

**Reading Architecture/ Remembering/ Forgetting Interplay:
Development of a Framework to Study Urban and
Object Level Cases**

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Development of a Framework to Study Urban and
Object Level Cases**

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Abstract

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This thesis explores how architecture aids in the performance of open-ended narratives by engaging both actively and passively with memory, i.e. remembering and forgetting. I argue that architecture old and new stems from specific cultural and social forms, and is dictated by processes of remembering and forgetting. It is through interaction (between inhabitant and object) that architecture is given innate meanings within an urban environment that makes its role in the interplay one of investigative interest.

To enable the study of this performance, I develop a framework based on various theoretical paradigms to investigate three broad questions: 1) How does one study the performance of memory and forgetting through architecture in dynamic urban landscapes? 2) Is there a way to identify markers and elements within the urban environment that enable such a study? 3) What is the role that urban form plays within this framework and does the transformation of urban form imply the transformation of memory and forgetting?

The developed framework is applied to a macro (an urban level study of Bangalore, India) and micro level study (a singular or object level study of Stari Most/Old Bridge, Mostar, BiH), to analyse the performance of remembering and forgetting in various urban spheres through interaction with architecture and form. By means of observations, archival research, qualitative mapping, drawings and narrative interviews, the study demonstrates that certain sites and characteristics of architecture enable the performance of remembering and the questioning of forgetting by embodying features that support this act.

Combining theory and empirical studies this thesis is an attempt to elucidate on the processes through which remembering and forgetting is initiated and experienced through architectural forms. The thesis argues for recognising the potential of architecture as one that embodies and supports the performance of memory and forgetting, by acting as an auratic contact zone.

Zusammenfassung

Das Zusammenspiel von Architektur/ Erinnerung/ Vergessen: Entwicklung eines Rahmen-konzepts zur Untersuchung von Fallbeispielen auf urbaner und objektbezogener Ebene

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht den Beitrag, den Architektur bei dem Erzählen von Geschichten mit offenem Ende leisten kann, indem sie sowohl passiv als auch aktiv mit dem Gedächtnis, das heißt mit Erinnerung und Vergessen, verbunden ist. Ich argumentiere, dass alte und auch neue Architektur ihren Ursprung in spezifischen kulturellen und sozialen Gegebenheiten hat und durch die Prozesse des Erinnerns und Vergessens bestimmt wird. Erst durch das Zusammenspiel zwischen Bewohner und Objekt erhält Architektur eine eigene Bedeutung im Kontext der gebauten Umwelt, die es näher zu untersuchen gilt.

Um diesen Beitrag näher zu untersuchen, entwickle ich ein Rahmenkonzept auf Grundlage diverser theoretischer Paradigmen, um drei übergeordnete Fragen zu beantworten: 1) Wie kann man den Beitrag der Architektur zu Erinnerung und Vergessen in einer dynamischen Stadtlandschaft untersuchen? 2) Gibt es eine Möglichkeit, Kennzeichen und Bestandteile innerhalb einer städtischen Umgebung zu identifizieren, um eine entsprechende Studie zu ermöglichen? 3) Welche Rolle spielt die Gestalt der Stadt innerhalb dieses Rahmenkonzepts und impliziert die Veränderung der Stadtgestalt auch die Veränderung von Erinnerung und Vergessen?

Das entwickelte Rahmenkonzept wird auf einer Makro- (eine Untersuchung von Bangalore in Indien auf Stadtebene) und Mikroebene (eine Objektuntersuchung in Stari Most/ Old Bridge, Mostar in Bosnien und Herzegowina) angewandt, um den Prozess des Erinnerns und Vergessens durch Interaktion mit Architektur und Form in unterschiedlichen städtischen Räumen zu analysieren. Durch Beobachtungen, Archivrecherche, qualitative Kartierungen, Zeichnungen und narrative Interviews zeigt die vorliegende Studie, dass gewisse Lagen und Charakteristika von Architektur das Erinnern und die Frage des Vergessens ermöglichen, indem sie Merkmale annehmen, die den Prozess unterstützen.

Die Kombination aus theoretischer und empirischer Forschung in dieser Arbeit stellt einen Versuch dar, die Prozesse zu beleuchten, durch die Architektur Erinnern und Vergessen auslöst. Sie argumentiert außerdem, dass Architektur das Potential besitzt, als auratische Kontaktzone zu fungieren und damit Erinnerung und Vergessen zu verkörpern und zu unterstützen.

To Family

Acknowledgements

This thesis grew out of curiosity and interest to understand the dynamics between architecture and the processes that contribute to its making. Coming from a city where transformation of urban space is an almost daily occurrence, the need to expand upon traditional definitions of architecture lead to the current line of questioning. This work has grown from an idea to a reality thanks to the contributions of many people and to do justice to their input, a few paragraphs will not suffice. Though not all are mentioned here, their contributions have not been forgotten.

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READING ARCHITECTURE/ REMEMBERING/ FORGETTING INTERPLAY

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READING ARCHITECTURE/ REMEMBERING/ FORGETTING INTERPLAY

Zooming In

The relations between architecture and social developments are not just complex in existence but also are many layered. What seems to be the only constant with urban landscapes in current times is the continual change that it faces. The processes to understand these changes vary and contrast depending on the subject and mode of research. In the recent years, there has been a growing interest in urban transformation, growth of social and physical urban disparities, evolution of urban dynamics and public debates surrounding urban life. Within the current climate of both social and physical change, social scientists, architects and urban researchers over the last few decades have been trying to understand and develop theories that provide adequate answers to the changes that are affecting the urban landscape. Through an on-going process of analysis and research, the urban environment is now studied as not just as a physical construct, but one that is shaped by various processes; social, economic, political and the morphological. Herein the motivation behind the thesis lies.

Stemming from the field of architectural research, the thesis is driven by the need to understand manifestations of architecture as more than built form, one that encompasses various causes and effects and can be studied as reflecting current situations and dynamics within society, thus growing beyond its traditional definitions. Architecture as a construction is one that harbours man's desire and regrets; the past, present and possible future, in many ways behaves as textual construction of the city infused with meanings and memories.¹ The city becomes

¹ Gandelsonas, *The City as the Object of Architecture*. 128-44.

an inscription by the people; one that is both permanent and erasable at the same time one that Gandelsonas has called as ‘one is the product of the public (the city), the other one is for the public (architecture)’.² In many ways architectural or urban transformation is related not just to current structural forces of society but is also dictated by individual needs of a particular society.

The interrelation between the ways of life and architecture has long been viewed and analysed as interwoven aspects of socio-spatial, socio-material, socio-cultural and socio-symbolic systems, within the tradition of structuralist studies. The understanding that each of these elements are interconnected within the system propagates the thought that architectural elements are in constant relation with other aspects within the environment, providing the perspective that the integration of architectural elements within socio-spatial facets can be related to different characteristics of social life. Though this seems to satisfy a certain system of cause and effect (making and transformation of space), the role that architecture plays within this system and the processes it supports comes into question.

Though there are a number of processes that can be observed, experienced and analysed through architecture, this thesis focuses on two processes that can be experienced: remembering and forgetting; to expand, what are the characteristics of architecture that support the performance of remembering³ or forgetting within urban space. Within the framework of various social processes that affect architecture’s or urban form’s making, faculties of remembering and forgetting dictate collective remembering, attachment, place making and transformation. Using the ‘city’ as a point of departure to analyse and investigate how architecture supports this performance can provide insights into process of transformation and retention of the fabric in the city. This assumption is tested on two levels; macro (urban) and micro (individual sites/ structure) investigation. Coming from the tradition that tries to build on architectural analysis of urban transformations as providing insights on not just the current state of transformation but also the dynamics of change, this thesis aims to contribute to the same tradition.

² Ibid. 134.

³ The word ‘memory’ is the noun form entailing one of the basic concepts behind the study. ‘Remembering’, the verb form of the same is understood as the action that exercises the power of memory. As ‘forgetting’ is used in its verb form, ‘remembering’ is used similarly. Remembering is studied as a part of memory studies. Depending on the form of word required (verb or noun), remembering or memory is used respectively.

Modern urban landscapes under the influence of ceaseless development and change, has developed a trend to view architecture as ‘products’, rather than to understand them as elements that are deeply integrated within systems of both social (-spatial, -material, -cultural and -symbolic) and morphological configurations. But to understand how inhabitants of an urban space engage with remembering and forgetting both actively (as participants) and passively (as viewers) calls for an interesting, imaginative and interdisciplinary investigative pattern. To understand and search for ways of combining different aspects in order to investigate the interplay between architecture, remembering and forgetting, is made feasible within this work through theoretical and empirical endeavours.

Noting at the commencement of this work that architecture acts as an agent that aids the performance of memory (remembering) and forgetting through its presence (one that embodies certain parameters), rather than being a specific construct of remembering or forgetting,⁴ this thesis hypothesis that architecture does not transmit a specific meaning, but instead certain characteristics encourages interaction to enable production and performance of remembering and forgetting contributing to its making as an auratic contact zone.

⁴ For examples Assmann states, when constructed with a specific purpose ‘to remember’, it is the presence of such elements that encourage the act of remembering. This is inclusive of structures that are built with the intention to retain a specific memory of the past, such as memorials, museums, monuments and archives. Assmann quoted in Duidam, *Performing urban memory: The façade of the Hollandsche Schouwburg: theater, site of terror, site of memory*.

Chapter 1

Project Conception, Context and Structure

1.1 Framing the problem

I convince myself that nothing has ever existed of all that my deceitful memory recalls to me.

- Descartes, *Meditations*⁵

We moderns have no memory at all.

- Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*⁶

Edward Casey opens his seminal work on *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* with the following: ‘we have not only forgotten what it is to remember- and what remembering is- but we have forgotten our own forgetting. So deep is our oblivion of memory that we are not even aware of how alienated we are from its ‘treasures’ and how distant we have become from its deliverances’.⁷ Commenting on man’s obsession with memory and his need to remember what is just beyond reach and that, which has no clear definition or recall, Casey outlines in a few words the difficulty of approaching ‘remembering’ or ‘memory’.

Though by definition, memory deals with past events and happenings, its murky framework, interpretations and its many mansions are a few of the reasons why it has held the fascination of philosophers, sociologists and researchers from

⁵ Descartes quoted in Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*. 1.

⁶ Yates, *The Art of Memory*. 2.

⁷ Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*.

various fields for centuries and continues to do so. The importance of the role of remembering or memory within the course of our lives is undeniable. It contributes cognitively to the making of a collective from a group of individuals, binds together attachment of place and objects (place-making), story telling and myths to name a few instances; all leading towards providing a narrative for a place and its inhabitants. The existence of 'memory' though ever prevalent in people's lives has come to be contained under various nomenclatures that appear to be distant from daily existence and hence always out of reach and out of possible definition.

Though arguably forms of memory are many and varied both in conception and the way they are acted out or upon, what should be noted right at the start of the work is that memory or remembering here is read along with its counterpart - forgetting. The arguments about/ for/ against memory in relation to built space are many, but the main point of disagreement remains that forgetting in the process of studying memory is forgotten.⁸ In order not to succumb to the lure of memory (without forgetting) in relation to built form, within this thesis, the study both independently and interdependently hopes to appease this tension. The working framework becomes that if the performance of remembering is possible through built space then forgetting can also take place and in some cases simultaneously so.⁹

In this thesis there is an attempt made to understand built objects as medium through which to understand, observe and perform memory or remembering and question forgetting. Building on the hypothesis that built form in many ways is a marker and a cultural fragment that provides not just a zone of contact but also gives insights into various urban processes such as transformations, attachment to space and selective retention of urban fabric. The work studies architecture or sites within the city where the work of the faculties of remembering and forgetting may be observed to understand inception, growth and transformation of various parts of the city.

⁸ For example, Adrian Forty states in his work '...Had architects paid more attention to these warnings and acknowledged more readily that perhaps, after all, architecture is and always has been above all an art of forgetting, their experiments with 'memory' might have proved more successful. Had they recognized that whatever mnemonic potential buildings may have, 'memory' only becomes interesting through its struggle with forgetfulness, then the representation of collective memory might have become more meaningful. ... is that any art practice aspiring to deal with memory can only do so by taking into account what memory struggles in vain to resist. An art cannot deal with memory without also confronting forgetting'. Forty and Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*. 16.

⁹ This is explored more fully in the theoretical sections of this thesis. Refer Chapter No. 2

The material aspect of the city in both its physical and symbolic presence is invested with much meaning both by the makers of the space and the inhabitants of the same space. In some cases, neighbourhoods, buildings, monuments and sites of importance are placed in judicious locations so as to express certain well-articulated forethought and in others to embody popular sentiments of the space's inhabitants. The workings of collective remembering and forgetting can be explored through these sites of importance to emphasise upon the role remembering and forgetting play in the economic, social and cultural metamorphosis of the city. The 'work' of remembering or forgetting around these places or buildings in a continuously changing time-space matrix can offer a window into the continuously changing culture of cities.

Working with mental faculties implies that the questions asked are context dependent and subjective to interpretation, for example: who does the remembering/ forgetting, what is the context, where is this done and what does it work for or against? Driven by the surrounding built framework in social contexts (communities), the work aims to understand not just the representations of the past but to use the built form to understand collective remembering, forgetting and transformation of the same.

Hannah Arendt argues that the reality and reliability of the human world rests primarily on the fact that we are surrounded by things more permanent than the activity by which they were produced.¹⁰ Brick and stone though may not have voices and passions for themselves, but the stories that they have to tell speak through the people who inhabit that space and behaviours that surround a specific location. Keeping in mind Arendt's theory of the attachment to physical objects that are constructed by human labour, then markers of memory must be everywhere in the city. They are buried in language and dialect, found on commemorative plaques, on buildings and battlefields; etched into automobiles license plates and woven through the city's visual and literary cultures. Markers of memory are also powerfully encoded into popular cultural practices - sports teams, local bands and theatre groups and the buildings that have housed these activities.¹¹

But to even start such a journey, one that appears conjectural between a

¹⁰ Arendt, *The Human Condition: A study of the Central Dilemma Facing Modern Man*. 95-96.

¹¹ Anouk Belanger through research conducted within sites in Montreal address the notions of urban change and attachment, framing it within the context of urban memory. Bélanger, 'Urban Space and Collective Memory: Analysing the Various Dimensions of the Production of Memory'.

strong theoretical base and empirical examples, and to work with the hypothesis one has to find a way to bridge various umbrellas of research. The feasibility and success of such a study lies in establishing a framework that is inclusive of various research and theoretical paradigms, that enables the study of an empirical case. Using the theories of Lefebvre, Rossi, Halbwachs, Forty and Choay (to name a few), the thesis undertakes a route to develop a relevant matrix that provides the necessary guidance to understand where the conjunction between theory and empirical lie.

As the brief introduction to the work highlights the interplay between architecture-remembering-forgetting is a complex phenomena that requires the rooting of the relationship between the three in theory prior to constructing a working framework and the explorations of empirical examples. Before moving on to theoretical chapters within the thesis, this section explores the overall aims of the work, general methodologies used and contexts of the empirical cases. Concluding with the structure of the thesis diagrammatically to increase the readability of the work, the sections aims to clarify goals of the work conducted.

1.2 Context: theoretical and empirical

Each of the individual elements within the study; architecture, remembering and forgetting, are established topics of research, with their own nomenclature, theories and frames of study. As this study critically engages with the debate concerning how architecture or built form actively plays a role in aiding the performance of the act of remembering (memory) and forgetting, it is necessary to understand their roots of development, and how and where they come to overlap.

Within the context of globalization and the metaphorical ‘shrinking’ (in terms of time and space) there are many questions that come to the forefront, the most pressing one being the need to both re-image and re-imagine the city, its fabric and the response of the fabric to constant change. Using built form as a ‘marker’ to understand the constant notion of change that surrounds us, speaks of not just how remembering and forgetting take place through this arena, but also the need to literally, physically and metaphorically hold on to certain spaces of importance.

Working through the development of memory studies, the coming of architecture into this framework and the recognition of the relevance of forgetting within urban form, this thesis proceeds by developing each of these topics through relevant literature and their interconnections.

The field of memory is studied from its inception to growth into an interdisci-

plinary field that encompasses the urban environment as one of the facets wherein to study the question of remembering. Studying the development of collective memory, the necessity and role of spatial framework, the theoretical framework works towards developing relevant literature needed to analyse empirical cases. Forgetting on the other hand is read as the ever present ‘other’ to memory, whose questioning within urban form has led to the re-working of traditional depictions of memory/ remembering within urban form.

Architecture is read and observed as a mnemonic and commemorative platform, that acts as a marker and material witness contributing to notions of representation, individual and social identity; thereby expanding upon architecture’s traditional definitions. The role of architecture as aide-mémoire has been long debated with strong points of contentions on all sides¹² of the debate (Halbwachs, Benjamin, Anderson, Ricoeur, Boyer, Forty etc.).¹³

Apart from working through this interplay, the other focus of this work is to witness, understand, catalogue and develop a framework that enables the studying of diverse performances of memory (remembering)/ forgetting within urban environments. By building on certain attributes of urban form and behaviours, the framework based on various theoretical paradigms is used to recognise sites of potential performances. As this framework development is the method the thesis employs to test the hypothesis, it is to be viewed as an important step in the direction of answering the questions raised.

Using this opportunity to observe such interplay, especially one that integrates theory and empirical studies, the thesis through the developed framework tries and brings together different axis under which the hypothesis of such interplay and the framework can be tested. During the time of building the thesis, it was decided that the viability of such a framework creation would be best tested under different contexts, situations and urban morphologies. This being one of the primary reasons for selecting sites in different countries and contexts. Expanding on the two empirical cases briefly below:

¹² For the role that architecture can play as aide-mémoire in an environment and against this definition for support, questioning the role of architecture and memory, example Forty.

¹³ For more details on research and theory on memory and architecture please refer: Anderson, *Memory in Architecture/Erinnerung in der Architektur.*, Benjamin, *Illuminations.*, Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments.*, Halbwachs, *Space and the Collective Memory.*, ---, *On Collective Memory.*, Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space.*, Lynch, *What Time Is This Place.*, ---, *The Image of the City*, Ricoeur et al., *Memory, History, Forgetting*, Rossi, *The Architecture of the City.*

1) *The production of space and the performance of memory (remembering)/ forgetting on a macro/ urban level.*

The city of Bangalore, India is used as platform to understand, catalogue and develop a framework that enables the study of performance of memory and forgetting on an urban level. Using the oldest quarter in the city and its neighbouring zones as a keystone to trace these performances through certain characteristics of urban forms and regimes (architectural roots and its transformations), attachments and rituals in space, and tactics of remembrance associated with these spaces and overall morphology, this section aides in developing a framework for this type of empirical study.

2) *The performance of memory (remembering) / forgetting on a micro/ object level.*

The Stari Most or the Old Bridge in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina presents an urban palimpsest that is opportune to study object/ representation through remembering and forgetting, testing the hypothesis through an object level intervention.

Focusing on the creation of a framework that enables this type of study, the thesis aims to bring forward relevant literature, theories and empirical examples that attest's to the creation of such frameworks. Through this attempt the thesis aims that various urban environments can be studied to understand the performances of remembering and forgetting, establishing characteristics of architecture that support such performances and also sites of importance within these environments.

1.3 Aim and research questions

Based on theoretical explorations and qualitative fieldwork, the aim of this thesis is to explore the much-debated relationship between architectural/ urban form, remembering and forgetting. Critically investigating the relationships on a theoretical as well as a practice based platform to elucidate the existence of the relationships between man and his built surroundings; this thesis hopes to contribute and deepen our understandings of the influences that architecture or built form has on the making of everyday relationships through the presence/ absence of the built fabric that surround us.

With the broad aim of finding a way to study these processes in various con-

texts, the thesis proposes a framework or matrix that can aide a study of this nature. The tools used to develop such a study are theoretical, empirical and qualitative in their approach, that lead to insights within the selected case studies.

Four main research questions become the guiding structure of the present study:

- 1) *How to study and identify the performance of memory and forgetting in dynamic urban environments? Can a framework be developed that enables such a study by identifying markers and elements where such a performances take place?*

To elaborate: Remembering and forgetting are processes that affect the making of attachment, identity and place making within an urban environment. To study these processes and their effects there is need to understand the many facets of remembering or forgetting and the frameworks under which they can be observed and studied. By building a framework based on various theoretical paradigms that identifies the various facets of remembering and forgetting, and also the manifestations of social practises on urban form, certain characteristics of architecture can be identified as enabling and encouraging such encounters.

- 2) *How does architecture aide in the performing of the act of remembering/forgetting?*

To elaborate: Architecture cannot 'remember' or forget' nor does the city. It is in the act of exchange between people and buildings does architecture support the performance of either remembering or forgetting. What are the frameworks and the characteristics of architecture within which this performance is initiated?

- 3) *How does the studying of memory and forgetting enable an understanding of transformations on social and cultural levels (in the cases of both macro and micro levels)? Does transformation of form imply transformation of remembering/ forgetting?*

To elaborate: Within a city/ society of constant change, how does change to the urban fabric reflect certain shifts within political cli-

mates, social needs and cultural changes? Do these shifts imply changes to collective memory or forgetting?

4) *How can answers from the above questions deepen the existing knowledge on relationships between man and space/ built objects?*

To elaborate: How can this study (that is an agglomeration of various notions of attachment, memory, forgetting) play a prudent role in contributing to the existing literature on architectural practices? If so how relevant is the same in the making of place/ identity and form?

The study seeks to add to the knowledge on architecture and the role it plays in everyday life by deepening both empirical and theoretical insights into the field. Taking the approach of creating a dynamic framework that helps ascertain specific characteristics of architecture that encourages various interplays (here remembering and questioning of forgetting), the thesis proposes a method to study the urban environment. Further, the contribution is hopefully not limited to the researched case, but the theory and framework developed within this study will have an illustrative value beyond the studied cases.

1.4 Research strategy

As the current work borders on various fields (architectural theory, memory studies, forgetting and social studies) it is near impossible to find a singular umbrella or analytical model under which the relationship between the various phenomena can be successfully explained. The idea of this work is not to fill the many gaps that exist in the respective fields but to propose a system that can manoeuvre between the obstacles that each field presents. The advantage of this study is that it lies in the interjection of various fields and hence theories from these fields can inform each other and ‘fill in gaps’, thereby evolving into a matrix of study that approaches various questions and tries to answer them.

The idea to approach the work in three sections (theoretical, analytical bridge and empirical case studies) was due to the interdisciplinary nature of the study. By dividing the thesis into sections, the possibility of each section drawing from the preceding one made it feasible for the empirical data to draw from the foundations of the theory used. Below I discuss briefly the development of each of these sections

and the creation of the framework for the study.

Within the theoretical section, the literature enables the formations of analytical concepts and also an interpretative framework that allows space for an investigation and understanding of the complex subject. Discussions of texts by Lefebvre, Rossi, Halbwachs and Forty¹⁴ will be used to provide important insights for the various dimensions of this interplay and also to guide the analytical bridge that forms the basis of the empirical investigations. By concentrating on urban theories that are structural in their roots, the possibility to study the interplay between various aspects (characteristics) of an urban environment opens up. By combining complimentary theories and literature the addressing of the interplay between architecture/ remembering/ forgetting is facilitated. Within the theoretical chapters I discuss the following:

- 1) Focusing on the development of the field of memory studies, to get an outline of the scope of work and the field in question.
- 2) The growth of the field of memory studies to encompass the role of architecture / urban environment. Focusing on literature that supports the interplay between architecture and memory, as a basis of understanding space and its inhabitants.
- 3) Working with forgetting as the counter of memory, building to support that memory and forgetting act in unison. Development of the concept of counter-memorials to understand and question forgetting within the urban environment.

From these theories and Choay's¹⁵ work who was instrumental in understanding morphology and meaning, a conceptual 'toolbox' or 'matrix' is created as a bridge between the theoretical and empirical sections is developed. This matrix focuses on the creation of a framework whose purpose is to facilitate various theoretical understandings intermingled with architectural analysis. This 'matrix' is used as a basis and guide to the empirical work by outlining features that help identify the interplay.

¹⁴ Using the following works to provide a basis for the theoretical framework: Lefebvre, *The Production of Space.*, Rossi, *The Architecture of the City.*, Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory.*, Forty and Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting.*

¹⁵ Choay, *Urbanism & Semiology.*

Within the empirical section, the case studies that are carried out are in two specific levels, one is an urban level study (Bangalore, India) that traces architectural transformation in terms of structural elements, morphological systems and iconographical/ symbolic transformations in contrast to a object level study of Stari Most, Mostar, BiH that traces individual socio-spatial practises and predispositions. By combining various theories I intend to study how observable architectural-memory-forgetting associations (attachments) interrelate.

Given my academic and professional background, I found it to be a logical conclusion to use architectural analysis as both a starting point and a base. Therefore, within the methodological discussions, the focus will be to develop an architectural analysis/tool that works as a basis for the analysis on architectural- remembering-forgetting interplay. Dictated by both theoretical training and practical experience, what will come across within the discussion will be predominantly rooted in a structural tradition of studying space and form leading to an architectural analytical framework of study.

1.4.1 *Architectural Research*

Focusing on various methodologies within architectural research, Groat & Wang develop an interpretive –historical strategy that is embedded within an overall research plan and techniques that are rooted in qualitative strategies. By combining theory and empirical frameworks, Groat & Wang develop a system that is a starting point of this work.

Interpretive research, Wang defines as investigations into social-physical phenomena within complex contexts with a view towards explaining these phenomena in a narrative form and a holistic fashion.¹⁶ Using this as one of the frameworks to support the architectural analysis within this work, the methodology followed was dictated by what is developed by them:

- 1) Data or Evidence:

Collection of relevant data from various sources ranging from newspapers, blogs, records, archives and building sites

- 2) Identification and Organisation

Using this as the step to check sources, facts through note-taking, field observa-

¹⁶ Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*. 136.

tions.

3) Evaluation

Description of the event/ observation, analysis and assessment.

4) Narration

The story to be told

As the work focuses on the creation of a framework to analyse and observe performance of remembering and forgetting within urban environments, for the case study the dominant research strategy that was incorporated was an interpretive – historical approach complimented by the system developed by Choay. The system developed by Groat & Wang is predominantly qualitative that involves evaluation and interpretation of available data at every step.¹⁷

Within this approach there was enough room to combine approaches developed by Choay, leading to an interpretive umbrella for the case studies.

1.4.2 Data collection methods

For all research cases the following general research methodologies were applied:

Observation and Field Documentation

‘You can tell a lot about a city by looking’ writes Allan Jacobs as the opening line to *Looking at Cities*,¹⁸ which forms the guiding idea behind the data collection for both the case studies.

In the case of the urban study, the idea was to select within a large urban setting, small case study pockets as samples that could provide a platform for observing the role of architecture in supporting the performance of memory or forgetting. Within this framework, the workings of the city’s historical roots that influence the current climate of architecture became a starting point.

Observation and documentation of these case study pockets was undertaken using methods of qualitative data collection. Field sketches, extensive photography

¹⁷ Wang is specific when he writes that ‘interpretation is active regardless of whether the task is evidence gathering, evaluation or narration. Furthermore... the components of interpretive research are not contained in discrete ‘phases’, but go in parallel much of the time. Ibid. 138.

¹⁸ Jacobs, *Looking at Cities*. 1.

with over 1000 photographs of the areas were collected over various periods of time for the basis of the study areas. Jacobs also states that with regard to collection and perceiving what one sees as ‘different people see and interpret what they see in different ways, depending on a host of variables’.¹⁹ Hence, here the data collected was seen through the eyes of the role architecture played in fostering performances of memory/ commemoration/ identity/ forgetting. Visiting the case study areas for field work at different times of the day with a focus to understand the transformation of the physical space was one of the most useful and important steps that was taken in the direction of data collection.

The monument study was selected after careful considerations of the role of the structure in the urban scape of Mostar, BiH. Its role in the historical development of the city as site of commemoration and reconstruction led to defining of behaviours and attachments with the structure through empirical work carried out in the city of Mostar and literature studies. Documentation through sketches and interviews in various seasons was undertaken to establish behaviours around the space. As with the urban study, sketches, photo documentation, and video collections were undertaken forming an archive for this work.

Document collection

In both the case studies, documents were collected during the fieldwork period. These included UNESCO documents, newspaper articles, marketing material from tour operators and journals that were used to record thoughts, interviews during the fieldwork.

Archival Methods

What remained, as a constant thought was the understanding that the urban form as it appears in present times was the result of various conditions and processes both from within the city and those that were introduced from outside of its boundaries. With both the cases being markedly different in their contexts, formed pockets of testing grounds that helped in understanding the phenomena of remembering and forgetting.

With the urban study, changes in urban population and new economies intro-

¹⁹ Ibid. 11.

duced to urban form not just new technologies and spatiality but also new ways of relating to space. To a large degree, the current form of the city had to accommodate the presence of strong pasts that were social, political and economic in production. To understand these shifts in form, what proved useful were the resources of historic maps, planning documents and census data. This helped to not just locate the contemporary city within the context from which it evolved, but also gave a glimpse into how the city has evolved on various other aspects such as social, architectural and economic.

The monument case study proved to be not just different but was also more challenging as the situation was one that was harder to comprehend and hence needed much longer to understand. Understanding the city and situating the case study in the context of a complex and difficult history was an uphill task. But this facilitated the case study analysis on the scope of the different roles that a single monument can play on the levels of the historical, social, a site of reconciliation on political fronts and as a tourist attraction. The use of historical maps, planning documents, history of its construction/ destruction/reconstruction, photographs led to establishing the emphasis that a structure can have on the lives of inhabitant of the place.

What must be acknowledged is that like all representative material, historical inputs offer but a brief view of how the city was. In both the cases, the material of collection has been affected by periods of occupation; hence, it was important to understand not just what could be read from the data collected but also read between the lines of the data available to discern the various spatial stories.

1.5 Central concepts and delimitations

Three concepts play a central role in this study: architectural form, memory/ remembering and forgetting.

Process of remembering and forgetting are read as hermeneutic process that can play a definitive role in the interpretation of architecture as more than just built form. Architecture, which can be interpreted as a response to the current situation in social settings based on factors such as economy, need and social stature is under constant transformation and threats. If architecture behaves as a social construct, the presence of certain spaces support the enactment of memory and forgetting is questioned through the absence of certain spaces or by transformations.

Along with remembering and forgetting (and architecture), transformation forms a fourth added concept that deems necessary to capture the manifold strategies

that dictate the interpretation of architecture also as a hermeneutic process.

Architecture within this thesis is read as an aid to various performances within a society. To understand architecture as one of the elements that support various social and mental processes, a framework needs to be developed that can clarify what are the characteristics that enable such encounters. The nature of this framework must be dynamic and versatile to accommodate theory and empirical data.

Within the study, the delimiting factor was the scale of the theories, vastness of the literature available and the subjective nature of the work. To overcome this drawback, a frame/ boundary was created to work within a specific realm by focusing on select theories; the study restricts itself to the criteria posed by the theories.

1.6 Expanding on the empirical cases

1.6.1 Criteria for selection

As outlined in Section 1.1 (Context), the aim to develop a framework that could possibly act as guide in answering the proposed questions is to be read as one of the main objectives of the thesis. As this framework development is based on various characteristics of an urban environment that include morphology, traditions, behaviours, social structures, rituals etc., it became pertinent to test the viabilities of the selection criteria. As a neutral and objective tool the framework development had to be tested to attest to its empirical application.

To do so, it was necessary to find sites that could potentially act as testing grounds on various levels of application such as urban or singular object level. The criteria for this choice was based on diversity of location, urban morphology, various regimes within urban form, varied cultural, behavioural and social settings. As the sites had to be feasible to conduct such a study, it was necessary to establish locations that were accessible, had adequate contacts and were sufficiently diverse from each other.

Thus the selected cases reflect these variances, but also have commonalities in terms of occupation of urban space, various religiosities and traditional forms of behaviours. Though certain similarities can be marked out, the two selected locations should not be seen as connected to each other. Instead be read, as distinct sites that form testing grounds for the framework and give insights into the research questions and frameworks that enable the understanding of memory, cultural behaviours and role of architecture. Below I expand briefly on details about the case study areas.

1.6.2 *Details on selected sites*

Macro or Urban level analysis: Bangalore, India

Case: Bangalore, India

Within the framework of internationalisation and globalisation, cities can be visualised as global players where urban space is continuously reinvented to accommodate new needs within its framework. With developing cities such as Bangalore, a paradox arises as they are caught in a 'double-bind'; the need to be 'world-class' is caught within the tangles of its traditionalistic framework (this being with respect to not only Indian cities). Though there is a need to preserve, sustain and elevate one's distinctiveness, the need to prove the city's 'internationalisation' takes equal precedence, if not more.

Over the last few decades, there has been a growing interest on cities in the Asian region, to understand not just the rate of development but also the repercussion of such fast paced developments. Within the South Asian context studies have tended to focus on the role of the IT (Information Technology) companies, booming BPO's, gated communities but less on the price that the fabric of the city has paid to sustain this development.²⁰

A city where the urban area has doubled in last two decades, there is a constant threat faced by the city's collective memory and built form/ fabric. Studying these urban level changes and responses to the pressures faced gives an insight not just into the changing face of the city's built fabric but also its changing identity. The constant demolition or 'refurbishing' of the city's historical layer has happened over the last decades as a response to both changing demographics and as a response to global demands and the city's need to fit into a predefined stereotype.

In anticipating for a new 'global' utopian future, the city that was the basis of collective memory is disappearing. Under the influence of constant transformations the city has been forced or rather chosen to both re-image and re-imagine itself, which can be seen and experienced through the urban form of the city. Using the notion of everyday memory that is built into common settings (through the built form) and situations, this case study proposes to examine how various parts of the city are

²⁰ Please refer: Stallmeyer, *Architecture and Urban Form in India's Silicon Valley: A Case Study of Bangalore.*, Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century.* Richardson and Bae, *Globalization and Urban Development.*, Ravindra, *Urban Land Policy: A Metropolitan Perspective.*

remembered contributing to both historical processes and the making of identity of these spaces.

The performance of remembering and forgetting are discussed using the old city quarter and two other sites within the city, which fall into the postcolonial section of the city. All these sites actively engage with the performance of memory (and forgetting) through architecture and enable the understanding of changing urban memory.

Micro/ Object Level Analysis

Case: The Old Bridge/ Stari Most; Mostar, Bosnia Herzegovina

A singular structure as a site of importance and a cultural fragment of a glorious past, rebuilt to its exact proportions before its ill fated demolitions speaks volumes on the difference in approach to both remembering and forgetting through built form. A historic monument's transformation into the symbol of the city, its destruction and its reconstruction not as a bridge but as a monument to itself, speaks of a many layered urban element and works of memory/ forgetting.

A site marked by personal relations and attachments for the city of Mostar is used to explore notions of attachment to form versus the role the same plays in forgetting certain parts of the past.

Taking a qualitative narrative approach to elucidate the role that cultural fragments play in daily urban life, the Old Bridge becomes the stage to understand monuments, nostalgia, fiction and counter-monuments; and the performance of memory and forgetting.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is organised in two sections, theoretical (Part 1) and empirical (Part 2). The use of diverse theories and literatures in the first chapters and the use of empirical material (architectural survey, archival research and interviews) is to be read as an interrelated and comparably significant directions that are taken for the investigation for the interrelation of architecture and memory interplay in urban transformations.

Within the theoretical chapters (Chapters 2-3) I look to discuss concepts that are analytical and offer interpretive frames in understanding various interactions between remembering/ forgetting and architecture. As there are clear divisions between

the theoretical and the empirical, each section comes with an introduction and summary.

- 1) In chapters 2.1-2.2, I explore the different theoretical perspectives on memory and space. The focus of this chapter is to examine various approaches for the understanding of the role that memory plays in urban life.
- 2) In chapters 2.3-2.4, the basis of memory production is broadened to include architecture's role and the makings of urban memory. Leading towards an approach for the analysis of the role of both architecture and memory.
- 3) Chapter 2.5, focuses on the questioning of forgetting within urban form and ways to discern the same.
- 4) As a prelude to the Framework development in Chapter 3; Chapter 2.6, discusses various theoretical approaches of Lefebvre and Rossi whose theories/systems form the basis of the framework.

As a bridge between the theory and the empirical sections, a system of analysis is developed in Chapter 3 stemming from the works of Choay, Lefebvre and Rossi. The framework is built to help identify possible sites and characteristics within an urban environment that aid this type of interplay.

- 5) In the second part (Chapters 4 & 5) I will present empirical cases to test the hypothesis on a macro (urban) and micro (object) level. By way of a two part empirical study, the thesis presents the possibility to test the framework on different locations and contexts. By working with distinct layers, the interplay of architecture, remembering, forgetting can be observed on various sites to understand relevance, attachment and what the performance entails.
- 6) In chapter 4, I will investigate how general architectural characteristics (urban level) of the city of Bangalore, India has historically developed and the sudden transformation of the city is connected to new memory productions. I focus here on aspects of architectural systems and spaces that were once the binding agent for urban life in the city that are both under threat and face rapid transformation.
- 7) In chapter 5, I investigate pattern and practises of architectural and iconographical developments with respect to the Stari Most in Mostar. Focusing here on the notions of attachment and identity on a monument level that relates to architectural form and features contributing to the discussion on places where the change in the urban façade is related not to rapid transition but threats faced by divisions in society and war. This is discussed through

not just an architectural study but supported by patterns of experience and interviews conducted with the residents of the place.

- 8) In chapter 6, I look at features that form a connecting line between architecture, space and forms of remembering and forgetting. As the levels of study are interconnected by the theme of relating to space, the formation of the matrix can behave as a guide to understanding of spaces and the role they play in a changing environment. By summarizing each section and also an overall summary, the thesis concludes with observations aided by interdisciplinary research.

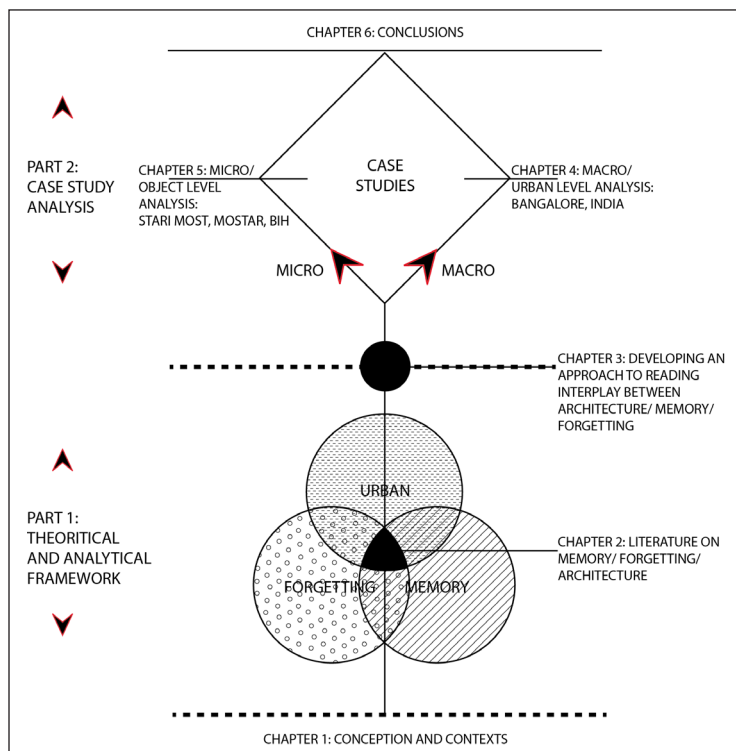


Figure 1: Diagram of structure of the thesis

Part 1

Theoretical And Analytical Framework

To answer the research questions, the thesis takes the route of tracing the relationship between architecture-remembering-forgetting and establishing a framework that can be applied onto empirical cases. By developing the field of study and necessary arguments that support this relationship, Part 1 expands on various theories and debates that are helpful to the argument and the framework.

Chapter 2

Searching within Theoretical Landscapes

2.1 Introduction

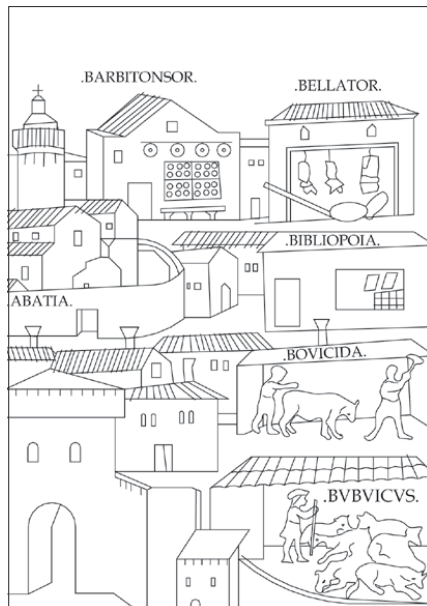


Figure 2.1: Memory Palaces.

(Source: http://www.gutenberg-e.org/kirkbride/detail/romberch_city.html)

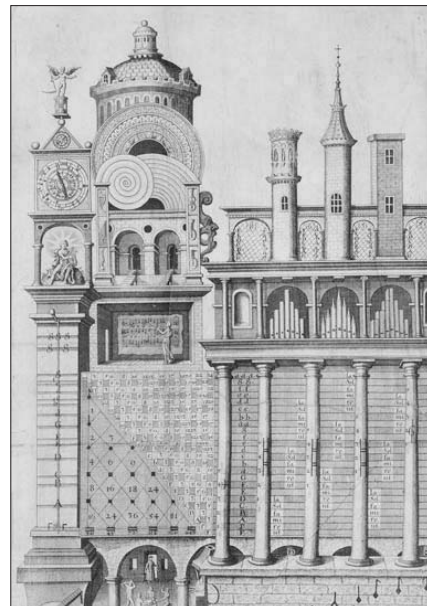


Figure 2.2: Memory Palace, Robert Fludd.

(Source: <http://poisonandvision.wordpress.com/2011/09/29/>)

Memory Palaces are loci that use an imagined architecture to structure a speech that is based on associations with places/ objects or even symbols. A form of spatialized association. They were the first explorations of direct association between

form and remembering. Writes Frances Yates, quoting Quintilian:

In order to form a series of places in memory, he says, a building is to be remembered, as spacious and varied as one as possible, not omitting statues and other ornaments with which the rooms are decorated. The images by which the speech is to be remembered—as an example of these Quintilian says one may use an anchor or a weapon—are then placed in imagination on the places, which have been memorised in the building. This done, as soon as the memory of the facts requires to be revived, all these places are visited in turn and the various deposits demanded of their custodians.²¹

Frances Yates reintroduced a generation of researchers to forms of memory palaces in the nineteen seventy's. Similarly Calvino's dialogues between Marco Polo and Kublai Khan in *Invisible Cities*²² generated interest among architects and students, for whom the book acted as a basis of design. Influenced by the metaphorically bridging of architecture to various imagined and real factors fascinated students and practitioners alike. Opening this brief introduction to Chapter 2 with one of the final exchanges between the two protagonists gives a perfect setting to discuss the attachment individuals and collective have to place:

'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 in 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'.

Here the belief in this paragraph is to connect with one's own 'Venice', a search for a sense of familiarity within an unfamiliar surrounding. Within the built

²¹ Yates, *The Art of Memory*.

²² Calvino, *Invisible Cities*. 77-78.

environment, the search for attachment, place making and familiarity have been studied under various umbrellas. But architecture's dealing with memory and forgetting is one that has been approached through a sense of objective detachment and subjective attachment by various researchers, philosophers and architectural theorists in the last decades.

As Bastea writes in the introduction to *Memory and Architecture*, 'architecture can transform words, needs and desires into space. It can capture fleeting or insistent memories into tangible, buildable or unbuildable forms. Architecture provides the stage on which we can enact our lives. Memory, however creates a special relationship with space, holding on to the essence of it, the best and the worst, letting the rest of the details fade into grey'.²³ As researchers/ scholars/ architects there is a constant dialogue and attempt being made between culture/ form/ space/ memory and architecture, to understand the role of form and physical space within the realm of socio-culture and beyond.

Built space can in many ways become the basis of many narratives with respect to not just the local surroundings but also a social construct that help with day-to-day activities. Our collective and individual history is bound to time, which is an accepted and well-researched notion; what has been introduced over the last decades is that collective history and memory is bound to space as well. The past is read through the traces on a given landscape when engaged with these traces or creation of a dialogue with these traces allows the reader to discover various facets of that society.

Architectural theorist Frances Downing in her book *Remembrance and the Design of Place* writes about the difficulty of penning down the relationship between place and the experience of memory:

I began to realize that the design of my research would force an analytic tracing of general relationships among the interviewee's memorable places. Although this was, in fact, my aim and the things that I discovered were extremely useful, I couldn't 'record' the holistic content of memorable experience as it presented itself to the consciousness of each participant. Slowly it dawned on me that somehow I was missing the power of the act of remembrance as I pursued more analytical concerns about memory. I realised, too, that capturing this elusive quality and translating it into words that conveyed the content of in-sight would be a complex undertaking indeed. It is only indirectly, then, that I can refer to the acts of remembrance I

²³ Bastéa, *Memory and Architecture*. 1.

witnessed.²⁴

Keith Basso continues on a similar line but opens the foray into how memories can be interpreted and reinterpreted by both individuals and societies for place making, connections to the past and building shared spaces points out the following:

Building and sharing place-worlds ... is not only a means of reviving former times but also of revising them, a means of exploring not merely how things might have been but also how, just possibly, they might have been different from what others supposed.... [F]or what people make of their places is closely connected to what they make of themselves as members of society and inhabitants of the earth, and while the two activities may be separable in principle, they are deeply joined in practice. If place-making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine.²⁵

Both the difficulty of reading and analysing these traces through Downing and the connections to place by individuals or collectives from Basso's quote highlight the precarity of attachment to space and methods to read them. The emphasis on the built environment as enabling and encouraging attachment to place though an established area of study, the methods to study them are fraught with discrepancies. Architectural theorists for decades have been researching on the difficulties of describing the relationship between space and inhabitants in a coherent and objective manner. As the readings of remembering and forgetting are connected inherently to place making and attachment (as they are one of the contributing factors), this thesis takes the route of trying to find the characteristics of architecture that make this reading possible.

After a brief introduction to attachments in space, within this chapter there is an attempt made to embed memory and forgetting and architecture within a theoretical framework. Understanding where the field takes its roots and how it develops/ how it developed, and most importantly, build an analysis that can support the case studies that follows the theory. Broken into sections of development of the field of memory studies, the coming of architecture into the framework followed by urban memory and forgetting. Considering that forgetting is read as the 'other' of

²⁴ Downing, *Remembrance and the Design of Place*. 9.

²⁵ Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*. 6.

remembering, what is presented here is the coming of architecture into the realm of forgetting through the presence of counter monuments and urban transformations.

These steps are taken to explore the complexity of the field and the necessity to work through a multitude of layers before developing a framework that behaves as a guideline for the case studies.

2.2 Development of memory studies

It is not men in general who think, or even isolated individuals who do the thinking, but men in certain groups who have developed a particular style of thought...

Strictly speaking it is incorrect to say that the single individual thinks. Rather it is more correct to insist that he participates in thinking further what other men have thought before him.

- Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*²⁶

Memories, that is, continue to be memories, and it is their relation to lived historical experience that constitutes their specificity.

- Susannah Radstone, *An Introduction to Memory*²⁷

Working in the field of memory studies, especially that which concerns the city and associated memory is a terrain that many before have ventured into. It is what Andreas Huyssen and Jay Winters have respectively called as a ‘cultural obsession of monumental proportions’²⁸ and ‘memory boom’²⁹ in the late twentieth century, both in academia and in social life. The twentieth century’s obsession with memory lead to what was called as the ‘memory industry’, that played on exploiting the interest in memory studies. Pierre Nora called this as ‘we speak so much of memory because there is so little of it’,³⁰ where for him memory as a mode of being was revolutionised by the modern and the rational. In fact, some have raised the question of whether and how this situation is a contemporary practise of

²⁶ Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*. 3.

²⁷ Radstone, *Memory and Methodology*. 11.

²⁸ Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*.

²⁹ Winter, *The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the “Memory Boom” in Contemporary Historical Studies*.

³⁰ Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*.

‘remembering well’ may be conceived at all.³¹

So, how is the culture of memory to be defined? Before going into various theoretical postulations, this thesis works on the hypothesis that memory culture is an umbrella; an umbrella of many epochs that come together for the investigation of past remainders in the present. Memory is understood as ‘a text to be deciphered, not a lost reality to be rediscovered’.³² The overlapping of memory studies with various narratives ranging from the social to the psychological makes it one that is both a conscious and unconscious process. The complex and mediated relation that memory has with its narratives is what makes it’s investigation so invigorating, demanding and also subjective. These complex productions (memory and its overlapping processes) is shaped by diverse narratives and genres and replete with absences, silences, condensations and displacements that are related, in complex ways.³³

Within the framework of Western schools of thought memory is understood as a cognitive faculty that remains distinctive, yet has a profound influence on perception, imagination, recall and knowledge. Memory, albeit functions in diverse ways under many labels/ nomenclatures, it remains the primary capacity through which one retains information and reconstructs past experiences to help or aide in the functioning of the present; contributing to the ability of relating to long lost events and tracing different episodes in history. Affecting the notions of what makes one distinctive, a facet linked to personal identity.

