ORIGIN AND CONTINUITY OF THE SYMBOLIC FORM BY THE EXAMPLE OF MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE YUGOSLAV IDEOLOGY

Abstract
The work represents a theoretical contribution to the study of the complex semiotics of the forms of the memorial architecture of Yugoslavia, with special insight into the usage and possible continuity of prominent symbolic forms by the example of three notable Yugoslav authors: Ivan Meštrović, Bogdan Bogdanović, Dušan Džamonja. Pointing out the connections of archaic symbols with the memorial architecture of Yugoslavia, the purpose of the work is to identify the potential continuity of the semiotics of the form, but also to indicate the turn of the artistic expression that appears under the influence of the new political context in need of dominant multiculturalism and the aspiration to preserve the multicultural state model.

Keywords: symbolic forms, origins of shape, memorials, Yugoslav ideology

ПОРИЈЕКЛО И КОНТИНУИТЕТ СИМБОЛИЧКЕ ФОРМЕ НА ПРИМЈЕРУ МЕМОРИЈАЛНЕ АРХИТЕКТУРЕ У КОНТЕКСТУ ИДЕОЛОГИЈЕ ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСТВА

Сажетак
Рад представља теоријски прилог проучавању комплексне семиотике форми меморијалне архитектуре Југославије, са посебним увидом у континуитет примјене истакнутих симболичких облика на примеру три истакнута југословенска аутора: Ивана Мештровића, Богдана Богдановића и Душана Џамоња. Указујући на потенцијалне везе архаичних симбола са споменичком архитектуром Југославије, сврха рада је да пронађе потенцијални континуитет семиотике облика, али и указе на обрт у умјетничком изражавању који настаје под утицајем новоформираног друштвено-политичког контекста у ком преовлађује изразита мултикултуралност и тежња ка очувању мултикултуралног државног модела.

Кључне ријечи: симболичке форме, порекло облика, споменици, југословенство
1. INTRODUCTION

The work represents a theoretical contribution to the study of the complex and ambiguous semiotics of the form of memorial architecture, with special insight into continuity and needs for implementation of notable symbolic forms used in various cultural objects on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Pointing out the potential connections of archaic symbols with monumental sculpture and the architecture of Yugoslavia, the purpose of the work is to identify the potential architectural continuity of the used symbols and semiotics of the form, but also to point out the turn in artistic expression that arises under the influence of the newly formed socio-political context of Yugoslav identity in need for dominant multiculturalism and the main desire to establish and preserve multiculturalism as the most important and crucial part of the new state model. In this sense, the work makes a contribution to the interpretation and better understanding of the role of complex and ambiguous, but crucially commonly used archaic symbols, mythological representations and the role of general mythical consciousness in a new and yet unknown 20th century socio-political context, as well as possible influences on the formation of individual authorial expression of Yugoslav artists and architects in such specific period, in which, through an experimental design interpretation of symbols, the crucial aim was to strengthen the unity and overcome problems of sustainable multiculturalism by searching for symbolic representations rooted in the ancient past, completely separated from the primarily religious and nationally determined identities of the existing ethnic groups of Yugoslavia.

The research focuses on two different periods of making and shaping the Yugoslav idea, firstly, the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia between 1910s and 1940s, and secondly, the period of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after the World War II. The main task of this research is forming a typology of dominant symbolic forms that would be used to comparatively show and then explain the possible connection and continuity in the relations between archetypal archaic, ancient and proto-historic architectural and sculptural symbols, applied material and artistic representations with the observed applied and identified semiotics of Yugoslav memorial architecture, in order to apply such a model through research of typology of certain selected works on the example of three different, but most prominent and influential Yugoslav authors: Ivan Meštrović, Bogdan Bogdanović and Dušan Đamonja. Result of the research, in that sense, is expected as the systematic presentation of correlative typologies of symbolic forms of an interconfessional character identified, analysed and presented in individual selected monuments created in the context of Yugoslavia and the ideology of Yugoslav unity.

1.1. THE IDEA AND THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF ART IN YUGOSLAVIA

Two very different political periods of the implementation of the Yugoslav ideology and regimes stand out: the kingdom period before and socialist period after the World War II. From the very beginning, Yugoslav thought appeared as a foundation of supranational category, that is, as a historical awareness of the need for unity and unification. Due to internal and international unfavorable circumstances, the Yugoslav idea often experienced deep crises. Socio-political organization was an actual topic in various situations throughout the existence of Yugoslavia along with the problems of growing ethnic tensions, strengthening of nationalism and separatism, various socio-economic factors, the influence of great powers, political emigration and others. In such social and political circumstances, two different approaches to art and architecture, especially in ideological context can be identified. In that way, architecture and art can be seen becoming the greatest weapon for the change used by the ruling regimes, used as a means of strengthening the ideology of unity and community. The idea of Yugoslav art was closely related to the rise, duration and decline of the Yugoslav idea. Since the middle of the 19th century, Yugoslav artists have been connected and organized in order to present the cultural and ethnic closeness of the Yugoslav people.

