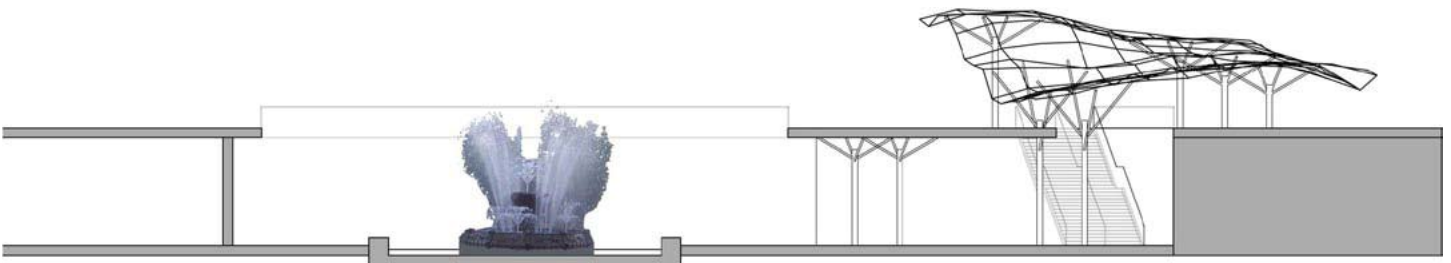
SITE ONE



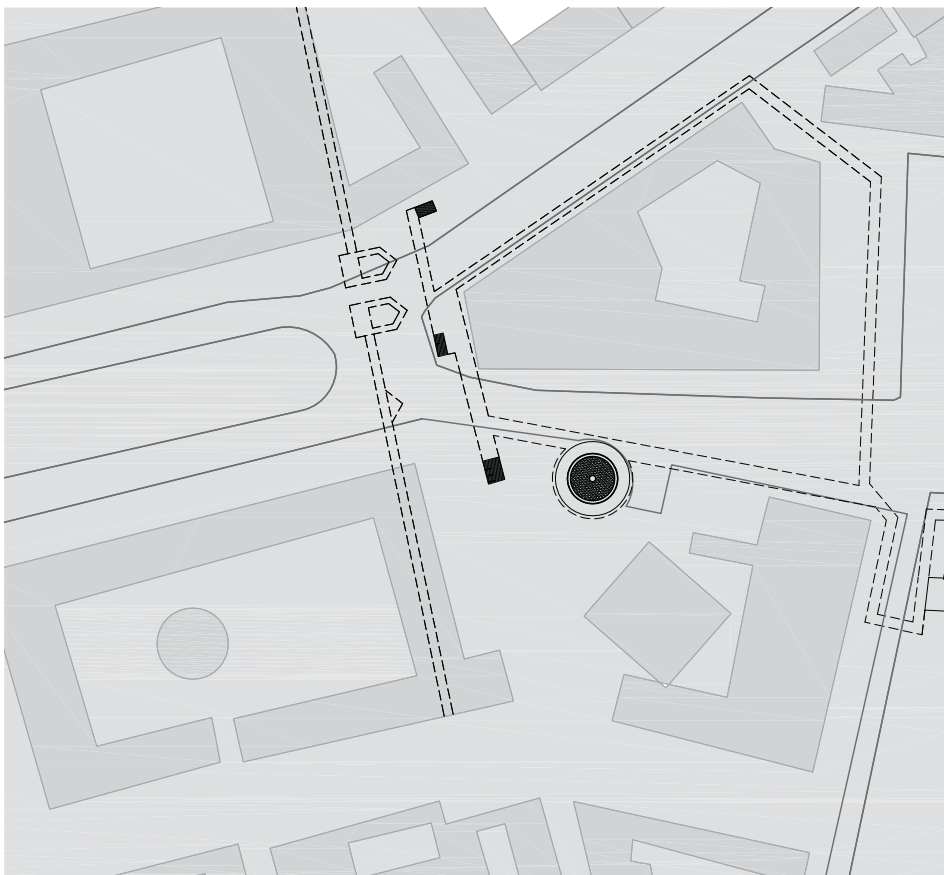
- 2.36 Current satellite image
- 2.37 Plan - City of Water
- 2.38 Plan - City of Shadow
- 2.39 Plan - City of Light
- 2.40 Plan - City of Artifact
- 2.41 Plan - Underground City
- 2.42 Plan - City of Networks

In the first century AD, Site One was located just outside the Roman city wall, adjacent to the Eastern Gate, on a road leading to Rome. The Roman city quickly outgrew its encircling wall and the first settlements were occurring near the city gates. The Eastern Gates now will become an entrance to an underground museum of a major Roman street called Via Principalis. In the 1950s, the Via Principalis became the centre of a tripartite composition, buried five meters below the current city level, but its memory was preserved and articulated in the Stalinist planning.

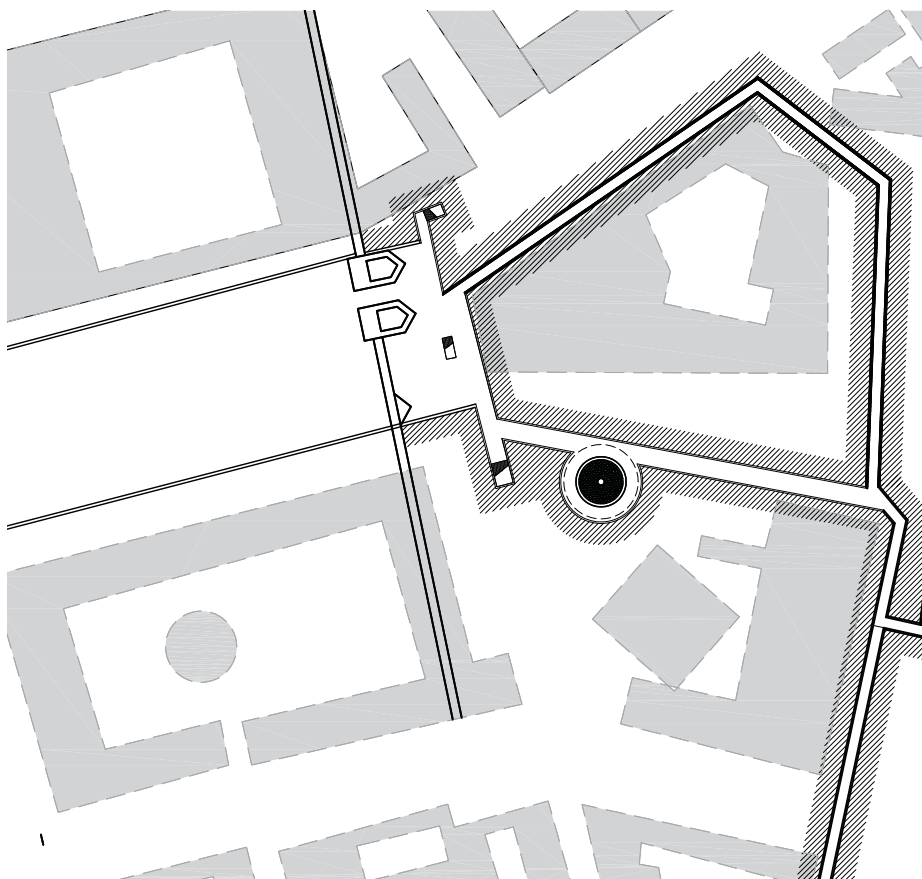
Site One becomes a symbolic locus of the memory of the Roman city. It is an entrance to the Roman museum, an underground pathway. A water fountain constructed during Communism is relocated below grade, on another historical layer, as a reference to the underground springs, the origins of the city. The land is excavated following the foundation wall of a building that occupied this space during the *City of Light*, 1927. The below grade feature shoots water which is visible from the ground level. The underground walls derive their location from two former grids: the 1927 and the 1945 city grids.