Histories of memory’s vicissitudes emphasise the high value placed on memory by the ancient Greeks and the Romans.³⁴ In ancient Greece, memory was held in the highest esteem and rigorously trained.³⁵ For the Greeks, ‘Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory, was also the goddess of wisdom, the mother of the muses ... and therefore ... the progenitor of all the arts and sciences’, while the Romans placed memory at the heart of all teaching, learning and thought.³⁶ In the beginning of the last millennium writing was still regarded as a mere adjunct to memory.³⁷ It was memory, rather than writing, in which authority was vested,³⁸ and in the thirteenth

³¹ Sennett, *Disturbing Memories*.

³² King, ‘Autobiography as Cultural Memory: Three Case Studies’ . 62.

³³ Radstone, *Memory and Methodology*.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*. 11.

³⁶ Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*. vii.

³⁷ Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past*. 8-9.

³⁸ Smith, *Memory*.

century the value of the art of memory as shown in the work of Frances Yates.³⁹

The early twentieth century saw a preoccupation with the re-collective powers of the individual and memory, focusing on learning to differentiate between different forms of memory such as ‘habit memory’, ‘re-collective memory’, and ‘propositional memory’ by leading influential philosophers such as Henri Bergson,⁴⁰ and Bertrand Russell. Not only were the investigations of memory linked to the efforts needed to recall a particular event or history in present time but also the significance of the selected histories remembered. Re-collective memory, formed relationships between a long lost past and the present. In many ways the act of remembering has also been seen to play a role in creating a coherent and continuous narrative of identity and selfhood.⁴¹ Adding to the act of these temporal connections re-collective memory came to be associated with attachment to particular places as they help in the aiding in the act of remembering.

With questions of memory, the constant point of contention has remained with the ability to ‘remember well’; what is it to remember and the act of remembering itself?

There are a number of epistemological and cognitive questions that crop up when the term ‘memory’ or ‘remembering’ come to the foreground. The role of place in the act of remembering is one that has been questioned in many ways, the most important being the connection between the person who is recollecting and what is being recollected. This is where the seminal work of Frances Yates played an influential role. Her book titled *The Art of Memory*,⁴² explained the early connections between place and recollection. Though this work has no direct influence on the current dissertation, it is used to bring out the first forays into the realm of bridging together place and form with memory and the art of recollection.

During the same time, there was concern over shortcomings of memory and if the recollection could be tarnished by the workings of memory. For example Henri Bergson’s search for ‘pure memory’ and its linking to perception and contemplation, Freud’s psychoanalytical theory explored the concept of repressed memories through narrations or narrative reconstructions. Both these philosophers established

³⁹ Yates, *The Art of Memory*.

⁴⁰ Bergson, *Matter and Memory*.

⁴¹ Schechtman, *The Constitution of Selves*.

⁴² As the introduction to the chapter outlines, Frances Yates studied various writers and thinkers who explored the re-collective powers explored through from.

various workings of memory and recollection based not just on basic definitions and heuristics of memory but also on the pathologies of memory; both of them having immense influence within the discourse of memory studies till date.

The one philosopher who as a contemporary of both and was highly influenced by them was Walter Benjamin,⁴³ who examined the concept of memory not just in terms of consciousness but used the same to examine the historical conditions that existed in Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth century. For Walter Benjamin whose work was influential in turning the 'city' into providing various stimuli not just for remembering and memories, but also giving a critical insight into the ways of life that was sometimes hidden under many layers from the naked eye, comparing this illusion of hiding to the phantasmagorical spectacle.

For Walter Benjamin, his explorations with memory took place through the encounter with unusual and uncommon collection of objects or through outwardly trifling objects and fragments that could bring about a chance encounter with the past. The city and its ample fragments had abundant potential to provide the necessary stimuli for remembering and for encasing knowledge. With writers and philosophers like Benjamin and Siegfried Kracauer,⁴⁴ the city and urban life provided the stage through which the analysis of knowledge, recognition and recall could take place in relation to the individual and his surroundings. Also with Benjamin, the explorations between individual cognition (as a flâneur) and the interaction with social and historical conditions were explored at an urban level, introducing a new understanding of memory that was social, going beyond that of individual cognition.

This new understanding of memory to be 'social' had a double-edged function, one where memory was seen in terms of its social milieu and the other where to understand its collective domain. Though seen primarily as an individual faculty, this intervention of the 'social' brought about the first understandings of collective memory, and this mutual dependence set out the elucidating features through which the city and the nexus of memory are deliberated upon today.

The first to articulate such a social understanding of memory was Maurice Halbwachs, who was initially a student of Henri Bergson and later Durkheim's, from whom the social roots of collective memory arose. For Maurice Halbwachs, the perceptions that people had of themselves and of their pasts was constructed and

⁴³ Benjamin et al., *The Arcades Project*, Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ---, *Selected Writings*, Benjamin et al., *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 3: 1935-1938*.

⁴⁴ Kracauer and Levin, *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*.

shaped by their involvement in various social contexts and settings, leading him to say: 'it is individuals as group members who remember'.⁴⁵ For him individual memory was linked to collective memory, i.e. an individual's recollection is influenced by what surrounded him. Collective memory's distinction lay in that it was an entity that was shared, constructed by a group or society that contributed to the group's sense of uniqueness (identity) and continuity. Collective memory provided the framework for a social group's scope of both expectations and insight into experience, what Jan Assmann has termed as 'connective structure between the past and the present'.⁴⁶ Though seen as a representation of the past (one that has been socially and culturally constructed), it is sustained and transmitted in many different ways ranging from tradition, material objects to bodily practices and places.⁴⁷

The renewal of interest in memory and its manifestations took place in the middle of the twentieth century, says Andrews Huyssen. Though accounts of the precise periodization of memory's vicissitudes may vary, what seems indisputable is that contemporary societies appear fascinated by, if not 'obsessed by'⁴⁸ memory. Memory's contemporary resurgence with both a turning away from modernity's faith in progress and with a 'fevered' mnemonic response to the threat posed to memory by a postmodern world of instantaneity and electronic communications.⁴⁹ Huyssen understands the contemporary memory boom in relation to the disappearing boundaries between the past and the present, '(Memory) represents the attempt to slow down information processing, to resist the dissolution of time in the synchronicity of the archive, to recover a mode of contemplation outside the universe of simulation and fast-speed information and cable networks ...'.⁵⁰

Within the framework of this introduction, the aim was to place briefly the theory of memory from its development to contemporary interpretations. Tracing the coming of the idea of memory through the centuries, its fall from importance to its resurgence shows that memory works is interpreted differently under different conditions and times. In the current climate of memory studies the position that it occupies is doubly liminal. As Radstone expands on the status of memory after

⁴⁵ Halbwachs, *Space and the Collective Memory*. 48.

⁴⁶ Assmann, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity'. 125-133.

⁴⁷ Bodily practices, rituals and commemorations have been the subject of discourses from Connerton. Refer: Connerton, *How Societies Remember*.

⁴⁸ Hamilton, *The Knife Edge: Debates about Memory and History*. 10.

⁴⁹ Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 7.

its resurgent interest: it occupies the space between the extremes of post- 1960's cultural theory and an unproblematic belief in the 'constituted'. And the position of memory being that which cannot be completely defined due to the 'middle point' that it occupies in terms of the social and the individual, cognitive and the represented, subject versus the objective. The liminal position that memory occupies comes from not just all the above stated causes and reasons but also in the faith that what is remembered can be influential in what is transformed.

The hold of memory studies over the academic field in various forms is driven by the fact that memory (as an act of remembering) can trounce over repetition. Memory leaves traces in various forms, forms that when studied give insight not just into working of the mind but workings of society and community. In its various interpretable matrix that consist not just of elucidating traces but also of silences and disparate forms of forgetting, memory in this interpretation occupies the intermediary position or the liminal space that exists between its other 'forgetting' and transformation.

It is undeniable to say that 'memory is our core',⁵¹ that we are 'made of memories',⁵² that memories 'remind us of who we are',⁵³ hence the importance of one small word.

2.3 Remembering/ memory and architecture

We may live without her (architecture), and worship without her, but we cannot remember without her.

- John Ruskin, 1849⁵⁴

... in the city, memory begins where history ends.

- Peter Eisenman, Introduction to Architecture of the City⁵⁵

⁵¹ Butler, *Memory*.

⁵² Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*. 290.

⁵³ Guardian, *Memory*. 1993.

⁵⁴ Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*.

⁵⁵ Eisenman, *Introduction*. 3-11.

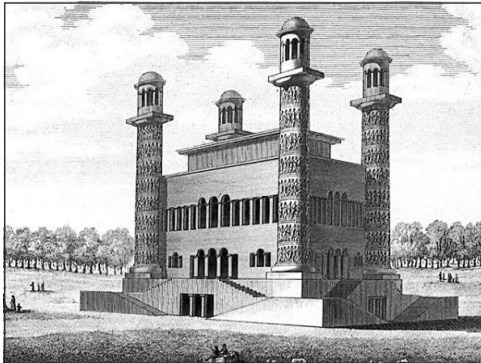


Figure 2.3: C N Ledoux. Temple de Memoire.

(Source: <http://expositions.bnf.fr/utopie/feuill/grand/ledoux/23vaa.htm>)

Remembering is like constructing and then travelling through a space. We are already talking about architecture. Memories are built as a city is built... and perhaps architecture has always wanted to be a theatre of memory. The Louvre is that. And so is the Trump Tower... it all depends on what you want to remember.
- Umberto Eco, *Architecture and Memory*, 1988⁵⁶

Architecture's oldest calling has always been that of commemoration; buildings project a sense of permanence and longevity that is associated not just with the makers of that space, but also a sense of projecting into the future or speaking with the past. It is in many ways the prolongation of social collective memory through the making of a space and its buildings. As Umberto Eco writes 'it could be said that architecture from its beginnings has been one of the way of fixing... to recall events we build monuments: exploits are recorded in stone, plaques, steles, obelisks and columns'.⁵⁷

The idea that architecture's longevity makes it ideal for the creation of what has been called as the 'intentional monument',⁵⁸ which can be used to prolong the expectancy of specific events providing the re-collective power that is needed to recall that particular event. This understanding that objects can contain memory within stems from Aristotle according to whom memory 'is like the imprint or drawing in us of things felt'⁵⁹ and by inference, forgetting is then the decay of the imprint. Within this Aristotelian tradition, if objects are equated to memory, their decay or ruination (the act of iconoclasm) is interpreted as forgetting.

⁵⁶ Eco, 'Architecture and Memory'. 94.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 89.

⁵⁸ Riegl, *The Modern Cult of Monument: Its Character and its Origin*.

⁵⁹ Aristotle quoted in Forty & Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*. Aristotle, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia: Aristotle on Memory*. 51.

The contemporary fascination of urbanists and architects with memory is dictated by the large number of works that use the metaphor of architecture and city as more than just built form. Starting with Frances Yates who explored the mnemonic qualities of architecture in the 1960's that lead to a rekindling of an association that was present for centuries.

To cite an example, the comparison of Rome to material/ thoughts that is accumulated in the human mind by Sigmund Freud who writes about the supposition if Rome was not a city but a manifestation of the mind, 'Now let us make the fantastic supposition that Rome were not a human dwelling-place, but a mental entity with just as long and varied a past history: that is, in which nothing once constructed had perished, and all the earlier stages of development had survived alongside the latest'.⁶⁰ Here the attempt is made to compress many layers of history into one that simultaneously exists in parallel, but Freud, realising the impossibility of the task also speaks of the futility of the attempt. Freud stresses also the difficulty of relationship between physical artefacts and the mental world, as the 'mental material was not subject to the same processes of decay as objects in the phenomenal world'.⁶¹

Discussions of Yates and Freud present two parallels about memory and place discussion. On one hand is the association of memory to object and place to remember and on the other the impossibility of the same. Though the Yates book reintroduced a new audience (as the book came out in the 1960's) to the 'art of memory' and 'memory palaces' the associations between memory and architecture were not as direct as the linking suggests. Memory has always been a field of intense philosophical debate, but the coming of memory into aesthetics and architecture took place only in the eighteenth century. Through the writings of Joseph Addison (who in turn was influenced by John Locke), writes during the early eighteenth century 'our imagination... leads us unexpectedly into cities or theatres, plains or meadows. ... when the fancy thus reflects on the scene that have past in it formerly, those, which were at first pleasant to behold, appear more so upon reflection, and that the memory heightens the delightfulness of the original'.⁶²

The coming of association of objects to memory direct or indirect was seen only in the nineteenth century, where Payne Knight explains,

As all the pleasures of the intellect arise from the association of ideas, the more the

⁶⁰ Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*.

⁶¹ Forty and Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*. 4.

⁶² Addison, *Essays, Moral and Humorous: Also essays on Imagination and Taste*. 118.

materials of association are multiplied, the more will the sphere of their pleasures be enlarged. To a mind richly stored almost every object of nature or art, that presents itself to the sense, either excites fresh trains and combination of ideas, or vivifies or strengthens those which excited before.⁶³

The idea that certain association between what was seen and what was remembered within both the writings of Addison and Knight relied heavily on presence of certain conditions for the individuals and specifically on individuals who had a vast source of re-collective memories. Though this formed a certain kind of basis, this theory did not catch on due to its many pitfalls. It was through the nineteenth century writings of John Ruskin, that the association between memory and architecture became more robust, less individualistic and less vague. John Ruskin took the theories developed in the eighteenth century about the theory of association and redeveloped them into his seminal work titled *Seven Lamps of Architecture*.⁶⁴ In the sixth 'lamp' or chapter within this work titled, 'The Lamp of Memory', writes Ruskin:

... there are but two strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men, Poetry and Architecture; and the latter in some sort includes the former, and is mightier in its reality; it is well to have, not only men have thought and felt, but what their hands have handled, and their strength wrought, and their eyes beheld.⁶⁵

For Ruskin it was architecture that could offer insight not only into physical constructs (or memory of that work) but also the mental work that was needed to construct that work. For Ruskin, buildings acted as mnemonics that bought not a train of varied mental imaginings but the work that was put in. Architecture was to be seen along the lines of literature and poetry, one that gave a place or country its sense of identity. It also moved beyond a connection to the past, it was a way to remember in the future. With Ruskin, memory was no more singular or individual but was a social and collective act. To emphasise this he writes:

When we build, let us think that we build forever. Let it not be for the present delight, not for present use alone; let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for, and let us think, as we lay stone upon stone, that a time is to come when those stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them, and that we will say as they look upon the labour and wrought substance of them, 'See! This our

⁶³ Knight, *An Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste*.

⁶⁴ Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

fathers did for us'.⁶⁶

Though the writings of Ruskin one can assert that his intentions were towards preservation of what was once built rather than the works of social/ collective memory, and he was one of the first advocates of this theory. The influences of Ruskin's writings about memory and architecture were felt most among the conservation movement that took place in the nineteenth century. Ruskin's work emphasised the role of memory, though his presentation of memory in the years to follow changed, adopting a more generalised use of the word rather than focusing just on the physical construct. But his influence along with Alois Riegl who in 1903, questioned the value of historic buildings within the then present context by introducing terminologies such 'age-value' and 'historic-value', opened the field of historic preservation.⁶⁷

It was also during the time of the early twentieth century, the very word 'memory' came under attack, with the modern movement; memory was but left unspoken about. The 'forward' looking theses were preferred over conservation and value to buildings. It was the time Terdiman termed as 'memory crisis',⁶⁸ where the past held no interest.

Following the modern movement the opposite ensued; averseness of memory grew to an obsession of the same. An obsession in terms of not just what was remembered within the city but also in terms of investment. The growth of archives, museums and heritage trails, exhibited 'the symptoms of a culture that appears terrified of forgetting'.⁶⁹ In particular, the coming of the commemorative memorial, seems to have firmly asserted itself with the assumptions that individual or collective forgetting is an eminent danger that threatens modern society. With the coming of the commemorative monument and the resistance that this has shown over the last century speaks to the power of built objects in preserving memory through memorials and museums.

By the middle/ late of the twentieth century, memory took deep hold within

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Though written more than a century back and was followed by a lot of criticism, Alois Riegl is credited with the start of historic preservation. Though within this thesis Riegl is used as one of the influential thinkers in the development of role of architecture and monument within the time line of development of memory studies. Riegl, *The Modern Cult of Monument: Its Character and its Origin*.

⁶⁸ For details of the history of memory crisis refer Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*.

⁶⁹ Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. 215.

the system that for decades before had looked upon memory as an enemy of progress. With the late modernist approach to architecture reflecting this state of memory in terms of ‘blankness’, memory seemed to hold a certain favour that for decades had been absent from discourse. With the coming of Gaston Bachelard’s *The Poetics of Space*, it opened the foray into memory and architecture once again. In his widely read book, Bachelard aimed to ‘show that the house is one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories and dreams of mankind’.⁷⁰ With Bachelard memory is purely mental, one that can be triggered by the presence of buildings though cannot be ‘constructed’.⁷¹ Though Bachelard introduced memory with the discourse of architecture it was Aldo Rossi and O.M.Ungers who challenged the notion of modernist denial of memory. Writes Ungers:

Memory as a bearer of cultural and historical values has been consciously denied and ignored by the Neues Bauen. The anonymity of the functionally correct organisation of the environment has asserted itself over collective memory. Historically shaped places and historical peculiarities have been sacrificed on the altar of the functional constraints of Zweckrationalismus... Hardly any city remains that corresponds to its historical image.⁷²

Along with Ungers, Aldo Rossi who followed the work of Ruskin advocated new methodologies of understanding urban forms both contemporary and already existing. For Rossi, the method of studying the city was through what he called as ‘permanence’s’. These ‘permanence’s’, reveal not just built typologies but also offer a window into a city’s collective memory.

... 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 artefacts 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. ... memory is the consciousness of the city.⁷³

Influenced by Maurice Halbwachs theory of spatiality and memory of the inhabitants of the city Aldo Rossi used this philosophy to guide his own

⁷⁰ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*. 6-7.

⁷¹ Similar to Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*.

⁷² Quoted from Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. 217.

⁷³ Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*. 130.

understandings. Halbwachs's *The Collective Memory*, came out in the 1920's influenced Rossi's idea of what/ how memory functions and works. For Maurice Halbwachs who looked at the relationship between inhabitants of a space and the space itself that influenced not just their memory, but also the common/ collective memory of the space writes, 'that memory relates not to an actually existing physical space, but to the particular mental image of the space formed by that group'.⁷⁴

Halbwachs, who retains a critical standpoint within the study framework, sort to explore not just collective memory but also the spatial framework within collective memory. Not only does the environment affect the sense of self but the external milieu and its stable relationship becomes paramount in the idea it forms of itself, permeating every element of its consciousness, moderating and governing evolution.⁷⁵ Memory for Halbwachs had not just re-collective powers but bound people of a certain group together and in many ways recharged their sense of being together, contributing to their sense of collective memory as well. 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 that resist it. It encloses itself in the framework that it has constructed. The image of the exterior environment and the stable relationships that it maintains with it pass into the realm of the idea that it has of itself.⁷⁶

For Halbwachs the external milieu (physical objects/ elements/ surroundings) played specific roles and have specific habits and traditions associated with them in the city/ urban setting that not just resisted change but also needed to stay the same to portray the image of stability. Since places participate in the stability of material things themselves, some similar procedure is a primary condition of memory itself: the collective thought of the group of believers has the best chance of immobilizing itself and enduring when it concentrates on places, sealing itself with their confine and moulding its character to theirs.⁷⁷

Similarly, the Norwegian architectural historian and theorist Christian Norberg-Schulz who draws his inspiration of works from Heidegger's essay 'Building Dwelling Thinking', relates the concept of genius loci:

Man dwells when he can orientate himself within and identify himself with an

⁷⁴ Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*. 140-141.

⁷⁵ ---, *Space and the Collective Memory*.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

environment, or, in short, when he experiences the environment as meaningful. Dwelling therefore implies something more than ‘shelter’. It implies that the spaces where life occurs are ‘places’, in the true sense of the word. A place is a space that has character. Since ancient times the *genius loci*, or ‘spirit of place’ has been recognized as the concrete reality man has to face and come to terms with in his daily life.⁷⁸

Halbwachs stressed on not just on the social and the collective but also that recollection, both personal and private takes place in a social setting. Our memories are localised within a social group, situated in the mental and material spaces provided by that group. The apparent stability of these material spaces surrounding us allows us to conserve our recollections.⁷⁹ This connection between man and his surrounding built space was initially emphasised by Halbwachs in ‘Space and Collective Memory’, where the form of space has significance. The inhabitants of a space are enclosed within the framework of what has been built. The group’s image of its external milieu and its stable relationship with this environment becomes paramount in the idea it forms of itself, permeating every element of its consciousness, moderating and governing its evolution.⁸⁰

This was the beginning of the emphasis on the spatiality of collective memory. Built space within a city reflects and adapts to habits associated with them- the establishing of traditions, the adherence to specific rituals associated with certain spaces within a city, speaks towards the connection between man and stone. These relationships that are forged between man and stone make an interesting study in the way traditions, commemorations and forgetting take place through them. As Halbwachs has pointed out in the above epigraph, the relationship made between ‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘them’ here being the surrounding space, which develop certain characteristics of their own.

The simplest example to use is that of one’s own home and the objects that it contains. The importance bestowed upon these objects speaks a language, not one of immediate understanding but one of perception. These ‘objects’ in our daily life have certain rituals associated with them that play an important role in our lives- making their presence indispensable. Much like Gaston Bachelard’s *The Poetics of Space*, where he is describing a prototypical, stable middle class home and the experience

⁷⁸ Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*. 5.

⁷⁹ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*. 36-37.

⁸⁰ Halbwachs, *Space and the Collective Memory*.

of the same. Eloquently and poetically written, the work focuses on the experience and the questioning of space and the self, leading the reader through an understanding not just of space and its experience but also of space as the abode of human consciousness.⁸¹ Space and the objects within it accommodates our aspirations and our consciousness, and these objects abstain from changes. Halbwachs lays emphasis on this point stating:

... but even if stones are movable, relationships established between stones and men are not so easily altered. When a group has lived a long time in a place adapted to its habits, its thoughts as well as its movements are in turn ordered by the succession of images from these external objects.⁸²

Over the last decades historians and anthropologists have been trying to establish the connection between history, memory, space and man/ woman. For example, the work of Pierre Nora and his contemporaries have emphasised ‘the importance of memory and the search of lieux that embody it, the return to our collective heritage and focus on the country’s shared identities’,⁸³ in contrast to Halbwachs who left the discourse of historical developments outside the scope of collective memory.⁸⁴ Nora’s work stresses on the presence of different voices that make the construction of national memories and the search for common cultural grounds that ties together a nation. Nora divides the history of memory into three periods- premodern, modern and post-modern states. On the other hand, historian John R. Gills points out in his introduction to *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* that, ‘both identity and memory are political and social constructs, and should be treated as such... Identities and memories are not things we think *about*, but things we think *with*’.⁸⁵ Gills’ with this statement introduces the possibility of considering identity and memory as not independent entities, but are constructions of everyday and should be treated as such.

The authoritative credibility of certain material objects within a collective reaffirms the notion of not the stability of the object but also the presence of the

⁸¹ Ockman, ‘The Poetics of Space (Book review)’.

⁸² Halbwachs, *Space and the Collective Memory*.

⁸³ Nora, *From Lieux De Mémoire to Realms of Memory*. xxiii-xxiv.

⁸⁴ In the essay ‘Space. Time and the Politics of Memory’, Boyarin explains that ‘Halbwachs failed to historicize memory; not surprisingly, virtually all of his examples are of the sort that could be found in France in the early twentieth century, and a rather stereotyped, native born, middle class France at that’, Boyarin, *Space. Time and the Politics of Memory*.

⁸⁵ Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. 5.

object as credibility to a certain higher authority. The attempt questioned here is to see if architecture can behave much like Freud's *A Note upon the 'Mystic Writing Pad'*.⁸⁶ He uses the metaphor of the mind being/ akin to a writing apparatus comprising a celluloid strip laid over a wax block. The user can write over the celluloid, and a trace apparatus on the wax, but this 'Mystic Writing Pad' has the properties to retain many impressions however garbled or confusing (comparing it here to the urban environment). Memory traces exist as marks, which are not conscious, but by appropriate stimuli they might be energized long afterwards.⁸⁷

Through architecture there is a possibility for direct engagement with the object under consideration. Traditions associated with these artefacts/ urban objects allow direct contact, reaffirming past experiences or stories heard about the object under consideration, allowing experience for recollection and capacity to evoke certain emotion (either good or bad). For example, the reason why people hold on to certain heirlooms, photographs, objects belonging to forefathers- mainly to experience the continuity of the past. So as to establish a 'linkage' to things, as they once were, a material symbol rather than verbalized meaning, they provide a special form of access to both individual and group unconscious process.⁸⁸ Architecture or built form can have a similar effect on people, as they can be constructed to connote versions of a certain happening or a past. Built objects are talked about, discussed and invested with meaning by both individuals and collectives.⁸⁹

The link between the past, present and the future is made through their materiality.⁹⁰ Built objects mainly due to their impression of durability, assert and make possible their own memories, what Rowlands calls as their own forms of commentary and their own personal trajectories, which Kopytoff has termed as 'personal biography of things'.⁹¹

The materiality of objects facilitates direct engagement with the object under consideration, making the presence through touch and feel, a form of engagement

⁸⁶ Freud, *A Note upon the 'Mystic Writing Pad'*.

⁸⁷ Rowlands, 'The Role of Memory in the Transmission of Culture'. 144.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Here I will not go into 'who' is the person bestowing or is responsible for this meaning- open to interpretation as both private and public happening. It can be a house of a family or a monument constructed with a specific agenda. Here attention is being paid more to the consolidation of meaning rather than the motives behind targeted construction of meaning.

⁹⁰ Rowlands, 'The Role of Memory in the Transmission of Culture'.

⁹¹ Kopytoff, *The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process*.

that helps recollection through its presence. Experience of form/ material resonates not just with collective memory or memory in particular but also how through personal experiences – memory of space can be derived. Memories through our childhood, the layout of our homes, its furniture, its familiarity speaks to what has been termed and called as body experience of space or body memory.⁹²

Understanding how collective memory/ social memory shapes not just national memory dictated by those who remember within a particular community but also the external facade of the city makes an interesting observation. Nancy Wood makes such an account in her understanding of collective memory, the unconscious and intentionality:

... While the emanation of individual memory is primarily subject to the laws of the unconscious, public memory – whatever its unconscious vicissitudes-testifies to a will or desire on the part of some social group or disposition of power to select and organize representations of the past so that these will be embraced by individuals as their own, if particular representations of the past have permeated the public domain, it is because they embody an intentionality- social, political, institutional and so on- that promotes or authorises their entry.⁹³

The debates that surround notions of collective memory are many, but the idea to go beyond a metaphorical expression of collective memory remains strong. Collective memories originate from shared communities about the meaning of the past that are anchored in the life-worlds of individuals who partake in the communal life of the respective collective.⁹⁴ These memories are based on a society's not just expression of oneness but also of the signs and symbols that is seen externally- a material expression. The primary focus of this dissertation lies in this material expressions of collective memory investigated through various case studies in order to contribute diverse ways on how to think about material and memory.

Memory seems to reside not in the perceiving consciousness but in the material: in the practices and institutions of social or psychic life, which function within us, but, strangely, do not seem to require either our participation or our explicit allegiance.⁹⁵ Or as Barbie Zelizer puts it, 'collective memories have texture,

⁹² Bastéa, *Memory and Architecture*. 9.

⁹³ Wood, *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Postwar Europe*. 2.

⁹⁴ Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies'.

⁹⁵ Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*. 34.

existing in the world rather than in a person's head'.⁹⁶ These kind of memories take place on different level- private setting such as family and on the public setting – ethnic and religious groups and a national level. This texture can be observed and participated in and through architecture, making architecture or built form a mnemonic device and community at the same time. And as Umberto Eco states '... and perhaps architecture has always wanted to be a theatre of memory...'.⁹⁷

2.4 Urban memory

As the previous section outlined, memory as a field of study has undergone many iterations and definitions and in the last decades has grown to accommodate the urban environment. Memory within the urban environment is used to work with past residues or physical traces, which allow for the interaction with the past and recollection made possible. The word 'memory' by itself has a certain subjective quality that can take on different meanings depending on and to what it is associated with. It could be read with the notion of the 'collective', adding a dimension that goes beyond the self or the individual; when used as the word 'memorial' or 'monument', implying the stand for a specific act or event to be remembered; when used as 'personal', it could indicate the sense of self; the word 'attachment' and 'place-making' have an implied association with object or place and inhabitants; with regard to the role that memory plays the list seems endless.

Apart from these definitions, the term 'urban memory' is relatively new and still not used with the same ease and comfort that the word 'memory' has developed through the ages. Urban memory translates to a city containing memory within, where the buildings and spaces within a city signify not just the past of the city but provide a basis for this recollection. This past of the city/ memory of the city is inscribed within the walls of the city, in the process of building, demolition and reconstruction the city, urban memory is defined and redefined. Though the term 'urban memory' seems to testify to the notion that lives lived within the city can be felt within the physical space of the city, what should not be overlooked while studying this terminology is that what is remembered or retained within the city is dictated by those who live within these spaces.

In recent years, debates surrounding on how the city responds to its past

⁹⁶ Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye*.

⁹⁷ Eco, 'Architecture and Memory'.

has escalated; for example, the growing numbers in conservation groups, local communities taking efforts in saving their urban environment and museums; all point to growing awareness of the role the physical city plays within social frameworks. Quoting Mark Crinson ‘the past is everywhere and it is nowhere’, in many ways the city becoming an archive itself.⁹⁸ Urban memory does-not entail just spaces once important, but can take on various forms, materials and spaces within the city; hence, makes the addition of urban memory as a section within the theoretical framework one of unique importance.

If memory and architecture can be conceptualised into two forms, one would be where the city is seen as a collective agency and the interaction of the individual with the city happens on a personal and subjective platform (from Halbwachs and Lynch).⁹⁹ The other would be a dialectical relationship that occurs between the individual and the city (from Benjamin).¹⁰⁰ Using these theories enables the understanding the image of the city and the memory it entails, while the latter with Benjamin forms the more lyrical position as an flâneur.

The theories of Halbwachs form a basis of understanding the links that form when the city is perceived as a collective agency and the formation of attachment. With Benjamin, one encounters traces in all that surrounds a person:

... Even dreaming is forced to move along streets that are too well paved. And isn't the city too full of temples, enclosed squares and national shrines to be able to enter undivided into the dreams of the passer-by, along with every shop sign, every flight of steps and every gateway? The great reminiscences, the historical frissons – these are all so much junk to the flâneur, who is happy to leave them to the tourist.

... And he would be happy to trade all his knowledge of artists' quarters, birth-places and princely palaces for the scent of a single weathered threshold or the touch of a single tile – that which any old dog carries away.¹⁰¹

Traces formed (any form of traces) could have memory located in them. Memory is understood in these instances to be present as if in an older discourse, locating memory in the structures of the human form has now been transferred to the structures made by humans.¹⁰² Though both Halbwachs and Benjamin thought of

⁹⁸ Crinson, *Urban Memory: History And Amnesia In The Modern City*.

⁹⁹ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*., Lynch, *The Image of the City*.

¹⁰⁰ Benjamin et al., *The Arcades Project*., Benjamin, *Selected Writings*.

¹⁰¹ Benjamin et al., *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 3: 1935-1938*. 263.

¹⁰² Matsuda, *The Memory of the Modern*. 9-10.

memory in physical form, the differences arise in how they saw it. For Halbwachs saw the spatial sphere influencing and being influenced by those who occupy it, while Walter Benjamin's frames were embedded in metaphors and devices where the idea that architecture is itself the memory space of the collective,¹⁰³ comes to the foreground.

What is important to note with Benjamin is the intimate relationship between the user and the city. On an almost individual level, Benjamin through his flâneur studies the environment and remembers the city 'through his feet'. This mobility of the flâneur is a characteristic as he wanders around in a hectic city filled with a plenitude of sensory impulses.¹⁰⁴ For Benjamin, the city moves beyond a fixed landscape or image, it is one that is left to the imagination of the mobile flâneur. But to Halbwachs the collective image of the city is experienced through spatial form by the inhabitant.

Memory as understood from the previous section has by definition different 'parts', for instance, one that deals with the residue/ material itself and the other that forms the re-collective power of these materials and hence inducing a form of remembering. Though urban memory translates into city or urban dwelling containing memory, the definition of this phrase has yet to get clear-cut delineations. Urban memory can be an anthropomorphism but more commonly it indicates the city as a physical landscape and collection of objects and practises that enable recollections of the past that embody the past through traces of the city's sequential building and rebuilding.¹⁰⁵ The term urban memory seems to denote not just the subjective topic that memory has become but is instead tending towards studying what is remembered beyond certain set norms.

As referred in the previous section, Maurice Halbwachs was among the first to attest that physical space within the city not just bound people together giving them a sense of belonging and commonality (due to similar points of reference within a physical space), but also that of a collective identity. For Halbwachs, collective memory, coming from the Durkheim tradition of collective memory dictates the need of collective space. Similarly, as was stated earlier, Aldo Rossi followed on the same footsteps, arguing that a city remembers through its buildings, so the preservation of old buildings is analogous with the preservation of memories in the human mind.

¹⁰³ Crinson, *Urban Memory: History And Amnesia In The Modern City*.

¹⁰⁴ Simmel, *The Metropolis and Mental Life*.

¹⁰⁵ Crinson, *Urban Memory: History And Amnesia In The Modern City*. xii.

For Maurice Halbwachs, collective memory is a function of social power, and its expression varies with the social settings in which we find ourselves. We localize images of the past within imaginary frameworks that conform to our social understanding. For that reason, collective memory is provisional until it is evoked within specific social contexts, and its form and strength is relative to the social forces that impinge on our present circumstances. Without such social props, collective memory cannot survive. Halbwachs's theory draws on the method of the art of memory, its mnemonic quality, to demonstrate how the strategic prompting of commemorative monuments in mnemonic landscapes reinforces officially sanctioned collective memory. Focusing here on the emphasis he pays to space and form to lead this discussion on attachment, before going on to how these attachment leads to form what has been termed as 'cue' based recall or remembering:

The great majority (of the 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 men - 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.¹⁰⁶

When Halbwachs speaks about 'as they filter down to those people who are closer to the stones than to men', this attachment on to stone that Halbwachs stresses comes, from daily contact with the physical environment and the image the environment projects of permanence and stability (Halbwachs quotes Comte who ascertain the same). More so, as it remains unchanged 'silent and immobile', not affected by the changes in our (inhabitants) nature. This does not mean that the association with these objects remain on a single layer, but is multi-layered and multifaceted. Studying this environment and understanding the role that this environment plays in everyday life can assist in discerning the various external and internal forces that affect its making and transformation.

The effect of the surrounding environment is one that provides a sustainable and stable living for a social group. Surrounded by such a framework, we can project an image of stability and sustenance. Not only does the environment affect the sense

¹⁰⁶ Halbwachs, *Space and the Collective Memory*.

of self but the external milieu and its stable relationship becomes paramount in the idea it forms of itself, permeating every element of its consciousness, moderating and governing evolution.¹⁰⁷ These physical objects/ elements within the city have specific roles and have specific habits/ traditions associated with them that not only resist change but also need to stay the same to portray the image of stability.

Since places participate in the stability of material things themselves, some similar procedure is a primary condition of memory itself: the collective thought of the group of believers has the best chance of immobilizing itself and enduring when it concentrates on places, sealing itself with their confine and moulding its character to theirs.¹⁰⁸

Between Halbwachs and Benjamin followed by Rossi, various artefacts in the cityscape both visual and permanent have been identified/ depicted as supporting the performance of memory. In more recent times, Boyer whose work is highly influenced by Rossi in *The City of Collective Memory*, studies urban space (traditional, modern and contemporary) as a work of art, panorama and spectacle. Through various sites and examples she shows how the modern city can be read and represented. Within the urban landscape as Boyer writes ‘memory should entail a continuous urban topography, a spatial structure that covers both rich and poor places, horrific and humble monuments, permanent and ephemeral forms, and should include private memory walks and personal retreats’.¹⁰⁹ The inhabitants of a space irrespective of type of form support the performance of urban memory, as space is reflective of the collective whole.

Within the framework of this thesis, urban memory is looked upon as the collective experience of a place’s inhabitants, one that is both physical and social. Urban memory, though dependent on the continuity of the urban fabric can be bracketed with the identity of place (contributing to), and a change within the urban environment may contribute to morphing of the same. While studying urban memory, its obverse forgetting is never far away and must be acknowledged for.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*. 9.

2.5 Forgetting as the ‘other’

Just as expecting is possible only on the basis of awaiting, remembering is possible only on that of forgetting.

- Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*¹¹⁰

Not for nothing did the ancient Greeks locate the springs of Lethe (Forgetfulness) and of Mnemosyne (Memory) nearby, and make those who came to consult the oracle at Trophonios drink the waters of first one and then the other.

- Pausanias, *Guide to Greece*¹¹¹

Only by forgetting does the mind have the chance to total renewal, the capacity to see everything with fresh eyes, so that what is long familiar combines with the new into a many-levelled unity.

- Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*¹¹²

If using the notion of memory that is built into the everyday spaces forms one of the foundations of this thesis, then – ‘forgetting’, the ‘primary other’ of memory (as Casey Edward coins it) should be given its due. The constant point of contention for a number of writers and philosophers within the framework of memory studies is the ever-present role of forgetting. Literature available on the imbibing of memory into the field of architecture though are many and varied, Adrian Forty writes in his book *The Art of Forgetting*, that ‘had architects paid more attention to these warnings and acknowledged more readily that perhaps, after all, architecture is and always has been above all an art of forgetting, their experiments with ‘memory’ might have proved more successful. Had they recognized that whatever mnemonic potential buildings may have, ‘memory’ only becomes interesting through its struggle with forgetfulness, then the representation of collective memory might have become more meaningful’.¹¹³

Within this thesis, the idea is to confront memory along with forgetting; is to address what Forty outlines as, any practice aspiring to deal with memory can

¹¹⁰ Heidegger, *Being and Time*.

¹¹¹ Pausanias quoted in Forty and Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*.

¹¹² Gadamer, *Truth and Method*. 16.

¹¹³ Forty and Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*. 16.

only do so by taking into account what memory struggles in vain to resist that is, forgetting. The relationship between the two has been known to be contentious, it is for this reason that the ancient Greeks located Lethe (forgetfulness) and Mnemosyne (memory) nearby, and make those who came to consult the oracle at Trophonios drink the waters of first one and then the other.¹¹⁴

An art cannot deal with memory without also confronting forgetting.¹¹⁵ Recent researches focus on the importance of not just remembering but also the necessity of forgetting.¹¹⁶ In confronting forgetting (which is a vast field of research by itself with various classifications and theories), the questions that are posed right in the beginning is to how forgetting takes place. As a generations obsessed with remembering and recording, it is pertinent to know as to where does forgetting figure and more importantly how does forgetting figure within the realms of architecture. Investments in museums, memorials and archives have increased many folds within the last decades, indicating that the current generation is petrified of forgetting. Nora states that this obsession with memory is ‘due to the fact that there is so little of it left’.¹¹⁷

Individuals are obliged to forget, in many ways to unburden themselves of the past, as well as to establish a ‘clean slate’ for the space for making new memories. Using Nietzsche’s notion of what he calls as ‘active forgetting’ in his discussions on the abuses of history in *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche reminds the readers that forgetting is not simply a failure of memory: ‘Forgetting is not simply a kind of inertia, as superficial minds tend to believe, but rather the active faculty to ... provide some silence, a ‘clean slate’ for the unconscious, to make place for the new... those are the uses for what I have called an active forgetting...’.¹¹⁸ As Freud stressed, forgetting is often intentional and desired.¹¹⁹

But the notion of collective forgetting is not the same as the individual

¹¹⁴ Pausanias quoted in Forty and Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*.

¹¹⁵ Forty and Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*.

¹¹⁶ See for example: Crinson, *Urban Memory: History And Amnesia In The Modern City.*, Forty and Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting.*, Climo and Cattell, *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, Gross, *Lost Time: On Remembering and Forgetting in Late Modern Culture*, Hodgkin and Radstone, *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*, Middleton and Edwards, *Collective Remembering*. Ricoeur et al., *Memory, History, Forgetting*.

¹¹⁷ Nora, *From Lieux De Mémoire to Realms of Memory*.

¹¹⁸ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*.

¹¹⁹ Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*.

need to forget. The role of forgetting though has been approached from various philosophical angles, its investigations in relation to objects and the role that objects play in this foray has taken the route through the questioning of traditional memorials and monuments. Forays into this mode of research is young, and it is only in the last decades that the role that architecture can play into this is being looked into. Writers like James Young, Adrian Forty, Mark Crinson confront the notion of forgetting within a new generation of built fabric know as anti-memorials or counter monuments.¹²⁰

Martin Heidegger in *Being and Time* writes, ‘just as expecting is possible only on the basis of awaiting, remembering is possible only on that of forgetting, and not vice versa’.¹²¹ Similarly Zemon & Starn question in their paper, ‘If nothing could be more basic to most people than the contrast between memory and forgetting- or actually be more vulnerable even to mild questioning: isn’t forgetting only the substitution of one memory for another; don’t we forget to remember, or remember to forget’.¹²²

Trying to understand the theme of forgetting the sculptural allegories of Louis Francois Roubiliacs through the readings of David Bindman¹²³ can provide the first glimpses into this highly complex notion. It is through Bindman’s essay ‘Bribing the Vote of Fame: Eighteenth Century Monuments and the Futility of Commemoration’ forays into the meaning of forgetting though art and architecture within this thesis commence. Bindman within this paper analyses Roubiliacs’ work as depicting a strong contention between remembering and forgetting. Through Roubiliacs’ ‘Monument to Field Marshall George Wade’ Bindman poses the questions of

¹²⁰ Literature on counter monuments is vast, see for example: Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*., Forty and Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*., Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*., Young, ‘Memory and Counter-Memory: The End of the Monument in Germany’.

¹²¹ Heidegger, *Being and Time*. 388-9.

¹²² Starn and Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘Introduction’.

¹²³ Bindman, *Bribing the Vote of Fame: Eighteenth Century Monuments and the Futility of Commemoration*.

inevitability of monuments fading into oblivion;¹²⁴ similar to Forty¹²⁵ when he questions if a monument survives, how many remember for whom it was created or commemorated? Bindman's essay provides here the edge stone for the start of questioning into this intricate relationship.

The act of forgetting is driven by various reasons and methods, through the passage of time where physical object shift into oblivion or the need to do intentional harm through the act of iconoclasm. Milan Kundera in her *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, states 'you begin to liquidate a people by taking away its memory'.¹²⁶ This act of 'taking-away', can be in terms of the memory of the people, but can also be in terms of the space certain people share, that is in terms of iconoclasm. Though here the focus is not within just the erasure of memory but also the idea of iconoclasm (through certain and selective erasure and destruction) has to be mentioned.¹²⁷ Iconoclasm is the purposeful act of destruction of buildings and sites of importance, and it is what is traditionally used in order to achieve forgetting within the affected population. The scholarship on the act and repercussion of iconoclasm are many and vast.¹²⁸ The act of bringing down memorials and monuments often provide the image of an on-going revolution or war or the move towards democratic transition in some case, and this is familiar to anyone who is aware of the tearing down of the statue of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad or the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddha in Afghanistan or the fall of the Berlin wall. The act of iconoclasm is generally perpetrated with the intention to ensure erasure of memory of the object and space (and of its inhabitants), but sometimes what is known to happen is also the prolongation of a certain memory based on the erasure (as was the case with the

¹²⁴ Bindman through the work of Roubiliacs titled 'Monument to Field Marshall George Wade', explores how the sculpture instead of addressing grandiose monumental forms address the theme of loss and melancholy. The sculpture depicts not a singular object/ person instead is a future where the Field Marshall has faded from everyday memory and showing the decay of memory and time.

¹²⁵ Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*.

¹²⁶ Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*.

¹²⁷ Here the act of iconoclasm is studied within the framework of the object/ micro case study in Chapter 5.

¹²⁸ Please refer for further details on iconoclasm: Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*., Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*., Asselt et al., *Iconoclasm and Iconoclasm: Struggle for Religious Identity*., Boldrick and Clay, *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*., Lambourne, *War Damage in Western Europe: The Destruction of Historic Monuments During the Second World War*.

second case study within this thesis).

The need to forget arises from the occurrence of passage of time or the need to move on from an act of truly unspeakable nature. Ernest Renan wrote in the nineteenth century that the essence of a nation is that all individuals share great many things in common and also that they have forgotten something.¹²⁹ But if forgetting is individual and social, how does forgetting through architecture or even confrontations of forgetting through architecture take place? Where does the conjunction between them take place? What are the criteria that support forgetting through architecture?

This question of confronting the notions of forgetting through form is explored by the concept that is the contrary to monuments- counter monuments.

This idea of counter memorials started with German artists and architects who questioned the basis of formal memorials. With the idea of challenging the basis of traditional monuments, the culture of counter monuments began in the twentieth century. With the aim to provoke and challenge rather than remain as passive objects, these genre of counter monuments demand of the viewer to interact and ask questions and perform the memory that the object contains. Young defines it as ‘... and returns the burden of memory of those who come looking for it’.¹³⁰ Rather than approach the idea of remembering, the notion of challenging forgetting make the culture of counter-monuments powerful and one that constantly engages with the public it addresses.

Briefly using the examples of the Hamburg Monument designed by Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev–Gerz and the Rachel Whiteread’s design of the Judenplatz Memorial in Vienna as providing the necessary foray into the realm of questioning forgetting through art and the culture of counter-monuments:

‘We invite the citizens of Harburg and visitors to the town to add their names here to ours. In doing so, we commit ourselves to remain vigilant. As more and more names cover this 12–meter tall lead column, it will gradually be lowered into the ground. One day, it will have disappeared completely and the site of the Harburg monument against fascism will be empty. In the end, it is only we ourselves who can rise up against injustice’, reads the slab next to what is now a ‘disappeared’ monument.¹³¹

Designed by Jochen Grez and Esther Shalev–Gerz, the monument in

¹²⁹ Renan quoted in Forty and Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*.

¹³⁰ Young, *At Memory’s Edge, After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*. 53.

¹³¹ Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. 30.

Hamburg referred to as ‘Monument against Fascism and War’ was designed in 1986 and has currently disappeared into the ground it once stood on. A twelve meter column like structure, coated with lead on its outer surfaces to provide an almost interactive surface where a passerby could use the surface to write messages, sign etc. before the column was lowered into the ground. In 1993, the column was lowered into the ground and disappeared forever from the public eye. For the artists who created this memorial, the intent behind the disappearing form is the belief that ‘would like every memorial to return memory to those who come looking for it’, which is a very optimistic point of view. But he honestly believes that memory is something that has to go on inside every individual...¹³²

Rachel Whiteread’s design for a memorial dedicated to the exterminated Austrian Jews in Judenplatz in Vienna, is an example of site where forgetting is challenged and responsibility questioned. Completed almost 15 years (in 2000) after the monument at Hamburg, Whiteread questioned not just the memory and remembering but also that of forgetting. The design consists of the interior cast of a room of books (a library) located on the site of a destroyed synagogue in Judenplatz, Vienna. The artist says ‘... it was a piece that was to be in a square called Judenplatz which is a, a sort of quite domestic scale square, and it was as if one of the rooms from the surrounding buildings had been taken and put in the centre of the square’.¹³³ The size of the project was inspired from its surroundings, but what is most disturbing about the work is not the size but the contents of the work. The cast is of a library, metaphorically a room full of memories (a form of recollection), indicating to the viewer to approach and read, but both the space and the books are inaccessible. Where the confusion and conflict arise is the cast of the books are not of the spine, but of the pages of the books themselves (front of the book). Indicating to the viewer that not just the books are absent from the library, but what has been left behind has been forgotten. What once was, is no more; hence making not just the room inaccessible, but also the contents of the room. Says the artist ‘and all of the books were completely blank. You had no idea what was supposedly in them, and the pages were facing outwards so you couldn’t read the spines of the books, so that was

¹³² James E. Young on the ‘Monument against Fascism and War’ in an interview with ‘English and Judaic Studies at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst’, 1998

¹³³ Tusa, *Interview with Rachel Whiteread*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio3/johntusainterview/whiteread_transcript.shtml (accessed November 2011).

essentially the idea, a sort of blank library. There's all sorts of interpretations ...'¹³⁴

The viewer here is not just supposed to remember, but as what is supposed to be remembered has been forgotten- one can only conjecture on its contents. As Bindman writes on Roubiliacs' work memory is dependent on its counterpart, that is forgetting. In many cases it is forgetting that is dealt with, what is seen as the objective to conquer, in order to conquer forgetting- memory is used to 'bring it back'. Rachael Whiteread's work, going beyond memory deals with the 'sense of absence', in many ways urging the viewer 'to remember' what has been forgotten. The need to understand forgetting within architecture and question its relation to memory is the warning that one cannot deal with memory without considering forgetting as well.