2. THE CULTURE OF MEMORY IN YUGOSLAVIA

The idea of the unity of the southern Slavs is closely related to the idea of Yugoslav culture and art. A special type of ideological manipulation takes place through emphasizing the importance and role of collective memory. Individual memory can hardly ever be independent, in fact, it always represents a part of a wider collective framework. The collective groups do not have memory, the memory in them does not exist by itself, but it is the same collective group that determines the memory of its members. Collective memory, therefore, is nothing more than activities carried out in the present regarding certain events of the past. In this way, every collective memory is the processes
of social modelling of the past into the socially and politically acceptable forms of the present and future, which would mean that the process of establishing collective memory is actually a process of reconstructing the past of wanted or unwanted events from the past [1].

Since the end of the World War I, memorial architecture has taken on an important role in not only the processes of overcoming collective traumas, but more importantly the crucial role in shaping the new national multicultural identity based on celebration of common homeland, ancestors and the king himself. Later, the memorial architecture of socialist Yugoslavia was one of the pillars of support of its unique regime and a specific characteristic that defined its international position. People needed to overcome the burden of history in general, and the history of World War II in particular. The entire history was understood and presented as a centuries-long struggle of the Yugoslav people for freedom and the great desire and aspiration towards establishing common state. Consequently, the World War II became a focal point of historical discourse. The emergence of the states that bore the name of Yugoslavia imposed the need to break with the current state and establish new systems that will be able to serve the unique goals of the state apparatus, which also includes an ideological component [2]. Precise naming and terminology represented the basis of the new ideology, while monuments as public spaces became the places of its spatial manifestation. Generations of Yugoslav architects played a key role in building that discourse. They were not the first to come up with the idea of a memorial park as a mean to unite post-traumatic communities, but they did devise a unique way of overcoming the past and manipulating with the creation of the new historical meaning. Socialist monuments provided space for the emergence of a community, which, defining the participants in the war as fascist occupiers, collaborators of fascism, victims of fascism and anti-fascist fighters, avoided viewing criminals, victims and heroes of war through their national, ethnic or religious identities. The state's ideological apparatus applied the same or similar principles of implementing its political ideas showing that memorials are inextricably linked with the politics of memory and collective identity. The importance of the culture of memory is thus perceived as a powerful means of creating the future, in such way building the identity of individuals or groups. Artistic frameworks in which ideology is articulated corresponds with already known symbolic schemes. It can be argued that the artistic expression of memorial architecture objects through the abstraction and interpretation of applied archaic symbols becomes interconfessional and supranational in that way overcoming the identity crisis of national defects and ethnic differences.

Figure 1. Opening ceremony at Podgarić, 1967.
3. THE PHILOSOPHY OF SYMBOLIC FORMS

In both periods of Yugoslavia, current regimes and public policies found mechanisms to promote a certain political idea, and the key of all the instruments were monuments, which for almost the entire 20th century represented a visible model of the cultural performances of Yugoslavia. It is important to point out the ways in which ideology was spatially manifested through such monuments, which were used as a function of symbolic and aesthetic communication, to identify the historical framework of those symbolic forms, their roots of primitive mythology and theoretical framework of connections, influences and sources of symbolic and aesthetic in such architecture as a whole.

3.1. ARCHITECTURE AS A MEDIUM FOR AESTHETIC COMMUNICATION

Still, the question about the true symbolic side of memorial forms remains. In particular, symbolic content can be understood as the basis of the creative process and communication between the man and the environment. Here, the importance of semiotics is in defining the used symbol, without any interpretation, as a complex and ambiguous category. Architectural monument through its abstract form should communicate the very essence of the memorial, its universal idea of revolution, freedom, eternity, victory. The architectural work as a whole, as well as each of its elements, most often carry the meaning of an adequate form of their visual manifestation. By itself, the symbolic system of an architectural detail directs the formation of a certain structure and type in space in accordance with functional requirements. At the same time, the process of transferring meaning from the symbolic system to the structure is guided intuitively. This would mean that the primary spatial type is a product of an onto-psychological impulse, which in the process of further shaping establishes a connection with an adequate function and a socio-culturally conditioned form [3]. The form that gives the symbol its expressive power is essentially related to the aesthetic manifestation of the work. Aesthetics here refers not so much to the meaning itself, as to the power of the form and its properties to support a sensibly determined meaning through expressive expression. This means that one could allow the thought according to which the symbolic meaning can be clothed in different forms. Regardless of the fact that it is devoid of metaphysical meaning, in the modern architecture of the twentieth century, the symbol is still at the center of communication between man and the environment. The freedom to use symbols in this context is not contrary to its transcendental property, which derives its strength and value precisely from man's need for identification and communication with the environment [3].