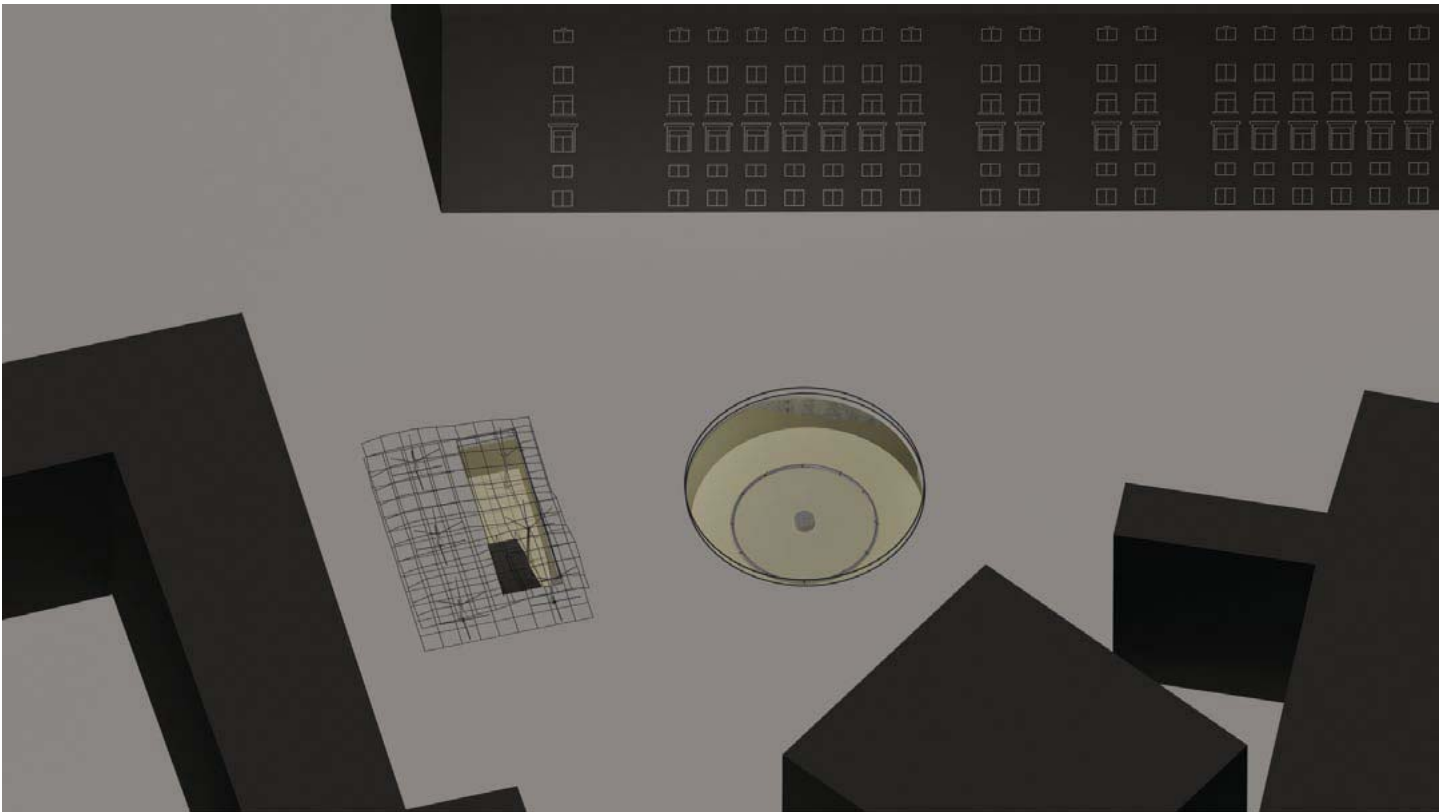
2.43 Section



2.44 Ground level



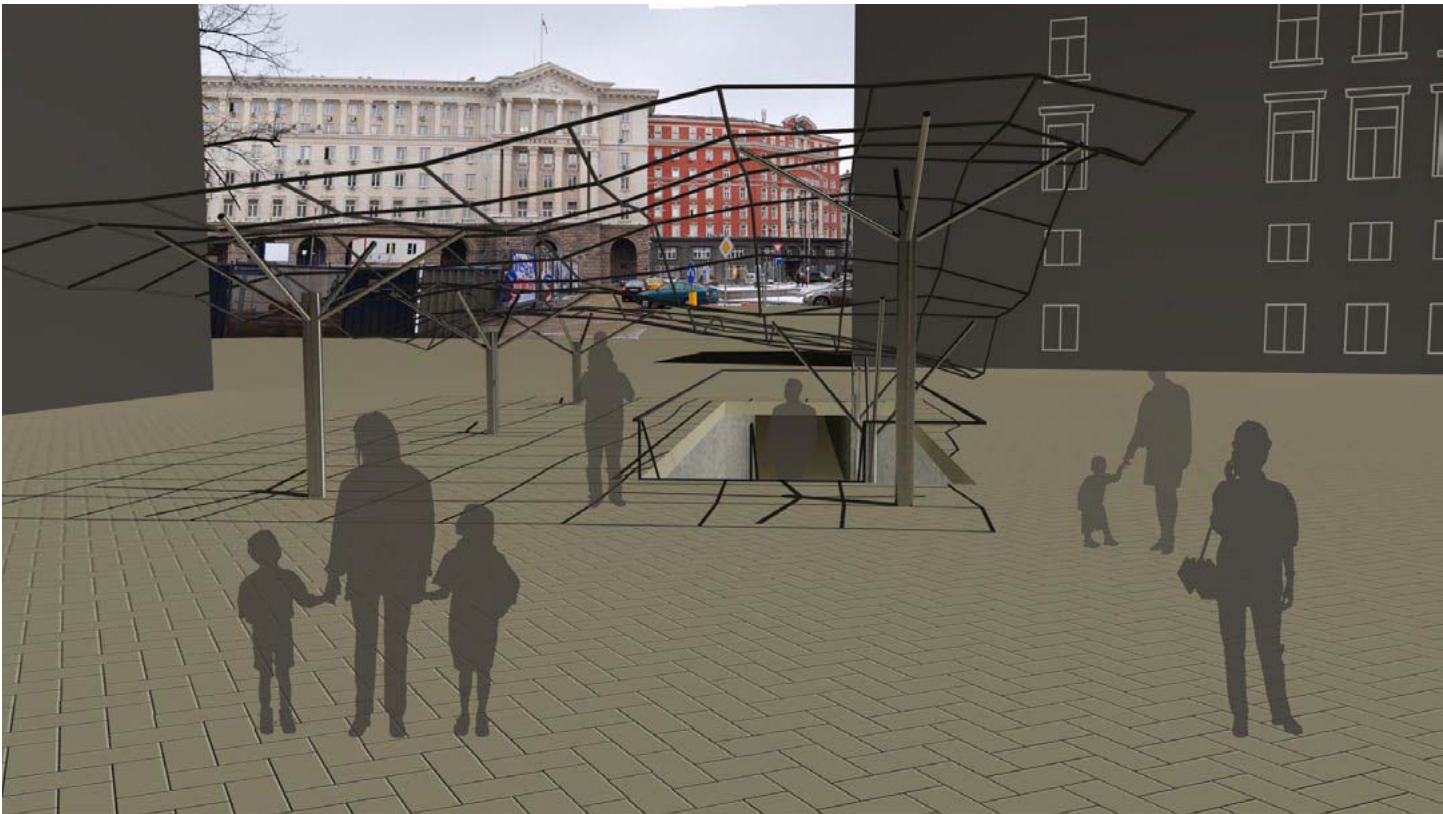
2.45 Underground level



2.47 Overall view of Site One



2.46 View towards the underground fountain



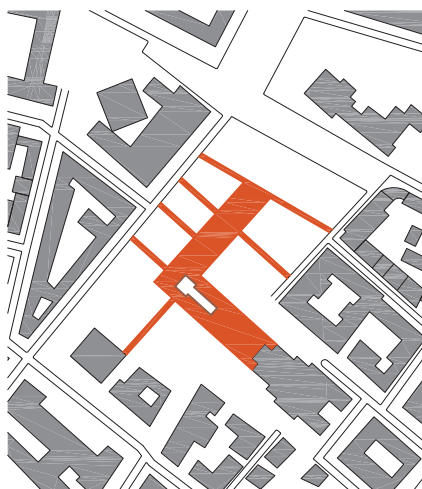
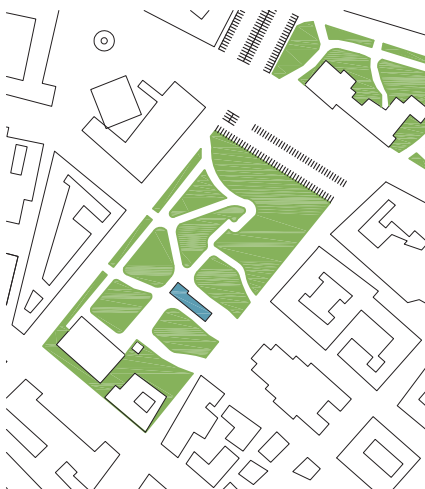
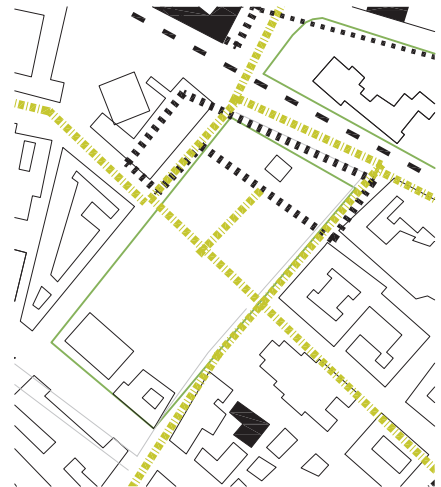
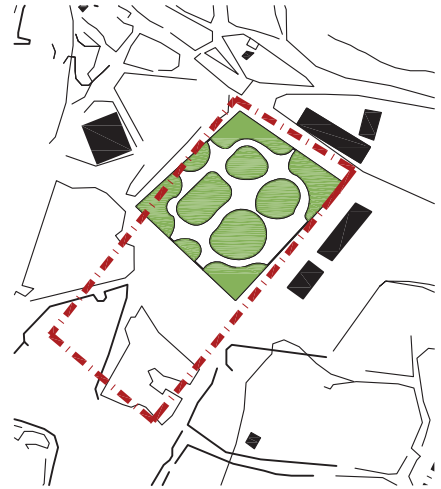
2.48 New Entrance to underground path



2.49 Connection to upper level

SITE TWO

Site Two becomes an archaeological site. The tool for excavating is the Underground City, the system of underground tunnels. The inaccessible secret pathways become etched on the surface, their memories revealed. They are progressively excavated, becoming ramps and paths in a memory park. The deepest memories become uncovered on the lowest level as the concealed crypt of the demolished Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov becomes exposed. The materials used make clear the distinction between old and new walls. Both the interior and the exterior of the former crypt can be explored, as well as the former steps to the now-demolished upper part of the Mausoleum. The deliberate political erasure of memory is referenced, as the foundation wall of the Mausoleum becomes a layer in the city park. The underground city becomes fully exposed at this location.