Gaston Bachelard's for instance argues in *The Poetics of Space* that memory though can be described in terms of buildings; memory does not lend itself to physical description, let alone construction.¹³⁵ In his book, what is pictured as 'space' goes beyond the word in the traditional sense, it is not about just the built surface, but also where one dwells. The lesson to be learnt from these examples is that the association of objects to memory comes from a long standing tradition that dictates this relationship, but while trying to deal with notions of memory and architecture, what should constantly be kept in the foreground is what memory (and the built output) vainly tries to resist is forgetting. Hence by acknowledging the existence of the dichotomous relationship between the two (where one cannot exist without the other) and heeding Bachelard's 'warning' that neither memory or forgetting can be constructed, architecture then aids in the performance of both and not in the construction of either.

2.6 Leading to the building of the framework

In what follows after a general introduction to theories of memory/ forgetting and role of architecture, within this section I expand briefly on select theoreticians whose work leads to a more focused direction within the construction of the framework and empirical studies. As the next sections focus on creating a connection between the theory and the empirical studies, briefly below I outline the works of Aldo Rossi and Henri Lefèbvre that help characterise and define urban form and its

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*. 13.

morphology that is used to build the analytical framework.

As the section on memory and architecture highlighted, the works of Maurice Halbwachs remains influential on researchers to this day. Working with the influential idea that an individual's memory is produced and supported by social and collective frameworks, Halbwachs's seminal work *The Collective Memory* influenced urban theories developed in the 60's and 70's. As highlighted in the chapter 'Space and Collective Memory', inhabitants of an urban space formed attachments within the space leading to deep associations between the group and formations of memory associated with the said space. As this association was explored in Section 2.3, here the effort is made to include details on reading urban forms and systems that help in identifying characteristics and aspects of the same.

Between Rossi and Lefèbvre, two approaches to read the city can be mapped out. Rossi influenced by Halbwachs and Ruskin, took to reading the city and its form in a theoretical approach that left questionable room as to how associations between place and inhabitant took root (though he remains highly influential within the realm of urban studies). Lefèbvre provided the necessary 'fill-ins' to the theory through his work on how societal developments take place through a number of spatial practises. Rossi in *The Architecture of the City* while emphasising the role and production of architecture/ form plays in the city; the social role of the same was not explored to same depth. Lefèbvre compliments this work by developing spatial discourses' in relation to society's development. For Lefèbvre, space is produced by various actions and encounters and in using his work the complexities and dynamics that produced patterns within the city can be studied. By complimenting each other's theories (Lefèbvre's analysis and Rossi's production of architecture in the city), what can be observed is that the city as a physical construction is result and representation of various dynamics at work. Between Rossi and Lefèbvre, the importance of identifying patterns in space and the 'spatial dialectics' associated with them (that which marks these spaces as important), makes for a complimentary theory relations that aids within the creation of a bridge between the theory and empirical cases. Through the readings of Rossi and Lefèbvre, the specificities of 'urban form' can be outlined that can act as a basis for discussion of the making of the framework.

Urban form and identifying elements

For Rossi urban theory is presented as ‘theory of urban artifacts, stems from the identification of the city itself as an artefact and from its division into individual buildings and dwelling areas’.¹³⁶ The term artefact is read in accordance to various physical constructions that can be themed under the umbrella of architecture. Continuing on from his definition of urban artefacts, Rossi defines the structure of the urban artefact in the following way:

- 1) As verifiable data that can be observed and described within a real city
- 2) As an autonomous structure

Rossi derives his term of ‘permanence’ from the proposition that the city has a past and a present (a temporal dimension), making urban form a comparable phenomena between the before and after. This sense of spatial continuity from the past, have characteristics that can be identified and also have the ability to transform urban processes.

It was also Rossi, who identified the term ‘primary elements’¹³⁷ as a particular type of urban artefacts that is used in this thesis. They are elements that are characteristics in both function and form:

... they have an absolute clarity, they are distinguishable on the basis of their form and in a certain sense their exceptional nature within the urban fabric; they are characteristic, or better that what characterises a city. If one looks at the plan of any city, they immediately identifiable forms leap out as black spots. The same is true from a volumetric point of view.¹³⁸

Primary elements are identified as containing particular characteristic that make a city distinguishable. The nature of primary elements can be many: monuments, historic houses, churches etc. The introduction of primary elements is to enable the study of historical development of a settlement through these elements through their relation to urban dynamics (they represent sites of permanence’s that may or may not have undergone transformations):

(primary elements are)... those elements capable of accelerating the process of urbanisation in a city, and they also characterise the processes of spatial

¹³⁶ Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*. 21-22.

¹³⁷ Ibid. 22.

¹³⁸ Ibid. 99

transformation in an area larger than the city.¹³⁹

... they refer to the public, collective character of urban elements, to the characteristic fact of public things that are made by the collective for the collective and are by nature essentially urban.¹⁴⁰

Thus, primary elements form containers of collective memory for the city; making them one of the characteristics of urban forms. Though Rossi is emphatic upon the production of architecture and its relation to society, he does not expand on how these sites are socially produced. Through the readings of Lefèbvre, the production of social space and socio-spatial practises with respect to architecture can be studied.

For Lefèbvre, urban form was mental and social; he describes the city as being:¹⁴¹

- 1) *A spatial object*: where the city is understood as produced by interactions between landscapes and social life, and cannot be understood without morphology.
- 2) *Mediation*: Lefèbvre describes that city is always been related to society as a whole inclusive of all its elements and history's. Thus there exists a symbiotic relationship between the two; if society changes then the city responds.
- 3) *City as a work (an oeuvre)-not product*: Lefèbvre describes the city as work or oeuvre, formed by collective life. As he describes the city as a oeuvre, the establishing of a city is a continuous cycle (unlike a product) and is an entity that is lived.

In *The Production of Space*, Lefèbvre stresses that architectural space is not space itself, but only a way of look at space, which is a space of social practises.¹⁴² Lefèbvre describes the city and its urban life as a dynamic dialectic process of possibilities and encounters.¹⁴³ Complimentary to Rossi, Lefèbvre describes the development of society and the city as dialectics between different kinds of human interactions and practises acted out in space. He proposes a spatial triad (which he labels as 'the three moments of social space', the perceived-conceived-lived) to distinguish various characteristics of spatial production to aide the argumentation

¹³⁹ Ibid. 87

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. 86

¹⁴¹ Lefèbvre, *Right to the City*.

¹⁴² Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space*. 18

¹⁴³ Ibid.

between actual space and mental space:

- 1) *Spatial practice*: ‘The spatial practise of a society secrets that society’s space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it’.¹⁴⁴ Spatial practises include both practises *in* space and *with* space. Though Lefèbvre emphasises on the role of spatial practises, it is closely connected with two other productions: *representations of space* and by symbols, images, and memories associated with space i.e. *representational spaces/ spaces of representation*.
- 2) *Representations of space*: the second component of the spatial production triad comprises of the abstraction of space based on various components and logistics; maps, diagrams, drawings etc. They are also restricted to what is considered possible to represent.

Representation of space are certainly abstract, but they also play part in social and political practise: established relations between objects and people in represented space are subordinate to a logic which will sooner or later break them up because of lack of consistency.¹⁴⁵

.... Representation of space must therefore have a substantial role and a specific influence in production of space. Their intervention occurs by way of construction- in other words, by way of architecture, conceived of not as a building of a particular structure, place of monument, but rather as a project embedded in a spatial context and texture which calls for ‘representations’ that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms.¹⁴⁶

- 3) *Representational spaces or Spaces of representation*: the last of the triad, describes the qualities of space as experienced by those who use it (inhabitants of a space); in other words as lived space. Lefèbvre writes ‘it overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus spaces of representation may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards a more or less coherent system of non-verbal symbols and signs’.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. 38

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. 41

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. 42

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. 39

Between Rossi's urban architecture production and Lefèbvre's social space, approaching the question of studying urban space gets a framework that is rooted in both architecture and social practises. Using a dialectical approach to the question at hand, urban environments are morphological systems that are related inherently to social production. Using the works of these theoreticians will help identify relevant spaces in the empirical case study where performance of memory (and forgetting) can be identified.

2.7 Summary

It is a labour in vain to recapture (our own past): all the efforts of our intellect must prove futile. The past is hidden of our intellect must prove futile. The past is hidden somewhere outside the realm, beyond the reach of intellect, in some material object (or in the sensation which that material object will give us), of which we have no inkling. And it depends on chance whether we come upon this object before we ourselves must die.

- Proust¹⁴⁸

To study the significance of the built environment is far from limited to one particular field- urban geographers, cognitive psychology, urban researchers, philosophers, urban semiotics all use various methods to study the social significance of built space. Within the last chapters and sections, both an overview and detailed study was presented to ascertain not just the role of architecture within memory and forgetting but also how the field came to see the built environment as one that gives insight into the social frameworks. This section was meant to highlight various theories developed in the last decades to provide a theoretical basis for the work upon which the empirical study can be built.

As the work does not search for a unified method of study to research the built environment's significance to memory and forgetting the approaches highlighted were many. In order to study the built environment and the processes embedded in it, the necessity to integrate various process and their facets were called for. Before moving on to the analytical framework of the thesis, summarised below are the main points from the theory that will be used within the building of the analysis:

¹⁴⁸ Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*. 51.

1) *From memory and architecture:*

The role of architecture in aiding the performance of memory and lending to its construction can be attributed to the physicality of its presence and the enabling of recollection through its role as a mnemonic. For in writers like Proust, one finds memory and its re-collective powers to be an involuntary action, one that is haphazard and almost unreliable.

... almost at once I recognized the vision: it was Venice, of which my efforts to describe it and the supposed snapshots taken by my memory had never told me anything, but which the sensation which I had once experienced as I stood upon two uneven stones in the baptistry of St Mark's had, recurring a moment ago, restored to me.¹⁴⁹

Architecture can be given the purpose of behaving like a memorial, museum or monument; but architecture or form supports the act of remembering by performing memory with those (inhabitants of a space for example) interacting with it. These urban elements are not media that can transmit a fixed meaning, but rather auratic contact zones that enable a production of meaning.¹⁵⁰

Through the readings, theory and literature addressed in the previous section, one can almost discern two directions that the readings can take. The first where the city is seen as collective in its image and behaviours, one that can be read and interpreted through individuals (who are a part of society); the work of Halbwachs and Lynch, studying of various forms/ regimes in the city a history of their usages and the layers that lead to the current space production in the works of Rossi, Lefèbvre and Boyer. The other end being where the city and its user have a dialectical relationship, with writers like Benjamin and Proust, the subjectivity and personalization of space (in its coherency and incoherency) is introduced.

Between these two sides, the exploring of architecture as an entity that is produced, represented and transformed on an urban scale through memory and image production; and the latter where the relationship between architecture and the viewer is read through relations developed with the surrounding. The notion that architecture aides in the performance of these memories is introduced to support that architecture lends itself to this act by enabling an interactive platform rather than being the object of construction. Elaborating, architecture is seen as enabling the performance of

¹⁴⁹ Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*. 899-900.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted from Duindam, 'Performing urban memory: The façade of the Hollandsche Schouwburg: theater, site of terror, site of memory'.

memory rather than being the subject of memory or remembering itself.

2) *From forgetting and architecture:*

When dealing with memory or remembering, forgetting is never far behind. The very presence of memory is indicative to some degree disappearance of some continuity or forgetting. As Mark Crinson understands it 'lieux de memoire exists because there are no longer any milieux de memoire'.¹⁵¹ What should be noted is that with the presence of sites of memory or primary elements, they are always connected to some sort of trace and if lost then they go from containers of memory to empty vessels of superstitious belief.

Forgetting in this work is dealt with in the form of how architecture questions memory; through the presence of counter-monuments. Using the work of Adrian Forty, who questions the possibility of addressing one phenomena (that of memory) without its other (forgetting) and James Young's theory on the behaviour and role of counter-monuments in an urban setting, the framework for forgetting is based on these inputs.

3) *From the field of urban studies:*

With the built environment, the question always remains how does communication occur with physical objects that are purely function based?¹⁵² Various theoreticians have pointed it out (Barthes, Eco, Halbwachs, Rossi et. al.) that architecture though functionally relevant is also something that appears to be communicative to both the individual and societies. Through the field of urban studies some of these quires can be answered, Rossi and Lefèbvre outline processes through which this communication can be identified. Focusing on the production of sites/ primary elements combined with social practises that can help understand relevance, attachment and behaviour associated with these sites, from the field of urban studies a step towards identification and observation of the interplay is taken.

¹⁵¹ Mark Crinson in *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City* quotes the concepts developed by Marc Augé's who speaks about space that is teeming with memories and meaningful spaces, to be called 'places of memory'. Marc, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*.

¹⁵² Umberto Eco in 'Function and Sign: Semiotics of Architecture' asks, 'Why is architecture a particular challenge to semiotics? First of all because apparently most architectural objects do not communicate (and are not designed to communicate), but function.' And continues with 'A phenomenological consideration of our relationship with architectural objects tells us that we commonly do experience architecture as communication, even while recognizing its functionality.'

Françoise Choay, in 'Urbanism and Semiology'¹⁵³ discusses the possibility of studying architecture as a system of elements that carry meaning. Through this paper, she develops this understanding between architectural morphology and how meaning is produced. Using the system she developed and adding the frameworks of Lefèbvre, Rossi and Halbwachs an analytical matrix is developed that help ascertain the role of architecture in supporting the performance of memory and forgetting.

¹⁵³ Choay, *Urbanism & Semiology*. 160-175.

Chapter 3

Development of framework: A method for the analysis of architecture/ remembering/ forgetting interplay

Architecture has never been idle. Its history is more ancient than that of any other art, and its claim to being a living force has significance in every attempt to comprehend the relationship of the masses to art. Buildings are appropriated in a twofold manner: by use and by perception-or rather, by touch and sight.

- Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*¹⁵⁴

3.1 Introduction: reading complexity in space

The French architectural theorist Françoise Choay in her article 'Urbanism & Semiology' describes how architecture can be observed as a system of elements containing meaning.

... whether urban environment can be considered, as have other human products, as a semiological system. In other words, whether we can study the urban scene with a method derived from general linguistics and consider it as a non-verbal system of meaningful elements, the structure in which in a given society is linked to that of other cultural systems.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Benjamin, *Illuminations*.

¹⁵⁵ The article 'Urbanism & Semiology' was translated from 'Urbanisme et semiologie and was first published in *Architecture d'aujourd'hui* in July 1967. It was later translated to English and first appeared as an edited article along with comments from the author on the margins in Charles Jencks and George Baird's 1969: *Meaning in Architecture as 'Urbanism & Semiology'*. Though more than forty-five years have passed since its first appearance, it remains a constant point of reference for understanding of architectural morphology and inscribed meaning. The model developed by Choay can be referenced for working through meaning and other attachments to form.

If considered as the point of origin for the framework development through Choay's excerpt, architecture can then be studied and read as manifestations of many actions that result in or rather what is experienced as form and space. Architecture can be seen as a result or product of various interventions through both the individual and the collective to serve society in terms of providing a basis for urban and social life. By reading and studying urban form as a product of many interventions and strategies, the urban form can be analysed in relation to both the intention of creation and the study of its evolution and transformation. The previous chapter highlighted how architecture's role within the framework of memory and forgetting can be intentional such as that of a monument/memorial or could be a site that developed importance over time; apart from how collectives experience memory or forgetting. But what can be agreed upon at the commencement of this chapter is that, based on theoretical readings the act of remembering and the questioning of forgetting can take place within spatial frameworks, apart from various other forms of remembering or forgetting that exist.

While trying to interpret various stands between architecture/ remembering/ forgetting or even that which bridges these various umbrellas, what comes to the forefront is the role that the material structure and form play in the lives of people is one that goes beyond association. It is the social role that buildings play within the lives of people that makes its investigation so interesting. Using the framework provided by Halbwachs in understanding physical spaces as being more than a background, but one that participates in the events actively and behaves as a reflection of people's behaviours and desires, roots the discussion theoretically.

Following not just Halbwachs but also Lefèbvre's theoretical models that address various socio-material aspects of architecture in the understanding of socio-spatial differences that occur in society; architecture can be ascribed with meaning through various methods and commemorative acts, wherein within each of these acts lies a symbolic value and connection between the object and its user. Not only can there be attachment to these spaces, but also certain elements can be forgotten in the process of translations. Since there are various aspects interwoven with architecture, the dialects to this study are many and varied in their approaches. The challenge here lies in the need to develop an analytical method for identifying aspects that make certain spaces 'more' important and others 'less', the need to retain/remember certain while forgetting others is one of the questions addressed here. Through the developed framework it is possible to identify how within social practises spaces play a role in

aiding remembering in some while forgetting in others.

Within the development of the analysis, I will use various theories explored in the previous chapter to develop a method and analytical strategy for architectural analysis that can be used to study the role of remembering and forgetting, and its behaviours. The intention is to enable the identification of the role that remembering and forgetting play when architecture is encountered on a plane that is beyond built space or a stage. Architecture then goes into the realm of the symbolic and commemorative gestures leading to a sense of identity production. In order to develop this strategy, the approach that is used involves studies of structural, semantic¹⁵⁶ and typological elements of architecture, memory and forgetting. Within a complex and dynamic environment architecture behaves in many ways some of which are predictable and others symbolic, I will within this chapter discuss the development of a method that can potentially be used in various landscapes for investigating the role of remembering and forgetting.

The intention would be to identify certain trends that are common or rather related to repertoires of encounter with memory or retention of fabric and its other side, forgetting or destruction or transformation (in very literal translation). If such encounters are possible to be identified, then registering and analysing such encounters may help understand the significance of both memory/ remembering and forgetting within and through space. Through registering these spaces of importance and behaviours around them, this thesis looks at two levels on which to approach the study; a macro or urban level to observe and identify sites of importance and a micro or singular element of importance to test the hypothesis on an object/ singular level.

3.2 Analysis of remembering and forgetting in complex and dynamic landscapes

The next question that arises within this process is, how to formulate a selection criterion, one that combines a purely theoretical narrative with that of an empirical study. As was discussed in the previous chapters various theories are not

¹⁵⁶ Architectural semiotics as discussed for example by Charles Jencks (1969) and Françoise Choay (1967/ 69) studies architecture as a system of symbols and signs- as a non verbal systems of elements that play a significant role. In reference to Ronald Barthes who states 'the aim of semiological research is to restore the functioning of systems of meaning other than language' (Barthes, *Elements of Semiology, Writing Degree Zero*). The need here is not to use architecture as a language but one that studies the meaning of architectural elements, their form and their importance.

just interwoven but also overlap with each other to make the theoretical platform that supports remembering and forgetting possible and identifiable within the urban form. Even within these theories fine lines separate what can be included and what cannot, when used with architectural analysis to identify where and how encounters with memory or forgetting take places. Identifying architectural and contextual characteristics related to remembering and those that question forgetting is to discern a sense of attachment to space through specific sites, buildings, commemorative naming of streets, and other attempts to create a sense of place. As far as my understanding goes, there is no one or singular method that embraces various facets of trying to read architectural analysis. What can be helpful though is the guidance that is provided by various architectural approaches to urban studies (qualitative and quantitative), which help throw light on not just the various stakes at hand but also as to the identification of these characteristics and their inter-relationships (refer Groat & Wang).

But in order to read relevance of architecture with the faculties of memory and forgetting there is a need to establish analytical approach that can entail and enable the reading of this relationship. Using a combination of various genres of knowledge, historic reading of the city to present day interventions, observations, insights, analysis of certain spaces, mapping exercises, a model is developed to understand the performance of memory and forgetting within the city. My intention here is not to investigate the complexity in its entirety but to use certain samples where manifestations of memory/ remembering and forgetting reflect and demonstrate the role these faculties play within urban environments and observe how the performance is supported by the morphological makeup of the city. The example given below clarifies this line of thought:

To understand architecture as more than just observable form, especially one that is influenced by remembering and forgetting is one that requires various themes to come together. For example, using the analogy of a house to explain the current exercise would go a long way in illustrating how a relationship between subject (in this case 'us') and object (here the analogy of a hypothetical house) develops. Both structurally and emotionally a house has meant a place of dwelling, one that develops over the ages to constitute one's home. For the purpose of clarity, let us take an example of a family who move into a newly built house. Though initially empty, it is soon filled with possessions, including a few heirlooms passed on or collected from the previous generations. Over the years, the house fills up with items procured

from various places, and a mixture of both new and old occur; the growth of newly procured items is exponentially larger than those passed down. It is due to a sense of attachment that the heirlooms are carefully preserved, in order to be passed on to the future generation.

Akin to a development of a city, from either a small village or settlement to an urban agglomeration, that over the passing of time develops characteristics and identities through its physical environment and its inhabitants. In the process of its growth, buildings, neighbourhoods, parks and monuments are conceived, added and sometimes replaced. In this cycle of continuous change, certain spaces in the city grow to accommodate a heightened sense of meaning (which could be any of the above stated spaces). These places grow to certain levels of importance as they provide links to the past and a chance to experience it.

Studying the development of the house as an entirety is analogous to studying the urban environment that develops in parts to make a complete whole and the individual elements or heirlooms¹⁵⁷ both new and old as singular pieces to which a bond has been formed. The treasuring of these pieces happens to enforce 'not to forget' and 'in order to remember' that *wie*¹⁵⁸ are a part of something larger. To be able to observe how the house as whole behaves within the context of a given family versus a specific element within that house, we must recognise that the character of that house or the character it develops is guided by the elements that it contains. That is, where various parts contribute to the relations developed to that given space and also the relations that would develop in the future.

Though simplified in its metaphorical explanation, there are various theories and frameworks here at play, which help guide the formation of an analysis for the reading architecture as aiding the performance of remembering and forgetting. The perspective described here by way of an analogy has ramifications on the organisation of the empirical investigations of the work, using elements in an urban environment from their inception to transformation.

In the following sections, I list progressively the possible factors at play that can help with the analysis and the process by which identification of such sites and elements can take place within the urban environment.

¹⁵⁷ Where heirlooms are akin to monuments or singular structures of importance within an urban environment.

¹⁵⁸ As in inhabitants of a given space both social and physical.

3.3 Framing of the analysis

The proposed framework works on a broad spectrum to analyse various sites in an urban environment. Based on the technique developed by Françoise Choay in *Urbanism and Semiology* to bridge the empirical analysis of architecture with that of certain rhythms in the city that are spatial in their orientation, this section develops a framework that can be adapted and used as an analytical guide in various environments. By expanding upon Choay's work on differentiating architectural analysis into three layers to include the theories of Rossi, Lefèbvre, Halbwachs and Connerton, the framework moves to encompass elements needed to observe the performance of remembering and forgetting.

Depending on the scale of the selected study, the below listed points were expanded upon to accommodate more available data and adapted to suit the empirical case.

1) *Architectural systems*

- To understand how spaces were organised and how they developed historically.
- Regimes associated with these places, their development and changes.
- Using the development of space as a toolkit, much like how Aldo Rossi advocated in *Architecture of the City*, to study patterns and developments through the history of space.

2) *Primary elements: development of places and sites of importance and symbolic value*

- Defining the primary element and its role.
- Rooting the element in architectural and social production and practises.

3) *Auxiliary systems in usage*

- Rituals in space
- Iconographic analysis

4) *What Françoise Choay calls as 'Syntagms'.*

- Relations between places, not just to each other but also in relation to the system in its entirety (structural analysis).

Using the aspects from the development of architectural systems and studying in detail the coming of a system and its characteristics implies the study of the system through observable patterns and historical growth. Within the production of an architectural landscape, various patterns of development can be discerned, through its relation to function, production of meaning, identity construction and development of sites of importance.

In what follows, I will describe what/ how relationship between architecture and, memory and forgetting may develop and how it can be observed and evaluated. Using theory relevant to illustrate analytical intentions of the analysis, including that of historical development of the studied areas, each section is divided further to improve clarity of the studied systems. For each of the analytical level, I describe the methods used to conduct the analysis, i.e. what is the qualitative material used to investigate the question and how the question was approached. Finally discussing as to how the developed framework is a useful analytical tool that can be used to study the interplay between architecture-remembering-forgetting.

3.3.1 Architectural systems

The first step towards constructing the framework was identifying typologies and systems (physical and social) for both macro and micro level of study. When talking about a specific type of system in reference to the case studies, it was preferable that they be social in function and architectural in form. Building typologies are referent of not just the task they entail, but also refer to a form of spatial logic that can be read in architecture. The connection between type of function and form of the object is related not just to its specific appearance, but also as to how it is used in everyday life and the relationship shared between space and its inhabitants both in terms of the past and how it translates to the present/ future. The first level of analysis looks at the organisation of space, its development and its association with surrounding social life.

In order to elaborate on a framework on how to classify, understand and observe developments of spaces, a number of theoreticians have come up with various classifications and techniques in order to understand and analyse space, and the relationship it entails with the people who use it. Françoise Choay for instance speaks about 'pure' and 'mixed' spaces, where a 'pure' system is one where the architectural systems supports and reflects very specific cultural and social systems

versus the ‘mixed’, where such direct identification is no longer possible. Lefèbvre, on the other hand identifies a spatial triad, which he emphasizes in *The Production of Space* that architectural space is not space itself, but only a way of looking at space- or aspects of the ‘real’ space, which is the space of social practices¹⁵⁹. For Lefèbvre, the city and urban life were not constants but instead a dynamic process of possibilities and encounters. Lefèbvre proposed a spatial triad that looked at spatial production as a relationship between real space and mental space:

- 1) Spatial practice
- 2) Representations of space
- 3) Spaces of representation

To study any system means that each system develops with its own characteristics that are specific to its particular culture, social framework and geography (as we will see in the chapters that focus on the urban study of the South Indian context and the case in the Balkans). But to use architecture as a tool to understand and analyse memory and forgetting in a city means to study how relationship with space in each context developed. Looking at it in the following ways in each of the empirical cases:

- 1) What are the inherent characteristics of the given space?
 - Studying the physical form the city has acquired?
 - Development of this physical form
 - Transformations in the physical space
- 2) How did the surrounding spaces develop (what Choay terms as syntagms)?
 - In relation to each other
 - In relation to the urban setting as a whole
- 3) Spatial and social understandings given to particular spaces in the selected zone
 - Regimes associated with the space
 - Commemorative acts that take place within the space

Aldo Rossi in *Architecture of the City* describes architectural types

¹⁵⁹ Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space*. 18.

as represented by architectural models. A type can be studied as a system, a morphological system to be specific and one that follows a form of logic and has a definite relationship between form and space. In *Architecture of the City*, the study focuses on the relationship between 'built' to 'open', 'block' to 'street' and so on. But in order to study this system or any system, one must understand the inherent function that lies in these spaces. To recognise these models in the case study areas both on a urban space and specific object level means to observe how it was built and developed, this being empirically accessible through drawings, maps and photos collected through archives and help from other researchers.

In this study, not only does the development of certain urban typologies through the centuries have an influence on the outcome of the study but also what helps the study is to understand how places that were once sites of power and politics have been transformed in the last decades, influencing both everyday day behaviour and socio-spatial behaviours around the object of study. Especially considering certain spaces that once were the imprints of power, have lost that sense and now are spaces of transformation with new meanings associated with them, makes the discussion one of interest.

Embedding structural analysis within environments that are non-European case studies signifies a shift in perspectives as the studied elements are produced in in a complex and dynamic urban setting that are in non-European in tradition. The production of space within these scenarios deals with certain effects from past actions that has more to do with the social initiatives rather than just the physical composition, implying that the interplay within and between spaces moves beyond a certain sense of spatial logic (influenced by colonisation and traditional planning to cite a few examples). But to understand how this takes place (and is taking place), it can be observed through changes within the system over a period of time supported qualitatively through interviews, archival material and mapping of the given space.

Since this part of the analysis is to focus on how memory of space is both imbedded, retained and forgotten (due to changes of social or structural content), it might be simpler to understand it as:

- 1) To understand how the space/ type came to be. Affecting and forming certain patterns around it through function and commemoration.
- 2) How transformation of the same space took place through various interventions leading to morphological changes and de facto changes in function.

Within my understanding of space and the conclusions to be drawn from the various perspectives of embedding the process of memory and forgetting within architecture, various possibilities of study open up as also constraints of how to encounter with ‘mental’ process that can take place within space.

As can be read from the previous chapters, the embedding of memory and forgetting in architecture imbibe many roles within urban life that affect social characteristics of those who inhabit the space and social practises associated with the space. The necessity to retain or demolish certain aspects of the urban fabric can dictate how identity production maybe affected within the urban setting.

As noted earlier, theoreticians such as Walter Benjamin, Aldo Rossi, Maurice Halbwachs and others use everyday elements within the city to discuss associations to space, to portray not just attachments that are developed but also various functions of these elements that have a role in regimes and rituals that happen through space. Architecture when invested with meaning behaves as a construction that holds together societies or social groups, aiding in a sense of permanence and identification with one’s physical surrounding. Thus by identifying various systems and regimes within an urban environment primary elements within each system and spaces with heightened sense of meaning can be identified.

3.3.2 *Primary elements*¹⁶⁰

A system developed by Aldo Rossi as outlined in Section 2.6 is a concept that provides an approach for studying relations between ‘semantically weighted elements’¹⁶¹ and other urban elements within the development of the urban fabric

¹⁶⁰ Rossi’s main argument is that it is both possible and important to study the spatial continuity of a city. His theory of permanence is based on both Marcel Poëte and Pierre Lavedan. Rossi puts one central aspect in the following way:

(...) that all those elements which we find within a certain region or within a certain urban area are artifacts of a homogenous nature, without discontinuities. (...) It would also deny that the open city and the closed city are different kinds of artifacts. Rossi 1984: 57-63, 139, 158-9.

Both Rossi and Lefèbvre apply a structural approach to urban transformation. Transformation of urban structures is seen as a necessary precondition for all modern societies in change, and as a characteristic aspect of the dynamic role of cities in the development of societies through history.

¹⁶¹ Françoise Choay introduces the concept of ‘semantically weighted elements’, to show the relationship between minor elements and those elements related to the concept of power. The relationship between these various elements helps both the reading of the urban space and an indication of how the urban setting evolved.

in its entirety. By looking at how the urban fabric was produced (along the lines of time specific development), one can come to the conclusions about various aspects of the fabric; how the system came to be, the history of the development of urban artefact (Rossi) or landmarks within the landscape. For example,¹⁶² a temple, a medieval church or a mosque within an urban setting can be noted as site of collective importance. It is maintained as a site of cultural and social importance as it once represented the site of religious power or even may continue to do so, but the plethora of meanings that surround the structure may have undergone a series of changes over the years since its inception, making the structure a primary element.

What makes it a primary element is that it represents a definitive phase in the development of the historical layer in a given or selected zone. But primary elements need not necessarily be monuments, but instead elements that play either major or minor roles of importance within a certain regional contexts. Thus going beyond a level of physical importance, they can be read as a concept developed through the relationships that the element has within its surroundings.¹⁶³ The concept of primary elements within the scope here is used as an analytical tool that helps in investigating and identifying elements of importance in the case studies. They are used within the case studies as points of importance where transformation of space and evolving urban dynamics can be observed.¹⁶⁴

To understand an urban area's 'residue', means to go beyond its physical manifestations, and to understand it through representation and attachment. Primary elements can be looked as being related to a specific genre within the urban development of a given or selected context, but the influence of these elements go beyond a specific stage of development, with effects seen on the dynamics of the entire urban zone. When a study such as the current one involves various locations and contents, primary elements can refer to certain main characteristics that help define wherein zones of importance lie and give a hint into their development for the

¹⁶² Taking the example of a setting in a South Asian context. But similar relations can be translated into other situations and praxis as well.

¹⁶³ Aldo Rossi developed the concept of 'primary elements' as one that helps identify elements that play a definitive role within a context (on an overall setting). But the case studies reveal that not just major or even primary elements play an important role, but within various contexts (say in a small zone), different elements play the role of 'primary elements'. Hence the term primary can be subjective depending on context; here the term is used to refer to elements of importance based on the context it is in and on an overall important framework.

¹⁶⁴ That of the urban level study in Bangalore and singular element level study in Mostar.

city under consideration. They play a definitive role both in the selected landscape and its development, retention and the effects it may have in future considerations.

According to Rossi, primary elements can be identified by way of studying how the urban fabric has been transformed through history. By identifying the inherent element in the urban sphere (as Rossi advocates), and by reading into the various structures that developed periodically (as Lefèbvre states), one can discern primary elements in an urban setting.

By studying the history of its development and the sites, through qualitative means (photos, maps, archival material, local interviews), the clarity on how the primary element came to be and how relationships with the surrounding developed can be analysed. To investigate how primary elements are invested with memory (or collective memory) and forgetting, an iterative process is followed to identify these elements¹⁶⁵.

- 1) The most direct analysis can be done through an initial morphological analysis.
 - Analysis of available literature
 - Maps (historical, present and projected plans)
 - Archival photographic material
 - Interviews
- 2) Identification of zones and sites that contain primary elements within the case studies through identifying prevalent forms and regimes in the city that have left indicators on site.
- 3) Understanding development of the selected zones.
- 4) Investing of meaning onto these sites (historical, collective, social).

¹⁶⁵ For both the case studies, the overall process of selection and identification of zones of importance was conducted, focusing specifically on architectural studies and zones of particular transformation, before selecting specific zones or sites for in-depth analysis. The process of selecting these sites was also through a series of consultation with various institutions and offices conducting research within these zones. In the case study of Bangalore, state lead interventions and investigation has lead to collection of various data that is currently dictating the process of transformation with the city. With Mostar, due to the war in 1991, the attention given by various scholars to facets within the urban form helped determine the point of both intervention and study.

- 5) In both the cases, understanding how the primary elements have undergone various stages of transformation.

3.3.3 *Auxiliary systems in usage*

Rituals in space

Rituals and myths may quite properly be viewed as collective symbolic texts and on this basis, one may go on to suggest that ritual actions should be interpreted as exemplifying the kind of cultural values that often also expressed in elaborate statements that we call myths- as exemplifying these values in another medium.¹⁶⁶ For the purpose of the analysis, the inclusion of rituals or commemorative acts is to satisfy observable, repetitive actions that take place in urban space. They take place in various ways; celebrations on specific days/ periods of the year, story telling, enacting and certain forms of set behaviours that hold on to the myth of the given place. The enactment of these rituals adds to the commemorative value of that space.

Connerton writes that ‘rites are not merely expressive... but rites are expressive acts only by virtue of their conspicuous regularity. They are formalised acts, and tend to be stylised, stereotyped and repetitive’.¹⁶⁷ By identifying rituals associated with urban space, cultural manifestations and identities through the ritual performances can be observed and analysed. Going by the definition that, all rituals are repetitive, repetitions automatically imply continuity with the past.¹⁶⁸ This sense of continuity, if held on, helps with a group’s image and the space that it occupies. To aide with identifying of rituals, Connerton’s definitions help with establishing a framework:

- 1) Ritual behaviours as symbolic representation: Where the rituals are bound within the realm of symbolic acts, which can be personal or religious.
- 2) Rituals as quasi-textual representations: Where rituals serve to establish continuity within a group and emphasise upon the group’s shared identity.
- 3) Rituals as historical positions: Where understanding of the roots of the ritual, frames the ritual’s context and invention.

¹⁶⁶ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*. 53.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. 44.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. 45.

Within this thesis, the aim to understand the performance of memory/ forgetting through urban space is framed by many systems, rituals in urban space is aided by Connerton's definitions. By looking at rituals as 'symbolic representations'¹⁶⁹ urban space is observed as one that behaves as a supporting element in the performance or the location where the performance takes place.

Iconographic analysis

Observable patterns can be used as a preliminary mode of distinction and identification. To understand which/ what and where important spaces lie or areas that are symbolic in function, iconographic analysis can be very useful. Firstly, in the identification of primary elements and as a second step in the analysis of patterns, symbolic contents, that are used to convey meaning for a specific purpose. The following are the analytical guides used within the case study:

- 1) Iconographic means shall be used to exhibit certain ideas relevant to ideals of the place through ornamentation, orientation and surrounding details.
- 2) In what ways can/ are iconographic flexibility expressed; especially in spaces that are the locus of transformation. Understanding of not just a singular space of importance but how the space was produced (probably in various parts and stages to contribute to a whole).
- 3) In case of structural changes how has the 'meaning' associated with space changes/ transforms or adopts new definitions?

Traditionally iconographic analysis is related to identification of activity, types of users, what role do certain urban areas play in a selected zone. It is relatively common within the realm of researchers who use iconographic analysis to help identify and differentiate between buildings or space that are symbols themselves and those that imply a certain symbolic quality. This differentiation can be traced back to Venturi et. al. who in their study of the Vegas strip in *Learning from Las Vegas* identified the 'duck' and 'decorated shed', where the former has an implied meaning and the latter an applied meaning. This form of understanding is indicative to learning and understanding where spaces can have a certain sense of importance due to the presence of collective memory or in other case, questions forgetting or even

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. 53.

goes so far as the identification of counter monuments.

To identify certain spaces/ buildings as sites of importance can be done through the analysis of its organisation, materials used or even ‘age-value’.¹⁷⁰ These spaces and buildings due to reasons both objective and subjective have more symbolic weight¹⁷¹ than other spaces in immediate vicinity (in some cases). Within the selected zones of study, iconographic analysis can help identifying structures whose role encompass the morphological and also encourages specific forms of behaviours/ patterns around them (thus going beyond specific set function). When selecting and identifying primary elements, it is important to discuss how embedding of not just functions take place but also forms of remembering, forgetting and various attachments come to play. Through identifying these spaces that are architectural in form and embedding of various mental capacities to these spaces, does not always imply that the space behaves in a predictable pattern. But instead show that dialogues with architecture can traverse in various ways depending on outlook, programme and usage.

Lastly, iconographic transformations have more to do with spaces that reflect changes at an institutional level. This could take effect through the introduction of new rules that change the face of the urban landscape, where an analysis of certain streets and areas can be used to describe aspects that reflect new users, new meanings and social constructs; whereas in some cases old meanings literally ‘hover’ over new constructions.¹⁷²

An amalgamation of morphological analysis that examines organisation and the role of architecture and iconographic analysis implies the identification of the means of communication and the symbolic quality of that space. Though individuals may have various subjective interpretations, what is attempted within this thesis is a selection of case study zones that are based on various sources that are essentially collective, archival and historically relevant.

In summary, what is attempted first is the identification of primary elements;

¹⁷⁰ Riegl, *The Modern Cult of Monument: Its Character and its Origin*.

¹⁷¹ For example, an apartment complex in the middle of a busy street might have no particular significance. But if the same complex was on a site of symbolic importance for the community (say the site was once an important industrial complex) and still retained only the original name of the complex, then iconographic transformation analysis can help understand how representation of just the name can be helpful in determining the character of the site both in the past and the degree of transformation that the site may or may not have gone through in the present.

¹⁷² As can be observed within the case study analysis.

if these spaces have faced/undergone transformation, the response of the urban space to the transformation and lastly what the new iconographic implications are. Here the intention in this part of the empirical analysis is to identify potentials - buildings, spaces, monuments and houses that may have or be inscribed with qualities of symbolic importance, and how in some cases they have been transformed (as in the urban case study). The steps followed are:

- 1) Understanding and analysing the development of the given urban environment through various stages; archiving its current form by studying its development; iconographical and morphologically
- 2) Marking out spaces that are seen as collective, social and historic from each of development zone and analysing their iconographic importance and role.
- 3) Analysing the transformation of meanings in some sites.
- 4) Studying of behavioural patterns through rituals, iconography and the role that architecture or form plays in the performance by way of active participation.

3.4 Architectural case study analysis

As outlined in the introduction chapter, an interpretive historical strategy with strong theoretical roots comprises the basic strategy of the work. The architectural case study analysis incorporates what Robert Yin describes as ‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomena within its real life context, especially when the boundary between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident’,¹⁷³ forms a concise introduction to the phenomena that is explored.

The empirical section of the study will be presented in a two-part analysis, where the first section peruses a macro/ urban level study and the second addresses a micro or singular object level analysis for understanding and discerning the role of architecture in aiding both remembering and forgetting. Within the scope of the macro level study, I will analyse how the urban landscape of the city of Bangalore, India has developed with an intrinsic relationship to remembering and commemoration by focusing on patterns and characteristics (both implied and applied) of various zones in the city. Following this the focus is narrowed onto selected sites that include older parts of the city where dynamics at play

¹⁷³ Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 13.

include memory, commemorations, rituals; contrasted with parts of the city under transformation that threaten practises of remembering and are facing changes to urban memory.

In what follows as the second part of the empirical study, a single architectural object in the city of Mostar, Bosnia Herzegovina converges together many meanings, memories and attachment that can be traced through its conception to destruction and eventual reconstruction - the Stari Most or the Old Bridge.

The method and framework developed within Section 3.0 is used to first observe various forms in the city and mark out locations or sites where architecture can be observed when confronted with remembering or forgetting.

Given that the basic question is to understand architecture's role in aiding performance of memory and forgetting, the case studies were conceptualised in a narrative form. The questions asked accommodates an exploratory component that aligns itself with theoretical conceptions.¹⁷⁴

The methods through which the studies were carried out was outlined in Section 1.4.1 and 1.4.2.

3.5 First step: macro or urban level analysis: Bangalore, India

Bangalore as the selected case study is to fulfil the purpose of not just finding a city with traces of many regimes, layers of history and memory, but to find a city whose current state of transformation is embedded in various attachments to form and space. The city of Bangalore, almost geographically central in the Indian peninsula can be considered 'young' in comparison to other cities in the Indian sub continent. For a city that can trace its living and built history¹⁷⁵ to mid sixteenth century, the urban landscapes went through various stages of development from that of a small village hamlet to a cantonment of the British times and is currently featured on the list of fastest growing cities of the world.¹⁷⁶

These belts of development through the last centuries that have distinct

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. 138.

¹⁷⁵ Though traces of various regimes (from fourth century AD onwards) can be discerned within the genealogy of the city (please refer Chapter 4 for a brief description), this data has to be considered out of the scope of this work. For the purpose of this work, early sixteenth century is used as a reference platform.

¹⁷⁶ According to the international independent think tank City Mayors Foundation cities in the India, China, Africa and South America's are among the top 100 featured cities as the fastest growing cities in the world. Source: http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/urban_growth1.html (Accessed October 2011).

characteristics in form, economics and social practises are observable even today in the city. Using this as a keystone for commencement for the empirical work on the city, I describe (focusing on various periods) the climate that produced its respective form, behaviour and attachment before moving on to its current state of transformation; Elaborating on the development of the urban landscape both in terms of form and the process through which certain elements of architecture developed both in conjunction and in disjunction with prevalent practises of the given period, leading to zones with distinct characteristics where in the presence of architecture performance of memory and forgetting takes root and can be observed.

The biggest challenge with the urban case study was the problem of scale and selecting of the various methods for collecting and collating available data and forming an analysis of the same. The previous sections highlight the combined approaches of Choay, Rossi and Lefèbvre to perform an urban case study. Keeping in mind as Lefèbvre notes, ‘the analysis of urban phenomena (the physical and the social morphology of the city, or if one prefers, the city, the urban and their connexion) requires the use of all the methodological tools: form, function, structure, levels, dimensions, text, context, field, and whole, writing and reading, system, signified and signifier, language and meta-language, institutions, etc.’,¹⁷⁷ the study encompasses a number of phenomena Lefèbvre points out.

A diachronic approach to the investigation gives access to study and the contrasts between various stages of development i.e. studying not just the system of development but also how the production of memory, meaning and function developed. By using various architectural elements and spaces within the selected zones, the understanding of how these elements came to be ascribed with meaning, memory, function and identity can be quantified.

This line of investigating, i.e. how the various layers through which the city developed is both to establish the places and sites of importance and trace how they came to be. Thus leading to the question, as to what are the places that have retained a sense of attachment to the people and those that have both a sense of memory and commemoration attached to them. By first doing the exercise of describing the system that encompasses these various parts, what is revealed is how some spaces, while retaining traces of attachment and memory have undergone massive transformations in the current climate of development, in contrast to others spaces which have retained and support the performance of memory and uses in the space as

¹⁷⁷ Lefèbvre, *Writings on Cities*. 111.

has been practised for centuries.

The purpose of an urban analysis is to investigate, understand and verify how in an urban landscape that is constantly faced with the threat of transformation, certain spaces have held on to ideas, memories, rituals and commemorations that were established centuries before and continue to aid the act of remembering and in other cases foster forgetting. What is also observed within the course of the study is that, in many ways the spaces that have held on to certain practises or rather aid these acts are also the same spaces that are currently faced with the new idea of transformation of memory and practises associated with it. In what follows a short description is given to the two forked direction of the investigation, where the first relies on identifying elements of importance and the second focuses on the transformation of the same elements.

3.5.1 First step: identifying of primary elements

- 1) Studying development patterns of the area through historical growth, removal of certain predominant features/ characteristics of the area and also restoration of structures with new functions infused into them.
- 2) Within the selected landscape identification of sites and zones of importance through layers of developments (historical research through archives and interviews) and attachment/ memory held within or given to particular space; These elements being studied both in isolation (to verify its importance and its associated memory) and in conjunction to the urban structure/ fabric as a whole.
- 3) Embedding of commemorative and iconographic properties to these elements; distinguishing patterns of contrast between that of usage and commemorative qualities. In some cases it is the very usage of the space that leads to a form of urban memory and also commemoration of the same.

3.5.2 Second step: transformation (contrasted against forgetting)

Within the urban level architectural analysis, there is a necessity to understand not just how certain sites of importance behave as zones of attachment and sites of urban memory, but also the transformation of certain sites within the city that are exhibiting transformation of urban memory and in some cases forgetting. Identifying and describing the process of change through development patterns and

behaviours or transformation, this section focuses on this identification process. Transformations of certain sites within the city are indicative of changes in urban memory and also iconographic behaviour within these sites give indication of further changes to come in some cases and retention of practises in others. Using the area of the old city or what is called as the 'Pettah'¹⁷⁸ in Bangalore and sites of colonial origin along the borders of division between that of the of the native city dwellers and the Cantonment of the British, I will show the retention of certain commemorative behaviours and acts, where in other parallel sites are now taking on a more contemporary look and creating new sites of importance within an urban sphere that faces continuous change.

Within the urban study, it became quickly evident that rather than question forgetting, the term of 'transformation' more suited the object of study. As the city's fabric is faced with constant transformation, the idea of question of forgetting in/ through urban form has just begun to take root. As seen within two sites within the city, 'forgetting' is challenged by addressing and including the past and the memory contained within the site.

3.6 Second step: micro or object level analysis: Stari Most, Mostar, BiH

With the idea to test the hypothesis of the notion that architecture embodies and supports the performance of both memory and forgetting through the presence of certain built forms, the case studies were broadly divided into a macro or urban and micro or object level study.

Within the landscape of the city of Mostar in Bosnia Herzegovina, the task of identification of primary elements was undertaken after a series of interviews and literature reviews. After analysing the various periods the city experienced and the forms that each of the regimes produced, it was necessary to conclude on finding a singular element that would shed light on the behaviour of form when memory/ forgetting is the focus of the subject.

A city that is still plagued by repercussions of war, both in terms of physical and social manifestations, the architectural element that played and continues to play a central role in the performance of both memory and forgetting is the 'Old Bridge or

¹⁷⁸ Pettah (in regional language Kannada) translates to Market area in English. The oldest part of the city of Bangalore, the Pettah was divided into various quarters (that were both residential and commercial) based on professions practiced in each quarter. It plays the role of the historical core and zone for traditional practices.

the Stari Most’.

Analysing the element in a two-step process was done by looking at the element as one that became a site of memory over centuries and a varied number of uses, a space that through many years of its historical roots lead to its sense of both purpose and attachment; that which stems from this sense of attachment to a physical space leading to its destruction and reconstruction. This section looks at the element in two forms, one in its physical form and the other its representation; i.e. study of one object or monument in two distinct manifestations.

3.6.1 Identification of primary elements

The city of Mostar experienced various regimes in the span of five centuries; the urban scape was a ‘mixed’ system. There was a need to identify each of the regimes and specific markers before the selection of a singular element within the urban scape.

After going through the process of identifying each of the regimes, the one element that continued to have specific roles within the urban environment was the Old Bridge or the Stari Most.