3.2. THE INFLUENCE OF ARCHAIC SYMBOLS

After the World Wars of the 20th century, there was global recognition of the importance of memorial architecture and the concept of collective memory. Analyzing the Yugoslav monuments, it is very easy to see a clear connection with archaic symbolism, using basic but variously interpreted archaic symbols. The decision to use such symbols that can widely be acceptable is not surprising. It can be assumed that this kind of interpretation of primal symbols as a sculptural form came from the desire to use this kind of common symbolic "code" in order to overcome cultural differences and avoid possible ethnic tensions in the already troubled socio-political context of Yugoslav society. In various works and interpretations of Yugoslav authors, a clear application of the ancient sculptural form can easily be identified, as well as the use of traditional archaic symbols and abstract motifs such as the sun, mausoleum, symbolism of the hero, light, darkness, fire, use of stone, the duality, wings and horns, mounds, pyramids, pagan dances, rhythms, fantastic beasts such as sphinxes and griffins etc. Evidence of the development of such primal symbols and rituals comes mainly from prehistoric and antic people. On the other hand, those symbols represent the core of human mythical imaginations when it comes to sacred and divine places, which such monuments aim to represent. The numerous primitive symbols of the cave, fire, hand axes, and representations of animal figures probably connected these people with the rhythms of their bodies and nature, leading them to respect the forces that influence them. Such symbols are at the core of cultural identity, shaping all aspects of life. They use all sources, living and non-living, and appear in all conceivable forms: as images, metaphors, sounds and gestures, through architecture and sculpture, through ritual or custom, the objectification of myth and legend. They come from prehistoric primordial times and as such have survived recorded in the collective memory and consciousness. It was during this period that the mythical imagination was awakened and the creation of art began. The beginning of mythology and symbolism meant that people were beginning to make a connection with concepts that was deeper than their everyday experience.
4. CHOICE OF CASE STUDIES AND TYPOLOGY METHOD

The aim of this research is to represent a possible connection and continuity in the use of identified archaic, ancient and prehistoric symbolism and primitive mythology motifs in the context of 20th century Yugoslavia. Ivan Meštrović, Bogdan Bogdanović and Dušan Džamonja are chosen as the authors to be analyzed in case studies. The chosen authors are important because of their crucial role of representing Yugoslav ideology in different yet very successful ways, as they are widely considered as very important and influential, but mostly because of their different political context and interpretations of the same idea of shaping the Yugoslav culture, through approaches to sculpture and architecture and its' correlation to Yugoslav context, which can thus be considered very exceptional when it comes to researching the possible relations between ideology and aesthetics within the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Figure 2. Map with the most notable examples of memorial architecture by selected authors

Work of collecting, systematization, mapping, analyzing and forming a research typology of the author's monuments are based on two groups of criteria. The first group of monument research
criteria includes: Size of the covered territory (as part of a larger monument complex-park or individual), positioning (part of the building or independent), applied material, spatial symbolic form (visual identification of the object). The second group of criteria: Typology based on achieved primary symbolism of formal appearance using the previously collected information (identifying symbolic forms in both micro and macro scales, from ornaments to land art correlations, such as described solar motif, flame, beast, temple, water, dromos, bird, horn etc.). Research of such typology has been made through a detailed relevant case study of each author, explaining their general biographical artistic background which is, along with the, at the time, current political situation crucial in making their original artistic expression, resulting with diagram-table and accompanying map of the monuments that are the subject of research.

5. CASE STUDY: IVAN MEŠTROVIĆ

Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962) was a Yugoslav sculptor and architect. He graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Wien, and then was a professor at the art academies in Zagreb, Syracuse and South Bend. He was born into a rural Catholic family, and his religiosity was shaped since his childhood days. Meštrović grew up on the South Slavic epic tradition and epic folk poetry. Meštrović was occupied with the idea of a common Yugoslav/South Slavic epic culture, so folk poetry and mythology became an important source for his creativity. His artistic interpretation of epic folk songs had special importance in establishment and maintenance of Yugoslav identity. Emphasizing the Yugoslav identity also required the creation of a specific architectural expression. The poetics of Meštrović’s art, based on the common tradition of South Slavic peoples, had the potential to overcome inter-confessional and national differences in a common state. The period between the two wars is, despite numerous criticisms, marked as the period of Meštrović’s greatest rise. The life and activities of Ivan Meštrović were closely connected and marked by the rise and fall of the Yugoslav idea and Yugoslav cultural policies [4].

5.1. VIDOVĐAN TEMPLE

The Vidovdan temple is the first and most famous monumental work of Ivan Meštrović, an imposing sculptural-architectural composition consisting of more than eighty artifacts, supposed to be about 250m long and about 200m wide. Deeply anchored in the tradition of late symbolism and secession, the work was recognized not only as an original and exceptional example of Central European artistic movements, but also as a kind of narrative unit in which the poetic quality became indistinguishable from the political content. Conceived as a meaningful architectural framework, thematically related to the tradition of the Kosovo, its consequences and its mythologizing, the Vidovdan Temple was supposed to be raised in Gazimestan (area of the famous Battle of Kosovo) as a symbol of martyrdom and the glorious ending of the centuries-long struggle for the liberation and unification of all South Slavs. The temple was planned to be richly decorated with sculptures that would represent historical and mythical heroes and heroines, slaves and widows, who were gradually but irreversibly included in the recognizable ideological structure in the process of solving the “national question” of the South Slavs [6].