- 2.50 Current satellite image
- 2.51 Plan - City of Shadow
- 2.52 Plan - City of Light
- 2.53 Plan - City of Artifacts
- 2.54 Plan - Underground City
- 2.55 Plan - City of Networks
- 2.56 Plan - new paths

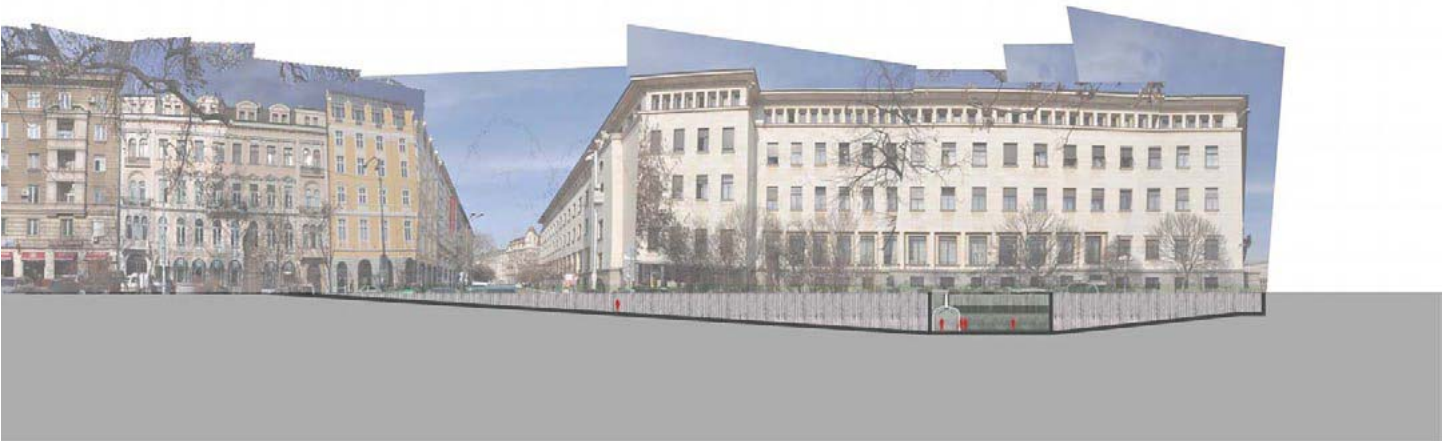


- 2.57 National Theater, 1921
- 2.58 Munciple garden, 1937
- 2.59 The Palace during the
Second World War as Nazi
headquarters
- 2.60 G. Dimitrov Mausoleum
1970s
- 2.61 Aerial photography,
1960s

