



HAL
open science

From Vienna to Sarajevo, role models and replicas in the architecture of Austro-Hungarian period

Boris Trapara

► **To cite this version:**

Boris Trapara. From Vienna to Sarajevo, role models and replicas in the architecture of Austro-Hungarian period. Art and art history. Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales-INALCO PARIS - LANGUES O'; International Burch University (Faculty of Engineering and Natural Sciences, Department of Architecture), 2019. English. NNT : 2019INAL0023 . tel-02992615

HAL Id: tel-02992615

<https://theses.hal.science/tel-02992615>

Submitted on 6 Nov 2020

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales
École doctorale n°265 *Langues, littératures et sociétés du monde*
CREE (Centre de Recherche Europes-Eurasie)

THÈSE EN COTUTELLE

avec

Burch Université Internationale
Faculté d'Ingénierie et Sciences Naturelles
Département d'Architecture

présentée par

Boris TRAPARA

soutenue le **13 décembre 2019**
pour obtenir le grade de **Docteur de l'INALCO**
en Histoire, sociétés et civilisations

From Vienna to Sarajevo, role models and replicas in the architecture of Austro-Hungarian period

THÈSE dirigée par :

Taline TER MINASSIAN
Maja POPOVAC

Professeur des universités, INALCO

Professeur des universités, co-directeur de cotutelle, UNMO

RAPPORTEURS :

Nicolas FAUCHERRE
Haris DERVIŠEVIĆ

Professeur des universités, Aix-Marseille Université, CNRS

Maitre de conférence, Sarajevo Université, UNSA

MEMBRES DU JURY :

Taline TER MINASSIAN
Maja POPOVAC
Adnan NOVALIĆ
Haris DERVIŠEVIĆ
Nicolas FAUCHERRE
Carmen POPESCU
Frédéric CHAUBIN

Professeur des universités, INALCO

Professeur des universités, co-directeur de cotutelle, UNMO

Maitre de conférence, Burch Université Internationale, IBU

Maitre de conférence, Sarajevo Université, UNSA

Professeur des universités, Aix-Marseille Université, CNRS

Professeur des universités, Université Rennes 2, UR2

Expert, Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine

CONTENTS

i. ACRONYMS	4
1. INTRODUCTION	6
1.1. Foreword	7
1.2. Historical Background: The Architectural Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina	14
1.3. Introduction to the Study	23
1.4. The Subject and Span of the Research	25
1.5. Review of the Previous Scientific Researches and Publications.....	26
1.6. Hypothesis and Research Questions	29
1.7. The Aims, Motivation and Relevance.....	31
1.8. Methodological Approach	33
1.9. The Structure of the Doctoral Dissertation	35
2. ARCHITECTURAL TYPOLOGIES	36
IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FROM THE OUTSIDE.....	36
2.1. Early period: Butmir culture - the most significant archaeological settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina.....	37
2.2. Medieval period	43
2.2.1. Secular Architecture: The Medieval Fortified Towns from Medieval period.....	43
2.2.2. Sepulchral Architecture: Stećaks – Tombstones from Medieval period.....	61
2.3. Ottoman period.....	80
2.3.1. Secular Architecture: Svrzo Family House in sequences and scale.....	80
2.3.2. Sacred Architecture: Mosques of Banja Luka.....	89
2.4. Austro-Hungarian period.....	111
2.4.1. Secular Architecture: Salom's Palace and Napredak Palace in Sarajevo	111
2.4.2. Sacred Architecture: Franciscan Monasteries.....	120
2.5. Architecture from Yugoslavia: Memorial Architecture in Kozara and Tjentište	131
2.6. Modernism in Architecture: Museum of History of Bosnia and Herzegovina	138
2.7. Post Modernism in Architecture: Theater in Zenica	152
2.8. Vernacular and Contemporary Bosnian Architecture	160
2.8.1. Secular Architecture: Bosnian Ethno Village Lukomir	160
2.8.2. Sacred Architecture: Orthodox Wooden Churches.....	165
2.8.3 Current State	173
3. CONFLICT OF DESIRES AND OPPORTUNITIES	181

3.1. Political, social and cultural relations of a confident Centre and restless Colony	182
3.2. New rules for space treatment: The Construction Order and Urbanism of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo.....	194
3.3. New monumental buildings of sacral and public architecture: Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the National Theater in Sarajevo	201
3.4. Materials of the new era in the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina	210
3.5. Stylistic articulation of architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina: four dominant groups	214
3.6. Architecture as a voice of politics: Neo-Moorish style in Bosnia and Herzegovina	225
3.7. The celebrated protagonists of the new architecture in Sarajevo: Josip pl. Vancaš and Karel Pařík	237
3.8. New ornamental aesthetics: Iron fences in the residential and business palaces in Sarajevo....	245
4. SARAJEVO AND VIENNA	253
IN THE CONTEXT OF GENIUS LOCI.....	253
4.1. Introduction with chosen examples in Sarajevo and Vienna	254
4.2. The Academy of Fine Arts Building in Sarajevo and Protestant Chapel in Vienna.....	264
4.3. The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo and Künstlerhaus and Musikverein in Vienna.....	271
4.4. The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Building in Sarajevo and Museum of Applied Arts Building in Vienna.....	279
4.5. The Marienhof Building in Sarajevo and Baldiahof Building in Vienna	286
4.6. The Post Office Building in Sarajevo and Austrian Postal Savings Bank Building in Vienna.....	293
4.7. Originals and copies in Architecture: The Power of the Centers - East and West	301
4.8. Defining the Genius loci: Weaknesses and Advantages of Genius loci	307
4.9. The Question of Identity in Terms of Past and Future Architectural Creativity.....	313
5. CONCLUSION	319
iv. SOURCES, GRAPHIC AND PHOTO DOCUMENTATION.....	333
iv.1. Bibliography.....	333
iv.2. Online Sources	344
iv.3. List of Technical Drawings, Graphics, Photographs, Tables, and Charts	349
iv.4. Libraries, Archives, Public Institutions.....	354
v. SUMMARY in French.....	355
vi. BIOGRAPHY	404
vii. Acknowledgments	405
viii. Abstracts (EN/ FR).....	414

ii. ACRONYMS

ICCROM – International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

ICOMOS – International Council of Monuments and Sites

CIAM – Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHwB – Cultural Heritage without Borders

ZAVNOBiH – Zemaljsko antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Bosne i Hercegovine (State Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina)

SFR – Socijalistička Federativna Republika (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Foreword

The cultural and historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina is inspired by different and often conflicting historical periods. This heritage consists of cultural properties, intangible heritage, and natural heritage which mutual essence is the identity emerged from the unique relationship between space and people. Due to its cultural and historical values, the involvement in everyday life of the citizens, as well as economic, social and political issues, a particularly significant part of “tangible” heritage are monuments and historical ensembles, buildings and structures of vernacular architecture as well as in centuries created and preserved urban and environmental unities. Cultural and historical heritage as an integral part of architecture and urbanism presents all that surrounds us and as such deserves our full attention and dedication, especially when we know that the heritage confirms our personal identity and the identity of our nation.

Exploring the cultural and historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a long and exhausting journey that has many obstacles, ups and downs, but the journey is a rewarding one because it provides an inexhaustible source of knowledge in all areas of human activity. This research process has no end, and the fruits the traveller collects during this journey depends on his interests, dedication, goals and intentions, both from the aspect of the profession and from the aspect of personal and intimate motives. Dealing with heritage professionally, or in an amateur way has deep roots in a sincere relationship between all forms of architecture and ultimately in one’s own personality and character. Moreover, the heritage is a lifestyle, a part of character, a part of personality, and often overcomes frames of working hours and place of work. The lovers of cultural and historical heritage, who are often closely involved in the work with cultural and historical heritage, experience it as an integral part of their personality and as a general topic of conversations and interests in their professional and private life. And precisely for this reason, work on the research of cultural and historical heritage never ends; the cultural and historical heritage is being inhaled, enjoyed, loved, and the topic of cultural heritage is present in all aspects of the life of a person who feels it as a dominant part of his personality.

I became interested in architecture when I was 10 years old when I heard about the miraculous buildings of the world. This was in primary school "Jovan Dučić" Kasindo, in the class called "Technical Education" where I got the first knowledge about architecture as technical science from teacher Gordana Šarenac Avlijaš. Her approach to pupils and the way how she tried to explain significance and beauty of architecture made me realized that architecture is the only thing I would like to deal with in my professional life. The fairly clear desires and attitudes of 10 years old boy about his future did not leave any room for doubt that architecture in all its forms, one day will be an integral part of my life. From this point of view, I can conclude that exploring architecture with bigger or smaller interest for its particular fields began already when I was 10 years old, and that research is still ongoing, for more than twenty years now. For me, this is one of the most powerful and most beautiful relationships I've built in my life. It gave me support and strength to accomplish my personal and professional goals.

The interest in architecture grew through my primary and high school, especially in the history of architecture, because in the childhood I was thrilled with the Austro-Hungarian period's residential-business palaces in Sarajevo. I spent all my free time reading and exploring more and more about architecture from the Austro-Hungarian period, and later I began to design drawings of the family villas typical for the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This gave me the opportunity to explore the characteristics of the neo-styles that were used in the Austro-Hungarian period in the best way, and I often enjoyed having fun and guessing the elements of façades in Sarajevo - based on decorative plastic on those façades I would try to guess the style. Walking down the streets of Sarajevo, I have memorized some of those façades forever in my head and in my heart. Back then, I did not realise that in this way the history of architecture has becoming deeply embedded in my life. This was already the period of high school, and my professors were Nikola Banduka (Mathematics) with who I have been working since primary school and Tanja Dursun (Fine Arts). I am so much and equally grateful to both of them, because they introduced me to the two main components of architecture - engineering and art.

When I was in high school, I have exhibited my own architectural designs at young innovators' competitions, which was a kind of precedent, because I was drawing

mostly villas from Austro-Hungarian period that were not of innovative but rather of "documentary" nature, so the question: "Boris, what is innovative in your designs?" was often left unanswered. But the works almost never left competitions without rewards. In the period of less than a year, I won 12 gold, silver and bronze medals at the competitions of innovators in the field of technical creativity in cities of: Banja Luka, Moscow, Geneva, Paris, Budapest, Seoul, and Zagreb.

The heritage was my theme and I wanted to talk to everyone about it. I was lucky to get a chance twice a month at the Public Broadcasting System to present a monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina in a TV show. For a high school student this was a serious task and I took it very seriously. The "Culture of Living" TV show in which my videos and reports about the cultural and historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina were broadcasted, lasted for two seasons, during which I presented numerous historical buildings and sites in Sarajevo.

Enrolling in the Faculty of architecture was a natural thing to me. For the first time I had the opportunity to hear from professionals from all the different fields of architecture. This enabled me to discover all the layers of architecture and the beautiful sides of this "calling." However, the history of architecture and the protection of cultural and historical heritage still remained my dominant points of my interests. For the first time I met people with interests similar to mine interests and I had the honour of listening to lectures from great professors such as Professor Dr Nedžad Kurto, Professor Dr Vjekoslava Sanković Simčić, Professor Dr Ibrahim Krzović and Professor Dr Sabira Husedžinović with whom I later worked on the lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovinian cultural and historical heritage.

Professor Dr Sabira Husedžinović died on December 31, 2015, which was an incredible loss for the academic community of Bosnia and Herzegovina. She was one of the best connoisseurs of Ottoman architecture and the history of architecture in general on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, especially of heritage and mosques in Banja Luka. Professor Dr Sabira Husedžinović risked her life and provided supreme effort in documenting the situation before and after total destruction and preservation of the remains of Banja Luka's mosques in Bosnian war 1992/95. With this noble and brave act, she became the brightest role model to the academic

community and showed how to protect our cultural and historical heritage with all of her strength. I experienced her departure as a personal loss, but also the loss of a lifelong teacher from whom I learned so much about the cultural and historical heritage of the world, and especially that of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

And what was the relation towards cultural and historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina during Bosnian war 1992/95? We can see if we look at the official data which says that more than 2000 cultural and historical goods were completely destroyed or partially damaged. In Bosnian war 1992/95 the heritage was often used as an instrument of warfare in order to erase the identity of a particular national group. Losses on all sides of all the nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina are unmistakably and dishearteningly raising questions over the always-present issues of humanity and relation towards mankind. Unfortunately, a large number of monuments were totally destroyed during Bosnian war 1992/95, and even after 20 years since the end of the war those have not been restored. It is now quite certain that those monuments will never be restored, thereby permanently losing the values of certain ambiances and causing great damage to the entire world of heritage. Only few bright examples of government and non-governmental activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and of small independent individuals, are just small interventions that are significant but insufficient to repair all the dama.

The highest state institution that issues laws on monuments and proclaims the status of national monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina according to previously determined criteria is the Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹, which has so far made positive decisions on more than 800 national monuments that have entered the legal regime of protection. On the other hand, in the non-governmental sector, the leading organization is the Cultural Heritage without Borders², which has been carrying out a number of activities for

¹ *The Commission to Preserve National Monuments is an institution of Bosnia and Herzegovina established pursuant to Annex 8 of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Decision on the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, adopted by the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina at its 119th session held on 21 December 2001 which, pursuant to the provisions of Annex 8, sets out the basic principles and aims of the operations of the Commission and its primary tasks and authorization as an institution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Decision was published in the Official Gazette of BiH no. 1/02 and 10/02.*

² *The foundation Cultural Heritage without Borders (CHwB) was constituted in April 1995 as a reaction to the acute and massive aid that was needed due to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Destruction of*

more than twenty years, with the aim of restoring and promoting the restoration and protection of cultural goods of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as preventing further destruction. I was involved in the work of both institutions, especially Cultural Heritage without Borders, where I had the opportunity to actively participate in the promotion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian heritage.

In the past five years, I have been intensifying activities on the research of Bosnia and Herzegovina's heritage throughout field work, visits and tours of national monuments. These visits, primarily educational, were mostly one-day trips to smaller towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These tours of various monuments from different historical Periods became an integral part of my every day activities and interests. In private affairs, such strong interests in cultural and historical heritage may pose a burden, but these interests are also self-rewarding. Field research I have took in the past years included visiting more than 500 sites of cultural and historical value in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and this has resulted in a strong photographic record. The happiness and enthusiasm that came to me with every single encounter with each of these monuments became food and driving energy in all my daily activities. These tours gave me a direct insight into the architectural values of cultural and historical goods and their current physical state.

After completing a master's degree at the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Sarajevo, where I was dealing with the topic of contemporary interventions in the historical urban context of the Mostar, and where I worked with Professor Dr Aida Idrizbegović Zgonić who was my mentor on the topic, I continued to write articles on the subject of Bosnian-Herzegovinian heritage which were published in newspapers, magazines, professional journals, and on internet portals. The aim of these articles was to bring the values and importance of Bosnian-Herzegovinian heritage closer to the wider public and to point out that besides the right to enjoy the heritage, we have the obligation to preserve it for the generations to come. This was a modest contribution given the current alarming situation in the field of protection.

cultural monuments was quite extensive and systematic, which made the world realise the urgent need for development assistance and protection. When a group of architects and conservation workers in Sweden gathered to protest, discussions were held to find ways to take concrete action and to suggest proposals for financing Swedish emergency aid in this area within the framework for Sida's development co-operation.

The current situation in the field of protection of Bosnia and Herzegovina's heritage is the result of constant political turmoil in the country, bad economic situations, small and large corruption that are an integral part of the everyday life of the Bosnian society and the improper use of the law. The stratification of Bosnia-Herzegovina's heritage and its diversity in terms of function and timing is a valuable subject of academic and general social attention. Research, valorisation and promotion of Bosnia and Herzegovina's heritage is the task for architects, historians, archaeologists, ethnologists and other professionals from different areas of heritage, but also on all the citizens of our country. Observing all the values of Bosnia and Herzegovina's heritage is only possible by placing that heritage in the context of the environment and of the time when it originated.

For these personal and professional reasons, the inevitability of the research work and the justification of this doctoral thesis that has a character of historical research with the aim of pointing to all the values of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian heritage in the context of external influences, internal relations between historical periods, among which the dominant ones are under the influence of the East and the West, between the built and natural environment is what most fully describes the spirit of the place - *Genius loci*.

The aim of the doctoral research is to explore, valorise and present certain specifics of the cultural and historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the context of the environment in which that heritage has emerged, under the influence of the East and West architecture, between the particular dominant historical periods and to give an overview of the development path of architecture from the medieval tombstones to the architecture of Modernism and its representative achievements, all from the point of the "spirit" and "place" of Bosnia and Herzegovina with all their specifics; similarities and differences in context to the rest of the European continent.

This doctoral thesis is just one station on a research path that will surely be continued as a natural sequence of events in my professional and private life. The opportunity to write a doctoral thesis in another country, with a significant discrepancy over the geographical distance between France and Bosnia and Herzegovina and numerous cultural similarities and differences, and with a great help from Professor Dr Taline

Ter Minassian and Professor Dr Maja Popovac, allowed me to understand all the values of the cultural and historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina and at the same time imposed great responsibility to present its values in a dignifying manner, without dissociation from the narrower themes of interest, yet falling into all the specifics of particular case studies of dominant historical periods.

1.2. Historical Background: The Architectural Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The cultural and historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the result of opposed and intense historical periods which shaped panoramas of towns and which were influenced by the complex political and economic situation during centuries. Historical Periods that left material evidences in the form of monuments were often misunderstood in the context of space and people in specific geographical parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The transition from one historical period to the next historical period was almost always marked by a sudden and deep cut, and in a way that these transitions did not give a chance for natural transformation. Constrained transitions between two historical Periods directly reflected on the Bosnian and Herzegovinian architectural scene. As a result of these “clean cuts” many towns and cities can be split into several architecturally homogeneous parts, depending on the historical period in which each of these parts has emerged and with almost no injections from other historical periods or styles.

The specificity of the built and natural environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina is that in a geographically small area there are many examples of a large number of different architectural styles and influences from both, the West and the East. The geographic and political position of the country has conditioned its involvement in the most important flows of the leading European forces which have tried through the ages to present their ideas and views of Bosnia and Herzegovina through political aspirations and architecture. Such intense influences and constant struggle for the dominant role of the East or of the West in Bosnia and Herzegovina are especially important for the understanding the significance of original achievements of authentic Bosnian-Herzegovinian architecture and its Genius loci.

In order to better understand the cultural and historical circumstances of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is necessary to observe architectural achievements under the influence of other architectures, as well as original architectural achievements, in the context of the environment; nature and current politics, economic opportunities and social relations. The spirit of place, or the Genius loci in the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been shown through all the historical Periods that the country

went through as an inseparable element of creating the space and shaping of what would later become a Bosnian-Herzegovinian heritage.

Observing the complete history of architecture and its development in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a complex task that requires a multidimensional approach to research and presentation. This long and exciting exploration route indispensably starts from antiquity, which is more a research subject for historians than historians of architecture. From the period of antiquity in Bosnia and Herzegovina there are known archeological sites of Roman roads, villas, baths and other buildings, but their exact appearance is not well known today. From the period of antiquity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a special place is occupied by the municipia³ of Delminium (Tomislavgrad), Domavia (Srebrenica), Dilluntum (Stolac), Aqua S... (Ilidža) and others, then villas: Mogorjelo, Ilidža, Ljusina (Bosanska Krupa) and others and the basilicas: Cim, Zenica, Breza, Žitomislići, Japra (Blagaj) and others, most of which are preserved only as archeological sites with insufficient data to create a complete picture of their architecture. Therefore, as a start on the historical route of many centuries, the historians of architecture in the presentation and the exploration of cultural and historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina start with stećaks - tombstones typical for medieval Bosnia and Hum (later Herzegovina).

Stećaks (stećci, pl. stećak, sing.) are tombstones that represent the rarities and specifics of the cultural and historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They emerged in the Middle Ages and created from the 13th to the 16th century.⁴ In the root of the word "stećak" there is a metaphor for steadiness, firmness and strength, and some of the names used for these tombstones are Greek cemetery, *mramori* (marble), *mašeti* (Italian: *massetto* meaning "big rock", or Turkish: *meşhet* meaning "tombstone of a fallen hero").⁵ As a tombstone, the stećak can be found standing alone, or in a group which is called the necropolis. These specific tombstones (stećci,

³ *Municipium* (pl. *municipia*) was the Latin term for a town or city. This expression was used for the so-called second class of towns, whose status was lower than the status of colonies (*colonia*). Municipalities (*municipia*) had their own self-government, but their citizens, unlike citizens of colonies, did not have Roman citizenship. Municipalities were usually not founded by the Romans but were created out of existing non-Roman settlement under Roman rule.

⁴ Miletić, Nada (1982) *Umetnost na tlu Jugoslavije: Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, Zagreb: Spektar, p.19-25

⁵ Bešlagić, Šefik (1989) *Stećci – Kultura i umjetnost*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša, p. 33-37, p. 567-576

pl.) from the Middle Ages are characteristic of today's areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Dalmatia Region (Croatia).⁶ Stećak carries a strong memory of place deeply rooted in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian landscape and, as such, they express dominant Genius loci in the relation to the Bosnian and Herzegovinian landscapes.

The phenomenon of stećak have been researched and valued many times, but many questions of their identity, status and significance in medieval Bosnia and Hum (later Herzegovina) remained unanswered. The answers to these questions depend upon the timenin which they were given, as well as the current political circumstances and objectivity of the researcher. Some researchers attributed Bogumils⁷ traits to the stećaks. One group of researchers believed that the stećaks belonged to the Bosnian church, while other researchers emphasized their Christian origin, and the inscriptions on the stećaks and other symbols were usually interpreted in accordance with the current ruling politics in the country.

In the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Periods there were both, popularistic and scientific articles on stećak, but most of these articles did not validate the stećak in the proper way, nor did they carry out detailed analysis. Only after the presentation of stećak at one of the exhibitions held in Paris in 1950, the interest of scientific circles and the general public increased for this phenomenon which is characteristic of the medieval history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The result of the exhibition from 1950 was a series of research activities that gave data on approximately 70,000 stećaks in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The international confirmation of the importance of the stećak was evident in the UNESCO summit, held in Istanbul in June 2016, when it was decided that stećaks distributed in a total of thirty

⁶ Bešlagić, Šefik (1953) *Naše starine I: Proučavanje i zaštita stećaka*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, p. 167-175

⁷ *Bogomilism was a Christian neo-Gnostic or dualist sect founded in the First Bulgarian Empire by the priest Bogomil during the reign of Tsar Peter I in the 10th century. It most probably arose in what is today the region of Macedonia as a response to the social stratification that occurred with the introduction of feudalism and as a form of political movement and opposition to the Bulgarian state and the church. The Bogomils called for a return to what they considered to be early spiritual teaching, rejecting the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and their primary political tendencies were resistance to the state and church authorities. This helped the movement spread quickly in the Balkans, gradually expanding throughout the Byzantine Empire and later reaching Kievan Rus', Bosnia (Bosnian Church), Dalmatia, Serbia, Italy, and France (Cathars). This gave rise to many forms of practice to cleanse oneself through purging, fasting, celebrating and dancing.*

necropolises located on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (22), Serbia (3), Montenegro Up (3) and Croatia (2) enter the prestigious UNESCO World Heritage List.⁸

While the stećaks are part of the memorial medieval heritage, the old medieval towns bear all the features of architectural heritage and represent material evidence from the time of independent Bosnian medieval state. The old towns and fortresses were part of the fortress defense system built in Southeastern Europe, and also in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where they were common in the Middle Ages. They were usually built on hills, rocks, and often in places of important communication niches or border areas, but rarely in river valleys. According to Professor Sabira Husedžinović⁹, the significance of the old towns and other medieval fortresses in Bosnia and Herzegovina was state, military, and administrative. Moreover, these medieval fortresses could have the role of protecting communications, mining sites, neighborhoods within the walls, or suburbs that developed in their immediate vicinity, or they were burgs - noble castles with defense towers and defensive walls.

Throughout the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and Socialist periods, the medieval towns were actively involved in the functioning of the city, and their function differed depending on the particular historical period. They were not treated as open-air museums, but on the contrary, as an integral part of the city they were in. After the Second World War, the interest in old towns started to grow. The decades that followed were marked with the transformation and adaptation of old towns into hotels and other similar facilities; cultural, exhibition and entertainment centers, etc. Some of them are still partly or completely used as museums. The examples of old towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina are dominated by Genius loci, that is, the spirit of the place that in its correlation with the natural environment gave its full significance to Bosnian and Herzegovinian setting.

On the historical line of architecture development in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Middle Ages, the Ottoman period followed. Residential buildings, sacral buildings,

⁸ UNESCO, World Heritage List (2017) *Stećci Medieval Tombstones Graveyards* [whc.unesco.org], available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1504> [accessed on 06th February 2017]

⁹ Husedžinović, Sabira (2009) *Stari gradovi Unsko-sanskog kantona*, Bihać: Zavod za zaštitu kulturnog naslijeđa Bihać i Muzej Unsko-sanskog kantona, p. 8-25

bridges, bezistans, madrasas, inns, and other buildings of public architecture were built. The city was divided into two parts; the commercial area called čaršija (bazaar), and the residential areas called mahalas. The streets and houses were designed based on the human scale, urbanism had an organic character, and architecture was partly vernacular, and partly a monumental. In the Ottoman period, for the first time in Bosnia and Herzegovina, monuments such as stone bridges were being built.¹⁰ The most important are the Old Bridge in Mostar¹¹ and the Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge in Višegrad¹² which are on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Some of the most valuable achievements of sacral architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina are from the Ottoman period. There are examples of stone-built mosques such as Gazi Husrev-bey mosque in Sarajevo, Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka, or Aladža mosque in Foča, which represent some of the best examples sacral architecture from Ottoman period, through the typology of mosques, all the way to the simplest mosques built out of clay and wood. The authentic values of mosques built in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Ottoman period differ from case to case, and good examples of different types of the mosques can be found all over the country. The architectural, artistic, cultural, and historical values of these mosques reflect the spirit of the place, i.e. the Genius loci, giving clear recognizable elements in reading the authentic architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The family houses from Ottoman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, built on a human scale, and with so-called “right on view”, fall into the domain of vernacular architecture. They were functionally divided into two parts; men’s part (selamluk) and women’s part (haremluk), or a winter section and summer section, or a part for family and a part for guests.¹³ The characteristics of the family houses from the Ottoman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina are rooms with built-in furniture and a possibility of changing the function of the room on a daily basis, depending on the needs of the family. All the rooms are equipped with domestic handicrafts, such as embroidery

¹⁰ Popovac - Roso, Maja (2015) *One-span Ottoman Bridges in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Mostar*, Slovej doo, p.29

¹¹ UNESCO, World Heritage List (2017) *Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar* [whc.unesco.org], available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/946> [accessed on 06th February 2017]

¹² UNESCO, World Heritage List (2017) *Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge in Višegrad* [whc.unesco.org], available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1260> [accessed on 06th February 2017]

¹³ Grabrijan Dušan, Neidhardt Juraj (1959) *Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno*, Ljubljna: Državna založba Slovenije

and woodwork, and a range of items intended for everyday use. Some of the best examples of these houses are in Sarajevo (Svrzo House), Mostar (Muslibegović House), and Banja Luka (Gušića House.) Their common characteristic is a great respect for the environment and neighborhoods.

The turbulent historical and political circumstances of the transition from XIX to XX century marked the end of the Ottoman and the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian period (1878 – 1918).¹⁴ This total turnaround in approach to architecture, urbanism, culture and lifestyle has significantly affected Bosnia and Herzegovina's towns. The abovementioned lawlessness of construction was abandoned, and for the first time, the Building Order (Germ: Bauordnung) and the construction laws were adopted to regulate construction activities and transform Bosnia and Herzegovina's towns from Eastern European aesthetics to Western European aesthetics. In addition to several neo styles that had already been used in the rest of Europe, a specific phenomenon is a Neo Moorish style, which was a political project of the new government trying to unite all the nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Neo Moorish style was mainly used in designing town halls and train stations.

The Neo Moorish style had no historical connection with Bosnia and Herzegovina and the buildings built in this style were never incorporated into the brittle tissue of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns formed in the Ottoman period. During the Austro-Hungarian period numerous public and sacral buildings were built and most of them in Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla, Zenica and Banja Luka.

New Western European culture also brought a new architecture. This mutually-effect relationship has left in Bosnia and Herzegovina significant construction fund of different types of buildings.¹⁵ This fund consists of residential and commercial palaces, residential villas, commercial buildings, religious buildings (mostly churches and synagogues), public buildings, cultural buildings, and a number of other types of building that were built very solidly with high quality materials. Most of the Franciscan

¹⁴ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH

¹⁵ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog Perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC

monasteries¹⁶ were restored or rebuilt in this period, and some of the most representative buildings from this period are town halls in Sarajevo and Brčko, the National Museum, the Theatre, the Post Office, and the Catholic Cathedral, all built in Sarajevo. Today, they represent a valuable cultural, historical, and architectural heritage.

Apart from the external influences on architectural creativity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, parallel national activities were being developed. A special place occupies a segment of vernacular architecture: residential architecture, and a special form of sacral architecture - Orthodox wooden churches. Residential vernacular architecture is a constant product throughout the entire history of architectural development in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Apart from individual houses, there are whole settlements such as the Lukomir mountain village.¹⁷ Orthodox wooden churches are preserved in the north-west of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹⁸, and their most representative examples are the churches of Jelička, Marička, Romanovci, Javorani, and Palačkovci.

From the beginning of the World War I until the end of World War II there were no significant constructions. Architectural development in the country was parallel but with a certain delay concerning the *Modern* movement. Although under the strong influence of internationalism, the Bosnian and Herzegovinian architecture of Modernist era is based on the local foundations of the tradition of all three dominant historical periods; the Middle Ages, the Ottoman period and the Austro-Hungarian period. Some of the most representative examples of architecture of Modernist and Postmodernist movements are the Museum of History in Sarajevo, the Bosnian National Theater in Zenica, the Hotel Holiday Inn in Sarajevo, the Elektroprivreda Building in Sarajevo, and business buildings, cultural centres, residential settlements and other public buildings.

¹⁶ Karamatić Marko, Nikić Andrija (1990) *Blago franjevačkih samostana Bosne i Hercegovine*, Zagreb: Privredni Vjesnik - Turistička propaganda

¹⁷ Karović Elma, Kunovac Saša (2006) *Područje sa posebnim karakteristikama: Igman-Bjelašnica-Treskavica i Kanjon Rakitnice (Visočica)*, Sarajevo

¹⁸ Fočo, Mirzah (2006) *Sakralni objekti od drveta u Bosni i Hercegovini, Godišnjak Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine „Baština II“*, Sarajevo: Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 325-344

In the Bosnian War 1992/95, the architectural heritage experienced partial or almost complete destruction. In addition to a large number of damaged monuments, public and private buildings, residential settlements, infrastructure, roads, factories, industry were almost completely destroyed. This obscene break in the development of architecture and the progress of construction activity has, for the time being, left the incalculable consequences on Bosnia and Herzegovina. Among the most tragic moments of this period was the demolition of the Old Bridge in Mostar, the demolition of the Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka, the demolition of the Arnaudija Mosque in Foča, as well as numerous other mosques, churches, and valuable monuments that it is impossible to name in a brief historical review.

The postwar period in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be divided into two parts; the first is the reconstruction of demolished monuments and other architectural structures, and the second is a new construction activity that developed in different directions. The restoration of demolished monuments and other objects has given priority to the most important cultural and historical monuments as well as the most important buildings for the return of people and the creation of a sustainable environment. The second segment is the massive construction of shopping malls and other facilities that presented a clear indicator of a new social system, i.e. the transition from socialism to capitalism. In most cases, this construction has failed to meet basic aesthetic and quality criteria.¹⁹ A few good examples of contemporary architecture rely on a tradition and represent contemporary interpretation of architecture from the Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian period.

¹⁹ Husukić Erna, Zejnilović Emina (2017) *The environmental aesthetics of Sarajevo: A city shaped by memory*, Urbani Izziv, Vol. 28, No. 1, Ljubljana: Urbanistični inštitut Republike Slovenije, p. 96-106



Figure 1: Interior of the City Hall (Vijećnica) in Sarajevo, 21/11/2014, Photograph by Author

1.3. Introduction to the Study

Bosnia and Herzegovina was occupied by Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a result of a decision made in Treaty of Berlin in 1878. The new government started to build monumental buildings which were a clear message, because legally, Bosnia and Herzegovina was still part of the Ottoman Empire. During the Austro-Hungarian period (1878 – 1918) few structures were built at the existing Ottoman's environment. A certain degree of concern for the cultural and historical heritage was expressed by the new government.²⁰ Therefore, today Bosnian and Herzegovinian cities can be precisely separated into two different parts. Ottoman architecture remained appropriate to its time, for the needs of men and horses, with narrow streets, gardens, and fountains. In Austro-Hungarian times, streets were wide and straight, suitable for another kind of transportation.²¹

In the XIX century towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina were already built in European neo styles. However, reversal in architecture and urbanism has been made after the Austro-Hungarian occupation which has brought with itself trained architects. The Austrian, Czech and Croatian architects interpreted ideas of correlation of functionality and design of the facility through the historical styles and according to personal preference. Although these ideas were in conflict with what was already built over the centuries and in general with the inherited principles of architecture and urbanism, they quickly met a large number of followers.

Architectural styles of Austro-Hungarian period were determined by cultural and traditional values, topographic and environment characteristics, and socio-economic conditions. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy included large and diverse geographical area in which quantitatively, economically and aesthetically significant construction fund was built.²² Taking into account the above, it is possible to compare the similarities and differences between the many buildings from this period. These similarities and differences are reflected in the forms, proportions, volumes and other urban and architectural characteristics.

²⁰ Pašić, Amir (2005) *Celebrating Mostar: Architectural history of the city 1452 – 2004*, Gračanica: Grin

²¹ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: UG BiH

²² Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog Perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC

It is interesting to notice that the expansion under construction in this period carried with itself both: unique and copied architectural solutions. Architects from the western part of the Monarchy believed that they could bring closer former Yugoslav countries and especially the annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina to the West.²³ Urban planning abandoned former organic principles typical of the Ottoman period. Architecture in symbiosis of man and nature has experienced a sudden interruption in all of its production forms. It was necessary to act quickly to the new changes. Architects found themselves confronted with a number of different designer problems. Inspiration was taken from the finished architectural forms in Vienna, Bratislava, Budapest, etc. but also from the East, from Malaga, Granada, and Cordoba.²⁴ The main aim was to connect dominant oriental architecture with new tendencies of Western Europe. The result of these processes is the large number of architectural objects of mixed neo styles, and often transcribed manuscripts.

Architects who studied in Vienna and came to Sarajevo, brought with them ideas and influences from their professors and role models like Otto Wagner, Heinrich von Ferstel, Ludwig Förster, Adolf Loos, and Theophil Hansen. These prominent architects designed some of the most important landmarks in Vienna, transforming the city into a new and modern centre. Their work become very influential on young architects like Josip pl. Vancaš, Karel Pařík, Josip Pospišil, Rudolf Tönnies, Ćiril Metod Iveković, František Blažek, Alexander Wittek, and others who came to Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of XIX century. At the beginning of their careers many of these young architects copied designs or elements of buildings which were built by their mentors and role models in Vienna or Budapest. In some cases the similarities are more than obvious, when it comes to composition, proportions, and plastic and polychrome decorations, and in some cases one can explore same idea or philosophy of a movement between two buildings. Nevertheless, the artistic and cultural contribution of “Bosnian and Herzegovinian” architects from the Austro-Hungarian period is very significant in contexts of later understanding of domestic setting and relations between environment and buildings trough Genius loci.