3.6.2 Selection of singular element

As an object or structure:

As a structural element conceived in the sixteenth century by Suleiman the Magnificent, the architectural structure gained prominence due to its unique construction and aesthetic appeal. Over the centuries, this element of the urban fabric grew to play a central role within the community life of the city of Mostar.

Historical Analysis

- Conception of the bridge as both a structural element and its transformation as a monument for both the place and its people.
- Varied uses and commemorations that lead to heightened sense of attachment.

Destruction

- As an architectural element that played a central role in the city, during the Croat-Bosniak War (1992-94), the Old Bridge was destroyed. This destruction had effects on both the physical well being of the city and its people, and on the plane of attachment to its physical presence.

Reconstruction

- The eventual reconstruction of the bridge in the early 2000's and the opening in 2004, lead to questions on where the differentiating lines between the old and new lie. Leading to the second section of questioning: the representation.

As representation:

As an element with an augmented sense of attachment, in both its physical and metaphorical sense, leads to the path of questions on its representation on space and the people. As an element that aids the path to the act of remembering 'better times'¹⁷⁹ in terms of performing remembering and forgetting.

- Within the act of rebuilding an exact replica, the differentiation between what the old bridge (pre-destruction) and new bridge (post-reconstruction) represented is seen in both the interviews and how the structure is currently treated.
- On the foot of the rebuilt bridge, lie stones of the destroyed bridge that have been dredged from the river; this juxtaposition of the new and old existing at a singular site speaks about the case of counter memory.

¹⁷⁹ 'Better times' was the phrase used in response with relation to the Bridge when a resident was interviewed about the Bridge.

Part 2

Case Study Analysis

Application of the framework on to two distinct empirical cases

The empirical section of the study will be presented in a two-part analysis, where the first section peruses an urban or macro level study in Bangalore, India and the second addresses a singular object or micro level analysis in Mostar, BiH.

The framework that is based on architectural systems, identification of primary elements, rituals and behaviors, and overall relationship of the site to the city is applied on two distinct urban and object levels. The framework should be read a neutral and objective guiding tool that is tested on various sites to attest to its viability. By selecting sites varying in location, morphology, culture and social settings, the work tests if the framework can be applied on various levels and in diverse situations, and is seen as a step to test its empirical application. The sites that form testing grounds for the framework and give insights into the research questions, and not as a comparative between the two cases.

The selected case studies though reflect certain similarities in terms of morphology, religiosities, social and cultural settings, should be read as distinct and individual cases. Both the cases and locations were familiar to me due to work done there previous to my doctoral work. Repeated case study visits enabled the gathering of more information, data and personal connections to both the cities, this being one of the primary reasons for selection of cases. The case studies perform the function of grounds wherein to test the framework and give insights into the research questions. Thus enabling the understanding of memory, transformation, forgetting, cultural behaviours and role of architecture.

Chapter 4

Macro or Urban Level Analysis: Bangalore, India

Analysing various levels and dimensions of collective memory, and its transformation at an urban level; its production and representation.

4.1 Introduction

I hasten to plead that India- in this book- is not to be read as a mere case, example or instance of something larger than itself. It is, rather a site for the examination of how localities emerge in a globalizing world, of how colonial processes underwrite contemporary politics, of how history and genealogy inflect one other, and how global facts take local forms.

- Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*¹⁸⁰

Bangalore like many urban centres around the world is under constant threat of transformation- political, social, cultural and architectural; as Appadurai writes, various influences contribute to its current form. Living through various transformations over the last two hundred years, the city has had to both imagine itself and re-imagine itself within current times. Under this context of constant transformation, first subject to the British rule (for hundred and fifty years) followed by the influx of the liberalisation of the markets through the IT boom (last twenty five years), the historical process within the city has left many an indicator on the urban front. Within the Indian subcontinent, Bangalore is one of the cities where the changes that the city has faced in terms of urban transformation can be traced with relative ease mainly due to the presence of the past in various distinct and distinguishable layers.

¹⁸⁰ Appadurai, *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. 18.

The urban case study of Bangalore investigates a landscape of chequered architectural history. In a landscape that has witnessed various regimes from the 16th century onwards, it has left traces on the urban environment that aid not just the performance of remembering and forgetting (through urban transformations) but continue in current times to influence functions in urban sphere. These traces left on the urban landscape today play a role of sites of memory or landmarks as well as sites under transition in a climate of constant change and growth. Their presence in the city give insights to the connection to certain pasts and creation of collective urban memory.

The investigations at a macro or urban level is to discern how the various forms that the city experienced through its many regimes affects the production of a heterogeneous urban memory; which leads further to open ended narratives on the role of architecture at these instances. The hypothesis, that, through the interaction with certain spaces within the city leads to the attachment with these spaces through the performance of memory in some case and forgetting in the other is tested on various locations in the city of Bangalore. Thereby, concretising how the many social groups that exist in the city remember the city in different ways, and this remembering contributes to the making of various identities: identity of the city and of the people.

The method and the analysis are based on historical primary sources¹⁸¹ and secondary sources from researchers who have analysed the various facets of the city¹⁸² like Janaki Nair¹⁸³ who analysis the city through social, religious, spatial and economic patterns, John Stallmeyer¹⁸⁴ on the of process of urbanisation and globalisation and Smriti Srinivas¹⁸⁵ to name a few.

In the following chapters I will outline the history of forms and settlement patterns within the city (that has lead to its amalgamated identity and structure) to provide a backdrop for understanding patterns of development. Followed by specific zones in the city that have cultivated a sense of history, attachment and identity; contributing to the sense of urban memory. Concluding with the zones of

¹⁸¹ Historical maps, architectural drawings and painting, photos and original maps.

¹⁸² As this thesis works in the direction of production of urban memory and the role of architecture I take the help of work done by various researchers on effects of globalisation on spatial development within the city.

¹⁸³ Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*.

¹⁸⁴ Stallmeyer, *Architecture and Urban Form in India's Silicon Valley: A Case Study of Bangalore*.

¹⁸⁵ Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory: The Sacred and the Civic in India's High-Tech City*.

transformation within the same study areas that are contributing to a sense of ‘new’ urban memory and the role that these spaces can have in the heterogeneous future of the city.

Using the points listed below as the axis that guide the critical examination of collective memory production at an urban level:

- 1) Various modes of production of space and the production of collective memory
 - History of traditional forms and the history of colonialism (study through urban forms)
 - Using Lefèbvre’s triad and Rossi’s primary elements to understand and mark out sites of production.

- 2) Changing market economy and the production of collective memory and its transformation (using post colonial sites of the Central Jail-Freedom Park and the National Gallery of Modern Art)
 - Heterotopia of spaces: existence of many forms of space that contribute to the making of identity. The coming of new representation of spaces.

4.2 Historical development of various forms in the city

The relationship between City and Cantonment was strange. It was neither one of friendship nor enmity. The English were not interested in matters relating to the city. They managed to obtain the ayahs, grooms, butlers and clerks they needed in the cantonment itself. Enough revenues were generated there to maintain their territories. We must admit that they kept their clean and beautiful. Broad streets, lined with trees, the large compounds of the military and civil officers, colourful gardens around each home, English women pushing children in prams: we must admit that in additions to the strange appearance of a foreign environment, Cantonment was also beautiful. The spaciousness, wealth of colour, peace, restfulness and beauty: none of this belonged to us; it was produced by the unconscious alienated labour of our people for the foreigners. If we could forget this, we might enjoy it, but not even a moment’s interaction with the English allowed you to forget that fact. Even the most ordinary Englishman had the superior air of the British Empire.

A.N. Murthy Rao, ‘Bengaluru’, Samagra Lalitha Prabandhagalu, 1999

Founded in the year 1537¹⁸⁶ and called ‘Bengaluru’ by Kempe Gowda¹⁸⁷ a local chieftain, who owed his loyalty to the Vijayanagar Empire founded the city that was to develop as Bangalore. As with the founding of cities around the world, many myths surround the naming of the city and its inception,¹⁸⁸ stories are told and retold till today that trace oral history of the city in the form of children’s stories and plays.

As with other cities in the Indian sub continent, Bangalore’s history of urbanisation can be characterised into four main economic, political and architectural paradigms. During each of the four periods, a specific typology of urban space existed along with development of important or primary spaces within each of these development zones. Each of these periods has left behind a definitive mark that to this day distinguishes various zones of the city. Based on Chakravorty’s classification of periods of paradigms in Calcutta, a similar paradigm can be drawn for Bangalore.

¹⁸⁶ Evidence of inhabitation and settlement of different parts of city can be discerned through various periods of history such as the Cholas (1004-1116 A.D.), Hoysalas (1116-1336 A.D.), and Vijayanagar Kings (1336 A.D. onwards) who all ruled this region at various instances. It is through inscriptions and veeragals (commemorative stones placed outside places of worship, translating to ‘hero stones’), found at various parts of the city that this entomology been established. Though establishing this lineage is out of the scope of this work, the year 1537 is used as a reference point for the present state of what is seen.

¹⁸⁷ Some believe that the new town was named by Kempe Gowda after a small hamlet near Hebbal Lake from which his mother, wife, and daughter-in-law hailed. Rao, *Bengalurina Ithihasa [A History of Bangalore]*. It has also been suggested that the town’s name derives from ‘Vengaluru,’ the town dedicated by the founder to the deity Lord Venkata of Tirupati Hill, although the temple of Venkateshwara inside the fort was probably built much later, between 1687 and 1704; see Rao, ‘*Derivation of the Name ‘Bangalore’*’.

¹⁸⁸ The story goes that once a Hoysala king was travelling through the region after an unsuccessful hunt, hungry, lost and tired he came upon a house with an old lady. The old lady offered to him, the only item of food that she possessed- boiled beans; which in the regional language Kannada translates to ‘*benda kalu*’. The king is said to have been extremely grateful to this old woman and there after named the region ‘Bendakaluru’ which in course of time became Bengaluru. Another talks of Benacha kalluru (Benachu is quartz stone found in plenty in the region), the stone lending its name to the city and region becoming Bengaluru. While other myths trace the presence of Benge trees found in ‘Bengeuru’ which lent its name to the place, Bengaluru!

Time Period	Political Regime	Economic Climate	Planning
Pre 1537	Various Kingdoms	Trade, business	Organic
1537-1790	Kingdom	Regional trading, shop keeping, regional production	Organic
1790-1937	Colonialism	International market distribution, exploitation, segregation	Colonial
1947-1991	Post-Colonial Democracy	State Lead import, Substitution Industrialization (ISI)	Start of Modernist planning
1991-present	Post-Colonial Democracy	Liberalisation of Markets	Global developments

Table 4.1 Various planning paradigms in the city of Bangalore and the division of the four zones. Based on Chakravorty¹⁸⁹ and Stallmeyer.¹⁹⁰

At the time the city was founded (the reference year is 1537), the urban environment consisted of a mud fort with a settlement beside it and with two main roads running in cardinal directions. The surrounding areas were predominantly farm lands dotted with a number of tanks¹⁹¹ and a central temple at the core of this

¹⁸⁹ Chakravorty, From Colonial City to Global City? The Far-From-Complete Spatial Transformation of Calcutta.

¹⁹⁰ Stallmeyer, Architecture and Urban Form in India’s Silicon Valley: A Case Study of Bangalore.

¹⁹¹ Tanks called ‘Kere’ in Kannada was a predominant part of the landscape of Bangalore. They were water tanks that helped irrigation of the region and were central to the sustenance of life (farming life, ergo life of the people) in this region. For a detailed study of tanks in Bangalore please see the work of Anuradha

settlement.

The growth of the city is attributed to its geographical location in the South Indian peninsula, its relatively central position meant that the city was in the crossroads of routes going north-south and east-west (as can be seen from Map 4.1). The agglomeration of various small settlements around the ample tanks in the region, growth of local markets and growing population were the markings of a region facing potential growth. The organisation of Bangalore as a complex containing a fort (*kote*), settlement/ market area (*pete or pettah*) and large artificially constructed body of water or tank (*kere*) can be described as one type of pre-colonial south Indian urban model.¹⁹²

Following the rule of Kempe Gowda, Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan, Bangalore attracted the attention of the British, who saw the geographical location and climate as favourable conditions to establish a cantonment (or Civil and Military Station) in the city. After the defeat of Tippu Sultan in 1790, Bangalore became a part of the expanding English empire. As with other colonial cities, the period of colonisation saw division of urban form between the colonisers and the natives.

This division in urban form continued to exist years after Indian independence. The task of merging the urban form was an uphill task for the new government in the city post independence (after 1947). Through the years between 1950-70, though there was a steady increase in population, urban form remained divided and these divisions can still be experienced today.

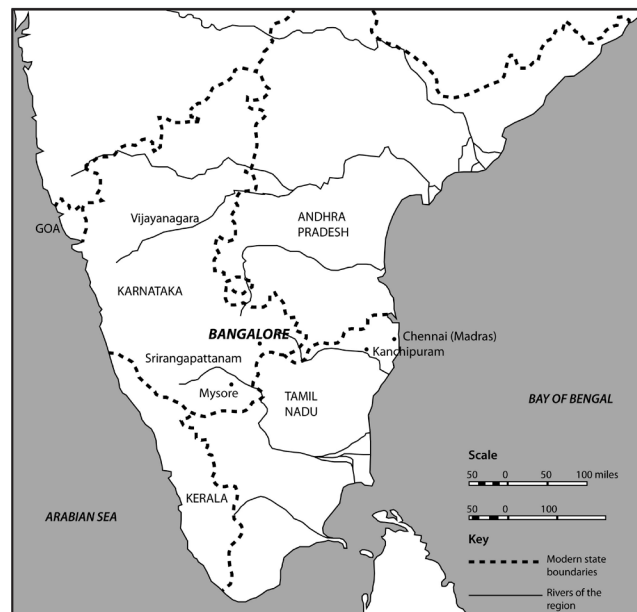
With the liberalisation of the economy in the early 1990's, Bangalore experienced a flood of companies from the Information Technology sector. The small hamlet and cantonment burgeoned into a metropolis whose population peaked at eight million in 2001. This transformation of the city under the influence of globalisation has been the topic of many an academic debate. This topic has encouraged exhaustive research in a number of locations the world over, this frame goes beyond the scope of the presented work.

Mathur and Dilip da Cunha who analyse the influences on the landscape of Bangalore in their very well researched book (which was also presented as an exhibition) Mathur and Cunha, *Deccan Traverses: The Making of Bangalore's Terrain*, 95-113. Also the work of Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory: The Sacred and the Civic in India's High-Tech City.*, points out that tanks were one of the three elements that were central to the spatial order of Bangalore from the middle of the sixteenth century until about early nineteenth century. Many of these tanks have been filled in the last decades, but their presence in the landscape can be felt even in current times.

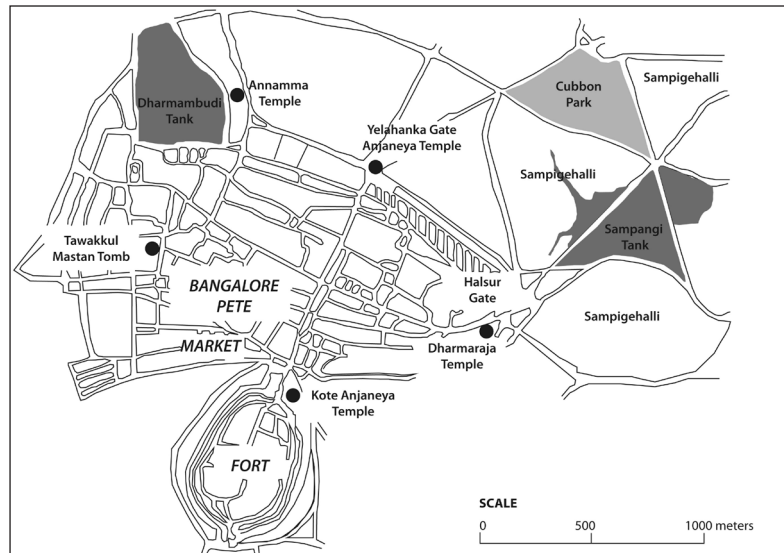
¹⁹² ---, *Landscapes of Urban Memory: The Sacred and the Civic in India's High-Tech City*. 38.

Within this thesis, transformation of the urban sphere is studied under the tutelage of changes to memory and forgetting and where they can be experienced. This thesis uses the opportunity to study an urban zone under constant transformation to focus on sites within the city where observation of memory of old and new are performed. By using contrasting examples of retention of ‘old’ spaces in the city and the coming of ‘new’ ones, the case uses the framework developed in the previous chapter to identify these sites and analyse them to observe urban memory and question forgetting by the approach of transformation.

Within the next sections, the focus lies on applying the developed framework for identifying various forms the city experienced (as identified by Table 4.1), followed by the establishing of primary elements.



Map 4.1: Geographical location of the city of Bangalore within the South Indian peninsula. Its relatively central position in the south is the primary reason why the city was coveted by various regimes. (Source: Based on geographical map of South India)



Map 4.2: Pettah (or Pete) and Fort area along with the tanks in the surrounding area in 1870. (Source: Based on Survey Settlement and Land Records, Bangalore)

4.2.1 *The organic city*

By focusing on various forms in the city, this section traces the development of the urban form in the city of Bangalore. By first identifying various forms, the groundwork to identify primary elements is created, where the process of analysis of the performance can be studied.

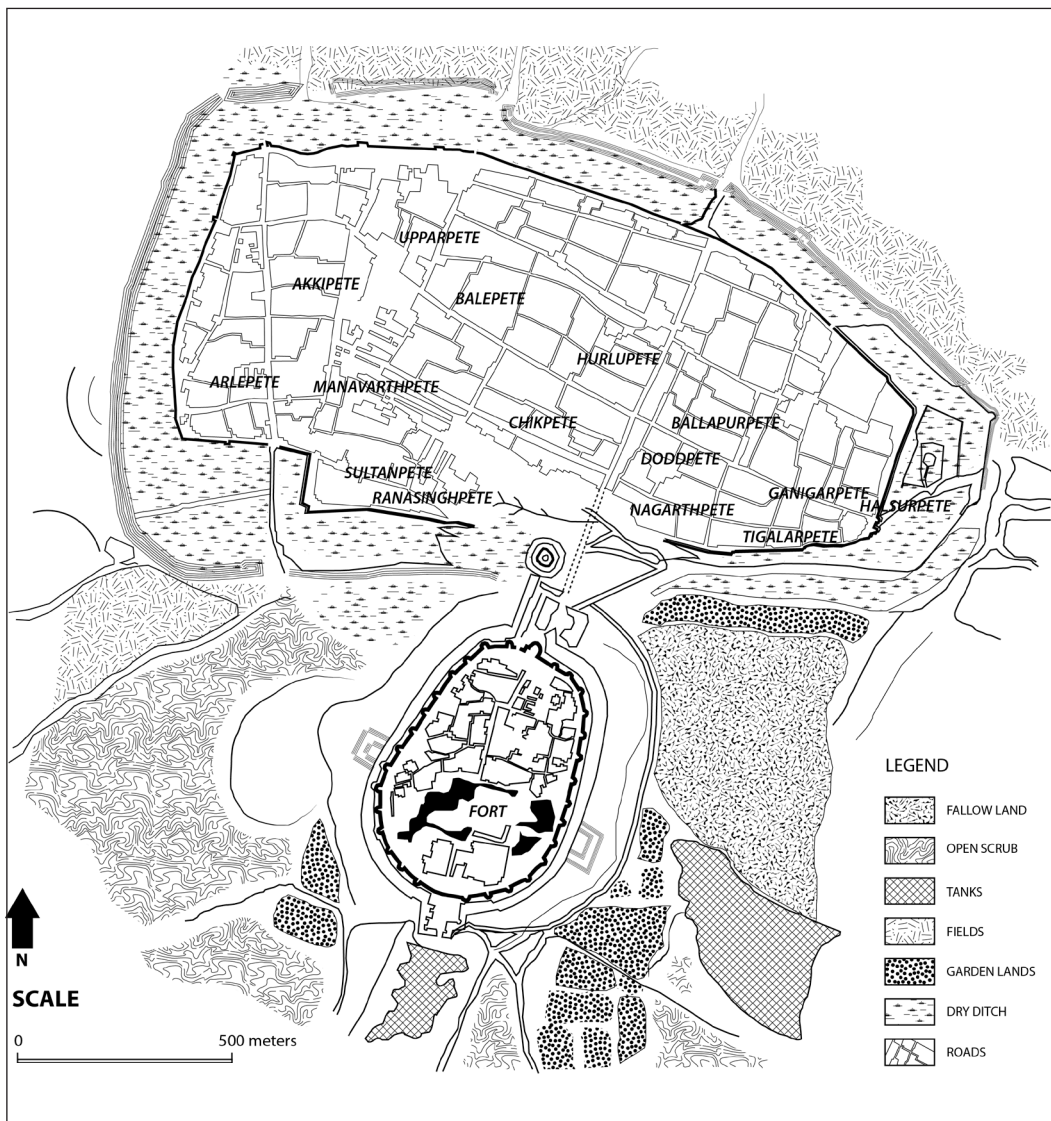
The organic city identifies and describes the form prevalent from mid sixteenth century till the end of the eighteenth century. The organic city can be identified by the following divisions and can be observed in Map 4.2:

- 1) The fort area or the *kote*
- 2) The residential and market area or the *pete/ pettah*
- 3) The surrounding tanks or the *kere*

The fort built in 1537¹⁹³ was constructed out of mud/ clay and surrounded by a moat, gardens and seven gates guarded the entrances to the fort. A second oval

¹⁹³ Kempe Gowda's fort had seven gates: Halsur, Sondekoppa, Kengeri, Yelahanka, Yeshwantpura, Anekal, and Kankanahalli Gates; by the mid- 1700s, the main gates were Halsur, Yelahanka, Yeshwantpura, Anekal, Sondekoppa, and Mysore Gates Rao, *Bengalurina Ithihasa [A History of Bangalore]*. 19,96. For more details on Kempe Gowda's Bangalore and the time when Hidar Ali and Tippu Sultan ruled see Jayapal, *Bangalore: The Story of a City*.

fort was built to the south of the old fort around 1691, and a palace was completed in 1791. As the original fort was built out of mud, the second one was rebuilt in stone and two gates were added, the Delhi Gate in the north and the Mysore Gate in the south, along with a foundry for the manufacture of brass cannons and other military equipment.



Map 4.3 Bangalore 1791 marking the areas of the Kempegowda Fort and the Old City or the Pettah. Also highlighted are the names of each quarter within the zone that reflected the type of business practised there. (Source: Based on Survey of India Map 1791)

From 1759 to 1799, Bangalore was the scene of great military activity and the locus of four Anglo-Mysore wars.¹⁹⁴ The fort was extensively damaged after the battle for Bangalore in the last Anglo-Mysore war in 1799; the moat existed up until the 1860s, when it was closed and, in place of the old fort, a compound wall was built.¹⁹⁵ Only a small fragment of the fort stands today which will be described in detail in the section about transformation of the place (Refer Section 4.2 for more details).

Map 4.3 shows the Pettah area, marked by its organic form and development, which has changed little in form today, though function and appearance have undergone transformations. The narrow winding streets housing distinct communities and business continue to define the character of the zone. The only difference in the landscape being that none of these gates exist anymore as a physical remnant, but are locally still referred to as they were nearly five hundred years ago.

The distinct feature of the Pettah is the recognizable mix of various community groups that lived in the area whose business lent their names to different parts of the Pettah (as can be seen from Map 4.3). The names of streets and localities in the settlement reflect the business groups and artisans who lived/ live here, practicing specific trades and renowned for specific products. Writes Srinivas:

Bangalore was an important entrepôt, with an export trade in betel, pepper, and sandalwood. Although much of the manufacturing activity centered on textile production, different areas of the City had come to be associated with other products and castes as well. There were weaving castes (such as the Devangas and the Pattegaras) and independent trading castes dependent on textiles (the Komatigas, the Nagarits, and the Banajigas). There were also horticulturists (the Tigalas), specialized dyers (the Niligas), oil producers (the Ganigas), and tanners (the Madigas).¹⁹⁶

Apart from the distinct groups who lived (and some continue to do so) in this area, what is also characteristic and to be noted as a part of the processes in this area is the number of markets, temples and tanks in the surrounding areas. Markets that were both permanent and temporary took root in the old city and the surrounding areas and continue to function till date as important nodes for the community within the Pettah area. The main roads (see Map 4.3) lined by shops were the lifelines of the

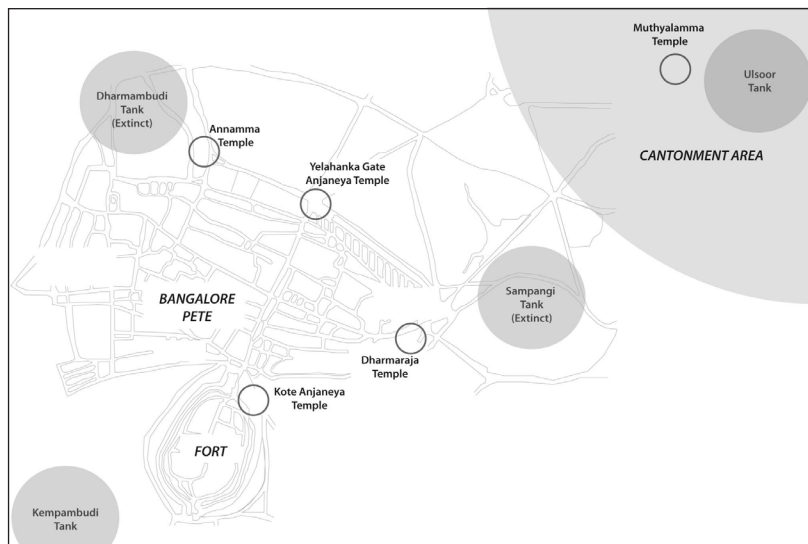
¹⁹⁴ Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory: The Sacred and the Civic in India's High-Tech City*. 39

¹⁹⁵ Rao, *Bengalurina Ithihasa [A History of Bangalore]*. 183.

¹⁹⁶ Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory: The Sacred and the Civic in India's High-Tech City*. 41



Figure 4.1: This photograph of a Main Street, Bangalore taken in the 1890s by an unknown photographer, is from the Curzon Collection's 'Souvenir of Mysore Album'. The note accompanying this photograph reads, 'On either side of the roadway there are open stalls or bazaars, where the tradesmen display their wares arranged in tiers of shelves, all within reach of the salesman, who sits ensconced among them. Those of a trade generally flock together. During the busy hours of the morning and afternoon, the streets are so thronged with people as to remind one of the crowded thoroughfares of London.' (Source: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/t/019pho000430s41u00088000.html>)



Map 4.4 Tanks and Temples in the case study zone. (Source: Expanded on the Survey of India Map to include C&M Station)

area along with temporary stalls that added to the flavour of the area (a characteristic prevalent till date).

The number of tanks¹⁹⁷ and temples within the old city are also worth noting, whose appearance may have changed but whose significance remains. In the South Indian planning tradition almost always temples had tanks constructed in the vicinity.¹⁹⁸

Though the research on the relevance of tanks within south Indian context is large, in this study not all the tanks of Bangalore are taken into the study zone (as this is not the primary focus of the work, see Map 4.4). Within the earmarked¹⁹⁹ study zone, the tanks are used as nodes to study rituals and commemorations attached to them that have in a sense continued on to current times. What does come into the scope of this study are the rituals and commemorations attached to the tanks that act as nodes of importance and aid in the performance of urban memory. For example the ritual of the Karaga²⁰⁰ commences at the Sampangi Tank near the Dharmaraja Temple²⁰¹ at the eastern edge of the Pettah zone.

Apart from these roles as centres or nodes of rituals, the city of Bangalore was also very famous for a number of tanks as recreational spaces. These were created through the centuries to aid the processes of irrigation for the fields, but slowly some of them transformed into recreational spaces near parks and gardens especially during the time of Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan.

Many of these spaces exist now in name only, as within the last decades they have been filled in to give way to the land demand within the city for both private

¹⁹⁷ There were many different types of bodies of water: these include an artificially created receptacle for storing water (*katte*, *kunte*), a natural pond for the provision of drinking water and for washing (*kola*), a well (*bhavi*), and an artificial reservoir near a temple (*kalyani*).

¹⁹⁸ For further details on South Indian temples and tanks please see Ayyar, *South Indian Shrines: Illustrated.*, Kramrisch and Burnier, *The Hindu temple, Volume 1.*, Raman, *Sacred Tanks of South India.*, Morrison, 'Supplying the City: The Role of Reservoirs in an Indian Urban Landscape'. As Morrison writes, tanks were found in large numbers in the Vijaynagar capital. They were often part of interlinked systems, with multiple tanks connected to each other so that the spill off from one led to another and the tanks were connected to wells

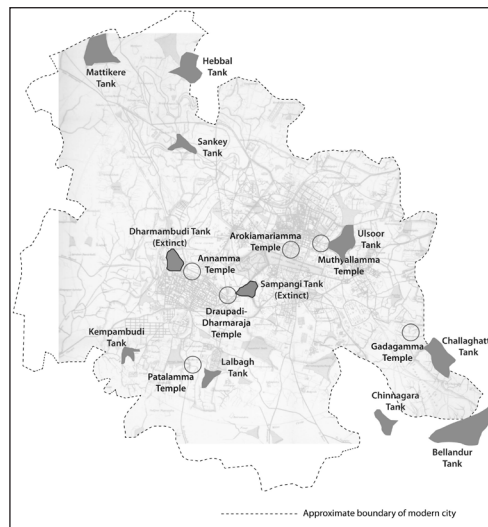
¹⁹⁹ Please note that though there are a number of temples where the procession of the Karaga takes places every year, within the scope of this study the procession only with the Pettah or market area is under focus (the area seen in Map 4.17).

²⁰⁰ Please refer section no 4.3.2

²⁰¹ Please refer Map 4.4

and public use.

The organic city remains largely distinguishable in the contemporary city by the retention of physical form and rituals associated with the space. Organic planning, existence of temples, extinct tanks add to the characteristics of the zone that is the oldest part of the city today.



Map 4.5: Tanks in the city are, both extinct and present (Source: Superimposed on the map by B. Lewis Rice, *Mysore: A Gazetteer compiled for Government, 1897*)

4.2.2 *Forms of colonialism*

The city retained the form of an organic agglomeration until Tippu Sultan (1753-99) lost to the British in 1791,²⁰² who then subsequently moved into the city in 1809. The British colonists set up the ‘Cantonment’ at the northeast region of the city. The urban fabric of this period is reflected not just in the economic and political shifts but also in the coming of a marked spatial transformation.

The concept of a ‘cantonment’ was developed in the early 1700’s by the erstwhile East India Company when it was at its strongest, in order to stop the unwholesome practise of allowing soldiers to lodge in the town.²⁰³ It was essentially a housing and military area for both the British military and civil personnel who lived in occupied parts of the city; Veena Oldenburg notes ‘the aim was to create a small European cosmos at the edge of the city not only to compensate the officers for the hardship of serving in an alien land but also to provide European soldiers with adequate recreational facilities so that they would be less tempted to taste the

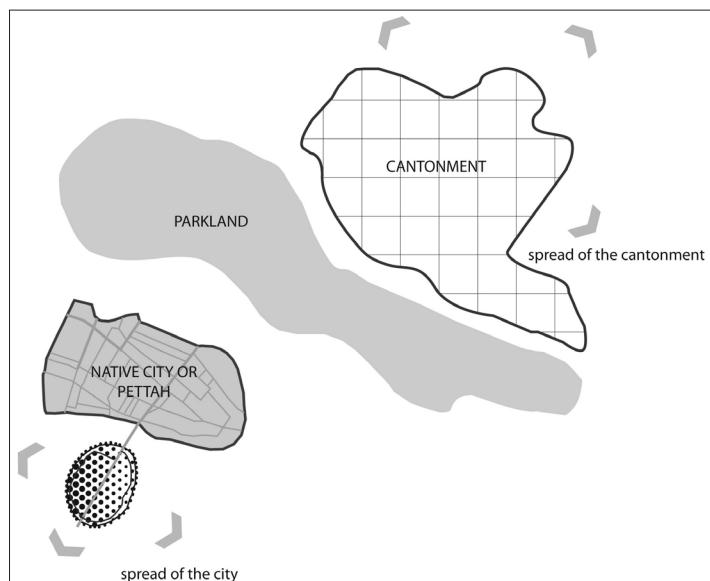
²⁰² Refer for more details about the siege and fall of the fort refer Hasan, *Bangalore Through the Centuries*.

²⁰³ Wilson and Carey, *Glimpses of Golden Times*. 17

pleasure the city had to offer'.²⁰⁴

What is important to note in the period that Bangalore was a cantonment is the deep division in urban space between the colonisers who lived within well serviced, high facility areas and the natives who lived in the Pettah that continued to remain as it was during its founding days; congested and poorly serviced for the population it housed. Writes Dutt on the South Asian colonial city,

The European town ... had spacious bungalows, elegant apartment houses, planned streets, trees on both sides of the streets, ... , clubs for afternoon and evening get togethers... The open space was reserved for ... Western recreational facilities, such as race and golf courses, soccer and cricket. When domestic water supply, electric connections, and sewage links were available or technically possible, the European town residents utilized them fully, whereas their use was quite restricted to the native town.²⁰⁵

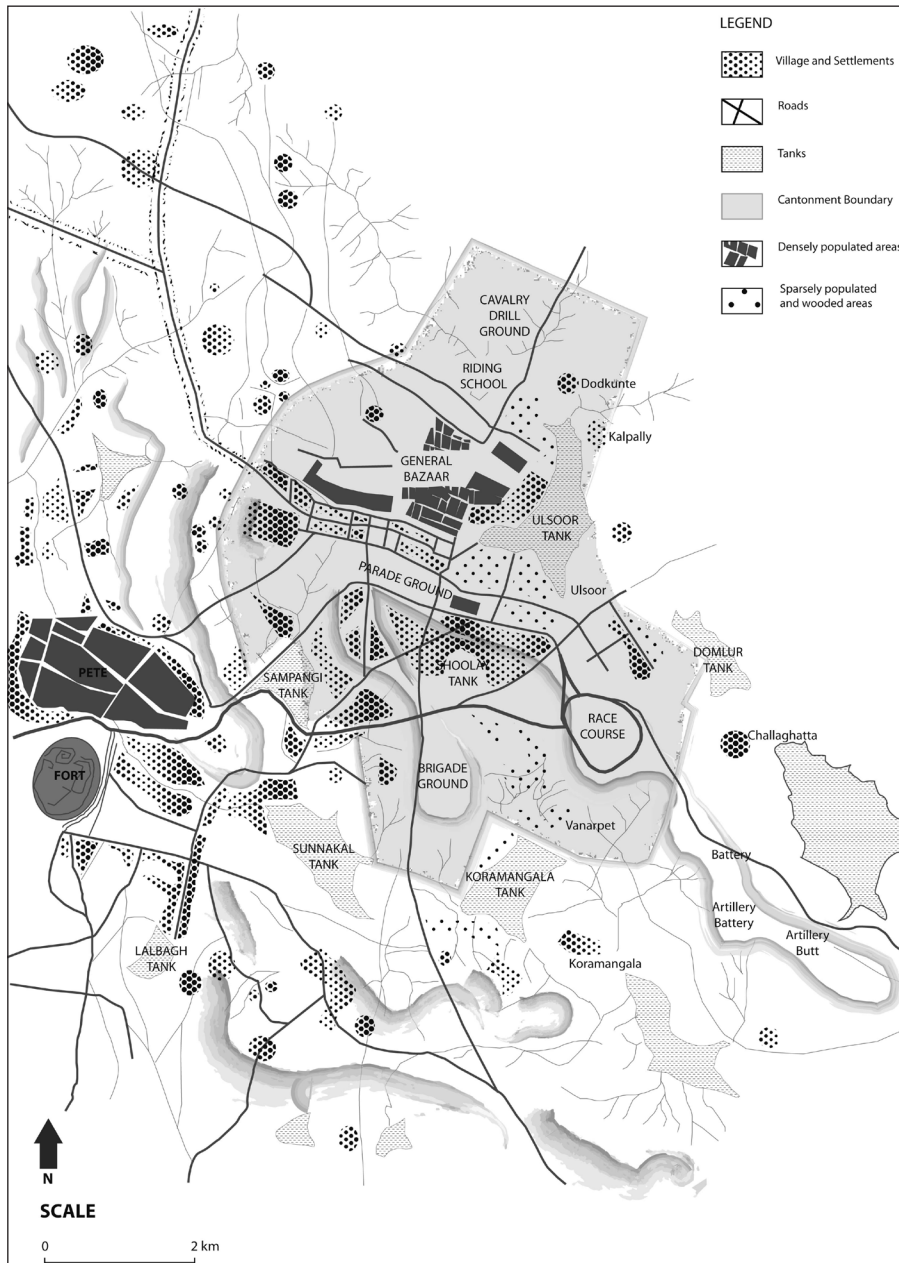


Map 4.6: Schematic map of the urban division between the native city and that of the colonisers with the parkland that acted as a natural divide.

(Source: Author)

²⁰⁴ Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow*. 53

²⁰⁵ Dutt, *From Colonial City to Global City: The Far from Complete Spatial Transformation of Calcutta*.



Map 4.7: The City and Cantonment boundary. (Source: Based on Plan of Bangalore in *Pharoah's Atlas of Southern India.*)

Separated from the old city by a broad swathe of parkland what came to be called as Cubbon Park; all facilities in this new city were developed to serve the troops and camp followers.²⁰⁶ In Bangalore, the strip of land that divided the native city and that of the coloniser was one and half kilometres wide. This physical separation served the purpose of maintaining distance to avoid the spreading of germs,²⁰⁷ dangers from the natives and to emphasise the social distinction of the colonisers. As Ramachandran notes ‘the civil lines and cantonments highlights the social distance deliberately maintained by the British for the mass of urban dwellers’.²⁰⁸ Much like other cities where the model of the cantonment was introduced, the city grew in two very distinct zones and directions (refer Map 4.6 for the schematic map of Bangalore’s urban division).

The native city whose origins have been elaborated in the Section 4.1.1, identified as the Pettah, came to be called by the colonisers as ‘The City’ continued to house the historic core and the city’s native population versus the Cantonment that grew around the South Parade Ground (now called as Mahatma Gandhi Road or M. G. Road; see Map 4.8) was, as Oldenburg noted a small European cosmos.

Between the Cantonment and the native city, the forms of urban space and planning are worth describing as the areas continue to reflect planning from two hundred years ago. These forms of space and architecture have contributed not just to influencing urban planning in current times but also to the formation of urban memory, identity and attachment associated with these spaces with the city of today.

²⁰⁶ Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore’s Twentieth Century*. 42

²⁰⁷ The spread of germs was a primary health concern. Anthony King writes ‘the mid- and the later nineteenth century scientific and especially medical theories... assume a causal connection between aerial distance and bacterial infection. Such theories were a direct outcome of industrial urbanisation in the metropolitan society.’ King, *Colonialism and the Development of the Modern Asian City: Some Theoretical Considerations*.

²⁰⁸ Ramachandran, *Urbanization and Urban Systems in India*. 65

City patterns: Differentiating the Old City and the C&M Station



Map 4.8 (left), Map 4.9 (right): The Map highlights the urban road structure in the cantonment in contrast to that of the Pettah area. With the figure ground study map based on an enlarged view of Bangalore’s Cantonment and Civil Station from 1924. The spread of the houses and the orthogonal roads contrast the narrow roads and high density of Pettah area. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.2 (left): An undated photo of the South Parade Road (now called as Mahatma Gandhi Road). (Source: Janaki Nair)²⁰⁹

Figure 4.3 (top right): An undated photo of the Pettah area. (Source: Author)

Figure 4.4 (bottom right): An undated photo of the C&M station. (Source: http://media.ijanaagraha.org/slideshows/changing_face_of_blr/index.htm)

As seen from the Maps 4.8 and 4.9, the city patterns between the two zones were far from similar. In the old city, the main streets divided the zone into various parts where each individual zone came to be identified with a particular trade, while

²⁰⁹ Nair, *Beladide Noda Bengaluru Nagara!*

the C&M Station functioned on strict rules of planning. The roads in the old city were oriented towards pedestrian traffic and buffalo/ donkey carts (hence the narrow width of the roads); the layout designed such that living quarters were mingled with open spaces where business could take place. The houses themselves were close and generally flat roofed, a style rendered necessary by the army of monkeys which formerly were a most numerous and mischievous portion of the population.²¹⁰ Though Janaki Nair has explained that it is more likely that the street area was what was left after the houses were built, only the main streets bear the marks of planning.²¹¹ The houses that were on the main road²¹² were planned differently from those in the interior of the old city²¹³.

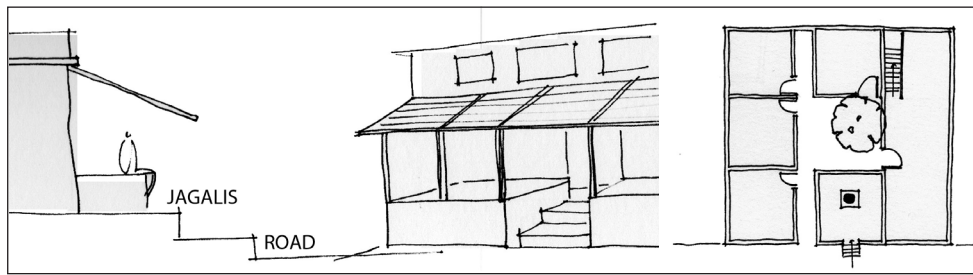


Figure 4.5 (left): House facing the street with *jagalis*²¹⁴ with the flat roofed house in the rear. Houses of this typology are now absent from the constantly transforming zone of the old city area. An example of such house can be seen from Figure 4.1 on the left side of the photograph.

Figure 4.6 (right): Houses in the interior of the old city that were built around a courtyard. The courtyard served various purposes from climatic to social space to professional activities between the houses. The above drawing is from 2011 of one of the few examples of such houses in the old city area.

²¹⁰ Morris, *A guide to Bangalore and Mysore Directory*.

²¹¹ Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*. 46

²¹² On the main roads now, they are filled with shops selling wares of all types. Though no example of this type of house can be found on the main roads today, remnants of these facades can still be seen in a few examples along the road, that are used as a basis for the study. Also references from Janaki Nair's work and Maya Jayapal contribute to the making/ assembling of this example.

²¹³ For courtyard houses a few examples still exist in the old city area. Though difficult to spot these buildings in the small confines of the road, there are a few (around 8 houses of this nature) as these houses are giving way to multi storeyed structures in small areas or plots.

²¹⁴ *Jagalis* were platforms that were raised from the level of the roads; they served the purpose of a semi-public space between the house and the street (which was on a lower level). They were spaces for both men and women, where the inhabitants of the house sat to watch/ discuss/ do business with passers-by on the street.

For the colonisers (as described in the previous section, there was an inherent fear of germs and the spread of diseases), the old city represented the worst possible planning ideals. Lewis Rice records in *Mysore: A Gazetteer Compiled for Government* ‘owing to the rapid growth of the town and the various hands through which it has passed, the streets in the old part are often narrow and mostly irregular in appearance’.²¹⁵

The C&M Station in contrast had broad roads, where the roads formed the arteries of the C&M Station. The roads were meant for vehicular traffic, movement of soldiers, with pedestrian walkways under the trees that shaded these roads. With the C&M Station, a number of churches came to dot the landscape, the Gothic churches with their tall steeples (St. Marks Church to the west of the C&M Station and the Trinity Church to the east), signified one of the changes in the profile of the city.

The dissimilarity between the two zones was felt most in the well-planned divisions of the zones for housing and economic activities. The placing of houses in the midst of large gardens yet not too far from domestic help emphasised the social distance between the ruler and the ruled.²¹⁶ Where the old city was a jumble between various activities whether economic, housing or religious (where space was jostled between either or any of them), the zoning of the cantonment proved to be influential in the direction that the city would take. The strong emphasis on road layout, the effective implementation of drainage and water supply, etc. started from the end of the nineteenth century came to influence how other parts of the city were planned (as can be seen from Map 4.10).

Between the two zones, places in one zone was identified through occupation or where the inhabitants came from i.e. the old city and the C&M Station where places were named in relation to its military roots. The development of the city and transformation in the early twentieth century was seen not just in terms of area and population but also the nomenclatures of various parts of the city started to change, and in many cases were re-named into more English²¹⁷ sounding names and a new

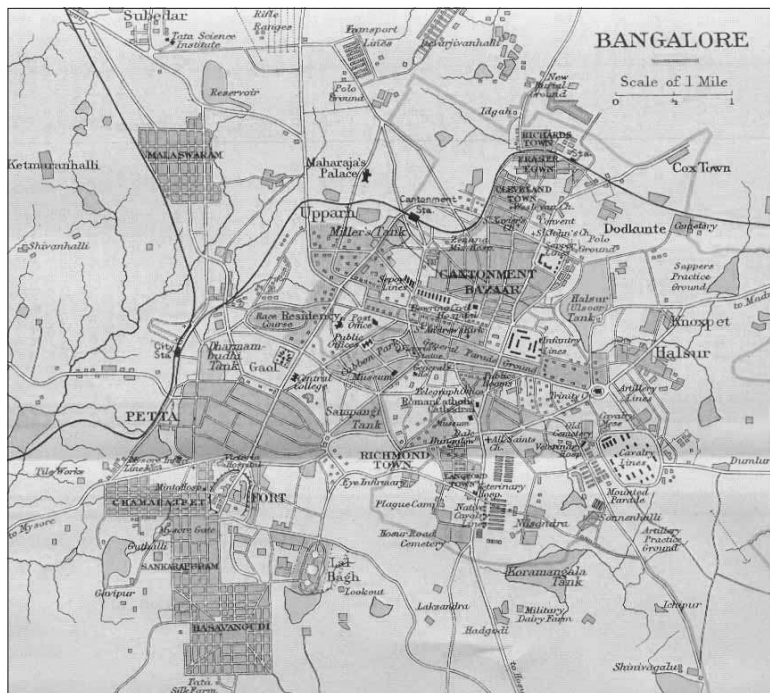
²¹⁵ Rice, *Mysore: A Gazetteer Compiled for Government*

²¹⁶ King, *Colonialism and the Development of the Modern Asian City: Some Theoretical Considerations*.

²¹⁷ The names that were given commemorated achievement of various officers and soldiers of the army (names had a strong military influence), for example South Parade Road, Albert Victor Road after the future King Edward VII, Cubbon Park after Sir Mark Cubbon, a British Commissioner of Mysore during the mid-19th century (it continues to hold this name) to mention a few places. The newly developed C&M Station areas were named after individuals, administrators, soldiers and merchants who lived in the city giving such

relation to space started to develop.

During the early twentieth century Bangalore was transforming into a hub of various economic activities; with a cosmopolitan air of opportunity and impending change, it drew from outside its boundaries people of various origins and tongues into the city. This new population (consisting of people from Punjab, Gujarat, Rajasthan) mingled with the existing demography of Kannadigas, Tamilians and Telugu people in the area of the old city. Within the old city, divisions of space were already based on where one hailed from, this new wave of immigration slowly led to the further transformation of the old city area. The identities of its older residents came into question, with changes seeping into the economics of the region, demographical shifts and contributing to changes in physical and social practises.



Map 4.10: New housing areas were developing South of the old city with new models of planning. (Source: Murray's Handbook for Travellers 1924)

names a commemorative function Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*. 62. The renaming of these places is studied in the next chapters that explore the change of identity and associated memory.

4.2.3 *Forms post independence*

With India's independence in 1947, Bangalore moved into its third phase of urbanisation. It was the starting of new government at the national level, which in many ways was embroiled in emphasising the need for domestically produced goods and the start of heavy industry. It was at this period that the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru is to have said 'Bangalore: India's city of the future'²¹⁸ setting a course for Bangalore to become a hub of science and research for the industry. He continued saying the city should be 'a place where scientists could get away from the multitudes and produce ideas and programs that would guide the nation's ambitious plans to achieve economical and military self reliance'.²¹⁹ Bangalore, the capital of Karnataka came to signify no more just a cantonment, but a city that was seen as 'the city of the future' for the country.

Though plans of converting and transforming the city were on the way, it was only in 1949 that the two distinct parts of the city, the sixteenth century area of the Pettah and the Cantonment established in the nineteenth century were brought together under the administrative umbrella of Bangalore City Corporation (BCC). Though attempts to forge the city into one unit had been previously attempted,²²⁰ the successful 'connection' of the parts of the city happened only in 1949. Over the next four decades, Bangalore's urban landscape continued to be in many senses divided, but grew to accommodate the dreams of a newly independent country. Emphasis on higher education, flow of funds to allow forays into research concerning aviation and defence aided the city's growth not just in terms of area and population, but also its importance at the national level.