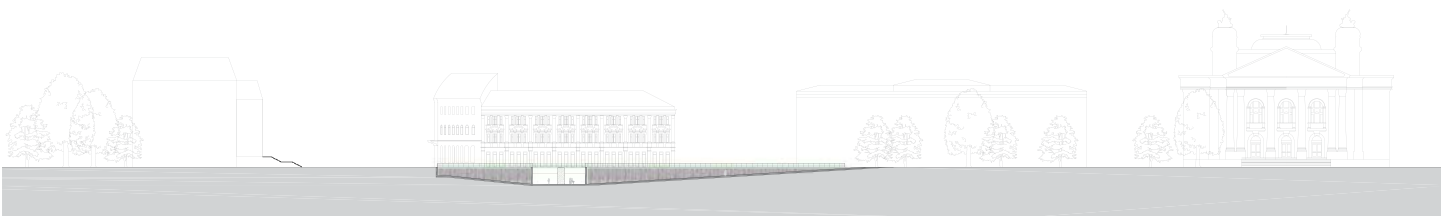




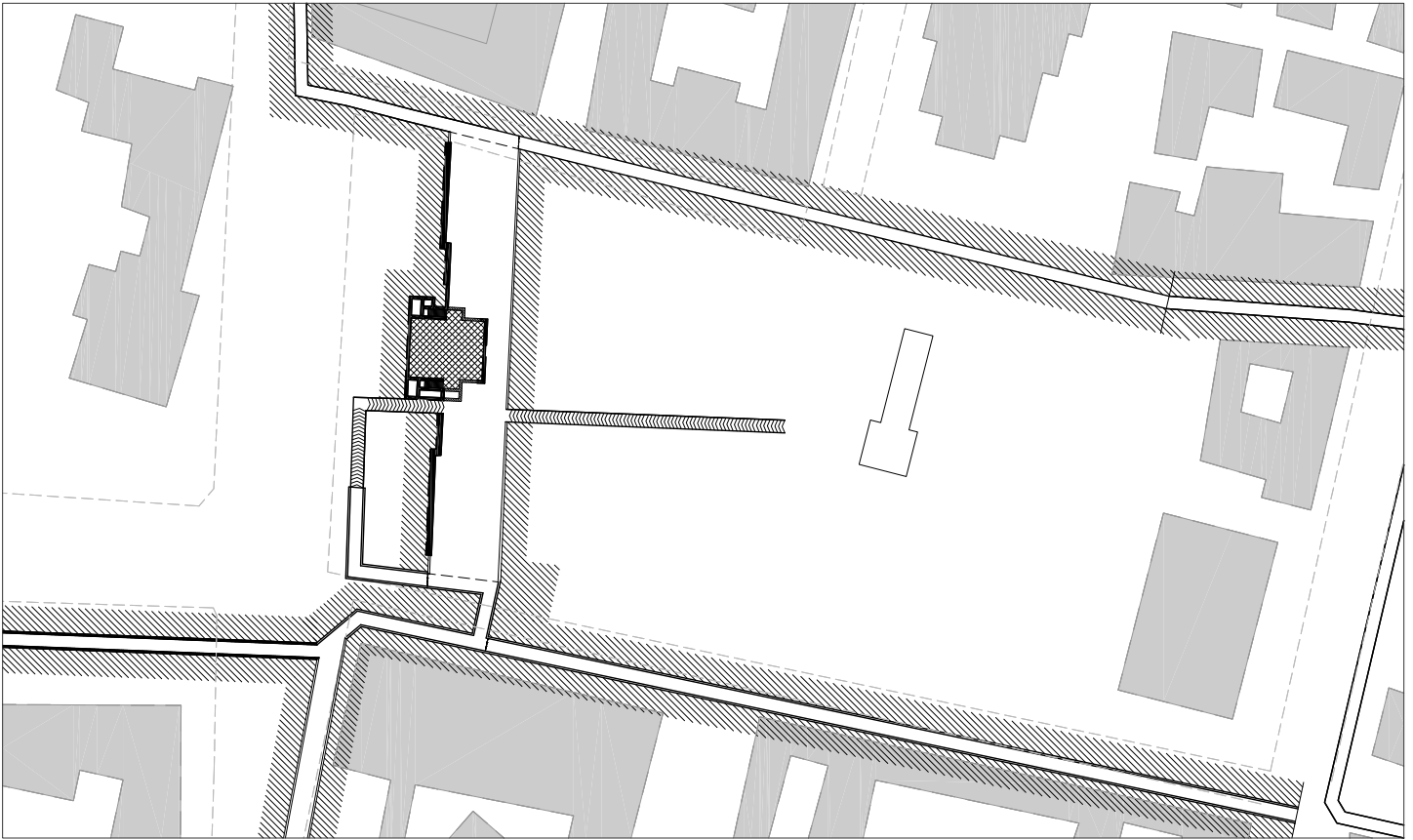
2.62 Current view of the site



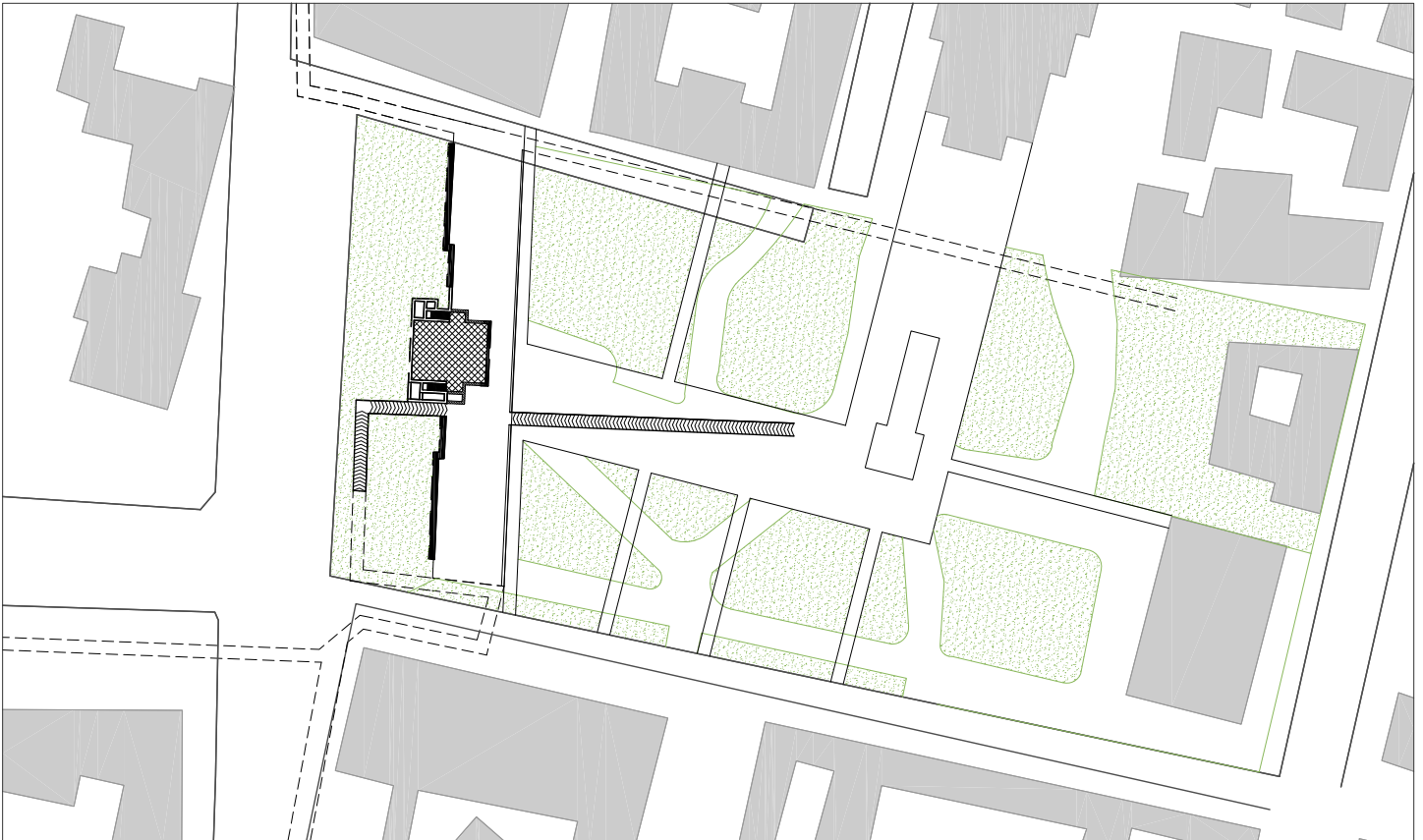
2.63 Section of excavation



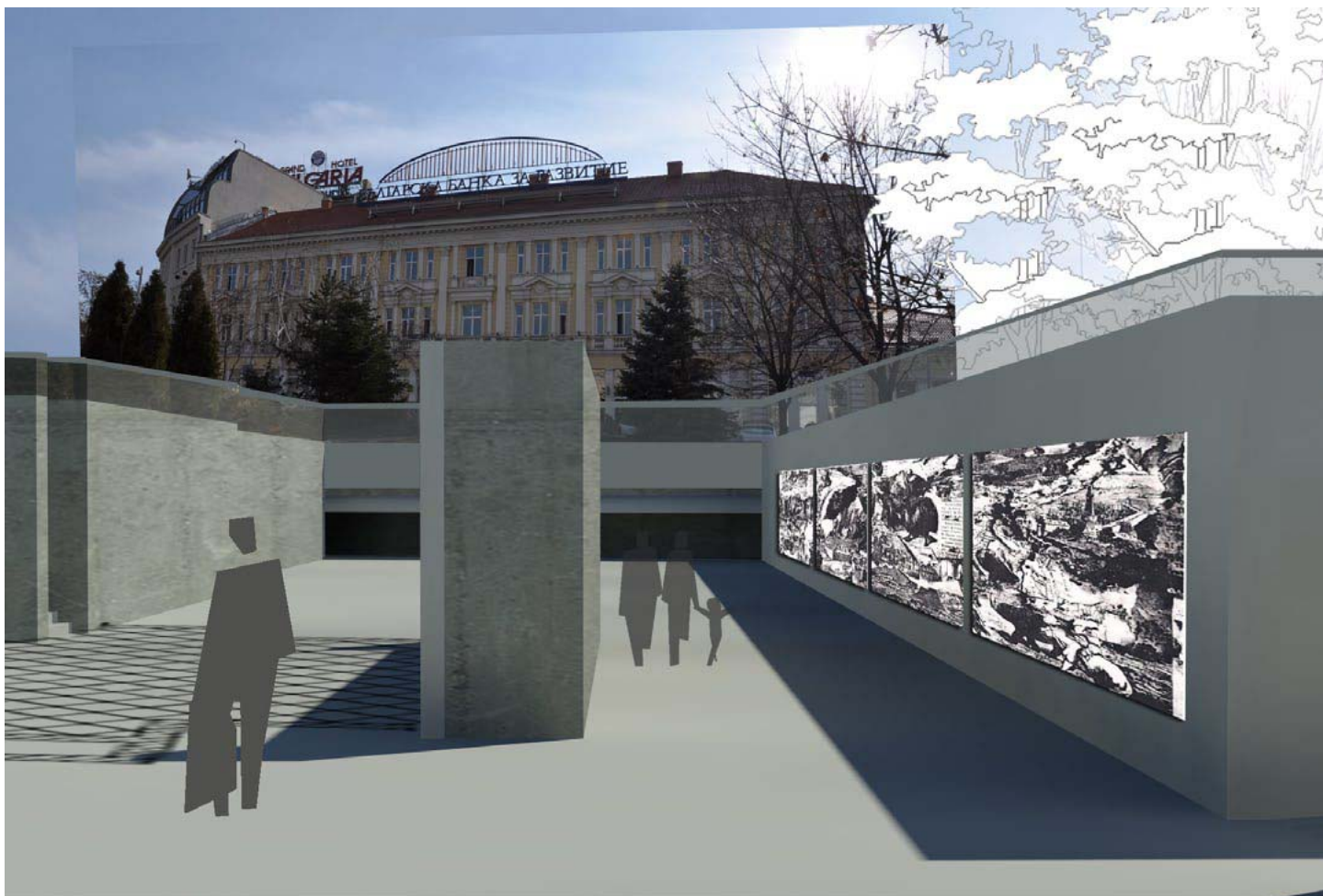
2.64 Site section



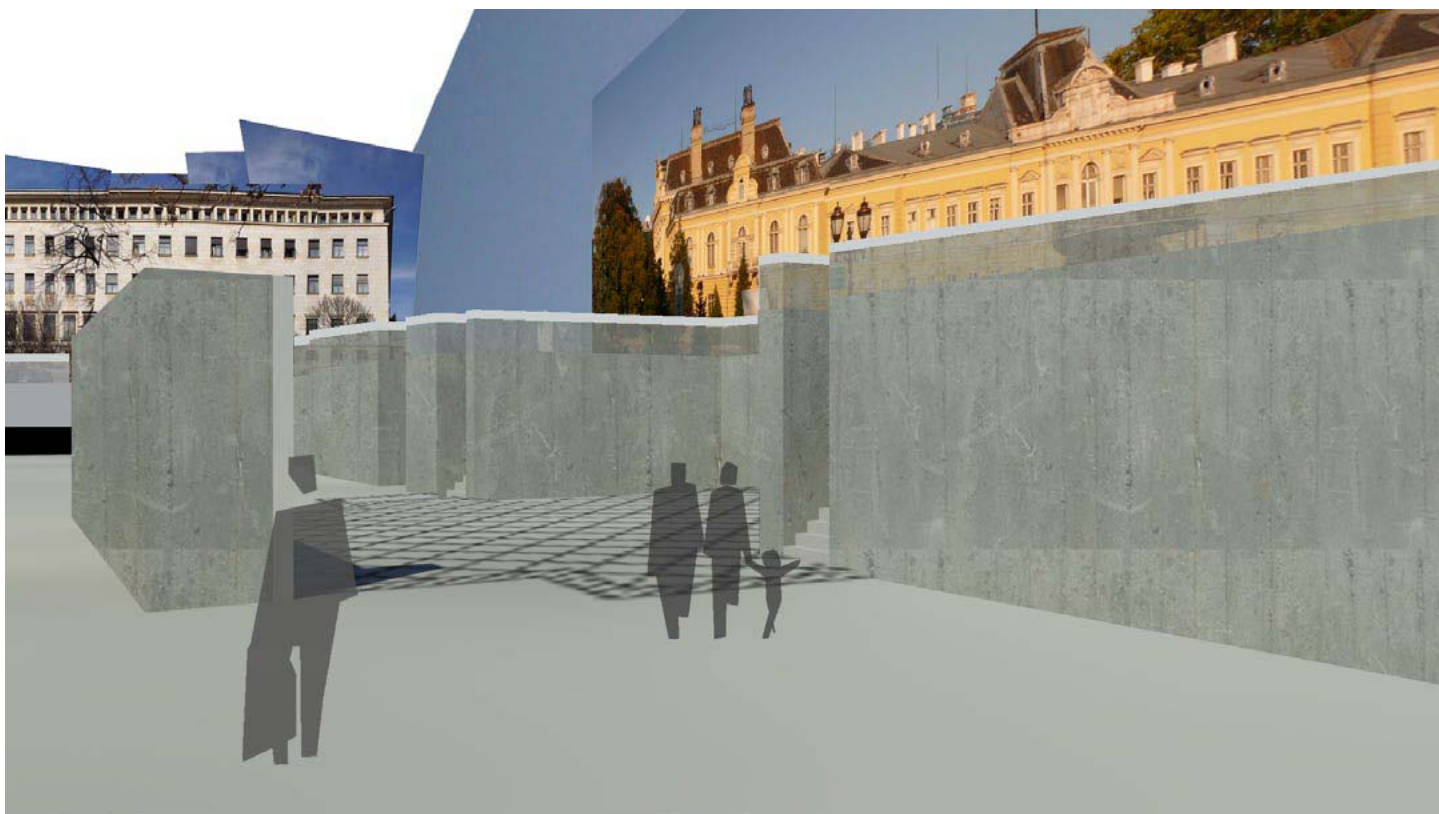
2.65 Underground level



2.66 Ground level



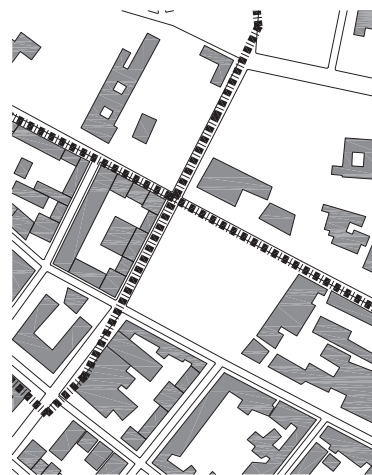
2.68 View of excavations



2.67 View towards the crypt

SITE THREE

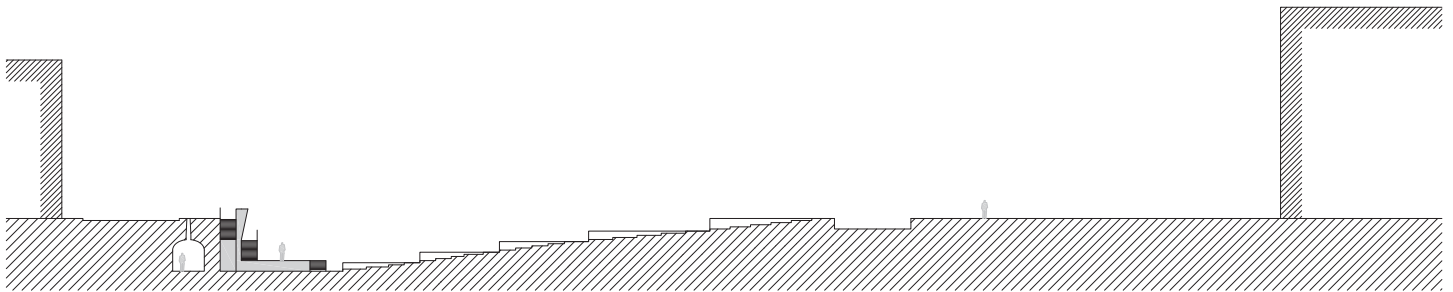
Site Three does not seek or demand a past. It is not about erasure. It does not represent a site of significant transformations. A mere century ago, the site was on the periphery of the city, an agricultural plain. During Communism, the site became the starting point for the performance and visual arts street, a gathering spot prior to viewing a show or visiting a gallery. The site becomes a place of activity, a performance and gathering place, located at the intersection of two busy streets. It is in a way void of memory, so intense overlays are possible. The ground plane becomes a memory theatre where the visitor experiences the past.



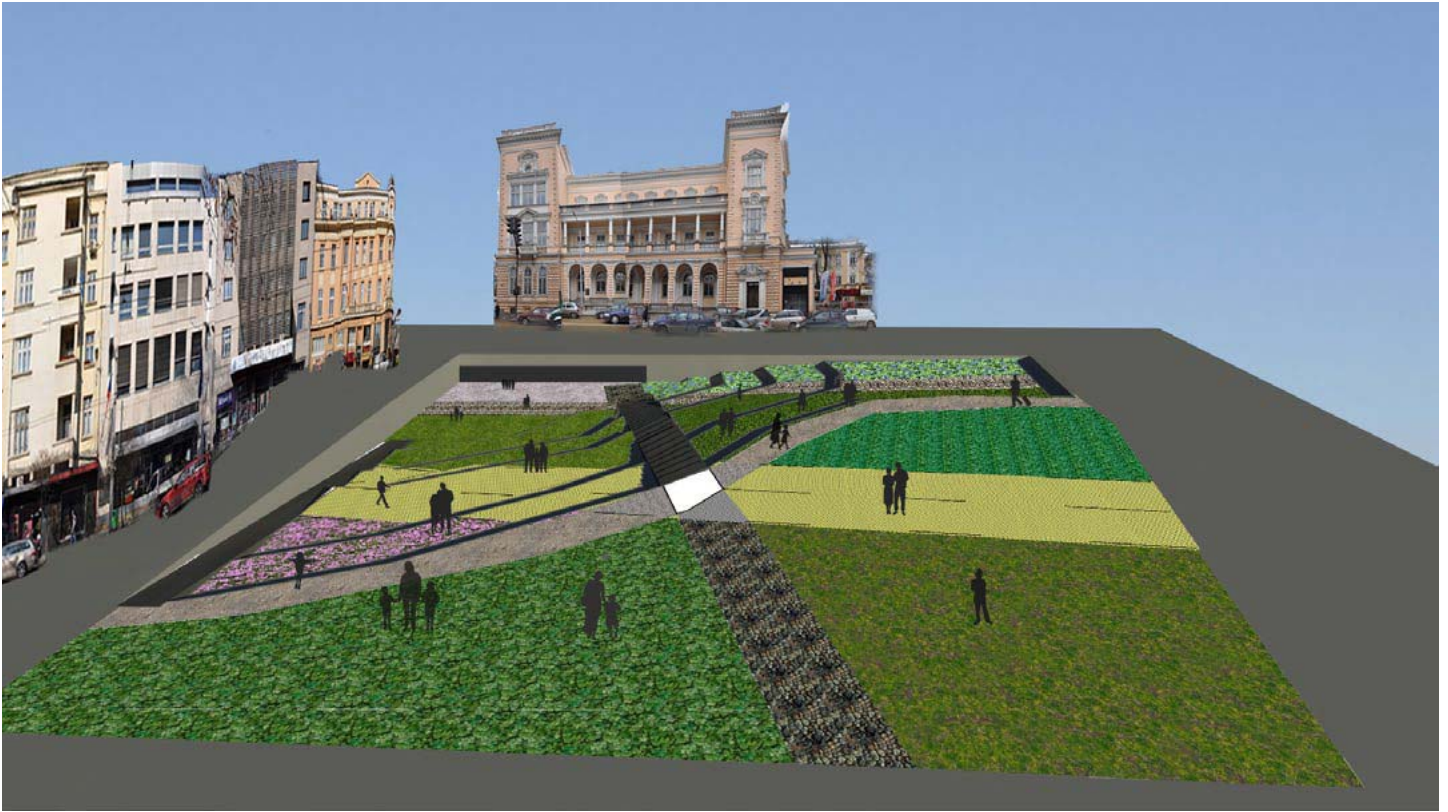
- 2.69 Current satellite image
- 2.70 Plan of site 3
- 2.71 Plan + City of Water main axis
- 2.72 Plan + City of Shadow path
- 2.73 Plan + City of Light main axis
