

## Universal Value in the Age of Inclusive Heritage Protection Between the Judgement and Management of World Heritage in Serbia

### ABSTRACT

The preservationist discipline in Serbia has followed European, later broader international norms and concepts since the rise of the Serbian Enlightenment in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The peak of international collaboration and implementation of world-spread doctrines coincided with the emergence of the World Heritage List. The first site from Serbia, Stari Ras and Sopoćani, was included in the World Heritage List in the third session of 1979 as one of the early examples of what would be recognized as the cultural landscape in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The criteria for nomination were still rooted in the traditional valorization methods; in the first place, the unique medieval architectural forms and the aesthetic qualities of fresco paintings. The emergence of more elusive and inclusive criteria, resulting from the Nara convention, opened a new field for rethinking the already-recognized values and the boundaries of the existing cultural properties in the World Heritage List, but also those that could be potentially nominated. The problem is that broadening and loosening up the valorization criteria allowed suspiciously educated owners of cultural properties, along with greedy developers, to impose their own visions for the management of heritage with no respect to preservationist experts and institutions. This arrogant attitude leads to the question of how the Serbian post-communist intellectuals address the current standing of the Enlightenment in Serbian culture and society.

### KEYWORDS

Universal value, orthodoxy and enlightenment, inclusivity and management, architectural culture, criticism of the power of judgment

With the emergence of the Enlightenment, the spread of sciences and democratic political systems inspired a rebellion against religious authority, which had been considered unquestionable until then. Art and architecture, previously celebrating Jesus Christ exclusively for more than fifteen centuries, became exposed to new evaluations and judgments by the modern aesthetics discipline.<sup>1</sup> Parallely, the focus on recognizing artistic values shifted towards secular and profane, namely mundane themes. A similar shift occurred in the preservationist field from the birth of the discipline in the nineteenth century until today. At first, architectural conservation concentrated on monumental, mainly commemorative and religious objects, evaluated and classified according to styles. Later, the interest opened toward everyday objects, from vernacular, ephemeral, and pragmatic edifices to urban conglomerations. With the rise of the international network within the shield of the United Nations, several conventions, starting with the Venice Charter of 1964<sup>2</sup> contributed to the spatial diversification of heritage, leading to the broad concept of cultural landscape. Parallely, the focus on vernacular, urban, and everyday gradually slipped from non-teleological to pseudo-ecological. The emphasis shifted toward sustainability and political correctness, concentrating on race and gender dichotomies. Today, preservationists around the globe have almost lost interest in the esthetic judgment as it had been thought about until poststructuralism. At the same time, the notion of universal value keeps on preoccupying the profession, almost obsessed with the World Heritage List. The question is how the elusive valorization of the hard-to-define scope of inclusive objects-scapes-concepts corresponds to the quest to recognize the universal value and who manages that value after all.

The intellectual framework of post-colonialism has been instrumental in promoting new heritage genres. The critique of long-lasting white male Christian oppression influenced the character of nominations for the World Heritage List. The Nara Document of 1994<sup>3</sup> has questioned any fixed predestined criteria for evaluating the authenticity of cultural artifacts beyond the particular cultural context within which they are being recognized. As a result, numerous new types of heritage, previously invisible to Western man, were codified and included in the arsenal of World Heritage. On the other hand, traditional Western heritage landmarks, especially medieval Christian architecture, hardly found a place in the nomination procedures in recent decades. One reason is that most have already been listed and preserved at the national and international levels in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, while another lies in the fact that the Western Christian predominance, supported by the ideology of medieval

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- 1 The theme of aesthetics has given a framework for the Enlightenment ever since Immanuel Kant's Critique of Judgement was published in 1790 – the keystone of modern aesthetics scholarship and philosophy in general.
  - 2 The Venice Charter was adopted by the International Congress of Architect and Technicians of Historic Monuments, held in Venice in 1964. Since its foundation in 1965, ICOMOS has performed as the custodian of the Venice Charter; thereby, it can be found on the ICOMOS website.
  - 3 The Nara Document has been prepared as the homage and further elaboration of the Venice Charter to challenge, adjust, and extend the rigid, European-centric notion of authenticity to meet the needs of the post-colonial world. Discussed in H. Stovel, *Origins and Influence of the Nara Document on Authenticity*, APT Bulletin 39 2/3 (2008) 9–17.

nation-states, needs to be reevaluated. As a result, the modernist and industrial heritage typologies<sup>4</sup> surpassed opportunities in evaluating older heritage in the Western world, pulling back to give more space to non-Western, more inclusive, post-colonial cultural landscapes.