This emphasis on higher education is indicated by many as one of the primary reasons as to why the manufacturing industry (manufacturing of aviation/ defence technology) was placed in the city. The growth of industries within the city corresponded with the population growth. Most of these industries were established in open areas east of the Cantonment (where new residential layouts were planned) and the old city area continued in many ways to hold on to its urban form and

²¹⁸ Jawaharlal Nehru quoted in Stremlau, 'Bangalore: India's Silicon Valley'. 50

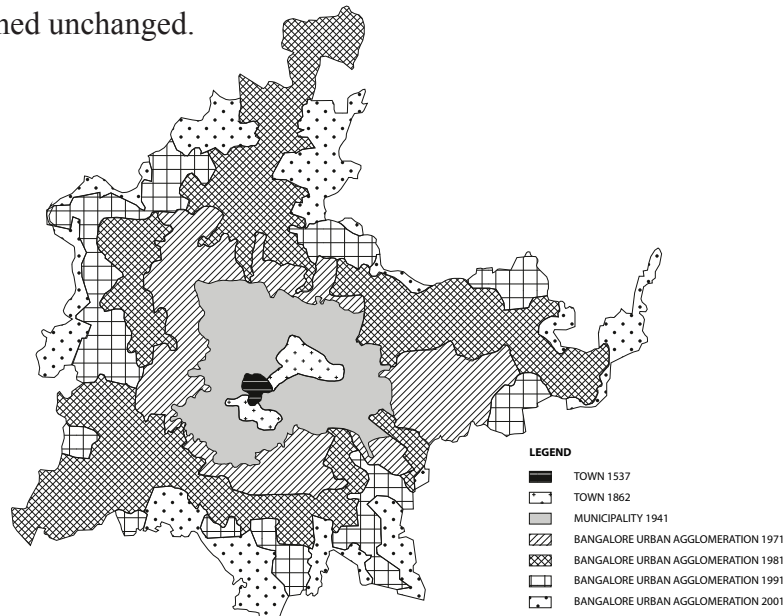
²¹⁹ ---, 'Dateline Bangalore: Thirdworld Technopolis'. 157

²²⁰ A flurry of petitions protested the proposed 'retrocession' of 1935 which would bring the Bangalore Cantonment under the Mysore administration; only the war delayed this move until July 1947. Hasan, *Bangalore Through the Centuries*. 129-30.

functions of textile production and traditional industries (weaving, oil production, tanning). Towards the old city side along the western perimeter, textile mills were established at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The city held on to this image of mixed economy for a long period, on one side textile production and the other, large scale national laboratories of research and manufacturing.

With the city flourishing in terms of production and growth, Bangalore to its credit was a city with large expanses of gardens and tanks (as was described in the introductory section). But this was one of the first images of the city that was to change. With the growing population, the demand for residential land threatened the existences of these open spaces with the city. The next decades saw the draining of tanks such as the Dharmambudi Tank that gave way to the bus depot, Sunnakal Tank into which the Pettah area drained, was sewage and market garden before turning into a residential area.²²¹

The immediate after effects of Indian independence was the burgeoning of a metropolis from a small physically divided city. This transition of a small town into a large metropolis can be felt in various spaces around the city that have held on not just to the appearance of the ‘old world charm’ but also behaviour of these spaces have remained unchanged.



Map 4.11: The map emphasises the regions of growth over the last centuries, highlighting growth of urban settlements post independence. (Source: Based on the Urban Planning Report from Department of Ecology and Environment, 2003.)

²²¹ Singh, *Bangalore: An Urban Survey*. 2

4.2.4 *Forms post liberalisation*

Census Year	Bangalore Population	Bangalore's Percentage of Karnataka's Urban Population	Percentage Decadal Variation in Population	Bangalore's Percentage of Karnataka's Population
1901	163091	9.94517958	8.47 (01-11)	1.24928436
1911	189485	12.1171756	12.25 (11-21)	1.400972152
1921	240054	13.0415437	22.79 (21-31)	1.794447569
1931	309785	13.8350362	25.11 (31-41)	2.117031158
1941	410967	14.9227278	69.77 (41-51)	2.528192533
1951	786343	17.6568212	19.61 (51-61)	4.0529058
1961	1206961	22.9177367	46.55 (61-71)	5.117109709
1971	1664208	23.3668389	59.08 (71-81)	5.68008193
1981	2921751	27.2307389	38.44 (81-91)	7.867765785
1991	4130288	29.6976629	35.09 (91-01)	9.183070329
2001	5686844	31.734872	46.48 (2001-11)	10.78402649
2011	9588810	38.57	-	15.59

Table 4.2: Bangalore's population growth and the percentage of Karnataka's urban population/ decadal variation from 1901-2011.

(Source: Census of India 2011)

The beauty of the city is already becoming a thing of the past, due to continued neglect. Because of the huge growth of population and the government's failure to take necessary measures in time to meet the city's growing needs, new slums have sprung up to add to the growing squalor. Lack of proper planning and lax supervision over building activity have resulted in haphazard growth on every side and the emergence of ugly structures all over the city. The miserable condition of the roads, their poor lighting, the sad state of the parks, once the pride of the city, and

the general appearance of neglect and disrepair which the city wears have their own sad story to tell.

- Deccan Herald, 14th Dec 1961

It is of utmost importance to preserve Bangalore's old charm. Development and growth is fine, but it can also be achieved through the creation of townships and satellite towns.

- Times of India, 22nd Feb 1997

The period between Indian independence and the coming of market liberalisation was marked with various changes to the urban profile of the city, which were received by the population of the city in both positive and negative light. The two editorials above, written with a gap of more than twentyfive years describe in the former, the period right after independence and the latter after market liberalisation.

It was in the early 1990's that economic liberalisation took the Indian markets by storm, encouraging foreign investment in the country.²²² For the city of Bangalore it spelled the Information Technology (IT) sector boom. A city that was making a mark in the research sector with emphasis on higher education was an immediate choice for investors. While most of this initial software development took place in Mumbai (Bombay), it was only a matter of time before Bangalore's numerous advantages in technical know-how, personnel, and quality of life would place it at the forefront of this development.²²³

For the city to become a forefront player in the IT industry, a number factors played their part, the study of which is beyond the scope of this work.²²⁴ But for this study, what is important to note is the growth of the city during this period and its rapid transformation. According to table 4.2 Bangalore's population grew from

²²² From the time after Indian independence (1947) till the late 1980's the foreign investment within Indian boundaries was deemed near impossible (as the government was trying to limit foreign ownership of companies within the Indian soil), after the 1990's economic liberalization policies came into affect facilitating foreign investment.

²²³ Though the coming of the information sector boom started with the city of Mumbai, there are a number of reasons for the shift of the industry from Mumbai to Bangalore. For more details on this shift refer Heeks, *The Uneven Profile of Indian Software Exports*.

²²⁴ See Stallmeyer, John Charles. 2006. *Architecture and Urban Form in India's Silicon Valley: A Case Study of Bangalore*, Architecture, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, for further discussions on the effects of the IT industry on the urban form of the city.

50000 at the time of independence to 5.6 million in 2001 and nearly 8.5 million in 2011, making the city the fifth largest in the country. One of the first effects of the IT industry (apart for the coming of IT parks in the city in glass encased buildings) was the coming of housing layouts developed by the planning authority (BDA or Bangalore Development Authority). The layouts were influenced to large extent by grid planning, where roads were laid out in orthogonal grids for single-family residences.

This IT boom fuelled the coming of new ideas of residential and industrial planning, and the visions of a city that could compete with other cities on a global level. As can be observed from the quote from the *Times of India*, the city was in stuck in a space where the need for the city of the yesteryears was being compromised for a city to play at the global level. Nostalgia to this day, remains one of the strongest sentiment for the people of the city in relation to the changes that the city has experienced. The city caught between various ties at national, regional and now global forces presents to the researcher a case where the transformation of spaces in the city can be considered rapid, but when looked at closely, the transformations were mostly in response to pressures faced by the city at various levels (unlike other cities in India where growth was spaced at various periods). Thus, also the reason for the number of metaphors that are used to explain the city such as ‘silicon valley of Asia’,²²⁵ ‘technopole’²²⁶ and ‘informational city’,²²⁷ to show not just the position that city hoped to achieve in the future but also the direction the planners foresaw the city growing into.

Though this introduction is not a deviation into the effects of globalisation, it is felt necessary to outline the effects to provide a backdrop into the new urban forms in the city (through new urbanism). Urbanism or urbanity varies from urbanisation in that the definition of the former has a boundary that can be interpreted as manifold ‘the social and behavioural characteristics of urban living’,²²⁸ while urbanisation refers to ‘increase in the proportion of population that lives in towns and cities’.²²⁹

²²⁵ Parthasarathy, *Globalization and Agglomeration in Newly Industrializing Countries: The State and the Information Technology Industry in Bangalore, India*.

²²⁶ Heitzman, *Network city: planning the information society in Bangalore*. 69-122

²²⁷ Madon, ‘Information-Based Global Economy and Socioeconomic Development: The Case of Bangalore’.

²²⁸ Within Clark, *Urban World/Global City*. 40, describes not just urbanisation but also the difference between urbanisation and urban growth as two independent trends.

²²⁹ Ibid.

The likes of globalisation, urbanisation, and informatization have been the focus of detailed academic research in the last decades. Similarly, research on emergent forms of informational cities, focusing on their post-colonial roots in South Asia have been analysed through the process of development through the centuries. Here ‘old processes continue to operate and sometimes, though not inevitable, produce new urban forms... rearrangements and novel elements, moreover, exist interspersed with and layered upon the remnants of prior events and conditions’.²³⁰ As some of the forms in the city are fixed and some new, urbanisation within the light of architecture is seen as ‘culture expressed in the form of landscape’.²³¹

With the coming of new influences in the city, the form of the city has evolved to accommodate both the new and the old. The ‘new and transformed’ spaces experienced the influence of both local and global sentiments through new practises in architecture. The scope of this section is to identify first, the forms the city experienced and spaces where performance of memory is observable before moving on to analysis of the same.

4.2.5 Summary

The goal of this chapter was to illuminate a boundary for the case study that takes into consideration the intersection of traditional planning, colonisation and lastly globalisation and urbanisation as they inform Bangalore’s development in current times. By studying these processes individually what comes to the forefront is the complexity of the situation within the city and the type of methodological direction that can facilitate the understanding of performance of memory within the city through various architectures.

As an organic city, it can be understood as one that played and continues to play within the framework of traditional South-Indian planning. Within these spaces that are centuries old, architecture supports both traditional performances of history/ memory / commemoration and new spaces of consumption (within an economic framework and living).

The Colonial city continues to exist in its ‘post’ or revamped form influencing new modes of planning and indulging in nostalgia. Spaces within the city that are

²³⁰ Marcuse and Kempen, *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order?* 23

²³¹ Herzog, *From Aztec to High Tech: Architecture and Landscape Across the Mexico-United States Border*. 1. Also see the work of Nezar Alsayyad, 1996. ‘Culture, Identity, and Urbanism in a Changing World.’

zones of transformation in contemporary times, are rooted to postcolonial spaces as they occupy zones in the city that are currently in demand because of their economic value.

Lastly, the global spaces within the city are responses to new pressures that the city faces. Bangalore, as hypothesised in the Informational City²³² can be defined as a space or site of global production and consumption practises. The culminating effects of a small town grown into a metropolis of more than nine million inhabitants is situated within the confines of small town 'dreams' and contrasted by the need to compete with other cities on a global front.

4.3 Case study areas in Bangalore: identification and transformation

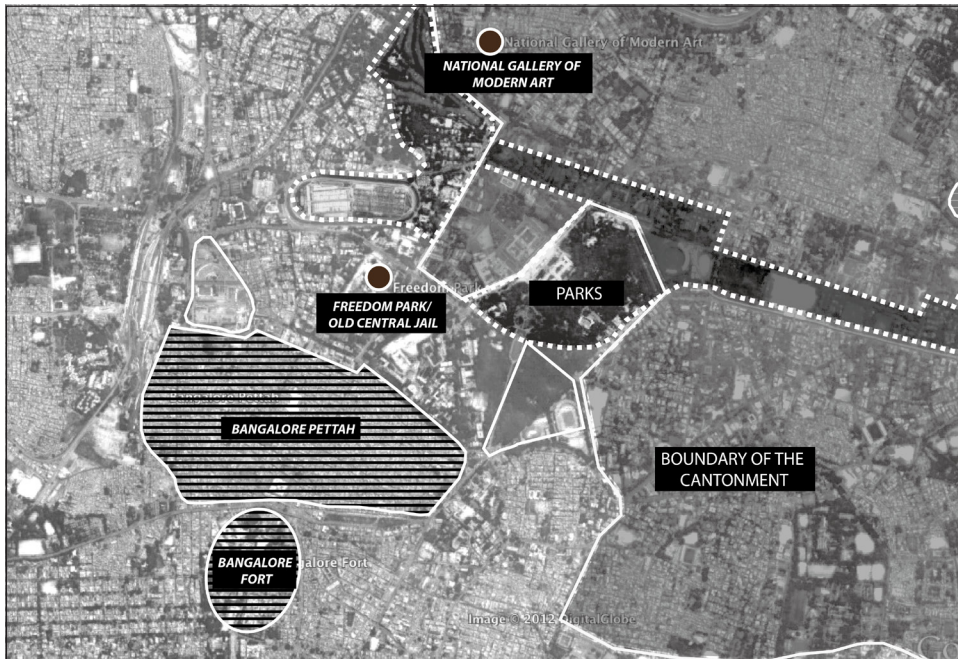
4.3.1 Introduction

The city of Bangalore developed through various patterns under the influence of various regimes differing in planning, economics, political and social norms, as the previous section highlighted. Within each period, certain forms of planning and resultant urban patterns prevailed, which form the base for this section.

Within each regime, patterns and structures in the city developed in conjunction with existing forms and independent of planning strategies that existed at the given time, these varied approaches to planning contributed to the resultant form in the city today. In this chapter I will develop the specific case study areas and focus on the following issues:

- 1) Analysis through morphological and iconographical characteristics the historic core and other sites in the city that are currently facing transformation of memory through new constructions and meanings. Using the theories of Rossi and Lefèbvre to mark out these locations.
- 2) Process through which various parts of the city are remembered, i.e. frameworks of memory (from Halbwachs), establishing how these spaces are contributing to the retention of memory and attachment to these spaces through commemorative acts and identity of these spaces.
- 3) Transformation of various parts of the city that can eventually lead to the questioning of forgetting, as can be observed in the post-colonial examples.

²³² Castells, *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process*.



Map 4.12: Highlighted areas and zones of case study on the map of Bangalore based on an image from Google Earth. Also seen is the outline of the City from 1537 (left) and partial demarcation of the Civil and Military Station (top and right). As can be observed, the outlines of the tanks and green areas have transformed based on land reclamation. (Source: © Google Earth 2011)

The selected three case study areas are situated in the older parts of the city where architecture aids the performance of memory and is most visible and discernible on these sites. Each of these areas and sites lead to an analysis of urban memory, its transformation and retention.

The diachronic investigations are based on patterns and developments as outlined in the previous chapter. The analysis of these sites through historical sources²³³ and qualitative study of space is to provide the necessary backdrop and a starting point for the transformation of space in the last decades.

Within a large urban sphere, though there were a number of examples of sites that could potentially behave as locations where the performance of memory and transformation could be observed; the selection within this thesis was determined

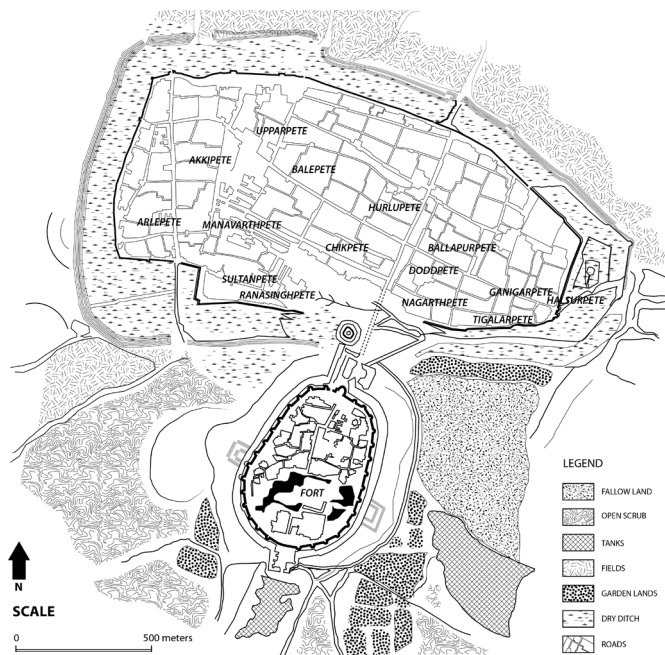
²³³ Historical city maps from state archives and the British Library, secondary sources, photographs, plans, literature reviews.

by sites that could behave as indicators. Hence the empirical study uses the *Old City Area* (as a zone to observe performance of memory, retention and transformation of form) and the sites of the *Old Central Jail* (a project called as the Freedom Park since 2009) and the site of the *National Gallery of Modern Art* as witness to new age transformation in a post-colonial setting. Each of these sites is used to highlight the various performances of memory through architecture. The selected case studies satisfies and contributes to the changing ideas of urban memory, identity, attachment and role of architecture as indicators within the city scape.

4.3.2 *Identifying and transformation of primary elements from before 1537*

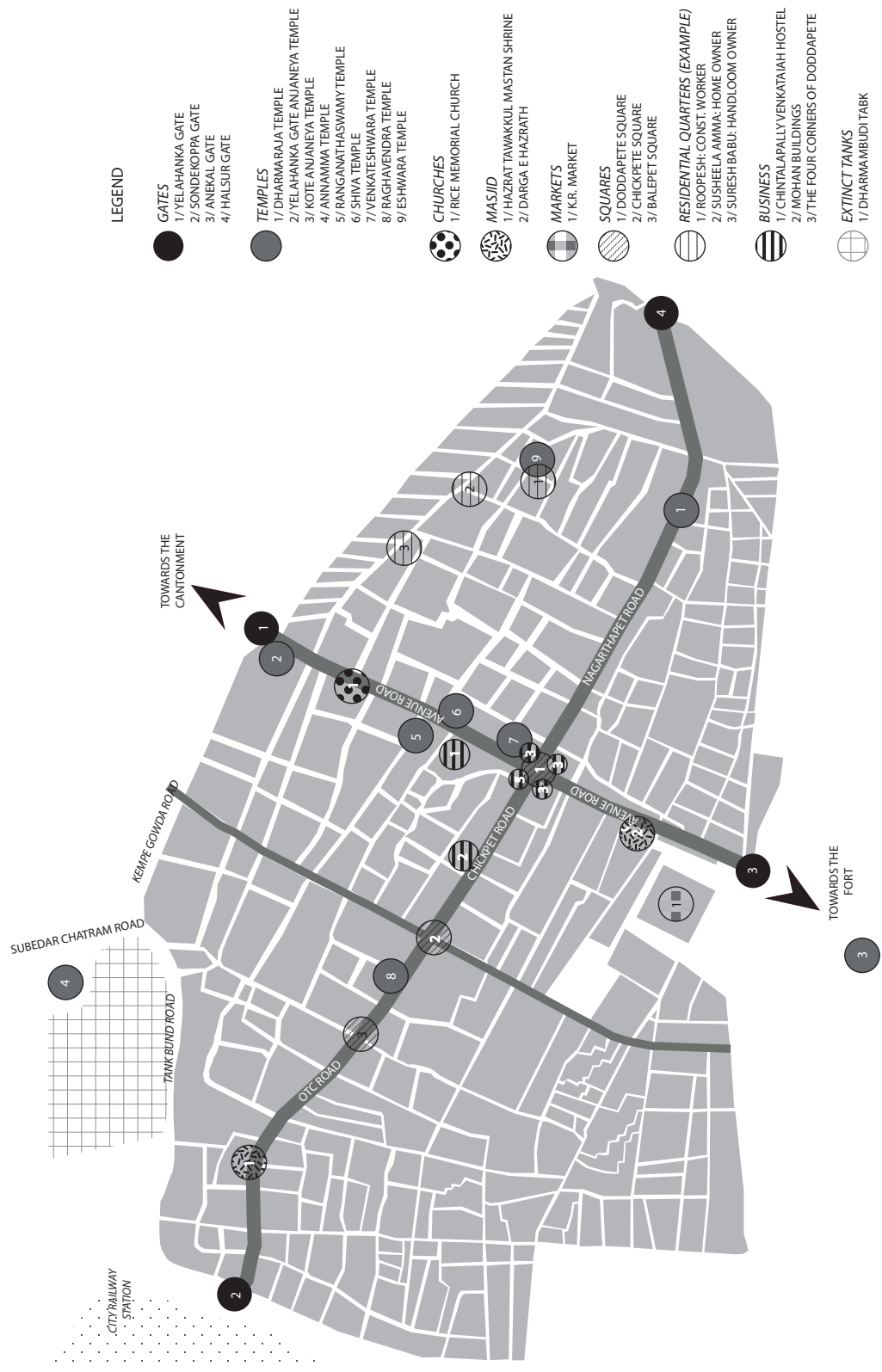
Founded in 1537 the area of the Pettah and the Fort has remained the historic core of the city for the last five hundred years. Studying this form and the practises of the spaces speaks of the connections to the past and the coming of different waves of transformation. Though the area has changed demographically, spatially it retains the forms from yesteryears, the narrow roads, divisions based on professions, narrow houses with mixed business and living quarters remains the characteristic of the space.

The Pettah in its initial years went through a series of regime changes from Kempe Gowda who established the Fort and the Pettah with its two central streets, now called as Avenue Road and Chickpete Road. Four gates at the cardinal directions



Map 4.13: Map showing the Fort and Pettah area 1791. (Source: Survey of India)

Map 4.14: Plan of Pettah showing main roads and selected primary elements.



were also established during this time. Following Kempe Gowda the rule of Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan saw the establishment of Dodda Pettah,²³⁴ and the refurbishment of the mud fort into one with stone. Singh writes of this period that the streets other than the central ones developed haphazardly.²³⁵ The town was divided into numerous pettahs or markets according to the commodities dealt in. The Chowk or the main bazaar was at the crossing of the present Avenue Road and Chikpet.²³⁶ With the fall of Tippu Sultan in 1791 and the coming of the British, the Pettah areas continued to retain this form, though a number of civilians moved to live closer to the Civil and Military Station for business opportunities.

Transformation of the Pettah areas in terms of demography started with the change in the city into a C&M Station, which drew local populace from the neighbouring regions. The ditch that surrounded the old city was filled only in 1880 and it was filled to make more room for growth of the city for its new inhabitants.²³⁷ The establishment of industrial grade mills around the city area took place pre/ post independence, providing employment for those who lived in the city area and was another contributing factor to the growth in population. Through the growth of the city over the last centuries, the Pettah and the Fort area have retained the role as the historic core of the city. Addressing points/ zones of importance within this area demanded not just qualitative analysis of the space but also sources of literature that spoke about places of importance within the Pettah and Fort area. Identifying these sites within the area enables the focus on specific activities that mark the zone as a space that encourages the performance of memory through architecture. Further, the analysis can be divided (and was carried out through) into the following quantifiers based on the system developed in Section 3.3 and 3.3.1:

- 1) Historic Sites: Fort, Pettah and Tanks
- 2) Religious institutions and rituals
- 3) Markets and squares
- 4) Traditional living quarters and occupations

²³⁴ Rao, *History of Mysore (1399-1799 A.D.)*. 351

²³⁵ Singh, *Bangalore: An Urban Survey*.

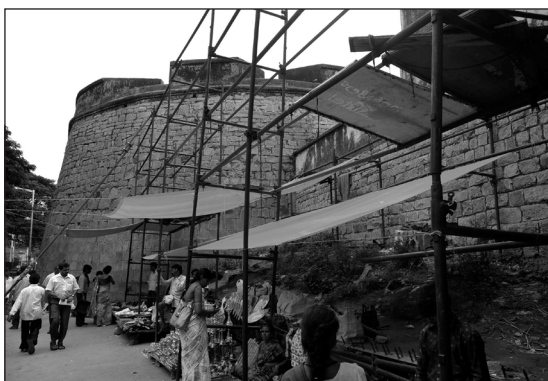
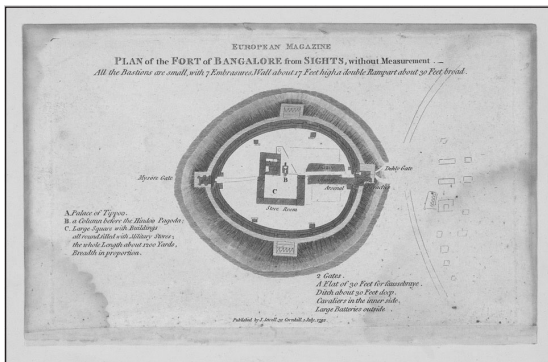
²³⁶ Ibid. 17

²³⁷ Bangalore Municipal Handbook. 11

Within the Pettah area, the existence of various social/ historical and religious collectives along with their various conventions provided what Maurice Halbwachs has called as ‘frameworks of collective memory’.²³⁸ The necessity to divide the analysis into various sections is driven by the hypothesis that these frameworks provide an overall view of the past influencing the present. Halbwachs writes ‘no memory is possible outside the frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections’.²³⁹ Urban memory in the case study and the thesis is read as various ‘pieces’ (cultural and architectural) that are collected and re-collected to support the performance of memory in their presence. Within this case, process of memory is embodied through architecture that are analysed by the above stated quantifiers.

1) *Historic Sites: Fort & Palace, Pettah and Tanks*

a. Fort and Palace



Map 4.15 (top left): Plan of the Mud Fort (not to scale) in Bangalore established by Kempe Gowda in 1537. Tippu Sultan then replaced this fort with one made of stone, whose remnants can be seen today. (Source: British Library)

Figure 4.7 (top right and bottom): Photographs of the Bangalore Fort Entrance and informal markets along the walls of the Fort. (Source: Author)

²³⁸ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*.

²³⁹ *Ibid.* 43

As described in the history of forms, the mud fort was established by Kempe Gowda in 1537 and eventually replaced by stonewalls that remain today.

The fort with its number of gates remained so until 1687 when a secondary oval fort was added and Tippu Sultan completed the palace in 1791. The construction of the fort and the connection to the Pettah area north of it, linked it into a unit of native quarters. The Fort was extensively damaged during the end of the eighteenth century, though the moat that surrounded the Fort existed until the 1860s' when it was closed up and in place of the old fort, a compound wall was built.²⁴⁰ Today what remains is a small fragment of the walls and of the Fort (refer image 4.7) only the Delhi Gate remains, which has been engulfed by the surrounding informal markets.

Though none of the grandeur of the past remains, the remnants draw to it a constant stream of visitors and is slowly regaining emphasis within the city landscape through the interventions of city based NGO's and conservation groups. The 're-appearance' of the Fort within the urban scape of the city lays emphasis on the making of new mental images with the inhabitants, an aspect that has so far been neglected.

Within close proximity of the Fort is the remnant of Haider Ali/ Tippu Sultan's palace. Though only a part of the original palace exists today, it retains the significance of one of the regimes that passed through the city. Piecing it together with the sites in the zone that encourage performance of memory through visits to the site and understanding that the face of the city developed through interventions of various regimes contributes to this being a primary element within the zone.

Constructed in an Indo-Islamic military style, the structure is made of wood and currently plays a role as a museum to the feats of Tippu Sultan. Commemorating the presence of the king through architecture and space in a zone that has remained the site of change and retention goes to the end of satisfying an opportunity for the people of the city to come and interact with built history.

b. Pettah Area

In relation to the disappearing fort, the Pettah area plays a more significant role in the aiding, remembering and retaining practices that form a constant link to urban memory and performance (through the presence of certain urban characteristics and architecture). As established through the previous sections,

²⁴⁰ Rao, *Bengalurina Ithihasa [A History of Bangalore]*. 361-362

the area that was once a predominantly market and residential areas has slowly transformed into what is now referred to as ‘the city’.

With highly mixed land use, residential (37.5%) and commercial (34.6%),²⁴¹ the area presents a definite challenge to the researcher searching for elements that support the theory of understanding memory’s performance through architecture. The area in its collective form presents a zone filled with history, social and architectural ties and traditions that are acted out in the space.

The main road²⁴² that divided the zone, continue to function as main feeding arteries of the area, though the branching of subsidiary roads has lead to movement of traffic into the heart of the city area. The main arteries originated at ‘gates’ in the cardinal directions, whose physical remnants are no more but continue to exist in name.²⁴³

Similarly the junction of the two main arteries in the Pettah area continue to go by the name ‘Dodpete Square’; though street names have changed, reference to these squares go by the old nomenclature. The characteristic of the space is driven by the presence of organic planning that can be traced through:

- 1) How the Pettah area is composed of various parts that come together as a whole. Division that was based/ continues to be based on function remains the attraction of the space.
- 2) Narrow street layouts that grew over decades can be observed branching off from the main streets leading to a mixture of business and residential layouts as well as spaces that have maintained original form in terms of housing units.

By using Kevin Lynch who writes about mental images ‘... one particular visual quality: the apparent clarity of legibility of the cityscape. By this we mean the ease with which its parts can be recognised and can be organised into a coherent pattern’,²⁴⁴ makes the zone one that satisfies this requirement. The marked divisions in space based on business or function drive the notion of legibility here, as years of settlement based on certain patterns are recognisable and is also communicated

²⁴¹ Infrastructure Development Corporation. Revitalization of City Core. Bangalore.

²⁴² The two main paths running through the city in the east-west direction (from Halasur Gate to Sondekoppa Gate) was the Chickpet Road, and in the north-south direction (from Yelahanka Gate to Anekal Gate) was the Dodpete road now referred to as Avenue Road.

²⁴³ The junctions of these roads are continued to be referred to as ‘Junction at Anekal Gate’ and so on.

²⁴⁴ Lynch, *The Image of the City*. 2

through behaviours in the space. Within this zone, as Lynch continues... such a city would be one that could be apprehended over time as a pattern of high continuity with many distinctive parts clearly interconnected²⁴⁵ though parts seem independent of each other in terms of function, the areas overlap in terms that they exist together as various pieces developed over time.

For the Pettah area that acts as an artefact to the city (through its presence of a historical core) constitutes to ‘containing’ the memory of the city²⁴⁶ provided a necessary link to the past of the city as Eisenman explains ‘For Rossi, the city is a theatre of human events. This theatre is no longer just a representation: it is a reality. It absorbs events and feelings and every new event contains within it a memory of the past and a potential memory for the future’.²⁴⁷

For the entire Pettah area that exists as a zone that contains history, memory and attachment that has grown through various stages and centuries, it is important to see the zone in its entirety before studying the elements that contribute to its characteristics. In a city of constant transformation ‘it serves to bring the past into the present, providing a past that can still be experienced’.²⁴⁸



Map 4.16: Map of the Pettah showing the main roads and extinct tanks

²⁴⁵ Ibid. 10

²⁴⁶ For Aldo Rossi, urban artefacts constitutes memory of the city and by extension the core of the city as well.

²⁴⁷ Eisenman, *Editor's Introduction*,

²⁴⁸ Ibid. 6.

c. Tanks

The founder of the city Kempegowda is credited with the establishing of the two tanks closest to the Pettah and Fort area, the Dharmambudi Tank in the area northwest of the Pettah and the Sampangi Tank to the east. The two tanks were primarily responsible for the origins of the Pettah, its growth and for the supply of water to the area.

The space that surrounded the tanks encouraged various forms of behaviour from religious to economic. Around these tanks, the religious activities took place in conjunction with the presence of the tanks for as long as they existed after which these temples (next section) developed autonomously.

The Dharmambudi tank, at the end of the nineteenth century was positioned directly in front of the City Railway Station, which as Nair writes ‘at the turn of the century, the Dharmambudi tank continued to be a wonderful welcome to the many tired travellers who disembarked from trains at the station nearby: it was a spread of water...’.²⁴⁹ But the face of the tank changed in the middle of the twentieth century with the decision to fill in the lake and place the road transport facility of the city (due to proximity of the railway station). Now the site of the tank plays host to the Kempegowda Bus Stand.

The story of the Sampangi²⁵⁰ tank is no different, from being the water body that took care of the necessities of the Pettah area to transforming into polo ground at the turn of the twentieth century to its current role as a state run sports complex²⁵¹ (for the last twenty years).

2) *Religious institutions and rituals*

Religious institutions within the south Asian context play the role of the community’s focal point in terms of not just religious centres but also the institution around which communal and in the past educational activities took place. Though the relevance of these institutions are fast changing in a landscape of modernisation

²⁴⁹ Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore’s Twentieth Century*. 32

²⁵⁰ The tank though has filled in, a small symbolic water body been retained which plays a significant role in the ‘*Karaga*’ festival that takes place annually. It performs the function of sanctifying the *Hasi Karaga* that forms one of the rituals in the *Karaga* function.

²⁵¹ Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore’s Twentieth Century*. 58

and technology, within the Pettah area some institutions continue to hold on to strong traditions and attachments to form and associated practises.

The existence of various religious institutions²⁵² within small areas speaks of not just the diversity of religions in the area but also stand testimony to various regimes and demographical shifts whose introduction brought in new forms of religious practices within the area. Apart from the economic division that can be easily perceived from the urban form, the existence of various social groups in terms of religious affiliations can be experienced not just due to the proximity of these various institutions within the urban space, but also the common urban space that these various intuitions act upon and occupy.

These religious institutions and the associated event of the Karaga within the Pettah region act as if these points, sometimes shrines, squares and the street have gathered value to themselves by accruing cross sections of history and social memories.²⁵³ Making this space in the last five hundred years of its existence, a repository of history and memory through its urban space, architecture and institutions that have held onto traditions and commemorations for the last five centuries.

The temples, the mosques and the church point out to respective histories of the space both through direct association /interaction and through a continued sense of attachment. These contribute to a continued sense of urban memory within the Pettah area, which is explored through a detailed map showing location of these sites²⁵⁴ in Map 4.14.

Along Avenue Road, which is one of the important streets within the Pettah area, the existence of various religious collectives comes to the foreground with the temples, churches and mosques dotting the road. Their existence reaffirms a symbolic

²⁵² Within the Pettah area there are Hindu Temples, Churches and Mosques, each with its own population of patronage.

²⁵³ Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory: The Sacred and the Civic in India's High-Tech City*. 68

²⁵⁴ Within the Pettah area the number of temples and shrines dedicated to various deities are many in number, hence this study uses the spaces that play a dominant role within the Karaga festival as these sites have a longer association with the inhabitants of the space and the city. For example on the main road (Avenue Road), the number of religious institutions exceeds eight (including temples, churches and mosques). Hence faced with the enormity of the task of counting the institutions both historical and new, a decision was made to use the most relevant of sites for the case study. As can be read from Map 4.14 detailing primary elements within the Pettah area, the existence of various religious structures in a relatively small zone, it is important to note its sphere of relevance and activity.

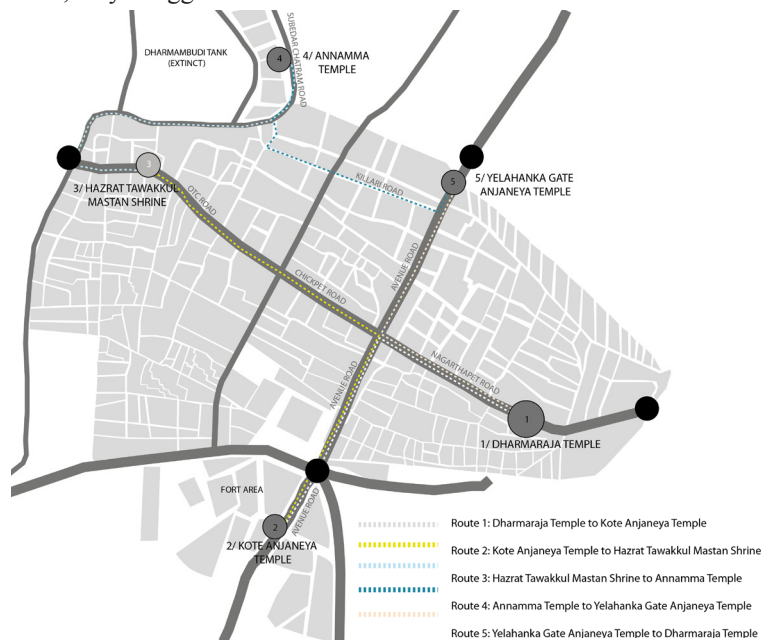
presence of historical and memorial continuity and existence of a space away from the constant transformation the city faces, communicating through built form the shared values of the group that occupies a space.

Though a lot can be written about each of these structures²⁵⁵, to understand the performance of memory through this space the performance of the ‘Karaga’ describes best the participation of these various spaces.

a. Karaga

The Karaga and Bangalore city are conjoined by a complex web of relationships, associations and themes. It is the ultimate grand spectacle, a ritual and social performance that converts the urban landscape and its inhabitants from being just a backdrop, to dynamic, living participants. In its subtext lie the dominant themes of dualities/transformation that co-exist on various meta-physical and spatial levels.

Aliyeh Rizvi, City Blogger²⁵⁶



Map 4.17: Plan of the Pettah area showing the route of the Karaga procession. (Source: Author)

²⁵⁵ See Appendix for details of each of these sites and photographic material that shows behaviour around religious sites.

²⁵⁶ <https://aturquoisecloud.wordpress.com/2011/04/25/the-bangalore-karaga-sons-of-draupadi/> (accessed November 2011).

Karaga is an annual religious performance/ritual that takes place through the lanes and at specific sites within the Pettah. Connerton defines the word ‘ritual’ as ‘rule governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of special significance’.²⁵⁷ He continues saying that ‘they are formalised acts, and tend to be stylised, stereotyped and repetitive... they are not performed under inner momentary compulsion but are deliberately observed to denote feelings’. The event of the Karaga is a historic ritual that continues to play out yearly and is attended by a large segment of the population of the old city and from other parts of the city as well.²⁵⁸

The Karaga is described here due to its relevance and attachment to urban form, sustaining group memory and conveying it through performance. Making it an commemorative event, one that supports the conveying the traditions of the past to the present. The Karaga is a performance dedicated to the goddess Draupadi and is a festival celebrated by the community of the Tigalas. The Tigala community were a group of horticulturalists (gardeners) who settled near tanks across the city and developed the tradition of this performance that continues till today.

The locus of the performance is the Dharmaraja Temple in the city (marked as No. 1 in the Map 4.17) that traditionally belongs to the group of Tigalas. The event is spread over eleven-day duration (during the months of March-April) with the last day of the festival culminating with the carrying of the sacred pot through the streets of the Pettah itself. The movement of the Karaga through the Pettah reconnects various parts of the area and its religious institutions and also visits what was once the fort area (as one of the temples visited by the Karaga lies outside the boundaries of the Pettah area) and a symbolic visit to the extinct tank of the area.

The route map is depicted in Map 4.17 and Map 4.16 highlights the sites of the Karaga in relation to other spaces in the Pettah area. The movement of the Karaga from one site to another marks what was once the boundary of the Pettah or City area. Slicing through various historical and religious periods, the Karaga marks a commemorative mnemonic to the past. With the Karaga visiting the four corners of

²⁵⁷ Lukes quoted in in Connerton, *How Societies Remember*. 44.

²⁵⁸ The event of the Karaga takes place at various locations around the city (specifically at Doopanahalli and Hoskote) but the event at the Pettah area is considered to be the oldest in the city. Other examples include, the performance of similar commemorative rituals of the Karaga in selected periods of the year around temples in other parts of the city such as Patalamma, Gadamma and Muthyallamma (including the temple of Annamma that is referred to as a part of the study within this work). As the scope of this study is the Pettah and the surrounding areas, the Karaga festival at the Pettah area is the only one described.

the Pettah area and the shrine that marks the coming of a large Muslim population (during the time of Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan), underlines these periods and also highlights the axes that run through the Pettah area.

The movement and agglomeration of over twenty thousand to fifty thousand people within this space marks the performance as a powerful mnemonic for the city, its form and urban memory. In the process of this performance the participating population brings out spaces that have been long forgotten and rekindling of connection between body, memory and architecture takes place.

3) *Markets and Squares*

Historically the Pettah area developed as a mix between residential quarters and business district. In the last centuries, this has changed little though the population has undergone changes. Markets within the Pettah areas, both permanent and temporary have always played a role as an important node for exchange of goods.

The market called as the Krishnarajendra Market or K. R. Market lies south of the Pettah area and north of where the fort entrance was once situated. Located on a tank bed (the extinct tank called Siddikatte Tank), it was established in the end of the seventeenth century. Till mid twentieth century the site was an open ground with shaded areas for traders. During the mid 90's (1997) retaining the outer boundary walls/ stalls, a multi level structure consisting of 1600 shops on three levels was built to accommodate various types of vendors who are seen today.

Along with other products, the market is famous for its flowers and vegetables; it continues to this day, drawing into its fold people from all over the city who come to buy flowers by weight.

‘At 5:30 AM, the place is filled with vendors and potential buyers. The site a mixture of old and new, hums with the rhythm of a place that has been through centuries of retention, growth and change. Speaking to the ladies who sit on the floor of the market as they sell their flowers, one gets the impression that they have been doing this for generations.

Explains one vendor ‘the flowers go from here to all parts of the city, be it weddings, temples or just a simple function, the whole city shops here for their flowers’. Asked how she feels about the place she is in, ‘I have done this job for many years now, as did my father before; so for me coming here and selling these flowers is something

that connects me with the city.²⁵⁹ Another speaks about the problems with the city says ‘with local shops carrying flowers, the number of people who come this far is reducing’. A lady advises me to come in September ‘when there is flower festival for the goddess’.

The market in the last years has fast become a site where tourists and photographers of the city haunt to catch traditional sights and smells at play (apart from being a site of importance for the locals in the area). Once called the garden city, this market makes true the statement where the garden can still be felt as a remainder of city that has transformed.

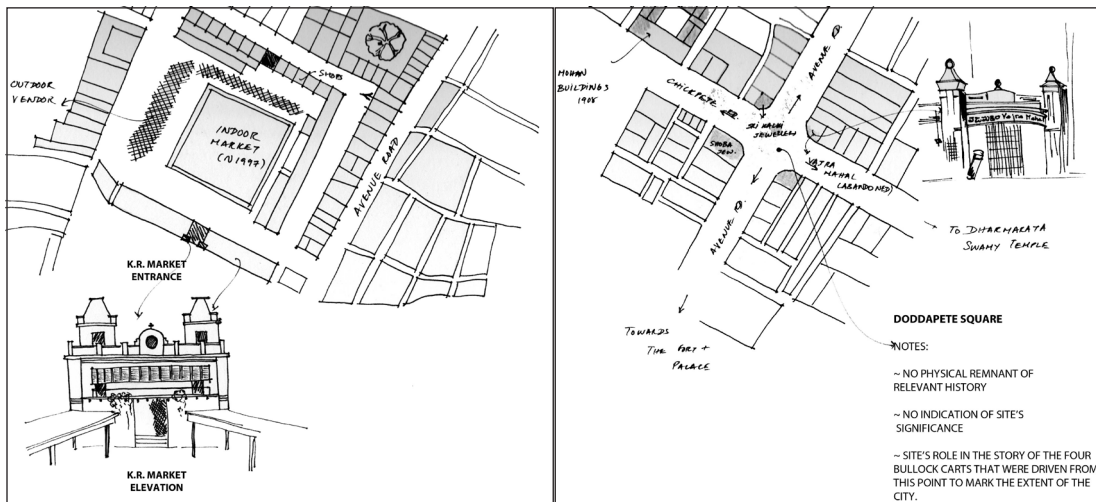


Figure 4.8 (left): Drawing of the KR Market. Drawing done on site.

Figure 4.9 (right): Location of the Doddapete square and observations from field notes. Drawing done on site.

Between the junction of Avenue Road and Chikpet Road lies the Doddapete Square. During the time of Kempe Gowda’s reign, the site of the Doddapete Square was the point that he selected for deciding how vast his new city would be in 1537. Writes Hassan ‘right at the spot where now stands the Dodpet Square, in the heart of the city, one fine morning in 1537, four pairs of milk white bullocks stood harnessed to four decorated ploughs, and at the royal command off they went, driven by young men, furrowing the ground in the four directions up to the limits marked.²⁶⁰ The

²⁵⁹ Field notes and interviews conducted in Bangalore in May 2011

²⁶⁰ The lore goes to say that four gates were built in the four cardinal directions. These towers still exist

routes traversed by those four ploughs became the nucleus of the new town's four main streets'.²⁶¹

Though there is no indication of this historic event on the site, it remains the city's oldest junction highlighted by its presence in stories and myths about the founding of the city.

4) *Traditional living quarters and occupations*

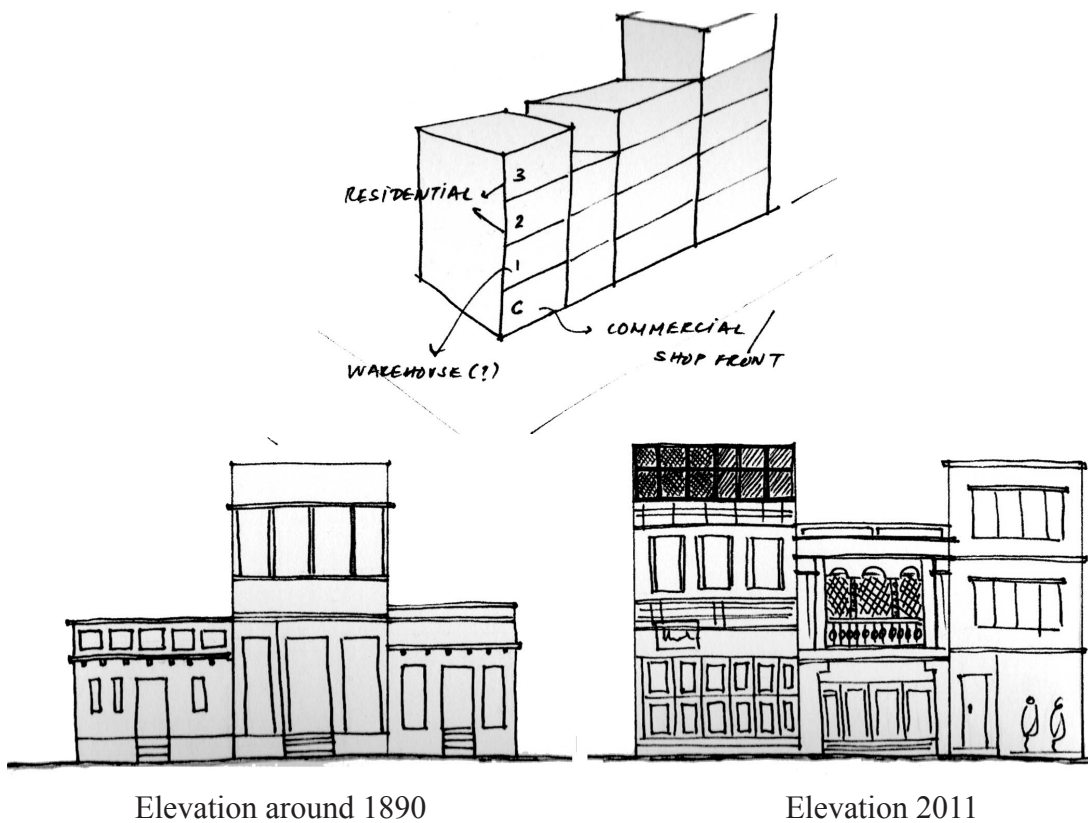


Figure 4.10: Transformation of the street elevation during the last century. Showing residential/ commercial quarters. Drawing done on site.

in the landscape of the city and are located in the middle of parks and are popular tourist destinations. The current locations are: North West: Near Mekhri Circle; North East: Near Ulsoor Lake; South East: Lalbagh Park; South West: Near Kempambudhi Lake.

²⁶¹ Hasan, *Bangalore Through the Centuries*. 14

a. Living Quarters

As discussed in the previous sections, the development of the Pettah was along the lines of South Asian organic planning with chowks (squares) and the area was a mix of professional activities that extended into residential or private spaces. Given that the Pettah was divided as per profession into various zones (leading to names of these zones), each community had different requirements of the space based on the profession; for example the Ganigas required large open spaces in front of their houses, abutting the street, to press oil in the traditional techniques; joint families of the Devangas, engaged in textile manufacture had internal courtyards open to sky, and shared public open spaces for dyeing and other related activities.²⁶²

This marked division in space is difficult to perceive within the space in current times, where land price and divisions within the family have dictated (and forced) new forms of residential quarters in the Pettah. When the case study of this area was carried out in 2011, the distinction between residential spaces and business activities were hard to differentiate. The distinction between these spaces blurred to accommodate mixed living and professional spaces within the Pettah, the streets were composed of markets or bazaars, professional/ business activities on the ground floor with respective business owners and tenants on the residential spaces above (going up to G+2/3... 5 floors).