- 2.74 Plan + City of Artifacts main axis
- 2.75 Plan + Underground City tunnels
- 2.76 Plan + City of Networks axis
- 2.77 Combined axis - City of Memory



2.78 Site plan



2.79 Section through site



2.80 View

“ And perhaps architecture has always wanted to be a theater of memory. . . .

It all depends on what you want to remember.”
(Eco, 1986, p. 94)

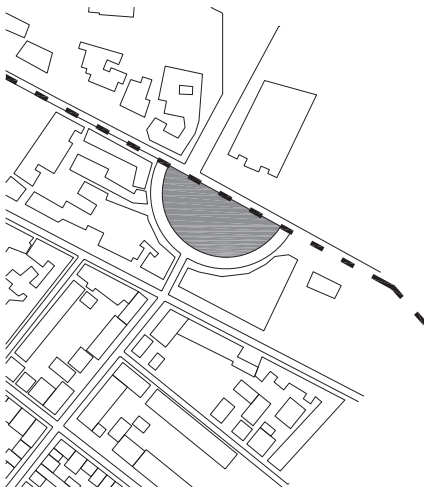
SITE FOUR

Sites Four and Five are about the remembering of a triumph, they both are sites with monuments. As the past changes and it is being reinterpreted we are rewriting our history. The formation of national memory depends on the acknowledgment of the past and its acceptance. The two sites are linked as their proximity was a critical factor for their placement. The older monument was built after Bulgaria's independence as a celebration of Russia's role in the war. The second one, on Site Five, is devoted to the Russian brotherhood and constructed in close proximity to emphasize the importance from the spatial co-existence.

Site Four, located in front of the Parliament, is excavated, revealing the memories of the space: the triumph of Communism intertwined with the remembrance of oppression, lack of freedom and independence. A negative space in the city now becomes a positive. The monument is exaggerated as a symbol of its role in the past.