Let us consider the early stage of nominations to the World Heritage List, from their original inscriptions to the current state of reevaluation. The earliest inscriptions from former Yugoslavia date back to the time of inauguration. The question immediately goes back to the nature and geographies of the first inscriptions and how the scholars from various countries in charge of the time were connected while deciding to include specific properties in the early Heritage List. The inscription of 1979 included Stari Ras and Sopoćani region,<sup>5</sup> at that time in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, later in the independent Republic of Serbia – the state considered neither liberal nor progressive by the international community since the early 1990s. From today's perspective, while celebrating a half-century since the convention, it seems provoking to what extent this early nomination, made by a Serbian team of preservationists, already anticipated and implemented the twenty-year-later focus on the notion of the cultural landscape. The Stari Ras and Sopoćani,<sup>6</sup> included in the nomination dossier, covered a vast area defined by the boundaries of fifteen cadastral entities of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, gravitating toward the municipal center of Novi Pazar. According to the Serbian heritage protection law of the time, it has been considered a spatial-cultural-historic entity<sup>7</sup> of extraordinary importance.<sup>8</sup> How does this concept overlap with the later post-colonial notion of the cultural landscape? Serbia was historically never a colonial power but was colonized by the Eastern or Western empires since the late Middle Ages. Its ambiguous political image after the Fall of the Berlin Wall could have shadowed the outstanding universal values of Stari Ras and Sopoćani, as defined by its original inscription. On the other hand, broadening the concept of a spatial-historic-cultural-entity to the level of the cultural landscape inspired new reinterpretation of monuments and sites within the original Stari Ras region as the seed of the medieval Serbian state of Raška.

The Stari Ras and Sopoćani World Heritage Site includes numerous archeological topoi and monumental edifices, which depict life in the early Serbian medieval state run by the Nemanjić dynasty. There is clear evidence that the Church of Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, included in the strict protection zone adjacent to Đurđevi Stupovi Monastery

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4 There is a large chain of industrial heritage proclaimed with the seat of management in Völkinger Hütte, The Iron Works inscribed in the World List in 1994, converted into the European Center for Art and Industrial Culture. It is a central spot of the ERIH-a, the European Route of Industrial Heritage.

5 Included in the List after the Third Session of the World Heritage Committee, it had a blurry status from the dissolution of Yugoslavia until the Republic of Serbia became a member of ICOMOS.

6 P. Špehar, N. Debljović-Ristić, O. Špehar, *Stari (Old) Ras and Sopoćani: Challenges and Opportunities in Managing UNESCO Cultural Heritage*, *Analecta Archaeologica Ressorviencia* 13 (2018) 135–154.

7 The definition of PKIC-prostorno-kulturno-istorijska-celina (spatial-cultural-historic-entity) was legitimized in *Službeni glasnik* 1977.

8 The state-edited law herald has also declared heritage classification on three levels: from basic and valuable to the extraordinary importance.

in the nomination dossier, served as the episcopal seat during the Nemanja's rule. Yet, there are only assumptions of where the main urban center, the capital city of Nemanjićs Raška state with its court, was situated concerning this episcopal seat. The most persuasive idea is that the court was positioned at the archeological site of Postenje, adjacent to the Holy Apostles. Yet, archeological research has never reached a level where this assumption could be proven. Today, Serbian medieval monuments listed as Stari Ras and Sopoćani gravitate towards Novi Pazar, a city established by the Ottomans after the fall of the Serbian state. There is an assumption that Novi Pazar had existed before the Ottoman conquest and that Ottomans only enlarged the existing settlement, developing a new layer of cultural and historical identity – a variety of monuments, including the old *çarşi*, citadel, and Altun Alem mosque. Sadly, the inscription of Stari Ras and Sopoćani in the World Heritage List treats Novi Pazar only as the buffer zone (fig. 1), but if the link between the older layers of Byzantine and Serbian settlements had been tied to the later layer of the Ottoman city of Novi Pazar and more emphasized in the nomination, the municipal authorities of today might have paid more attention to the conditions of the entire diverse cultural landscape they are responsible for.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, in times of diverse immaterial heritage types, the customs overlapping between the Serbian Christian and Muslim populations give Novi Pazar and its surroundings a specific vibrancy due to the mixture of intrinsic traditions and the ways they have been modernized to serve the current day need hardly seen in any other urban center in the Balkans. Let us only mention the meals such as Buda's vial from Tourist Home Sopoćani kitchen and "mantie" pastry from Novi Pazar *çarşi*. Plus, one can visit one of the most authentic open flea markets, at least in the Balkans, where copies of new brands of jeans and other commodities cost a bargain. An entire textile industry has developed from knowledge to copy the original superiorly. It could become a new immaterial value to question the authenticity of the prevailing consumer society in the elusive list of the values within the World Heritage Sites, which could add value to the already recognized universal value in the nomination dossier of Stari Ras and Sopoćani.