²³ Božić, Jelena (2001) *Svjedoci istorije. Arhitektonsko naslijeđe austrougarskog Perioda u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva I. Sarajevo

²⁴ Hrasnica, Mehmed (1985) *Živa prisutnost: Arhitekt Josip Pospišil i početak modernog pokreta u arhitekturi i urbanizmu Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Odijek

1.4. The Subject and Span of the Research

The subject of this doctoral thesis is the cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina in context of Genius loci, with a focus on the Austro-Hungarian period (1878 – 1918) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The aim of this doctoral thesis is to record and valorise the similarities and differences in the styles of the Austro-Hungarian period in architecture in Vienna and Sarajevo through case studies of significant buildings. The main focus of this research is comparative analysis between *role models* which were built in Vienna, and their *replicas* which were built in Sarajevo in the context of Genius loci.

In my previous research work, I found that there are a significant number of buildings in the territory of the Western Balkans region which are „copies“ from Vienna, Budapest, Cordoba, Granada, Malaga, and other cities and regions. Those, conditionally speaking architectural "copies", kept the same architectural design idea (the proportions of the interior and the exterior), but the materialization and urban positioning were influenced by parameters of the new location. This Doctoral thesis is giving a historical review of the development of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the strong accent on the Austro-Hungarian period. Moreover, it compares certain buildings in Vienna and Sarajevo, but also the environmental impacts and Genius loci in the same designing program but at different sites.

The case study of this research are buildings of the Academy of Fine Arts in Sarajevo and Protestant Chapel in Vienna, buildings of the Main Post Office in Sarajevo and Austrian Postal Savings Bank in Vienna, buildings of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo and Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna, buildings of the Marienhof in Sarajevo and Baldiahof in Vienna, and buildings of the National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo and Art House and Music hall in Vienna. These buildings are compared in terms of their style, visual language, volumes, proportions, dimensions, and cultural and historical significance. Moreover, the doctoral thesis researches the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina with its architects, styles, urbanism, history, politics, culture and other values. The doctoral thesis also argues the element of Genius loci, as one of the crucial elements in architectural creativity and architectural heritage.

1.5. Review of the Previous Scientific Researches and Publications

The architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina was examined and presented through a several scientific, educational, touristic, and other kind of books and publications. The authors of these publications mainly treated architecture of Austro-Hungarian period of Bosnia and Herzegovina in a local context, without framing it in wider geographical circles. The texts and studies that have been published on architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina were rarely translated to foreign languages, and although they contributed significantly to exploration, valorization and presentation of the heritage, they missed the chance to bring this topic to global audiences. On the other hand, foreign authors who wrote about architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period usually did not go further than the border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, with some mentioning just a few significant buildings from this period.

Among the first scientific researches of Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina there are two professors, Dr Branka Dimitrijević and Dr Jela Božić. In her PhD research (from 1991), Branka Dimitrijević²⁵ explored the architecture of architect Karel Pařík, and Jela Božić,²⁶ in her PhD research (from 1989) explored the architecture of architect Josip pl. Vancaš. Both PhD theses were very detailed in descriptions and drawings and they still are significant resources of research of architecture in the Austro-Hungarian period. Other authors, in their PhD researches, explored the contributions of architects from this period. One of the significant works is from professor Dr Mehmed Hrasnica,²⁷ who wrote about architect Josip Pospišil in his PhD research (from 1983), and other is master thesis (from 2003) from Dr Jasenka Cico who wrote about architect Rudolf Tönnies. Architect Josip Pospišil also wrote several architectural texts and reviews in Austro-Hungarian period which were published in the book of Professor Dr Mehmed Hrasnica. A significant contribution to

²⁵ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Pařík (Karel Pařík), doktorska disertacija*, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

²⁶ Božić, Jelena (1989) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva u Periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave, doktorska disertacija*, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu

²⁷ Hrasnica, Mehmed (1983) *Život i djelo arhitekta Josipa Pospišila, doktorska disertacija*, Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

this field is the PhD research (from 2017) done by Sanja Zadro²⁸ on the topic of Austro-Hungarian period in architecture of Mostar. This was for the first time that Austro-Hungarian period in architecture of Mostar was explored in detailed scientific way. Other scientific articles and publications on the history of architecture of Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina are rare and most of them have the character of review articles.

One of the first articles (from 1887) on the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina was published in Vienna and it was written by Edmund Stix²⁹ under the head line “Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und die Herzegovina von Beginn der Okkupation durch die Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie bis in das Jahr 1887.” After this there was a few similar articles like the one from 1896 published in Berlin under the head line: “Durch Bosnien und die Herzegovina kreuz und quer” by the author Heinrich Renner from which one can learn about important buildings and architects in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A special chapter on the architecture of Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina was also published in Vienna in 1901 in the book “Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Bosnien un Herzegovina.”

During the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina a several news papers were published among which “Sarajevski list” (1878 – 1918) and “Nada” (1895 – 1903) provided information on new constructions during that time. Thanks to these newspapers, it is possible to trace the details about the constructions and architects in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Austro-Hungarian period. Between the two World wars, there were not many significant articles on the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period. Most of them were about deaths of famous architects.

About the architecture of Austro-Hungarian period there are several texts written by the authors Dušan Smiljanić, Hamdija Kreševljaković, Todor Kruševac, Risto Besarović, Branko Bulić, Alija Bejtić, Aleksandar Levi, and others.

²⁸ Zadro, Sanja (2017) *Mostarska arhitektura od 1850. do Drugoga svjetskog rata, doktorska disertacija*, Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu

²⁹ Edmund Stix (24. 11. 1837 – 24. 02. 1903, Vienna) was a director of Building Department of State Government (Zemaljska vlada.)

The architecture from the Austro-Hungarian period was explored through the books of professors Dr Nedžad Kurto³⁰ and Dr Ibrahim Krzović.³¹ Their books were among the first ones to provide insight into historical, political, artistic, and architectural context of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo. Dr Borislav Spasojević³² published a book about the business-residential palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo. This book gave detailed descriptions of important examples and detailed drawings of some palaces built in Sarajevo. This book is very significant for exploring the history of housing and other segments from the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo. The author also explained differences between neo styles that were used in the Austro-Hungarian period and their values in the cultural, architectural and historical context. The book “Ćiril Metod Iveković – the architect and conservator” from the author Dr Slavica Marković³³ which was published in 1992, in Zagreb, gives a detailed insight into the life and work of one of the most prominent architects from the Austro-Hungarian period. One of the rare authors who wrote about architecture of this period in Mostar is Professor Dr Amir Pašić³⁴ who provided a significant architectural review in a book about this city’s architecture.

One of the most significant books on architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period is the book by Professor Dr Ákos Moravánszky.³⁵ This is one of the very rare scientific books that describes the architecture of this period without mentioning Sarajevo, or Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Professor Dr Tatjana Neidhardt³⁶ published a book on the history of Sarajevo’s architecture with her own watercolour drawings and basic descriptions of the most important buildings including significant number of buildings from the Austro-Hungarian period. This book has become very popular among tourists and it has

³⁰ Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing

³¹ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH

³² Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog Perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC

³³ Marković, Slavica (1992) *Ćiril Metod Iveković – arhitekt i konzervator*, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske

³⁴ Pašić, Amir (2005) *Celebrating Mostar: Architectural history of the city 1452 – 2004*, Gračanica: Grin

³⁵ Moravánszky, Ákos (2005) *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture*, Budapest: The MIT Press

³⁶ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ

been translated into many languages. In recent years, there were some books for wider public like “Forgotten Sarajevo” (later also “Forgotten Mostar“) by author Miroslav Prstojević.³⁷ These books gave insight into the Austro-Hungarian period through old postcards, photos, texts, and short descriptions. These books were very significant in raising awareness of importance of the heritage during these times.

Currently there is a scientific project,³⁸ the „Islamic Architecture and Orientalizing Style in Habsburg Bosnia, 1878-1918“, run by Dr Maximilian Hartmuth from the Institute of Art History, Vienna University which tends to explore and valorise one specific style in the architecture of Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As project's description says, by documenting and analysing this heritage in the necessary detail, the project will fill a significant gap in published scholarly research. It will also contribute to our understanding of the European powers' historical responses to the challenge of cultural diversity in territories under their control.

1.6. Hypothesis and Research Questions

Hypothesis:

Genius loci has a crucial role in distinction of the same design idea in the architecture of Austro-Hungarian period between Vienna and Sarajevo

³⁷ Prstojević, Miroslav (1999) *Zaboravljeno Sarajevo*, Sarajevo: Stubovi kulture

³⁸ *The project highlights an understudied experiment at the intersection of nineteenth-century European and Islamic architectural histories. It draws attention to a significant body of buildings designed by architects trained in Central Europe for use by Muslims in Habsburg-ruled Bosnia-Herzegovina (1878-1918). These buildings, many of which mosques, largely draw upon a traditional Islamic formal and functional typology. The composition and decoration of their façades, however, is the product of nineteenth-century Historicist conduct. Quoted are elements from assorted Islamic artistic heritages, with prominence given to Cairo and Andalusia. In Bosnia, many of these buildings were misinterpreted as mere renovations of Ottoman edifices, as is indeed declared on several inscriptions. However, this information generally appears to pertain to the institutions accommodated in these buildings rather than to their present form and architecture.*

Research Questions:

Q1: What are the significant historical Periods in Bosnia and Herzegovina and how have they influenced the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period?

Q2: What are the values of architecture from the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo in terms of styles, volumes, and proportions?

Q3: What are the influences of the West on the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Q4: Did the architecture of 19th and 20th centuries in Vienna served as a role model for the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo?

Q5: What are the similarities and differences between the buildings “role models” built in Vienna and their “replicas” built in Sarajevo?

Q6: What is the impact on the same design idea of the environment and site where the building is built?

Q7: What is the role of Genius loci in the Austro-Hungarian period of the architecture in Sarajevo?

1.7. The Aims, Motivation and Relevance

"Cultural Diversity and Heritage Diversity: The diversity of cultures and heritage in our world is an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind. The protection and enhancement of cultural and heritage diversity in our world should be actively promoted as an essential aspect of human development."

The Nara Document on Authenticity³⁹

Unquestionably, the cultural and historical heritage is the most credible witness of the spirit of bygone ages, architecture, tradition and culture, scientific and social development. Because of these noble reasons we need to preserve and protect our cultural heritage as an universal value. Moreover, as individuals and professionals we are responsible for the promotion, care and research of our heritage, and also architectural heritage among others. The cultural and historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina went through different destructions over centuries, but it still managed to survive and continues to nourish the idea of universality. This inspiring heritage from Bosnia and Herzegovina is the driving force of my personal and professional motivation.

Why is the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina significant in terms of quantity and quality? For buildings constructed in the Austro-Hungarian period, it was noted that most of the elements of the building, especially those structural, are built in the best way with good quality materials. By not jeopardizing their historic identity, we can make such interventions which will significantly extend their lifetime. The value of the architecture created at the beginning of the twentieth century in Bosnia and Herzegovina is evident by the fact that it is the southernmost concentration of architectural styles and because these architectural objects and ensembles have a high level of documentary value. According to data from 1988, these buildings participate with 35.7%⁴⁰ in the total housing stock of the cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

³⁹ *The Nara Document on Authenticity was drafted by the 35 participants at the Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention, held at Nara, Japan, from 1-6 November 1993. The Nara Conference was held in cooperation with UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS.*

⁴⁰ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog Perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC

Similarities of the concept and design of some buildings from the Austro-Hungarian period and from different geographic locations is obviously on many examples. These buildings represent the association with the culture, traditions, people, customs, and geographic area in which they are located. Valorisation and comparison of the buildings from the Austro-Hungarian period aims to examine their architectural value, but also their urban settings, proportions, and materialization. All of these are influenced by the perception of certain building through access sequences and interpretation of certain neo style, with constantly present influences from the West. Putting this architecture in a wider context aims to bring up its significance and all of its values. Exploring our heritage as a universal value of all people of the world brings not only scientific richness, but also spiritual and personal satisfaction.

The aims of this research are to shine a light on at least some of the values of architectural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially on architectural heritage from the Austro-Hungarian period. Bringing lost connections between Vienna and Sarajevo back, helps us understand the significance of architecture and its complex context, but also teaches us again how everything is connected with the sometimes invisible network of culture and history. Moreover, this research aims to register and valorise few specific examples of buildings designed on the same idea in a different, and sometimes completely opposite environment. One of the main aims is to highlight the impressive diversity of cultural and historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina in a global context, and to provide a map of interesting mixture of the external influences and local traditions for future researches.

1.8. Methodological Approach

This PhD research has characteristics of a historical research since its focus is the history of architecture in the Austro-Hungarian period (1878 – 1918) in Bosnia and Herzegovina with comparative analysis of buildings from Sarajevo and Vienna.

The methodological approach is based on Yin's Case Study Method⁴¹ for the development of a methodological framework:

1. Define theoretical framework, select cases, define research criteria
2. Collect data and analyze through individual case report
3. Write cross case conclusions and develop final remarks

The first step of the research was defining the theoretical and time frame for the work. The research gives a review of the development of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and then concentrates on the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. After providing historical background in the context of architecture, the research will focus on the few selected cases and their comparative analysis.

The research process included collecting historical documentation and available information on the selected cases. This includes written, photographic and graphic documentation connected to the buildings. This stage of the research was conducted in archives and libraries. A detailed analysis of selected cases included documenting *in situ*. An assessment was carried out with a great precision. This phase included a record of all deviations from the original design as well as systematization of collected data. Comparison of the current state and the historical conditions of the building "role models" with buildings "replicas" followed by previous steps. Special attention was given to the authentic parts of the buildings, interpretations of the details of the "originals", urban settings, the details on the façade and in interior, as well as the function of certain buildings.

⁴¹ Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research, Design and Methods*. London: Sage Publications

After completing the research, there was a valorization based on the adopted criteria for all selected cases/buildings. Age and materialization, architectural and artistic values, deviations from the style and function were all recorded and compared with a special evaluation of those buildings that have great cultural and historical value, both in Sarajevo and Vienna. In addition to the analysis of the buildings from an architectural and artistic point of view, it was necessary to conduct an urban analysis of the sites and their urban setting. Analysis of the close environment in context of Genius loci was also conducted.

This research follows the advices given by Umberto Eco in his book “How to Write a Thesis”⁴² in terms of methodological approach, editing and formating. This book was introduced to me by my co-mentor Maja Popovac and it was extremely helpfull in writing this thesis.

⁴² Eco, Umberto (2015) *How To Write a Thesis*, Massachusetts/ Cambridge/ London: MIT Press

1.9. The Structure of the Doctoral Dissertation

This PhD research work is divided into five chapters. The first chapter called Introduction describes the study, subject and span of the research, hypothesis and research questions, motivation, aims, and explains the methodological approach. It is divided into nine subchapters containing historical background – i.e., the architectural case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and review of the previous scientific researches.

The second chapter deals with different historical periods of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The twelve subchapters explore Antiquity, Middle Ages, Ottoman period, Austro-Hungarian period, Architecture from Yugoslavia period, Modernism and Post Modernism periods, finishing in Contemporary Architecture.

The third chapter is about the architecture from Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it is divided in nine subchapters exploring the historical context, its dominant styles, prominent architects, chosen typologies, urban context, decorative details, politics in architecture, cultural and historical values and finally the position of architecture from the Austro-Hungarian period in international circles.

The fourth chapter is case study of this PhD research. It is divided in nine subchapters which compare buildings in Sarajevo and Vienna in the context of styles, volumes, proportions, polychrome and plastic decorations. This chapter also deals with phenomenon of Genius loci in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It discusses the power of the centres of East and West, historical and cultural background, environment, weaknesses and advantages of Genius loci, identity, contemporary interpretations, etc.

The fifth chapter is the conclusion of PhD research. The other subchapters are about literature, sources, drawings, photos, and other documentation, then the summary of PhD research written in French, my biography, and the acknowledgments.

2. ARCHITECTURAL TYPOLOGIES

IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FROM THE OUTSIDE

2.1. Early period: Butmir culture - the most significant archaeological settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Archaeological remains of material culture testify to the continuity of life in the areas of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. The earliest finds originate from the late Stone Age (Velika Gradina, Rama well, 125.000 – 60.000 BC), followed by the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina through all other Periods of early history. From Paleolithic times, there are the remains of material culture found in Stolac (Badanj cave, 14.000 BC.) From the early Neolithic there are remains of material culture found in Gornja Tuzla, Kakanj and Buna. From middle Neolithic there are settlements found in the vicinity of Visoko, Tuzla, and late Neolithic there are settlements in Butmir (8.000 – 4.750 BC) near Sarajevo, which is one of the most important examples of this historical period in the Balkans. According to archaeological excavations from the Metal, Bronze and Iron Age, there were many stilt-house settlements such as Ripač and Donja Dolina, but the Glasinačka kolica from the Iron Age, which originates from Glasinac near Sokolac, are of special importance. Greek culture has also left its influence in the region, but a special place is reserved for the Roman culture which is characterised by a large number of roads and communications through the territories of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. From the Roman period, there were a few more remnants of construction, such as Roman villas and fortified settlements, which were built from the time of Roman invasion into the territories of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina in the third century BC. The entire period mentioned in the architectural circles in Bosnia and Herzegovina is called preOttoman, and besides some buildings preserved from the Roman times, one of the most important monument of material culture is the archaeological site in Butmir.

The prehistoric settlement Butmir⁴³ is an archaeological site located in Ilidža, near Sarajevo and the spring of Bosna River. The prehistoric settlement Butmir is a national monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Butmir, as an archaeological site, is often active topic in political circles, and especially recently when its significance is being manipulated and its values are reduced for the sake of short-term profit.

⁴³ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Prahistorijsko naselje u Butmiru, arheološko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2500 [accessed on 05th June 2017]

The archaeological site of Butmir, as well as the monuments of the People's Liberation Struggle of World War 2 from the time of Yugoslavia, share the same fate. This cultural heritage is not claimed by any of the three constituent peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina and is thus condemned to decay. Neither ethical values or the universal values of cultural and historical heritage are applied. At the sites of the mentioned monuments, which are usually the national monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina (in practice, they relied on formal, but not legal protection), new facilities are currently being built. In Butmir those are housing and business buildings, and at the sites of the monuments dedicated to the People's Liberation Struggle from World War 2, sacral buildings are being built.

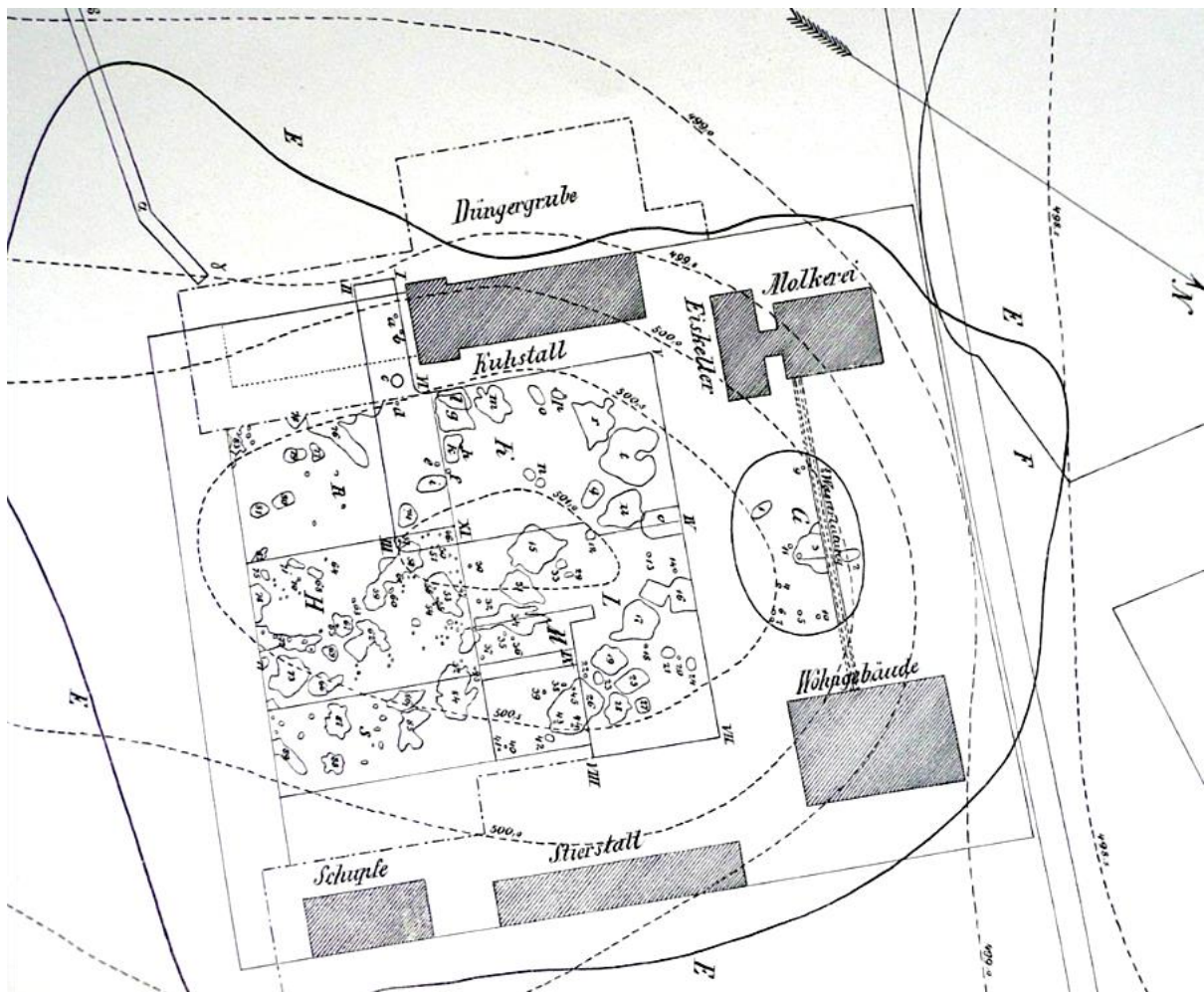


Figure 2: Plan of the Neolithic Station in Butmir, source: F. Fiala, M. Hoernes: Die neolithische Station von Butmir bei Sarajevo in Bosnien. Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1894–1896, Wien 1898.

The Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina⁴⁴ proclaimed the Prehistoric settlement of Butmir as a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina and it has divided the archaeological artifacts and archaeological site into three groups. According to radiocarbon dating, life in the settlements of Butmir lasted from 5.100 to 4.500 BC:

- Butmir I, 5.100 – 4.900 BC,
- Butmir II, 4.850 – 4.750 BC (results until 1979),
- Butmir III, until 4.500 BC (results from 2002.)

Due to its spatial coverage, the Butmir archaeological site has never been fully explored, since such research requires significant financial resources and time. The revisionary and interdisciplinary investigations of the site were planned by the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from 1992 to 1995, but due to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina this research was never carried out. Thus, a unique opportunity has been missed to investigate the site objectively in accordance with the high scientific principles and to give guidelines for its further inclusion and treatment as an archaeological site within the urban zone Sarajevo - Ilidža.

In the past, investigations on Butmir were carried out on several occasions; 1893-96, 1979, 1998, 2002 and 2004. All movable archaeological material is recorded in documents and it is located in the departments of Archeology and Prehistory in National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A large part of the material was deposited in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and other material is part of the exhibition at the Sarajevo City Museum.

The first systematic survey of Butmir was carried out in the Austro-Hungarian period, when archaeological remains were discovered during the construction of the Agricultural station. The research was carried out by V. Radimsky, F. Fiala and M. Hoernes. This discovery caused great interest in archaeological circles of the world,

⁴⁴ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Prahistorijsko naselje u Butmiru, arheološko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2500 [accessed on 05th June 2017]

and the coverage area occupied 5.305 m², and until the 1980s it was one of the largest excavations of Neolithic sites. The interest of archeologists around the world for Butmir culture has led to the Congress of Archeology and Anthropology being held in Sarajevo in August 1894. According to the 1979 investigations, the size of the settlement is estimated to be about 24.000 m², i.e. occupies an area of 185x130 m. This is the largest area of a settlement of this cultural group. During the previous research, a part of the remains of the stilt houses settlement was destroyed, and about 90 dugout-houses which were grouped into 5 groups have been discovered. This number covers only a part of the settlement that has been investigated so far, while a large part of the settlement is unexplored. The dugout's pits were arranged in the form of a circle whose center was a gathering place for the community. Other uses have yet to be identified, but it is known that they could have other functions besides housing. Some dugout-houses had fireplaces, and the hearths were found outside the earthenware. Butmir's findings of the remains of wheat, barley and lentils, wild apples and hazelnuts, but also the remains of animal bones, indicates that the primary activity was agriculture, and then cattle breeding.



Figure 3: A typical Butmir vase, source: M. Popovac, One-span Ottoman Bridges in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mostar 2015

Stone artifacts, axes and other types of tools were found in Butmir⁴⁵. Stone artifacts testify that there was a joint stone-workshop that was used by all residents of the settlement. Jewelry was not found, but for this reason, the Butmir pottery is extremely valuable in the world. Pottery of the Butmir cultural group is the most diverse and most decorative pottery in the entire transit zone, which, apart from central Bosnia, is located in Metohija, Ohrid and Pelagonia. Thanks to this pottery, which is distinguished by its specific characteristics, and often with great artistic values, the Butmir culture has occupied a special place in southern Europe for a long time. The most numerous are conical containers with a slightly curved upper part, then oval, semi-opaque and biconical forms of vessels with less curved and shorter cylindrical neck, vases on the legs and shallow coarse bowls with a wavy shaped circumference are also represented. In addition to decorations in a form of ribbons, the handles are styled in the shape of stylized animal heads. In Butmir⁴⁶, at this stage, fine ceramics occur in three basic types: black-glazed, spiral-banded and pottery of the Hvar-Lisičići type.

The most valuable realization of the Butmir pottery⁴⁷ comes from Phase 2 and those are in the form of spiral-banded decorations. In addition to these, there are decorations with moulded studs or vertical cannel. Basic forms of spiral-banded pottery, representing in technical terms the peak of development in relation to other Butmir's pottery, are: spiral-banded pottery wares like spherical vases, spherical vases with long necks, biconical dishes and bowls, vases with a rounded upper part or cylindrical neck, canopic/ pear-shaped vases, tall cups of oval profile, vases with several feet, a range of miniature vessels, and sacrificial altars with four feet. In the decorating of the Butmir pottery, white and red colors were used, but also S, C, and K letters/ motifs. Motifs in the form of letters C and S, which experienced a real flourish, regularly appear on spherical vases, and rarely on spherical vases with high cylindrical necks. In ornaments, rectilinear motifs are found in several variations, and the most common are different geometric shapes, thanks to which Butmir, after excavating from 1893 to 1896, became the synonym for spiral and banded pottery.

⁴⁵ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p.19

⁴⁶ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Prahistorijsko naselje u Butmiru, arheološko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2500 [accessed on 05th June 2017]

⁴⁷ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p.19

Decorated pottery of Butmir culture, on which the human figures are presented, are made in black-glazed technique in such a way that the accent was put on the features of the body or details of the clothes. The most numerous are female characters. Studying this pottery resulted in three types being identified: Armenoids, Negroids and Europeid (Alpine type). It was not established whether this division was intentional in relation to the situation, or only the vision of the artist. In addition to realistic images, a schematic representations of the human figure in two variants was developed: variant 1 are "characters with masks", and variant 2 are "adorants". Archaeologists and historians believe that these figures had the character of a cult. For most female figures, they are thought to have been associated with the fertility goddess, which is associated with the matriarchal relationships that prevailed in the Neolithic period, while realistic figures represent only the unique cult of the mother. For figurines with "face mask", as well as those in the adorant's position, it is assumed that they were used in some cult activities or magical rituals. Unlike human, animal characters are not that common, and they usually represent domestic animals. These archaeological remains show that the inhabitants of Butmir created, and later fostered their own artistic expression.

The Butmir culture disappeared in 2.400 BC. when the Illyrians who belonged to the tribe of the Desitians arrived in the regions of today's Sarajevo. They often rebelled against the Roman occupation, and the last rebellion was broken by the Roman Emperor Tiberius in 9 AC. After that, the areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina fell under the Roman administration, which build a network of communications and other public buildings.

Construction of a road that connects Iliđža and Hrasnica ,and a swimming pool and hotel complex near the archeological site, during 2004 destroyed the monumental valules of the complex. The new construction works ignored the previous archeologicalah investigations and the status of the national monument that Butmir has and these activities continues until today.

2.2. Medieval period

2.2.1. Secular Architecture: The Medieval Fortified Towns from Medieval period

What are the authentic architectural achievements of Middle Ages in Bosnia and Herzegovina? How different historical Periods affected the development of Bosnian and Herzegovinian old towns and fortresses? What are the common architectural characteristics of medieval fortresses in Bosnia and Herzegovina? What are the representative examples of Bosnian and Herzegovinian old towns and fortresses from the architectural and cultural-historical point of view?



Figure 4: The Old town in Velika Kladuša, 02/05/2011, Photograph by Author

The medieval heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina represents an authentic image of the identity of a unified space and nation before the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian conquests, which brought more powerful influences from the East and from the West. In addition to stećaks, the most important part of the cultural and historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the period of the Middle Ages consists of fortified towns and fortified castles that originated from the end of the 12th to the 15th centuries.⁴⁸ These fortresses, often called only "old towns", constituted the defence

⁴⁸ Pašić, Amir (2012) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Arhitektura prije 1463.godine*, Sarajevo: Skripta za predmet Arhitektura na tlu BiH, p. 17-21

system in Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of the system of fortified towns and castles in Southeast Europe. A small number of old towns were archaeologically researched and valued. In addition to architectural values, the old towns have a significant cultural-historical component because they are a direct product of social relations of a given time⁴⁹, that is, the time of kings, nobles and other feudalists on the one hand, and subordinates on the other.

Professor Sabira Husedžinović in the book *Old Cities of the Una-Sana Canton* (Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of Bihać and the Museum of the Una-Sana Canton) has stated that the medieval towns and old fortified castles could be of a state importance, administrative, or that they could have the role of protecting communications, mining sites, residential settlements within the walls, or suburbs that developed in their immediate vicinity, or they were castles with defensive towers and defensive walls.

Professor Hamdija Kreševljaković divided the fortifications built on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period of the Middle Ages into five groups⁵⁰: towns, palaces, towers, fortifications and sharps. And while the towns were built mostly of stone, the palaces were built of wood and with a short lifespan. The towers were built mostly out of stone and they had several floors, and they were often surrounded by a defensive wall, while the fortresses had a base of stone and a protruding part of the last floor of a wood that served as an observation desk. Sharps or canals often filled with water were clogged around the building, and sometimes they were even fortified by palisades.

According to Professor Amir Pašić, the selection of the site for the building of the medieval fort was conditioned by natural characteristics, the geo-political situation and historical circumstances. According to the unwritten rule of the time, towns were just a day's walk from one another, and they were built in river basins, border areas, as well as on routes of significant communications, that is, at sites that provided

⁴⁹ Husedžinović, Sabira (2009) *Stari gradovi Unsko-sanskog kantona*, Bihać: Zavod za zaštitu kulturnog naslijeđa Bihać i Muzej Unsko-sanskog kantona, p. 8-25

⁵⁰ Kreševljaković, Hamdija (1953) *Naše starine I: Stari bosanski gradovi*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika Sarajevo, p. 7-44

natural shelter and protection.⁵¹ The head of the fortified town was originally called castellan, and in the Ottoman period his title was *dizdar*. After the Ottoman conquest, fortified towns lost their independence; some were abandoned and demolished, and some were expanded and rebuilt. The same thing happened in the Austro-Hungarian period, when the towns on the border with Austria were weakened, and the ones on the border with Serbia were strengthened.

Old medieval towns differ in size, which is conditioned by their function and significance, but there are basic common characteristics such as towers, gates, and defensive walls whose position, number, and sizes depended on natural elements and the size of the fortress. The towns generally had a palace for the feudal lord, at least one water tank, a church in the Middle Ages, a mosque in the Ottoman period, and an administrative or residential building in the Austro-Hungarian period, in the light of later changes of the original function and adaption to the new function. The stylistic affiliation of the medieval towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not easy to determine because of the many historical layers from the various periods. The Romanesque and Gothic elements from the earliest stages of construction, however, are the most dominant ones.

In the Ottoman period, old towns got *tabijas* - bastions (multangular short towers filled with land), barutans, mosques, and other buildings that were the result of changes in the mode of warfare and changes in the social system. The Austro-Hungarian administration has given its stamp to medieval towns through housing, administrative and military functions, and the last stage of development has made old towns into tourist destinations, hotels, museums and other cultural places. From almost three hundred of medieval towns and fortresses on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the following old towns are distinguished by their architectural and cultural-historical significance: Blagaj, Bobovac, Bužim, Cazin, Dobož, Dobor, Gradačac, Jajce, Kastel, Ključ, Maglaj, Ostrovica, Počitelj, Srebrenik, Stolac, Tešanj, Travnik, Todorovo, Velika Kladaša and Vranduk.

The old town of Blagaj is mentioned for the first time in the written documents of Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus under the name of Bona in 10th

⁵¹ Pašić, Amir (2012) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Arhitektura prije 1463.godine*, Sarajevo: Skripta za predmet Arhitektura na tlu BiH, p. 17-21

century.⁵² However, archaeological excavations that were repeatedly carried out at the site of the old town of Blagaj confirms that that area was inhabited in prehistoric times and that it maintained the continuity of development through the Roman period until the Ottoman period, representing a significant point of Zachumlia⁵³ or Hum. Blagaj was the seat of Stjepan Vukčić Kosača⁵⁴, and because of that it was known as Stjepan's town. Of the architectural objects that make up Blagaj, the most important place occupies the palace of a rectangle base with several floors and wore a façade with plastic decoration. Until now, only the remains of the old town of Blagaj are preserved, which are mostly made up of the walls that encircled the city at the time of its most brilliant history, from which it promoted the popular saying "šehar – town Blagaj and *kasaba* - village Mostar". After the Ottoman conquest (1465, the Ottomans occupied Blagaj), the city lost strategic significance, and Mostar gained the primacy. The old town of Blagaj is currently in poor condition.

The old town of Bobovac is considered to be the most important old town of the medieval Bosnian Kingdom. This royal town is located south of town of Vareš, near the Dragovići and Miljakovići villages, on the elevation above the river basin of river Miljakovska and river Bukovica. The old town of Bobovac originated from the late antique site⁵⁵, and was first mentioned in the writings in 1350. It was the home of the royal family Kotromanić, where the royal crown was preserved and where all the members of the Bosnian royal family lived. The old town consists of three parts, and most of the buildings had Gothic elements, but they were later destroyed to the ground. Reconstruction of the Chapel of St. Mihovil is done very inexpertly, based on non-scientific methods, which has reduced its value. Within the town ramparts there were once two courts; one for the royal family and the other for the reception of

⁵² Anđelić, Pavao (1965) *Blagaj-srednjevjekovni grad*, Beograd: Arheološki pregled 7, p. 178-180

⁵³ *Zachlunia or Zachumlia, also Hum, was a medieval principality located in the modern-day regions of Herzegovina and southern Dalmatia (today parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, respectively). In some Periods it was a fully independent or semi-independent South Slavic principality.*

⁵⁴ *Stjepan Vukčić Kosača (1404–1466) was the most powerful and for the most part unruly vassal in the Kingdom of Bosnia. A member of the Kosača noble family, he became Grand Duke of Bosnia upon the death of his uncle. He refused to recognize the accession of King Tomaš, proclaiming himself a semi-independent herzog, recognizing the suzerainty first of the Ottoman Empire, then Aragon and again the Ottoman Empire. It was Stjepan's title Herceg of Saint Sava that gave rise to the name of Ottoman sanjak established after 1482 when the Kosača family domain fell under Ottoman rule. The name remained since then and it is used for modern region of Herzegovina, and town of Herceg Novi in present day's Montenegro.*

⁵⁵ Anđelić, Pavao (1973) *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska, stolna mjesta bosanskih vladara u XIV i XV stoljeću*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša

guests and parishes, a sacral building (the chapel and foundations of a new church whose construction was interrupted by the Ottoman conquest), eleven defence towers (the most important defence tower is the one on Vis), craft workshops, three cisterns, a Franciscan palace and other service and residential buildings with suburb. The old town of Bobovac is accessible to visitors.