This dual character of the Pettah is one that has been acknowledged as one of the primary characteristics of the space that contribute to its sense of place and identification with the inhabitants. As Nair has written,

...the architecture of the historic Pete strongly depicted this dual character. Jagalis or platforms outside of houses, which were places of production and repose, transitioned the street into homes. Jagged streets appear to have been residual spaces that emerged after the houses and commercial establishments were located.²⁶³

These existing structures and divisions in space continue to connect form to urban memory, history and cultural identity. As the original form of the old town has morphed in a number of ways, finding traditional living quarters within an area so highly populated proved to be quite a challenge. On the main streets traditional houses with jagalis (see image from previous section for details) in front have disappeared and been replaced by storefronts selling goods of various natures. Most

²⁶² Rajagopal, 'Bangalore: The informal economy of the Historic Pete'. 137-146

²⁶³ Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*. 46

houses with courtyard no more house joint families (one extended family living together) within its walls, but the space has been divided and partitioned between various occupants. Most of these houses have been demolished or refurbished in ways that recognising them as courtyard houses is challenging, the few that continue to exist²⁶⁴ are deep within the Pettah area. Two of these houses are described below, to assert their importance to the urban fabric and illustrate their role within this zone.

Sampigemara Manne (House with the Sampigetree/ Magnolia champaca)

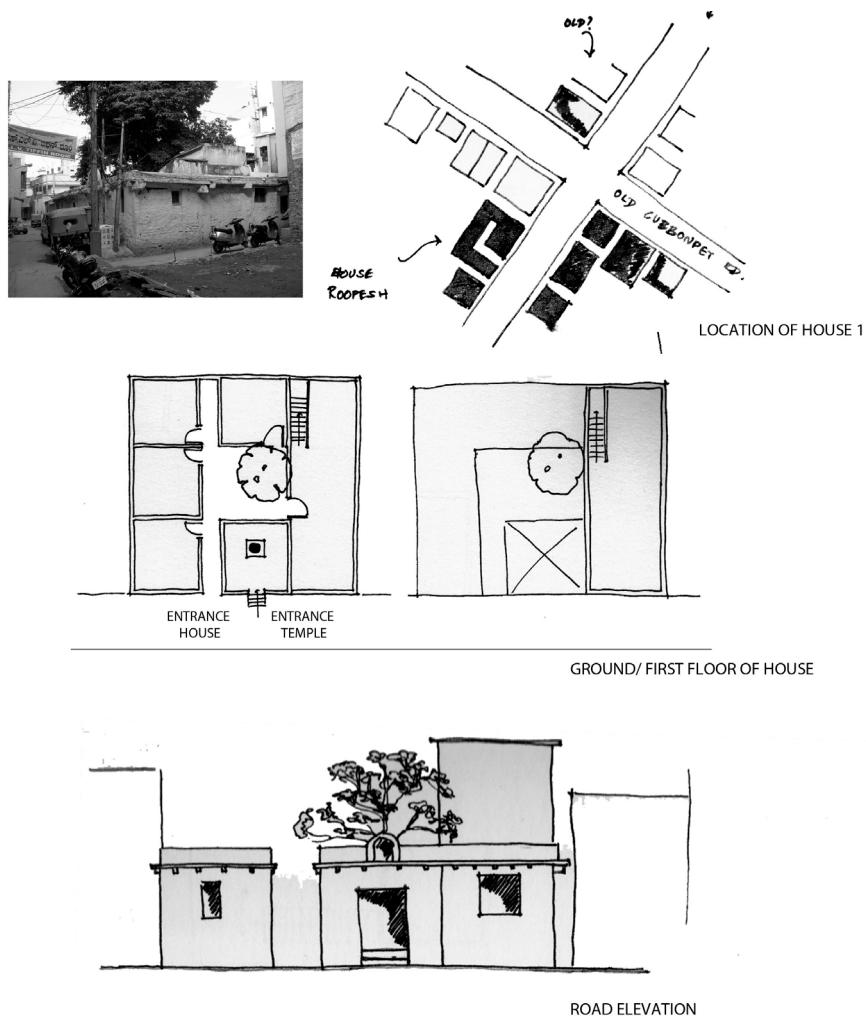


Figure 4.11: Location of *Sampigemara Manne*, plan and elevation. Drawing done on site.

²⁶⁴ Around 10 houses were mapped in the area, where 2 houses were in the process of demolition. Taken from Field Notes May 2011.

Located deep within Cottonpet this house was referred to me by people on the street to whom the question of location of courtyard houses was addressed. The house's iconic tree (one of the few trees left in the old city) is the marker for its location and the small temple that abuts it. The structure constructed with mud and wooden rafters is indicative of a time when the entire Pettah must have looked along the same lines. Painted in a blue tinted white paint (that acts as a protective coat for mud structures), the house's current owner Mr. Roopesh (Age 40-45 years) expands on the story of the house and why houses of this nature are no more to be found:

'This house belonged to my forefathers. The story goes that my great-great grandfather built it and that time the Pettah was not like how it is today it was just beginning. It is over 450 years old. My family has always lived here. We are from the family Ganigas (oil producers), now those ways have gone and I am a construction worker.

The sampigae mara (Sampige Tree), is iconic of our house. The smell that comes from this tree, is one that stays on in every part of the house.

The only thing that has been changed is that we added an extra room to the house on the first floor. Here there is no concrete, it is all mud. We have not changed anything as 'old is gold' you know?

There used to be many houses like ours even 20 years back, now they have all disappeared, most of them have many floors now or been demolished- maybe in the entire Pettah there are 5 or 6 left? I don't understand how people can demolish them; they are beautiful and cool in summer time. But the city is changing, and the Pettah is changing as well.

But, we will continue to live here, my kids as well as his kids. This is our home, a home that has been with us for many, many years.'

Susheela Amma's Manne (Suheela Mother's House)

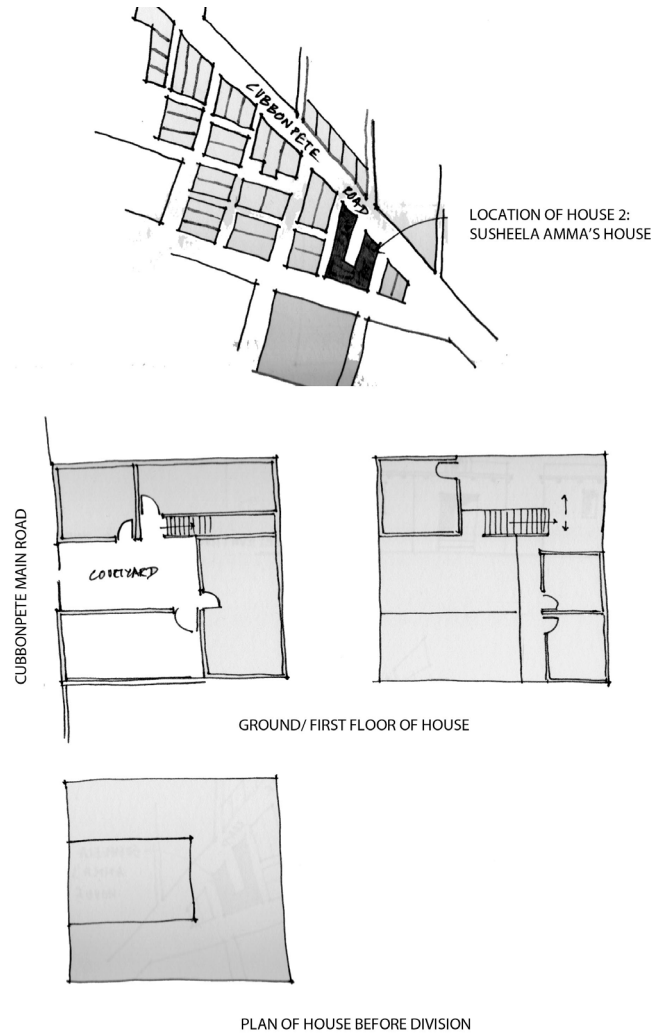


Figure 4.12: Location of *Susheela Amma's House*. Plans showing the layout of the house before and after division of spaces. Drawing done on site.

Finding what was once a courtyard house on the main street was a mixture of coincidence and luck. Walking by what looked like an old house gate led to the finding of a house of cart driver's daughter, who at 90 years was the owner and sharp enough to find out why this study was being carried out. Unlike the other house, this place had undergone quite a few transformations in terms of reduction of the courtyard and addition of floors. The ground floor had the appearance of thicker mud walls and wooden rafters, but the extensions on the top made identification of the space difficult.

‘This house belonged to my forefathers, it has belonged to my family since we came to the Pettah. My father and grandfathers drove carts around the Pettah area. The house used to be much bigger, anyone you asked in the town ‘where was Susheela-amma’s house?’ they would lead you here! We were very famous at one time... this house was beautiful, but now it been broken into smaller bits around the courtyard. My sons live in different houses (pointing to the smaller houses within the courtyard), I live on top now. The Pettah has changed a lot in the last decades, when I was a young girl the Pettah was not so crowded and everyone knew each other. Today I don’t recognize half the people on the street nor the houses, there are not too many like ours. People and buildings have changed how the pettah looks in a matter of few years. People only want new now, no one likes these old buildings, they are waiting to tear them down.

What most people don’t realise now is that there are so few houses that remind is of where we as a city came from. Though everyone wants new, for me this house reminds me of my history, my family’s and why I am here. It connects me to the place.

It’s the oldest part of the city, soon there will be nothing old about it except the narrow roads’!

b. Traditional occupations: Weaving, oil production, tanning

‘The sound of the wooden posts banging together creating a note seems to be the memory of the place. Buried deep in the sound that the looms create, people’s attachment to place is symbiotically connected to the sound of the loom that seems to resonate everywhere in this small pettah.’²⁶⁵

Until Indian independence, the economy of the city relieved heavily on the textile industry through the construction of large scale mills (such as the Bangalore Woollen, Cotton and Silk Mill Company, Minerva Mills, Binny Mills etc.) as the region was famous for its silk production. Parallely, the community of Devangas, who were/ are traditionally silk weavers largely present in Cottonpete started the silk weaving tradition in a smaller scale within this area. Practised and trained in this specialized art, the Devangas are a community that live together and run weaving units together. With the demand for silk on the decline, most silk looms within the

²⁶⁵ Taken from field notes April 2011.

area have become a part of the residential quarters of the loom owners. The tradition of weaving for centuries and the sound of the looms is what identifies this zone from others, forming one of the parts that encompass the making of memory of this place.

Excerpts from interview with Roopesh Babu Mill Owner, Cottonpete

With the sound of loom posts banging each other to create cloth out of thread at 7:00 AM in the morning, I pass through the neighbourhood of Cottonpete where I meet Mr. Roopesh Babu. He is a mill owner who along with his four brothers and their families has been running the mill for as long as he can remember. It is relatively early and they are already at work, he speaks to me about the character and identity of the neighbourhood, where sound connects form, memory and identity.

‘Our family has had a loom for centuries, my father was a weaver as was his father, we are a family of Devangas. We all live together- always have, we are five brothers and we work and live in the same place. We live right here above the mill (pointing to the floors above).

The loom has not been doing so well, so we have a flourmill as well in front. The loom has been modernized but it still has its roots in how my forefathers used to weave. My brothers and I have continued this tradition; I don’t know what will happen when the time of my children come.

This whole place (referring to the parallel streets) has just looms, everywhere you go you will hear the sounds of the mill, that is what the place is about. Each area of the Pettah is famous for something, here it is these looms. The sound that comes out of these posts beating each other tells me every day that I am doing and staying in a place that has deep family roots and is a part of me. Every time I go out into the streets, I hear this sound and it’s the sound of my people and my place’.

4.3.3 *Summary: primary elements from before 1537*

Within the Pettah area, the working of architecture to aid the performance of memory of place, history and identity is evident through the attachment to form. The rate of transformation²⁶⁶ of the Pettah area, though fast, has left untouched certain

²⁶⁶ There are plans for expanding roads, changing layouts to accommodate parking structures, etc. which raised objections throughout the city. Writes Chandrashekar Balachandran, Cultural Geographer

spaces and behaviours that remain iconic of the space. The historic sites, the organic form of the Pettah and commemorative rituals in space reflect sites of the everyday where complex relations and interconnections between place, people and matter²⁶⁷ can be experienced. Echoing Arendt, who argues that the reality and reliability of the human world rests primarily on the fact that we are surrounded by things more permanent than the activity by which they were produced.²⁶⁸

The characteristics of the Pettah area are buried deep within the historic and commemorative mnemonics of space that aid the making of urban memory with the zone (and also contributing to the memory of the city in general). Continuing along the lines of Rossi's 'permanences' within the city, the Pettah area contains 'this relationship between the locus and the citizenry then becomes the city's predominant image, both of architecture and of landscape, and as certain artefacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge'.²⁶⁹

4.3.4 *Identifying and transformation of primary elements post independence*

Lefèbvre's *The Production of Space* advocates, '(social) space is (social) product'²⁷⁰ meaning 'that every society and hence every mode of production with its sub variants (i.e. all those societies which exemplify the general concept) - produces a space, its own space'.²⁷¹ Within the city, Bangalore has seen various regimes pass through its built, economic and political history; colonial forms of architecture are a part of the landscape of the city as much as traditional forms are. A coalition of forms post-Indian independence (meaning post-colonial and influences of globalisation) described within this section is to highlight both the amalgamation of styles and global influences the city faces today.

Bangalore, like any of the number of large urban centres around the world is living under the umbrella of economic and cultural metamorphosis, which has also

and Founder of Dharani Trust in the city 'Change is inevitable, but history should not be lost. The cultural plurality and diversity can be seen in these areas. The Rice Memorial Church, Moinuddinn Darga and many ancient Hindu temples should remain untouched... if we lose our historical landscape, we lose the reminders of collected memory.'

²⁶⁷ Till, 'Emplacing Memory through the City: The New Berlin'. 73-83

²⁶⁸ Arendt, *The Human Condition: A study of the Central Dilemma Facing Modern Man*.

²⁶⁹ Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*.

²⁷⁰ Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space*. 26

²⁷¹ Ibid. 31

become analogous with the modern sub continent. Under the influence of constant and expeditious transformations, the city has been forced or rather chosen to both re-image and re-imagine itself, which can be seen and experienced through the urban form of the city. Within the current climate of swift growth of the city there have been movements that endeavour to re-territorialise the city, its form, its symbols and monuments, making of new spaces that ‘give back’ to the city and through these reorganisations a chance for the city to exhibit its amalgamated social identity.

The sites that best epitomise the theme of this direction of the thesis while addressing different perspectives on the current reimagining of urban spaces is that of the city’s old Central Jail now called as ‘Freedom Park’²⁷² and the ‘National Gallery of Modern Art’,²⁷³ two projects that were competition based and had to merge existing colonial features into contemporary designs. These sites are used as examples to question how space within the city is constantly appropriated and transformed, focusing specifically on symbols of the colonial past that have been incorporated into the current climate of new cultural order that has found expression through built form. Though there are many other sites and zones²⁷⁴ within the city that highlight these transformations, in the last four to five years, these two sites specially draw to focus the changing climate of the city’s urban memory, the global influences at play and the role of architectures response to the same.

²⁷² Freedom Park is a contemporary urban park located in the site of the old central jail of the city. It opened to the public in 2008 as a site where art meets history and a free public space for various usages. The old central jail was located in the heart of the city and the moving of the same opened up ninety thousand square meters of space for public activities.

²⁷³ National Gallery of Modern Art (or NGMA) is a centrally run organisation that supports both national and international art/ artists. There are three National Galleries across India and the one in Bangalore was the third that opened in the midst of many controversies. The designers of the current space merged the existing early twentieth century mansion to accommodate the newly added galleries, auditorium, visitor’s centre and food court.

²⁷⁴ The main difference between the section on primary elements pre-independence and post-independence is that the former dealt with the oldest area of the city that was limited to a geographically small land area, while in comparison the civil and military area (or the cantonment) before independence was significantly larger area. Using two specific sites within a larger scope enables to show and contrast the changes between the organic city area and post-colonial spaces.

1) *Freedom Park and The National Gallery of Modern Art*²⁷⁵

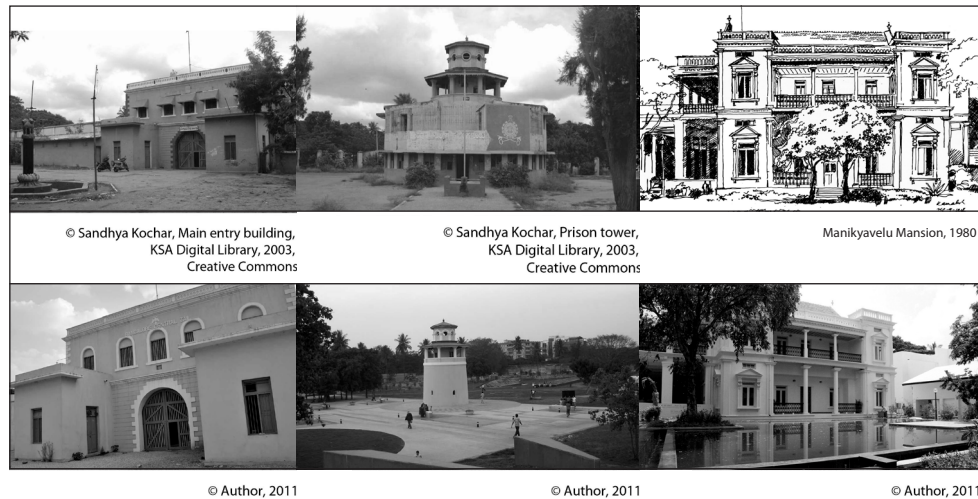


Figure 4.13 (left and middle): Photographs of the Central Jail from 2003 and Freedom Park 2011 (Source: Creative Commons and Author).

Figure 4.14 (right): Drawings of Manikyavelu Mansion from 1980 and National Gallery of Modern Art 2011 (Source: Author)

The projects chosen as a part of this section (refer Map 4.12) have roots both in the Pettah and the C&M area; the site of the ‘Freedom Park’ marks the spot of the old Central Jail of the city built in 1865–66 adjoining the Pettah area²⁷⁶ and the National Gallery of Modern Art being a site buried deep in the C&M area in a refurbished colonial style bungalow.²⁷⁷ Both these projects have been the result of new interventions in the city that use existing fabric to dictate future usages, keeping

²⁷⁵ The landscape of postcolonial space within the city is a means of accessing how various structures rooted in colonial heritage in the city are now re-figuring within the metropolitan landscape. Though there are many other sites and zones within the city that highlight these transformations, in the last four to five years, these two sites specially draw to focus the changing climate of the city’s urban memory, the global influences at play and the role of architectures response to the same. The popularity of the sites was observed within various demographics interviewed within the city.

²⁷⁶ Located in the green zone that separated the city from the C&M Station.

²⁷⁷ Bungalows within the Indian context are houses that fall into the category of low rise, detached and located in the midst of gardens. A word that has roots in the Bengali language was first used to refer to the houses of the English within the sub-continent. Popularly associated with grandiose, the term Bungalow in the city is colloquially now used to refer to spaces/ buildings that have roots in the colonial times.

in mind the role that these sites play a tertiary role in the notion of collective memory within the city.

The 'Freedom Park', is a site within the city that speaks about the coming of changes in response to the global reshaping of the city's landscape and public space. Built on the site of the old central jail, a legacy from the year 1865-66, it forms an invisible and unapproachable edge to one part of old city (or Pettah) and opened into the C&M area on the east. Caught between major traffic arteries in the city, it is a site that thousands of people passed by daily either on their way to work or study. Though physically present in terms of towering boundary walls that was all visible from the outside, it was a site that remained obsolete in the minds of most.²⁷⁸ Only after 2001, when the decision was taken to move the central jail from within the city to a site well outside the city limits, did the site physically refigure again in the landscape of the city. The ninety thousand square meters that belonged to the premises was thrown open as an architectural competition²⁷⁹ and entries were called for rejuvenation of the urban space as a public park.

Though the site by itself calls for no real attachment and memory within the city, it was a space that housed freedom fighters from the era of Indian independence (pre 1947) and during the period of Emergency (1975-77). Though unused in a strict sense as public space, the space contains remnants of those who occupied the space once. Before the rejuvenation of the space a prominent photographer of the city writes, 'the place looked directly transported from 19th century England, and I imagined Dickens seeing the jail and using its sensibility for his poetic, macabre descriptions. An entire disturbing century had hardly changed the space'.²⁸⁰

The selected winning entry was by a Bangalore based architectural firm Mathew and Gosh who were heralded by the jury for 'a very successful integration

²⁷⁸ Although the inhabitants of the city knew the location of the central jail, the site by itself was unapproachable. From Field Notes 2011

²⁷⁹ The competition attracted 78 firms across India to participate in what was called as the 'Freedom Park Central Jail Redevelopment'. The aim was to rejuvenate the space and turn the existing complex into an urban park for the city. The young firm that won this competition was based out of Bangalore (Mathew and Gosh Architects) and the challenge posed to the team of designers was to balance the old with the new planned interventions.

²⁸⁰ Photographer Raghav Shreyas pictures' of the Central Jail remain to the day the only source of documentary evidence of the original structures. Having taken them before the transformation of the space his pictures emit a sense of poignancy that was associated with the space. See Shreyas, *Invisible Town*. <http://raghavshreyas.com/raghav-shreyas/photography/invisible-town/>. (Accessed June 2011).

of landscape and built form- historic and new- in a compelling and agreeable manner which would create a meaningful transformation of the former jail compound for use as a new iconic public-cum park space'.²⁸¹ Though the current result of the space is markedly different as compared to how the space was a few years back, it is a space that has both won and lost many elements, and is simultaneously an ambivalent and hybrid space that contains many discourses and contentions.

On the other hand, the site of the National Gallery of Modern Art (NGMA) is situated on a fourteen thousand square meter premise of a two-storey mansion in the middle of a beautifully landscaped garden from the early twentieth century. The opening of a National Gallery in the city was wrought with controversies and drawbacks, opening only in the year 2009, though the decision to open a National Gallery in Bangalore was taken in the late 1980's. Across the country, there are only three national galleries at New Delhi, Mumbai and Bangalore that display works of both national and international significance. The mansion was a part of the Mysore Royal Family holdings until it was bought by a mine owner whose name the space still shares, Raja Manikayavelu Mudaliar. The property changed hands yet again, to be bought by the State Government in the late sixties and two decades later, the decision was taken to open a national gallery.

It was through a competition again that the designers were selected for this project, where there was a need to reuse the existing Manikyavelu mansion as gallery space. As an architect of the city expands 'Architects were invited to participate in a limited competition. The project was complex in nature since multiple issues were at stake: the dialectic between old and new, putting a heritage building to reuse, protecting landscape, and imagining an 'urban space' where art and people would come together'.²⁸² The project was faced with a number of objections from various groups in the city during the period of construction; never the less, it has come to be seen in the last few years as a space that is inclusive of people from all walks of life in the city. It is a space that is now becoming 'new memory through space'²⁸³ within the city.

²⁸¹ Quoted from the jury observation. Mathew and Ghosh Architects, 'Competition: Park of Possibility, Freedom Park Bangalore'. 41-44

²⁸² De, *Whose Gallery Is It, Anyway?*

²⁸³ Interview in the city. Field notes 2011.

4.3.5 *Summary: primary elements post independence*

The landscape of postcolonial space within the city is a means of accessing how various structures rooted in colonial heritage in the city are now re-figuring within the metropolitan landscape. Using urban memory buried deep within the old city and including 'new' spaces of urban memory as discussed above open the possibility of the performance of memory through various environments and structures. Within a metropolitan city, various symbols of the city constitute its identity, attachment and history; the emergence of new forms of memory formations is indicative of new discourses, images and creativity within the city.

It is necessary in the search for urban memory that a genealogy is constructed of representations of various types of performances (of urban memory). In the process of constructing the urban, older sites are forgotten, their representations censored or recombined with nascent ones through political action, ritual, collective desire or fantasy to produce a new combination of meanings. The 'past' and the 'present' are both contemporaneous and memory dependant on current social practices.²⁸⁴ In the city of Bangalore there is a new combination of meanings fast emerging, spaces re-configured to suite a changing demography, one that is global and yet deeply rooted in traditional practises.

Here, the examples show that architecture supports the performance of memory through the annals of history and the practises of various communities settled in the city who have classified various spaces for representation of their practises and spatial attachment. As Boyer, Lefèbvre and others have observed, memory associated with the passage of time, is intimately connected to space.²⁸⁵ The examples of spaces that are globally connected (in design sensibilities and incorporation of various forms into existing structures) have emerged from present cultural milieus in the city versus the continued historicity through the existence of the old city and its practises.

4.4 **Urban space and collective memory**

One way of understanding the influence of the physical environment on the

²⁸⁴ Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory: The Sacred and the Civic in India's High-Tech City*. xxvi

²⁸⁵ Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments.*, Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space*.

inhabitants/ communities that have inhabited a space for considerable period of time is to study specific areas where this influence can be observed. For example, older quarters, zones of transformation of space and form, coming of new spaces in the city that dictate new associations with the space; to observe and analyse how collective memory can unfold within a spatial framework and also transform makes an interesting study. If space is read as a reality that endures: since our impressions rush by, one after another, and leave nothing behind in the mind, we can understand how we recapture the past only by understanding how it is, in effect, preserved by our physical surroundings. It is to space - the space we occupy, traverse, have continual access to, or can at any time reconstruct in thought and imagination - that we must turn our attention. Our thought must focus on it, if this or that category of remembrances is to reappear.²⁸⁶ Halbwachs and many other theoreticians²⁸⁷ who followed the notion of space/ form being a witness to everyday activities, attachments, memories and forgetting; will agree with the above statement.

In the previous sections, various zones and sites in the city of Bangalore was analysed through architectural systems (how form developed and the relation between various forms and the overall relation to the urban form of the city), regimes associated with space and lastly identification of primary elements within the zones, which act as places of importance/ sites of memory. Within the following section, key points are identified and expanded upon to reflect on space and collective memory on an urban scale.

4.4.1 *Production of memory: old and the new*

Though the city of Bangalore has no real monumental form, the existence of various layers of history and regimes that can still be differentiated clearly which continue to exist both independently as well as in conjunction with each other makes the case a unique study. Though the city post independence evolved as a singular unit, the divisions within space have remained/ remain visible to this day. Divergent urban planning between the organic city and strong colonial or monarchical roots in the Cantonment have now become the current space of dialogues within the city, questioning both its presence and relevance in an undecided future. The city due

²⁸⁶ Halbwachs, *Space and Collective Memory*.

²⁸⁷ Please refer Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*., Lynch, *The Image of the City*., Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space*., Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*., Harvery, *The Condition of Post Modernity*.

to its global presence finds the need to break away from traditional definitions of an Indian city, where the spaces under considerations have become spaces of new development.²⁸⁸

According to David Harvey who remains a creative source for the reading of political urban memory, contextualizes urban as historic spaces where ‘the urban’ is read as *lieux de memoire*.²⁸⁹ Within the context of the urban that is a space of not just of geographical importance, but also the site of mobility of people, information and capital; the effects on social and architectural space are marked and expeditious. Bangalore in the climate of global information flows and new economies, is a city that is caught in a double bind of wanting to become a global player while holding on to its cultural identity and keeping its local differences/colours and traditions alive.

Urban spaces are continuously being reconstructed and re-invented, as they are embedded in several transnational circuits and are influenced by the preferences of the resident population. With the selected case studies, they represent two directions embedded in the city facing global changes. In the old city, the existence of forms and regimes that can be traced back four hundred years contrasted with colonial spaces reconfigured to accommodate a changing demography and preferences, comments on the both retention and transformation of the city-scape.

From the founding of the city in the sixteenth century till the coming of British occupation, the model of the city was that of the tank, the fort and the market settlement, though it is now impossible to differentiate the lines marking the space through various performances through the year; the relevance of the old city to that of the growing city has not been lost. The old city in its existent form is remnant of ‘the people and the forces and institutions that bring about urban form’²⁹⁰ and the changes the space experienced earmark the regime changes, demographical shifts and the coming of liberalisation. Within this space, the cultural material that supports

²⁸⁸ Colonial spaces and buildings in the city occupy prime real estate locations within the city, as the need to broaden roads and create space for logistical activities is the focus of the city’s planning departments. Division between parts of the city ran through what is today’s central commercial zone of the urban agglomeration. The organic old city on the other hand finds itself growing more congested and the need to broaden roads and create space for logistical activities is the focus of the city’s planning departments.

²⁸⁹ Harvey, *The Condition of Post Modernity*.

²⁹⁰ Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History*. Defines urban processes in two ways, first ‘the people and the forces and institutions that bring about urban form’ and ‘physical change through time’.

the performance of memory is seen through the creation of clusters groups (religious, economic and commemorative), regimes and the landscape. The retention of certain activities associated with space and form through the performance of the Karaga, the narrow roads of the old city, religious landscape and the settlement patterns encourage the remembrance of history of the city, identity and attachment.

In contrast to the historic core, within the context of reinventions, sites like the 'Freedom Park' and the 'National Gallery' appear to be the product of new urban economics and urban redevelopment that are now becoming new sites of consumption within the city, while the old city patterns remain unaltered. In the process of constructing the urban, older sites are forgotten, their representations censored or recombined with nascent ones through political action, ritual, collective desire, or fantasy to produce different configurations of meaning.²⁹¹

Both the projects are internationally recognised and are attempts made to fuse the existing fabric with the needs of an up coming, contemporary social/ public and art scene. The project tries on many layers to achieve the same, and as the architects of Freedom Park state 'typology is retained as a significant memory on site about which new markers/ events are abhorred. The discovery of former trajectories as one engages with the new, create a simultaneous palimpsest experience'.²⁹² Though the initial claims seem well grounded, speaks to affirm the role of architecture and the experience of memory. The transformation of the site, from one of inaccessibility to its current status of a public park has been generally well received by the community who can take advantage of the lung space in the city.

With the reinvention of the site, there are new dynamics at play: on one hand there is a need for history and identity to be valorized, but on the other, only selective aspects of the past have been prized. With this particular site, it is as Robins and Conner state, traditions, heritage and the past become 'thing' that enterprise and governments often exploit: they have become products.²⁹³ Memory here has been rendered as the ideology that produced the current space, a commodity in the form of nostalgic discourse. The words boldly painted on the boundary walls state 'we are compelled to give back the void to the city, transforming but not by subordination of the land but by minimal markings and a recovery of the former spatial memory'.²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory: The Sacred and the Civic in India's High-Tech City*.

²⁹² From field notes 2011, painted on the walls surrounding the park.

²⁹³ Robins and Conner, *Local and Regional Broadcasting in the New Media Order*.

²⁹⁴ From field notes 2011, painted on the walls surrounding the park.

Here the newly constructed ‘old jail’ premises are part of how the city is reconsidering heritage that hopes to contribute to the city’s identity, new tourism and economic development. Within the contemporary context of cities, governments are increasingly relying on the private sector to nurture places and sites that are of significant collective importance. Though this is a project by the local government of the city, an attempt has been made to forge a bond between the particular history of the site with the geography of the place and its people. It is when memory of a place becomes heritage through economic and spatial strategies, it becomes a facile and orchestrated creation, which is what seems to haunt this site the most. Apart from its many pitfalls, the site’s characteristics encourage interaction with the site’s memory and attempt to question forgetting.

Urban places and memories are not solely constituted by materiality; while they might partly function as settings for social and economic reproduction, they also provide a space where collective identity is acted out.²⁹⁵ The NGMA on the other hand, is a contemporary urban space that is linked to the history of colonial built space and this is not hidden under a palimpsest but instead is almost boldly joined to a contemporary construction. Best defined by a young photographer from the city who uses this space on an almost weekly basis states, ‘the missing element of attachment to space in the city is being redefined here, as we speak of new memory and attachment that is being played out on this site’.²⁹⁶ Though the claims of this project were not to question the memory associated with the site, the project (through its form) and its location have managed to successfully retain a certain mnemonic to times past. The coalescence of the Mansion with an almost non-intrusive contemporary building in midst of hundred-year-old plum trees is quite a feat.

A poet in the city compares the space with that of WG Sebald’s ‘Austerlitz’, where he talks about ‘the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, about how its design and hugeness intimidates and frustrates the visitor. There, according to Sebald, the largeness of the towers make one uneasy, even frightened. At Manikyavelu Mansion, we have to deal with largeness but of a different kind, that of nature. And it is interesting that for the most part, largeness in nature — the sea, mountains, tall trees — tend to be relaxing rather than threatening’.²⁹⁷ It is this very notion of a new,

²⁹⁵ Bélanger, ‘Urban Space and Collective Memory: Analysing the Various Dimensions of the Production of Memory’.

²⁹⁶ Interview in the city, April 2011.

²⁹⁷ Sengupta, *Flânerie #1: Manikyavelu Mansion*. <http://aninditasengupta.com/2010/07/flanerie-1->

relaxing, open space that seems to call people on to this space in order for them not just to rewrite the space as their own but also to 're-memorialize' the space into the city's new fabric.

Though in both the cases there has been a re-rendering of memory and site attachment as an initiating point, what is seen now is that there are new forces at play that claim to go beyond the discourse of memory. With a city like Bangalore where free public space is hard to come across, there is an attempt by the local populace to occupy the space and form attachment through new forms of production. The task here was to point out new forms of memory taking root in the city through its urban form, that encourage the visitor to come question and perform both what is lost and what is new.

As abstract as history and memory might be to capture, it also changes with time and place and in many ways history reveals itself through the production of certain regimes. Keeping in mind Bangalore's distinctive cultural and historical context, a city that was always 'fast' in terms of change and transformation, the coming of these sites has introduced a zone that is currently being used in terms of public performances, art displays, occupied by university students and lastly as a space of public demonstrations.

In terms of memory and attachment, though they are sites of memory within the city, they are sites that are coming into new and transformative memory. As Halbwachs argues 'the law governing the memory of groups include changing the traditions of older groups by rewriting their positions in time and space; renewing them through unexpected parallels, oppositions and combinations; concerning meanings and events; and duality of sites'.²⁹⁸

Contrasting these sites with the old city area where the performance of memory is connected to form and physical traits speaks to the variances of urban memory production. Within an urban scale the role of architecture varies and its role in aiding the performance of remembering or forgetting is bound to many frameworks ranging from traditional practises and behaviours, histories, and physical form. With the coming of new spaces of importance and attachment, the plurality and transformation of this performance cannot be ignored.

manikyavelu-mansion/ (Accessed October 2011).

²⁹⁸ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*.

4.4.2 *Production of space and collective memory*

Urban collective memories can be approached from the stance that it is not just a testimony to space and time but is also an element that is both socially determined and socially determining as well. To understand memory as a social process, there is a need to understand the forms that memory produces in space i.e. materials that are produced through the practises of memory within contemporary Bangalore.

Civic life is embedded in collective processes through which people living in the same urban space communicate, understand each other through familiar and distinctive signs, elaborate representations and visions of the city, cultivate certain values, appoint symbols of their affiliation and simultaneously preserve and adapt the memories of their experience.²⁹⁹ These processes that take place within the urbanscape and built form of the city contribute to the making of identity, a unique sense of what separates ‘us’ from ‘others’.

Lefèbvre expands on relationships between space and chronology of historical events, as processes that relate not just to form and but also the metaphorical/ symbolic. Space is continuously in dialogue about its conception, its mode of production, retention and its social/ communal reverberations. When ‘space’ speaks about its memory, it is the memory of its development and transformation; the embedded notions of representations contribute to how one remembers a certain place. The working of memory can be studied through Lefèbvre’s concept of representation of space that is one part of the triad that elucidates the practises associated with the production of space. Within Lefèbvre’s triad of representational space and spatial practises, which is analysed as the perceived, the conceived and the lived; memory can be looked at as located at the crossroads of these spaces. Memory that is associated with representational spaces is as Lefèbvre states is ‘redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their source in history’.³⁰⁰

Memories that surround the sites of the Old City (Pettah), Freedom Park and NGA are based on what is perceived as important sites of history, but have conceived and lived memories associated with them. Memory is always being reconstructed in

²⁹⁹ Bélanger, ‘Urban Space and Collective Memory: Analysing the Various Dimensions of the Production of Memory’.

³⁰⁰ Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space*.

the present context, but is rarely dissociated from considerations of power.³⁰¹ There are newer tactics of remembrance at play along with layers of history and memory; analysis of these tactics gives insight into nature of these processes and their relationships.

4.4.3 *Space and tactics of remembrance*

There are always certain spaces within the city that seem to escape certain definitions and orchestrations, or play a very small part in the prominent discourses that form a part of the urban discussion. These are the same places that get different definitions through different periods of time. This is the case with all of the case studies specifically with site of the Freedom Park, overhauling from a space that was a nineteenth century prison to a zone symbolically now ‘given’ back to the people; similar sentiments are reflected with the NGMA space as well. As was noted earlier Lefèbvre’s work offers through the spatial triad; subjectivity, interactions and contradictions embedded within various power relations. Though diversified memories and experiences need room for representation, within the urban form they are dictated collectively rather than individually (though they are experienced individually).

Walter Benjamin in his *Arcade Project* explores various tactics of remembrance and also ways in which instinctive and subjective memory can interfere with dominant historical continuity. This is also what Harootunian referred to as ‘free history from representation, nostalgia and the spurious effort to reaffirm the identity of the past continuously with the present’.³⁰² Benjamin believed that modern economics and political forms were transforming reality into a dream or myth, a realm of falsely totalising aesthetic appearances.³⁰³ It is with Benjamin where one finds allegories and metaphors that explicate both appreciation and awareness into history, memory and the society (here focusing on form). What Benjamin proposed was to fracture these forms of false totality in which culture is implicated and the dreams of historical continuity to which totalized views of culture lead.³⁰⁴ In order

³⁰¹ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*.

³⁰² Harootunian, *The Benjamin Effect: Modernism, Repetition, and the Path to Different Cultural Imaginaries*.

³⁰³ Bélanger, ‘Urban Space and Collective Memory: Analysing the Various Dimensions of the Production of Memory’.

³⁰⁴ Conner, *Cultural Sociology and Cultural Science*. 346

to achieve this what he proposed was to critically look at the analysis of cultural fragments ‘in whose stubborn refusal to be digested by the totalities of culture and history inheres the possibility of a shocking new awareness or unforgetting’.³⁰⁵

The analysis of such fragments provided the promise of shedding light on something new in an otherwise recurrent theme, ‘extracting the difference from similitude, in order to project a revolutionary program directed towards a consciousness of the present that exploded the continuum of history’.³⁰⁶ By searching and critically scrutinizing these elements that resist hegemony, Benjamin’s purpose was to throw light on the paradoxical nature of contemporary life.

Benjamin’s analysis can be used as the framework to understand how the presented sites, though have roots in hegemonic discourses, have moved beyond the same. The attention that these postcolonial sites have received in the press and among the people of the city that welcome these interventions, speak to the relevance of these spaces in a transforming landscape. Though both sites have been symbolic to its individual location within the city what is revealing is the missing level of attachment as suggested by the planners of the site. Though this level of attachment is missing, they are fragments within the discourse of new economics that have tried to go beyond a set theme or stage. Within the city where cultural fragments come under demolition plans daily (such as in the Pettah area³⁰⁷), these sites have defied the traditional definition of urban transformation.

Michel de Certeau whose theory resembles that of Benjamin’s tactics of remembrance articulates a theory of consumption where individuals transform what is given as a hegemonic discourse. These discourses being markedly different from historical constructions, traditions of social life and memory that has been dictated by dominant forces. With both the projects located on sites that are easily accessible to the population, they are sites that are no more rooted by traditional urban forms but an evolving relationship between the city and its people, where these new spaces can be rooted with the new urban collective memory of the city. Going beyond the existing memory with the site it is as Lewis Mumford asserts, that each generation

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Harootunian, *The Benjamin Effect: Modernism, Repetition, and the Path to Different Cultural Imaginaries*.

³⁰⁷ Please refer for expansion of roads in the Pettah area Mohan, Deepa, and Vivek Vaidyanathan. Narrow avenue, broader minds. Available from <http://bangalore.citizenmatters.in/articles/print/838-intach-heritage-walk-avenue-road>. (Accessed January 2012).

writes its biography in the buildings it creates; each culture characterizes, in the city, the unifying idea that runs through its activities.³⁰⁸

With ample evidence to support the performance of memory, history and attachment both new and old, the Pettah and the new post colonial spaces present a zone where performance of remembering is being fostered, encouraged and grown in the midst of a growing city. Between new burgeoning of new spaces and the rooting of traditional forms, the two cases present two ends of the spectrum through which architecture can support the performance of memory. The character and identity of the city lies between the histories of traditional forms, attachment to colonial forms and the coming of new global spaces. Within the studying of these forms and the role of architecture, a glimpse is afforded into wherein certain forms of culture within the city lies; these forms enable the performance and interaction with memory and history, through retention and transformation giving the city a distinct flavour.

4.5 Summary: transformation of memory and space

In an urban setting there are various memories at play and many times are competing collective memories. In order to establish a framework or chassis for evaluating the many discrepancies at play, there is a need for a sufficiently comprehensive theory that looks not just at the arbitrariness of the situation but also at the complex territory of this production. The line of reasoning within the thesis was helpful in understanding that though collective memory can be used as a grounding point for various works, there is a need to acknowledge collective memory as a social process and not just amassed actual historical events.

All the discussed sites have new and old forms of attachment and memory associated with space, form and inhabitants. Between the cases of the Pettah area that encourages traditional forms of behaviours and attachments, and new spaces such as the Freedom Park that have been built to create an impression of a legacy of attachment and memory, a sense of direction of discourse with the city's built form and its role in remembering can be distinguished. In all the cases the connection to transformation of space and memory is observable, moving away from hegemonic discourses and proving that production of memory can be discretionary, arbitrary and contradictory.

Within this section, the framework suggested is to study various regimes and

³⁰⁸ Mumford, *The Ideal Form of the Modern City*. 165.

their respective historicized urban spaces. The method helped study development and contextualisation of the performance of memory and the role of architecture. Changing market economies, global influences and the reshaping of the private and public sector dictate how cities choose (or rather bound) to re-image and reorganise themselves. But what is overlooked in terms of production is the role that multiple memories play within various sites in the city and in the dubious process of how the city is remembered. The amalgamation of the production of history with the production of space is critical not just in maintaining the memories associated with various sites, but also to give the possibility of a new memory production. These new memories now play a role in both historical construction and spatial production. The process of remembrance is crucial to keeping memory in the city alive, and there are many forms that this memory can take within the city.

One of the ways this chapter has explored, is the use of production of space and performance of memory through older sites versus contemporary sites within the city to bring out new representations, experience, productions and consumption (of time and space, and memories).

Though the use of memory and interpretive historical analysis has been the basis of analysis for these sites recognising the of plurality of these spaces goes beyond the dominant dialogue around these spaces. Going beyond what has been orchestrated, these spaces are no more about heritage and memory (whatever little of that has been left), but are spaces where the general populace can interact and perform memory, while participating in the continuing of traditions and behaviours. This contradiction is what is central to the analysis of the process of urban memory and remembrances.

Through the coming of new spaces in the city, what can be studied is the need for more spaces that use imaginative planning and accommodate the multiplicity of memory. The need to preserve different histories, tactics of remembrance, interaction with spaces and sites of memory become the need of the day.

Memory that is produced within the city, inscribed through both the past and present are not mutely observant but are embedded in various regimes associated with these spaces. These regimes are diverse and contradictory, as is with any space in a city. In Bangalore, historicity of various forms and regimes, memories of early settlers, of the old city have adequate expression through urban morphology and architecture that must be preserved to provide zones of contact. It is necessary and important to recognise that these memories and interacting with them through built

space provide rooting to the city's character, identity and encourage place making through image.

Therefore, to understand how these cultural and spatial transformations took place over the last decades in the city, the terrain of multiple urban collective memories will give a window of opportunity to read urban form that supports the performance of various urban memories. Memory as a heuristic entity is only possible when the working space allows for multiple countenance of it, encompassed in its subjectivity, contradictions and incompleteness.

Chapter 5

Micro or Object Level Analysis: Old Bridge/ Stari Most Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Analysing various levels/ dimensions of memory and forgetting at the object level; its production and representation

The analysis of performance of remembering/ forgetting through a singular object draws on specific trajectories that illustrate the hypothesis on a more focused platform. On an urban scale, the workings of memory have to be hunted in a landscape of many possibilities, in contrast to a singular primary element where the possibility of an in-depth analysis of performance of remembering/ forgetting can be observed.

The city is not a medium of cultural memory... there are structures that are built with the intention to retain a specific memory of the past, such as memorials, museums, monuments and archives.³⁰⁸ The exchange between people and place encourage the performance of memory, and in some cases question that of forgetting. These urban elements are not media that transmit a fixed meaning, but rather auratic contact zones that enable a production of meaning.³⁰⁹

In the city of Mostar, Bosnia Herzegovina the urban artefact/ element that encourages the performance of memory/ forgetting is through the presence of the Stari Most or the Old Bridge. In this chapter, a single object is analysed using a diachronic approach through the development of form, historical roots, the role of the monument, its destruction and eventual reconstruction. Falling into two broad categories or axis the analysis takes the route through:

³⁰⁸ Assman quoted in Duidam, *Performing urban memory: The façade of the Hollandsche Schouwburg: theater, site of terror, site of memory.*

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

- Analysis as an object
- Analysis of representation of the object

Through the developed framework within Chapter 3, the selected site has to be established as site of importance and a primary element. In order to do this task, the next chapter outlines the various regimes that the city of Mostar experienced. By following the framework, the chapter highlights various elements that can be potentially seen as primary elements before progressing on to a singular site of study.

5.1 Introduction: context and case



Map 5.1: Showing the geographic location of Mostar and the capital of BiH Sarajevo

In July 2005 the city of Mostar, specifically its historic core was inscribed into the UNESCO World Heritage List. The years preceding this inscription was fraught with massive reconstruction of the city centre and the iconic Old Bridge, which can only be discussed by referring to the city’s turbulent past.

The city of Mostar is the second largest in the country of Bosnia Herzegovina, geographically located southwest towards the Croatian border with a population of around 126000 inhabitants according to the 1991 census; the diversity in population was as follows 29% Croats, 34% Muslims, 19% Serbs and the remaining 18%

Yugoslavs or other.³¹⁰ The city whose name translates to ‘bridge keeper’, was built around the iconic bridge ‘Stari Most’ that became one of the focuses during the war in the city.

Historically, Mostar was a cosmopolitan city, given the number of regimes that the city experienced, leading to a diverse and mixed population. Thus entwining not just the demography of the city to the various regimes but also the city’s urban structure. The Ottomans, followed by the Austro Hungarian left a landscape dotted with institutions of various faiths, and the socialist regime under President Tito lead to industrial and agricultural reforms and growth, making it one of the most productive regions of BiH.

After the death of President Tito, BiH seceded from Yugoslavia in 1992. The pressures on this multi-ethnic city arose, when Serbian units of the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) attacked BiH and arrived in Mostar in the same year. The siege on the city lasted 3 months until Croat-Muslim counter-offensive defeated the aggressors in June 1992. A year later the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) attacked the Muslim/Serb community in the city proclaiming Mostar to be an exclusively Croat city; the capital of the envisioned Croat State led Herzeg-Bosna. It was after this strife that the city was truly divided into two halves.

This period of war between 1992-95, lead to the redefinition of space within the city and the relationship between the inhabitants themselves and in turn, how the urban space was used and perceived. The fragmentation of urban scape into the Croat/ Catholic West bank and a Bosniak/Muslim East bank lead to the city being divided ethnically by the two national groups. The process of division itself was the result of prolonged power struggle and the culmination of nationalistic sentiments.

In 1994, given the belligerent situation of the city, the presidents of BiH and Croatia agreed mutually to invite the European Union to provide an interim administration with the aim of resolving impending acrimony between the groups and also to start the process of reconstruction of the city.³¹¹ The European Union Administration (EUAM) of Mostar was in charge of the city with the Special European Representative as the head, lasting until 1996. Post 1997³¹² the

³¹⁰ Pašić, *Celebrating Mostar: Architectural History of the City 1452-2004*.

³¹¹ For further details please refer: Yarwood et al., *Rebuilding Mostar: Urban Reconstruction in a War Zone*.

³¹² For further details please refer: Bose, *Bosnia after Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*., Donia and Van Antwerp Fine, *Bosnia and Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed*.

responsibility for the reunification of Mostar was transferred back to the city and was taken over by the Office of the High Representative (OHR).

Over the next years, reforms were undertaken in an attempt to rectify the divisions in various public systems: schools, services, and medical infrastructure without marked success. This being an on-going process in a city rife with problems, divisions and suspicions, this section expands further on the regimes that the city experienced.