Originally, addressing the early Serbian past of Raška, the evaluation of the Holy Apostles Episcopal Church dating back to early Christian times, and the authenticity and quality of art and architecture of the two monasteries Sopoćani and Đurđevi Stupovi from the Nemanjićs era that have been emphasized in the nomination dossier (fig. 2).

"The Sopoćani paintings are works of the most refined purity and quality in the Byzantine art of the period. The talented artist of the Byzantine school in Sopoćani at the beginning of the second part of the 13<sup>th</sup> century produced a work which, through the simple, serene, and perfect harmony of its features, integrated into the established concept of monumental art, has never been equaled in the medieval art of eastern Europe. It is of immeasurable significance in the artistic heritage of Serbian and Yugoslav art. Without this work, the history of the entire development of Byzantine and

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9 Although the World Heritage Site has been listed under the title of Stari Ras and Sopoćani, not Sopoćani and Đurđevi Stupovi, the monasteries have been the nuclei with strict protection regimes within the larger buffer zone.



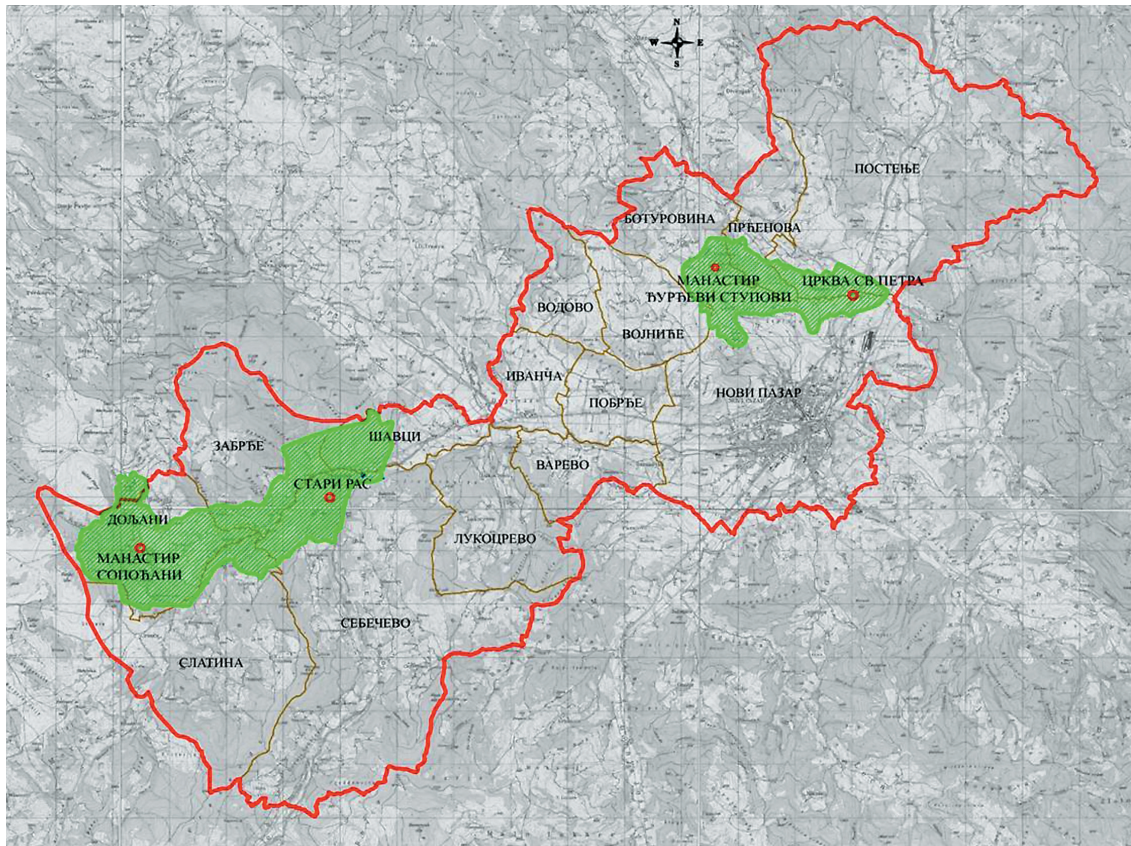


Fig. 1

Stari Ras and Sopoćani, protected areas and buffer zones

(P. Špehar, N. Debljović-Ristić, O. Špehar, Stari (Old) Ras and Sopoćani: Challenges and Opportunities in Managing UNESCO Cultural Heritage, *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviencia* 13, 138.)