The architecture of the temple is the unique amalgam of Egyptian, Greek, Roman and Orthodox principles of building temples. The temple is considered as a reflection of the divine world, an earthly copy of the heavenly archetypes and a presentation of the cosmic image. The entrance to the temple is based on the architecture of a classic Egyptian temples, placing the high entrance door with a frieze decorated with nine symmetrically arranged horses and plinths on top, using the symbolic number nine as a motif from the poem “Death of Jugović’s mother”. The huge main gate has two smaller entrances, symmetrically on the left and right. The most striking monument of the temple is a series of caryatids (atlases) - sculptures in human (mostly female) form, which stretch...
along the entire length of the temple decorating it on both sides. The caryatids are represented as half-naked women without expressed sexual attributes presenting the symbolic interpretation of widows, mothers and sisters of fallen heroes. It can be considered that the entire monumental and neo-primitive artistic expression in Meštrović’s work relies precisely on classical Greek sculpture. The corridor was planned without a ceiling, so the sky could be seen. The main corridor ends with a five-story tower that has a square shape at its base with each floor made of twenty white marble caryatids-atlases (this time muscular men), whose dimensions decrease with each new floor, holding the floor above, symbolizing the souls of Kosovo's heroes holding the sky and watching every side of the world while rising to the heavens. Through the tower you can enter the main dome part of the temple that resembles the Roman Pantheon. Meštrović planned to decorate the interior of the temple with the main sculpture of 5m tall Marko Kraljević surrounded by multitude sculptures of epic heroes and martyrs, including Prince Lazar, Miloš Obilić, Banović Strahinja, Srdja Zlopogleđa and many other historical and non-historical characters. In addition to this large central part with a huge dome, on the left, right and front sides there are three smaller halls - niches, again vaulted with domes, that can also be entered from the outside via the stairs and the pair of entrance doors. If the temple is viewed from above, it can be clearly seen that an Orthodox cross with three equal arms is inscribed at the base of the temple surrounding the main dome. This architectural motif is taken from Orthodox church architecture, where the base of the foundation of each church looks like an inscribed isosceles cross. On the outside of the entrance there is a colonnade of columns that actually supports the caryatids that are on the inside of the main corridor. A direct connection with archaic symbolism was also established by the use of the motif of the Sphinx, which appears as one of the main motifs in Meštrović's work, as well as a planned part of the Vidovdan temple, symbolizing the guardian of the Yugoslavism and the mother of a nation whose identity did not rest on religious, ethnic, linguistic or historical differences [7]. The exterior of the temple is decorated with reliefs depicting scenes from the Battle of Kosovo in a two-dimensional technique similar to those found in ancient Egyptian and Persian art.

5.2. MONUMENT TO THE UNKNOWN HERO

The Monument to the Unknown Hero, located on Avala Mountain on the outskirts of Belgrade (Serbia), is a memorial to the suffering of Serbian people during World War I. At first it was a grave of the unknown soldier who died there during the retreat of the Serbian army in 1915. After the war, the construction of monuments in honor of unknown heroes across Europe became popular as the members of the Allied Forces began building similar monuments, which made King Aleksandar Karadordević to decide to construct a similar structure in Serbia. The monument instantly caused some nationalistic controversy, as people believed that the unknown hero who fought and died for the Kingdom of Serbia was used to propagate an idea of a unified Kingdom of Yugoslavia.
The mausoleum is reached by cascading staircase, which provide exceptional views from the base to the top of the monument. The approach to the monument is designed so that you can walk through it along the longitudinal axis of the sarcophagus, through two gates, emphasized by doubled pairs of monumental caryatids that face the passage itself, thus indicating the importance of the direction of the visitor's movement. The form of the memorial resembles a passable monumental sarcophagus raised on a five-step pedestal, a symbol of Serbia's five-century slavery under the Turks. Thus, in this monument-mausoleum, the symbolic forms and meanings of the ancient temple, altar and the tomb are permeated, making unique sarcophagus which highlights the continuity of the frequent form of grave marker, especially of rulers or important persons throughout history. In particular, the early antique tomb of the Persian ruler Cyrus in the old capital of Pasargadae, in today's Iran, served as a model for the design of this monument [8]. Moving towards the entrance, the massive sculptures of 4m high caryatids are carved from a single piece of stone made of the same material as the stone blocks of the monument, designed as dressed in different folk clothes of Yugoslav people decorated with rich jewelry. Monumental barefoot female guardians, with a dignified and unemotional expression and attitude, calm and serious, but non-static, standing in contrapposto (one leg loosely supported), with arms close to the body in various positions. They are youthful, eternally young women, symbols of the mothers of all fallen warriors who refer to the ideas of eternal, timeless glory and the idea of Yugoslavia, the unification of all nationalities in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The symbolism of the guardian caryatid is also reflected in connection with the female archetype as a symbol of safety and (new) birth. In this sense, the grave becomes a place of metamorphosis of body into spirit and rebirth, in this case the birth of a nation. The tomb with the remains of the unknown hero is located in the crypt, underneath the monument. The inscription at the top of the sarcophagus reads, “Aleksandar I King of Yugoslavia to the Unknown Hero” [9].

6. CASE STUDY: BOGDAN BOGDANOVIĆ

Bogdan Bogdanović (1922-2010) was an acclaimed architect, professor, philosopher and writer famous for the dozens of anti-fascist sculptural monuments and commemorative works that he created across the the Yugoslav region from the 1950s to the late 1980s. In his monumental work, he steered away from employing either traditionalist or modernist aesthetics, and instead opted to utilize ancient symbols and motifs from ancient and neolithic cultures. This gave his work a sense of timelessness and connection to the past while still being firmly rooted in the present. Very important formative influence came from his erudite reading of the history of art and architecture, anthropology, mythology, ethnology and religion, which provided a rich background in his built and literary work. Based on the development of archaic visual forms, Bogdanović introduced complex symbolism and humanistic meanings into the sculptures. His monuments throughout the Yugoslav territory became general symbols of war horrors and suffering, which, by design, transcended dogmatic-ideological and republican-national frameworks. Bogdanović himself has never denied that the confidence he had with the ruling Communist Party was necessary in order to realize his works: “Architects were always building churches, mosques and monuments for the ruling regime. They were building for the Pope, sultans, kings. When you look at this architectural richness, you are not thinking for whom it is built, it is important that it's built” [10].