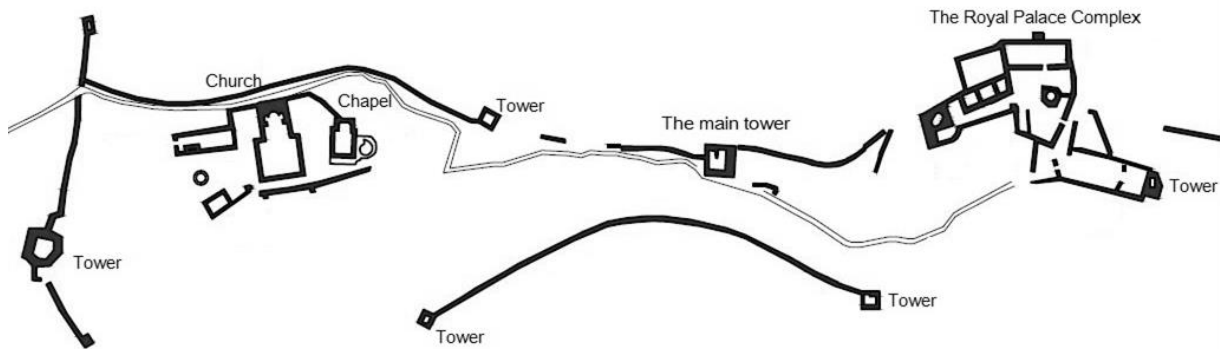


Figure 5: The Old town of Bobovac, source: S. Husedžinović, Map redrawn by Author

The old town of Bužim (known as Čava as well) dates back to the 14th century⁵⁶ and is one of the most significant old towns in Krajina (North-West region of Bosnia and Herzegovina). King Ludwig I, in a royal charter, gave Bužim to Galles, whose descendants ruled the town until 1425, after which Bužim became the property of the dukes of Blagaj. Later, Bužim was ruled by Counts of Celj, a Croatian noble family Frankopan, Jurja Mikulčić and Croatian noble family Keglević. After numerous conquests, Bužim fell under Ottoman rule in 1576, and during the Ottoman period there were several unsuccessful attempts to conquer the city by the Christian armies.⁵⁷ The remains of the old town show that Bužim consisted of two fortifications, the internal one, which is older and has a four-cornered base with corner towers. The second one, external one is younger. In Ottoman period the old fort got a mosque. This fort was built at the time of the use of cold weapons, while the external fort was built at the time of using firearms. The external fort was built to follow the contours of old planes but with bastions at its corners. The old town of Bužim is currently in poor condition.

The old town of Cazin, according to archaeological finds, remains of the ramparts, as well as folk traditions, dates back to the Middle Ages. In historical sources, Cazin was

⁵⁶ Kreševljaković, Hamdija (1953) *Naše starine I: Stari bosanski gradovi*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika Sarajevo, p. 22.

⁵⁷ Popović, Marko (1995) *Srednjovjekovne tvrđave u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine 1, Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, p. 33-55

first mentioned in 1522, when the Ottomans won Knin. Then Cazin became the seat of Knin Bishops. The old town of Cazin consists of the outer and inner ramparts. The late-medieval fortress, erected around the plateau at the top of the hill, has a base in the form of an irregular square, and the surrounding walls originate from the Ottoman period. In 1576, the mosque⁵⁸ was built on the site of today's mosque, within the ramparts of a medieval fortification. It was demolished in 1879. The same year, a new mosque, originally with a wooden minaret, was built. At that time it was the largest mosque in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The old town of Doboj is situated on a rocky elevation near the mouths of the Spreča and Usora rivers in the river Bosna. The first written record of Doboj originates from 1415, although the territory of old the town was inhabited in Palaeolithic, which is evidenced by archaeological finds.⁵⁹ Historians assume that the Doboj old town was one of the three most important fortresses (the other two were in Maglaj and Tešanj) at the time of *the marionette* Bosnian kingdom headed by Matija Radivojević and established by Ottomans after their conquest of Bosnia in 1463. The shape of Doboj old town is conditioned by the configuration of the terrain and it consists of the lower and upper part with two *kapi* - gate towers, guard/defense tower, powder mill, tank, and ramparts with bastions and the remains of other structures. The gate tower located in the lower part of the old town has a shape of watchtower with wooden floor. The old town of Doboj is partially adapted and accessible to visitors.

The old town of Dobor is situated on the elevation on the left bank of Bosna river and it is located about four kilometers upstream of town of Modriča. Archaeological excavations⁶⁰ found that the site of the old town of Dobor was inhabited in prehistoric times, but in the written documents the old town of Dobor was first mentioned in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, which is the period of the wars of Hungarian king Sigismund against Bosnia. Like other old towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dobor had the same fate in the Ottoman period. It is known that the old town was conquered by Gazi Husrev bey. Prior to the Ottoman conquest, Dobor was under the

⁵⁸ Bećirbegović, Madžida (1990) *Džamije sa drvenom munarom*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša

⁵⁹ Kreševljaković, Hamdija (1953) *Naše starine I: Stari bosanski gradovi*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika Sarajevo, p. 7-44

⁶⁰ Truhelka, Ćiro (1904) *Naši gradovi, opis najljepših sredovječnih gradova Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Naklada Knjižare J. Studnička i dr., p. 12

rule of the Hungarian-Croatian nobility, among which the noble family Berislavić stands out. In the structure of the old town, there are two towers and courtyard, and the old town itself is one of the few rare and good examples of defence fortifications from the Middle Ages. It is currently in poor condition and due to the remains of the land mines from the last war, the old town of Dobor is not available for visits.



Figure 6: The Old town in Gradačac, 26/05/2015, Photograph by Author

The old town of Gradačac is located on the slopes of the mountain Majevisa, on the elevation near the river Gradašnica. Since archaeological research has not yet been conducted, it is difficult to determine the age of the city, the greater part of which originates from the Ottoman period. The old town consists of two systems of the ramparts; the bigger one is with three *kapi* - gate towers, castles and clock tower (Lower Town), and the inner one is the smaller with smaller towers, some other

buildings, and a tower of Husein-kapetan Gradašćević – Dragon of Bosnia⁶¹ which are located at the spot of the former defence tower (Upper Town).⁶² The mosque was built outside the walls of an old town near one of the gate towers. In the Austro-Hungarian period, two public facilities were built. The old town of Gradačac now holds a hotel and a restaurant.

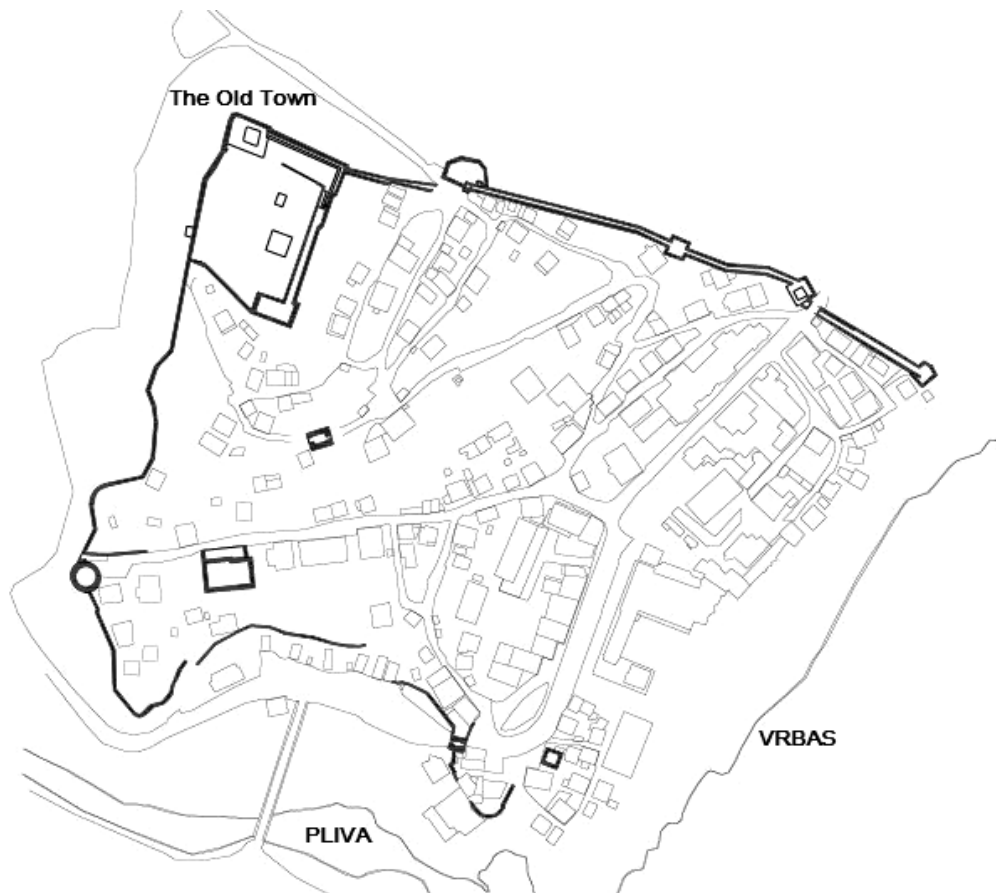


Figure 7: The Old town of Jajce, source: S. Husedžinović, Map redrawn by Author

The old town of Jajce is situated in an exceptional natural environment where the river Pliva flows through the waterfalls into the river Vrbas. For the first time in written documents, Jajce is mentioned in 1396 when the Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić⁶³ is

⁶¹ *Husein-kapetan Gradašćević (31 August 1802–17 August 1834) was born into a Bosnian Muslim noble family. He led a rebellion against the Ottoman government, seeking autonomy for Bosnia. Gradašćević received the honorific "The Dragon of Bosnia" (Zmaj od Bosne), and is considered a Bosnian folk hero and one of the most revered figures in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

⁶² *Kreševljaković, Hamdija (1952) Prilozi povijesti bosanskih gradova pod turskom upravom, Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugoslovenskih naroda pod turskom vladavinom, II/1951, Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, p. 119-184*

⁶³ *Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić (ca. 1350 – 1416) was a Ban of Croatia, Grand Duke of Bosnia and Duke of Split. He was the most prominent member of the noble House of Hrvatinić, and one of the major influential feudal noblemens in Medieval Bosnia.*

called the "conte di Jajcze".⁶⁴ According to the travelogue of Amie Boueu Jajce was named after the fortress of Castel Del Uovo (Kastel Jaje) in Naples.⁶⁵ The most monumental building in the panorama of this royal town is a fortress that dates back to the 13th century and has been repaired several times through various historical periods and its appearance has changed. A particularly valuable element of façade plastics on the fortress is the royal coat of the Kotromanić family, which dates back to the 15th century and it is located above the original entrance to the fortress (Other entrance was open in Ottoman period next to the first one which was closed in the same time). Other significant parts of the old town are the Temple of the God Mithras, the underground grave chapel - Catacombs, the Church of St. Mary with the tower of St. Luke (the crowning place of the last Bosnian king Stjepan Tomašević), powder mill, water reservoir, Bear Tower, Papaz Tower, Tower on Džikovac, Travnik Gate, Banja Luka Gate, Velika Tabija (Big Bastion), Šamića Tabija (Bastion), Esmā Sultanija Mosque, Dizdar Mosque, and the Sinan-bey Mosque.



Figure 8: The panorama of Jajce, 31/03/2019, Photograph by Author

⁶⁴ Basler, Đuro (1967) *Sjeverni dio gradskih utvrda u Jajcu*. Naše starine XI, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika SR Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 51-58

⁶⁵ Mazalić, Đoko (1952) *Stari grad Jajce*. Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, n.s. sveska VII, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej u Sarajevu, p.. 59-100

The Fortress of Kastel is located in Banja Luka, on the plain, where the river Crkvenica flows into the river Vrbas. The remains of the altar of the god of Jupiter confirms that there was a Roman settlement in this area. From its founding to the 1960's, the Fortress Kastel was used for military purposes. The shape of the fortress today originates from the time of Ferhad paša Sokolović, from the Ottoman period.⁶⁶ Kastel belongs to the type of flatland artillery fortresses. The massive defensive wall surrounding the fortress has seven bastions and three towers, of which two are *kapi* - gate towers. Inside the fortress there are a number of structures with different functions and times of emergence such as casemates, three arsenals, and camp. Around the fort, a shingle width of up to 30m filled with water for protection was excavated, and is currently filled with land. Currently in Kastel there is a summer stage, a restaurant, and most of it is arranged as a park area and as such is accessible to visitors.

The old town of Ključ is situated on steep cliffs on the left bank of the Sana river. Archaeological research has shown the existence of a strong Roman fort⁶⁷, and the city was first mentioned in 1322 in the statute of Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić.⁶⁸ At the beginning of Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, the last Bosnian king Stjepan Tomašević tried to find a refuge in the old town of Ključ, but was betrayed, imprisoned, and later executed in Jajce. By this act, Bosnian independence ceased and Bosnian statehood was abolished in favour of the Ottoman Empire. The old town of Ključ has an elongated base and consists of three parts; a medieval fortress/ town with the *kapi* – a gate tower, defence tower, court, vestibule, courtyard and garden with cannons, then the second part of the old town is the Ljubica tower and the third part of the old town are camps. The old town of Ključ is currently in a good condition and it is accessible to visitors.

⁶⁶ Husedžinović, Sabira (2009) *Stari gradovi Unsko-sanskog kantona*, Bihać: Zavod za zaštitu kulturnog naslijeđa Bihać i Muzej Unsko-sanskog kantona, p. 8-25

⁶⁷ Kreševljaković, Hamdija (1953) *Naše starine I: Stari bosanski gradovi*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika Sarajevo, p. 7-44

⁶⁸ *Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić was Bosnian Ban from 1314, but in reality from 1322 to 1353 together with his brother, Vladislav Kotromanić in 1326–1353. He was the son of Bosnian Ban Stjepan I Kotromanić and Jelisaveta/ Elizabeth Nemanjić Kotromanić. Throughout his reign in the fourteenth century, Stjepan ruled the lands from river Sava to the Adriatic region and from river Cetina to river Drina. He was buried in his Franciscan church in Mile, near Visoko, Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

The old town of Maglaj is situated on a steep magmatic rock that rises to the right bank of the river Bosna. Archaeological research does not certify the date of the town's emergence, and the first written proofs of the old town (sub castro nostro Maglay) date from the 15th century.⁶⁹ In the treaties of 1503 and 1519, signed by representatives of Hungary and Turkey, Maglaj remained within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. The history has also recorded the fact that the old town of Maglaj was damaged by Prince Eugene Savoy's attack on Bosnia in 1697, when the Austrian army mined the fortress while retreating back. The old town has changed its appearance several times, but has retained to date the medieval matrix, which is the central and oldest part of the fortress with two later enlarged courtyards. Within the fortress there is a clock tower, defence tower with a dungeon (later converted into a bastion), *kapi* - gate tower, a north tower next to a bastion and another smaller southern tower with a dwelling, cisterns (similar to those in Bobovac, Doboј and Vranduk) and casemate. The old town is open to visitors.

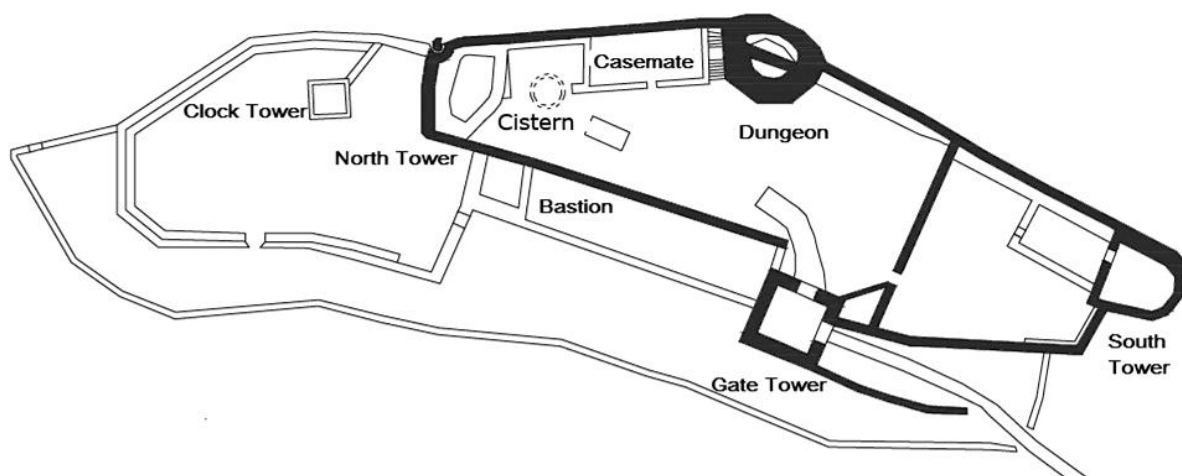


Figure 9: Old town of Maglaj, source: S. Husedžinović, Map redrawn by Author

The old town of Ostrovica is located on the left bank of the river Una within Una National Park near town of Kulen Vakuf.⁷⁰ Prior to the Ottoman conquest (until 1523), Ostrovica belonged to the Croatian noble family of Kurjaković (later Karlovc), the Croatian noble family of Frankopan, Jurja Mikulčić and Ivan Keglević. Because of its

⁶⁹ Pašić, Amir (2012) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Arhitektura prije 1463.godine*, Sarajevo: Skripta za predmet Arhitektura na tlu BiH, p. 17-21

⁷⁰ Kreševljaković, Hamdija (1952) *Prilozi povijesti bosanskih gradova pod turskom upravom*, Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugoslovenskih naroda pod turskom vladavinom, II/1951, Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, p. 119-184

strategic position, the old town of Ostrovica was repeatedly acquired and repaired, and it was located on the border between the Austrian and Venetian territories. The old town of Ostrovica has a rectangular shape with a four-towered structure, two bastions and two entrances with strong and tall walls up to ten meters. It is currently in a relatively good state of preservation, and after the adaptation which took place in 2013, the old town of Ostrovica has re-opened to visitors.



Figure 10: The Old town of Počitelj, 27/10/2017, Photograph by Author

The old town of Počitelj is situated on a rocky cliff, on the left bank of the river Neretva, south of Mostar. It was mentioned in the documents in 1444 in the statues of the kings Alfonso V and Friedrich III.⁷¹ For the development of the town, since its inception, there are three important historical Periods; the period of the Hungarian-

⁷¹ Popović, Marko (1995) *Srednjovjekovne tvrđave u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine 1, Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, p. 33-55

Croatian king Matthias Corvinus, when Počitelj gains great strategic importance, the Ottoman period when the residential zone is formed and the medieval fortress is enlarged, and the period in which the Venetians occupied Gabela, which lasted until 1878.⁷² The old town of Počitelj is an outstanding monument of architecture and urbanism, with its imposing ramparts formed by the built and natural amphitheatric ambience. The medieval fortress consists of a defence tower with a small courtyard, a cistern-tank and a small square-shape tower. In the Ottoman period, the old town got bastions, mosques, amber, imaret – public kitchen, medresse, inn, hammam, clock tower, residential and other buildings. The old town of Počitelj is accessible to visitors.

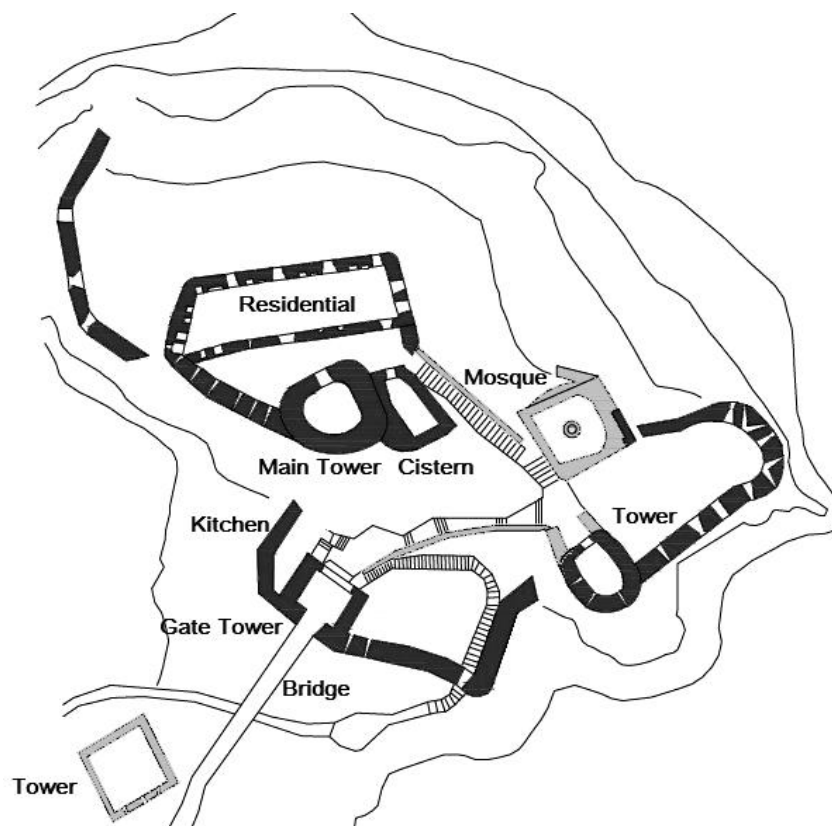


Figure 11: Old town of Srebrenik, source: S. Husedžinović, Map redrawn by Author

The old town of Srebrenik (Gradina) is situated on a steep and inaccessible rock above the river Tinja. This picturesque old town was first mentioned in 1333 in the Srebrenik Charter between Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić and representatives of the Dubrovnik Republic.⁷³ Among the many historical attempts of conquest of Srebrenica there are two important ones. The old town of Srebrenik was conquered by the

⁷² Sanković, Vjekoslava (1981) *Revitalizacija starog grada Počitelja*, Naše starine XIV-XV, Sarajevo: Zemaljski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine

⁷³ Kreševljaković, Hamdija (1953) *Naše starine I: Stari bosanski gradovi*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika Sarajevo, p. 7-44

Hungarians in 1393, and then by the Ottomans in 1512. The old town consists of three interconnected units with four towers; the lower town consists of *kapi* – a gate tower with the second tower and the yard, the upper town is a fortified courtyard with a main tower and a tank, and between them there is barrack and a tower where the tank was first placed, and afterwards the tower carried a mosque. The lower town and the upper town are connected by stone stairs. Access to the fortress is protected by the ramparts which are connected by a wooden bridge. The old town of Srebrenik has exceptionally high aesthetic values because of the conditions of its natural and constructed elements. It is one of the best preserved old towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina and it is open to visitors.

The old town of Stolac (Vidoški) is located on the left bank of river Bregava, on the lime hill. Although the remains of material culture have been preserved since the first century (the ancient Diluntum municipality)⁷⁴, the first written footprints on the Stolac (“loco dicto Stolaz”) originates from 1420. One of the largest medieval old towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the old town of Stolac consists of three parts; lower, middle and upper town. In the lower part, there are remains of the Veli-dedina mosque which was built in the Ottoman period. In the middle part there is a garrison from the Austro-Hungarian period. There are a few ramparts, fourteen towers, ten cisterns and other structures that together create a picturesque panorama of today's Stolac. The old town is accessible to visitors.

The old town of Todorovo (Novigrad) was built in the early 16th century⁷⁵ for the purpose of defending the Novigrad tribe from hostile attacks. The old town was independent, but under the protection of the old town of Krupa and the Blagaj's Dukes of Babonjić. In 1531, it came into the possession of the Dukes of Zrinjski. Captain Mihajlo Deli Todor ruled the town until 1560, when the Ottomans attacked the town and destroyed it.⁷⁶ In commemoration of Captain Deli Todor, who was killed on that occasion, the town got its name – Novi (New) Todor, and later Todorovo. It was built in two phases. The medieval part included a large tower and an outer

⁷⁴ Pašić, Amir (2012) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Arhitektura prije 1463.godine*, Sarajevo: Skripta za predmet Arhitektura na tlu BiH, p. 17-21

⁷⁵ Redžić, Husref (2009) *Srednjovjekovni gradovi u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing

⁷⁶ Kreševljaković, Hamdija (1952) *Prilozi povijesti bosanskih gradova pod turskom upravom, Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugoslovenskih naroda pod turskom vladavinom*, II/1951, Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, p. 119-184

rampart. It was built under the influence of the great Gothic forts of Cazin's Krajina. The second phase of construction is inspired by the Ottoman period when a new large rampart was erected on the west side in the irregular six-sided form. The mosque in Todorovo was built in 1868 and used for this purpose until 1973 when a new under-dome mosque was built outside the old town.



Figure 12: The Old town of Tešanj, 28/08/2016, Photograph by Author

The old town of Tešanj (Gradina) is situated on a steep elevation above the river Tešanjka, which flows into the river Usora and is one of the oldest towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Archaeological research revealed different objects of prehistoric pottery⁷⁷, and the first written data from Stjepan Tomašević about the old town of Tešanj dates back to 1461. The old town consists of two units; the first was formed in the Middle Ages and the second in the Ottoman period. The developed base of the old town includes several towers, bastions, courtyards, vestibules and courtyards, as well as other structures, such as Krnja tower – defence tower, *kapi* - gate tower with guard, Dizdar's tower and clock tower. The old town of Tešanj is in good condition and is accessible to visitors.

⁷⁷ Kreševljaković, Hamdija (1953) *Naše starine I: Stari bosanski gradovi*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika Sarajevo, p. 7-44

The old town of Travnik is located on the branch of Vlašić Mountain, in the valley of the river Lašva. It was mentioned in historical sources in 1463, and it was probably built by Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić. Several archaeological studies⁷⁸ have been carried out on the old town of Travnik and showed that this site was inhabited before the Middle Ages. The Travnik Fortress is a typical example of a defensive old town built at the time of the firearms consisting of three units with: a tower adapted for a museum collection, remains of residential buildings, and remains of a mosque with a stone minaret, bastions, casemates, cisterns, courtyards, and a gate with a guard. The old town of Travnik is in good condition and is open to visitors.

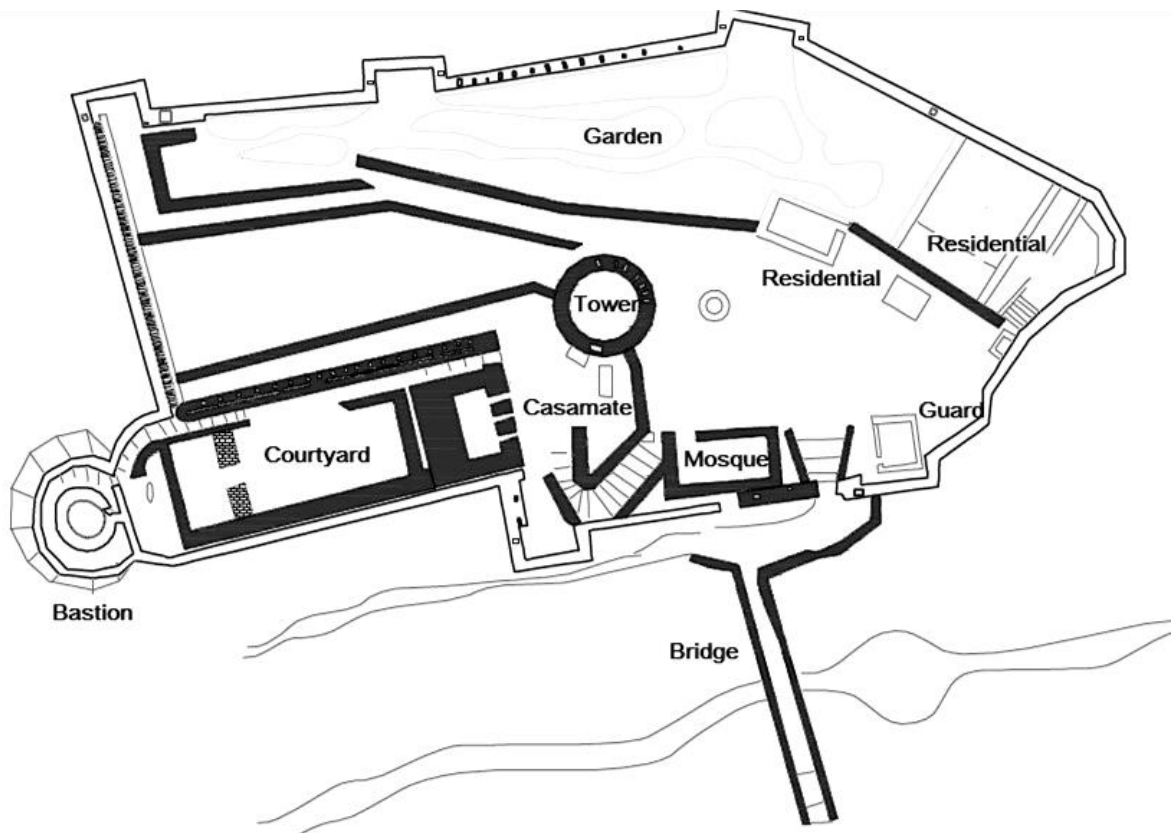


Figure 13: Old town of Travnik, source: S. Husedžinović, Map redrawn by Author

The old town of Velika Kladuša is located on the far north-west of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the border with Croatia, on the slope above the right bank of the river Graborska. The old town of Velika Kladuša was first mentioned in written documents in 1280.⁷⁹ It belonged to the Blagaj's Dukes of Babonjić⁸⁰ and noblemen

⁷⁸ Mazalić, Đoko (1948) *Travnik i Toričan (prilog bosanskoj arhitekturi srednjeg vijeka)*, Sarajevo: Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, nova serija, sveska VIII, p. 145-166

⁷⁹ Pašić, Amir (2012) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Arhitektura prije 1463.godine*, Sarajevo: Skripta za predmet Arhitektura na tlu BiH, p. 17-21

Frankopan Slunjski. Velika Kladuša had long resisted Ottoman conquest, but in 1554 Malkoč-beg burned down the town that remained abandoned for the next 50 years. The old town has an interesting base consisting of two concentric circles of defence walls, the first of which has a defence tower. The second circle contains a courtyard, with entrance into the town where was a mosque from the Ottoman period. According to the designs of architect and Professor Amir Polić, the old town complex was converted into a hotel in 1985.⁸¹ The old town is accessible to visitors.

The old town of Vranduk is situated on a rocky elevation over the river Bosna, about ten kilometers from town of Zenica. In the written documents Vranduk was first mentioned in 1410.⁸² In the time of King Tomaš, the old town of Vranduk was rapidly evolving. In that period, the church of St. Toma was built, in which place, after the conquest of the old town, the Ottomans built the mosque of Sultan Mehmed II El Fatih. The history noted that Vranduk was the only medieval town in Bosnia and Herzegovina to resist the attack of Eugene Savoy on Bosnia in 1697. The old town of Vranduk had an important strategic position, although it is a small fortification consisting of the ramparts, *kapi* – gate tower, defence tower, cistern and courtyard. The Old Town of Vranduk is open to visitors.

Based on the presented cultural and historical values, architectural characteristics, construction and natural characteristics of the old medieval towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina, their significance is evident in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also the world heritage. The monumental values of the old medieval towns and fortresses is reflected in proportions and volumes, the importance for the identity of peoples, the material evidence of different historical Periods and historical personalities, uniqueness in the type of structures, and originality and integrity in terms of composition.

The educational value of the preserved old towns is reflected in the possibilities of research of historical Periods from the time of their creation, i.e. from the Middle Ages (for some even earlier), over the Ottoman period, the Austro-Hungarian period, the

⁸⁰ Redžić, Husref (2009) *Srednjovjekovni gradovi u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing

⁸¹ Trapara, Boris (2015) *Kako historija kreira sliku grada: Velika Kladuša i njeni spomenici*, Sarajevo: Novo vrijeme, sedmične novine, p. 30-31

⁸² Redžić, Husref (2009) *Srednjovjekovni gradovi u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing

period of socialism and the time in which we now live. All these Periods are fateful testimonials of the continuity of the development of architecture, and the importance of old towns and their position in the city and country matrix.

The fact that old towns are made of natural materials, primarily of stone and built by a folk builder, gives us the opportunity to explore the original construction techniques and give us answers to current issues in work with stone. The stone, as the most durable natural element used in folk architecture, secured the centuries-old durability of the old medieval towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in addition to the physical value, also showed remarkable aesthetic ones. The old medieval towns built in stone formed the panorama of many of Bosnian and Herzegovinian cities and towns, and they are an indispensable part of the city's vistas.

The old medieval towns that are presented in this chapter are in good physical condition and as such have significant potential touristic values. They represent material evidence of Bosnian and Herzegovinian history and authenticity. Most other old towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina are in poor physical condition, and some are not explored. This requires prompt and expert intervention to keep this part of Bosnian and Herzegovinian heritage from being lost.

2.2.2. Sepulchral Architecture: Stećaks – Tombstones from Medieval period

What are, and when were the medieval tombstones of Bosnia and Herzegovina emerged? What is the significance of the stećak for Bosnian and Herzegovinian history and culture? Who was the first to write about these tombstones? What are the hidden messages of inscriptions on stećaks? What do the stećak necropolises represent? How were the stećaks shaped and how were they decorated? Which symbols could be found on stećaks? What are the artistic values of stećaks? What drawings on stećaks represents? Who was exploring and researching stećaks and what were the results of that scientific work? In which two art schools all stećaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina could be classified? Which legends and folk tales are related to stećak? How many stećaks exist on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina? In which geographical area stećaks are the most numerous?

A special and insufficiently explored segment of the cultural and historical heritage of the medieval Bosnian state is materialized through tombstones - stećaks. Besides the fortified towns and fortified castles, the stećaks are not only quantitatively, but in all other aspects that determine the status of the cultural and historical heritage, the most significant material evidence of authenticity and early Bosnian and Herzegovinian history. Most of these monolithic monuments of sepulchral culture originate from the period from the 13th to the 16th century.⁸³ The name "stećak" for ancient tombstones from the Medieval period, has not entered the wider use so long ago, and it is derived from the word "stojećak" which is a metaphor for strength, strength and monolithic, and also defiance and pride. Other, less known names for stećak are *mramor* (marble) and *mašet* (Italian: *massetto* meaning "big rock", or Turkish: *meşhet* meaning "tombstone of a fallen hero.") The common names for the necropolis of stećaks are Greek cemetery and Giaour's⁸⁴ cemetery.⁸⁵ Although these names originated from the people, without special scientific foundations, they quickly penetrated into scientific texts and became generally accepted by all social circles.

⁸³ Miletić, Nada (1982) *Umetnost na tlu Jugoslavije: Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, Zagreb: Spektar, p.19-25

⁸⁴ The 1911 *Encyclopædia Britannica* described the term as follows: *Giaour*, a word used by the Turks to describe all who are not Muslims, with especial reference to Christians. The word, first employed as a term of contempt and reproach, has become so general that in most cases no insult is intended in its use. A strict analogy to *giaour* is found in the Arabic *kafir*, or unbeliever, which is so commonly in use as to have become the proper name of peoples and countries.