Fig. 2

The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Sopoćani monastery (13<sup>th</sup> century)

(© N. D. Ristić)



European art in the 13<sup>th</sup> century would be incomplete, and Yugoslav art during this period would be deprived of the masterpiece.<sup>10</sup>

The power of this statement relies on the Art History discipline, which would not have existed without the framework of Enlightenment and Kant's Critique of Judgement as the keystone. The question is how the post-colonial, non-Western-centric valorization of cultural heritage has overcome the original premises rooted in European background. The case of Stari Ras and Sopoćani has shown that the outstanding value has been preserved to the extent pointed out in the nomination dossier and based on the evaluation of the Art History discipline – the fresco painting of Sopoćani has been preserved and maintained mostly by the government funds until the present day.<sup>11</sup> The rest of the outstanding values that had been recognized still depend on the dialogue between the owner, namely the Serbian Orthodox Church, and the state government officials.<sup>12</sup> The heritage tissue within the broader boundaries of a World Heritage Site waits for some instant management solution, as it has hardly been visited by tourists or appreciated by the local population.

Inspired by more recent nominations related to the emergence of the Modern Movement, such as the Architectural Work of Le Corbusier,<sup>13</sup> an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement or the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright,<sup>14</sup> the notion of continuous territory embracing a World Heritage Site has been changed; the objects included in the dossier are not only physically distant from each other but often cross the national borders and continents. Accordingly, the idea of preserving the most precious art and architectural records of the Serbian medieval state under Nemanjićs, namely the monasteries of Raška Style, could be clustered in a new nomination dossier, with the strict boundary codes defined separately around each monastery and only vaguely embraced within the boundaries of Nemanjić's Serbia. This new nomination could maintain the status of Sopoćani and Đurđevi Stupovi monasteries, but also another monastery established by Duke Nemanja, Studenica Monastery with its surroundings, inscribed in the World Heritage List in 1986. The nearby Gradac Monastery, with its outstanding architectural features, Monastery Žiča,

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10 WHC documentation nomination, identification number 96, date of inscription October 26, 1979, 8. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/96/> (accessed September 2023).

11 The expert team led by Branislav Živković left the most impact on the restoration of fresco paintings in Sopoćani depicted in *Sopoćani – crteži fresaka*, Beograd 1984.

12 The monastic communities of Sopoćani and Đurđevi Stupovi have been revitalized and strengthened since the inscription in the List. The restoration of the architecture of Sopoćani Catholicon, along with the archeological investigation and conservation of the inwalled monastic dwellings, which dated back to 1926 and were intensified in the 1960's reached its peak in the 1980s after the inscription. The same could be said about the archeological research and restoration of the architecture of Đurđevi Stupovi. Architect Olivera Kandić was a leading preservationist of Sopoćani; see the monograph O. Kandić, *Sopoćani: history and architecture of the monastery*, Belgrade 2016. Professor Jovan Nešković was a key architect in restoring Đurđevi Stupovi and a leading figure in creating the nomination dossier; V. J. Nešković, *Đurđevi Stupovi u Starom Rasu*, Kraljevo 1984.