5.1.1 *Forms in the city*

Time Period	Political Regime	Economic Climate and Planning
Pre 1468	No clear markers	Village settlement (?)
1468-1878	Ottoman	Monarchy/ Islamic Architecture
1878-1918	Austro-Hungarian	European
1918-1945	Royal Yugoslavia	Monarchy (?)
1945-1992	Socialist Yugoslavia	Socialist
Post 1992	Divided City	

Table 5.1: Various regimes experienced by the city of Mostar. The chart is based on Pašić, *Celebrating Mostar: Architectural History of the City 1452-2004*

Ottoman Empire, 1468-1878

The strategic geographic location of Mostar to the Adriatic Sea and its positioning at the cross roads to various major cities and ports lead to its development and growth in prominence. Under the Ottoman Empire the city flourished in terms of culture, art, architecture and trade.

The Ottoman Empire administered its territories through the millet system, where the population was classified according to their religious affiliation. Though the Ottomans promoted Islam, religions like Christianity and Judaism were protected through the establishment of their individual millets. During the Ottoman Empire the city of Mostar grew both demographically and in fame due to its favourable geographic location and its connection to neighbouring cities. The religious tolerance by the Ottoman legislation encouraged growth of population and multi-cultural social cohesion.

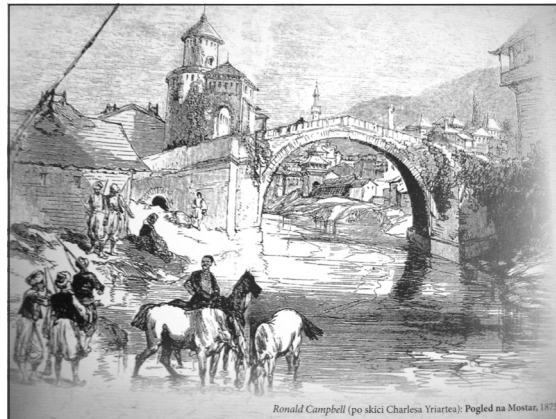
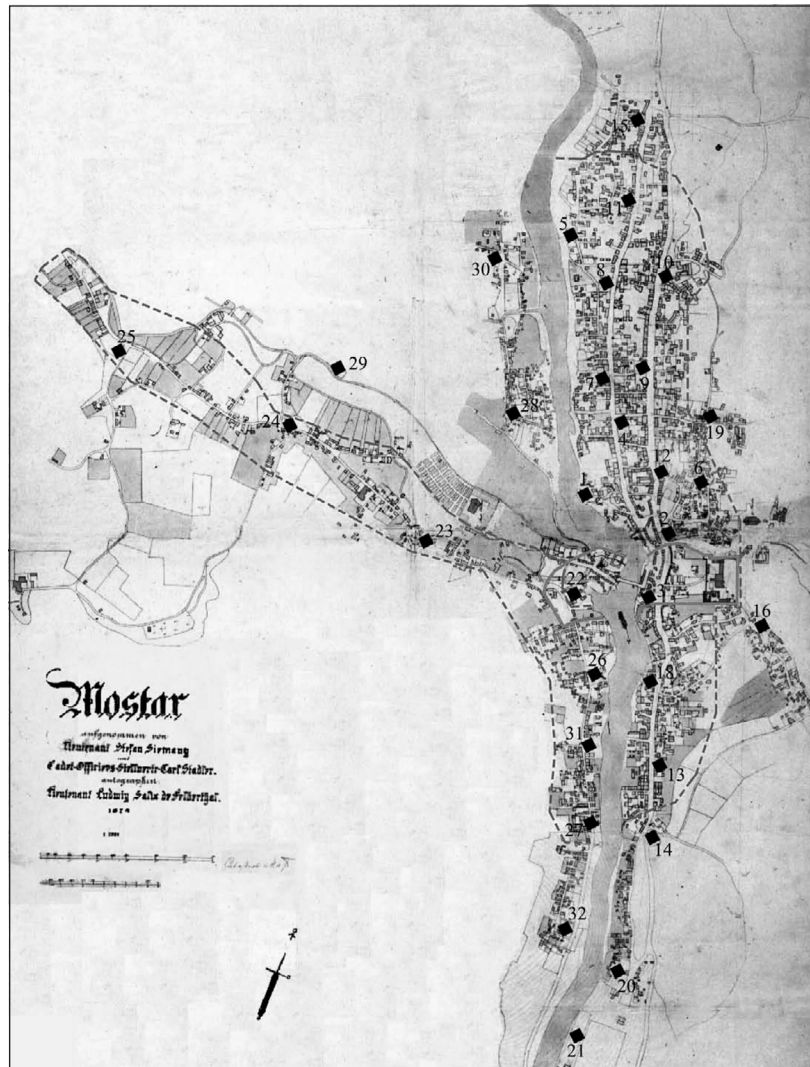


Figure 5.1: Drawing of the city and Bridge around 1875.

(Source: Author)

Under the tutelage of the Ottoman Empire and its King Suleiman II The Magnificent, the growth of art and architecture of Islam was encouraged and supported throughout its territory. For Mostar, it meant the rise of various structures in the Ottoman style who had established a unique decorative and spatial approach to construction. The city in the seventeenth century, reached its peak in terms of population and urban setting with thirty mosques (the Karadjozbeg Mosque and Vucjakovic mosque being the most famous), seven madraasa (Islamic schools), the bazaar, public baths (hamams), a caravanserai (travellers inn), residential quarters



Map 5.2: Showing the Ottoman city and its extents.

Marked in numbers is also the traditional housing unit (mahalas') location. (Source: Amir Pašić)

arranged in the Ottoman fashion (mahalas) and the famous Old Bridge (the Stari Most).³¹³

The city's growth as a cultural and economic centre was encouraged until the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the coming of the Austro Hungarian occupation in 1878.³¹⁴

³¹³ Pašić, *Celebrating Mostar: Architectural History of the City 1452-2004*. 18.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Austro-Hungarian, 1878-1918

The Austro-Hungarians, like their Ottoman predecessors encouraged secular living among the practitioners of various religions in the city. The coming of new governing order introduced new capital, constructions and structural changes to the urban scape of the city. During the Ottoman rule, the aggregation of city dwellers was predominantly on the east side of the river Neretva. Post 1878, plans were drawn for future expansion of the city towards the west of the river.

Urban grid plans were introduced with broad roads and modern sewage and water systems, and electrical infrastructure. New bridges were constructed across the river enabling easier movement between the two sides (Czar Franz Joseph Bridge: 1882, Carina Bridge: 1918). The coming of urban blocks with 3-4 floors was in contrast to the predominantly low profile of the old city (houses there were restricted to ground or +1 floor). The city was connected to the railway system, a military camp was established and government buildings with distinct European aesthetics made an appearance. This expansion of the city's Western side attracted new inhabitants and during the early twentieth century the city emerged as a growing metropolis.

Mostar rapidly emerged as a modern city and its newly expanded Western side attracted new inhabitants.



Figure 5.2 (left): Image showing the city of Mostar, with the coming of the Austro Hungarian empire, the face of the city changed to accommodate new architecture and forms of city planning.

(Source: <http://luirig.altervista.org/distances/dist2.php?city1=Mostar>)

Figure 5.3 (right): Image showing the Hotel Neretva, Mostar.

(Source: <http://luirig.altervista.org/distances/dist2.php?city1=Mostar>)

Royal Yugoslavia, 1918-1945

This period saw the creation of a constitutional, democratic and parliamentary monarchy under the Serbian Karadjordjevic dynasty that came together under the umbrella of creating the South Slav unification, which included Croat, Serb and Slovenes ambitions. This umbrella was riddled with ethnic tensions as each of the group was looking for individual recognition.

For the city of Mostar, it signified stagnancy in growth and urban development. During the world wars, the city was heavily bombed, though the heritage sites were protected from demolitions.

Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945-1992

After the Second World War, President Josip Broz Tito established the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Bosnia Herzegovina was one among the six republics that constituted the Republic of Yugoslavia.

Mostar under socialist economic rule experienced urban development and the establishment of industrial production lines (agrarian factories, metal works, cotton mills and an aluminium plant). These industrial expansions drew workers and new city dwellers, whose requirement of urban housing lead to the establishment of housing blocks, medical facilities, new education institutions, cultural centres, shopping centres and the improvement of general infrastructure.

It was also during this period that a rising awareness for the need to preserve the old city, lead to the formation of the Mostar Project.³¹⁵ The intention being to conserve the physical heritage of the city from further wear and for these efforts, the city received the prestigious award for preservation work from the Aga Khan Trust for Culture in 1986.

³¹⁵ Mostar Project: In the 1970's and 1980's, a healthy local economy fueled by foreign investment spurred recognition and conservation of the city's rich cultural heritage. An economically sustainable plan to preserve and reconstruct the old town of Mostar was implemented by the municipality, which drew thousands of tourists from the Adriatic coast and invigorated the economy of the city; the results of this ten year project earned Mostar an Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1986. Ibid. 11.

Divided city, post 1992

The background to Mostar's destruction lies in a complex web of political turmoil, economic downfall of Yugoslavia and the death of President Josip Tito. These complex reasons have been analysed and studied by various authors that go beyond the scope of this work.³¹⁶

The death of President Tito and general economic instability instigated a start of territorial fragmentation, when BiH followed the lead of Slovenia (1991) and Croatia (1991), of separating from Yugoslavia and creating an independent state in 1992. This was followed by Serbia and Montenegro attacking the newly formed states to reclaim the lost Bosnian territories. A Croat-Bosniak coalition in the city of Mostar, was able to ward off the common enemy: Serbia. But a year later, after the withdrawal of the Serbian forces, the Croats attacked the city's Muslims with the intention of establishing Mostar as a Croat majority, the capital of the envisioned 'Herceg-Bosna'.

The next ten months that followed changed the city appearance, demolished its heritage, its demography shifted³¹⁷ and was divided into two parts. The Bosnian-Croatian Militia (the HVO) took possession of the west bank and the Muslims took to the East. The line of division ran passed east of the river along 'The Boulevard of the People's Revolution or Bulevar Narodne Revolucije'. The boulevard, to this day, exhibits outward signs of war with damaged buildings and bullet riddled facades.

Beyond the sheer human tragedy of the war, many historic buildings in the old city were damaged or destroyed (75 per cent of the city's fabric),³¹⁸ including most of the city's important mosques and the Stari Most, which had been a favoured target throughout the HVO's assaults. On November 9, 1993, the bridge's spring line was hit at point-blank range by a Croatian tank shell. Within moments, Mostar's 400-year-old symbol of civic unity crumbled into the cold waters of the Neretva River.³¹⁹ The image of the torn bridge remains to this day the image of the war in the region; an urban structure that once symbolised the diversity of the city was now the

³¹⁶ Please refer for further details on the breakdown of former Yugoslavia and the start of war in BiH. Danner, 'Bosnia: The Great Betrayal', Glenn, *The Fall of Yugoslavia.*, Ignatieff, 'A bridge too hard', Bing, 'Ideas and Realities: Rebuilding in Postwar Mostar'.

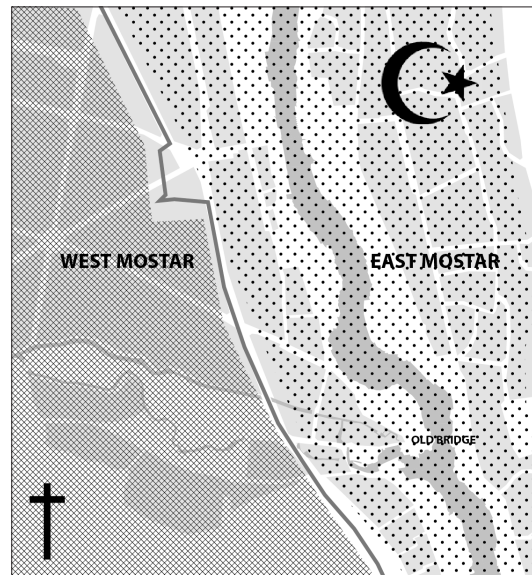
³¹⁷ According to the World Monument Fund over 3000 Mostarians died fighting and 60 per cent of the city's population was in exile. World Monuments Fund, 2000.

³¹⁸ Please refer World Monument Fund. <http://www.wmf.org/project/mostar-historic-center>.

³¹⁹ Pašić et al., 'Balkan Renaissance'. 38-45.

symbol of the power of heedless destruction.

Three years following the bloody civil conflict, the nations of Croatia, BiH and Serbia signed the Accords for Peace in Dayton in 1995. The Dayton Peace Agreement sketched out the legal framework for the creation of successor states to former Yugoslavia and began the long process of post-war reconstruction. Through this process, BiH was recognized as a multinational state formed of three constituent people: Bosnian Muslim/Bosniak, Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Serb. BiH was (re) configured as a state comprising two political entities: the Federation of BiH largely comprising of a Muslim-Croat Federation (arranged into ten cantons, each with some autonomy) and the Republika Srpska (an independent entity with a large Serb majority).



Map 5.3: Showing line of division within the city.

(Source: Author)

Post 1995-96, the city of Mostar faced the uphill task of rebuilding ties between the local populace, rebuilding the lost economy and the monumental task of reconstruction. The damage to the city in terms of infrastructure and heritage loss, was among the first priorities for the international consortium of donors and planners. Dr. Amir Pašić, who worked alongside of UNESCO, World Bank, the Research Centre for Islamic Art and Culture (Istanbul), World Monument Fund and Aga Khan Trust spearheaded the rehabilitation of the historic core of the city.

Through the years from 1996 onwards, the city has been (with the help of

above stated donors) trying to rebuild its physical city and identity; to encourage visitors from all over the world and even more importantly to resume its function as a truly multicultural urban centre, providing an example of a place where people of different cultures, religions, and ethnic affiliations live and work side by side.³²⁰ Though efforts for rehabilitation are in place, at the time of the case study analysis and site work, the city remained fundamentally fragmented in terms of political unification (though a joint administration was in place, in which Muslim and Croat officials alternate in the post of Mayor and Deputy Mayor, the discord among those interviewed was evident), territorial disputes and segregation in terms of social and religious preference. The city that was once a multinational, multiethnic and multicultural in presence changed drastically in appearance and demography post war.

5.1.2 Primary elements

The city's growth from the middle of the fifteenth century has encompassed various regimes and monuments for each period in the process of urban growth, as Rossi/ Eisenman explain, 'they serve to bring the past into the present, providing a past that can still be experienced'.³²¹

As the city of Mostar went through three distinct periods of urban growth before the war in 1992, the selection of primary elements could have proven to be a long, difficult and momentous task. With the help of discussions with various scholars over the course of the study (who were familiar and well-versed with the city and its situation)³²² a decision was taken to limit the identification of these elements to the sites that were sites of reconstruction/ potential sites of reconstruction, as opposed to identifying a large number of sites in the city that could

³²⁰ Ibid. 45.

³²¹ Eisenman, *Editor's Introduction*.

³²² Recognised internationally for his work in conservation of the old city of Mostar, Prof. Dr. Amir Pašić received an Aga Khan for his efforts in 1986. Through his well researched book Pašić, *Celebrating Mostar: Architectural History of the City 1452-2004.*, Prof. Pašić clearly marks various forms of development in the city and elements that identified with each of these periods. This text, acts a guide for the references within this section enabling the limiting of identifying elements in the urban sphere. Also over the course of the work, at various conferences work groups, discussions with various scholars ranging from professors in Mostar to professors at M.I.T. and research groups in New York and Melbourne these locations were repeatedly discussed based on relevance and importance, enabling such an empirical decision.

encourage an encounter with the past.

With the knowledge that identifying primary elements is a by-product of various architectural systems with the city, it was necessary to establish points of reference that were places of everyday use (in a way that the space had a use in the past and was relevant in the present). In the city of Mostar, it was not difficult to identify between ‘pure’ and ‘mixed’ systems,³²³ as each of the periods developed their own distinct characteristics. Briefly, I highlight below, the primary elements of each of the period and also mark specific transformations within each period³²⁴:

1) *Ottoman Mostar*

- Bridge
- Traditional markets (bazaars)
- Traditional living quarters
- Religious complexes (mosques and churches)

2) *Austro-Hungarian Mostar*

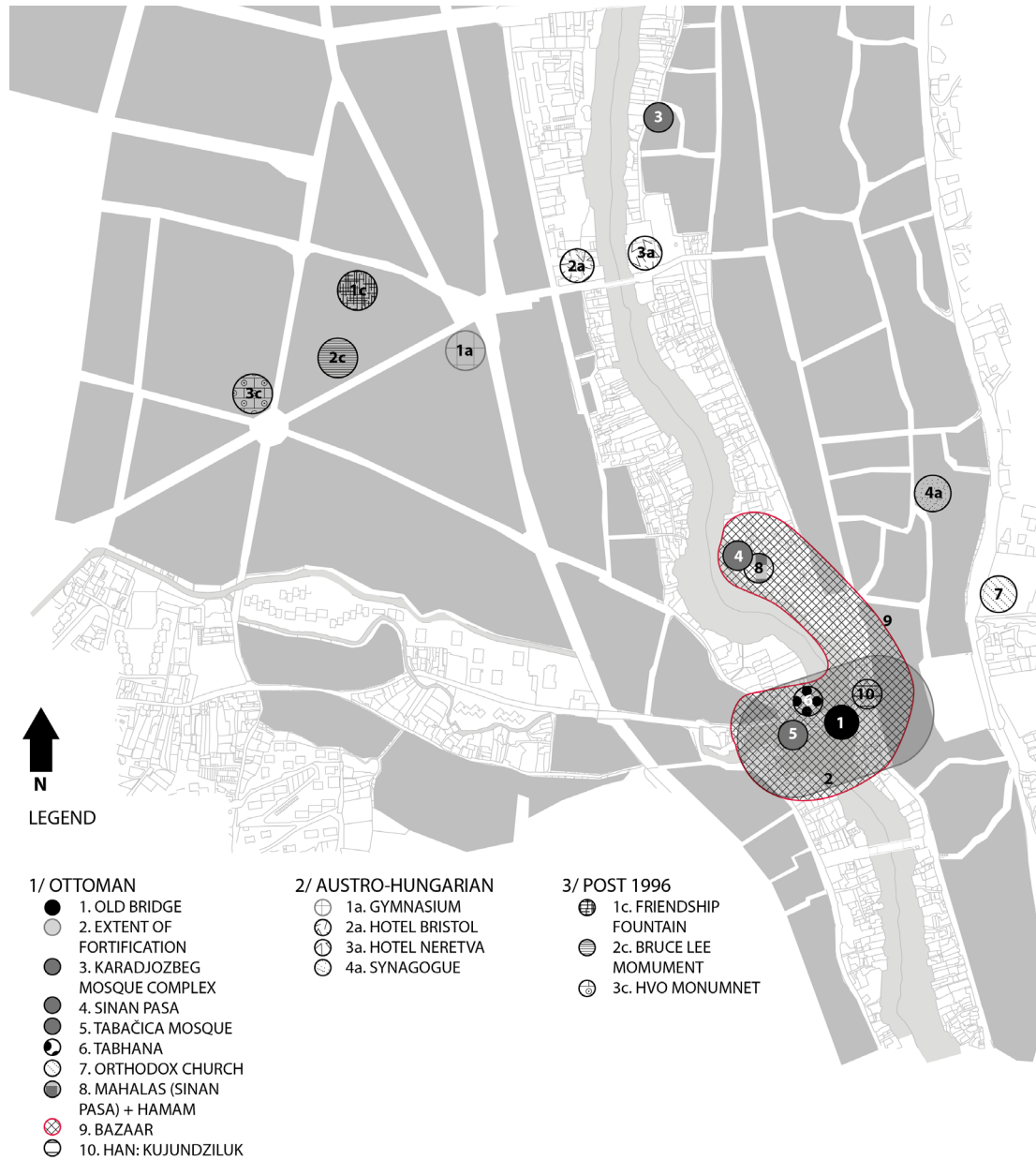
- New urban planning forms (west)
- New forms of architecture (examples Gymnasium, Hotel Neretva, Hotel Bristol)

3) *Socialist Mostar*

- New urban infrastructure
- Partisan Monument Complex

³²³ Françoise Choay for instance speaks about ‘pure’ and ‘mixed’ spaces, where a ‘pure’ system was one where the architectural systems supports and reflects very specific cultural and social systems versus the ‘mixed’, where such direct identification is no longer possible. Choay, *Urbanism and Semiology*.

³²⁴ The selected sites were also discussed with the people in the city. A wide range of people were interviewed in Mostar to authenticate the empirical decision that the thesis took with regard to these sites.



Map 5.4: Showing various primary elements mapped in the city.

(Source: Author)

1) *Ottoman Mostar*

The coming of the Ottoman Empire heralded the beginning of the city's growth both in fame and in size as briefly established above. The encouragement of secular living among various religiosity's by the Ottoman Empire is reflected in the city's urban profile through its mosques, churches and neighbourhoods.

The many architectural marvels constructed during this period in the city followed the traditions and aesthetics that are observable in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Outlined below, are what can be classified as some of the primary elements from the period:

a) The Old Bridge or Stari Most

The growth of the city on both sides of the River Neretva was aided by the presence of a wooden bridge³²⁵ when the Ottoman's encompassed the city within their Empire during the mid fifteenth century, lending the name 'Mostar' to the city that translated to 'bridge keeper'.³²⁶ The stone arched bridge with two towers flanking either side of the arch, that gained prominence the world over, was built only in 1566, designed by the Turkish master builder Mimar Hajrudin, who was the student of the famed Mimar Sinan.

Located in the narrowest part of the canyon where the city of Mostar grew, the beautifully arched bridge not just physically connects the two sides of the River Neretva, but is in attune with the surrounding nature. It is a perfectly harmonious stone arch sweeping across from one side to another shadowing the dark blue torrential waters of the river below. Designed as a strategic crossing to aid passage to the Adriatic Sea, the bridge gained prominence due to its simplistic beauty, inspiring painters, writers and poets for centuries.

Due to its national and regional importance, the Stari Most has served as the icon of the city of Mostar, mingling in the history and memory of the city, making an appearance on documents and objects ranging from tourist paraphernalia to official agreements to the soccer team. Layered with meanings and attachments with the people drew its eventual destruction during the war in '93.

³²⁵ Pašić, *The Old Bridge in Mostar*.

³²⁶ The existence of a wooden bridge across the river canyon is the root of the name of the city. For more details refer Section 5.3.1

The image of the war torn bridge incited powerful resonance across the globe, leading to its eventual reconstruction and opening in 2004. The analogy of the Old Bridge as a site of memory and primary element helps elucidate the role that architecture plays in aiding the performance of memory and forgetting (this is explored further in the next chapters).³²⁷ The site of the Old Bridge behaved as a genius loci for the city.

b) Traditional Markets or Bazaars



Figure 5.4 (left): Rehabilitated market (Source: Author, 2010)

Figure 5.5 (middle, right): Market in the twentieth century. (Source: Author)

The area surrounding the Old Bridge on both east and west sides are the city's famous bazaars. Small shops lined the narrow stone cobbled streets with goldsmith's stores and silk manufactures in the past and now compose of a variety of stores from clothes to jewellery. The construction of the bridge enabled the growth of the bazaar and the increase in the number of living quarters around the region (as people who

³²⁷ As this section acts as a framework to an assortment of primary elements that are embedded within various architectural regimes within the city, details about the Old Bridge are kept brief. In the next chapters, the Old Bridge is explored further and analysed in detail (as a micro layer of architecture aiding the performance of memory/ forgetting) to understand the role an urban monument plays in everyday life. The relevance of an architectural element that incites powerful meanings and attachments, and the need for deeper explorations surfaced during the course of the period of study. The reference to the site would crop up in the most un-expected of conversations, leading to root its role as an element layered with meanings and memories.

worked at these shops lived in mahalas within close proximity).

The shops in the bazaar had stores on the ground floor and sometimes storage above. Thick stone walls, adjoining stores, vaulted roofs lent character to the bazaar. Composed of more than just stores, the market included mosques, hamams (baths) for the inhabitants and han or lodging for travellers (please see Map 5.4 for locations).

During the war, most of the bazaar was destroyed; over the last decades efforts have been taken to rehabilitate the zone and to bring back both tourists and business owners.

c) Traditional living quarters (mahalas)

Mahalas were traditional neighbourhoods with residential areas, mosques, schools and hamams. Each mahala was structured differently with an individual sense of identity and belonging. The social structure of the mahalas was a mixture of both affluent and poor families (where the poor families were under the patronage of the richer families) and existed in cohesion.

As the city contained different guilds (groupings of particular craftsmen), each had their own mahalas and connected mosque. The mahala indicated on the Map 5.4 as No. 8 was named after the mosque in its vicinity- the Sinan Pasa Mahala.

d) Religious structures



Figure 5.6: Rehabilitated Karadjozbeg Mosque.

(Source: Author)

During the Ottoman times, the existence of churches and mosques within the same vicinity was an indication of secular living and the cohesion that existed between the different religious groups in the city. Though here, only a few (and relevant) mosques and churches are outlined, the landscape of the city was dotted with a number of mosques designed in the Ottoman style. Mosques were social as well as religious structures that included madrasas or schools in their locale.

Marked on the Map 5.4 is the famous Karadjobeg Mosque (as No. 3) built by the famous Turkish architect Mimar Sinan in the style prevalent in this period, a single unit mosque covered by cupolas and a dome, with a single minaret.

The Orthodox Church (as No. 7) also built during this period a site on the eastern side of the city, supporting the orthodox population in the city. Similarly the Catholic Church was marked by a site and had an ardent following in the city.

During the period of war, most religious structures were destroyed including the three sites mentioned above.

2) *Austro Hungarian Mostar*

- New forms of urban planning (west)

The spread of the city towards the western side of the River Neretva began with the coming of the Austro Hungarian Empire, as till then the city was predominantly on the eastern banks.

Rooted in European schools of planning, the western side of the city developed along grid plans, with broad tree lined avenues and new infrastructure in terms of electricity, water and drainage supply, appearing markedly different from the eastern side of the city. European styled blocks that were four to five storeys high showed a marked variance from the traditional mahalas. Symmetrical plans and geometric patterns infused a new sense of style, appearance and a new identity to the city.

Focused planning on the western side of the city equated the asymmetry that existed in terms of spread of the city on the east and the west. This period also saw the construction of various bridges (and it was also at this period when vehicular traffic was allowed on the Old Bridge which till then had only pedestrian) to ease the movement between the two sides.

- New forms of architecture

Various styles appeared in the city of Mostar during the reign of the Austro-Hungarian empire, from Neo-Renaissance, Neo-Classical to the Orientalist style for the constructions of cultural, economic, administrative and educational buildings.

The Gymnasium (marked 1a. on Map 5.4) designed by Frank Blazek, exhibited an Orientalist style that combined Islamic motifs with classical features. Painted in bright orange with bands of red, the building remains an iconic reference point of the city.³²⁸

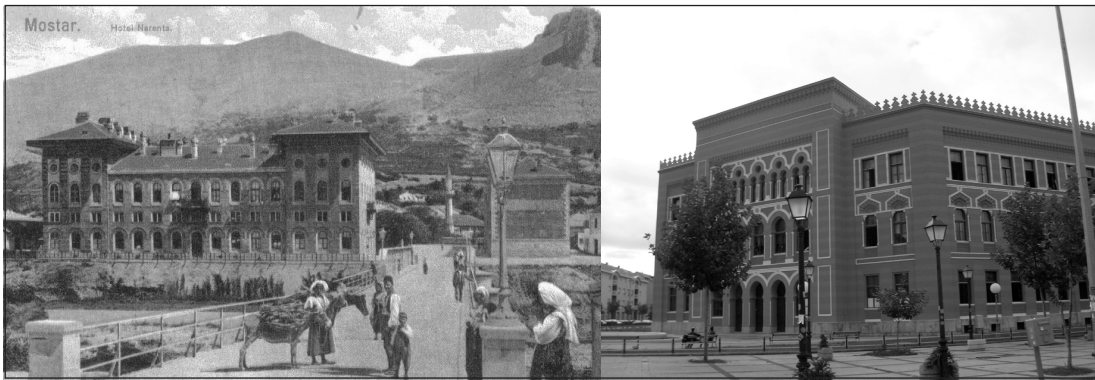


Figure 5.7 (left): Gymnasium from scan of postcard in middle twentieth century. (Source: Author)

Figure 5.8 (right): Gymnasium after rehabilitation (2009/10). (Source: Author)



Figure 5.9 (left): Hotel Neretva from scan of postcard in middle twentieth century. (Source: Author)

Figure 5.10 (right): Hotel Neretva in 2009/10. (Source: Author)

The two hotels Neretva and Bristol were (marked 3a. and 2a. respectively on Map 5.4) opened between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These

³²⁸ The Gymnasium holds a point of reference as most of the city's inhabitants studied there or knew of somebody who did.

spaces marked a definite change in the urban landscape of the city and shift within the identity of the city towards a more European link.

All of the sites mentioned here underwent massive damages during the war, while the Gymnasium along the line of separation between the east and the west sides of the city was reconstructed and opened in 2007 and the hotel Neretva is still undergoing renovations.

2) *Socialist Mostar*

- New urban infrastructure

The biggest changes the city faced post world wars was the drawing of urban plans for the expansion of the city and to cull urban sprawl and to modernize infrastructure for the city as whole.

The growth of the city's industrial capacities, educational and cultural institutions and formation of housing blocks marked the period of growth.

- Partisan Monument Complex

Designed by Bogdan Bogdanović in 1965, the monument was conceived in honour of the Yugoslav Partisans from the city. Designed amidst the hills, the work appears more along the lines of art rather than a traditional monument or even a cemetery. Within the landscape of its location, the monument exhibits complex architectural and aesthetic sense, making it a unique addition to the city.

Destroyed and vandalised, the memorial was nearly reduced to stones during the course of the war. Efforts of rehabilitation though in place have still not been very successful or realised.



Figure 5.11: Partisan Monument Complex in complete disarray. (Source: Author)

5.1.3 *Summary and decisions*

As established by this section, the city is a collection of various forms, which reflect the regimes that passed through the city. Though impossible, within the scope of this study to mark and map all sites that played a significant role in each of the periods, this section briefly outlined various forms and sites that were marked as significant by the case study work carried out in the city in 2009/10. By identifying a few sites from each period, an abridged insight can be gained by looking at the complexity of forms the city experienced.

Though each period grew with its own rhythm and identity, between the years of 1992-95 when the city was at war, there were a few sites targeted more than others and one of them was the site of the Old Bridge/ Stari Most. Though there is/ was ample opportunity to study any one of the earlier mentioned sites as the 'micro' layer within this study, the Old Bridge posed the possibility of going beyond the role of a monument from the Ottoman times.

With the Old Bridge, an opportunity presented itself to study a singular site not in relation to other sites but as an independent inquiry into the role form can take on and through this interpret the performance of memory and forgetting. Through the chance of literally and figuratively interacting with the Bridge (by the act of crossing), the viewer is forced to interact by more than just observing the structure, thus the possibility of performing memory or forgetting become higher.

5.2 **Selection of singular element: Stari Most**

The image and the meaning of the Old Bridge embodied the meaning and spirit of all Bosnia. The essence of the bridge is meeting and linking, the opposite of separation and division. That is why the fate of this bridge and this country is one and the same.

Ivan Lovrenović, 1995³²⁹

Of all that man in his life erects and builds, nothing is better nor more worthy than a bridge. Bridges are more important than houses; they are more holy, because they are more universal than temples. They belong to everyone, they are always erected with meaning, in places where the greatest number of human needs meet, they are

³²⁹ Lovrenović, *The World without Bridge*.

more durable than other buildings and do not serve to anything that is secretive and evil.

Ivo Andrić, 1992³³⁰

Ivan Lovrenović and Ivo Andrić, are two among the many writers and poets who have given various views, thoughts and assessments about the role of the bridge since its inception in the sixteenth century for the city and its people. As the last chapter highlighted the city of Mostar experienced various political regimes that have left a mark on the physical make-up of the city. Each of the regimes contributed to a certain flavour and identity of the city, but no site was given the importance that the Old Bridge has received. From the inception in the Ottoman times to its destruction to its eventual reconstruction, the importance of the bridge has resonated beyond its boundaries of city and nation for various reasons.

During the Ottoman times, the story of its beauty spread far and wide drawing visitors from all walks of life to see the famous monument; the Austro Hungarians paved the bridge to allow movement of traffic; the war in 1992 saw its destruction driven by its heightened sense of meaning to the people. Post war, the world's attention was upon a small city to see if rebuilding of the bridge would initiate reconciliation in the city. The Old Bridge has been used as a platform to discuss many relevant issues; post-war rebuilding, symbolism, reconciliation and rehabilitation.

This section highlights why this particular piece of the city's heritage forms a quintessential example to discuss the layers of memory and forgetting. Briefly, this chapter explores the process through which architecture can aid the process of remembering and question that of forgetting. What comes to the forefront is the role that a singular element can play in a city that is fraught with symbolism, the process of remembering and that of forgetting.

5.2.1 *Identifying the primary element*

Françoise Choay introduces the concept of 'semantically weighted elements',³³¹ to show the relationship between minor elements and those elements related to the concept of power. The relationship between various elements helps

³³⁰ Andrić, *Conversation with Goya: Bridges ; Signs*.

³³¹ Choay, *Urbanism and Semiology*.

the reading of the urban space and an indication of how the urban setting evolved. These elements can be identified through the process of historical importance, qualitative field studies and the role played in an urban environment. ‘Semantically weighted elements’ has had various nomenclatures depending on the theoretician; Rossi defined them as ‘primary elements’ that help identify elements that play a definitive role within a context, Nora defined ‘site of memory’³³² as the ‘milieux’, the real environments of memory and Halbwachs, ‘frameworks of memory’ as sites that helped carry on memory and tradition. Identifying the site as primary element in the city is helped by these definitions.

The Old Bridge as a point of reference has its role in history, myth and identity of the city. Before the destruction of the bridge, its sole focus was defined by the city’s historical core, its culture and its significance to the region. Post destruction, the meaning associated with the bridge was/ is harder to fathom as its role as a monument was surpassed by the emphasis of its existence as a symbol for various purposes. Despite its many layered meanings, this site can define the definition of site of memory or primary element, satisfying the objective of proposing a singular element from the city.

The identification of the bridge as a primary element was aided by morphological analysis with the help of various experts (Dr. Pašić, Dr. Eckardt) and the points listed below:

1) *Morphological analysis*

- The urban setting of the bridge and growth of the city during the Ottoman times centred around the bridge and the surrounding bazaar, changing little in the following periods. The bazaar continued to form a point of reference irrespective of the time period. This is evident from the historic core of the city and through analysis of the literature available.
- Maps and drawings of the bridge and its surroundings over the last centuries.
- Archival photographic material.
- Qualitative interviews conducted in the city, where the emphasis upon the role of the Old Bridge was evident through the responses to the questions posed and also the continuous referencing of the site.

2) *Analysing the development of site through various stages*

³³² Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire’. 7-25.

- Investing of meaning onto the site through historical constructions, commemorations and regimes connected to the site.

3) *Transformation of the site in meaning, form and symbolism*

- Pre-destruction meanings
- Questioning the post destruction transformation of meanings

5.2.2 *A site of urban collective memory*

Pierre Nora expanded upon ‘site of memory’ or what Maurice Halbwachs defines as ‘place of memory’, as a place ‘where memory crystallizes and secretes itself’.³³³ Kevin Lynch calls the same as ‘landmarks’, as points of references considered to be external to the observer, are simple physical elements which may vary widely in scale...Landmarks become more easily identifiable, more likely to be chosen as significant, if they have a clear form; if they contrast with their background; and if there is some prominence of spatial locations...Once a history, a sign, or a meaning attaches to an object, its value as a landmark rises.³³⁴

Markers of memory are everywhere in the city: they are buried in language and dialect, found on commemorative plaques, on buildings and battlefields; etched into automobile license plates, and woven through the city’s visual and literary cultures. Markers of memory are also powerfully encoded into popular cultural practises- sport teams, local bands and theatre groups, and the buildings that have housed these activities.³³⁵ They are places or sites considered of deep value as a part of the identity of the collective.

These ‘sites’ perform the primary duty to convey the message of yesterday to tomorrow, to remember and help facilitate certain forms of attachment to the place or as Rossi understands them as serving to bring the past into the present, providing a past that can still be experienced.³³⁶ Places of memory are created by individuals and social groups to give shape to felt fears, absences and desires.³³⁷ People make places of memories to work emotionally, socially, culturally and politically for their needs

³³³ Ibid. 7.

³³⁴ Lynch, *What Time is this Place?* 78-81.

³³⁵ Bélanger, ‘Urban Space and Collective Memory: Analysing the Various Dimensions of the Production of Memory’.

³³⁶ Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*. 6.

³³⁷ Till, *Emplacing Memory Through the City: The New Berlin*. 9.

and in the process, search for meaning about themselves, their world and their times. The promise of a reconstructed past through symbols, desires and material objects-through place making, gives people hope. For some it is a promise of redemption.³³⁸

Certain sites within an urban settlement seek to provide mental equilibrium to its inhabitants through its physicality that seem to change little or not at all (remain constant), providing an image of permanence and stability, quotes Halbwachs.³³⁹ Being a fixed point of reference in the city, it is a place of familiarity with the inhabitants and what is instantly recognized when the name Mostar comes up. The seemingly unchangeable Stari Most provided that point of constant reference to the city, creating a point of attachment.

Over the centuries bridge has taken on the role of a familiar landmark and a physical biography both for the city and the people of the region. This simple, single arched bridge gained prominence from its inception due to its construction techniques, proportions and simple, clean beauty. As Ivan Lovrenovic wrote regarding the image and meaning of the Old Bridge ‘... embodied the meaning and spirit of all Bosnia’.³⁴⁰ Places, like persons have biographies in as much as they formed, used and transformed in relation to practice... stories acquire part of their mythic value and historical relevance if they are rooted in concrete details of locales in the landscape, acquiring material reference points that can be visited, seen and touched.³⁴¹

The surroundings of Old Bridge progressively developed into the very soul of the city; with bazaars, cafés, mosques and adjacent churches this core of the city grew into a cultural/ social haven for the inhabitants of the city. Seeped in history and ‘secreting’ memories, the Old Bridge is a place and site of memory but its influence goes beyond a spatial fix; expanding on what Linda McDowell who builds on Pierre Nora’s theory calls as ‘regimes of place’,³⁴² the process that defines how people build

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Halbwachs, *Space and the Collective Memory*. As an introduction to the chapter, Halbwachs quotes Compe.

³⁴⁰ Lovrenović, *The World without Bridge*.

³⁴¹ Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments (Explorations in Anthropology)*. 33.

³⁴² McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*. Linda McDowell is a geographer who defined the term ‘regimes of place’ as how people think about a place’s location, social function, landscape form and aesthetics, about international commemorative display, and even personal experiential qualities.

relationships with space, location and form. Playing a larger than life role within the city and as a platform/ backdrop for social understandings, the Bridge has in its own right become a cultural phenomenon and has certain regimes associated with it that is explored in the next section.

For the people of the city, it was a constant reminder of the ‘good times’,³⁴³ when the city of Mostar was known internationally and locally as one the most historic urban settlements in the Balkan region and it was in many ways the embodiment of a perfect Bosnian town, the very image of the city as a haven of tolerance. When people from the city reminiscence of the city in the past- the Old Bridge remains as a constant point of reference. Civic life is embedded in collective processes through which people living in the same urban space communicate, understand each other through familiar and distinctive signs, elaborate representations and visions of the city, cultivate certain values, appoint symbols of their affiliation and simultaneously preserve and adapt the memories of their experiences.³⁴⁴

Lynch describes the process of collective material attachment as evoking specific kinds of meanings and serves as spatial coordinates,³⁴⁵ instrumental in the construction of an identity, developing notions that are distinctive to the making of a unique ‘us’, thus contributing to a sense that collective memories are both socially determined and socially determining.³⁴⁶

The memories that surround the Old Bridge are many and varied, and is inseparable from the way the citizens of the city live both around it and in constant engagement with the structure (as a physical object and its metaphorical value). Lefèbvre asserts the same saying that, the relationship between space and sequences of historical events are metaphorical and dialogical, making space into both production and consumption based. Similarly, architecture or form that is both a product for the people and by the people, making it one of both personal and communal interest. Maurice Halbwachs writes about groups and their spatial relationships that are bound by certain constants that seep not just into general life

³⁴³ ‘Good times’, was a phrase inhabitants used with respect to the bridge and the role it played and signified in the city.

³⁴⁴ Bélanger, ‘Urban Space and Collective Memory: Analysing the Various Dimensions of the Production of Memory’. 81.

³⁴⁵ Lynch, *What Time is this Place?*

³⁴⁶ Bélanger, ‘Urban Space and Collective Memory: Analysing the various Dimensions of the Production of Memory’.

but daily routines as well:

The group not only transforms the space into which it has been inserted, but also yields and adapts to its physical surroundings. It becomes enclosed within the framework it has built. The group's image of its external milieu and its stable relationship with this environment becomes paramount in the idea it forms of itself, permeating every element of its consciousness, moderating and governing its evolution. This image of surrounding objects shares their inertia.³⁴⁷

These spatial images play an important role in collective memory,³⁴⁸ providing a stable/ reliable recall for the image of the bridge that brings with it an imprint of 'good times', making it not just a site of urban memory but also 'an mnemonic device for civic identity narrative, shared values and hopes for the future'.³⁴⁹ Places or sites where collective memory plays a strong role becomes necessary and reinforces existing identities and associations, making them what Nora calls as 'lieux de mémoire'. In its physical presence it goes beyond a site of reference and memory, it is almost mnemonic³⁵⁰ in its behaviour, providing a marker that helps in the act of 'remembering'.

As a site of social importance and production, the Stari Most is more about a site that provides a space for memory to be acted upon and out; a site of more than individual importance. Not just of a symbolic presence but also one of physical importance, can be discerned through various interviews conducted in the city where the interaction with the physical bridge encourages the performance of memory.

Analysing the Old Bridge, it becomes more than a fixed sign or even an object to be read, rather an invitation to participate in remembering or forgetting. Being a part of the performance rather than just an object, here the form has an opportunity to be productive rather than passive.

5.2.3 *Steps of the analysis*

Combining qualitative fieldwork that was done in the city of Mostar during the year 2009/ 10 with theoretical insights and debates that are raised when questions of memory, forgetting, and form come to the foreground; this section of the thesis uses the opportunity that comes with studying a highly contested sight to get critical

³⁴⁷ Halbwachs, *Space and the Collective Memory*. 130.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Osborne, 'Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place'. 2.

³⁵⁰ Mnemonic is used to bring emphasis on its focus as loci or place.

insights into performance of urban memory/ forgetting through urban artefacts/ sites of memory. Stitching together various urban experiences and tactics of remembrance, a singular site of memory is explored to understand the myriad framework under which collective memory/ forgetting and form can function both in tandem and disjunctively.

Working on two distinct yet conjoined layers, following what Mario Gandelsonas elucidates as the differentiation between architecture as building (or form) and the representation of the object. The next section uses this framework to deepen the understanding of the role of form in remembering or forgetting.

Questioning the role of a 'site of memory' in urban space, the section explores various layers of association and more importantly, with the people whose narratives and attachments in turn make these memories.

5.3 Object, memory, forgetting

Architecture harbours man's desire and regrets; past, present and possible futures. Behaving as a textual construction³⁵¹ the city is infused with meanings and memories. With the Old Bridge, meanings have been made and remade; the dichotomy between its presence as an object seeped in history and the addition of new meanings created by its destruction and reconstruction, the studying of the bridge is complex and layered³⁵².

Studying the Stari Most as an 'object' and 'representation' plays into Gandelsonas' work with regard to reading architecture and Anderson's understanding architecture as both social (collective) and individual memory.³⁵³ Anderson classified the relation between the two as 'memory through architecture' (a form

³⁵¹ Gandelsonas, *The City as the Object of Architecture*.

³⁵² To understand these complex layers and associations twenty narrative interviews were carried out with residents of the city. Participants were planners, architects, NGO workers, artists, students and the general public. The participants ranged from people who were in the city during the war (and stayed on), people who left and came back, and people who did not return fully but still had connections to the city. As the research and this section draws on narrative interviews conducted in the city, I draw on peoples understanding and representation of how they feel and talk about the presence of the Old Bridge in their lives. A site of everyday encounter, the role that the structure played in their lives shows its importance and sense of attachment/ questioning to the people of the city. Using a narrative approach lead to constructions/ reconstructions of situations and realities that highlighted one structure's role in the life of the city and its people.

³⁵³ Anderson, *Memory in Architecture/Erinnerung in der Architektur*.

of cataloguing) and ‘memory in architecture’ (contents of). Defining the phrases as follows, the former being the remembrance that is evoked by architecture as an entity, the projected meanings associated with architecture or the elements under consideration (as representation); the latter, memory in architecture is primarily ‘disciplinary memory’, i.e. it must be there for others to see and remember³⁵⁴ (the presence of the urban element in order to remember, the physicality of the urban element).

Using these complimentary theories on studying object and representation, this chapter highlights the possibility of the role that architecture plays in aiding the performance of memory and questioning of forgetting.

5.3.1 *Meanings and constructions (object)*

Of all that man in his life erects and builds, nothing is better nor more worthy than a bridge. Bridges are more important than houses; they are more holy, because they are more universal than temples. They belong to everyone, they are always erected with meaning, in places where the greatest number of human needs meet, they are more durable than other buildings and do not serve to anything that is secretive and evil.

- Ivo Andrić, 1992³⁵⁵

The memory encompassed in the bridge is mainly by direct association of the people with the bridge as being more than just a physical entity or artefact of the city, but instead an actual being living and walking in the city.³⁵⁶ It is the familiarization of the bridge that leads to deep unbreakable associations with the bridge and creating tangible memories in the process. The bridge behaves as both a collective and personal artefact for the inhabitants of the city. The bridge for centuries has been a part of the landscape of city, a historical marker for the city and its people.

The bridge that is seen today is a reconstruction of the bridge that stood as a crossing across the river Neretva for nearly four centuries. The city founded by the Ottomans, initially had a wooden bridge to cross the river that was replaced by the famed stone bridge in the sixteenth century.³⁵⁷ Due to the city’s strategic

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Andrić, *Conversation with Goya: Bridges ; Signs*.

³⁵⁶ Field notes and discussions, Mostar 2009/10.

³⁵⁷ The original bridge was replaced by a timber one in 1481 that was replaced in turn with the stone

location to the Adriatic coast, the city flourished under the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, who commissioned the construction of the said bridge. Known by many names such as the Sultan Suleiman's bridge, Turkish Bridge and also called the Roman Bridge, by some western travellers³⁵⁸ it eventually came to be called as Old Bridge or Stari Most.

Surrounded by myths and stories about its inception and execution, from the king to the builder, the stories are repeated even today. For instance, it is said that the builder (Hajrudin) was terrified that the bridge would not hold and fled the town before the scaffolding was removed. Another tells the story of two lovers buried within the two towers that flank either side of the bridge.³⁵⁹



Figure 5.12: The Stari Most/ Old Bridge, in paintings, as a diving platform and a backdrop for wedding pictures. (Source: Author)

arched bridge in 1566 that stood until 1993. Please refer Pašić, *The Old Bridge in Mostar.*, for more details.

³⁵⁸ Details of various nomenclatures obtained while in conversation with Dr. Pašić. Also Ibid. 32.

³⁵⁹ For summaries on the legends and history surrounding the Old Bridge, refer Monnesland, *1001 Days: Bosnia and Hercegovina in Pictures and Words through the Centuries.*

From the time of its construction the bridge drew historians, painters, poets and travellers.³⁶⁰ Forming the subject of various poetry and paintings through the centuries, seen with the example below:

i took her to the bazaar dives
 i took her everywhere
 i hid her in caves carried her to a balcony
 under bridges we played hide and seek the neretva a filly
 under an old bridge i spoke of crnjanski
 how marvellous he is how marvellous
 - Pero Zubac, Mostar Rains

The result of both local and international attention, the Old Bridge moved into the realm of a monument that served as the city's icon. The icon of the Old Bridge was used from official paraphernalia to tourist trinkets. Its depiction on postcards, book covers, guides, magnets as the city's symbol and as well as that of football teams, explores the various ways in which a physical element has come to represent the city.

Apart from its iconic status, the Old Bridge's physical presence played an important role within the lives of the people. Behaving as a constant point of reference, it was where people met for coffee and a romantic location for the city's lovers.

'For everyone here the first association is the Bridge- whomever you ask they will all tell you the same. Everyone was/ is connected to it. Kissing on it, jumping off it... The Bridge here is local patriotism!' Interview in Mostar and field notes.³⁶¹

'What is important is that there were no religious thoughts; the Old Bridge has a specific value. For it was like the connections of the people from different parts of the world. A lot of loves were created here, as were friendships and businesses, and many for searching for life's inspiration, they all found it on the bridge.' Interview in Mostar and field notes³⁶²

'Before its destruction, the Old Bridge was a familiar landmark, one that was almost

³⁶⁰ For example refer: Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro.*, Aldiss, *Cities and Stones: A Traveller's Jugoslavia.*, Evans and Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot During the Insurrection.*

³⁶¹ Interview with Mr. Edin Batlak, Businessman. Mostar, October 2009.