⁸⁵ Bešliagić, Šefik (1989) *Stećci – Kultura i umjetnost*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša, p. 33-37, p. 567-576

Stećak, as a stone monument could be found standing alone or in a group making it a necropolis, and it is characteristic of today's areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Dalmatia Region (Croatia).⁸⁶ As a single piece, the stećak is a work of art of sculpture and as such has a monumental and artistic value. A group of stećaks constitutes a necropolis, a gravestone unit which has the characteristics of urbanism and architecture, and as such it presents architectural heritage. Among the most significant stećak necropolis in Bosnia and Herzegovina are two necropolises in Stolac, (Radimlja and Boljuni), two in Kalinovik (Gvozno and Čengić bara), then necropolises in Konjic (Biskup), Nevesinje (Kalufi), Rogatica (Borak - Burati), Novi Travnik (Maculje), Jablanica (Dugo Polje), Bileća (Grebnice - Bunčići), Ljubuški (Bijača), Kladanj (Olovci), Olovo (Mramor - Musići), Goražde (Kučain - Žilići), Trnovo (Umoljani), Sokolac (Luburića polje), Berkovići (Potkuk), Šekovići (Bečani), Foča (Mramor - Vrbica) and Kupres (Ravanjska vrata).⁸⁷

Although they have been repeatedly researched and listed, questions about stećaks have remained largely unanswered until today. The current state of preservation is at a very low level. Destruction of stećaks and their use as a cheap construction material is still ongoing. Also, many stećaks are often unjustifiably moved from the original location, and thereby partly losing the authenticity and ambience value. Today, some of the most prestigious examples of stećaks are in the botanical garden and in front of the Bosnia and Herzegovina's National Museum in Sarajevo.⁸⁸ For the first time, stećaks were mentioned in travel books by foreign travel writers who had the opportunity to visit Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. These travel books, although written for a non scientific audience, are important because they attracted the attention of the European public⁸⁹ to a unique phenomenon in the cultural and historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁸⁶ Bešlagić, Šefik (1953) *Naše starine I: Proučavanje i zaštita stećaka*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, str. 167-175

⁸⁷ UNESCO, World Heritage List (2017) *Stećci Medieval Tombstones Graveyards* [whc.unesco.org], available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1504> [accessed on 06th February 2017]

⁸⁸ Trapara, Boris (2016) *Stećci: kameni spavači iz srednjovjekovne Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Novo vrijeme [www.novovrijeme.ba], available on: <http://novovrijeme.ba/stecci-kameni-spavaci-iz-srednjovjekovne-bosne-i-hercegovine/> [accessed on 05th December 2016]

⁸⁹ Bešlagić, Šefik (1989). *Stećci – Kultura i umjetnost*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša, p. 11-25

One of the first texts about stećaks was written by Slovenian Benedikt Kuripešić. In a company of Austrian emperor Ferdinand I, who traveled to Constantinople in 1530, there was also Kuripešić.⁹⁰ On a mission to Constantinople, they traveled through Bosnia, and Kuripešić had the role of translator. During that trip he made a series of notes on which he later wrote a travel guide describing the phenomenon of stećak. Benedikt's travel guide is the oldest written trace account of stećaks and inscriptions on them. Later, a few short texts on stećaks were written, mostly from soldiers, diplomats and travelers from other European countries.⁹¹ During the Austro-Hungarian period, and especially after the establishment of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina⁹² in Sarajevo, the stećaks became more interesting to scientists and the wider public and more significant researches on this topic were conducted.



Figure 14: Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina showing disposition of necropolises, drawn by Author

⁹⁰ Bešliagić, Šefik (1989) *Stećci – Kultura i umjetnost*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša, p. 11-25

⁹¹ Benac, Alojz (1967) *Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, p. 5-25

⁹² Lovrenović, Dubravko (2009) *Stećci: bosansko i humsko mramorje srednjeg vijeka*, Sarajevo: Rabić, p. 11-14

Only after the Exhibition of Yugoslav Mediaeval Painting and Sculpture which was held in Paris, and which featured the stećaks, the interest of the scientific circles and the general public increased for this phenomenon, characteristic for medieval history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. After this exhibition, a whole series of research activities were launched that were more or less successful and provided data for about 70,000 stećaks on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. International confirmation of the importance of the stećaks for the universal heritage of the world, as well as their high valorization, officially took place at the UNESCO summit held in Istanbul in June 2016⁹³, when it was decided that the stećaks of thirty necropolises on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (22), Serbia (3), Montenegro (3), and Croatia (2) enter the prestigious UNESCO World Heritage List. Although the stećaks, as a monument of culture, on the UNESCO World Heritage List are listed as commonly heritage of mentioned countries, the stećak is undoubtedly the Bosnian and Herzegovinian intangible heritage from the area covered by medieval Bosnian and Hum (later: Herzegovina) and the border areas with Serbia, Montenegro, and Croatia as a result of the natural spread of this phenomenon from the center of its origin (Bosnia and Hum, later, Herzegovina.)

Some scholars⁹⁴ have emphasized the Bogumil origin of the stećaks, justifying the motifs of the crescent moon and stars with the exoteric teachings of the Bogumil's church. Moreover, the cross symbols, as well as the *krstača* (the cross-shaped stećak) were connected more with the eternal Sun, rather than Christ crucifix.⁹⁵ These beliefs have been rejected as unfounded⁹⁶, and now we can safely assert that members of the Catholic church and Orthodox church, as well as members of the Bosnian church were buried under the stećaks. In addition to historical facts, both Bosnia and Hum (later: Herzegovina) were inhabited by Catholics and Orthodox in times of stećaks⁹⁷, while later during the Ottoman period the necropolises served as

⁹³ Trapara, Boris (2016) *Stećci: kameni spavači iz srednjovjekovne Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Novo vrijeme [www.novovrijeme.ba], available on: <http://novovrijeme.ba/stecci-kameni-spavaci-iz-srednjovjekovne-bosne-i-hercegovine/> [accessed on 05th December 2016]

⁹⁴ Challet, Jean (1965) *Naše starine X: Bogumili i simbolika stećaka*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, p. 19-38

⁹⁵ Bešliagić, Šefik (1989) *Stećci – Kultura i umjetnost*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša, p. 512-513

⁹⁶ Lovrenović, Dubravko (2009) *Stećci: bosansko i humsko mramorje srednjeg vijeka*, Sarajevo: Rabic, p. 24-26

⁹⁷ Popovac Roso, Maja (2015) *One-span Ottoman bridges in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Mostar: Solvej d.o.o., p. 14-20

active cemeteries as evidenced by the forms and decorations of some stećaks. It is unquestionable that stećaks represents the universal good of all Bosnians and Herzegovinians whose ancestors were buried under three⁹⁸ main types of stećaks: graves with no protection, only in soil, than graves protected by wooden boards, and graves protected by stone slabs.

Taking into account the wider geographical range of the Western Balkans, stećaks are the most widespread in the Herzegovina region and the Eastern Bosnia region, then Dalmatia region (Croatia), Montenegro and Serbia, but when it comes to micro-location, in most cases the stećak necropolises are located in distant and uninhabited areas, or river valleys. The necropolises were originally located in the vicinity of the inhabited areas, so this developmental phenomenon of certain micro-locating in terms of urbanism as well as migration of people is interesting to observe from the angle of the former and current position of the stećaks. It is clear that the structure, position, and density of the population of a certain area have changed⁹⁹ throughout history, which can be studied on the stećaks that represent the indicators of these phenomena.

The shape of a stećak is a feature that makes them unique in the world.¹⁰⁰ Depending on how and where the stećaks are placed on the ground (above the tomb), there are two¹⁰¹ basic types of stećaks; lying/ prone ones and standing ones. In addition, there are five¹⁰² different forms according to the shape: plates, chests, cross (*krstača*), obelisks (*nišans*), and sarcophagi (ridge/saddle-roofed). The oldest form of stećak dating from the 12th and 13th century is in the form of a slab. The chests and sarcophagus, which are the most numerous types of stećak, often have bases on which they are placed, or which are carved together with the stećak. Crosses and obelisks/ nišans usually occur in the 15th and 16th centuries, with the arrival of the Ottomans in the Balkans and they have the task of determining a national affiliation. The masons who made stećaks were called "blacksmiths", and the

⁹⁸ Bešlagić, Šefik (1989) *Stećci – Kultura i umjetnost*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša, p. 567-576

⁹⁹ Benac, Alojz (1967) *Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, p. 5-25

¹⁰⁰ Miletić, Nada (1982) *Umetnost na tlu Jugoslavije: Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, Zagreb: Spektar, p.19-25

¹⁰¹ Bešlagić, Šefik (1989) *Stećci – Kultura i umjetnost*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša, p. 75-80

¹⁰² Bešlagić, Šefik (1954) *Naše starine II: Stećci u dolini Neretve*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, p. 181-212

necropolis with stećaks (usually oriented in the west-east direction) are most commonly near the meadow of stone, along roads, and plateaus.¹⁰³ A large number of necropolises have not been preserved, and their size and significance are evidenced by archaeological finds.

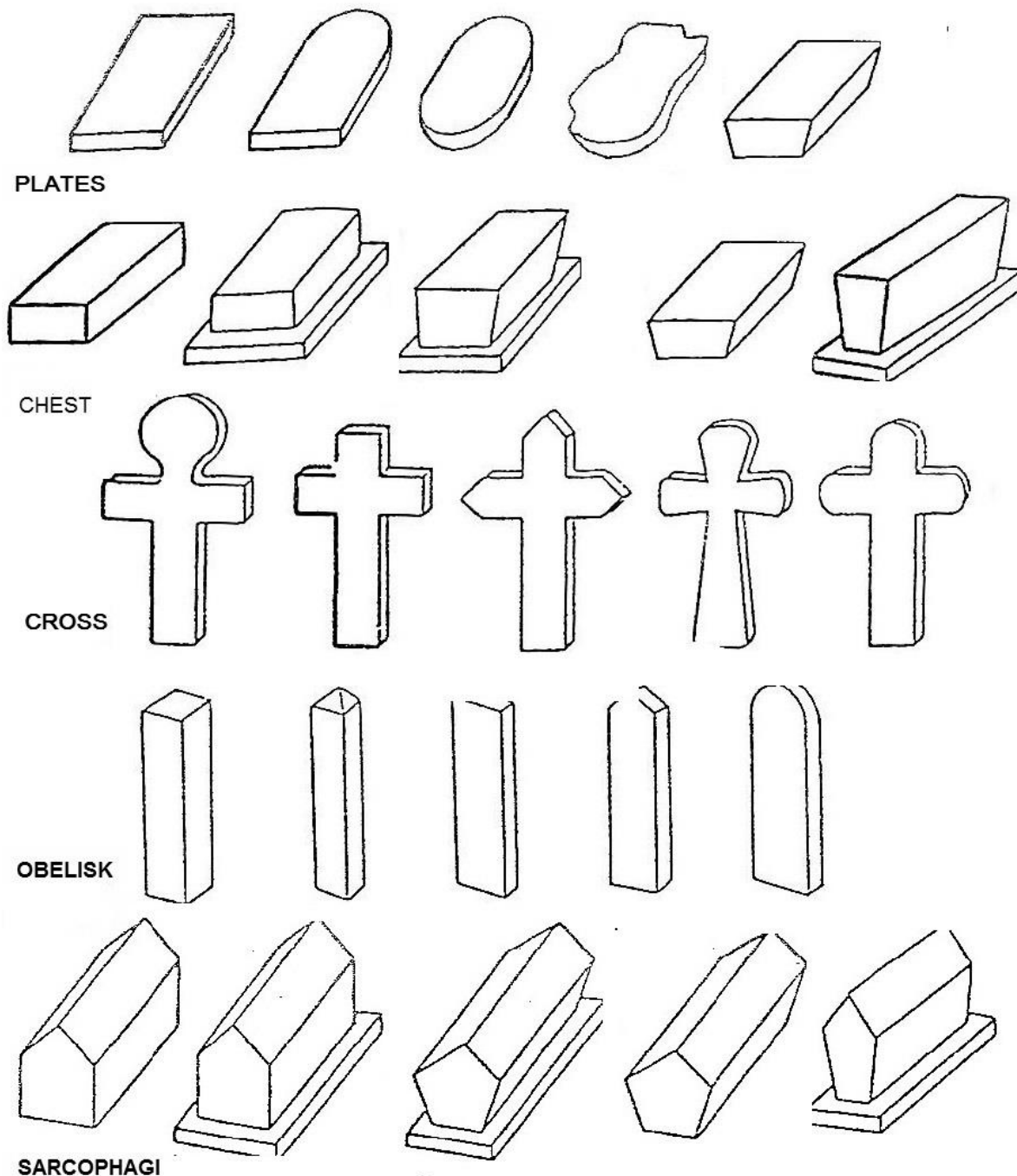


Figure 15: Different shapes of stećaks, source: Š.Bešlagić, redrawn by Author

¹⁰³ Bešlagić, Šefik (1954) *Naše starine II: Stećci u dolini Neretve*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, p. 181-212

Academician Alojz Benac (1914 - 1992), who was also a Bosnian archeologist, historian, professor and former director of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, researched stećaks and divided them into two art schools¹⁰⁴; stećaks of the East Bosnian School and stećaks of the Herzegovinian School. According to Benac, some of the most beautiful and most valuable necropolis of stećaks are located near town of Stolac. Their artistic significance lies in a large number of different decorative motifs; from floral and geometric, to figural and textual. The Herzegovinian School, whose most representative example is Radimlja necropolis, is characterized by monumental sarcophagi, high chests and crosses. This necropolis is not the largest that existed in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but it is one of the most valuable in terms of art¹⁰⁵ and it belongs to the feudal Orthodox family Miloradović-Stjepanović which has originated from the genus Hrabren.



Figure 16 (left): Stećak from Donja Zgošća, The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 07/05/2018, Photograph by Author

Figure 17 (right): Stećak, The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 28/10/2018, Photograph by Author

The East Bosnian School is characterized by vertical type of stećaks. While the house motif is the most common on the stećaks in Herzegovina, this motif is much

¹⁰⁴ Benac, Alojz (1967) *Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, p. 5-25

¹⁰⁵ Lovrenović, Dubravko (2009) *Stećci: bosansko i humsko mramorje srednjeg vijeka*, Sarajevo: Rabić, p. 164-168

less represented in the East Bosnian School. For East Bosnian School the arcades in the form of decorations are one of main characteristic, and plant and other floral motifs are numerous too. This is one of differences¹⁰⁶ comparing to Herzegovinian School. Among the most valuable stećaks is the stećak from Donja Zgošća near Kakanj, in which the Bosnian royal court of Kotromanić and members of the royal family were presented. This stećak is currently in the botanical garden of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it was originally created in the contact zone of the two art schools; Herzegovinian and East Bosnian School.¹⁰⁷



Figure 18: Radimlja, Stolac, UNESCO World Heritage Site, 17/05/2019, Photograph by Author

¹⁰⁶ Trapara, Boris (2016) *Stećci: kameni spavači iz srednjovjekovne Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Novo vrijeme [www.novovrijeme.ba], available on: <http://novovrijeme.ba/stecci-kameni-spavaci-iz-srednjovjekovne-bosne-i-hercegovine/> [accessed on 05th December 2016]

¹⁰⁷ Miletić, Nada (1982) *Umetnost na tlu Jugoslavije: Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, Zagreb: Spektr, p.19-25

In the botanical garden of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina there are several other important examples of stećaks. Among them is the stećak of Guest Milutin from Humsko (Foča), which was discovered between the two world wars, stands out as a good example. Below the stećak, human bones were found as well as other material evidences that the stećak belonged to a significant person. Stećak of Guest Milutin is 254 cm high and it is particularly interesting because it depicts a whole human figure. The figure on the stećak represents a man dressed in a dress with a rope around his waist. The figure holds a book in one hand and in another hand there is a stick. The book being held is the Gospel, and the stick is a Christian symbol of a good shepherd. According to academician Vladislav Skarić, Guest Milutin was from a village near Čajniče. On the stećak, apart from the figure there is also text. The inscription is on three sides of the stećak and it is best preserved on the south side. The text mentions that the Guest Milutin received gifts from the nobles and led political affairs in Bosnia. It is well known that members of the Bosnian Church were also members of delegations who went to diplomatic negotiations outside the state, so that the Guest Milutin was one of the representatives. This stećak is well preserved and according to sayings of Professor Dr Sabira Husedžinović, the stećak of Guest Milutin has a particularly symbolic meaning and artistic value.

Decorations on stećaks are mostly polychrome and plastic; in the form of different symbols, and also textual decorations which are extremely valuable for studying the language and because they are written in Bosnian Cyrillic - *Bosančica*. Through the symbols on the stećaks, their artistic values are presented, and through the text messages on the stećaks, their cultural, historical and literary values are confirmed.¹⁰⁸ Decorations are usually encountered with shallow reliefs and engraved drawings. Most ornaments are made in shallow reliefs, and a smaller number in other techniques such as engraving techniques. Twisted ribbons, trefoil ribbons, arcades, plant stylization, various patterns, zigzag lines, geometric symbols, cross symbols¹⁰⁹, lilac symbols, rosettes, moons, stars, stylized animals and other objects, figural representations, scenes from everyday life and scenes of funeral circle dance -

¹⁰⁸ Lovrenović, Dubravko (2009) *Stećci: bosansko i humsko mramorje srednjeg vijeka*, Sarajevo: Rabić, p. 89-90

¹⁰⁹ Vidović, Drago (1954) *Naše starine II: Simbolične predstave na stećcima*, SA: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, p. 119-136

*kolo*¹¹⁰ as an ancient ritual are some of the most common motifs¹¹¹ of decoration that are found on the *stećak*.

There is a wide repertoire of motifs on *stećaks*. Most motifs can be found on the *stećaks* of the Herzegovinian School, where every tenth *stećak* is decorated. Decorations range from a combination of just one motif to complex geometric images and visuals of everyday life. Figural performances are often in repetitive compositions as well as geometric images. Hunting scenes are very common, which suggests that the hunt was a popular feudal amusement, especially deer hunting. Deers are hunted by dogs, or attacked by falcons, followed by hunters in the race or on horses by shooting them with arrows or spears. Sometimes the motive is only a group of deers running through a field or forest, while the dogs and people are not shown. Instead of that, they can be anticipated by observer, knowing the nature of composition. How much the scene on a particular *stećak* is complex in its form and creativity it depended on the richness of the commissioner and the skills of stonemason. In addition to deer, the *stećaks* are also decorated with wild animals such as bear that usually stands upright on the last paws while the hunter is stabbing his stomach.

There are plenty of widespread motifs on *stećaks* where women and men dance together¹¹², holding their hands, or with their hands on their shoulders and with precise movements. A player can ride a deer or a horse, thus marking the deceased himself as a leader. There are also dancing shows with only men, or only women, but they are quite rare. In addition to the traditional dance scenes, there are also scenes showing knights duels or horseman in a tournament. In rare cases, a duel or some other knightly scene involving knights with horses and weapons, takes place under blind arches. More often, the duel takes place in an open space with women who are waiting to give the winner the flowers after the duel is over. On the *stećak*, there are also scenes of family life with parents and children. All the scenes depicted are in the spirit of Middle Ages and the coarse-realism wrapped in the atmosphere of a feudal lords and their hunting and war habits.

¹¹⁰ Miletić, Nada (1982) *Umetnost na tlu Jugoslavije: Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, Zagreb: Spektar, p.33-36

¹¹¹ Wenzel, Marian (1965) *Ukrasni motivi na stećcima*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša, p. 10-15

¹¹² Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 19-58

By analyzing different scenes on stećaks, one can easily conclude that the artists were unskilled when it comes to proportions, perspective, and usually craftsmanship with stone. Nature; trees, animals and humans are depicted in unrealistic relations of perspective and proportions and therefore the scenes seem naive. A hunter often rides a horse so small that his legs drag on the ground and the trees are often smaller than the animals. In a traditional dance - kolo, the scale and relationships between human figures are more realistically shown. In these scenes one can feel a lot of rhythm; the figures swing harmoniously, and the movements of the legs are more uniformed. The same traits characterize scenes with individual figures; both humans and animals.

Thanks to the scenes with snakes, dragons with wings and horses, the stećaks show us the time of feudalism in which these mythical creatures were almost aligned with real beings. These motifs appear alone, or in knightly scenes that are embodied with numerous shields decorated with emblems and weapons. On stećaks where human figures are not shown, their weapon was placed in order to determine the privileged position they had in feudal society. Shields or weapons were decorated with floral and geometrical motifs, and especially the motif of the lily in southwestern Bosnia. In Herzegovina there is a motif of vines with leaves that usually graces sarcophagus on their edges or upper part. Twisted strips and spirals have a similar position on the stećaks and similar roles as a variety of stripes with leaves. Geometric motifs often complement the composition and they rarely come as a single decoration.

In eastern Bosnia, stećaks are elongated and often smaller in size, but as in Herzegovina, the idea of "eternal house" as the ultimate resting-place of deceased is still present in shape and form. What distinguishes the Herzegovinian School from the East Bosnian School is the blind arcade with pilasters that are characteristic of Herzegovina. Stećak from Donja Zgošća¹¹³, which belongs to the East Bosnian School, shows the influence of geographic position on its form, since it resembles the mountain wooden house built in Bosnia. Although western influences are lacking, on stećaks of eastern Bosnia, the dominant motif of plant decoration is encountered. Stećaks from East Bosnian School are wrapped into motifs of plants¹¹⁴ that have

¹¹³ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 19-58

¹¹⁴ Benac, Alojz (1967) *Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, p. 5-25

optimal conditions for growth in those areas of Bosnia. This difference in decoration of stećaks from Herzegovina and stećaks from Bosnia could be seen as less important, but only at first glance. The difference in decoration motifs shows the originality of the eastern Bosnia's stećak and their purified form exempt from external influences, which is not the case with stećaks in Herzegovina. While the characters on stećak in Herzegovina are often depicted in action, the characters on the stećak in eastern Bosnia are rare, and if they appear they are portraits or silhouettes. This is another difference between the two schools; stećaks in Herzegovina are focused on humans and stećaks in eastern Bosnia on the nature surrounding them.

Academician Alojz Benac finds an interesting comparison of stećaks with contemporary and future flows in architecture. The sarcophagi that are found mostly on the karst fields of Herzegovina on its longitudinal sides have decorative elements of blind arcades with columns, similar to the ones in the architecture of public and private buildings of various functions. As these sarcophagi are of huge dimensions, they often, in the eyes of the observer present an association of colonnades and arcades on buildings. On some sarcophagi that were found in Montenegro, the columns with bases and capitals are visible, like the ones on many historical buildings. This element is often stylized to the extent that it resembles the figure of a man with wide arms, and as such, it can be found as a motif of tall cross shaped stećaks and stećaks in the form of a chest. The appearance of blind arches and colonnades with stećaks can be linked to the architecture of Herzegovina and Dalmatia, where the buildings are often built with the porches, which consists out of colonnade with pillars and arcades. These details on stećaks in their concept remind us of the early Romanesque architecture, and for this comparison it is not necessary to go further than the Adriatic coast, where there are exceptional examples of Romanesque architecture such as the church in Zadar or the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik. Other motifs on stećaks are specific arches as part of the blind arcades, which very clearly point to the connection with the Gothic architecture. All of this leads to the conclusion that stećaks were born under the influence of architecture and art of the Adriatic coast and the West, that is, Romanesque and Gothic architectures.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Benac, Alojz (1967) *Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, p. 5-25

The inscriptions on stećaks, which are called epitaphs, are reliable signs for their dating, and they represent special historical value. Marko Vego (1907 - 1985), who was a Bosnian archeologist, historian, epigraphist and former director of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, made significant contributions to the study of epitaphs. He has published several scientific articles, publications and books on medieval Bosnia and Hum (later Herzegovina), which is essential literature for studying stećaks. Most of the stećaks with epitaphs comes from Herzegovina. These inscriptions are mostly short forms and give details of the deceased and sometimes about the craftsman who made the stećak. The inscriptions also speak to certain historical events, and more often of significant events from the private life of the deceased. The inscriptions are usually written in bosančica (Bosnian Cyrillic) and often in the form of a verse that sends a message to the future, and sometimes the message is about the lessons from the past of the deceased's life. These inscriptions give insight into the process of making stećaks. While the stećak was made by "kovač", the inscription was done by "dijak". The "dijak" was the function of the writer in medieval Bosnia and Hum (later Herzegovina) and only the feudal masters were able to order the inscriptions from "dijak". Most of the inscription on stećaks dates back to the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, but there are also some from the 13th century like the one on the grave of Marija, the wife of pope Dabiživ from Vidoštak.

The stećaks are linked to numerous legends and tales that differ from place to place, and what is common to all of them is that mostly thanks to these legends and tales, stećaks were managed to be saved from the complete disappearance.¹¹⁶ There is widespread devotion to the wondrous powers of stećak; about the benefits that the preservation of the stećaks will bring to the community of villages or, on the other side, of the punishment most often manifested through thunderstrokes in the cases of desecration of a necropolis. Moving a stećak from its original location, damaging or destroying a stećak in any way, brings misfortune according to folk tales. One of the folk tales characteristic for Herzegovina is about Greeks who left Herzegovina because of long and cold winters, but they left behind material evidence, i.e. necropolis, which is why they are called "greek cemeteries."¹¹⁷ One of the legends

¹¹⁶ Bešlagić, Šefik (1989) *Stećci – Kultura i umjetnost*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša, p. 33-37

¹¹⁷ Bešlagić, Šefik (1953) *Naše starine I: Proučavanje i zaštita stećaka*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, p. 167-175

from which one of the many names for the necropolis is derived is a legend that says that the necropolis are actually the wedding guests who have died in a conflict and they were buried in the same place together with the bride and groom, and that is why such a necropolis is called "nuptial graveyard".¹¹⁸

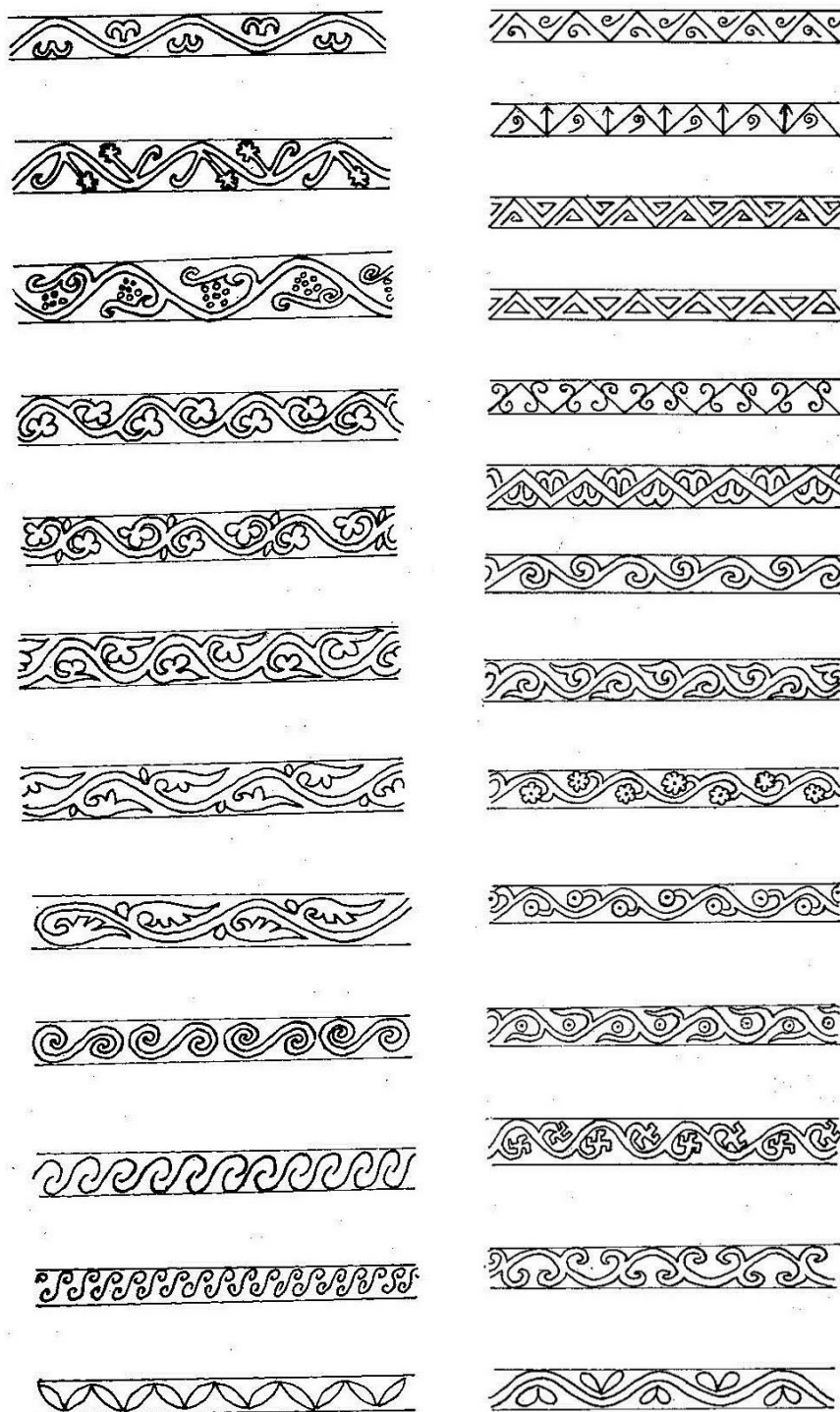


Figure 19: Decorations on stećaks, source: S. Husedžinović, redrawn by Author

¹¹⁸ Bosna i Hercegovina - Državna komisija za Saradnju sa UNESCO-m (2017) *Stećci-srednjovijekovni nadgrobni spomenici* [www.unescobih.mcp.gov.ba], available at: <http://www.unescobih.mcp.gov.ba/spomenici/Default.aspx?id=14274> [accessed on 03th July 2017]

One of the traditions associated with stećaks is dyeing them in white, which several times a year, is done by a poor girl who was rewarded for that job by the village. According to belief, this act should eliminate the disasters, and according to Šefik Bešlagić, who has studied not only stećaks and folk tales related to stećaks, this custom is a way of helping a poor girl in a way "not to hurt her feelings and pride". Habits like this deserve greater ethnological interest. However, according to Levi Štraus, customs like these should not banal the lowest rational level, because they often have elements of magic and pagan beliefs in themselves. When it comes to rites that should influence the weather, and such rituals are not a rarity in the Balkans, then it is often not a "helping a poor girl", but a magical or pagan ritual that the community sees as necessary for their common good, for which it is difficult to get rational explanation, or moral justification. Answers to the questions of this nature require better co-operation between historians and ethnologists, but they are an inseparable part of the study of stećaks. Only in this way can the phenomenology of stećaks could be understood in the context in which they emerged.

Although numerous books, monographs, articles and other publications on stećaks have been published so far, many questions still remain unanswered. Šefik Bešlagić (1908-1990) made one of the greatest contributions to the scientific research on the stećak, which results were published in several scientific books and articles. Bešlagić was the Director of the National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities / Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the President of the Society of Conservatives of Yugoslavia. It is irreplaceable the importance of the research work on stećaks that Bešlagić accomplished through the systematization of the existing material, the managing of final number of stećaks, the dating of the inscriptions and the forms, the interpretation of symbols and ornaments, and a series of study trips he took through the Balkans, which resulted in a better understanding of the history of the stećaks. Through his work, Bešlagić managed to bring closer stećaks as specific medieval phenomena on the territory of Bosnia and Hum (later: Herzegovina) to all social circles. Today, his work represents the starting point for all researchers who deal with stećaks.

The discussion on the importance and character of the stećaks does not stop. At the beginning of the development of researches of stećaks, the focus was placed on their

rusticity and the artistic immaturity of the masters who made them. Compared to the great medieval works of art created in Western Europe, the rough realism of stećaks resulted in the negligence in the wider circles of world of art. The cause for this could be found in putting stećaks in the wrong context, or even worse, observation and study of stećaks without any context. But as the attitude towards art through history changed, the attitude towards artistic values of stećaks was changed as well. They are now highly valued, especially among the artists of the naive art and art lovers, who see in stećaks a source of inspiration and a stimulus for new creations.

Most of the necropolises are currently in a poor state of preservation according to data provided by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the information available on the website of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina, from July 2017, the Commission gave 122 necropolises in Bosnia and Herzegovina the status of national monuments.¹¹⁹ The necropolises in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which have been proclaimed as national monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina, have often overgrown with plants and have been exposed to rapid decay due to lack of regular maintenance. Traffic, atmosphere and pollution have negatively affected these necropolises. Some of these necropolises are also endangered by the construction of new buildings nearby. It is still not uncommon for stećaks from the necropolises to be used as building material. In order to prevent this, it is necessary to apply the existing laws more rigorously in practice.

The Commission for the Preservation of National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in its Decisions on the Proclamation of Goods of National Monuments by inspecting the site, related to the necropolises, in most cases they found: all or most of the monuments of the necropolises are mapped, some of the monuments are under the ground, and on some of them the punctures on the edges are clearly visible. The lack of maintenance and subsequent growth of vegetation increases the danger of damage to the necropolises. Trees in some places are so dense that they almost hide the monuments. Some monuments are very sunken, some clenched,

¹¹⁹ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Odluke o proglašenju dobara nacionalnim spomenicima* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: <http://aplikacija.kons.gov.ba/kons/public/nacionalnispomenici> [accessed on 03th July 2017]

and access to the necropolis is often difficult because there is no access road. In addition to stećaks being used for building materials, some are relocated because of construction of roads, for example. By relocating stećaks they are losing their ambient values and they are often being physically damaged.

According to cultural-historical, artistic and other monumental values, stećaks make a unique appearance on the European continent. They developed under different influences, but they do not represent a copy of something similar, rather than an authentic material evidence of the continuity of history and culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The significance of stećaks has not been noticed or valorized for a long time. Among the first to write about these monuments was Slovenian Benedikt Kuripešić who traveled through Bosnia in 1530. After that, stećaks were mentioned in travel books for a couple more times, but only in the 19th century there is a growing number of national and international scientific researchers who, in their articles, write about stećaks. With the foundation of the Museum Society (later: National Museum in Sarajevo), the research work on stećaks become more scientific.

The cultural-artistic values of stećaks are of utmost importance for the authenticity of the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These monuments represent a significant segment of world's art and a kind of the forerunner of contemporary art that is reflected in their shallow reliefs, geometric and plant ornaments that symbolize the universality and continuity of time whose flow never ends, hunting images and knightly fights from which we learn details from everyday life of people from Middle Ages and epitaphs that tell us about the personal, spiritual and general progress of the community in the sphere of philosophy, language and literature. As such, stećaks deserve full attention of the world's public, and in particular the care of all layers of societies in Bosnia and Herzegovina, because they represent universal good.

In the initial research of stećaks, there were researchers who stressed only their Bogomulic origin, but these hypotheses were later discarded and, thanks to the material evidence, we can now be assured that members of the Bosnian, Orthodox and Catholic churches are buried under stećaks. Scenes in the form of shallow reliefs on stećaks are material evidence of the involvement of middle-aged Bosnian-Herzegovinian art in European art. The solar, lunar and natural elements are

confirmation of their authenticity and connection to the environment and the oldest beliefs in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The stećaks that are most common in Bosnia and Herzegovina are divided into two schools: the East Bosnian School and the Herzegovinian School, which differ in certain motifs of decoration, size and shapes. The motifs on stećaks have plastic-artistic and cultural-historical values, and are especially important epitaphs for the study of history and language. Stećaks are also linked with many tales and legends that speak to the deep link of these monuments with the local population and its daily life.

Numerous folk tales and legends are connected to stećaks. These legends often do not have a scientific foundation, but identifying them is important for a better understanding of the context in which stećaks emerged. Folk tales and legends speak to the origin of the different expressions used for stećaks, they help explain their appearance, form and significance, and they talk about certain cultural-historical events and historical figures. But mostly, they are about the relationship between village and its necropolises with stećaks, as a link between life and the death and the connection between the heaven (divine) and the Earth.

Under the pretext of protection, stećaks are often relocated from original locations and placed in new locations, or destroyed. All of stećaks in the botanical garden and in front of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo have been moved from their original locations, thus losing their ambient values. Unsurprisingly, stećaks have always been used as a source of cheap construction materials, and their destruction continues even today. Necropolises are often found in remote and hard-to-reach places, so their protection and maintenance are much hampered. On the other hand, accessible necropolises are exposed to bad weather conditions, and inadequate exploitation for tourist purposes.