13 The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1321/>, Inscribed in 2016 (accessed September 2023).

14 The 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1496>, Inscribed in 2019 (accessed September 2023).

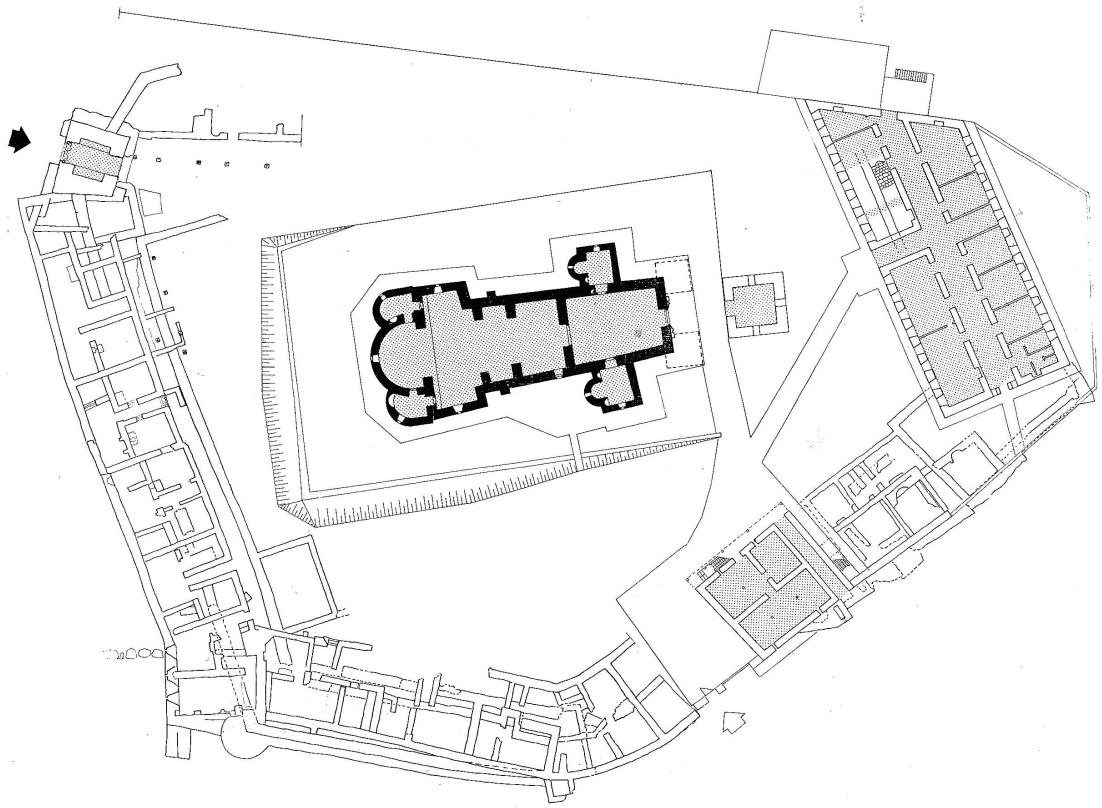


Fig. 3

Floor plan of the Mileševa Monastery after archaeological research

(Manastir Mileševa, istraživanje i obnova, Beograd-Prijepolje 1995, 17)

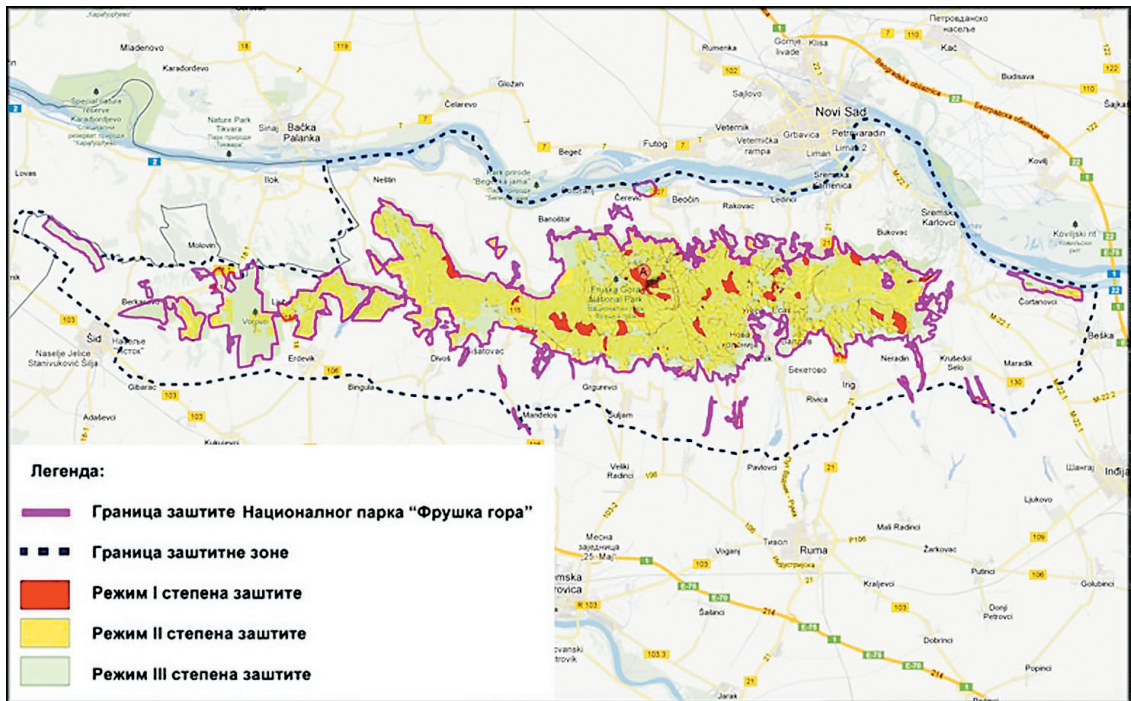


Fig. 4

Boundaries of the National Park Fruška Gora

(Geografija.rs/zasticena-podrucja/zasticena-podrucja-zasticena-podrucja/nacionalni-parkovi/nacionalni-park-fruska-gora-proglasenje-i-zone-zastite/)

where Nemanja's son Stephan received the crown from the Pope as first the Serbian King, Mileševa Monastery as the burial place of the first Serbian archbishop St. Sava – to mention only the prime list – express the outstanding architectural features of Raška Style churches and also include a gallery of fresco paintings hardly comparable to anything similar seen in the Christian world of the time. Therefore, they all deserve a place on the World Heritage List as representatives of Raška style architecture and painting, expressing the historical era of Nemanjić dynasty. Assuming there is only one owner of all the potentially inscribed monasteries, the Serbian Orthodox Church, and that the state government, along with the institutions for preservation, regularly maintains the most precious national properties, the management of this cluster of monasteries as a potential World Heritage Site seems promising. Yet, the rising power of the Serbian Orthodox Church, after the ideology of atheism had suppressed it for over forty years, has started questioning the theories and practices of secular preservation doctrines and policies. Moreover, the overall poststructuralist attack on the rational doctrines of the Enlightenment since the early 1990s has contributed to the confusion about the place of the Serbian intellectual elite regarding the Serbian church authorities.