³⁶² Interview with Salka-Salem Bubalo, City Planner, Mostar, 2009

taken for granted, it was old and grainy, but still very white!’ Interview in Mostar and field notes³⁶³

‘The rite of passage for the youth of the city who jump off the bridge during summer or a newly married couple who stand together with the single arch as their backdrop for their wedding pictures- the Stari Most plays many a different roles in the city, like a resident of the city said ‘It is something that the people have- when you are born in Mostar, you don’t have choice. The Old Bridge is always present. The whole city is equated to the Old Bridge.’ Interview in Mostar and field notes³⁶⁴

Before its destruction, the focus on the symbolic qualities of the bridge was markedly lesser than those of its physical appearance. Though the bridge came to represent the city in terms of various icons and through the spread of its fame (due to its physical appearance), it was only after its destruction that bridge came to be physically linked with various other constructs. Mainly due to its international fame (through visual and written material), the focus of the world fell on the city during the course of the war.

Post destruction constructs

Having withstood the World Wars, the first of the two sieges on the city of Mostar during the Bosnian War (1992-95), within ten days of the second siege, the Stari Most was brought down by Croatian forces (HVO forces) on 9th November 1993. The brute force of continuous shelling brought down a space symbolic to the city and its people, echoing Bevan’s linkage of space and identity:

Buildings and shared spaces can be a location in which different groups come together through shared experience, collective identities are forged and traditions invented. It is architecture’s very impression of finity that makes its manipulation such a persuasive tool: selective retention and destruction can reconfigure this historical record and the façade of meanings bought to architecture can be shifted. Buildings are not political but are politicized by why and how they are built, regarded and destroyed.³⁶⁵

³⁶³ Interview with Senada Demirovic Habibija, Urban planning advisor at City of Mostar. Mostar 2009

³⁶⁴ Interview conducted with Aida Omanovic, Head of RESCATE (Mostar office). Mostar, October 2009.

³⁶⁵ Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*.

Bevan who in his book makes a study of buildings that were the primary target in conflicts can be used as a reference; the targeted destruction of the Bridge was due to its heightened sense of meaning and memory, collectively for the city and the people. As a container of meanings, histories and memories, it was an object of both collective and personal memories that came under attack due to what it represented and the position that it occupied in the memory of the inhabitants and the city. Not only did this move of destruction of the Bridge have a powerful effect on the city, but it also bought the world's focus on the city of Mostar.³⁶⁶ Emir Balic the famous diver from Mostar wrote in the TIME about the destruction:

‘I could not talk. I cried for days whenever I was left alone. I could not believe that I would live longer than the old bridge. It was our bridge... we spoke of it as our friend, the oldest Mostarian whom we all respected and were proud of. Many people were killed during the war, but it was when the bridge was destroyed that Mostarians spontaneously declared a day of mourning.’³⁶⁷

Questioning not just where lines are drawn in times of war, but also the selective destruction of Ottoman heritage within the city brought to surface issues of ethnicities. Though built by the Ottomans, the bridge was an artefact that belonged to the city and not to a specific ethnicity; but with its destruction, the interpretation of the bridge's symbolic connection to the city's multiculturalism was immediate. The destruction of the Bridge and the memory that is induced by this image (here specifically that of the image of the war torn bridge) cannot be really quantified or understood. As the Croatian writer Slavenka Drakulić³⁶⁸ in ‘The Observer’ wrote:

Why do we feel more pain looking at the image of the destroyed bridge (in Mostar) than the image of the massacred people? Perhaps because we see our own mortality in the collapse of the bridge. We expect people to die; we count on our lives to end. The destruction of a monument to civilization is something else. The bridge, in all its beauty and grace was built to outlive us. It was an attempt to grasp eternity. It transcended our individual destiny.

Bevan explains the concept of how by destroying the fabric of the city, the

³⁶⁶ Though post war discussions and meanings, have sought to explain the significance of the demolition of as specific targeting of the Ottoman heritage of the city. For an interesting take on the city's heritage and the significance of all identities of the city refer Grodach, ‘Reconstituting Identity and History in Post-War Mostar, Bosnia Hercegovina’. 73-74.

³⁶⁷ Balic, *Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina: 1993.*, http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2024035_2024499_2024962,00.html (Accessed November 2011).

³⁶⁸ Drakulić. 1993.

people who are connected to this fabric are threatened, this being the sole reason as to why architecture and urban elements become as much a victim as the people of the city during strife's and wars.

The physical absence of the bridge between 1993-2004; as a local economist from the city explains, the memory of the bridge was so strong that though it was physically not present, it was alive in the hearts of the inhabitants; echoing also similar thoughts of another resident of the city who says 'all that is missing is the patina on the surface, it was always here',³⁶⁹ reflecting on the bond between the physical object and the memories associated with it, by both its presence and absence. Playing a deep-seated role in the memory of the people, the Stari Most behaved as a consolidation of the people. Due to its ingrained presence in the city, a large consortium of international donors came forward to rebuild what was lost.

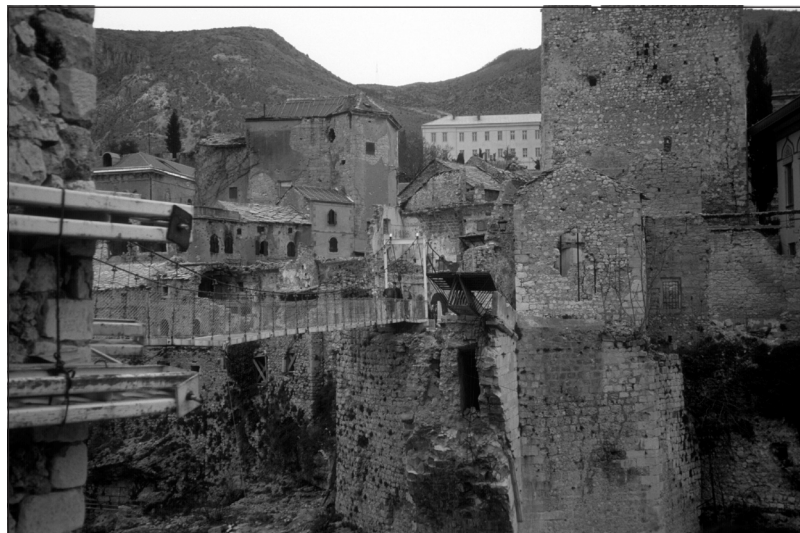


Figure 5.13: The Stari Most/ Old Bridge in 1997. Showing the destroyed bridge and a temporary bridge in its place between the years of December 1993 to June 2004.

(Source: Creative Commons)

Amir Pašić, one of the forerunners in the reconstruction of the old town and the Bridge asserts 'though the memory associated with the bridge has changed, the bridge by itself (in its physical presence) has remained the same for the people of the city (though it has been rebuilt)'.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹ Interview with Mr. Edin Batlak, Businessman. Mostar, October 2009.

³⁷⁰ Interview with Dr. Amir Pašić, Architect and Professor Department of Architectural Theory and

The rebuilt bridge called the ‘New Old Bridge’ opened on July 23, 2004 amidst huge fanfare and gatherings from across the world. The difference being that the Old Bridge was called by a new name, the ‘New Old Bridge’. Though physically appearing the same, the people of the city seem glad to the resurgence of a familiar landmark rather than explore what this could mean.³⁷¹

‘The bridge I see today is not a new bridge, it is just a better kept bridge than before’
Interview in Mostar and field notes³⁷²

Aida explains, ‘Today they want to make a symbol of it, I don’t know why. I suppose it is useful material for advertising, which is wrong. Bridge has its purpose, by itself, connecting two sides. People are jumping from it; people are taking photos of it. First it’s beautiful, it’s the first arch bridge. It has its architectural value. Why can’t it be like any other bridge?’

She continues vehemently ‘I simply refuse to connect the bridge and the recent war. I don’t want to connect it (!) I choose not to connect it. I don’t want to see the bridge as a symbol. It’s not a symbol of connecting two people. That is wrong. It’s a bridge please. Please leave the bridge to be a bridge.

Then five minutes pass before she continues along the same vein about the Bridge during the war.

‘... but then the Bridge was destroyed it became a whole other concept. That’s why I said Mostar, as a city, and as urban settlement, goes together with the Bridge- those two are one. So when the Bridge was destroyed, it was considered that Mostar is dead- totally killed. Because that component is destroyed, no one could even imagine this. Now it’s an advertisement, it’s some story that they want to sell. Much greater value of a bridge is its perception as a bridge, than as any other created symbol.’

Interview in Mostar and field notes³⁷³

History, Faculty of Architecture Sarajevo (BiH). Mostar, October 2009.

³⁷¹ Though in some interviews, a few of the participants were not sure about the reasons behind the need to rebuild.

³⁷² Interview with Senada Demirovic Habibija, Urban planning advisor at City of Mostar. Mostar, October 2009.

³⁷³ Interview conducted with Aida Omanovic, Head of RESCATE (Mostar office). Mostar, October 2009.

‘I said at the time that it should be left as a reminder for future generations of what mad people in mad times are capable of doing. But now I hope its reconstruction will make this town less divided, and that it will bring the two sides together again. I’m proud, of course. But, you know, I still feel that something has been murdered here. The old bridge had its recognizable patina.’

Emir Balic, TIME

‘When people see the bridge now, they are shocked to see how white it is, people remember both the old and the new. It happens all the time, regular people thinking about the bridge... when you see the bridge now, it brings back the past. Happier times’

Interview in Mostar and field notes³⁷⁴

Though the boundaries between the two bridges are blurred, in the act of rebuilding the Old Bridge and the old core of the city, attempts were made to bring back the most familiar landmark of the city and rejuvenate memories of the city once more. The idea to retain old and familiar forms were driven by the need to bring a certain form of normalcy to the city, and in turn, new understandings of space and associated memories. Writes Halbwachs, memory is always being reconstructed in the present context, but it rarely dissociated from considerations of power.³⁷⁵ Here though discussions of the bridge in its physical form range from the past icons to modern symbols, as an integral part of the city’s urban form, its physical presence encourages encounter and thereby connections to the past or the present or future depending on the viewer’s connection/ attachment. With the Old Bridge/ New Old Bridge, its position as a site of memory is marked in various ways, in the past it was a monument of the city and it continues to function the same way with added layers of being a monument of and for the city. Satisfying the role of ‘memory in architecture’ where its physical presence encourages and performs the act of remembering.

³⁷⁴ Interview conducted with Tihomir Rozic, Project Manager, Bridge Reconstruction

³⁷⁵ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*.

5.3.2 *Forms of representation*

It is the construction of an exact replica, that contribute to the blurring of the difference between the object and its representation. Walter Benjamin in ‘The Task of the Translator’³⁷⁶ questions the relationship between the original and its putative copy, and what occurs in the terrain of the former is retold to produce the latter, the translation from the original³⁷⁷ and as Paul de Man elucidates on the same as ‘any translation is always second in relation to the original’.³⁷⁸ Within this section, the ‘rebuilt original’ is questioned and compared as between the represented and the referenced i.e. the Old Bridge and New Old Bridge.

Benjamin gives the opening foray into what will always be an enactment of the original. Just because ‘history’ can be returned to the ruined city and thus be ‘re-normalised’ should not lead us to believe that a full sense of civitas has returned or restored. There are various agendas of appropriation that are involved in a city’s reconstruction.³⁷⁹ Between the presence of the bridge as a historical monument and a symbol for the city, its reconstruction and representations can be questioned and analysed under various sections: is the difference represented/ referenced, what is remembered, what is forgotten, who wants to remember and whose narrative that is looked at. Thus, giving the opportunity to question what role the bridge continues to play in the urban environment; as Jarzombek and Halbwachs assert, reconstruction and representation happen within contexts of various agendas and notions, what is the role now (between the presentation of the Bridge as a symbol of reconciliation as seen on an official level, versus the people who want to see the Bridge as a familiar landmark back in the urban setting of Mostar).

When Anderson defined the term ‘memory through architecture’, he spoke primarily of how architecture serves for the cause of memory, as with urban artefacts that played the role of ‘duty to remember’. The people have always associated certain regimes with the presence of the bridge, which gave the memory contained through (within) the bridge, its recognition, and also what it represented to the masses. Though through time the ‘physicality’ of the bridge has undergone various

³⁷⁶ Benjamin, *The Task of the Translator*.

³⁷⁷ Harootunian, *The Benjamin Effect: Modernism, Repetition, and the Path to Different Cultural Imaginaries*. 70.

³⁷⁸ Man, *The Resistance to Theory*.

³⁷⁹ Jarzombek, *Urban Heterology: Dresden and the Dialectics of Post-Traumatic History*.

metamorphosis, the association with the bridge and the memory of the bridge has remained both constant and in constant appropriation.

Between the presence of the old and the new, the bridges (here I include both the Old Bridge and the New Old Bridge) have been transformed into a cause of memory, moving from an intentional bridge (historic monument) to an unintentional monument. This movement into the realm of constructing a monument (and not just a bridge) which was / is a replica of the one lost is analysed here through the following topics:

- 1) From unintentional to intentional monument
- 2) The unseen monument and an exact replica (exploring forgetting)

From unintentional to intentional monument

‘Though the memory associated with the bridge has changed, the bridge by itself has remained the same for the people of the city.’ Interview in Mostar and field notes

If tearing down of the Old Bridge is a symbol of the destruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina, then its rebuilding will symbolize the restoration of this country and the reconciliation of its people who will come together to rebuild the Old Bridge, and all of Mostar’s bridges, linking them as people once again. The Old Bridge became a symbol of the restoration of the multiethnic society of Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁸⁰

The advancement of the Old Bridge from an unintentional monument (as a historic stone bridge) to one that was built as a symbol of reconciliation took place over the last decades. An architectural and structural element built solely for the purpose of ease of movement has taken on the role of an intentional monument mainly due to the emphasis that has been given to it post-destruction. The decision to rebuild not just any other bridge, but replicate the very same destroyed Bridge, as a monument and testament to what was lost, speaks not just about the role that the Bridge’s physical presence and importance had, but also about the degree of attachment to its physical presence/ appearance. Though the reconstructed bridge

³⁸⁰ Pašić, *The Old Bridge in Mostar*. 51.

falls second to the original,³⁸¹ it has taken on a life of its own.

To understand this differentiation between the two ‘bridges’, Pierre Nora introduces certain phrases that are helpful to this argument. If the historic bridge can be seen as ‘milieu de mémoire’ where an object that plays a critical role in an environment that is seeped both in history and memory. The historical bridge as has been described above, played a central role with the city and the people, a place that was a corner stone of memory. But over the last decade or post reconstruction, the Bridge has come to represent more than a crossing, with the overwhelming emphasis shown on the Bridge, the role that it has now taken on is one of ‘lieu de mémoire’.

We have to be content with lieux de mémoire, places which remind us of the past, of a (broken) memory.³⁸² The Bridge has taken on a role of a place of designated memory, a place that reminds one of the past. When Nora talks about lieu de mémoire, he focuses on places that have imbibed memory onto themselves, ones created for the purpose of remembering. This differentiation comes up when the nomenclature associated with the Bridge (before/ after) is looked into; the Old Bridge (before demolition) vs. ‘the New Old Bridge’ (reconstructed).

The Old Bridge became significant for its historic and cultural values associated through the ages, every much like the ‘patina’ that develops with age, as in comparison with the New Old Bridge that, not only had to take on all that the ‘previous’ bridge represented but was also built intentionally to remember the one that was lost and represent politically a symbol of multiculturalism for the city and region.

The memory in terms of emphasis given to what and how certain things are remembered has changed, transforming the New Old Bridge into an ‘intentional monument’ echoing more than that was originally intended.

Many in the city do not feel the role of the intentional monument, as the presence of a familiar landmark takes precedence over the meaning that this ‘refurbished bridge’ has bought with itself. But if this reconstruction is accepted as a healthy and positive development, where does one reflect on the horrors of WWII (*Bosnian War*)³⁸³, or even on the destruction of the city on a more private and secular

³⁸¹ As Paul de Man writes in, *The Resistance to Theory*.

³⁸² Morley and Robins, *Spaces of Identity*.

³⁸³ The Author does the addition of Bosnian war in italics to the quote from Jarzombek, who writes about the destruction of Dresden.

level?³⁸⁴ For a site that has moved beyond a site of historical significance to that of a constructed memorial, the dynamics at play are social, political and people's narratives. Highlighted below are excerpts from interviews conducted with the city's residents with regard to the role of the bridges and though the role of its physical presence was welcome, questions and doubts are heard in the voices of the role it plays in the city's urban sphere:

'After the bridge was reconstructed, there are different feelings that come to the surface. This was different from the original; the 'patina' from the old one was lost forever... but you can imagine how it was at the opening in 2004. Mostarians from all over the world came here to see it. It was the physicality of the bridge that was so important, not all the other things; they were saying, it said to everyone who saw it again 'I AM REALLY HERE' ... the first time I went to cross the river on my beloved bridge again after so much time, I was shaking, like I was approaching a woman'.

Interview in Mostar and field notes³⁸⁵

'There is a big difference- the old bridge and the new old bridge, before it was a historic monument. As the city was a small one, everyone knew each other and the old bridge was almost like a family member! Now, it is not comfortable anymore, not like it used to be; it is more commercial as well. It used to be everyone's bridge, now it is not that way. With the reconstruction they said it will bring us all together, how can we all come together? ... it is not family anymore really...'

Interview in Mostar and field notes³⁸⁶

'I do not understand why they decided to build it again. Probably because there was no political unification, they focused on the Bridge. It will calm down the tensions; it will give the people a sense that some thing has come out of this. People were killing each other and they were supposed to stop, suddenly forget everything that happened. You had to give them something if you cannot give them civil society. So if you gave them something, it will calm down the tensions. It will give a sense of movement, a final evaluation, a certain sense of closure. Although even now

³⁸⁴ Jarzombek, *Urban Heterology: Dresden and the Dialectics of Post-Traumatic History*.

³⁸⁵ Interview with Mr. Edin Batlak, Businessman. Mostar, October 2009.

³⁸⁶ Interview at OKC Abrašević, Youth Center. Mostar, 2009/ 10.

people are in clutches- it is a pretence- we are all living normally, driving cars- I do not know how! It was a sense of normalcy- even though it's east side and west side (laughs loudly)'.

Interview in Mostar and field notes³⁸⁷

'... the tourists coming here only know about the Bridge. It is what is remembered when the word Mostar comes up. So everyone wants a picture with the Bridge. But that is all they can see in the few hours that they are in Mostar. They come from Dubrovnik or Medjugorje, they take a few pictures and they leave. It is important to remember so that you don't repeat the same mistakes. But the question is, you can forgive- but how can you? For the Bosnians how can we expect that? I cannot forgive someone who has harmed my mother, it would be very hard on my sister. If my father has disappeared- how can I?

... Just because you rebuild, you cannot forget'.

Interview in Mostar and field notes³⁸⁸

The unseen monument and an exact replica (exploring forgetting)

As established on the chapter on forgetting, remembering is possible only in the presence of forgetting, '... had they recognized that whatever mnemonic potential buildings may have, 'memory' only becomes interesting through its struggle with forgetfulness, then the representation of collective memory might have become more meaningful'.³⁸⁹ With the case of the bridge, questions of remembering have been addressed, but the realm of forgetting is addressed through the potential of visualising the site as one of counter memory. Through the presence of the rebuilt bridge as an 'intentional monument' and the ruins of the old bridge³⁹⁰ that lie at its foot as 'counter monument', this section explores the options an object that engages and questions forgetting.

Explained by Alois Reigel in 'The Modern Cult of Monuments: It's

³⁸⁷ Interview conducted with Aida Omanovic, Head of RESCATE (Mostar office). Mostar, October 2009.

³⁸⁸ Interview with Fernando Mazzaro, NGO worker in the city. Mostar, October 2009.

³⁸⁹ Forty and Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*.

³⁹⁰ During the process of reconstruction of the new bridge, the stones that fell into the river during the bombing were dredged out and laid on the banks of the river. These huge blocks of stones lie at the foot of the newly constructed bridge and are now used as seating/ picnic areas.

Character and its Origin' about the role of physical monuments in our environments, monuments are created as a human reaction to keep alive certain memory/event for future generation.³⁹¹ The form that memory took within the city is in the shape of an exact replica, as it was built both on nostalgia and the need to reclaim/ re-establish a certain collective memory. Quoting Robert Bevan, restoring architecture can never resolve conflict but how can the recognition of guilt or the explanation upon which reconciliation depend, emerge if there is no memory of the crime?

With the rebuilt bridge suggesting a sense of hope and forward movement of the city and its people through its reconstruction and aims of rehabilitation, the dredged out stones present a didactic opportunity. Transforming to causes of memory and questioning forgetting both these sites present opposite ends of the spectrum. On the shores of the river Neretva, on the foot of the towering reconstructed bridge, lies the 'Old- Old Bridge',³⁹² not in complete form but as stone blocks that have been dredged out of the river. Quiet and unseen in presence, the stones bear material witness to the new bridge.

If these ruins can be seen as challenging the traditional role of the monument, they can be represented as 'un-intentional counter memorials'. Laid out on the banks of the river, they appear to blend in with the landscape rather than call attention to themselves. Questioning the paradox that is the reconstruction, it is a space of narration caught between a state of survival and a state of not being fully alive, as they are not given the same prominence. They exist in an open zone and not in an artificially created museum.³⁹³ Open to not only the forces of nature, but also to that of human nature (to memory and to forgetting), the stones present a state of narration that questions what Jarzombek calls as 'between survival and not being fully alive'.³⁹⁴

The presence of these stones are not to force them on to the memory-industry, but as a space for contemplations and questions on the issues of memory and forgetting through built form. The totemic value of these stones through their presence and their representation has an inherent value in understanding the

³⁹¹ Riegl, *The Modern Cult of Monument: Its Character and its Origin*.

³⁹² The term 'Old- Old Bridge' used by the author refers to the Bridge that was demolished in 1993. The remains of this 'original' Bridge in the form of stones that grace the banks of the river Neretva at the foot of the reconstructed Bridge. They lie as material witness to the past and though visually present, often go unseen.

³⁹³ Jarzombek, *Urban Heterology: Dresden and the Dialectics of Post-Traumatic History*.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

temporality of memory either in or through material form.

The stones on the floor and the exact replica of the earlier bridge speak about not only the situation within the city but also how dialectics of memory and forgetting work through the expression of built form.

5.4 Summary: evaluating object level

Memory of architecture seems to depend more on our ability to perceive the embodied situation, rather than something that can be easily ‘read’ off a surface. Moreover, these situations are subject to particular catalytic moments in time—those instances in which the energies of both the container and the contained become virtually indistinguishable. The timing of those moments is uneven, poetic, and anisotropic. It would be impossible for the constituent elements of a place-memory to sustain a constant equilibrium or frequency of resonance in time.³⁹⁵

As container of meaning and memory, architecture resonates with possibilities that are given to it, woven together as a rich texture; the container of meanings is largely dependent on peoples or inhabitants interaction with the same. The experience of former usages and remembrances invokes a memory, making object and place, one both personal and collective in use and meaning. The meanings associated with the buildings/architecture take on an almost autobiographical outlook for memory associated with that space. The notion of memory plays an undisputed role in everyday lives; understanding it in conjunction with built objects then gives more layers of meanings to architecture. Architecture then resonates with memories and experiences that are projected on it, there by making it both a collective and an individual notion.

Memory is sustained by various practices and narratives—architecture being a ‘product’ contains within it infinite possibilities of understanding memory, forgetting and the tangential process of attachment through various tactics of remembrance. The uniqueness of this example lies in the rhetoric between the act of history and memory followed by the representation of the same through commemorative building that took a (unintentional) historic monument on the path of constructing a monument for intentional purposes. The construction, reproduction and projection of the material, its memory and collective spaces are pivotal in perpetuating forms of distinctiveness.

The Stari Most, and its many manifestations are embedded not just in history

³⁹⁵ Bloomer, *Memory and the Poetics of Architectural Time*.

but also within the collective memory/ forgetting of the city, contributing to the identity of the city and its people (before, during and after the war), moving beyond a stage where actions take place (either on it or around it). It presents a case where an urban artefact enables the interaction with a site of memory, a connection to a collective past and an instance to question forgetting. Embedding the entire process in a performance where the viewer is saddled with the (if chosen) responsibility of carrying out the act of remembering/ forgetting.

In studying the Stari Most within the framework that this section proposes, not only do the dynamics and dialectics of physical structures come to the foreground but also the complexity of attachment, memory and forgetting through objects that are a part of daily landscapes paving the way for deeper investigation to understand the surrounding physical or built environment.

READING ARCHITECTURE/ REMEMBERING/ FORGETTING INTERPLAY

ZOOMING OUT

Chapter 6

Zooming Out

This section highlights the concluding reflections on my endeavours to observe, analyse and describe the interplay between architecture-remembering-forgetting, by way of a two-part study.

- Theoretical investigations of various aspects of architecture-memory-forgetting and discussions of how they can be combined to produce a framework to enable such a study in Part 1.
- Empirical investigations of this interplay using the framework developed in the two case studies as Part 2.

In the concluding remarks, I summarize briefly the findings of each section and focus on describing a strategy that helps in observing this interplay. The conclusion highlights various steps and paradigms taken in the direction to test the hypothesis that ascertain the role of architecture as one that encourages remembering and forgetting.

On reading the city as systems and architectural forms

As described in the introductory chapters, the point of departure of urban analysis and observations is embedded within the tradition of architectural analysis. By introducing theories that provide insights into the role of architecture in both remembering and forgetting, the strategy of the thesis was to, initially, address theory that could support the building of an analytical framework that could be used in empirical cases.

Through the discussions in the theoretical framework, it is evident that the relationships between the three aspects of the interplay are many layered and complex. Within the framing of the theoretical study it was necessary to take into account that urban landscapes are complex and dynamic; hence finding the connecting line between various theories that relate not just to each other but also were capable of incorporating the nuances of the dynamics of an urban environment was important.

Recalling the first two research questions on, how to study the performance of memory and forgetting in urban environments and the role of architecture in the same, I argue that my theoretical investigations give the necessary background to answer these questions.

- 1) Urban memory can be read as: (a) the city serving as a collective image as experienced and interpreted by individuals (and collectives), and (b) a dialectical relationship between the city and the individual where the city provides the stimuli for various experiences and encounters. That is, in both the cases, it is the individual and the collective who perform the act of remembering.
- 2) Working with remembering within urban form entails the making of a heuristic process, rather than a constructed one. Where the relationship between remembering and architecture, and inhabitant is one that evolves, participatory and dynamic rather than static and redundant.
- 3) Forgetting, on the other hand, can be addressed and questioned but not constructed, making it very similar to the act of remembering within urban form. More precisely, through the line of questions raised on traditional monuments and urban transformation, the act of forgetting can be questioned.
- 4) There is a symbiotic relationship between remembering and forgetting in the sense that one cannot be acted upon without the other's presence.
- 5) The intersection of architecture- remembering-forgetting lies in both the physical realm in terms of interaction with the object and in the mental realm, where attachment to form and object contributes to its sense of importance and value.
- 6) The investigation of manifestation of remembering and forgetting can only be possible if the physical form can be understood not as the construction of memory or forgetting, but as a mnemonic tool that can enable the production of memory and raise the question of forgetting.

By tracing the development of memory studies, the role of architecture in memory and forgetting and the conclusions from the chapters briefly outlined above, the pursuing of an empirical analysis was made possible by the development of a framework tool that could study morphological systems and mental practises. This framework is a confluence of various techniques and theories developed by Rossi, Lefèbvre, and Choay to help mark out and observe locations where this performance could take place in an urban environment. The analysis is based on the following techniques that assist in the identification of architectural systems and the study of morphological aspects of the cases. The below listed conclusions answer the question on how to identify markers wherein to observe such performances:

- 1) The city is represented not just by its physical fabric, but also by collective representations of various characteristics that contribute to its making- like memory, identity, forgetting, transformations, history etc.
- 2) Understanding of forms and morphological systems arises from the study and observation of various actions, social practises that both produce and transform the space and the forms it contains.
- 3) To study the interplay between architecture- remembering-forgetting, the framework had to accommodate dynamic urban environments, various social and physical processes, and aid in the identifying of potential sites of importance.
- 4) The framework initiated the identification of potential sites of importance by studying the city as an evolution of various architectural forms and systems. Each system initiated certain morphological markers and characteristics contributing to the making of a particular site of importance or primary element. These primary elements were identified based on role, morphological characteristics, historic relevance, function, rituals that surrounded it and iconographic analysis within the urban environment.
- 5) Architectural systems, forms and elements were studied as carriers of collective memory or where memory can be experienced. These elements were ascribed with symbolic value based on relevance and function that provided insights into social practises, systems, lifestyles and rituals associated with space.
- 6) The ascribing of meaning into these sites or primary elements was studied as one that can evolve rather than one that projects a strict meaning. By identifying these elements and practises in the urban environment, a platform

is created where behaviours of memory and forgetting can be observed on a collective as well as individual level.

- 7) Following a series of steps: identifying various systems, marking of primary elements, morphological characteristics, rituals in space and iconographic analysis, the possible sites and characteristics of interplay could be discerned.

Through the process of selecting primary elements and zones, observations and analysis were carried out through the study of development of space and form (the making of space and attachments), rituals and behaviours, while examining the relationship of the selected sites to the surrounding urban environment. This process of study and observation was to attest to the participation of space in the performance of memory and forgetting.

Empirical cases: supporting the framework and reading the interplay

The city's urban elements or form cannot be read as objects of memory or forgetting, instead read as objects that support the act of memory and question that of forgetting. As a result of this reasoning the study of urban elements as sites to observe the interplay between architecture –remembering –forgetting is more focused and illustrative. Limiting the identification of sites to the proposed framework, the empirical cases are presented to test the viability of supporting such a framework and to observe the interplay.

Within both the macro and micro level, it was immediately evident that primary elements within the identified zones of importance carried a sense of affinity with the inhabitants. These elements were sites of prolonged contact, had commemorative value and function, contained characteristics of continuity and relevance to place and its inhabitants.³⁹⁴ Attesting to this Boyer writes, 'it is in these physical artefacts and traces that our city memories are buried, for the past is carried forward to the present through these sites. Addressed to the eye of vision and to the soul of memory, a city's streets, monuments and architectural forms often contain grand discourses on history'.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁴ As the framework is seen as an objective tool, the aim was to carry out its application on various sites. The selection of these sites was based on variances and distinctiveness of, urban morphology, regimes, social and cultural settings and location. It was important that the empirical cases be diverse so as to test the viability of the framework in varying urban settings.

³⁹⁵ Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*. 30.

As the empirical cases were analysed on two distinct levels, below I highlight the variances in the framework and observations that can lead to the formation of a comprehensive summary for studying of this interplay and the application of the framework. Recalling the question on how the studying of remembering and forgetting can enable the understanding of transformations social and cultural, the observations from the empirical cases provide answers to the same.

Urban case study: Bangalore, India

On an urban level, the scope of collective memories is multifarious and takes place on a relatively large urban area. Through the developed framework the urban area was seen along the lines of architectural systems and primary elements rather than just the expanse of the city. Based on the framework, the sites of potential interplay through architectural systems, primary elements, rituals and morphological characteristics were identified, all of which led to the following observations:

- 1) The process of producing collective memories in a city is ambiguous and complex. Therefore, it was necessary that the theoretical framework applied was sufficiently intricate to study cultural and social arbitrariness and also the hegemonic terrain of urban memory.
- 2) The empirical case focused on the study of collective memory in terms of social and morphological production rather than focus on points in a city that were repositories of memory and history.
- 3) By tracing sites of importance through physical characteristics, rituals and iconography, the linking of production of memory to forms of representations, experience and sites of encounters was made possible.
- 4) Urban space faced with constant growth and transformation, certain sites in the city were linked inherently to the making of identity, attachment and cultural forms. These locations became meaningful sites that people made, inhabited, visited and participated in.
- 5) By including primary elements not restricted to a particular regime, the developed framework was able to encourage the study to deal with observable patterns, various histories, political, economic and social productions. The interplay between architecture-remembering-forgetting was observed through rituals, morphology of place, traditional occupations and stories/ myths of the space.

- 6) The identification of primary elements were embedded in zones of transformation where the performance of memory can differ constantly, corroborating to the notion that the production of space and the performance of memory/ forgetting are not constant. Thereby, answering one of the research questions of the thesis.
- 7) By identifying sites in the city where this interplay was observable, the case study ratifies characteristics of architecture that support such interplays. Highlighting the role of architecture in the sustenance of such performances, the study of the urban environment is enabled through such exchanges. The case study provides feedback on processes that affect the making of the urban environment.

Object case study: Stari Most/ Old Bridge, Mostar, BiH

Within the micro/ object level study, the opportunity posed was markedly different from that of the urban level study. The first step of the study was to establish an object that could warrant a deeper understanding, by analysing various forms the city of Mostar experienced (as indicated by the framework). Selecting a singular site that played an important role in the city and the lives of the people was made possible through open narrative interviews, literature and observations. The framework was then expanded to accommodate the empirical case in terms of an object and its forms of representation.

- 8) Urban space within this empirical case exhibited not just competing memories, but also competing interpretations.
- 9) On an object level, the study focused on its inception, growth into a historic monument, destruction and eventual reconstruction; where a singular object in the city played myriad forms and roles within an urban setting.
- 10) Through its forms of representation, the study moved into the realm of contrasting the old historic bridge and the newly reconstructed bridge by focusing and questioning the relevance of the structure within the lives of the city's inhabitants.
- 11) The opportunity to study attachment, rituals, social roles, performance of memory and the question of forgetting of a singular element added the possibility of using and transforming the framework effectively. By adding layers of questions on object and representation, the framework could be

expanded to focus on a singular element.

- 12) Between its role as an object, a monument to the past and the future and its various forms of representation; the Stari Most provided the platform to discuss the role primary elements have in urban space and in the lives of the inhabitants.

Summary

Within this project, I found it necessary to work broadly within both theoretical and empirical investigations; more so, as when the work commenced I was not sure on what the study of the interplay would result in. The theoretical and analytical approach of the work made it possible to create a framework of study that would enable the balancing of architecture on one hand and characteristics of memory and forgetting on the other and study the resultant interplay.

When memory/ forgetting are studied at levels of production and performance, the resultant observation can be multiple, contradictory and most importantly complex. The process of study makes evident that architecture rather than behaving as a clear-cut sign, acts as a contact zone that encourages the viewer and the inhabitant to interact with the object or site and be the performer of the act of memory or forgetting. Architecture in the interplay enacts the role of a mnemonic tool leading to its involvement and central role in the triad of architecture-memory-forgetting. With this role, architecture becomes active and conscious rather than passive or even retroactive, thus deepening our knowledge on relationships between man and his surroundings.

The behaviour of this interplay can be observed on sites and locations through various facets and practises ranging from interaction between object and inhabitant, bodily practises of inhabitants, rituals and commemorations, myths, story telling, etc. with the interplay rather than being static, is one that encourages interaction.

The city then becomes not a collection of signs but a historically formed palimpsest that includes memory, forgetting and transformation of both. Through this study and approach it is evident that interaction between the viewer and object enables auratic contact zones within urban environments making the interplay between architecture-remembering-forgetting affective open-ended experiences and narratives.

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Appendix 1

Narrative Interview Questions (Urban Case Study)

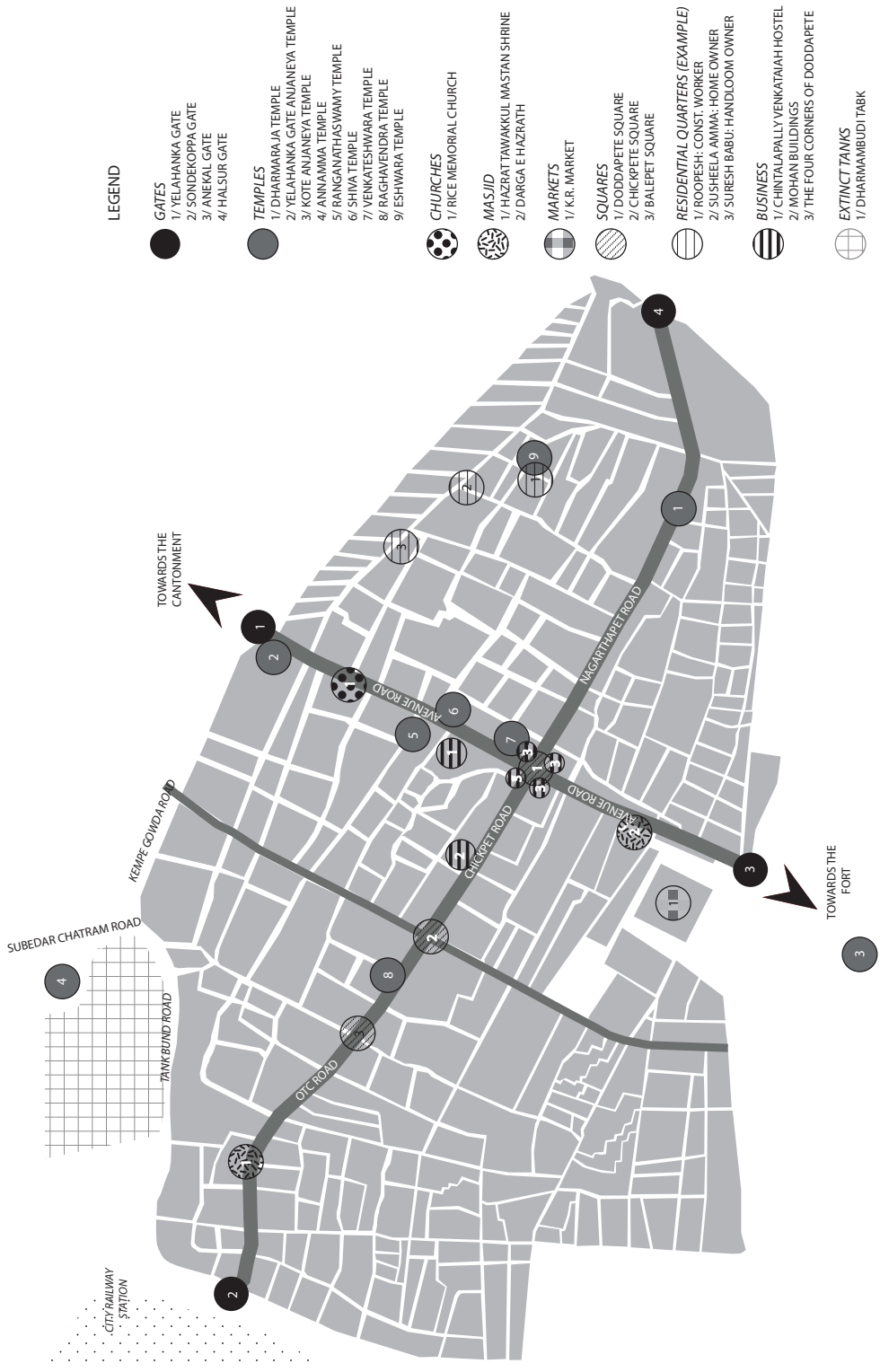
1. Demographic Question
 - a. Age
 - b. Sex
 - c. Occupation
 - d. Household members

2. Residence
 - a. On rent/ private
 - b. For how long have they lived there?
 - c. How big is the space?
 - d. How old is it?
 - e. Have they done any changes to it?

3. Location characteristics
 - a. Why did they choose to live in the specific location?
 - b. What are the changes the locality has gone through in the last years?
 - c. What do they like the most about the location?

4. General guiding questions
 - a. What are the characteristics that are most attractive about the city area?
 - b. How do they feel about new forms of behaviours and practises?
 - c. Are there specific identities/ characteristics about the pettah area?
 - d. What is it about the pettah area that makes it so unique?

Primary Elements: Urban Case Study Area 1



GATES



GATES



TEMPLES



TEMPLES



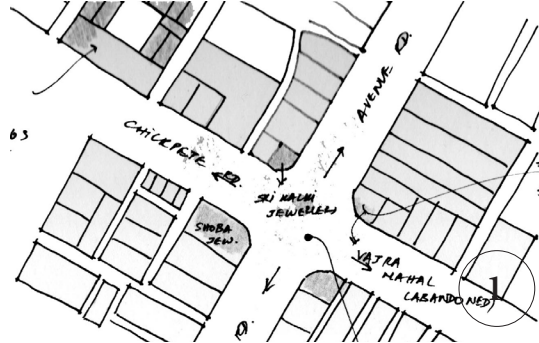
MASJID & CHURCHES



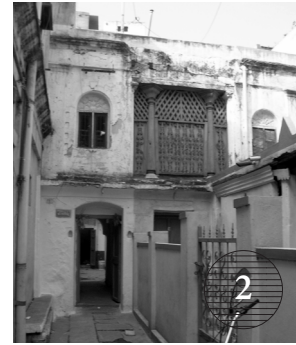
MARKETS



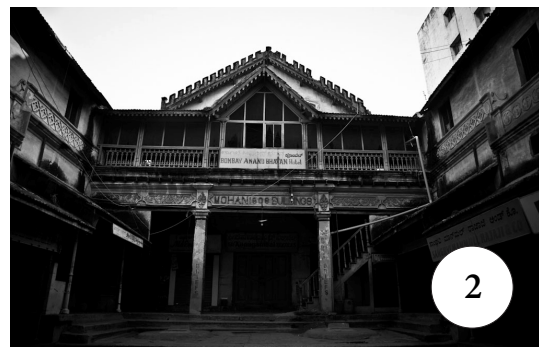
SQUARES



RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS



BUSINESS & HANDLOOMS



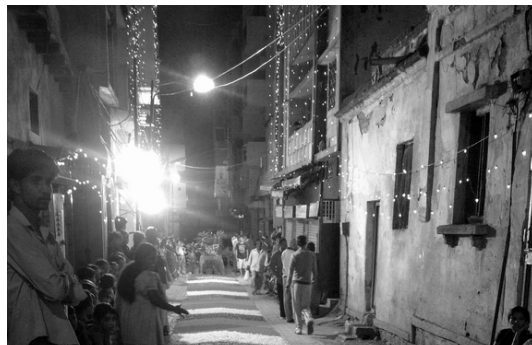
EXTINCT TANK



(Left) Extinct Dharmambudi Tank, current the hub of local transport
(Bottom) The Karaga Festival



IMAGES OF THE KARAGA FESTIVAL

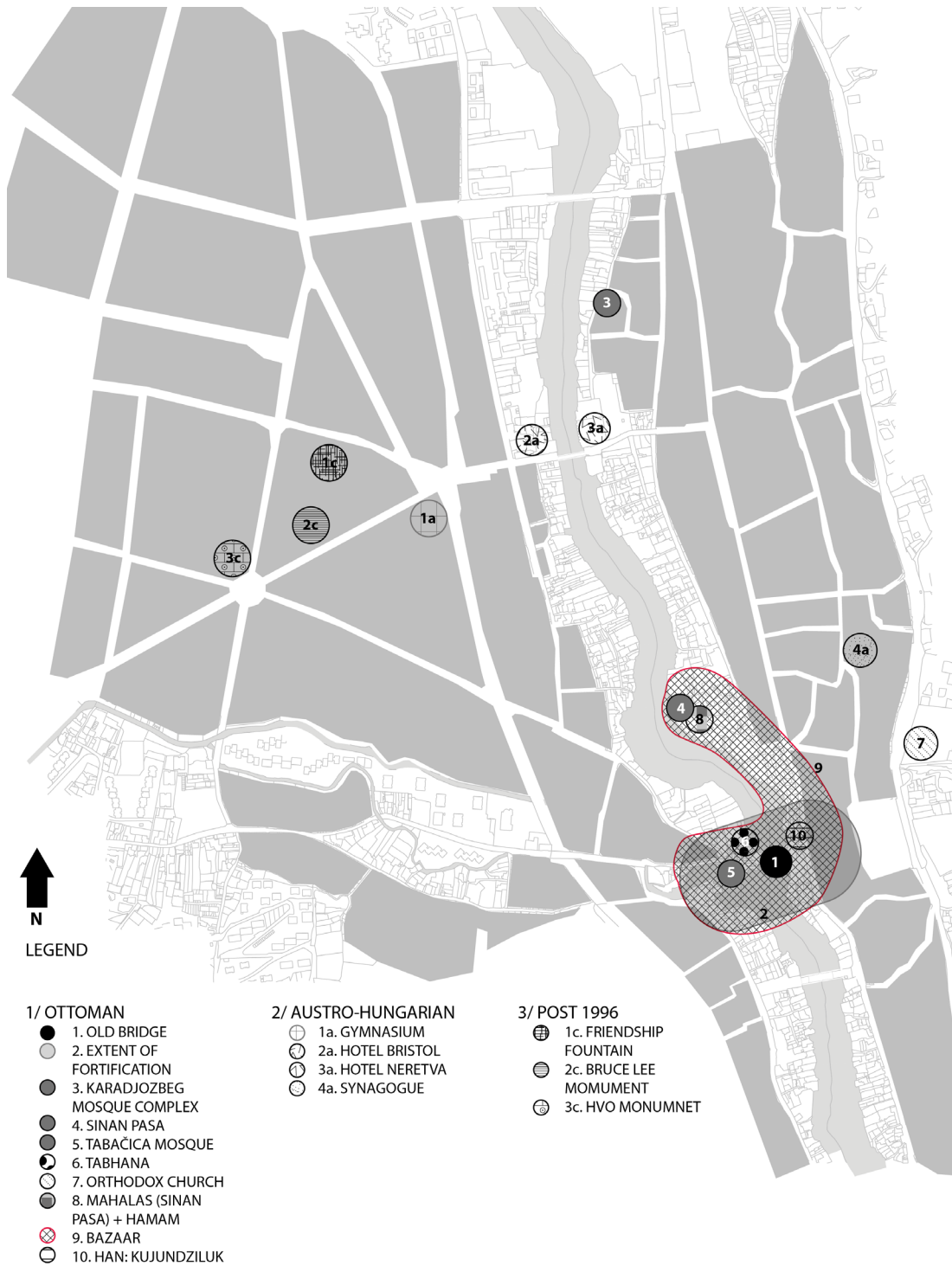


Appendix 2

Narrative Interview Questions (Object Level Study)

1. Demographic Question
 - a. Age
 - b. Sex
 - c. Occupation
2. General guiding questions
 - a. What is the most important structure in Mostar?
 - b. What is the role that this structure plays in their lives?
 - c. How was the city before and after the war?
 - d. What the role has reconstruction played in their lives?
 - e. How has the character of the city changed or transformed? How do they feel about it?
 - f. Should all the ruins be rebuilt?
3. About the Stari Most/ Old Bridge
 - a. What was the role of the bridge in your life before its destruction? Your connection.
 - b. Has that role changed now?
 - c. Is the reconstruction of the bridge something they wanted? Did they see this in any other way?
 - d. If the bridge is personal, what are the characteristics that make it so?
 - e. Is the bridge a site of many memories or many histories?
 - f. What does reconstruction of the Bridge mean?
 - g. Is there a differentiation physically between what it was before and what it is now?
 - h. When you see the bridge today, what is its role?
 - i. Can Mostar do without the Bridge?

Primary Elements: Object Level Case Study



OTTOMAN: OLD BRIDGE



OTTOMAN: OLD BRIDGE



OTTOMAN: MOSQUES



OTTOMAN: MOSQUES



OTTOMAN: CHURCHES



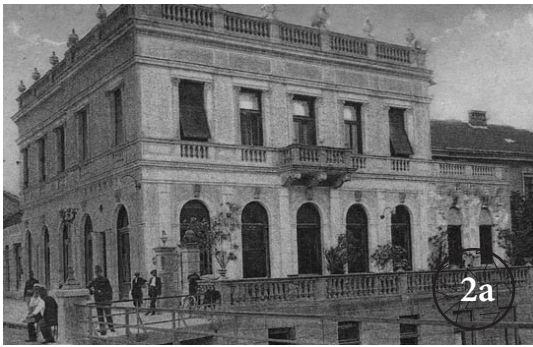
OTTOMAN: BAZAAR



**AUSTRO HUNGARIAN:
GYMNASIUM**



**AUSTRO HUNGARIAN:
HOTEL BRISTOL**



**AUSTRO HUNGARIAN:
HOTEL NERETVA**



**AUSTRO HUNGARIAN:
SITE OF SYNAGOGUE**



POST 1995:
FRIENDSHIP FOUNTAIN



POST 1995:
FRIENDSHIP FOUNTAIN



POST 1995:
FALLEN CROAT DEFENDERS