The international confirmation of the significance of stećaks is the decision of inscribing stećaks in a total of thirty necropolises on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia on UNESCO World Heritage List. Out of 70,000 registered stećaks, more than 60,000 are in Bosnia and Herzegovina. From Scandinavia in the north, to Cyclades in the south, from the Pyrenees to the west, to the Caspian Sea in the east, it is possible to find tombstones that have similar

resemblances to stećaks. This is explained by similar cultural-artistic perceptions in a particular historical period. But nowhere else in Europe, or in the world there is not tombstones same as stećaks of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The uniqueness of this phenomenon, apart from the physical form, has contributed to the still unclear symbols and other representations as an integral part of their visual and plastic decorations. Stećaks are an inexhaustible subject of research, and their universal value still lives and inspires.

2.3. Ottoman period

2.3.1. Secular Architecture: Svrzo Family House in sequences and scale

What are the architectural sequences and how do they make us perceive, experience and remember the space we are in? What is the role of scale in designing the built environment? How do we answer the question of individual experience of a particular architectural structure, complex, or urban area? Is the answer to this question in relation to personal notion of beauty and cosiness, or, unlike a work of art, architectural creation can be seen through strict filters? How much do the historical, cultural and emotional parameters which formed the personality of an individual affect the experience of the built environment? Why do we say that one house belongs to, and the other does not belong to that same street? Is it possible to objectively answer the question why some architectural structures have a soothing impact on people, while others cause a shock? Why is Svrzo House a good example of humane architecture in scale and in accordance with human needs?

Architecture and constructions, in all their forms, are the direct result of a complex relationship between man and space.¹²⁰ This relationship is conditioned by the human anatomical structure, the personal notion of space, the level of development of the sense of beauty and cosiness, as well as the natural and built environment in which we were born, grew up, and where we live and work. We can demonstrate perception of space through the following example: Let us imagine a room filled with white light, and that we are floating in that room. In this situation we do not have a sense of space, nor of the scale and if we wanted to understand the space and the scale in which we found ourselves, we would have to fill that room with objects, different in colour and shape. Naturally, one will never find oneself in such a situation. What distinguishes the perception of us are “the objects that are found in our rooms.” These “objects” are historical, cultural and emotional parameters that have formed our personality, while the “room” is the spatial environment in which we grew up. How we are going to experience a new building, or a new city, directly depends on the environment of our childhood. The understanding of the built environment for two different people is conditioned by personal experience, the memories that we carry as part of ourselves, the cultural and the historical condition in which we grow up and live as well as our personal perception of space. Two people born in two different

¹²⁰ Winters, Nathan B. (1986) *Architecture is elementary: Visual Thinking Through Architectural Concepts*, Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, Peregrine Smith Books, p. 147-150, p. 222-224

built environments, such as a Sarajevo mahalla (traditional neighbourhood) and as avenue of some others European capital, will have a completely different experience of scale in the space. And finally, two people may have a totally different relationship with streets, squares and parks, depending on their character, personality type, and number of others psycho-social factors. Examples of buildings, such as the Svrzo House¹²¹ in Sarajevo, shows the importance of proportion, scale and volume in architecture for the creation of personal impressions and experience of pleasure of a particular built environment for their users and visitors.



Figure 20: Svrzo House in Sarajevo, “male/public courtyard” (selamluk), 13/06/2016, Photograph by Author

The layered cultural and historical heritage of Sarajevo represents a store of monuments of architecture of various purposes. In that store, as an example of everyday life culture in the Ottoman period, Svrzo House¹²² has a special place. This residential complex is located in the immediate vicinity of Sarajevo Baščaršija, on Čurčića brijeg (Čurčića hill) and dates from the 17th century. The house was built by the Glođo family and it passed by marriage to the possession of Svrzo family, who sold the house to the Sarajevo Museum, and house was adapted to the museum requirements in the 1960s. Although there are several examples of family houses from the Ottoman period in Sarajevo (Saburina House, the House of Alija Đerzelez,

¹²¹ Husedžinović, Sabira (2001) *Nastanak i razvoj Svrzine kuće in Monografija, Svrzina kuća*, Sarajevo: Muzej Sarajeva, p. 37-52

¹²² Čelić -Čemerlić, V. (2001). *Svrzina kuća vrijedan spomenik kulture in Monografija, Svrzina kuća*, Sarajevo: Muzej Sarajeva, p. 123-143

the Museum of Literature and Performing Arts, Despić House, and similar), the complex of Svrzo House¹²³ has preserved the most of the original elements and, with its two courtyards (male/public-selamluk and female/family- haremluk), it is the most representative example of residential architecture of the Ottoman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the professional architectural literature, Svrzo House is a synonym for humane architecture, human scale architecture, vernacular architecture (architecture without architects, that is, folk architecture), bioclimatic architecture, and the unwritten rules of construction with respect to the right of unobstructed view¹²⁴, neighbourly relations and harmonious proportions. In practice, Svrzo House represents important cultural and historical monuments of Sarajevo tourist attraction. It is important for the education of not only students of architecture, but also of all social groups, since Svrzo House¹²⁵ also has, in addition to its architectural value, a great cultural and historical value.¹²⁶



Figure 21: Svrzo House in Sarajevo, “female/family courtyard” (haremluk), 13/06/2016, Photograph by Author

¹²³ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2016) *Kompleks Svrzine kuće, stambena graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2515 [accessed on 12th September 2016]

¹²⁴ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 37-58, p. 112

¹²⁵ Muzej Sarajeva (2017) *Svrzina kuća* [www.muzejsarajeva.ba], available on: <http://muzejsarajeva.ba/bs/dani-kantona-dan-noc-muzejadepandansi/svrzina-kuca> [accessed on 29th January 2017]

¹²⁶ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2016) *Kompleks Svrzine kuće, stambena graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2515 [accessed on 12th September 2016]

The sequence and scale in architecture can be explained on the example of Svrzo House because it is an architectural construction that conceptually, by its balance of aesthetics and function, as well as the relationship of its natural and built forms, it is an important part of Bosnia and Herzegovina heritage.¹²⁷ Architectural sequence represents a stream of visual object experience. Sequences are designed to bring a visitor to the building, get him in and through it. There are access entrance and internal sequences and each one has a certain role in the perception of space. The role of access sequence is to make the visitor interested in the structure; the entrance sequence is a natural border between the built and non-built environment manifested through a gate, door, portal, opening, or similar, while the internal sequence defines the interior of the architectural structure or its shape and environmental relations.

Depending on the presence or absence of certain sequences, on the length of some of the sequences and on their intensity, a sense of space and, ultimately, the image of space that the visitor stores in his/her own memory, are formed. Each user of architectural structure gets the impression of sequences with his/her senses that affects the perception of space and the visitor's attitude to the space, and as such have an important role in the relationship between the man and the built environment. Sequences represent objective filters in perceiving a particular architectural structure or a complex. These filters help the visitor to better understand the concept and scale, proportions and volumes, in line with the previous experience, as well as other cultural and emotional parameters, make his/her own judgment about the architectural structure or built environment.

Svrzo House¹²⁸ is surrounded by narrow lanes and, as such, merged in the surroundings and forms an integral part of the neighbourhood (mahalla). For a visitor who visits this part of the town for the first time, the house is hidden, surrounded by a high wall with its characteristic court gate and projecting oriel window (doksat). There is no natural or architectural structure that it would somehow refer to, or emphasize

¹²⁷ Bejtić, Alija (1953) *Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugoslovenskih naroda pod turskom vladavinom, III-IV, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša

¹²⁸ Grabrijan, Dušan and Neidhardt, Juraj (1957) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine i put u savremeno*, Ljubljana: Ljudska pravica, p. 141-236

the complex of Svrzo House.¹²⁹ By the scale in relation to the detail and to the environment, by its proportions and volumes, the building has been completely merged in the environment and as such, has an undefined access sequence for which the whole mahalla could be, in this case and at first glance, considered as one. However, as the access sequence is not physically defined, it is impossible to determine its beginning, and as the access sequence does not refer exclusively to Svrzo House, but also to all other houses and Jahja Pasha Mosque forming the mahalla, then the answer to the question of the existence of the access sequences in case of Svrzo's House is negative.



Figure 22: Svrzo House in Sarajevo, Female/family part of the house with the living room/ lounge area (veliki halvat), 13/06/2016, Photograph by Author

The Svrzo House¹³⁰ Complex does not have the access sequence and it can be accessed directly through the entrance sequence, a double wooden door in the wall that separates the inner male courtyard (selamluk)¹³¹, which is also the main

¹²⁹ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2016) *Kompleks Svrzine kuće, stambena graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2515 [accessed on 12th September 2016]

¹³⁰ Muzej Sarajeva (2017) *Svrzina kuća* [www.muzejsarajeva.ba], available on: <http://muzejsarajeva.ba/bs/dani-kantona-dan-noc-muzejadepandansi/svrzina-kuca> [accessed on 29th January 2017]

¹³¹ Pašić, Amir (2005) *Celebrating Mostar: Architectural history of the city 1452 – 2004*, Gračanica: Grin, p. 43-49

entrance to the building. Since the complex is composed of several gardens and courtyards, the same type of door, more or less decorated with carvings, can also be found also in other parts of the house. Their function is always the same- to separate private from public quarters, whether it is a male or female courtyard, or the street and the house, or the house and the courtyard.¹³² There is the eaves above the door with carved inside. The eaves and the entire building are covered with traditional roof tiles (ćeramida). There is another distinctive element which separates selamluk (public quarters) from haremluk (family quarters), and it is a low, dark corridor. One is upstairs and the other one on the ground floor. Connection between the house parts is called mebejin, kubura or araluk (passageway) and that part, in relation to male and female quarters, can be considered as the entrance sequence and in relation to the house complex, it can be considered as the internal sequence that takes visitors into more intimate space, the female courtyard on the ground floor and the house on the first floor (haremluk). Its integral part is the device for food serving called čekme dolaf¹³³ (serving hatch). It is another connection between the two separate parts with the aim to hide womens from the male eyes.¹³⁴

Division of the building was carried out also according to the seasons (summer and winter) as well as the family and the public quarters (male and female courtyard/avlija). Male courtyard is elongated in the north-south direction and it is cobbled. Opposite the entrance door, there are similar double doors leading into the courtyard. In the upper part of the courtyard is a male servant's house with an access porch and smaller room for a servant. This building today houses the curator and ticket office.¹³⁵ Men's house, which is located at the top of the courtyard, has a porch on the ground floor, with stairs to the first floor, while magaza (storeroom) and ahar (stables) are located behind it. Upstairs are divanhan – kamerija (open balcony), praying room (for prayers, meditation and reading), male halvat (the room for

¹³² Pašić, Amir (1989) Prilog proučavanju islamskog stambenog graditeljstva u Jugoslaviji na primjeru Mostara, koliko je stara stambena arhitektura Mostara autohtona pojava – doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu

¹³³ Husedžinović, Sabira (2001) Nastanak i razvoj Svrzine kuće in Monografija, Svrzina kuća, Sarajevo: Muzej Sarajeva, p. 37-52

¹³⁴ Čelić -Čemerlić, V. (2001). Svrzina kuća vrijedan spomenik kulture in Monografija, Svrzina kuća, Sarajevo: Muzej Sarajeva, p. 123-143

¹³⁵ Muzej Sarajeva (2017) Svrzina kuća [www.muzejsarajeva.ba], available on: <http://muzejsarajeva.ba/bs/dani-kantona-dan-noc-muzejadepandansi/svrzina-kuca> [accessed on 29th January 2017]

buisness meetings and lounge) and kaveodžak (coffee-kitchen). In the northeast part of the male courtyard there is a fountain with a stone bed and the third double door which, through the above-mentioned araluk, leads from selamluk to heramluk. Even in the 18th century the Svrzo House had a plumbing system and each room had a small bathroom (a bathtub and a toilet), which demonstrates the level of hygiene awareness.¹³⁶ Female courtyard is also cobbled and has a fountain. In the north side of the courtyard there is a house with a storeroom on the ground floor and wooden steps leading to the first floor. There are two large and one small closed balcony. Both male and female divanhana have an abdestluk (basin for ritual washing of the face, legs and arms before prayer). On the east side of the female courtyard, there is a hajat (open porch) with a mutvak (kitchen) with a storage area behind it, two small and one large halvats (lounge area), as well as the visitors' toilets that were built after the house had been converted into museum.¹³⁷ In the northwest part of the courtyard, there is a passage to another courtyard, while there are two more gardens, one in the northeast part, and the other in the south part of the complex.

Scale in architecture represents an intimate impression of the spatial size of the building, complex or environment.¹³⁸ Professional architectural literature differ monumental, natural, shock and intimate scale. Religious buildings are mostly built on monumental scale. They often seem monumental wherever they are located, regardless of the environment surrounding them. If a newly constructed building is similar to the existing built environment according to certain characteristics, then it is on the natural scale. The environment in which Svrzo House is located largely preserved the authenticity and natural scale.¹³⁹ On the other hand, if a building is totally different from the existing environment, and its aim is to make a visitor stunned, it is so-called shock scale. An example of shock scale is the residential and commercial building constructed in the immediate vicinity of the Ashkenazi synagogue in Sarajevo, popularly called „Papagajka“ (papagaj – parrot) . The space

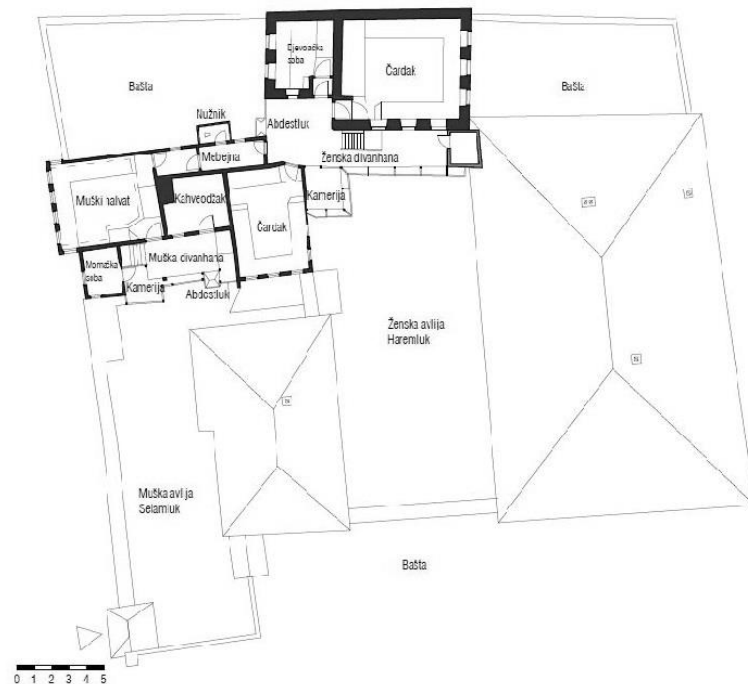
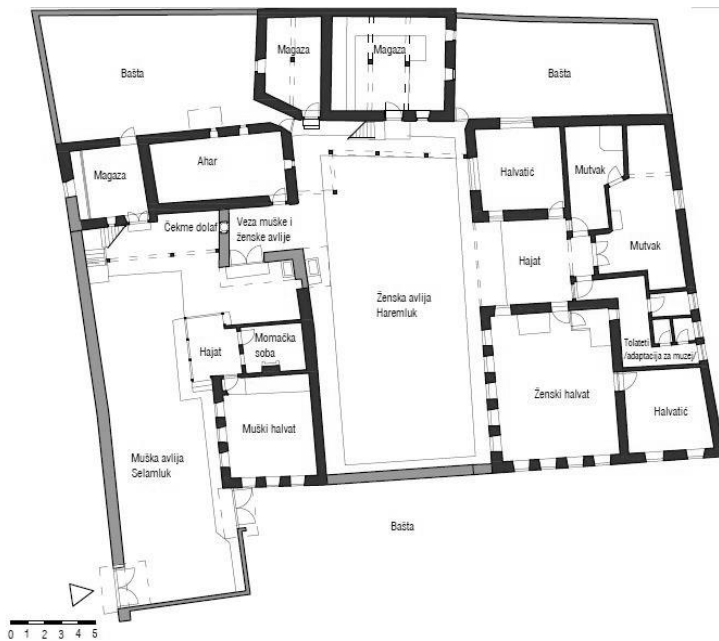
¹³⁶ Grabrijan, Dušan and Neidhardt, Juraj (1957) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine i put u savremeno*, Ljubljana: Ljudska pravica, p. 141-236

¹³⁷ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2016) *Kompleks Svrzine kuće, stambena graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2515 [accessed on 12th September 2016]

¹³⁸ Bussagli, Marco (2005) *Capire l'Architettura: Il primo grande libro illustrato sull'architettura di tutti i tempi e paesi*, Firenze: Giunti Editore, p. 6-10

¹³⁹ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 37-58, p. 112

in the intimate scale makes a pleasant impression on the visitor and causes a feeling of cosiness. The interior of the Svrzo House was created in the intimate scale.



Figures 23 and 24: Svrzo House in Sarajevo, ground floor and first floor, measured and drawn by Author

Built for a human and according to human needs, Svrzo House is a true example of natural and intimate scale. There are approximately ten rooms in the house, which look almost the same according to their arrangement of furniture and their content. The most important are male room (male halvatić) and female room (large halvatić). The

male room has the projecting oriel window (doksat) overhanging the street and was used for business meetings.¹⁴⁰ Main construction features of all rooms are wooden ceilings called *šiše*, beautifully carved cabinets (*musanderas*) for linen, books, coffee and smoking accessories, and lastly, a typical Bosnian stove with pots. By taking items from *musanderas*, each room could be converted into a bedroom, dining room, guest room, or space for afternoon relaxation and social entertainment. This feature of Bosnian house interior from the Ottoman period is a kind of forerunner of the modern treatment of space and interior design. As the rooms were illuminated with candles, the furniture included candlesticks and decorative chandeliers where the oil glasses had a practical purpose. *Mangala* with burning coal was below the chandeliers and it was used for brewing coffee. In addition to the coffee table (*peškun*), the room was often adorned with a mirror of Venetian origin showing the wealth of the owner.¹⁴¹ Embroidery had a major role in the creation of intimate space. The walls were always painted in white on which hung *levhas* (quotes from the Quran).

The importance of the visual experience of the architectural structure is unquestionable and is achievable only through interconnected segments or sequences. The history of architecture in the case of Svrzo House teaches us that the architectural structure should have clearly defined access, entrance and internal sequences. Exceptions to this rule show us that it is not necessary for a structure to have it for it to be considered a successful architectural accomplishment. The norm primarily referring to the „integration“ of the building in the existing environment plays an important role in the perception of an architectural structure. Svrzo House, built on the natural and intimate scale, constitutes a representative example of the everyday life culture in the Ottoman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Being built on the human scale, without compromising the natural environment and respecting the spatial relations (right on the unobstructed view), Svrzo House creates feelings of relaxation and comfort for a visitor.

¹⁴⁰ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2016) *Kompleks Svrzine kuće, stambena graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2515 [accessed on 12th September 2016]

¹⁴¹ Čelić -Čemerlić, V. (2001). *Svrzina kuća vrijedan spomenik kulture in Monografija, Svrzina kuća*, Sarajevo: Muzej Sarajeva, p. 123-143

2.3.2. Sacred Architecture: Mosques of Banja Luka

The cultural and historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina was largely damaged or completely demolished during the 1992/95 war. Sacral cultural and historical heritage that presented an important part of the people's identity and an important part of the overall image of the city, suffered the most. Until the beginning of the 1992/95 war in Banja Luka there were sixteen mosques that were built in the Ottoman period. In the 1992/95 war all of Banja Luka mosques have been violently demolished, causing invaluable damage to the cultural and historical heritage of the whole world, especially Bosnian and Herzegovinian heritage and all to citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some mosques, such as Ferhadija mosque, Arnaudija mosque, Gazanferija mosque and Behram Efendija mosque, beside cultural-historical values also had significant monumental values. Other mosques had cultural-historical values and were of utmost importance for the identity of all citizens of Banja Luka, and especially for the worshipers. These historical events, politically motivated, represent a barbarian act that was a direct attack on civilization and by which significant material, spiritual, cultural and historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been lost forever.

After the 1992/95 war, the reconstruction of the violently demolished Banja Luka mosques began, but not by scientific methods of treatment and protection of the cultural and historical heritage. Of the sixteen Banja Luka mosques that were destroyed in the war, fifteen were renewed, and only the reconstruction of the Ferhadija mosque was entirely carried out by the scientific method of reconstruction. The only mosque that has not yet been restored, but the activities on its reconstruction have already been launched, is the Arnaudija mosque. According to many historians of architecture, Arnaudija mosque is the second most valuable mosque in terms of architecture, in Banja Luka. In the literature there is little information about Banja Luka's mosques. The descriptions are concise, insufficient and do not go into detail. The general public, with the exception of Ferhadija Mosque, knows little about the other fifteen Banja Luka's mosques. Relying on the research of Professor Sabira Husedžinović, who at the time of the demolition of Banja Luka's mosques was in Banja Luka and at the risk of her own life documented the demolition, as well on a handful of expert texts on the history of architectural development of Banja Luka, and as well on the tour I took of the locations where the mosques were situated and which the Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina has proclaimed as national monuments as memorial sites, this chapter aims to present the historical facts, cultural and architectural values of Banja Luka mosques.

Historical sources and remains of material culture testify to the emergence and development of several settlements from which Banja Luka emerged. They indicate

that the area of the fortress of Kastel was inhabited during the Roman times. Well-known Bosnian historian Hamdija Kreševljaković has scientifically demonstrated that the oldest part of Banja Luka is Gornji Šeher, in which the fortress with the village was situated during the Middle Ages. With the takeover of the *Jajce Banovina* in 1528, the Ottomans also occupied the fortress of Banja Luka and built for the first time the Emperor's Mosque dedicated to Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, and a number of other structures that formed residential zones and commercial zones in the neighborhoods of Gornji Šeher, Donji Šeher and Novoselija. From 1553 until 1628, Banja Luka became the seat of the Eyalet of Bosnia, which ultimately resulted in the status of šeher¹⁴² - city (from Ottoman Turkish شهر – *şehir*, from Persian شهر – *šahr*.)

The first texts mentioning the architectural activity in the field of sacral architecture in the area of today's Banja Luka are the reports from Athanasie Georgicea from 1626 and the Evliya Çelebi travelogue from 1660, which tell about the existence of 42, or 45 mosques. According to the data¹⁴³ provided by Professor Sabira Husedžhinović, out of the 45 Banja Luka's mosques, at least four were domed and made out of stone, three had stone minarets and hipped wooden roofs, while others had wooden minarets and wooden roof construction. Most of these mosques are heavily damaged or completely destroyed in wars, earthquakes, and fires.

Just before the start of Bosnian war (1992/95) there were sixteen mosques in Banja Luka (chronologically stated)¹⁴⁴: Grabska Mosque/ Hadži Bey-zade Mosque (1528), Jama Mosque/ Sofi-Mehmed pasha Mosque (1554), Hadji-Mustaj pasha Sokolović Mosque/ Hadji Šabanova Mosque (1570), Ferhadija Mosque/ Ferhad-pasha Mosque (1579), Talina Mosque/ Talih Mosque/ Hadji Osmanija Mosque (1580), Arnaudija Mosque/ Teftedarija Mosque/ Hasan Defterdar Mosque (1594), Stupnička Mosque/ Hadji Salihija Mosque (1595), Behram effendi Mosque/ Behram-bey Mosque (17th century), Gazanferija Mosque/ Gazanfer-bey Mosque (16th century), Pećinska Mosque/ Potpečka Mosque/ Sefer-bey Mosque (1618), Potočka Mosque/ Hadji Pervizova Mosque (1630), Hisečka Mosque/ Mahdibegija Mosque/ Mehdi-bey

¹⁴² Bejtić, Alija (1953) *Naše starine I: Banjaluka pod turskom vladavinom: Arhitektura i teritorijalni razvitak grada u XVI i XVII vijeku*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, p. 91-116

¹⁴³ Husedžhinović, Sabira (2005) *Dokumenti opstanka (Vrijednosti, značaj, rušenje i obnova kulturnog naslijeđa)*, Zenica: Muzej grada Zenice, p. 21-28

¹⁴⁴ Trapara, Boris (2016) *Novo vrijeme - Sakralna arhitektura osmanskog Perioda: Banjalučke džamije nekad i sad*, Sarajevo: Novo vrijeme, sedmične novine, p. 30-31

Imamović Mosque (1630), Dolačka Mosque/ Hadji Omerova Mosque (1686), Hadji Kurdova Mosque (17th century), Vrbanjska Mosque (XVII century), i Tulekova Mosque/ Tulejhova Mosque/ Hadji Zulfikareva Mosque (1760), and all of them were violently demolished in 1993. Part of these mosques were rebuilt and part of them were reconstructed in their original form. According to architectural, artistic, cultural and historical significances, as the most valuable achievements of the sacral architecture of the Ottoman period in Banja Luka, there are Behram Effendi, Gazanferija, Ferhadija and Arnaudija mosques stands out, and they are also a national monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Grabska / Hadji Beg-zade mosque

Hadji Beg-zade (Grabska) mosque dating from 1528 was located on the left bank of the river Vrbas, in the village of Gornji Šeher. In the neighborhood (mahalla) Grab, after which the mosque was named in the early Ottoman period (in 1604), beside the Grabska mosque, there was also another mosque called the Džaferagina or the Džafer-aga mosque that was demolished in 1928. In 1909, Grabska mosque was repaired in its interior and its sofas (porch) were closed with a wall. There is not enough information to determine the founder of the Grabska mosque. Although some Ibrahim is mentioned in historical sources, it has not been established whether he was the founder, or he has renewed the Grabska mosque or the Džaferagina mosque. The Grabska mosque belonged to the type of mosques built with a hipped wooden roof structure, wooden minaret and open sofas. Mahfil was wooden, and the dimensions of the base of the mosque were 6.60 x 6.20 meters. Since it was in a poor physical state of preservation, due to the earthquake in 1969, the mosque was demolished and its authentic appearance was lost. Afterwards, a new mosque was built in the same spot as the old one. Beside the mosque¹⁴⁵, an important part of the ambience are the two fountains/ faucets which, along with the site and remains of the Grabska mosque, are proclaimed a national monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These faucets are found in the wall with a stone bending in the form of pointed arches. After the Grabska mosque was violently demolished in 1993, its

¹⁴⁵ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Harem Grabske (Hadži Begzade) džamije sa česmama na Grabu, historijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1871 [accessed on 21st March 2017]

remains were deployed to other locations, and a part of the old cemetery with the tombstones - *nišans* remained beside the mosque. After the war, the construction of a new mosque began in 2003. This intervention was carried out without respect to the modern approach to reconstruction; it departed from the original shape of the building, its design and aesthetic values, and materialization, as the new building was made of reinforced concrete and bricks. Before its destruction, the Grabska mosque had ambient values. By building a new mosque at the site of the old one, the continuity of the place was retained, but the cultural and historical values of the mosque were lost in terms of its authenticity.

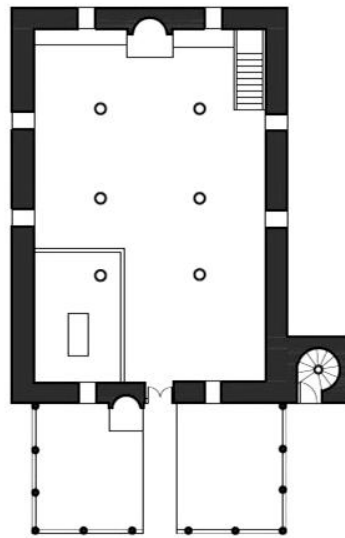
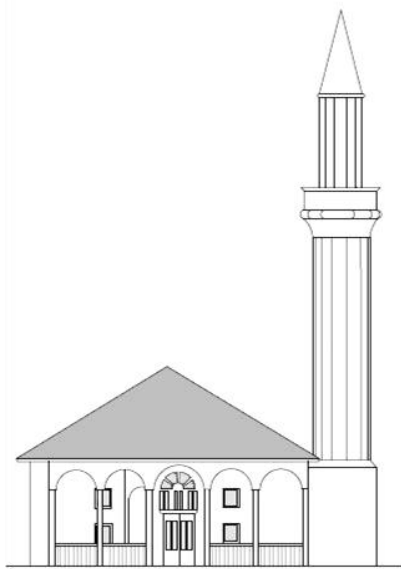
Jama / Sofi-Mehmed pasha mosque

The construction activities started by Sofi-Mehmed pasha were of great significance for Banja Luka, and those activities represented the backbone of the development of Gornji Šeher, where the Jama / Sofi-Mehmed pasha's mosque was built. From the Sofi-Mehmed pasha endowment¹⁴⁶ it is possible to see that beside the mosque, he also built a number of other structures and buildings, such as: the bridge, the hammam, 69 stores, the caravan-saray, three mills and left numerous land as a part of his endowment. The mosque originally had a dome¹⁴⁷, (but after 1688 it was damaged in one attack by Habsburg Troops on Banja Luka, and it received a hipped wooden roof), a stone minaret and a rather spacious interior measuring 14.00 x 9.60 meters. After the earthquake in 1969, the wooden roof structure was replaced by a concrete dome covered by a hipped roof. When the original minaret was replaced by a new one in 1985, the mosque lost its authentic values.

Below the mahfil, in the interior of the mosque, there was a smaller room of square base (1 meter wide and 1 meter deep) where, according to tradition, Sofi – Mehmed pasha would spend time alone during prayer. Because of this the mosque was named "Jama mosque" (jama – burrow, hole.)

¹⁴⁶ *Sofi-Mehmed pasha's endowment is the oldest, so far known, preserved endowment's text from Banja Luka and it dates from the Hijri year 962 (26/12/1554 to 04/01/1555, Mehmed Mujezinović: 1998, p.126). Endowment's text (waqf) is written in the fine Arabic language with certain grammatical and orthographic errors, nesh script, on a roll of paper measuring 24 x 300 cm and it is preserved as the original in the Gazi Husrev-bey Library in Sarajevo (Sabira Husedžinović: 1990, p. 95-115)*

¹⁴⁷ *Bejtić, Alija (1953) Naše starine I: Banjaluka pod turskom vladavinom: Arhitektura i teritorijalni razvitak grada u XVI i XVII vijeku, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, p. 91-116*



Figures 25 and 26: Jama / Sofi-Mehmed pasha mosque in Banja Luka, Main façade and ground floor, source: S. Husedžinović, redrawn by Author

According to the data provided by Professor Sabira Husedžinović and Professor Husref Redžić, there is a possibility that the Sofi-Mehmed pasha's mosque in Banja Luka was built by Mimar Sinan. In 1993 the mosque was mined and demolished¹⁴⁸, and the location was partially cleansed. Sofi-Mehmed pasha's mosque had great cultural and historical values and witnessed various historical events that left material traces on the building itself. After the last war, construction began at the site of the old mosque. The new mosque has new dimensions, proportions, and new materialization, thus re-defeating the system of values that the historical site had worn for ages.

Hadji-Mustaj pasha Sokolović / Hadji Šabanova mosque

The Hadji Šabanova mosque was built in 1570 in the neighborhood of Desna Novoselija. The mosque has the same name as its neighbourhood and it belonged to the type of one-space mosques with a hipped wooden roof and a wooden minaret. Mihrab was simple in design, and mahfil and minber were made of wood. The Hadji Šabanova mosque was demolished in 1993, and after the war, a new mosque was built in the same place. The new mosque was constructed in new materials

¹⁴⁸ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Harem Jama (Sofi Mehmed-pašine) džamije, historijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1872 [accessed on 21st March 2017]

(reinforced concrete and bricks) without respecting the contemporary approach to the reconstruction of the cultural property. By this intervention in the space, the ambient values have been lost forever. All Banja Luka's mosques except Hadji Šabanova mosque and Vrbanja mosque are national monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ferhadija / Ferhad-pasha mosque

The Ferhad Pasha Mosque was built in 1579 in a classical Ottoman style on the right bank of the river Vrbas, and it is the most important mosque in Banja Luka and one of the historically most valuable cultural and historical sites in the Balkans. The founder of the mosque, Ferhad-pasha, was a descendant of the famous Sokolović family and performed the duty of the Bosnian sanjak-bey and beyler-bey. He transformed Banja Luka from *kasaba* (village) to *šeher* (city)¹⁴⁹ by building 216 different buildings¹⁵⁰; a mosque, medressa, *tophana* (armory), bedistan, karavansaray, two stone bridges, hamam, clock tower, and a lot of mills and shops. Ferhad-pasha died in Budim and he was buried in a *turbe* (mausoleum) that was in the courtyard of his mosque in Banja Luka. Another part of the complex comprised out of Safi-kaduna turbe, mausoleum of Ferhad-pasha bayraktars, shadirvan, fountain and a small cemetery.

The similarity¹⁵¹ of Ferhad pasha's mosque and the Sultan Murat III mosque built in Manisa near Izmir (1585) is a form of the base, with Muradia mosque being larger, as imperial mosque, but also proportionally having a broader basis. It is one of the last works of Mimar Sinan, since it is known from historical sources that Mimar Sinan visited Manisa in 1582 upon return from Hajj, as an old man. He chose the site for the mosque and entrusted construction to his best associate, Mimar Mahmud, who died in Manisa, and the building was continued by architect Mehmed, who after Sinan will become one of the main architects of the Ottoman Empire and the builder of the famous mosque of Sultan Ahmet I (1609-1615).

The extensions on both mosques are covered in the same way by corrugated semiconductors, above mihrab, and with the half-dome above mihrab in Ferhadija

¹⁴⁹ Trapara, Boris (2016) *Novo vrijeme - Sakralna arhitektura osmanskog Perioda: Banjalučke džamije nekad i sad*, Sarajevo: Novo vrijeme, sedmične novine, p. 30-31

¹⁵⁰ Bejtović, Alija (1953) *Naše starine I: Banjaluka pod turskom vladavinom: Arhitektura i teritorijalni razvitak grada u XVI i XVII vijeku*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, p. 91-116

¹⁵¹ Husedžinović, Sabira (2005) *Dokumenti opstanka (Vrijednosti, značaj, rušenje i obnova kulturnog naslijeđa)*, Zenica: Muzej grada Zenice, p. 222-296

mosque. Lighting is provided with numerous windows, so the Muradia mosque is richly illuminated as well as the Ferhadija mosque. Professor Andrej Andrejević believed that even before the endowment of Ferhad-Pasha Sokolović, no such abundance of light was found in the interior of any other mosque. The dome of the Muradia mosque is relatively small, only 10.65m, in proportions similar to the dome of the Ferhadija Mosque. Similar stone plastics were applied, especially for the entrance part of the minber, as well as with the capitels from columns of the porch.