An illustrative example of this confusion can be found in Mileševa Monastery, established by King Vladislav, the second son of Stefan the First Crowned and the grandson of Duke Nemanja, in the early 1200s. King Vladislav planned for Mileševa to be his burial church and also the burial place for his uncle, the first Serbian Archbishop Sava, later canonized as St. Sava. St. Sava's relics had been relocated later until the Ottomans finally burned them at Vračar Plateau in 1595. Since then, the cult of St. Sava has grown as a pillar of Serbian national identity, while the attack on the relics has remained considered one of the deepest losses. The official preservationist office had paid lots of tribute to discover the sarcophagi and remains of King Vladislav and St. Sava; along with the archeological research of the church and exonarthex, a vast area of monk's living quarter and the fortification wall around the monastery complex were discovered and conserved (fig. 3).<sup>15</sup> The usual preservationist practice had been to conserve and present the archeological findings. Yet, after a few years, the monastery officials came to a different idea. Without any concerns for the Institute for Heritage Protection that had already dug up, reconstructed, and presented the archeological remains of medieval living quarters as an open museum, the church representatives pulled out the archeological remains with bulldozers and flattened the ground to imply their own imagination and their own aesthetics for the construction of a brand-new guest house, erasing all evidence of the medieval artifacts. As a result, any future dialogue between the clergy, who decided to build without permission, and the preservationists, who had spent years on the delicate endeavor, has never occurred again. Ultimately, the architectural forms and decorative elements chosen for this new development, which replaced the archeological remains, show off some hard-to-define yet ambitious taste of the clergy, dissonant to the academically trained architectural sensibility and the preservationists' discipline.

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15 Most of the excavation work was done under Olivera Kandić's and Svetlana Popović's surveillance: S. Popović, *Krst u krugu: arhitektura manastira u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Beograd 1993.





Fig 5

Hotel "Termal" in Vrdnik

(© A. Milutinović)

The church's interior decoration, with exquisite fresco paintings internationally acknowledged since the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>16</sup> has also been adjusted to the taste of the nuns and priests. The most attention has been paid to the area where a richly decorated, highly cherished box with the left hand of St. Sava is being presented to the prayers daily; otherwise, it is kept in the altar apse. The entire decorative ensemble, which has not been tuned to medieval church furniture, holds the relics today considered authentic, yet revealed to the worshipers and public only in 2009. The authenticity of recently presented relics has never been questioned by academia; hasn't the practice been the same in the entire Christian world until the rise of the Enlightenment? On the other hand, with all the current freedom of diversity in cultures, why would not the internationally stigmatized Serbs accept the authenticity of the newly revealed relics of St. Sava as an unrecorded but well-maintained national secret, which has been shown now to be considered safe enough not to allow the disaster of 1595, when the body of St. Sava was burned at Vračar Plateau, to repeat.

One would hope the dialogue between the church and the secular institutions for heritage protection looks different in northern Serbia. The oldest natural park in Serbia Fruška Gora<sup>17</sup> overlaps with numerous cultural properties of extraordinary importance.<sup>18</sup> After settling in this area after the Great Migration of 1699, Serbs were gradually exposed to the rising European Enlightenment. Dositej Obradović, considered the main protagonist of the Serbian Enlightenment, started his spiritual journey as a monk at Hopovo Monastery in Fruška Gora, yet strongly opposed to the backwardness of church dogma and illiteracy of clergy and monks. Together with other Serbian intellectuals from the Central European cultural zone, he took a leading role in the constitution of the educational system along with the other sets of institutions during the formation of the modern Serbian state. The city of Sremski Karlovci at the eastern edge of Fruška Gora facing the Danube became the center of Serbian literacy and also a new patriarchal seat of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Sremski Karlovci and its surrounding vineyards on the slopes towards the Danube had also become an economic hub of the wine industry, which is, until today, based on local varieties and

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16 The Fresco Painting of Archangel Gabriel, colloquially known as the White Angel, was admired by international scholars since its discovery in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As recorded by the most prominent scholar of Serbian medieval art S. Radojčić, *The Golden Age of Wall Painting*, The Atlantic, (December 1962): "When in 1881, Sir Arthur Evans saw the fresco of the angel on Christ's sepulcher in the monastery of Mileševo, he had the impression that he was standing before a vision. He was struck by two peculiarities in a remote mountainous area in the northwestern part of the former Turkish Empire and in a church surrounded by ruins. One was the appearance of an art, fresh yet experienced, in an environment noted for its wilderness and almost total insecurity. The other peculiarity was the date. How was it possible that in 1240 A.D., at a time when in Italy, the classical land of fresco painting, the design of the human body in monumental paintings was still restricted by rigid medieval forms, an art appeared in medieval Serbia which was so close to the beauty of the wall paintings of antiquity? With uncertainty, Evans asked whether the earliest beginnings of the Renaissance took place in the Balkans."