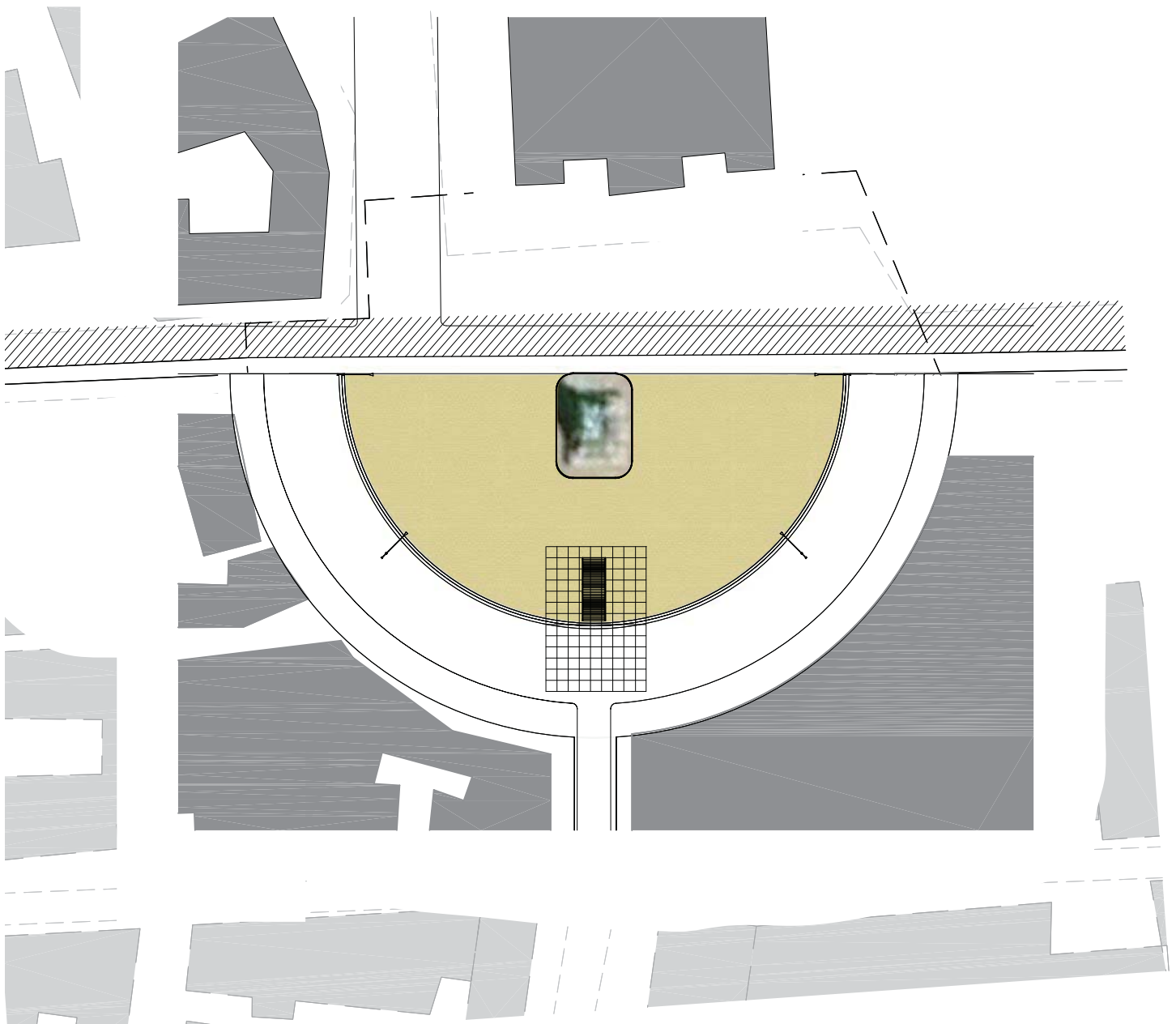
2.81 Section through site



- 2.82 Current satellite image
- 2.83 City of Artifacts plan, showing the Parliament and other significant buildings
- 2.84 Plan of site 4 + underground tunnel
- 2.85 Axis of site 4
- 2.86 Excavation following the walls of the former nuclear bomb shelter for the Parliament.



2.88 Current photograph



2.87 Site Four plan



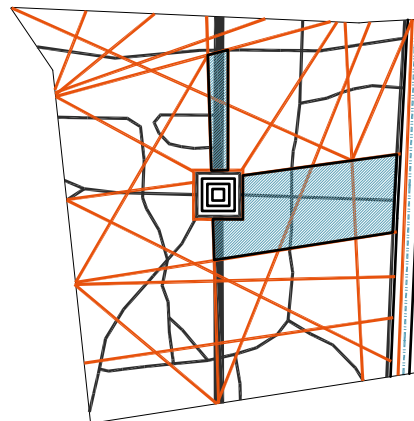
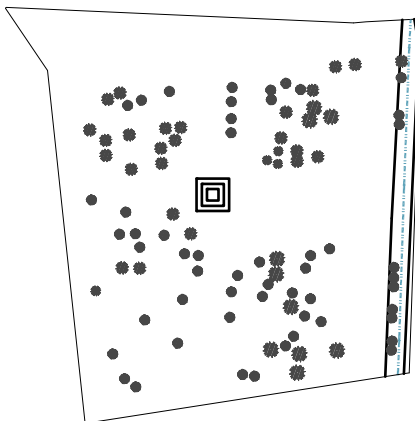
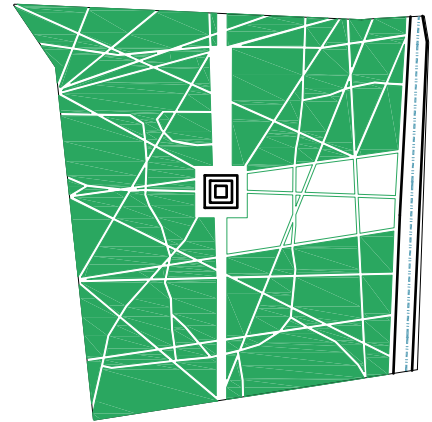
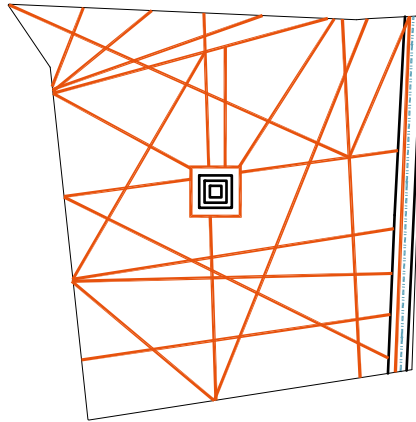
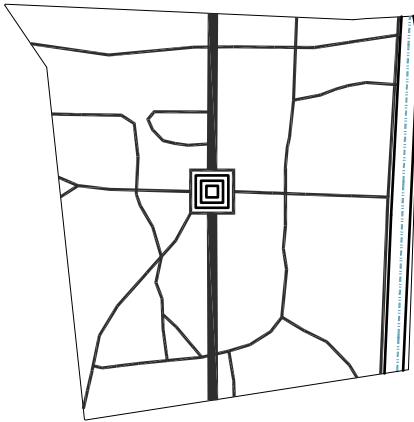
2.89 Site 4 view



2.90 View from the lower level

SITE FIVE

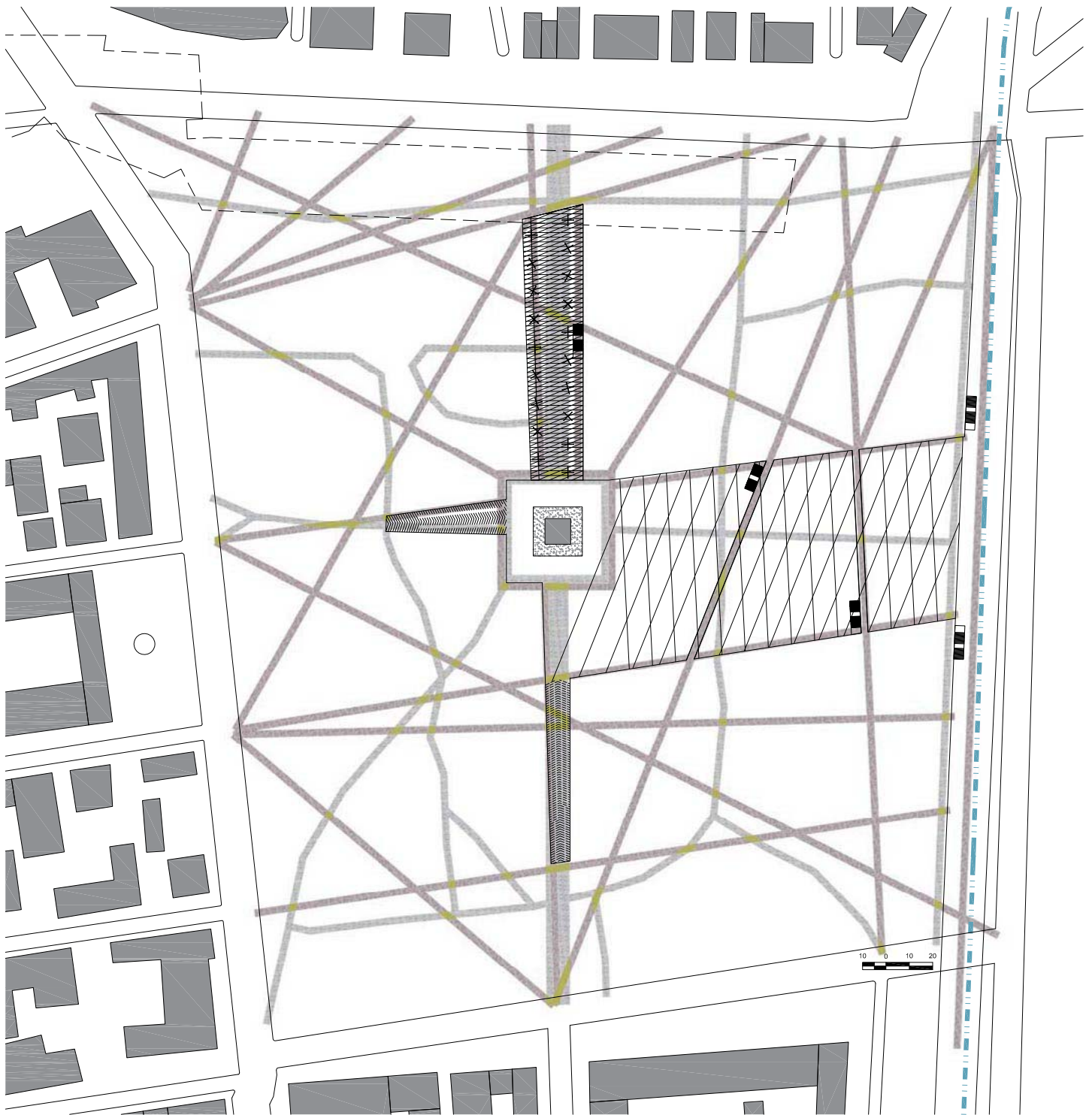
Site Five is an invisible monument, absent from the people's consciousness, it is simply a blank spot on the city landscape. Older generations remember visiting the monument to the unknown Russian Soldier but many do not recall seeing it and hearing stories about it even though it is in a central location in a major city park. The park is now layered. The monument is treated in a similar manner to Site Four's monument. The park becomes a symbol of the origins of the city as water from one of the city's rivers is channeled through the site, to encircle the reflection of the base of the sculpture. The site becomes a beginning and an end to a journey in the memory of the city. The once important paths are now projected on an underground layer and connected to the new underground system.