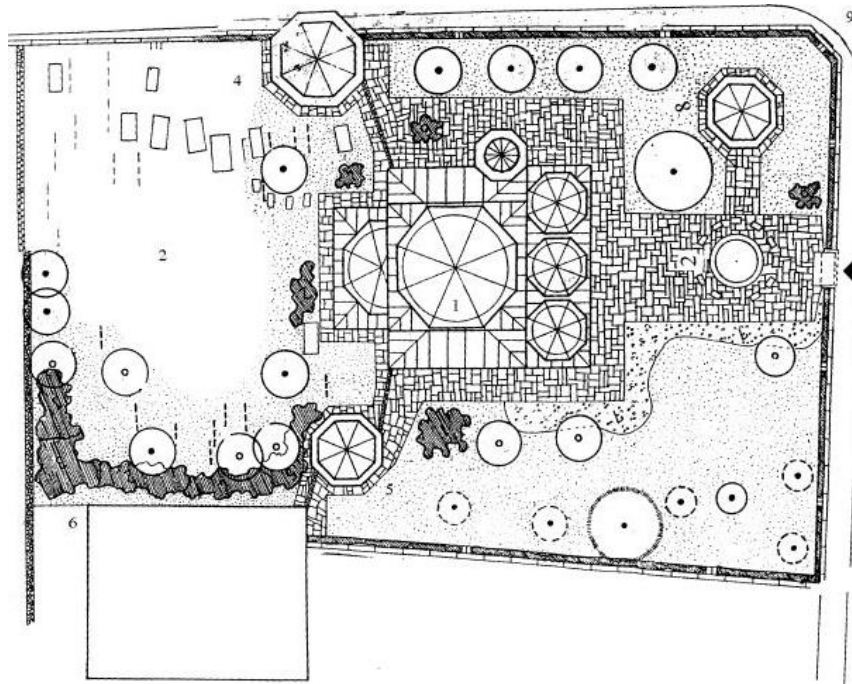


Figure 27: The site of Ferhadija / Ferhad-pasha mosque in Banja Luka:
 1. Mosque, 2. Courtyard, 3. Entrance, 4. Ferhad-pasha mausoleum, 5. Safi-kaduna mausoleum, 6. Medžlis Building, 7. Šadrvan/ fountain, 8. Ferhad Pasha's captains, 9. Fucet, source: S. Husedžinović, redrawn by Author

The assumption that the Ferhadija mosque originated in Istanbul's studio supports the facts about the significance and influence of the Sokolović family in the Ottoman Empire. It is well known that many buildings were built by Sinan for the great vendor Mehmed-pasha Sokolović, with whom he was a friend (a bridge on Drina near Višegrad, a mosque, a palace and a mekteb in Sokolovići, a imaret in Sarajevo, and mosques in Istanbul and Havsi near Jedren). Sinan also built a mosque for the relative of the great vendor Mehmed-pasha Sokolović, Mustafa-pasha in Budim. All this suggests that Ferhad-pasha, as a loyal relative, could come into contact with the famous master – Mimar Sinan. Assuming that the Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka was built as a kind of trial model before the Muradia mosque, Andrejević says: "As the Mehmed-pasha Sokolović mosque on the coast of the Golden Horn in Constantinople (1577), is at its basic idea a sort of reduced exemplary replica of Selimia Mosque in Jedrene, and Ferhadija mosque could be an experiment in the

small scale of Sultan mosque in Manisa.” He continues with: "Analogy with the mosque in Manisa undoubtedly confirms that Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka was designed at the Istanbul studio of the old Mimar Sinan."

Figures 28, 29, 30, 31: Ferhadija / Ferhad-pasha mosque in Banja Luka, interior, 15/10/2016, Photographs by

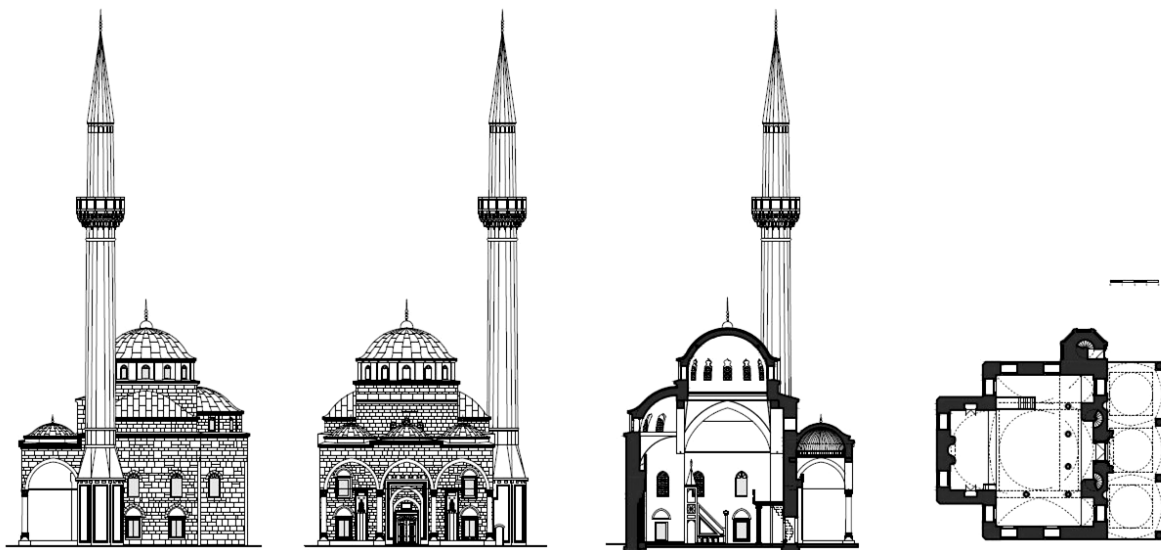


Author

As the mosque belonged to the classical Istanbul style, it emphasized the dynamics of all elements, starting from the pillars, porch, domes on it, through the cube-shaped stand with the tambourine continuing to the dome. The integral parts of the mosque are distinguished by their individuality and again merged into a unique compositional whole, which forms a form of pyramid. This bulk density is emphasized by numerous stone profiles. Thus, they are especially performed on the tambour in the form of pilasters that leap into the space, and between them there are windows with transitions, which, along with richly profiled stone wreaths that appear on all the joints between the cover and the wall, create shadows, and reinforce the architectural dynamics of the mosque.

By comparing the Muradia mosque in Manisa and the Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka, it is possible to determine that design solutions for both mosques come from Mimar Sinan, the greatest architect of the Ottoman Empire. The Ferhadija mosque has a developed layout solution with a unique multi-spaced system. The central prayer space is covered with the dome that rested on a tambour with 12 window openings, and 5 windows on the half-dome. The other window openings were arranged in two zones; In the first zone there are 10 rectangular shaped windows

with demirias, and in the second zone there are 12 windows with Islamic arches. Minaret, 42.70 meters high, has a separate entrance and is made of limestone. It is possible to enter the central mosque space through the porch with sofas, above which there are three little domes. The entrance portal with rich decoration is a worth artistic element of the mosque. The interior decoration was changed several times, and before the renovation in 1975, the interior of the mosque was dominated by white colour with details of blue, red and gold colours. The original decoration was consisted of various plant motifs of Rumi and Khataji arabesque. The slender mihrab is pulled out of the wall mass and has stalactites decoration in seven levels with a golden apple, and above it is the text from the Qur'an. The minber is made in stone, modelled on the influences from Istanbul mosques. On the asymmetrically shaped gallery that rests on the walls and pillars, the two pillars are symmetrically placed in relation to the entrance. In the mosque there was a stone pulpit. Significant conservation and restoration works were carried out on the minaret after the earthquake in 1969. The Ferhad pasha mosque was mined and completely destroyed in the night between of May 6 and May 7, 1993. After 60% of the building fragments was found at various locations, the reconstruction process has began and lasted for almost 15 years. The mosque was reconstructed in its original form, respecting all modern principles of restoration of the cultural property.



Figures 32, 33, 34, 35: Tehnical drawings of Ferhadija / Ferhad-pasha mosque in Banja Luka, source: S. Husedžinović, Redrawn by Author

Talina / Talih / Hadji Osmanija mosque

The Hadji Osmanija mosque was built in 1580 in one of the oldest neighbourhoods of Banja Luka, mahala Pobrđe. According to the tradition, the mosque was built by Osman-beg Đumišić. According to the architectural and photo documentation, one can notice one of the specifics of this mosque, which is the tomb of the founder of the mosque, whose one part (one *nišan*) is located in the sofa (porch of the mosque), while the other part (second *nišan*) is out of the porch area. This happened due to the fact that in the 18th century the mosque was renewed and expanded. The mosque belonged to the type of mosques with a hipped wooden roof and a wooden minaret. The columns of the porch (on the sofas) were connected by wooden arches. The special value of the mosque was a richly decorated mihrab. The mosque had two rows of windows, of which the second row of windows had arches. The Hadji Osmanija mosque was burned in 1993¹⁵² and its remains were removed in 1999. In the period from 2003 to 2007, a new mosque was built at the site where Hadži Osmanija mosque stood before. The new mosque did not respect the original proportions, dimensions, and design of the old one, as well as the appearance of the minaret. By this intervention in the space, the ambient values have been lost forever.

Arnaudija / Teftedarija / Hasana Defterdara mosque

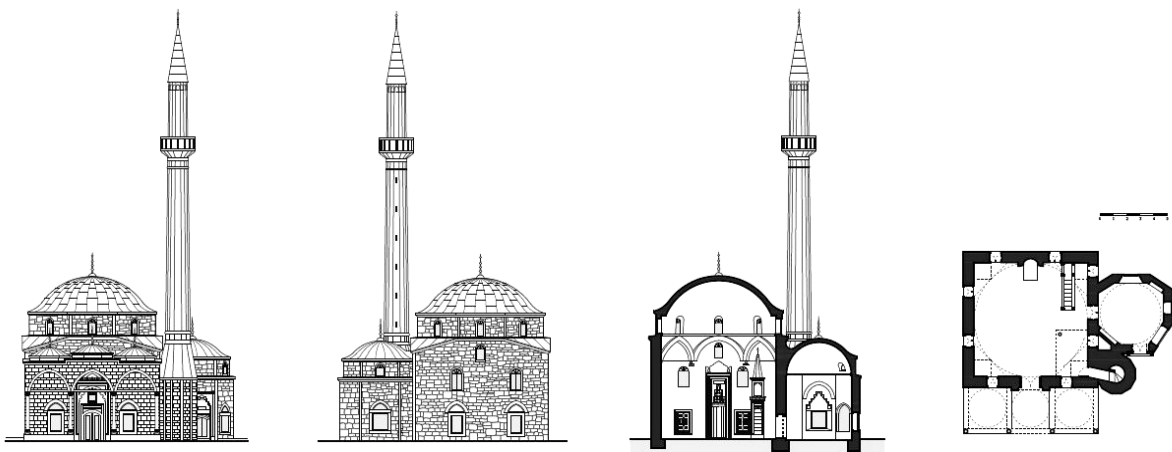
The founder of Arnaudija mosque was Hasan-defterdar, the minister of finances of Eyalet of Bosnia. His close friend was Ferhad - pasha Sokolović. This position enabled him to build one of the most important mosques of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1594, which was named after his title - defterdar (Turkish for bookkeepers; from the Persian دفتردار *daftardâr*, دفتر *daftar* + دار *dâr*.) As a native Albanian, the mosque was known as Arnaudia¹⁵³ among the people. The Arnaudija mosque was built in a classical Istanbul style with the influence of the architecture of the Seljuk's mosques in Anatolia and the Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka. After the construction in the

¹⁵² Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Harem Hadži Osmanije (Taline) džamije, povijesno područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1834 [accessed on 21st March 2017]

¹⁵³ Husedžinović, Sabira (2005) *Dokumenti opstanka (Vrijednosti, značaj, rušenje i obnova kulturnog naslijeđa)*, Zenica: Muzej grada Zenice, p. 374-428

noble proportions, Arnaudija mosque served as a model for the construction of other mosques in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

By architectural and artistic values, Arnaudija occupied a high place in the group of mosques built on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of the sixteenth to seventeenth century. It was a type of one-space mosque (10.30m x 10.30m) with three stone domes above the porch, a stone dome above the prayer space, and a 30 meters high stone minaret. The specificity of this mosque was represented by the *Akšam-taš* (Maghrib-taš) or *Ezan-taš* (Adhan-taš), built from stone within the *harem* - courtyard's wall, and served as a place for call for prayer, that is, it played the role of small minaret which could, in this form, be seen at some mosques in Mostar. During the construction of the mosque, the *turbe* (mausoleum) for the Hasan-defterdar and his wife was added. The mausoleum was connected with the prayer space of the mosque, but it could also be accessed from the courtyard. The position of the minaret, which is 2.5 times higher than the height of the dome is not typical and is conditioned by the addition of the mausoleum. The entrance to the mosque was through a richly decorated portal above which there was the *tarih* (a panel with a quote from Qur'an). In front of the entrance's porch, a lower porch that had collapsed after World War II was added. The window openings were arranged in three levels on the side walls as well as on the octagon *tambur* – lute. The connection between dome and walls was built in the shape of tromps.



Figures 36, 37, 38, 39: Tehnical drawings of Arnaudija / Teftedarija / Hasana Defterdara mosque in Banja Luka, source: S. Husedžinović, Redrawn by Author

The mihrab, with a very slender form ended with a crown in the shape of flower buds, like the mihrab of Aladža mosque in Foča. The decoration of the mihrab consisted of painted stalactites, profiled little columns, flowers and text from the Qur'an. Minber was made of stone and decorated with floral and stalactite blue and gold decoration and prayer text. Mahfil was placed in the right corner of the mosque, and it could be approached through the minaret. Mahfil was made out of wood, and it was partly supported on the walls, and partly on the octagon wooden column. In the interior of the mosque there was also a stone *ćurs* - *kursi*.¹⁵⁴

In 1975, the conservation and restoration works were carried out, after the damage to constructive elements emerged from the earthquake (1969), and the interior was re-painted. On the May 6th and 7th, 1993, the complex of Arnaudija mosque was mined and demolished, and the remains were taken to the landfill. In June 2003, the first phase of the reconstruction of the mosque's complex began. After the preparation of the terrain, it is envisaged to approach the reconstruction of the mosque.

Stupnička / Hadji Salihija mosque

The Stupnička mosque was built in 1595 on the right bank of the river Vrbas at the foot of hill Šehitluci. The mosque was named after the name of the neighbourhood where it was built. It was a type of one-space mosque covered with a hipped wooden roof structure and with a wooden minaret. In the interior of the mosque there was a richly decorated mihrab with stylized flowers of lilies. The minber and mahfil - gallery were made out of wood. The Stupnička mosque has been repaired and renovated several times in history. One of the interventions on the mosque took place after the World War II when the wooden roof structure was replaced with the new one and when the minaret was renovated as well. Other restoration works on the mosque were in 1987¹⁵⁵, and these are described by Professor Madžida Bećirbegović in her book "Džamije sa drvenom munarom u Bosni i Hercegovini (The Mosques with wooden minaret in Bosnia and Herzegovina.)" The Stupnička mosque was burned down in 1993, and after the last war a new mosque was built in the same site, similar

¹⁵⁴ Husedžinović, Sabira (2005) *Dokumenti opstanka (Vrijednosti, značaj, rušenje i obnova kulturnog naslijeđa)*, Zenica: Muzej grada Zenice, p. 374-428

¹⁵⁵ Bećirbegović, Madžida (1999) *Džamije sa drvenom munarom u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 124

in dimensions of foundation, but in new materials and inadequate form (especially the minaret.) By building a new mosque at the place where Stupnička mosque was situated before burning it down, without respecting the contemporary principle of restoration, the value of the ambience was lost forever.

Behram effendi mosque

According to folk tradition, Behram effendi (Behram-bey) the founder of the mosque originates from Anatolia and belongs to the dervish order. The mosque was built at the beginning of the 17th century, which confirms the inscription on the minber from 1617. His brother, Osman-bey Đumišić, erected a mosque in the village of Pobrđe. There is not much written about the brothers Đumišić. The article " Banja Luka pod Turskom vladavinom, Arhitektura i teritorijalni razvitak grada u XVI i XVII vijeku (Banja Luka under the Turkish rule, Architecture and territorial development of the city in the 16th and 17th centuries)" by author of Alija Bejtić, provides basic information on the life of Behram effendi as a writer and poet.¹⁵⁶

The Behram effendi mosque belongs to the group of mosques built with a hipped wooden roof structure and wooden minaret. The specificity of this mosque is a small underground space of modest dimensions called the "kuija" which served for meditation and an extension in a form of *turbe* – a mausoleum for the founder of the mosque. Because of this, the Behram effendi mosque could be included in the burial mosques that were rare in the Balkans. The "kuija" was under the ground, covered by a barrel vault (1.90 meters in height) and it had a mihrab. The basis of the prayer space was 6.90 x 6.20 meters and it was modestly decorated. Thick, stone walls (75cm) had window openings in two levels, of which the first zone was protected by wooden grills, and the windows in the second zone were with wooden *mušebak* - latticework. The entrance to the mosque was through a wooden porch with sofas, which had a wooden fence added in the past century. The entrance to the *turbe* - mausoleum was enabled from the mosque as well as from the mosque's *harem* - courtyard. Mihrab was in the wall, without plastic decoration, and above the mihrab there was one window. Symmetrically in relation to the mihrab there were two

¹⁵⁶ Bejtić, Alija (1953) *Naše starine I: Banjaluka pod turskom vladavinom: Arhitektura i teritorijalni razvitak grada u XVI i XVII vijeku*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika, p. 91-116

rosettes with the texts of prayer. The minber and mahfil were made in oak wood without art decoration.



Figures 40, 41, 42, 43:
 Tehnical drawings of Behram
 effendi mosque in Banja Luka,
 source: S. Husedžinović,
 Redrawn by Author

The Behram effendi mosque was set on fire and partly ruined in 1993. Based on the remains of stone walls, as well as the available technical documentation, the building was reconstructed and largely corresponds to its condition before the demolition. While the proportions, scale, dimensions and high degree of details in the base of the mosque and its façade were retained, the wooden minaret was partially modified. There were mosques older than this (e.g. Grabska mosque from 1528 and Sofi-Mehmed pasha mosque from 1554) in Banja Luka, which were not restored in their original form before the demolition in 1993. Because Behram effendi mosque was reconstructed in its authentic form it is now considered to be the oldest Banja Luka's mosque and, as such, has great cultural and historical values.

Gazanferija mosque

The construction year of Gazanferija mosque is unknown, but based on the fact that Gazanfer-bey, who was the founder of this mosque, lived at the time of Ferhad-bey, historians believe that the mosque was built at the end of the 16th century. Taking into account the square shape of the mosque, the thickness of the stone walls

(75cm), the position and significance of Gazanfer-bey (it was also the *zaim*¹⁵⁷ of Bosnia Eyalet), as well as the cartographic documentation from 1737 on which the mosque is displayed with a dome, it is possible to claim that the Gazanferija mosque originally had a stone dome. In the XIX century, the open space of the porch with sofas was plastered and turned into a maktab - school, and the mosque was covered by a hipped roof structure that had a wooden dome above the central prayer area (10.95m x 10.95m). The windows were arranged in two levels; a lower zone with grilles and in a higher one with pointed arches. The mosque had a 29-meter-high stone minaret that could be accessed from the prayer area.

An integral part of the Gazanferija complex consisted out of two identical mausoleums of modest decorations connected together by the courtyard wall and the main entrance to the complex in that wall. The mausoleum of Gazanfer-bey and the mausoleum of his two sons are in its interiors covered with a dome, and outside with the roof in a form of tent. Both of the mausoleums are preserved in their original form.¹⁵⁸ This architectural composition of the Gazanfer-bey mosque of the sacral building (mosque) with memorial buildings (mausoleums – *turbe*) was unique in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The entrance to the mosque was through a stone-framed portal with wooden doors above which it was an inscription in Arabic. The 6m diameter wooden dome was plastered and richly decorated with arabesque. Mihrab in blue, red and gold had a stalactite decoration and there were two symmetrically arranged rosettes made of stone, and above them a panel with text from the Qur'an. The minber was made out of wood with a crown part in the form of a lace and a prayer text. The mahfil with a wooden fence relied on three walls and wooden columns. Muezzin used the octagon shaped extension at the mahfil. The mosque was violently demolished on July 4, 1993. The performed works on the renovation of the building are incompatible with the authentic form of the mosque. The renovation is done with modern materials, such as reinforced concrete and masonry blocks. The proportions and dimensions deviate from the original ones, and the roof is completely changed. By these interventions, the cultural and historical values of the complex have been lost forever.

¹⁵⁷ *Ziamet* was a form of Land tenure in Ottoman Empire, consisting in grant of lands or revenues by the Ottoman Sultan to an individual in compensation for his services, especially military services.

¹⁵⁸ Husedžinović, Sabira (2005) *Dokumenti opstanka (Vrijednosti, značaj, rušenje i obnova kulturnog naslijeđa)*, Zenica: Muzej grada Zenice, p. 429-450

Pećinska / Potpećka / Sefer-bey mosque

The Sefer-bey mosque was built around 1618 in the Pećina (Cave) neighbourhood, which later also became its name. Its founder, Sefer-sipahi, raised the uprising in Krajina against the Bosnian beylerbey, Dželali Hasan-pasha, in 1603, after which Hasan-pasha was expelled from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The mosque belongs to the type of mosques with a hipped wooden roof structure and a wooden minaret. According to the 1983 census in Banja Luka there were eight mosques of this type, six of which were in Donji Šeher, and two in Novoselija. Mihrab had a simple decoration in the form of triangles that imitated stalactite decoration¹⁵⁹, and mahfil and minber were made out of wood. The mosque had one row of windows in the lower zone. The entrance portal was built like the one at the Arnaudija mosque, which was nearby. The Sefer-bey mosque was mined in 1993¹⁶⁰, and the next year its remains were moved to a landfill. After the war at the site of the demolished mosque, a new mosque was built in new materials and new forms, disrespecting the cultural and historical values of the ambience.

Potočka / Hadji Pervizova mosque

Hadji Pervizova mosque was built before 1630 and is known as the smallest Banja Luka's mosques with modest dimensions of 5.50 x 5.50 meters. From the endowment of the founder of the mosque, Hadji Perviz, it is known that beside the mosque he also built seven stores in the area of Mala čaršija (Suki sagir) in order to enable support for the mosque. The mosque belonged to a type of one-space mosque with a hipped wooden structure and a wooden minaret. The Hadji Pervizova mosque was burned in 1993, and after the 1992/95 war, a new massive mosque was constructed (with the base of 9.00 x 12.00 meters) on the spot of the old one. The new mosque was built in new materialization and bigger proportions, thus permanently losing the ambience values.

¹⁵⁹ Bećirbegović, Madžida (1999) *Džamije sa drvenom munarom u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 125-126

¹⁶⁰ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Harem Pećinske (Seferbegove) džamije, historijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1874 [accessed on 21st March 2017]

Hisečka / Mahdibegija / Mehdi-bey Imamović mosque

The Hisečka mosque was built around 1630 on the left bank of the river Vrbas. There is little data on its founder Mehdi-bey Imamović. The mosque belonged to the type of one-space mosques with a hipped wooden roof structure and it had the highest wooden minaret in Banja Luka. Mihrab had stalactite decoration, and deep mahfil and minber were made out of wood. The Hisečka mosque was mined and demolished in 1993¹⁶¹, and after the 1992/95 war, a new mosque was built in new materials and at the spot of the old mosque. With the new design and with the disrespect of contemporary methods of protection of cultural heritage, the values of the ambience were lost forever.

Dolačka / Hadji Omerova mosque

The Dolačka mosque was built before 1686, in the neighborhood with the same name as the mosque. The Dolačka mosque belonged to the type of one-space mosques covered by a hipped wooden roof structure and it had a wooden minaret. The specificity of this mosque was sofas (porch) that had external stairs and a gallery from which it was possible to enter the mahfil (inner gallery) in the interior of the mosque. The window openings in the lower zone were rectangular. They had pointed arches in the upper zone. Mihrab, mahfil and minber were simple in design. The Dolačka mosque was burned in 1993.¹⁶² After the war, a new mosque was built in its place, disregarding the contemporary principles of restoration of cultural good, with new form and new inappropriate materials. By this intervention the Dolačka mosque has lost its ambience values.

¹⁶¹ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Mjesto i ostaci graditeljske cjeline Džamije na Hisečima (Mehdi-begove džamije) u Banjoj Luci* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1873 [accessed at 22nd March 2017]

¹⁶² Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Harem Hadži Omerove (Dolačke) džamije u Banjoj Luci, historijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1836 [accessed on 24th March 2017]

Hadji Kurdova mosque

The Hadji Kurdova mosque was built in Lijevo Novoselija in the 17th century, as a one-space building covered by a hipped wooden roof structure and with a wooden minaret. The windows in the lower and upper zones were rectangular. The mihrab, mahfil and minber were simple in design. The wooden minaret with a mast in the center around which wooden stairways were laid out, was coming out of the roof of the mosque. The Hadji Kurdova mosque lost its authentic values in 1975 when it was demolished and a new mosque was built in its place, but in modern materialization. The Hadji Kurdova mosque was mined and demolished in 1993¹⁶³, and after the war in its place a new mosque was built, again in new materials and different forms. By this intervention the Hadji Kurdova mosque has permanently lost the ambience values.

Vrbanjska mosque

The mosque in Vrbanja was built in the 17th century, and its basic renovation was carried out in 1973. After this "renewal", the Vrbanjska mosque is called a new mosque, which suggests that a new mosque was built in 1973 in the place of the old mosque, probably because of the earthquake in 1969 when the mosque was partly destroyed. There is no available information on this "reconstruction" in the literature, but neither technical documentation nor textual descriptions of the authentic appearance of the 17th century mosque. The Vrbanjska mosque belonged to the type of one-space mosque with a hipped wooden roof structure and a wooden minaret. The mosque in Vrbanja was demolished in 1993, and after the war, a new mosque was built in its place, which, by its proportions, dimensions and new materials is completely different from the original building. With this intervention, ambient values have been lost.

¹⁶³ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Harem Hadži Kurd džamije u Lijevoj Novoseliji, historijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1870 [accessed on 24th March 2017]

Tulekova / Tulejhova / Hadji Zulfikareva mosque

The Hadji Zulfikareva mosque was built in 1760 in the neighborhood of Lijevo Novoselija. The mosque was named Tulekova because of the milling family Tulek who maintained the mosque. The Hadji Zulfikareva mosque belonged to the type of one-space mosque with a hipped wooden roof structure and a wooden minaret. The mihrab, minber and mahfil were simple in design. The mosque had two rows of parallel rectangular windows. After the earthquake in 1969, the restoration of the mosque was completed. The Hadji Zulfikareva mosque was mined and demolished in 1993¹⁶⁴, and the remains of the mosque were completely removed from the site in 1999. At the site of the old mosque, a new one was built in new materialization and different form. With this intervention, ambient values have been lost.

Tabular chronological view of the demolition of Banja Luka's mosques

Chronological view of the demolition of Banja Luka's mosques during the 1992/95. war, according to Professor Sabira Husedžinović. Datas were collected by Professor Husedžinović from the sites, during the demolition, and data were also collected by Medžlis of Islamic Community of Banja Luka during the 1992/95 war. The sixteen Banja Luka's mosques were burned down, damaged and eventually completely destroyed. Sites were cleared, and the remnants of the mosques, mausoleums, surrounding buildings and tombstones have been thrown into the landfill.

Figures 44 (Table Mosques on the next page): Data collected and Table Designed by Author

¹⁶⁴ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Hadži Zulfikareva (Tulekova) džamija u Banjoj Luci, istorijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1833 [accessed on 26th March 2017]

Date	Name of the mosque	Damage and demolition description
09th April 1993	Pećinska Mosque/ Potpećka Mosque/ Sefer-bey Mosque (1618)	The Pećinska mosque was burned in April 1993, and in September 1994 it was completely destroyed.
06th, 07th and 08th May 1993	Ferhadija Mosque/ Ferhad-pasha Mosque (1579)	The Ferhadija mosque was mined, after what only minaret remained standing upright, thanks to the rehabilitation intervention that was carried out after the earthquake in 1969. The minaret was mined later (on May 08th, 1993), and the explosion was so strong that threw the minaret in the air. The minaret broke into pieces when it fell on the ground.
06th and 07th May 1993	Arnaudija Mosque/ Teftedarija Mosque/ Hasan Defterdar Mosque (1594)	The Arnaudija mosque was completely demolished by mining.
11th May 1993	Vrbanska Mosque (XVII century)	The new mosque in Vrbanja (village near Banja Luka) was demolished by mining.
17th May 1993	Tulekova Mosque/ Tulejhova Mosque/ Hadji Zulfikareva Mosque (1760)	The Tulekova mosque was burned. The roof, the minaret and the porch completely disappeared in flames while the walls were heavily damaged.
26th May 1993	Behram effendi Mosque/ Behram-bey Mosque (17 th century)	The Behram effendi mosque was burned. A small room for <i>ibadet</i> – prayer was saved.
04th July 1993	Jama Mosque/ Sofi-Mehmed pasha Mosque (1554)	The Jama mosque was completely demolished by mining.
04th July 1993	Grabska Mosque/ Hadži Bey-zade Mosque (1528)	The Grabska mosque was completely demolished by mining.
04th July 1993	Hisečka Mosque/ Mahdibegija Mosque/ Mehdi-bey Imamović Mosque (1630)	The Hisečka mosque was completely demolished by mining.
04th July 1993	Gazanferija Mosque/ Gazanfer-bey Mosque (16 th century)	The complex of Gazanferija mosque was partially demolished by mining.
14th July 1993	Hadji Kurdova Mosque (17 th century)	The Hadji Kurdova mosque was completely demolished by mining.
14th July 1993	Hadji-Mustaj pasha Sokolović Mosque/ Hadji Šabanova Mosque (1570)	The Hadji-Mustaj pasha Sokolović mosque was completely demolished by mining.
06th September 1993	Potočka Mosque/ Hadji Pervizova Mosque (1630)	The Potočka mosque was burned. The roof, the minaret and the porch completely disappeared in flames while the walls were heavily damaged.
08th September 1993	Talina Mosque/ Talih Mosque/ Hadji Osmanija Mosque (1580)	The Talih mosque was burned and the northwest wall was demolished. The roof, the minaret and the porch burned down, and the walls were damaged.
09th September 1993	Stupnička Mosque/ Hadji Salihija Mosque (1595)	The Stupnička mosque was burned. The roof and the minaret burned down, and the walls were damaged.
09th September 1993	Dolačka Mosque/ Hadji Omerova Mosque (1686)	The Dolačka mosque was burned (the roof and the minaret burned down.) The remains were moved to landfill in September 1994.

Banja Luka's mosques, according to the typology they belonged to, had distinct differences in architectural values, but their cultural-historical component was extremely significant within the Bosnian and Herzegovinian heritage. According to the typology, the Banja Luka's mosques were represented by all the typical types for Balkans; monumental mosque with a multi-spaced and multi-domed system (Ferhadija mosque), then a monumental mosque with one dome above the central prayer area (Arnaudija mosque), a mosque with a hipped roof and a stone minaret (Sofi Mehmed-pasha mosque) and most of other mosques were the mosques with a hipped roof and wooden minaret. In the grading of values of cultural property, the monumental, architectural and artistic values are in the highest position and both, Ferhadija mosque and Arnaudija mosque had these values. Other Banja Luka's mosques had cultural and historical values.

The reconstructed buildings of sacral architecture have an important role not only in the architectural but also in the cultural sense. With the renewal of the ruined heritage, it is possible only to partially restore the authentic image of Banja Luka and thus preserve the cultural and historical values that have been inherited for centuries. Nevertheless, in the example of restoration of the Banja Luka's mosques, no scientific method of restoration, reconstruction, or conservation was used, instead of completely new structures were built. These interventions have kept the continuity of the function of the sacred space, as well as the sanctity and the spirit of the place, but they erased monumental and architectural values. With the construction of new buildings at the old sites of previous mosques the ambient values were degraded. The Commission to Preserve National Monuments did not approve any of these construction activities.

From the historical and architectural analysis in this chapter it is possible to inspect the basic physical, spatial, urban and architectural characteristics of all sixteen Banja Luka's mosques and thus open the way for further research, since the scientific literature dealing with this topic does not provide enough detailed data and requires systematic research that was largely carried out by Professor Sabira Husedžinović in accordance with available material and knowledge. Professor Husedžinović lived through the demolition of Banja Luka's mosques.

Particularly worthy of note is the contribution to the study and documentation of the materials about the Banja Luka's mosques, which was accomplished by Professor Sabira Husedžinović. Professor Husedžinović spent most of her professional life in Banja Luka, as well the period in which the Banja Luka's mosques were demolished. She perceived these barbarian acts of destruction as an attack on her own life. Yet, while describing the cultural-historical values and the destruction of the Banja Luka's mosques, she kept the scientific approach without allowing her emotional side to endanger her academic objectivity. Her research was published in 2005 in her book "Dokumenti opstanka – (Survival Documents.)" This book is the rare and only so comprehensive source of facts about the almost forgotten Banja Luka's mosques. The book gives an insight into the historical, cultural and architectural features of a particular time and city and provides a scientific basis for the necessary further scientific research of the sacred and profane architecture of the Ottoman period in Banja Luka.

During the 1992/95 war, when in human nature is to put on's own life first, Professor Sabira Husedžinović put the Banja Luka's heritage in the first place. Endangering her own life to protect and document the demolition of the architectural heritage of Banja Luka during the war, Professor Sabira Husedžinović set the brightest example of heritage protection. She has served, as an example, to the whole academic community and all the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina with her superhuman effort to document the condition before and after the demolition and to preserve the remains of the demolished Banja Luka's mosques.

The present historical, cultural and architectural values of the destroyed Banja Luka's mosques aim to point out the importance of the sacred architecture of the Ottoman period in Banja Luka and to highlight their position in the entire cultural and historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an important and multilayered element in the city's image. Banja Luka mosques had great significance for the identity of the people, the cultural heritage and the character of the city before demolishing. They were an integral part of the functioning of community, and an inseparable part of everyday life. By the reconstruction and restoration of Banja Luka's mosques, which began after the 1992/95 war, the spirit of the place has been secured, but the authentic values of this sacral architecture were permanently lost.

2.4. Austro-Hungarian period

2.4.1. Secular Architecture: Salom's Palace and Napredak Palace in Sarajevo

The residential-business palace, as a new functional and aesthetic form in the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina appeared for the first time during the Austro-Hungarian period. The most representative residential-business palaces¹⁶⁵ were built in Sarajevo in various neo-styles, from Baščaršija (Residential-business palace across the Old Orthodox Church), via Tito Street – Titova ulica (Salom's Palace, Napredak Palace, Musafija Palace, etc.) and all the way to the Marijin Dvor (Maria's Palace) with the residential-business palace Marienhof (Maria's Palace) and the Officer's Pavilion at Wilson's Promenade. Through the architectural and constructive analysis of the residential-business palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period¹⁶⁶ in Sarajevo, it is possible to objectively observe all the values of this architecture in a wide variety of different neo-styles and typologies. Architect Borislav Spasojević, in his book "Architecture of residential palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo", divided the residential-business palaces built in Sarajevo between 1878 and 1918 into three types. The first type is a freestanding palace with an inner courtyard, the second type identified are palaces built in a row with an inner courtyard and the third type are palaces built in a row (without an inner courtyard.)

In accordance with the historical and political changes in the society that caused the migration of the population into cities, residential-business palaces were built as buildings for rent. For the same reasons, in the Austro-Hungarian period, they had representative aesthetic values and richly decorated façades, most often in the style of Secession¹⁶⁷, but also in other neo-styles. After the First World War, and especially during the period of Socialism, this form of housing was replaced by new construction and was negatively perceived because of its connection with the Monarchy. In fact, the palaces from the Austro-Hungarian period were built very well, with high quality materials, high living standards, significant ambient and architectural values and they represented a significant percentage of the total housing stock of cities in Bosnia and

¹⁶⁵ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog Perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 57-58

¹⁶⁶ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 124-141

¹⁶⁷ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 121-136

Herzegovina. This led to the necessity of their reconstruction, which took place partly during the seventies and eighties of the last century, and later - after the Bosnian war 1992/95, continuing even today. The reconstruction approach often was, and continues to be unprofessional and disrupts the values of the certain palace. In practice, the remodeling consisted of adding new floors or expansions which negatively affects the façades. The necessity of adjusting the Austro-Hungarian residential- business palaces to the contemporary needs of life is justified, but the ways in which these adjustments were made is degrading their history and culture. In addition to the palace Marienhof (which is a special topic of this thesis in the chapter on Case Studies), at least two very important and valuable residential-business palaces are located in Sarajevo; Napredak Palace and Salom's Palace.