17 Fruška Gora was listed as a National park in 1960.

18 There is a group of 16 monasteries that presents a unique example of how the emigrant community of Serbs adjusted to new life on the Hungarian territory after the migration, mostly controlled by the Habsburgs. D. Davidov, *Fruškogorski manastiri*, Beograd 1992; D. Medaković, *Sveta gora fruškogorska*, Novi Sad 2010.

authentic winemaking. On the west edge of Fruška Gora is the Croatian-inhabited city of Ilok, with its own winemaking traditions and rich history. There are sixteen monasteries of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Fruška Gora region, which flourished during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, although some had been established earlier. They might not be extraordinary architectural and artistic contributions, yet the way they have been settled within the outstanding natural scenery, together with two cities, one Serbian and one Croatian, celebrated for exceptional architectural landmarks and original winemaking, can quickly gain the attribute of an exceptional value of the richly diverse cultural landscape (fig 4).

”If there were only common sense,<sup>19</sup> as suggested by a Serbian saying. The nomination of Fruška Gora as a World Heritage Site with an enormous variety of botanical species was declined since the huge forest area was cut off for commercial purposes during the nomination process. Moreover, the picturesque area of Vrdnik, well-known as a source of hot mineral waters and medieval fortification, has been devastated by the construction of an ill-designed amusement spa (fig. 5). What a lost opportunity for developing high tourism at the prestigious spot where natural beauty combined with high-end architecture would have not only brought pleasure to the visitors of the spa center but also helped the entire area of Fruška Gora to be a world-top destination. Sadly, those who got a chance to build in this valuable area have never understood the meaning of architecture: its aesthetic values, delicacy, and integration into the scenery. Another surprise regarding maintaining cultural properties has come again from the Serbian Orthodox Church. The cluster of Fruška Gora monasteries is architecturally and artistically distinctive as a specific synthesis of late Byzantine elements and Western Baroque traditions due to assimilation to the Habsburgs’ explicitly Catholic political and cultural setting. It was one time when Dositej Obradović was a monk there – although he also had struggled against a strong fraction of Orthodox clergy arguing against the spreading doctrines of the Enlightenment – and quite different after the fall of communism in the 1990s. Meanwhile, the antagonism against Catholicism exploded due to the cruel treatment of the Orthodox population, monks, and monasteries during the Croatian occupation during WWII, which was after the end of the war and the establishment of the communist regime never fully acknowledged. Therefore, the recuperation for the loss has been tried to be reached by creating the never-existing Serbian-Byzantine forms to cover up the late Baroque legacy and potentially heal the wounds associated with Catholicism. Instead of standing for the authenticity of architectural forms celebrating the unique history and potentially recognized for its universal value, an instinct for revenge and survival has stepped over with a new architectural narrative of the reinvented past. It might be argued that the monks in Fruška Gora have been still fighting a long-lasting struggle with the forces of the Enlightenment, even though Serbia, as the modern Western European nation, had been established right there.

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19 “*E da je bar malo pameti*” sais a Serbian saying.



After the outbreak of post-colonialism, promoting cultural diversity, academia in non-Christian and non-European nations put effort into understanding the implications of the belated arrival of the Enlightenment, which had tremendously shaken their intrinsic cultural realms. On the other hand, becoming hesitant about its outcomes, Serbian intellectuals have not put much effort into its critical reevaluation, quite in contrast to their predecessors of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries living outside the Serbian boundaries under the Ottoman occupation. The modern Serbian national state's foundation, constitution, governmental institutions, education, and medicine were rooted in the Western European Enlightenment. From the 1990s until the present day, the skepticism towards the Enlightenment overlaps with the negative perception of the Western world, which had put Serbia on the wall of shame. In this context, various kinds of alternative interpretations of historical truth, as well as the approaches to healing and knowledge, have shaken the stable beliefs in the modern institutions of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This trend was especially devastating for the institutions of culture and historical preservation. Squeezed between the miserable funding from the government, the pressure of the Serbian Orthodox church, and the hunger of new investors believing that the profit is all that matters, the Serbian preservation and preservationists have been lost in between the defense for the universal value firmly defined by the 20<sup>th</sup>-century predecessors and the post-colonial trends which keeps on questioning the role of the existing preservationist institutions and especially their backwardness while the funding almost stopped coming from a new kind of post-communist governments.