6.1. SLOBODIŠTE MEMORIAL COMPLEX

This memorial in Kruševac (Serbia) commemorates the hundreds Partisan soldiers and civilians that were executed in the city between 1941 and 1944 during the German occupation of Yugoslavia.
There are four originally planned primary areas spread across the complex's 13.5 hectares: Valley of the living ones, Solar Gate, The Home of Slobodište (Owl) and the Amphitheatre. The whole complex has the symbolism of a temple (lobby, entrance, hall and sanctuary), the basic relief elements are mounds, and the entire space is shaped in arches and circles. The modernity of the composition is an astonishing synthesis of a complex interlacement of symbolic interpretations. Monumentality is dealt with a very sophisticated and conceptual approach where still the result is a shocking short circuit between archaic and contemporary. When Slobodište was erected its completely disruptive and new formula for the existing memorial scene in Yugoslavia gain attention, especially because of its main topic consisting in a very deep manipulation of the landscape. The architectural design is embodied in the nature itself which is clearly visible in two artificially modeled craters representing a large symbol of Infinity. The courageous the choice of the architect put this memorial very close to land art since the large scale of the symbol (slopes reach 16 meters of height) seems to create a metaphysical dialogue with elements of the environment (sky, land, wind) and at the same time, being mimetic, is silently immanent in the landscape stimulating a deep reflection about eternity into the visitor [11].

Bogdanović designed each element of this complex to be part of an otherworldly journey for the viewer. Firstly, the “Solar Gate” is clearly representative of a passage into the other world, defined with the Gate as the portal from the profane to the sacred environment, especially as it is directly set into the mass-graves mounds where the executed victims of Kruševac are interred. Formal similarity inspired author Vladimir Vuković to compare the stone gate to the reverse omega sign. Omega is the last letter of the Greek alphabet, which in our culture has a universal meaning of the end. Bogdanović, reverting the symbol, turning it upside down, used the principle of anagram, and can be interpreted as the end, which, in terms of the eternal renewal of nature, marks a new beginning. From that perspective, Bogdanović seems to be leading the visitor on a symbolic journey through a “door” out of the realm of living and into the realm of the afterlife. Then, as you walk up the path, you reach the “Valley of the Living Ones” which is dominated by a series of emerging stone wings or “horned birds”, as Bogdanović used to call them [12]. There is a flock of 12 stone birds aiming towards the sky, and at the entrance there is a circular stone with the inscription "Under this sky, man, stand up". In fact, it is the symbolic liberation of souls from those executed victims escaping their mass graves, rising up finally into that afterlife, representing a clear semantic association of freedom, flight and hope as the core of its symbolic meaning. The wings are engraved with various abstract forms and designs. The design of these wing sculptures evolved from his conceptual studies of the sacred bull motifs of the Minoan civilization, which he eventually remodeled into the shape that we now see at the memorial site [11].

6.2. MAUSOLEUM OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY

This memorial in Čačak (Serbia) commemorates the over 4,600 Partisan fighters and civilians who died during the World War II in battles during the liberation of Čačak. The primary element of the memorial complex is a 12m tall stone and wood triple-parted megaron monument, adorned with 620 carved heads of mythological beasts - gryphons. A long stone-paved pathway runs through the middle of the monument making it passable. Ancient Greek megaron organization has its own symbolic meaning with numerous sources indicating that it was used in
two central ways: first and foremost, it was used for religious ceremonies, initially structurally
designed to allow for religious ceremonies to be held in the central room of the building while also
being used to support residents as a dwelling space. Just downhill from the megaron, there is a much
smaller dolmen-like structure sitting in front of a 5m tall mass burial mound, where hundreds of the
fallen soldiers and civilians killed in Čačak during the war are interred [13]. Considering
Bogdanović’s deep interest in the idea of physical/celestial alignment and his history of writing
about ancient traditions, the very interesting way of positioning of the memorial can be noticed. The
whole complex is actively engaged with the surrounding landscape in some context of alignment,
overlooking the city with special correlation with Sun during summer and winter solstice, dates that
have deep symbolic meaning across many cultures, recognized and celebrated since the stone age,
operating as one of the oldest human holidays. Another way in which author Vladimir Vuković
suggests the triple gates of this mausoleum can be understood as a series of portals which lead the
viewer through a journey into the afterlife to experience and explore the places of darkness and
horrors of war. Each of these portals, Vuković explains, is constructed of stone carved creatures
topped by a clay-tile roof, giving the appearance that the portals are destroyed homes infested by
demons. Yet, as you are led along the path through the darkness of these portals, the light of hope
and freedom can be seen beckoning from the other end [14].

Figure 7. Mausoleum of Struggle and Victory in Čačak (Left: Gryphon heads ornaments, Right:
Megaron architecture of the Mausoleum)

Bogdanović often explored this concept of using his monuments to take visitors on a journey through
the afterlife in order to facilitate their connection with the dead. Finally, one of the most fascinating
and unusual aspects of this monument is its series of hundreds of gryphon heads carved of stone
which are set into the side of the megaron/temple. Usage of wild or mythological beasts in temple
decorations is a common praxis from the earliest times of human history [12].