Figure 45: The Napredak Palace and Salom's Palace in Titova Street in Sarajevo, 19/03/2013, Photograph by Author

The construction of the Napredak¹⁶⁸ business and residential palace in Sarajevo in the spirit of secession, and with elements of neo-classicism began in 1912/13.¹⁶⁹ In just a year, a building of three units was built, on a plot of 1536 m². All three units of the palace were built with the ground floor + four floors. In the main building/unit, the architect designed the business premises on the ground floor, with apartments on other floors. The central building consists of a restaurant, cinema hall and social spaces in two levels. The third building in this unit contains business premises and apartments on four floors. The architect of this project, Dionizije Sunko,¹⁷⁰ comes from Zagreb, Croatia

¹⁶⁸ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog Perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 59, 95, 96, 97, 98

¹⁶⁹ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 206

¹⁷⁰ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Napretkova palača (Zgrada Hrvatskog kulturnog društva "Napredak"; Napretkov Zakladni dom) u Titovoj 56, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3907 [accessed on 23th April 2017]

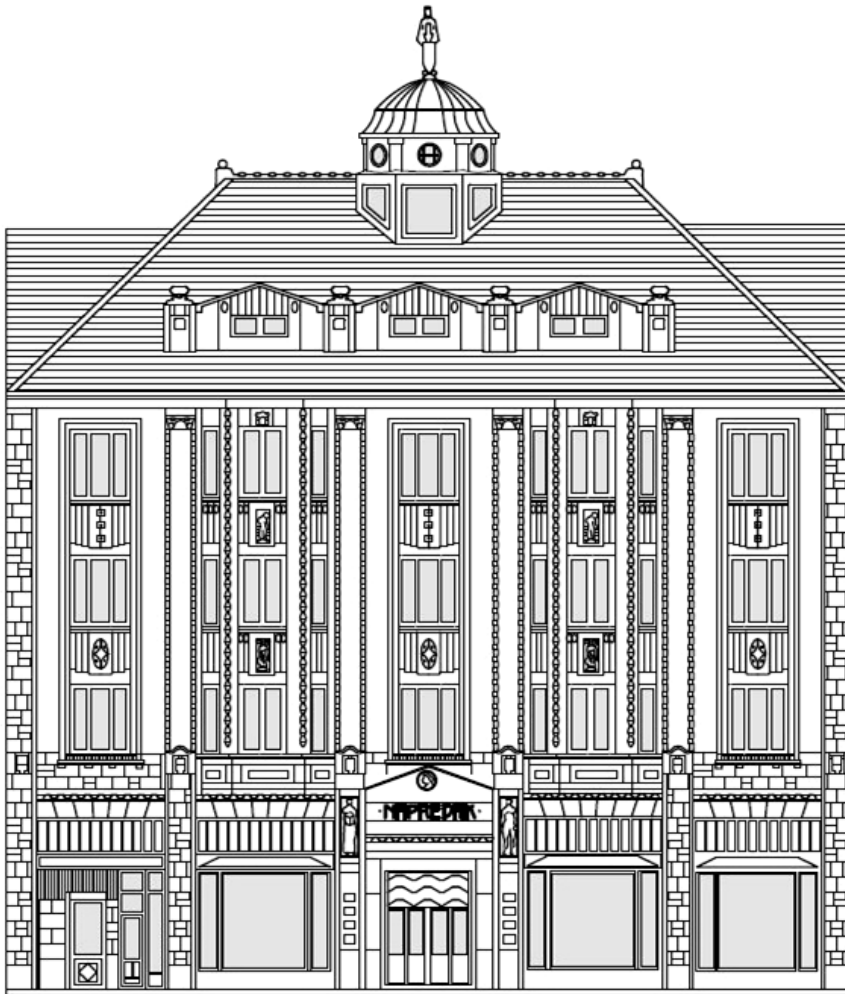


Figure 46: Napredak Palace in Titova Street in Sarajevo, source: B. Spasojević, redrawn by Author

The entire building is technologically conceived and designed so that all business premises, besides those social spaces and big apartments, bring revenues and finance the use of social facilities in the middle unit/ building. The main/ front building, with the main façade on Tito Street, was built of brick and reinforced concrete, with a middle constructive wall parallel to the street. Structures above the basement and the ground floor were made of reinforced concrete. Roof and ceiling construction is wooden. The building was originally covered with flat tiles. The ground floor, at a width of 25 meters, is divided into five rasters of which one belongs to the entrance. This is the main entrance used by all three buildings that build a block of Napredak Palace. Two rasters are used for the area of the restaurant, and two others are for the entrances in the shops and cinema. The restaurant is part of the ground floor and it contains galleries. The total height of the ground floor is 6.50 meters. On three floors, three-room and four-room apartments are positioned symmetrically in relation to the stairs, with most of the rooms being oriented towards the street. The so-called economic part of the apartment that is consists of a kitchen, hall, pantry, bathroom,

toilet and girl's room that is oriented towards the courtyard and the skyscraper. All rooms, including the staircase, have direct lighting.

The visually most striking shape is the main façade facing Tito Street. Its windows are divided into five groups. On the first floor, the second and fourth window's groups are pulled out, so that the two other window's groups are treated as three-sided porches, with three windows, one larger in the middle and two smaller on the sides. During the renovation of the façades in Titova Street in 2007, the façade of Napredak Palace was restored. The ground floor zone remained the same, and for the zones of upper floors, a darker shade of purple in combination with beige tones was selected. At the extension of the three middle axes at the intersection of the front façade wall and the slope of the roof, the roof ends with a wall that ends with three toothed parts decorated with ties and three double-deck low windows for illumination of the attic. In the middle of the building on the top of the roof, an octagonal copper cupola with a feminine figure was placed.¹⁷¹ The statue called *Croatia* represents the highest point of the building, it is 3.0 meters high and it is made out of bronze. Part of the ground floor, the pillars, the entrance portal and the first floor are covered with artificial stone. Other parts are plastered and decorated with glass mosaics, especially cassette pieces underneath and above the windows and a cassette duct of the roof. In addition to the entrance part of the cinema, two figures with the original meaning of *Prosvjeta* (Eng. Education) and *Sloboda* (Eng. Freedom) were placed symmetrically and they are made out of artificial stone. Later, they were called *Prosvjeta* and *Snaga* (Eng. Strength). The author who conceived and made these figures is a professor from Zagreb (Croatia), Robert Frangeš. The decorative element of a special type is represented by four pilasters in the extension, from the intermediate interstellar columns of the ground floor, to the roof console, with the capital on the top. The entire façade has been leveled with masses, at different levels and profiles around the windows.

¹⁷¹ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Napretkova palača (Zgrada Hrvatskog kulturnog društva "Napredak"; Napretkov Zakladni dom) u Titovoj 56, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3907 [accessed on 23th April 2017]

The hall is 18.00 x 19.00 meters, with a stage of depth of 6.00 meters and a width of 12.00 meters, and it was used for theater and cinema performances. It has been successfully solved as an interior with stone and wooden wall coverings, decorative cassette ceilings and decorative paints and lighting fixtures.

The middle building of the complex was built with brick, and all the interconnected structures are made of reinforced concrete. The main entrance to this space is in the middle raster of the front building from Tito Street. The entrance lobby is decorated with marble linings, glass mosaics and sculpture. Sometimes the lobby was illuminated through the skyscraper, but this glass roof with the adaptation of the *Chamber* (Bosnian: Kamerni) *Theater 55* was covered with a plate and turned into a pantry. From this lobby one goes to the cinema hall, and then to the balconies and social areas.

The construction of the third building is the same as the previous two. The apartments, are arranged so that the three-bedroom apartments are on the left of the staircase, and the four-room apartments are on the right, with the same principle as the front building, rooms towards the street, and the kitchen and the technical premises towards the yard. The differences in equipment compared to the main/front building are way of heating and this building has an elevator. On the ground floor there were social spaces, the residence of the building's concierge and other flats. The façade represents a symmetrical composition with a centrally prominent shallow axis and identical wings. The basement was made artificial stone. The ground part of the façade is decorated with deep rustics with horizontal joints. On the surface of the parapet there is a rhomboid embossed decoration. The last, fourth floor is separated by thin wreath that is presented as a geometric element that ends the building and goes over the axis across the entire width of the façade. Along the windows on the fourth floor, the ornaments are in the form of square blocks. The courtyard façades of all three units/buildings were made very modestly in plaster without any decorations, except for balconies where the detail from the iron fence of the stairs in Titova Street was applied.

In 1912, the construction of Salom's¹⁷² Palace was begun by brothers Jeshua and Morris Salom. Under the supervision of the architect Rudolf Tönnies¹⁷³, the palace was designed and constructed as a built-in palace with a courtyard in the form of an atrium, around which the building with three entrances and three stairs was built. The size of the building is reflected in a total by 49 apartments of various sizes: 12 four-rooms and multi-rooms, 6 three-rooms, 7 three-rooms, and 24 smaller apartments. The surface of the façade, which is very luxuriously done, is approximately 6.000 m². There are electrical, plumbing, sewage and telephone installations in the building.



Figures 47 and 48: Salom's Palace in Titova Street in Sarajevo, details, 19/03/2013, Photograph by Author

The architect Rudolf Tönnies designed the building in the style of secession¹⁷⁴ and he used a large number of elements of traditional Bosnian architecture. The architects of that time followed modern flows, so the secession was relatively quickly accepted, but this did not have the effect of completely rejecting traditional styles. An example of the synthesis of the new and the old in Sarajevo is the most obvious on the façade of Salom's Palace. It is built with nine window axes; with four axes of G +

¹⁷² Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog Perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 59, 103, 104, 105, 106

¹⁷³ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Salomova palata, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3008 [accessed on 24th May 2017]

¹⁷⁴ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 121-136

3 (Ground floor + 3 upper floors) and with a mansard, and middle five axes of G + 4. The third and seventh window axes were treated as three-sided closed porches pulled out from the level of the façade on the consoles. Both elements are joined on the 2nd floor by a balustrade with square sectioned columns. The same row of columns appears in the parapets of the second floor's windows. Closed porch - *doksat* is a frequent motif in various architectures, but here its interpretation here relies on the examples of the encountered construction. And in this architecture it has the same role; always marks the most important room, and the openings on it are separated only by narrow pillars so that they give the impression of a continuous window tape.

Modernist domes are covered with copper sheet. The high quality composition of the front façade was damaged in 1949, when apartments were added above the mansard. The ground floor, openings and pillars give an impression of monumentally with decorative medallions that carry the elements of the vines. The entrance contains the owner's initials in a frame that is decorated with plant elements and a crown. The special quality of this façade consists of the elements of the ground and the first floor, which are made in artificial stone, and in the strong contrast with the upper floors, which are in the smooth mortar and which are deprived of stronger decorative plastics. The first floor is decorated with eight figures above 2.5 m in height, and in the shafts of the inter-pillars. These are made in realistic relief and are very high quality, with decorations from the sides of the staple leaves and tapes. The abundance of the ornament continues with an embossed bouquet of symmetrically falling flowers placed in fields below the window.

Each of the figures placed in the niches of the first floor is a valuable piece of sculpture¹⁷⁵, and folk costumes of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are presented on them. The interspaces are also richly decorated with floral elements and emblems. These figures contribute to the complete impression of belonging, pervasiveness and richness of the form of the Salom's Palace.

¹⁷⁵ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Salomova palata, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3008 [accessed on 24th May 2017]

The interior layout of rooms is typical for residential buildings from the Austro-Hungarian period. The rooms are oriented towards the main street and circular movement is permitted in the apartment, with the rooms are interconnected by double doors. The hallways are regularly large and unlighted. The kitchen, pantry and other rooms in the apartment are oriented towards the courtyard façade (atrium.) Decorative details on this façade are layered parapets below windows on the third floor. On the ground floor there are two large windows/ showcases and they are separated from the floor by a strong wreath. The façade surrounding the yard is handled much more modestly. In the part of the atrium there is a decorative fountain with a trough and a barrel above the trough. At the corner of this section there was a pillar with garlands and a large lantern that was taken off during one adaptation. In order to allow natural lighting of the staircase from the atrium, at the connection between the main building and courtyard building, the window on each floor was added. The courtyard façade, from the street section towards Tito Street, was resolved with a gallery through three upper floors that is accessed from both staircases from that part of the building.

The passage is solved with a barrel vault lined up from the bottom to the wider and narrow stripes embossed and ejected from the level of the vault. There are two windows (showcases) of shops and entrance to the building from the passage. Three pillars between the showcases are covered with artificial stone to the height of the windows, and on that end there are barrels where the motifs of vines and grapes are encountered again. The space on the façade intended for advertising cinema performances is very well exposed. The last, exterior façade is quite poor in relation to the one in Tito Street. Above the second floor, a triangular end is repeated, and wide stylized pilasters are made around the windows.

The Napredak Palace and Salom's Palace are located next to each other, in Tito Street in Sarajevo, in a representative part of the city. Both palaces, from the time of construction, and to this day, have maintained an active role in the life of the city. Besides the residential, both have significant cultural and business functions. In the past, the palaces had undergone numerous changes in the dispositions, but the façades have been preserved in a large percentage of authenticity. The special value of ambience of Tito Street is the façade of the Salom's Palace with figural

representations of the folk costumes of Bosnia and Herzegovina, completely unique in the Balkans. The artistic values of Napredak Palace are sculptures at the level of the ground floor and on the roof. Both palaces are representative examples of the secessionist architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2.4.2. Sacred Architecture: Franciscan Monasteries

The Franciscans are an inseparable part of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian culture and history. This mendicant Catholic order, headquartered in Rome and founded in 1209 by St Francis of Assisi (Italian: San Francesco d'Assisi), today has more than 2 million members. He named it Order of Friars Minor (Latin: Ordo Fratrum Minorum). The emergence of the Franciscans on the territory of current Bosnia and Herzegovina can be traced back to the period of the Bosnian Church.¹⁷⁶ In the end of the 13th century Franciscans came to Croatia and Bosnia as missionaries and as papal inquisitors, whose first task was to eradicate the teachings of the Bosnian Church¹⁷⁷ and to spread Catholicism. The first Franciscans were Italians, Germans and Hungarians, but later they grew to include the local population. In Srebrenica, they built a monastery, later known as the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena (Latin: Bosna Argentina), the only preserved institution of the Bosnian state from the Middle Ages. The Franciscans consolidated their position in the area of Bosnia and Hum (later Herzegovina), extending Catholicism through enlightenment work and building monastery complexes as centers of faith, culture and education.

The word monastery appears in the Catholic church in the 19th century and originates from the Greek word *monasterion*. The monastery signifies a well-organized community which in a construction sense, this means a closed complex with the church, as a center of spiritual life, with spaces for working and living. The monastery church, as the dominant part of the monastery complex, is a connection with the outside world, and while the other premises of the complex are often inaccessible to the public, access to the church is free to all the believers, which has also caused its physical position within the monastery. The group of rooms for accommodation and work includes dormitories, a library, a sketchbook, an archive, a

¹⁷⁶ According to contemporary researchers such as Leo Petrović, Nada Miletić and John Fine, the Bosnian Church was created within the Catholic Church in the XI century. Bosnian Church had a dualistic belief (there is both; good and evil god) and it managed to keep its activity up to the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans. Although Kulin Ban officially abandoned the teachings of the Bosnian Church on the Bilino polje under the influence of the Franciscans and because of the danger of the Crusades, the grandparents (the heads of the Bosnian Church) continued to sit in the Bosnian court as advisers until the middle of the 14th century when Bosnian rulers gave the Franciscans the priority and violently destroyed Bosnian Church.

¹⁷⁷ Fine, John V. A. Jr. (1975) *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation, A study of the Bosnian Church and Its Place in State and Society from the 13th to the 15th Centuries*, New York - London: Columbia University Press

dining room, a kitchen with auxiliary and technical rooms. Within the monastery, there is often a museum or gallery, as is the case with the Franciscan monastery of Kraljeva Sutjeska with the church of St John the Baptist between Kakanj and Vareš, or a school (gymnasium), as is the case with the Franciscan monastery and the Church of St Bonaventure in Visoko. These functions are organized in two ways, There are rare instances of a pavilion-type complex, such as the Franciscan monastery Rama-Šćit with the Church of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary at Ramsko Lake (Prozor-Rama.) More often, they are built around an indoor, closed or semi-enclosed courtyard representing the gardens of paradise, such as the Franciscan Monastery of Gorica with the Church of St Peter and Paul in Livno. The monastery church is always the most important part of the monastery complex with which it usually has a *warm* connection, which allows the access to the monastery for priests and monks and the outside community.



Figure 49: The Franciscan monastery of Rama-Šćit with the Church of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary in the Rama Lake in the municipality of Prozor-Rama, 09/05/2016, Photograph by Author

Thanks to historical sources, we know the position of the Franciscans in medieval Bosnia and Herzegovina was improving and that they eventually gained primacy over the Church of Bosnia by gaining the favor of medieval rulers. The result of the visit of the General of the Franciscan Order Gerard Odonis to the Bosnian bishop Stjepan II Kotromanić in 1340 was the founding of the Franciscan vicarage in Bosnia and

Herzegovina, which later turned into Province of Bosna Srebrena. From the long and tumultuous history of the Franciscans in Bosnia and Herzegovina it is important to distinguish one event from the Ottoman period, crucial for the survival of this secular order in the Balkans region. After the establishment of the Ottoman authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1463/4, a Franciscan friar Anđelo Zvizdović managed to get permission from the sultan Mehmed II el-Fatih (Mehmed the Conqueror) for freedom in activities of Franciscans and the construction of Franciscan monasteries. This permit or charter is called *Ahdname of Milodraž* and is kept in the Franciscan monastery in Fojnica.¹⁷⁸ Towards the end of the Ottoman period, the renovation and reconstruction of the Franciscan monasteries begins as a result of the new attitude of *Porte* in order to alleviate the criticism of Western Europe that came from the poor position of the non-Muslim population on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to material evidence, and the fact that today's appearance of almost all Franciscan monasteries originated from the Austro-Hungarian period, it is safe to say that the Austro-Hungarian period for the Franciscan churches and monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the brightest historical period.¹⁷⁹ The period between the two wars and the period of modernity was not marked by construction activities in the Catholic Church on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while modern sacral architecture of today is being built on the foundations of tradition and mainly a successful interpretation of cultural and historical values.

The Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena, based in Sarajevo, has its roots in 1291 and it is the oldest provinces from which all other provinces in the former Yugoslavia were formed. It is the largest community of this type in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its members are active not only in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in neighboring countries and other countries of the world. The Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena has twenty monasteries, of which eighteen are in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dubrave, Fojnica, Sarajevo - Bistrik, Sarajevo - Nedžarići, Sarajevo - Kovačići, Kraljeva Sutjeska, Visoko, Brestovsko, Rama-Ščit, Jajce, Guča Gora, Livno - Gorica, Kreševo, Banja Luka -

¹⁷⁸ Franjevački samostan Duha Svetoga Fojnica (2017) *Sveti Franjo i Franjevački red* [www.fojnica-samostan.com], available on: <http://www.fojnica-samostan.com/novo/index.php/franjevacki-pokret/> [accessed on 07th February 2017]

¹⁷⁹ Karamatić Marko, Nikić Andrija (1990) *Blago franjevačkih samostana Bosne i Hercegovine*, Zagreb: Privredni Vjesnik - Turistička propaganda

Petrićevac, Plehan, Tolisa, Tuzla) and two in Serbia and Kosovo (Belgrade, Đakovica).¹⁸⁰ The Marija Zvijezda Monastery near Banja Luka belongs to the *trapist* order in the Catholic church. Herzegovina's Franciscan Province of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, based in Mostar, was founded in 1892 by the separation from Province of Bosna Srebrena. There are five monasteries in Herzegovina (Mostar, Široki Brijeg, Tomislavgrad, Ljubuški-Humac and Konjic) and three in Croatia¹⁸¹ (Zagreb, Korčula and Slano). Most monasteries are rooted in the prehistoric period, changing their appearance through history as they were often demolished and rebuilt. Today they represent architectural achievements from different historical periods and different styles of construction.

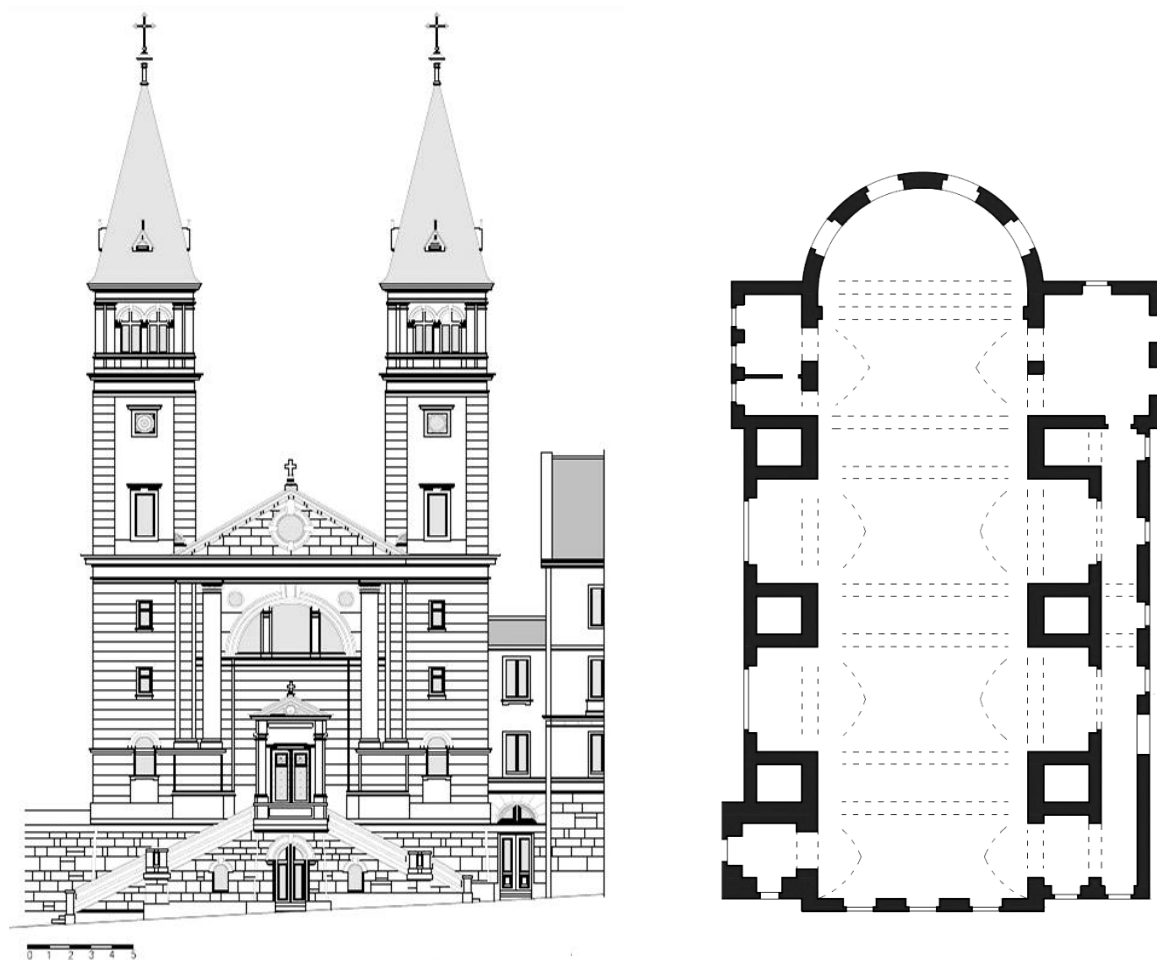


Figure 50 and 51: Tehnical drawings of the Franciscan monastery of Kraljeva Sutjeska with the church of St John the Baptist, source: J. Božić, redrawn by Author

¹⁸⁰ Franjevačka provincija BS (2017) *Samostani i župe* [www.bosnasrebrena.ba], available on: <http://www.bosnasrebrena.ba/v2010/samostani-i-zupe.html> [accessed on 06th February 2017]

¹⁸¹ Hercegovačka franjevačka provincija (2017) *Naša nazočnost* [www.franjevci.info], available on: <http://franjevci.info/about-us/nasa-nazocnost-2/> [accessed on 06th February 2017]

The architectural features of Franciscan monasteries located in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina are similar in terms of concept and spatial organization. The practice of the Catholic church in Bosnia and Herzegovina was such that new sacral buildings were almost always built in the places of existing ones that would be destroyed by fire, natural disaster, or deliberate demolition, which was often done in order to construct a larger sacral complex. For this reason, today there are a small number of Catholic churches built before the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The vast majority of freestanding Catholic churches, or churches that were part of the monastery complex, such as the original church on whose site the Church of Saint Anthony of Padua, was built within the Franciscan monastery in the Austro-Hungarian period at Bistrik, Sarajevo. The old church from 1881 was demolished in 1912, in order to construct a representative church in its place in the same year. The new church was designed by Josip pl. Vancaš¹⁸², a favorite architect of the Catholic church who, after he successfully designed The Sacred Heart Cathedral in Sarajevo, he designed almost all the other Catholic churches in Sarajevo and most Catholic churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This practice has a dual character; On the one hand, the Catholic Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina preserved the spirit of the place (lat. Genius loci) and the *holiness* (continuity) of a certain space, which is one of the greatest values of the cultural and historical heritage. On the other hand, the valuable material heritage of the Catholic Church was lost in disdain, preventing the following of the development of architectural thought through the sacred architecture of Catholic churches and monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The urban setting of Franciscan monasteries is specific in terms of relations with the village or town and in terms of the mutual position of architectural objects in the case of the pavilion-type complex, or the semi-closed or closed complex. Almost always, the monastery is located separated from a village or town in a specially selected natural environment with which a microcosm is being built, which ensures peace of mind and isolation from noise and external life. One of the representative examples of the harmonious connection of nature and architecture is the Franciscan monastery

¹⁸² Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, str. 212-215

of Rama-Šćit with the Church of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary¹⁸³ in the Rama Lake in the municipality of Prozor-Rama. The monastery complex is located on the Šćit peninsula in the artificial Rama Lake, which is connected to the mainland by the artificial embankment. The idyllic image of the monastery with the church resembles similar ambiances in Italy, which is no surprise, given that in 1873, *Brother Antun Vladić* started building the church, working on the exterior of the complex inspired by the monasteries that he had the opportunity to see in Italy. Since then, until the half of the last century, the monastery and church have been destroyed and burnt several times as a result of complex historical and political circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1955, the project for the reconstruction of the church was done by the engineer, *Brother Pijo Nuić*.¹⁸⁴ Works on the church and the changes of roof structures lasted until 1966, when the church got a bell tower and sacristies, which formed its final appearance. Within the monastery there is an ethnographic museum opened in 2007 and it is located in the renovated old building of the monastery from 1857, the only preserved one of that kind from the Ottoman period. The complex of the Franciscan monastery in Rama Lake has valuable works of art that classify this complex as one of the most culturally-artistic valuable monasteries of the Province of Bosna Srebrena.



Figures 52, 53, 54: The Franciscan monastery of Kraljeva Sutjeska with the church of St John the Baptist, 08/06/2013, Photographs by Author

¹⁸³ Rama – Šćit, Franjevački samostan (2017) *Crkva* [www.rama.co.ba], available on: <http://www.rama.co.ba/stranice/crkva/> [accessed on 09th February 2017]

¹⁸⁴ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Franjevački samostan i crkva Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Šćitu, kulturni pejzaž i područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2801/ [accessed on 09th February 2017]

Almost all the churches built in the complexes of the Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina are of a basilica type, where the type of three-aisle basilica is widely used, such as the churches of the Franciscan monasteries of Kraljeva Sutjeska¹⁸⁵, Gorica (Livno), Široki Brijeg, Tolisa, and others, but also a type of one-aisle (nave) basilica, such as the church of the Franciscan monastery Humac (Ljubuski), and the type of the church of the central plan with the dome, which is the church of the Franciscan monastery in Fojnica. The Franciscan monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska was first mentioned in written texts in 1385 by writer Bartol Pisanski. Throughout history, the monastery and the church have been violently demolished and burnt, but always renewed. Today's church of St John the Baptist, which is part of the Franciscan monastery of Kraljeva Sutjeska, dates from 1906 - 1908 and, according to the typology of the construction of Catholic churches, it is an example of a three-aisle basilica.¹⁸⁶ The church of St John the Baptist in the neo-Renaissance style, which with its two towers representing the west wing of the monastery, and it was designed by Josip pl. Vancaš.¹⁸⁷

The Franciscan monastery Humac with the monastery church of Saint Anthony near Ljubuški originates from 1876. The Church of Saint Anthony is an example of a one-aisle (nave) basilica with a single tower in which the exceptionally valuable baroque altar of Claudius Kautz, originating from 1725, has been kept in the church since 1900. In the immediate vicinity of the old church, within the monastery, a new church was built in a contemporary style, which is also the case with some Catholic and Orthodox churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to the older church, a new one is built in accordance with the needs of believers. In the complex of the Franciscan monastery Humac it is also the oldest museum¹⁸⁸ in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The third type of monastery church built in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the type of central plan church with the dome, whose representative is the monastery

¹⁸⁵ Barišić, R. (1890) *Franjevački samostan i crkva u Sutjeskoj*, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, knjiga I, Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, p. 28-40

¹⁸⁶ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Franjevački samostan i crkva sv. Ive Krstitelja u Kraljevoj Sutjesci, graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1930/ [accessed on 09th February 2017]

¹⁸⁷ Kraljeva Sutjeska (2017) *Samostan* [www.kraljeva-sutjeska.com], available on: <http://www.kraljeva-sutjeska.com/index.php?otvori=onama&prikazi=samostan/> [accessed on 09th February 2017]

¹⁸⁸ Franjevački samostan i župa sv. Ante Padovanskog Humac - Ljubuški (2017) *Povijest* [www.franjevci-humac.net], available on: <http://www.franjevci-humac.net/index.php/samostana/povijest/> [accessed on 09th February 2017]

church of Holy Spirit in Fojnica. The present form of the church in Renaissance style with one tower within the monastery complex in Fojnica dates back from 1888 and was constructed according to the Josip pl. Vancaš's designs. Within the monastery there is also a museum that contains slightly valuable artifacts for Bosnian culture and history.



Figure 55: The Franciscan monastery of Gorica with the church of St Peter and Paul, Livno, 08/09/2016, Photograph by Author

The interior equipment of the monastery churches of Franciscan monasteries can be traced in two directions that are in a direct dependence on the duration of the construction and their interior decoration. On the one hand, these are churches whose style of interior corresponds with their exterior style, and those are neo styles popular before the end of the Ottoman period and in the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Churches are most often built in neo-Renaissance, neo-Baroque and Secession styles with strong local influences on materialization and design, according to which their interior, whose most valuable part is the altar and organ, is designed. An example of this direction is the monastery church of St. Peter and Paul ¹⁸⁹, located within the monastery complex of Gorica (Livno). The construction began in 1854 according to the Franjo Moyses project, and was

¹⁸⁹ Novicijat Franjevačke provincije Bosne Srebrene (2017) *Samostan Gorica-Livno* [www.novicijat-bosnesrebrene.com], available on: <https://www.novicijat-bosnesrebrene.com/polazna/samostan-gorica-livno/> [accessed on 09th February 2017]

completed according to the Josip pl. Vančaš's designs. The present appearance was given to the church in 1906 when the interior of the church was decorated by Marco Antonini. The Franciscan monastery Gorica possesses a gallery of valuable paintings¹⁹⁰, where the works of Gabriel Jurkić, a one of the most significant Bosnian and Herzegovinian painters, are highlighted. The second direction of the development of interior decoration of Catholic churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina is contemporary and follows the contemporary spirit of the time from which it originated. The interior of these monastery churches often does not build a good connection with their exterior, which is understandable considering that works on the construction of the monastery complex, due to lack of funds, or because of historical circumstances, often lasted for several decades. In this case, the exterior of the monastery church is shaped in a historical manner, and the interior is in a contemporary spirit, such as the churches of the Franciscan monasteries at Bistrić (Sarajevo) and Rama Lake. They can also represent a combination of both approaches, as it is the case with the monastery church of Saint Francis of Assisi from Guča Gora built in 1856-57. The church was originally painted by Marco Antonini, but the church was completely destroyed in the Second World War. The paintings, frescoes and mosaics that decorate the church today are in the modern spirit and done by artists Ivo Dulčić and Zlatko Kesera.

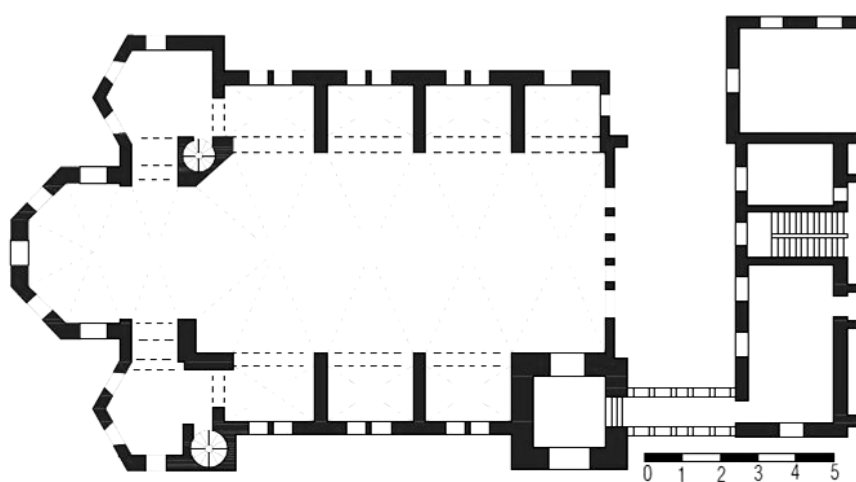


Figure 56: Tehnical drawing of the Franciscan monastery of Bistrić with the church of St Anthony of Padua, Sarajevo, measured and drawn by Author

¹⁹⁰ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Franjevački samostan Gorica - Livno, graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2543/ [accessed on 09th February 2017]

The Franciscan monastery and the church of St Catherine in Kreseco represents the transition from traditional to modern architecture. Its present form dates from 1970. In modern sacral architecture, the most valuable place is occupied by the modern architecture of Catholic churches and monasteries, of which the monastery within the Church of Saint Peter and Paul in Tuzla, built in 1985 according to the project of the architect Zlatko Ugljen, is an important example. Others include the monastery of Plehan with the church of Saint Mark Evangelist whose reconstruction began in 2001 according to the project of the architect Zlatko Ugljen, a monastery with the church of Saint Anthony of Padua on Petrićevac (Banja Luka), currently under construction according to the project of the architect Ivan Štraus, and the monastery with the church of Saint Anthony in Dubrave near Brčko, which was renovated in 2002 according to the project of architect Zlatko Čolić, and the new church was built according to the project of architect Ivan Štraus. The mentioned churches are valuable achievements of the modern architecture and a step forward in modern sacral architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The monastery churches in Tuzla and Banja Luka represent refreshing directions in the construction of churches relying on tradition, but only as an inspiration and do not copy the existing patterns, but offer a completely new and original architectural expression. Through these projects, architects managed to maintain the sanctity and spirit of the place (lat. Genius loci), while at the same time they creating an architecture that reflects the spirit of the time and space in which it arises.



Figure 57: The Franciscan monastery of Bistrik with the church of St Anthony of Padua, Sarajevo, 27/06/2017, Photograph by Author

The Franciscan Movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina left valuable parts of the sacral architecture that today constitutes an integral part of Bosnian and Herzegovinan heritage. It is a universally good, not only of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also of the people of the whole world. The churches and monasteries constructed by Ordo Fratrum Minorum in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina are a material heritage that testifies to the continuity of this church order, on cultural and architectural values, and on the historical circumstances that caused their construction, demolition and reconstruction. The architecture of these monastery complexes have always reflected the spirit of time and thus represents a vivid testimony of history. Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as living cultural and historical monuments, retained the spirit of the place (lat. Genius loci) as the greatest value of the ambiances in which they were built, and today they represent religious, cultural, educational and museum centers open to all visitors.