Consequently, the authority of aesthetic judgment and historical valorization, rooted in preservationist doctrines, has weakened in the face of chasing profit and populist taste. The question of this sudden liberation from the authority of artistic judgment means the current preservation should pull back and let the wide spectrum of diverse, all-inclusive alternatives be legitimized in the name of new post-colonial freedom. In that sense, the creative pseudo-Byzantine imaginations of contemporary clergy in Serbian monasteries could have gained the status of a World Heritage Site if we consider them a non-Western attempt at expressing some deeply hidden authentic cultural codes of the area. A more problematic case is the artistically hideous new developments on precious spots within the listed cultural landscapes, nominated for the World Heritage List. Interestingly, like in the Middle Ages, there are no names of architects signed for the design, only a bunch of engineers proud that the pools have not been leaking yet and that all of the complicated installation systems still function; they are also proud of the fact that they hadn't had any previous experience of building spas,<sup>20</sup> yet were informed about the technology of spas in neighboring Hungary. Nobody has ever mentioned the word-spread concept of spa-architecture in relation

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20 "Every specialty carries its own weight. Imagine working on a project, such as a rowing center or thermal facility, and no one has ever done it before in this country. There are no regulations, no consultants, no experiences, and no counterparts in sports associations. It's all on us, the internet, books, and experiences from abroad.." quoted in Đorđe Bajilo, Mapei lepak, architecture website: <https://www.mapei.com/rs/sr/svet-mapei/intervju-djordje-bajilo> (accessed September 2023).

to that colossal network of pools where one can enjoy the water entertainment without leaking. Rem Koolhaas defined the notion of junkspace<sup>21</sup> almost twenty years ago, so any of our cases have not been too surprising in regard to his definition. There is hope that the value of true contemplation and poetry of architecture still finds a way, maybe such as the movement of slow architecture<sup>22</sup> promoted in some random, post-colonial blog argues for.

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21 R. Koolhaas, *Junkspace*, JSTOR 100, Spring 2002. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0162-2870%28200221%29100%3C175%3AJ%3E2.0.CO%3B2-M> (accessed September 2023).

22 *Slow Architecture and the death of architecture: Slow Space Finds its nemesis*, blog Slow Space. <https://www.slowspace.org/junkspace-death-of-architecture-nemesis/junkspace-and-the-death-of-architecture-slow-space-finds-its-nemesis/> (accessed September 2023).

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## УНИВЕРЗАЛНА ВРЕДНОСТ У ДОБА ИНКЛУЗИВНЕ ЗАШТИТЕ – ОД ПРОЦЕНЕ ДО УПРАВЉАЊА НАСЛЕЂЕМ СРБИЈЕ НА ЛИСТИ СВЕТСКЕ БАШТИНЕ

Тековине европског просветитељства биле су стожер успостављања модерне српске државе у којој је проучавање и заштита наслеђа рано препозната као национални приоритет. Праћење савремених принципа, међународних препорука и учествовање у раду међународних институција био је на врхунцу у области заштите споменичког наслеђа од касних 1960 до 80-тих година прошлог века. Културно – историјске целине као што су Стари Рас и Сопоћани, па потом и Студеница нашле су се врло рано на Листи светске баштине као једни од најранијих примера касније дефинисаног културног пејзажа. У тренутку номинације крајем 1970-тих у валоризационом поступку још увек су се поштовале традиционалне норме, тако да су критеријуми аутентичности средњовековне архитектуре српске државе и естетска процена фреско сликарства као најбољег примера тога времена у европском контексту, јасно постављени као универзална вредност.

Са продором пост-структурализма који је донео преиспитивање дотадашњих принципа заштите за које се почело сматрати да промовишу првенствено западну културу, а нарочито после промовисања Нара декларације, растреситије норме, које подстичу разнородне гласове маргиналних култура довеле су до негирања чврсто успостављених, академских ауторитета дефинисаних још од времена појаве просветитељства. У Србији су се почеле преиспитивати и границе, и вредности, и режими заштите, и управљање заштићеним зонама и у оквиру споменика на Листи, али и оних који би потенцијално могли бити номиновани. У духу преиспитивања традиционалних академских ауторитета неки од најучесталијих власника културних добара јасно исказују анти-просветитељске ставове, те сходно томе и управљају културним добрима без поштовања институција заштите, истраживача и конзерватора. Истовремено се грабежљиви инверститори такође понашају бескрупулозно када су у питању пројекти на најделикатнијим, историјски вредним локацијама. Горући задатак српских интелектуалаца и културне јавности је да почне озбиљно преиспитивање значаја просветитељства за опстанак нације, као и положаја и трансформација које просветитељске идеје проживљавају у првим деценијама новог миленијума.