7. CASE STUDY: DUŠAN DŽAMONJA

Dušan Džamonja (1928-2009) was one of the most influential and visionary sculptural artists during
the days of the socialist Yugoslav era. While the early work of his career was figurative, by the late
1950s he began to experiment with sculptural approaches of “free spatial construction” that
combined the organic and inorganic worlds. Through this method, he would take inorganic materials
such as metal, glass, stone or concrete, from which he would sculpt forms that resemble the organic
world, while, at the same time, also taking organic materials like wood and crafting them into form-
defying inorganic creations. Furthermore, Džamonja concentrated on combining simple shapes and
forms (such as curves, spheres and ovids) into highly complex and inspiring designs. In that way,
he used solar and circular prehistoric motifs using combination of two main materials – symbol of
duality. Its forms are clear and feasible, both as macro-urban units and as visionary projects, not
only monumental but also utilitarian architecture. [14].
7.1. MONUMENT TO REVOLUTION OF PEOPLE OF MOSLAVINA

This monument in Podgarić (Croatia) was built to commemorate the community's rebellion and uprising against fascist occupying forces in the greater Moslavina and Zagreb region during the World War II [15].

The primary element of the monument complex is a large winged abstract sculpture, about 10m tall and 20m wide, with a central sphere plated in aluminum panels. Along the approach pathway to this sculpture is a series of earthen mound crypts which house the remains of the roughly 900 fallen Partisans. Through the middle of the mounds is a concrete portal-like archway, at the center of which is an engraved bronze plaque. According to Džamonja, the primary intention of the monument was to represent the “wings of victory” overcoming death and defeat, an overt allusion to the Partisan rebel's conquest over the invading occupiers. It is interesting to note that the “wings” of the sculpture are asymmetrical, with one wing having two edges, while the other has three. This imbalance gives the sculpture a dynamic shape, as if the wings are in motion or as if it is a giant bird preparing to take flight. Meanwhile, the ribbed square base which grounds the sculpture is described by some sources as representing the conduit into the landscape from which the “wings of victory” derive their energy, as if the sculpture itself absorbs the spirit of those fighters who perished here. It seems that the basic idea was to make the monument as impressive and monumental as possible. The sculpture is given the primary role, it is essential, basically the most important component of the project cycle, and everything is subordinate to it. Visible from all sides, strong contours and lines in concrete symbolize dynamics, flight and power, while the metal core is a poetic transposition of firmness and unity. The location of the monument has the following important features: elevation, dominance over the rest of the landscape, visibility from all sides, along with numerous variants and possibilities for approaching it [14]. It was a deliberate effort to guide the visitor along a circuitous route to the monument from a desire that his interest gradually grows as he approaches it, obliging him to see it and experienced from different sides, which would not be achieved along a straight direct route. Meanwhile, deeper symbolic meaning of elements of the site can be observed which hint at various potential artistic inspirations from a range of ancient and historical world cultures [15].

7.2. MONUMENT TO THE REVOLUTION - KOZARA

This monument in Mrakovica (Bosnia and Herzegovina) on the Kozara mountain is dedicated to the Partisan fighters, fallen soldiers and civilian victims who died in the bloody Kozara Offensive in the spring of 1942 [16].

The monument complex consists of three main elements, the primary monument structure, a memorial wall to the rear of the monument and a small museum. The primary monument is a cylindrical monolith approximately 33m tall, comprised of 20 vertical fins with intermittent curved bulges whose outer-faces are covered in strips of polished stainless steel. Džamonja conceived the monument complex in two parts - the access and central plateau of the monument, which are spatially separated by 200 meters and visually divided by a forest barrier and height difference. Since a wide staircase leads through the forest from the access plateau to the monument, Džamonja has thereby achieved the psychological preparation of the visitor, whose view of the monument is clearly growing, that is, it is slowly rising in front of him as he approaches the top. The monument is composed of twenty vertical segments that form a cylindrical whole. Each of the segments is profiled with deep cutouts, protrusions of the motif in the negative, which in the total sum of the whole have a symbolic meaning. While indented and shadow-covered negatives symbolize death, positives represent victory and life. An additional impression on the positives was achieved by incorporating stainless steel lamellas, which added a dimension of light to life that contrasted with the negatives that are in the shadows [16]. The horizontally placed blocks, which are placed around the central monument, symbolize the pressure and aggression of the enemy who tries with brute force, but fails to destroy the life and victory that rise to the sky, embodied in the vertical monument. Meanwhile, the tall narrow fins that make up the circular chimney-like tower are spaced in such a way that the average person is able to just barely squeeze into the hollow center of the structure. Inside this strange environment, one feels trapped, confined and encircled, almost as though some dark and oppressive force is bearing down upon you.
This imposing atmosphere forces one to recall the similar oppressive feeling of the Axis forces bearing down on Partisan rebels and peasant fighters at this spot during the Battle of Kozara. Then, as you look upwards through the eerie tunnel-scape of the tower, the circle theme is seen again at the top of the monument where all of the fins converge, which reinforces not only the claustrophobic nature of the structure, but also seems to be a reference to the traditional kolo (circular) folk dance which is historically significant in the Kozara region [15]. This is a very illustrative example of how the intangible cultural heritage, common to all South Slavic peoples, is translated into a material architectural symbolic form. In fact, up until the 1990s, an integral part of celebratory events at this monument was performing large kolo dances in the grassy field in front of the sculpture [16].

8. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND VALORIZATION

Symbols are at the core of cultural identity. As such, they have power to write history, connect the incompatible, shape reality. The role of memorial architecture can be interpreted as an instrument for building community awareness, its way of communicating with its own past. Symbols play a vital role as objects on which thoughts and prayers can be focused or representations of beliefs imprinted in the cultural identity. The common bearer of memory becomes a symbol - a monument, meaningful and easily understood by all people, which even in very wide circles of free association, even when talking about death - betrays faith in life and humanity in general, showing strong bond of Yugoslav unity in order to overcome the horrors of the wars. A common method in the design of memorial complexes and the monuments themselves was reflected in the ancient doctrines of temple architecture. In this way, special ambient units would be singled out and would lead the visitor on a personal transcendental journey. In this sense, the memorial becomes a place of a mystical rite of “transition” between worlds, contact with the spirit of the ancestors and the homeland, thereby contributing to the strengthening of national identity.
Table 2. Comparative typology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>author</th>
<th>Ivan Meštrović</th>
<th>Bogdan Bogdanović</th>
<th>Dušan Džamonja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>memorial</td>
<td>Vidovdan temple (unbuilt)</td>
<td>Monument to the Unknown Hero</td>
<td>Slobodište memorial complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mausoleum of Struggle and Victory</td>
<td>Monument to Revolution of People of Moslavina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location</td>
<td>Gazimestan (Serbia)</td>
<td>Avala (Serbia)</td>
<td>Kruševac (Serbia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>territory</td>
<td>individual</td>
<td>individual</td>
<td>complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>independent</td>
<td>independent</td>
<td>group of memorials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>material</td>
<td>mostly stone</td>
<td>gabbro granite stone</td>
<td>carved stone blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>form-shape</td>
<td>temple</td>
<td>mausoleum</td>
<td>mounds, birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary symbols</td>
<td>temple, caryatides, sphinx, heroes, female motif, myth of Kosovo, sky</td>
<td>temple, mausoleum, unknown hero, female motif, caryatides, pedestal</td>
<td>horns, gate, sun, mounds, birds, temple, omega</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comparable symbolic influence examples for analysis</td>
<td>Erechtheion, 5th century BC (Greece)</td>
<td>Tomb of Cyrus, 6th century BC (Iran)</td>
<td>Minoian Horns of consecration, 15th century BC (Greece)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The symbolism of natural phenomena, flora and fauna has been essential to symbolic conceptualization since protohistoric times. Especially significant are animals, which acquire new forms and mythological characteristics and as such are especially worshiped and placed in the rank of deities or guardian spirits. Throughout history, the role of mythological beasts has been to guard and protect, so they are associated with places such as temples, treasuries or cemeteries (monuments) or are often represented on weapons, money and vases. In Meštrović's work, the Sphinx stands out as an important motif. In Egypt, sphinxes were represented in stone sculptures in the form of a reclining lion with a human head. It is often the case that the sphinx is positioned so that it always watches over significant necropolises. Furthermore, Sphinxes had an important place in Greek mythology, where the motif of a sphinx with wings appears (like Meštrović's sculpture).

Inspired by ancient architecture, Meštrović used entire architectural forms or individual elements from the archaic period in both analyzed cases. Vidovdan temple is consisting of various interpretations of Egyptian, Greek, Roman and even Orthodox architecture. The entrance gate and long hypostyle hall of caryatids is a mixture of Ancient Greek and Egyptian architecture, while the large “pantheonic” dome surrounded with three smaller ones can be found in the architecture of the orthodox churches. For the Avala monument in particular, the early antique tomb of the Persian ruler Cyrus in the old capital of Pasargadae, in today's Iran, served as a model for the design [8]. Representations of human pillars (caryatids or atlases), that appear all around Vidovdan temple and guard the entrance of the Avala monument, have their origin rooted in the tradition of ancient Greece, and certainly the most famous preserved example are the caryatids from the Erechtheion temple on the Athenian Acropolis. They might not only be holding the ceiling, but especially in the case of Vidovdan temple, the ceiling is negated – representing the sky (heaven) is what they are carrying and striving for. The sky is a key universal symbol that represents the direct manifestation of transcendence, power, eternity and holiness. It is a metaphor for heaven, the home of gods and
immortals, in this case emphasizing the greatness of the sacrifice of Kosovo's heroes and martyrs whose figures rise to the heavens. In fact, it is a common case of painting the ceilings of pagan temples with heavenly objects and symbols, thereby evoking the importance, mysticism and sanctity of the place itself. Ancient architecture influence can also be seen in numerous Bogdanović’s works. In particular, organization and architecture of monuments in both examples shown in the case study are related to archaic archetypal doctrines. While the monument in Čačak shows an example of ancient megaron architectural organization, arguably precisely following the surrounding views and positions of the celestial events, in the case of Slobodište the complex is organized by the influences of protohistoric mound shapes, evoking the chthonic ambience of the place.