- 2.91 Current satellite image
- 2.92 Site Five plan
- 2.93 Old paths
- 2.94 New paths
- 2.95 Green spaces
- 2.96 Trees
- 2.97 Paths and excavations



2.98 Site section



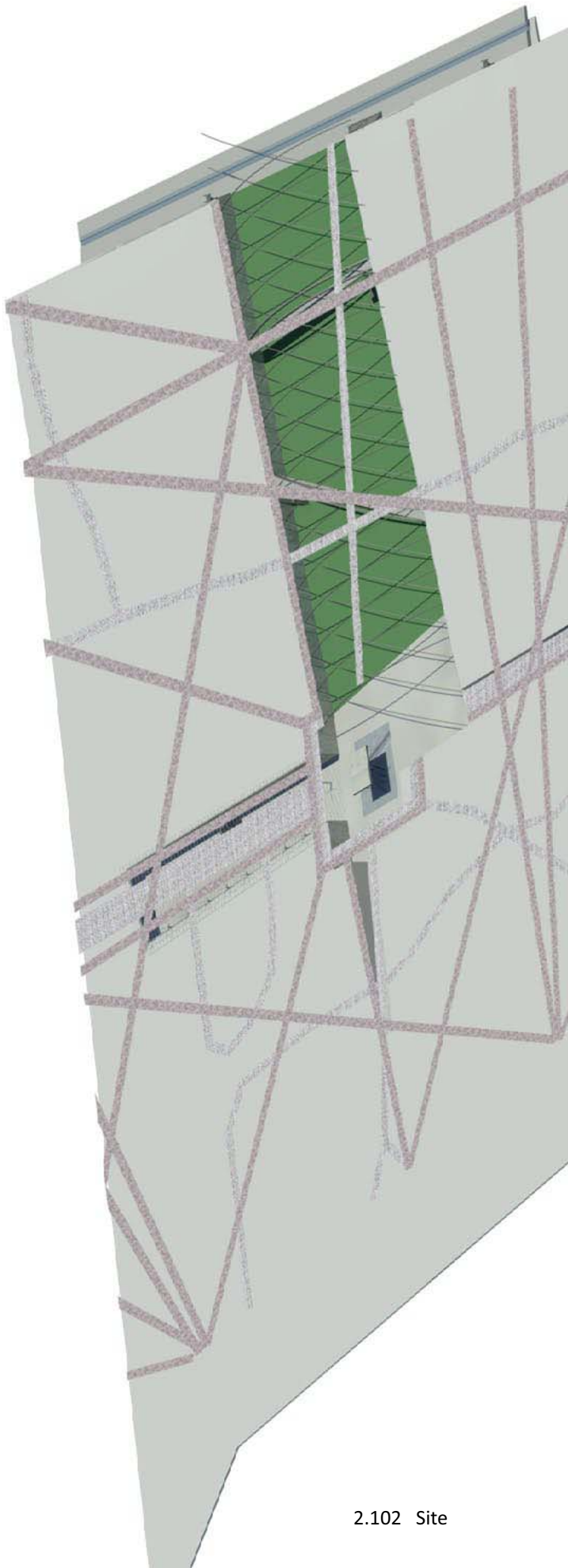
2.99 Site plan



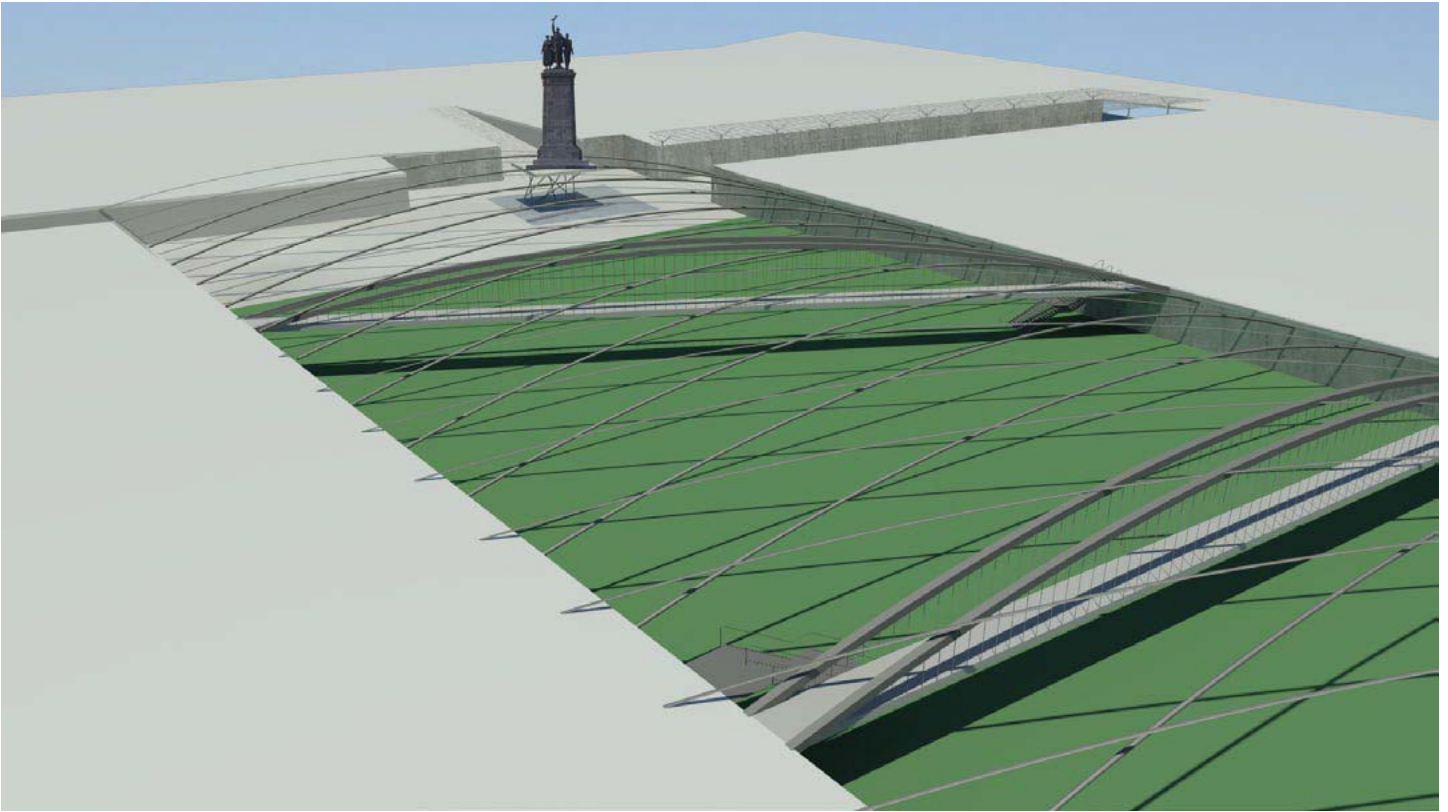
2.100 Intersections of different paths



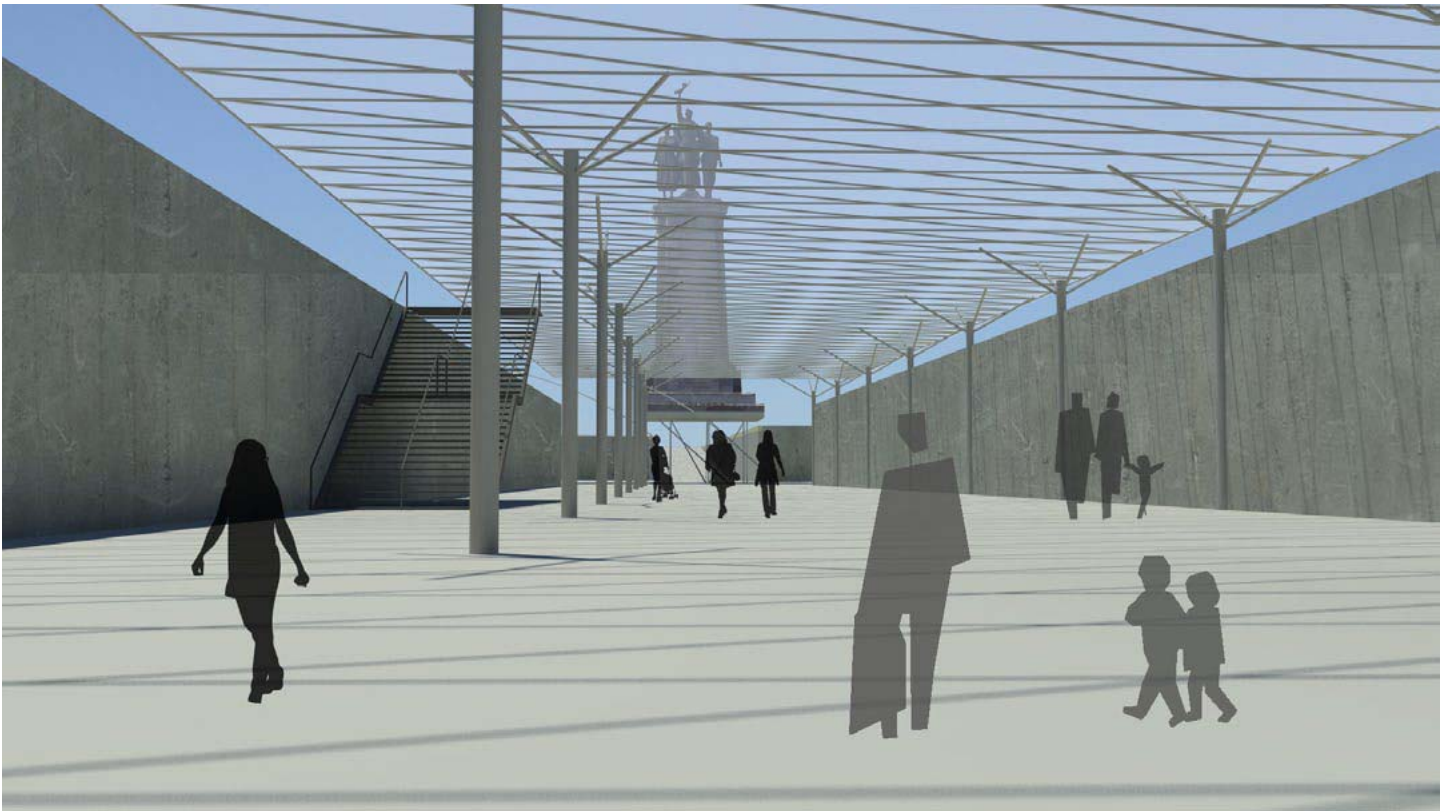
2.101 View of Intersection



2.102 Site



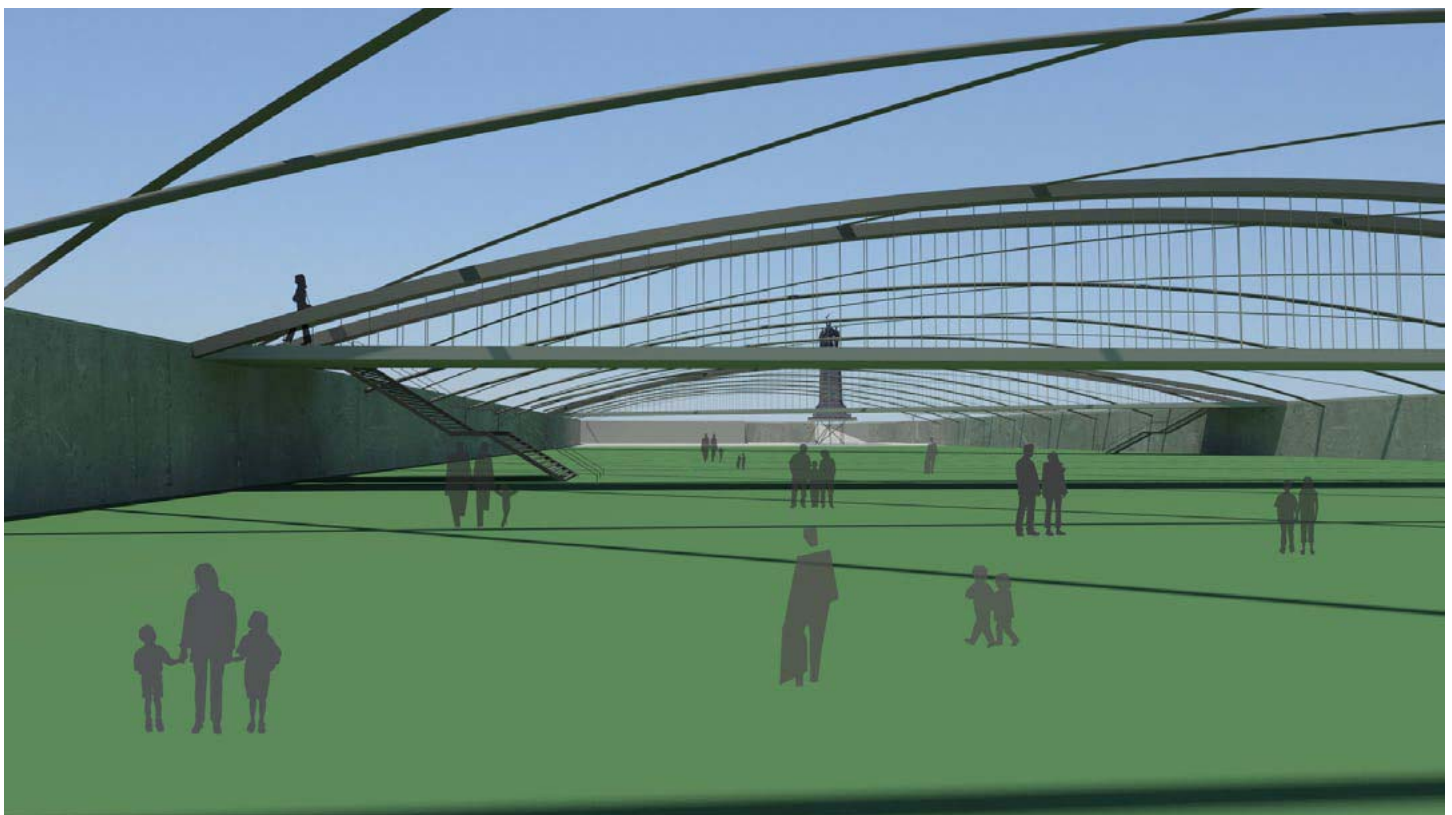
2.103 Aerial view



2.104 View from subway
towards monument



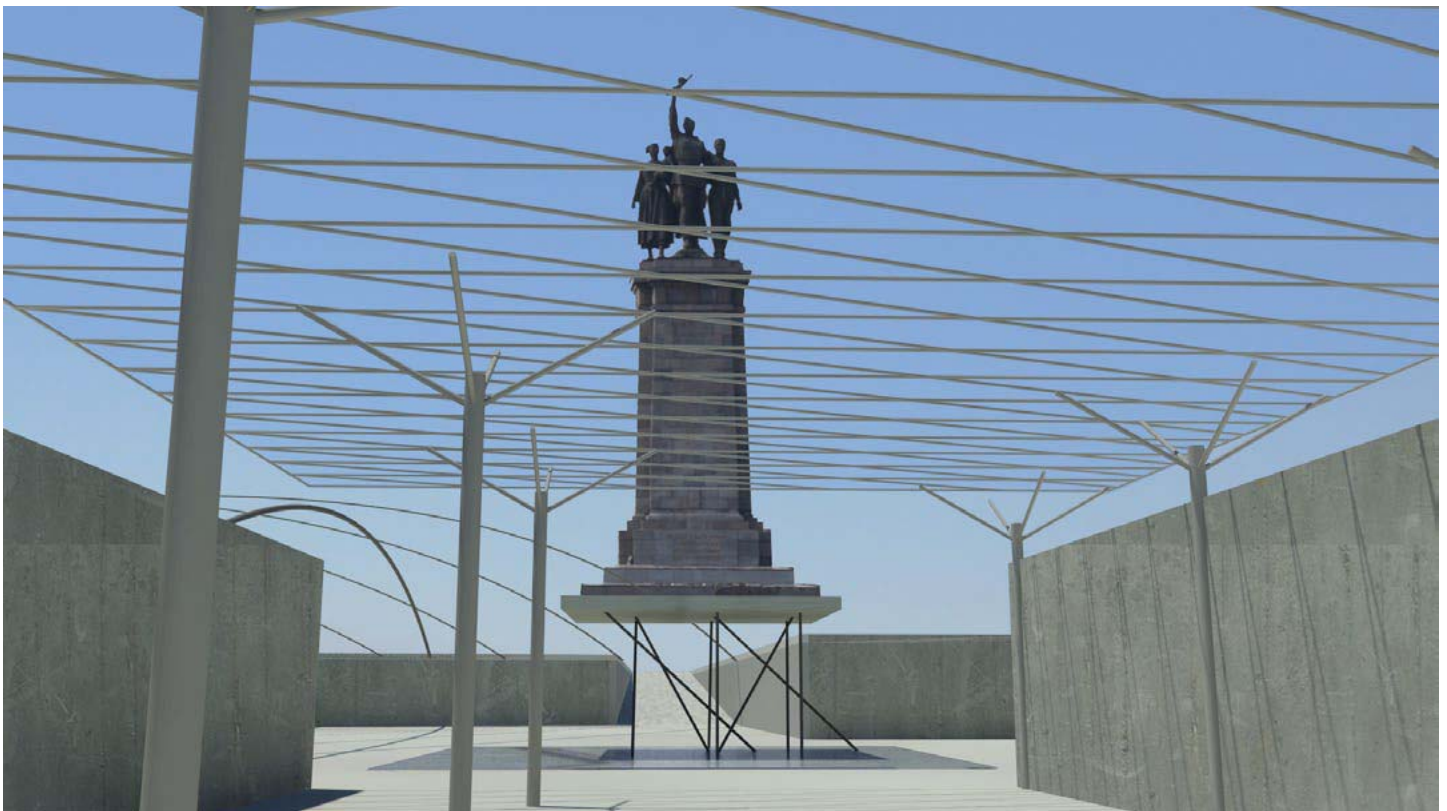
2.105 View towards ramp and monument



2.106 View of lower level space



2.107 River view



2.108 Monument

CONCLUSION

As any other city, Sofia's urban scape is an expression of political design. Modifications to the built environment are often related to the way political leaders wish the society to be sustained and memorialized. The permanence of the monuments/memorials in the built environment help carry a message through time, they assist the collective memory in transcending time. The city's fabric has been deliberately erased a number of times, trying to negate its past and move forward. As a result, the national identity has been traumatized, leaving the citizens uncertain of both their past and future.

In *The City of Memory* project, the city embraces all of its past. The city's history is examined at significant points in time and the expression of the times is now exposed. The city is studied as a city of palimpsests. Thematic cities are developed, underlining the subjective nature of Sofia by means of a priori descriptive tool. The cities which have a significant role in the development of the design are: city of water, city of shadow, city of light, city of artifacts, underground city, city of networks and city of memory.

Layers of the collective memory of Sofia's citizens are reconstructed as destroyed parts of the city's history are referenced. Five sites are examined. Their memories are rendered visible and their importance in the city's history is acknowledged. Reflections of the past become visible on an underground layer, whereas current memories are visible on the ground surface. The sites within the city of memory are connected through a previously inaccessible underground Communist tunnels. Former scars on the city's skin, their perception is now modified, as they are partially accessible. Their memory is not erased, as the inaccessible passageways are visible from the ground surface.

The city now embraces all of its past.

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