Figure 9. Sphinx motif continuity (from left to right: Egyptian, Persian, Greek, Meštrović)

In Bogdanović's work, griffins and "horned" birds stand out as crucial symbolic sculptural forms of beasts. Similar carved zoomorphic heads can be seen in the temples of southeast Asia, specifically Angkor Wat, or in the temples of the Mayans, with the most famous example being the Temple of Kukulcan at Chichen Itza, which is decorated with a series of serpent heads. Interestingly, the Kukulcan example is a notable comparison not only because of its serpent heads, but also because the Mayan temple is a structure that, like the Čačak mausoleum, is designed around the idea of alignment with surrounding landmarks and celestial events. The griffin, as a representative of these mythological beasts, is present in almost all ancient cultures, even though they originate from the East, most likely from the territory of the ancient Scythians. It is a mythical four-legged winged monster, the size of a wolf, with the legs and claws of a lion and the head of an eagle. Grifhons were considered dangerous demons, who were servants of the gods, and over time they lost their chthonic character and turned into a symbol of wisdom. Since these miraculous creatures combine the strongest bird (eagle) and the strongest quadruped (lion), they have become a symbol of the greatest animal strength [17]. The Gryphon symbol is recognizable in almost every culture. To the Persians, Babylonians and Assyrians, the griffin has the head, wings and claws of an eagle (a symbol of alertness and keenness) and the body of a lion (a symbol of strength). In ancient Greece, he was sacred to Apollo (the sun), Athena (wisdom) and Nemesis (threat-revenge). The symbol of the grYPHON has made its way from the far mystical East to Christian symbolism. In medieval Europe, the griffin represented the strength, protection and power of the sun, so it was also interpreted as a symbol of Christ himself and the resurrection (especially in heraldry) [18]. On the other hand, the motif of a flock of stone birds in Slobodište unequivocally symbolizes the ascension and “flight” of the souls of the dead to heaven, the final victory of life over death. Since the earliest protohistory, there has always been a close connection between the human soul and the stone. Stone is a material of extraordinary symbolism in folk beliefs related to the soul of the deceased, which is believed to continue living in the tombstone after the physical death. It is particularly significant for the Bogomil and Stećak culture in the territory of Yugoslavia, which is closely related to the controversies surrounding the establishment of the Yugoslav identity and is often promoted through art as the national religion of the Yugoslavs [19].

Figure 10. Gryphon motif continuity (from left to right: Minoian, Persian, Orthodox, Bogdanović)
The shape of the Bogdanović’s stone birds evolved from his conceptual studies of the “Horns of Consecration”, mysterious symbol of the Minoan civilization probably representing horns of the sacred bull, which he eventually remodeled into the shape of the birds (wings) that we now see at Slobodište [13]. The symbolic motif of Đžamonja's “wings of victory” has a striking resemblance to the ancient symbol of the “winged sun”, a motif which was used across a wide range of archaic civilizations (Egypt, Persia, Assyria). Continuously observing these cultures, the symbol is generally representing the solar motif in function of communicating holiness, energy, power and supreme divinity. The archetypal symbol of the winged sun, which occupies a central place in Đžamonja's work, stands out as particularly interesting. In many cultures, the symbol of the spherical Sun is compared to the all-seeing divine eye, the principle of authority and great power. It is the eye of the the Egyptian god Ra, Greek god Zeus, later the Roman Jupiter, the Hindu Varuna and the Scandinavian Odin [19].

![Figure 11. Winged solar disc motif continuity (from left to right: Assyrian, Egyptian, Đžamonja)](image)

This connection between the Sun and the deity is archetypal and cults dedicated to the Sun are common in archaic traditions. While there are many interesting examples of ancient sun discs that bear stylistic similarities to Đžamonja's sculpture, one of the most interesting is a 9th century BC Assyrian relief carving which depicts the warrior Gilgamesh with a winged sun disk held above his head by two representations of Gugalanna, the Bull of Heaven. The idea of a direct connection to heaven and divinity is a common symbolic thread among ancient depictions of sun discs and is a theme that directly relates to the events memorialized in the Podgarić monument [14]. Furthermore, numerous ancient cultures use extended wings to symbolize the protective forces of heaven. Most notably, in ancient Egypt, the goddess Isis, who is generally depicted with spread falcon wings, was the deity who carried lost souls into the afterlife and had the ability to resurrect the dead.

9. CONCLUSION

Based on the material analyzed in the case studies, results of this research show that selected celebrated Yugoslav memorial architecture authors, both architects and sculptors, were extremely inspired by adoption of archetypal ancient and proto-historic symbolic motifs. Although these symbols are spatially manifested in the most diverse forms, from ornamentation to land art, the key to their symbolic function is created through archetypal thoughts and feelings, a specific product of collective memory, so that their essential concept and meaning can be in that way fully understood. Through presented examples, this research indicates that various archetypal archaic symbols had specific cultural and political significance in shaping the Yugoslav identity in both of the two different contexts under socio-politically different periods and regimes. It is particularly interesting to point out the socialist context where, with the key use of archaic symbolism for the purpose of narration and emphasizing the Yugoslav national consciousness, the authors very successfully avoided the use of direct and concrete religious and ethnic motives of the people of Yugoslavia, thus linking them to the pagan archetypal archaic images of the general human collective memory, this time through the new interpretation of the original modernist expression. The design approach used by all the mentioned authors is significant because it represents a unique example of author's artistic interpretation of a previously known symbol, specifically fitting it into a contemporary context. The present motifs were used exclusively to strengthen the sense of belonging to the community of the new context of the Yugoslav nation and ideology.

LITERATURE