2.5. Architecture from Yugoslavia: Memorial Architecture in Kozara and Tjentište

What does the monument in Yugoslavia presents? Where political messages ends and where does the artistic value of the monument in the context of its concept and historical circumstances begin? What are the artistic significances of the Kozara and Tjentište monuments? How has the status of the monument changed throughout history?

Monuments, still synonyms for artistic, sculptural, architectural, funerary and the park achievements dedicated to the National liberation struggle during the World War II, are widespread to all parts of the former Yugoslavia. They emerged from the tight coupling of the current policy, the *heroic* history, sometimes folklore. But more often, they reflect abstract art of high aesthetic value and postmodern architecture and liberated naive interpretations of communist rhetoric and symbolism. Once celebrated as the memory of the proud common history and to guarantee a vibrant future together, the Yugoslav wars of the 90's pushed them into oblivion. They were deliberately destroyed and demolished because they were considered a threat to the national awakening of extremist ideas. But, what is the position of the monuments today in the republics of former Yugoslavia in the context of identity and belonging? Are the monuments just a nostalgic memory of brotherhood and unity, or is their value to be found in a specific artistic and sculptural expression? These are some of the scrapes are open questions of Yugoslav architectural memorial heritage.

Paradoxically, interest in the monuments that are located in the former Yugoslav republics comes from outside of their borders, and this interest is unstoppably launched by a series of photographs which is between 2006 and 2009 published by photographer Jan Kempnaers called "25 abandoned former Yugoslavia monuments." While the old glory of the monuments dedicated to the National liberation struggle in Yugoslavia is being renewed internationally, the attitude towards these monuments is ignorant in the new republics of former Yugoslavia. They are considered a legacy of the "burden" which threatens a mono-ethnic identity. Monuments that celebrated the idea of anti-fascism and unity that occurred in World War II are destroyed and demolished. Slowly and irreversibly they disappear. These monuments, representing everyone's cultural and historical heritage, are discarded or completely forgotten by the policies of current ruling governments.

What significance the monuments dedicated to the National Liberation struggle had in Yugoslavia, a country that does not even exist for decades, describes the first association to the word "monument". Although the word "monument" means an object of art or a building dedicated to a particular historical period, event, person, or it is used in the context of cultural and historical heritage in the former Yugoslavia, the word "monument" is almost always tied to the monuments of the National liberation struggle. In Yugoslavia, "monuments" were built after World War II. This word is almost exclusively reserved for paintings and sculptures, memorial plaques, memorial parks, memorial cemeteries, memorial buildings and museums dedicated to the National liberation struggle. Monuments are many and varied; ranging from modest plaques, the purpose of which was to mark a place of great partisan winning, or the location of where vicious civilian casualties occurred, which did not have artistic value, to the monumental sculptural solutions and urban-architectural units obtained through the museum complexes, parks or cemeteries with great aesthetic, artistic and architectural values.

Some of the most monumental achievements in memorial architecture created in Yugoslavia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina are: the Memorial Park Vraca in Sarajevo, the Partisan Memorial Cemetery in Mostar, the Valley of Heroes Tjentište, the Monument to the Revolution on Kozara, the Memorial Park Garavice near Bihać, the Necropolis for the victims of fascism near Novi Travnik, the memorial area Šušnjar near Sanski Most, the Korčanica Memorial Zone of the Grmeč, the Monument to the Zenica Partisans at Smetovi, the Monument to fallen Krajina soldiers in the NLW on Banj Hill (Šehitluci) in Banja Luka, the Monument to the battle of Neretva at Makljen and many other memorial plaques, busts, sculptures, paintings, parks, cemeteries and museum complexes.

In addition to the Memorial Park Vraca and the Partisan cemetery in Mostar, their size, architectural and aesthetic value, sculptural relationship with the environment, and above all to its monumentality particularly interesting are the two monuments: the Monument dedicated to the Revolution, which is located on Kozara and the central monument dedicated to the Battle of the Sutjeska located on Tjentište in the complex "Valley of Heroes". The artists and architects who created these monuments, which have left an indelible mark on Yugoslavia, include: Bogdan Bogdanović, Miodrag

Živković, Dušan Džamonja, Vladimir Dobrović, Alija Kučukalić, Zlatko Ugljen, Petar Krstić, Boško Kućanski, Arfan Hozić, Mirko Ostoja, Ljubomir Denković, Marijan Kocković and others.

Monument to the Revolution on Mrakovica (Kozara)

On the general Yugoslav competition which was announced in April 1969, the first prize went to one of the most important Yugoslav artists, Dušan Džamonja. According to his idea, at the top Mrakovica at Kozara, built in 1972 monumental architectural ensemble, which is one of the most representatives of this type in the former Yugoslavia. Monument to Mrakovica, a masterpiece of architecture memorial is erected in honor of the Battle of Kozara during which the occupying rim found a large number of local civilians and partisans. According to historical sources, the Battle of Kozara lasted two months and eventually a victory was won by a much more numerous occupying armies whose majority consisted of Nazi powers.



Figure 58: The Monument to the Revolution on Mrakovica (Kozara), 31/03/2019, Photograph by Author

The open plateau on Mrakovica leads to a path through the woods. There is a hotel with catering facilities and a parking lot near the monument. The monument is reached through the forest. The concrete staircase in the forest gives the impression that the densely planted trees is growing out of the concrete. The increasing

elevation angle gradually increases it indicates the contours of the monument as a vertical accent in space as the visitor enters the central plateau and sees the monument of 34 meters in height in front of him/her in its full size and beauty. The path that leads to the site directs visitors to rotary motion in the center of which is the monument that during these walks do not cease to be a focal point in the area. The visitor enters this path further into the woods behind the monument, which is connected with the monument through a maze of concrete corridors and passages with the names of the victims on them. Passing through one of the halls without a ceiling, the visitor is directed directly at the vertical part of the monument, consisting of twenty vertical ribs disposed in a cylinder, or concentric circles. Each of the ribs is modeled in such a way that the profiled segments in the form of depressions that represent death and bulges with metal applications that reflect light and symbolize life. The ribs are spaced just so that it is possible to enter the center of the monument with slight recoil inward. In this way, they psychologically prepare visitors and visitors feel as if they are being physically dragged into the monument or a symbolic hoop on Kozara. Around the vertical parts, the horizontal blocks that symbolizes the pressure of the enemy who seeks but fails to destroy the life and enthusiasm of victory that soar into the sky. Part of the complex is a museum design similarly conceived as the central monument.

Monument to the Battle of Sutjeska (Tjentište)

The Valley of Heroes, which is located in Tjentište, is a memorial complex consisting of several monuments dedicated to the Battle of Sutjeska, one of the most important battles of the national liberation war which took place in 1943. The Central monument, monumental proportions and one of the masterpieces of memorial architecture was built in 1971 and is the work of the sculptor Miodrag Živković. The monument was erected in front of the ossuary in 1958, where 3301 fighters were killed and buried in the Battle of Sutjeska. Behind the monument there is an outdoor amphitheater. The museum was built by the architect Ranko Radović. The memorial complex on Tjentište belongs to the National Park Sutjeska and is one of the most complex and the largest of its kind in the former Yugoslavia.

The Valley of Heroes is located 30 kilometers away from Foča. The complex can be reached by a narrow main road through the woods. The visitor will access a plateau, near which there is a hotel with catering facilities. From the parking lot, the monument is approached by one of the two staircases that are in the shape of a violin and lead to the ossuary. The central monument is located behind it.

A monument is modeled in the form of two spread wings representing freedom. These concrete boulders give the impression of lightness; the strong wind in the wings symbolizes the cruelty of nature where the battle took place. The terrain was inaccessible, with river canyons, or mountain peaks. The wings are masterfully modeled in such a way that the human figures blend with abstract forms of nature rising into the sky in the same rhythmic movement.

At first glance, these figures are not seen, but as a visitor experiences ingenious blend of the natural and built environment, the monument is gradually revealed in all its glory and splendor. The size of the Monument (installation altitude wings 19 meters), and its proportions blend with the natural environment in a way as if it were itself a monument of nature, which does not endanger, but on the contrary, complements.

The wings of victory are both monumental and human proportion to the ambience that shows all the ingenuity of Miodrag Živković who succeeded to his artistic achievement of high aesthetic value directs equal dialogue with nature; mountain peaks, valley, peak and forest. In this way, the monument becomes a star of the natural stage on which it is set, but more than that, as if the point of destiny was destined specifically for this purpose. There is no doubt that, when viewed from any perspective, the monument in Tjentište gives the impression of respect and enthusiasm caused by its size, shape and timeless aesthetics.



Figure 59: The Monument to the Battle of Sutjeska (Tjentište), 24/03/2019, Photograph by Author

The period of the World War II in the former Yugoslavia is marked by large partisan and civilian casualties in the fight against fascism. To emphasize the importance of the loss of life in the national liberation struggle for a unified Yugoslavia, the new state leadership became immediately, and actively involve in the celebration of victory. But the heavy losses and defeats were also recognized for the spirit of freedom and unity. For this purpose, films were recorded, books written, and songs were sung, works of art were created and monuments and museums were built. Architecture was once again used as a medium for the transmission of political messages. The art of sculpture and architecture, as well as the partisan films are now perceived almost nostalgically, clearly separating documentary from fiction, both in films and in sculptures or architecture. And yet, much less than film art, the art of sculpture and architecture in Yugoslavia is closer to documentary approach and act shonestly and realistically. Architecture and sculpture in Yugoslavia gradually won the trust of the audience for which they were made, and their abstract forms are not necessarily interpreted as a link with politics, but have a significant artistic contribution in the context of presentation of history.

Through the construction of monumental complexes, state leaders wanted to present a brilliant history of high anti-fascist values and by provided unlimited financial and

logistical support. Although commendable from one point of view, from another angle reality is different. The past is often romantically beautified. Writing the history of the people's liberation war is often accessed in a scenery manner, exaggerated in relation to the actual facts. It was a challenge to artists to create valuable works when they had to follow the *romantic* dictates of the Communist party and Josip Broz Tito. A deep understanding of their solutions to the creation of monuments during this period must be grounded in the history of the time. What impresses is the skill of the artist, through the abstract symbols and forms of channeling the stringent requirements of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and realizes artistically valuable works, like the ones at Kozara and Tjentište. These monuments are rounded artistic and architectural entities with a strong bond with the environment to be treated as an unavoidable part of the monument complex. This is the result of deep reflection area where the monument is placed, and therefore represents a good model for future creative activity during the construction of the memorial complex.

The current status of the monuments of the national liberation struggle is on a low level; it is necessary to legally and physically protect monuments from decay, and when there is a legal form of protection it is rarely or never applied. Most monuments are located in remote locations. In many cases, this was an advantage because they were saved from deliberate destruction. But in some cases, this this was a disadvantage because it is the distance and location of the monument in uninhabited parts of the country that caused their decay. They suffered from neglect and a completely lack of maintenance. Also, monuments are not visited as they were during the time of Yugoslavia. They no longer serve their original purpose (with a few exceptions), but their role is more as a tourist attraction could eventually mark their survival. Monuments dedicated to the national liberation struggle up in the former Yugoslavia have a particular specificity that distinguishes them from similar ideological monuments erected in other communist societies in Europe at that time. What sets them apart is their artistic value and abstraction in the design and artistic sense, as well as a way to create and does not constitute a mere interpretation of ideology and symbolism of a communist society.

2.6. Modernism in Architecture: Museum of History of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Modernism movement in architecture emerged at the beginning of the 20th century, mostly in France, from where it will later reach even the farthest parts of the world. This movement was developing parallel to France, or it was developing with some delays depending on social and economic conditions. The Modernism marked the end of academicism and its styles, and started the journey on the road of new architecture which was free from excessive decorative facade plastics, architecture of purified form, architecture of new materials and constructions and architecture that reflected the spirit of modern times.

In the late XIX and early XX century, in the architecture of European countries, there were significant changes in terms of form, function and, above all, ideologies, which were conditioned by social changes and the industrial revolution. Unlike painting and sculpture, contemporary XX century architects had to wait for their accomplishments, because they were conditioned by technical and technological progress. At the same time they required more significant financial resources. Such a situation did not allow the idea of Modern architecture to be developed as ideas of current cultural and existential needs of society. According to Herbert Read¹⁹¹, the ideas about new architecture originated in the same period when the ideas about a new approach to painting and sculpture, which were once identified with *non-academism*.

Unlike the piece of art that arises as a result of the work of one author, and which gives the opportunity in contemporary art¹⁹² to convey an idea or message free of the burden of expensive technical execution, and which is deprived of all rules of statics and construction, the architectural work compared to the artistic has an engineering component. It is conditioned by the technical capabilities and technological progress of the society in which it arises. This is important to emphasize in order to better understand the delay in achieving the idea of Modernism in the architecture of different European countries. In France, buildings in the spirit of the new architecture will be built before the First World War. In Bosnia and Herzegovina they were first built between the two world wars, architectural objects that reject the decorative saturation and layout unification of the Austro-Hungarian period will emerge. For this

¹⁹¹Read, Herbert (1967) *Istorija modernog slikarstva: Od Sezana do Pikasa*, Beograd: Publicističko izdavački zavod „Jugoslavija“

¹⁹²Levey, Michael (1967) *Istorija slikarstva: Od Đota do Sezana*, Beograd: Publicističko izdavački zavod „Jugoslavija“, p. 5-25

reason, France with its centre in Paris is among the first to set up models in the architecture of Modernism. Forty years later, Bosnia and Herzegovina will actively monitor and follow trends on the architectural scene, as evidenced by some buildings in Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Zenica that today represent an industrial heritage.

Modernism in architecture or Modern architecture occurs in the first half of the XX century. After the Second World War, it starts to expand to almost all European countries. In various forms and under the influence of local values and ambience, the architecture of modernity developed until the 1980s with a strong international component, when the architecture of postmodernism was integrated into the architectural scene. The most prominent names, who formed the universal values and direction of Modern architecture by their architectural designs and buildings, were Frank Lloyd Wright, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Konstantin Melnikov, Erich Mendelson, Richard Neutra, Louis Sullivan, Gerrit Rietveld, Bruno Taut, Gunnar Asplund, Arne Jacobsen, Oscar Niemeyer, Alvar Alto and others.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, those were Helen Baldasar, Mate Baylon, Dušan Smiljanić, Reuf Kadić, Muhamed Kadić, Juraj Neidhardt, Josif Goldner, Jahiel Finci, Zlatko Ugljen, Boris Magaš, Edo Šmidihen, Radovan Horvat, Iso Reiss, Leon Kabiljo, Ivan Štraus, Branko Bunić, Bogdan Stojkov, Milivoj Peterčić, Tihomir Ivanović, Živorad Janković, Halid Muhasilović, Enver Jahić and others.

Information on the contemporary world's architecture arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina through international publications that gave amazing insight, almost unachievable for the modest circumstances of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Among those information there were knowledge's and insights about Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation in Marseille, Chapel of Notre Dame du Haut in Ronchamp and beginnings of construction of Chandigarh.

The architectural scene at the beginning of the 20th century in Bosnian and Herzegovinian cities was marked by architectural achievements designed in the spirit

of historicism; mostly secession and various neo-styles.¹⁹³ The architecture of Modernism in Sarajevo was not welcomed as positive thing even after the First World War, but it gradually received the characteristics of the new architecture in terms of housing accommodation. When a proposal by the Belgrade's architect Milan Zloković was chosen at the competition held in 1929 for the building of the National/Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the same time there were numerous criticisms of the style in which the bank was designed. Although it was not entirely devoid of traditional architectural elements that show a connection with Austro-Hungarian architecture and academism (main façade), the National Bank project was made in the spirit of the Modernism.

On the lack of understanding of the new architecture, Modern architecture, there is a quote from the Decision of the Grand Mayor of the Sarajevo Region on raising the building of the "Main Branch of the State Mortgage Bank in Sarajevo" in May 1929: *"The façade of the designed building is not suitable for the environment, besides the main façade from Aleksandrova Street (now Tito's Street) gives an impression of incompleteness, especially with regard to the plastics, which is 50 m long and 4,75 m high, without any architecture. The results of the main façade extend too far in front of the main façade due to their rather small width. The eastern and western façades are not the same in the style, and they give the impression that they are parts of the façade of two buildings. The northern façade, which will be visible from Sokolska - Jeftanovića Street (now Mehmeda Spahe Street), is very modest and due to the interiors, it gives the impression of the façade of a building that does not have the character of monumentality."*¹⁹⁴

Public buildings designed in the spirit of Modernism were initially rare and on the basis of material evidence, it can be concluded that Modernism entered the Bosnian-Herzegovinian architectural scene through residential architecture, as well as France. Initially, in the spirit of the new architecture, it was built within already existing Austro-

¹⁹³Kadić, Emir (2010) *Arhitekt Reuf Kadić i početci moderne arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini/ Architect Reuf Kadić and the beginnings of modern architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo: Bemust, p. 14-15

¹⁹⁴Dokument Arhiva BiH (1997), signature 2491/1929, list 24b - Milošević Predrag, nav. dj. 165

Hungarian housing blocks on free plots using existing infrastructure.¹⁹⁵ The solutions we see in practice are the result of the compromise between the investors and architects of the time who were mostly educated in the Western countries of Europe and who brought ideas about the architecture of Modernism to Sarajevo.¹⁹⁶ The principles advocated by the architects of that time were seen through solitude, broad aspects, the accessibility of green and public surfaces, grouping of rooms into an apartment into functional units, shorter interconnections of rooms in the apartment, deprivation of façade's plastics and other fine decorations, and simplicity and quality of performance. Designing was, for the first time, done from the interior towards the exterior, and the façade thus reflects the function of the building, and the living space is thought of in a way that it should serve leisure, entertainment, work and relaxation, not just the reception of guests and mere representativeness such as the Austro-Hungarian Apartments named after them "salons (salonac)".

Although modest in quantity, the Bosnian architecture of Modernism has developed in almost all its forms that which is represented in the rest of Europe. For example, so-called Cubism in the architecture of Modernism, whose elements can be seen at the House Damić¹⁹⁷ designed by architects Dušan Smiljanić and Helen Baldasarin 1926, who is close to the Russian avant-garde in the architecture of Modernism and is also close to the countries of Eastern Bloc.

Academician Ivan Strauss in the book "New Bosnian Architecture 1945-1975" (Sarajevo, 1977) divided the contemporary (contemporary back than) architecture - Modern architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina into four basic Periods:¹⁹⁸ *"The first period of development of architectural activities started immediately after the First World War. It is conditioned by a small number of architects, very modest material possibilities, and a very rational structure of "just a roof over the head". Quite naturally, these first years of rebuilding of war ruins, could not be considered as architectural quality, and creative approaches had to be suppressed for better times*

¹⁹⁵ Štraus, Ivan (2010) *99 arhitekata sarajevskog kruga/ 1930. – 1991.*, Sarajevo/ Zagreb: TKD Šahinpašić/ BTC Šahinpašić, p. 18-24

¹⁹⁶ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 185

¹⁹⁷ Kadić, Emir (2010) *Arhitekt Reuf Kadić i početci moderne arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini/ Architect Reuf Kadić and the beginnings of modern architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo: Bemust, p. 14-15

¹⁹⁸ Štraus, Ivan (1977) *Nova bosanskohercegovačka arhitektura/ 1945. – 1975.*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost, OOUR Izdavačka djelatnost, p. 5-8

that they knew and believed would come. The beginning of the second period coincides with the strong influence of Zagreb's and Belgrade's architectural schools with the arrival of architects from the mid-1940s and the return of the first post-war architects to Bosnia and Herzegovina who were educated in Zagreb, Belgrade and Ljubljana. The leaders of the third Periods, which in the developmental continuity simply move from the previous, are mostly architects of Bosnian environment, educated at the Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning in Sarajevo, and under the influence of the ideas and tendencies of contemporary architecture in the world. In the last five or six years (quotation from 1977) started the beginning of the fourth period of the development of contemporary Bosnian architectural creativity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These are the years of creative forces that will continue to succeed with the success of previous generations of architects."Štraus has assessed the development of Modernism in Bosnia and Herzegovina as progressive, in accordance with social and material conditions, in relation to European achievements in architecture and under local influences in terms of design and materialization that at one time threatened to turn into mere mannerism in the most Neidhardt approach to architecture, which fortunately remained isolated in a couple of attempts by architect Andrija Čiči Šain.

According to academician Ivan Štraus: *"At that time, there was something like a joke in which architects were divided into two groups – ones for Mies, and others for Le Corbusier."* However, taking into account that most of the buildings of the Modern architecture in Yugoslavia, and so in Bosnia and Herzegovina, were created with a time deviation from Le Corbusier and Mies buildings up to 40 years, they were influenced by that their architecture. Such are, for example, the Museum of Aviation in Belgrade, designed by Ivan Štraus. This museum in its shape and volume has all the characteristics of the architecture of Le Corbusier, it also has many characteristics of the architecture of Mies, especially with materialization, primarily with a glass façade. This group of buildings also includes the Museum of the Revolution in Sarajevo, for which architect and professor Stjepan Roš says:¹⁹⁹ *"The building of Museum of the Revolution is a manifest of „pure architecture“ of Mies van der Rohe. It is a building made up of more constructive "boxes", both transparent and*

¹⁹⁹Historijski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *O zgradi Historijskog muzeja BiH* [www.muzej.ba], available on: <http://muzej.ba/collections-research/the-bulding/> [accessed on 15th March, 2016]

full. On a stone white floor, a glazed mesh skeleton was lined with a glass, on which a full stone box was placed. The neoplastic building has the effect of ease and balance and resembles to the art of Lazar Markovich Lissitzky. The spaces are extrovert, clearly oriented towards the inner garden. Nine pillars - slender hillocks of the tree contradicts their own real function because they look like they break through, but do not support upper floor. The free position of the walls gives the impression of the moving panels and the "open free plan." Although the "floating" stairs and massive pedestal elements of the architecture of Mies van der Rohe, and the flat roof of the museum, are freely grounded with pillars on which the exhibition space rests and the free facade canvas are remarkably reminiscent of Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye.

When Pierre Jeanneret²⁰⁰ and Le Corbusier got the opportunity in 1928 to design a villa in the Poissy (30 kilometres from Paris) for broker Pierre Savoy, Le Corbusier had already built several villas on which, at least partially, the principles of the Modern architecture were applied. Those were Maison Vevey (1923), La Roche Villa (1923) and Stein Villa (1926). Those houses were a significant step from academism in the sphere of disposition, materialization and design, and they were revolutionary at the time they were created. Nevertheless, Villa Savoye²⁰¹ attracted the greatest attention of the professional public at the time when its construction was still in progress. One of the first public presentations of the building took place on October 11th in Buenos Aires, when Le Corbusier presented Villa Savoye as a manifest of Modern architecture with its five principles/ pillars, where the building had a distinctly purified form²⁰² and it was also a final cut with academism. Such results in architecture, according to Herbert Read²⁰³ were significantly influenced by developments in contemporary art; painting and sculpture.

²⁰⁰ Pierre Jeanneret (22 March 1896 – 4 December 1967) was a Swiss architect who collaborated with his cousin, Charles Edouard Jeanneret (who assumed the pseudonym Le Corbusier), for about twenty years. As a young student, he was a brilliant painter, artist and architect, greatly influenced by Charles Edouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier), his cousin and mentor for life. As well as buildings, Jeanneret also designed furniture, both independently and with Le Corbusier.

²⁰¹ Villa Savoye (2017). *History of the monument* [www.vill-savoye.fr], available on: <http://www.villa-savoye.fr/en/Explore/History-of-the-monument> [accessed on 15th March, 2016]

²⁰² Jencks, Charles i Kropf, Karl (1997) *Theories and Manifestos of Contemporary Architecture*, GB, Chichester, West Sussex: Academy Editions

²⁰³ Read, Herbert (1967) *Istorija modernog slikarstva: Od Sezana do Pikasa*, Beograd: Publicističko izdavački zavod „Jugoslavija“, p. 302-312

The ideas that Le Corbusier imagined through Villa Savoye found their supporters around the world and eventually came to the farthest parts of the world. In Europe, these ideas of the Modern architecture developed parallel with France, or with some delay, a result of the world wars, the economic situation and the social systems. Architects in Yugoslavia closely followed events on the European and world's architectural scene, and when Boris Magaš, a 28-year-old student of architecture, drew the conceptual design of the future Museum of the Revolution in Sarajevo, he already knew the theory and history of architecture as well as contemporary trends. He was probably already aware of Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye and the architecture of Mies van der Rohe. Later on, Boris Magaš worked with Edo Šmidihen and Radovan Horvat on construction of the Museum of the Revolution. Works on the construction of the museum began in 1959 and was completed in 1963.



Figure 60: The Villa Savoye, Poissy, 17/11/2016, Photograph by Author

The Villa Savoye²⁰⁴ was built in an idyllic residential area consisting of family houses G + 1 arranged evenly along the construction line in streets with trees. The villa is hidden from the street from views with high greenery, and besides the inscription on the courtyard's plaque there are no other signs, or architectural elements that indicate that the villa is located there. By accessing the plot, the visitor will first see the house for the gardener, a small version of Villa Savoye. From there, a car path leads to the masterpiece of the Modern architecture - Villa Savoye. A whole plot, much larger than the surrounding plots with family houses, is protected by high vegetation; trees and other greenery. This represents the border with the outside world, a world to which the villa has almost no connection. The façades of the

²⁰⁴Villa Savoye (2017) *History of the monument* [www.vill-savoye.fr], available on: <http://www.villa-savoye.fr/en/Explore/History-of-the-monument> [accessed on 15th March, 2017]

building, treated with equal importance, without *naming* the main façade, gives the impression of sculpturality to the building with elements of Cubism. Observing the building in the context of the time in which it originated, as well as the lack of connection with the idyllic environment of the *romantic* family homes of the French suburb, the visitor cannot capture the impression of Villa Savoye as the floating space ship. Or an impression about Villa Savoye as a perfect *ornament* in the space, that being said, the villa builds a monologue with the outside world, rather than communication.



Figure 61: The Museum of the Revolution (Museum of History of Bosnia and Herzegovina), historical photograph, source: Museum of History of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Museum of the Revolution was built very close to the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the ends of the Austro-Hungarian part of Sarajevo, and at the new administrative and business centre of the city. The museum's building does not build a connection with the Austro-Hungarian inherited architecture, nor with the contemporary architecture of the newly built *Importanne* residential-business-shopping centre whose construction with its proportions jeopardized the monumentality and integrity of the Museum of the Revolution. The facility can be accessed from the direction of the Miljacka River and the Wilson's Lane, or from the main Sarajevo Street – *Zmaja od Bosne*. The closed cube that rests on the pillars enclosed by the glass in the ground level gives the impression that it is floating. Like the Villa Savoye, it gives all 4 facades equal importance. Observing the building in the context of the modest Bosnian and Herzegovinian circumstances and social system, the visitor must recognize the genius spirit of its creators and the exceptional cultural and historical values of the museum for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Yugoslavian architecture.

The Villa Savoye consists of a basement, ground floor, first floor and second floor (exit on the flat roof with solarium). The ground floor of the villa could be approached through the two-part doors that are located symmetrically on the semi-circular glass membrane and in relation to the entrance facade. In addition to the service rooms (laundry room) and driver's room and service (currently souvenir shop) on the ground floor there are semi-circular stairs and a ramp/slope leading to the first floor. The garage and driver's room on the ground floor do not have a *warm* connection with the rest of the villa. There is one basement room in the form of smaller storage. Residential rooms are located on the first floor of the villa in order to provide a better view of the environment. On the first floor there is a dining room and a living room with a fireplace (one room), a kitchen with a terrace, three bedrooms, one of which is a children's room (one for the son), one guest bedroom and one master bedroom. Within the parents' bedroom there is a bathroom. There is another bathroom for the children's room (room for the son) and guest bedroom. Access to the large terrace is provided from the living room and from the lounge that is located next to the parents' room. The ramp/slope and semi-circular stairs further lead to the roof of the villa where there is a solarium. A part of the built-in furniture in the kitchen and bedrooms has been preserved. Low window frames, framed landscape in rectangular window openings that penetrate from the outside into the interior of the villa, consistent proportions of rooms, consistent relations of height, width and length of rooms, and minimalistic universality and transparency is what makes the villa pleasant for visitors.

The Museum of the Revolution consists of a basement, ground floor and first floor. The ground floor and the first floor are connected with a two-tier stone staircase. On the first floor there is an exhibition space which is illuminated with natural light from above. On the ground floor there is a ticket office and a representative multifunctional hall that provides communication to the ground floor, the basement and the administrative part of the building. A visually separated section with offices for administration and curators is connected to the central hall by a long hallway. In the basement of the museum there are service rooms, storage rooms and depots. The type of illumination used on this building, which is influenced by the appearance of the building (the windows on the facade canvasses are avoided) proved to be the best solution for the museums or galleries. The windows would have drawn the

attention of visitors from the exhibition and outside light would have damaged the exhibitions. Part of the building is a closed courtyard accessible from the central hall, or from the outside.

The Villa Savoye²⁰⁵ does not seem to be *cold*, which is often associated with Modern architecture. On the contrary, the visitor has a sense of relaxation and benefits from the human scale of the space. Nevertheless, the eye of an architect, after the initial enthusiasm, begins to notice numerous technical mistakes, and that pose the question of everyday use of the building and question of the principles of Modern architecture in the context of housing. From the aspect of energy sustainability, the Villa is an unacceptable solution for today's standards. It is questionable whether the Villa Savoye is usable in the winter months, taking into account the interconnection of indoor and outdoor spaces, an inadequate and undefined physical boundary between them. Failures in performance can also be seen on the flat roof, which is not made technically correct. Le Corbusier promised to correct the building's failures. When he did not do it, the Savoye family was dissatisfied and they threatened him with a lawsuit.²⁰⁶ However, due to the start of the Second World War, the family left France and this did not happen. The villa later almost collapsed and it was at the point of demolition. It was saved by intervention of Le Corbusier and the French Minister of Culture Andre Malraux. Villa Savoye was proclaimed a national monument in 1956. Its renovation lasted from 1985 until 1997 when it was turned into a museum and opened for visitors.

The Museum of the Revolution is designed in a monumental scale that reflects its proportions, volumes and dimensions, which, apart from the purpose of the building, is one of the main differences between it and the Villa Savoye. The Museum of the Revolution was damaged in the Bosnian war of '92/ '95. Until recently it was in a poor state of preservation where the biggest threat to the building was a flat roof that leaked rain and moisture. The Commission for the Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina together with the US Embassy in Sarajevo launched a roof

²⁰⁵ Fawcett, A. Peter (2003) *Architecture: Design Notebook*, Oxford: Architectural Press, p. 3-11

²⁰⁶ *In one of the letters that were sent from Mrs. Savoye, stands this: „After innumerable demands you have finally accepted that this house which you built in 1929 is uninhabitable.... Please render it inhabitable immediately. I sincerely hope that I will not have to take recourse to legal action.“ Source: Sbriglio 147*

repair project that was successfully completed in 2016. With this activity, only one small part of the building was rehabilitated. The damaged façade lining, interior and exterior joinery, and a number of other problems that occurred due to the age of the building, and the installations are waiting for the rehabilitation renovation. From the aspect of the energy sustainability, as is the case with Villa Savoye, the Museum of the Revolution does not meet today's standards. Since its construction, up to now, the museum has not changed its function. Besides the cultural and historical values, the museum's building has exceptional architectural value and is included in the cultural and social life of the city of Sarajevo.

Le Corbusier's five points/pillars/principles of Modern architecture	Villa Savoye in Poissy near Paris	Museum of the Revolution (Historical museum) of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Pillars: The building raised to the pillars (skeleton construction system) to ensure "free" ground floor and pleasant views from the upper floors	YES	YES
Free ground floor: The free designing of the ground plan—the absence of supporting walls—means the house is unrestrained in its internal use.	YES	YES
Flat roof: Roof gardens on a flat roof can serve a domestic purpose while providing essential protection to the concrete roof.	YES	YES
Long horizontal windows: The horizontal window, which cuts the façade along its entire length, lights rooms equally.	YES	NO
Façade's membrane: The free design of the façade—separating the exterior of the building from its structural function—sets the façade free from structural constraints.	YES	YES

Figure 62: Tabular presentation of two architectural objects (Villa Savoye in Poissy near Paris and Museum of the Revolution (Historical Museum) of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo) through Le Corbusier's principles of Modern architecture.

The Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared in 2012 the Museum of the Revolution (Historical Museum) of Bosnia and Herzegovina a national monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where in the Decision on the designation of a historical building, there is a statement on the significance of the building: "The building is one of the most significant pieces in the field of contemporary art creation of the second half of the XX century in Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond, from the time when a great economic momentum was felt,

which influenced both the fields of culture and architectural creativity. Works on the construction of the museum began in 1959, and they were completed in 1963 according to the designs produced by Boris Magaš, Edo Šmidihen, and Radovan Horvat. "

The Villa Savoye, is a part of (one of 17 architectural objects) Le Corbusier's architectural creativity and extraordinary contribution to the Modernist movement (Argentina, Belgium, France, Germany, India, Japan and Switzerland), was inscribed in 2016 into the prestigious UNESCO World Heritage List Under criteria I²⁰⁷, II²⁰⁸, and IV.²⁰⁹ The explanation of the Committee states: *„The seventeen sites together represent an outstanding response to some of the fundamental issues of architecture and society in the 20th century. All were innovative in the way they reflect new concepts, all had a significant influence over wide geographical areas, and together they disseminated ideas of the Modern Movement throughout the world. Despite its diversity, the Modern Movement was a major and essential socio-cultural and historical entity of the 20th century, which has to a large degree remained the basis of the architectural culture of the 21st century. From the 1910s to the 1960s, the Modern Movement, in meeting the challenges of contemporary society, aimed to instigate a unique forum of ideas at a world level, invent a new architectural language, modernize architectural techniques and meet the social and human needs*

²⁰⁷ *The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier represents a masterpiece of human creative genius which provides an outstanding response to certain fundamental architectural and social challenges of the 20th century.*

²⁰⁸ *The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier exhibits an unprecedented interchange of human values, on a worldwide scale over half a century, in relation to the birth and development of the Modern Movement. The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier revolutionized architecture by demonstrating, in an exceptional and pioneering manner, the invention of a new architectural language that made a break with the past. The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier marks the birth of three major trends in modern architecture: Purism, Brutalism and sculptural architecture. The global influence reached by The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier on four continents is a new phenomenon in the history of architecture and demonstrates its unprecedented impact.*

²⁰⁹ *The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier is directly and materially associated with ideas of the Modern Movement, of which the theories and works possessed outstanding universal significance in the twentieth century. The series represents a “New Spirit” that reflects a synthesis of architecture, painting and sculpture.*

The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier materializes the ideas of Le Corbusier that were powerfully relayed by the International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM) from 1928. The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier is an outstanding reflection of the attempts of the Modern Movement to invent a new architectural language, to modernize architectural techniques, and to respond to the social and human needs of modern man. The contribution made by the Architectural Work of Le Corbusier is not merely the result of an exemplary achievement at a given moment, but the outstanding sum of built and written proposals steadfastly disseminated worldwide through half a century. (Source: whc.unesco.org)

*of modern man. The series provides an outstanding response to all these challenges.*²¹⁰ The Villa Savoye has become a place of pilgrimage for many architects.

Most of Bosnia and Herzegovina's cities have gone through the developmental path from antiquity to the time in which we live, about what the material heritage speaks... Sometimes more, and sometimes less preserved from a certain historical period. Monumental buildings built in the spirit of Modern and Postmodern architecture are not included in the heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina because they did not satisfy the time criterion and scientists did not pay attention to them in the literature, which mainly covered *historical architectures* with ignorance, leaving Modern and Postmodern architecture to decay (architectural accomplishments after the Second World War). In recent decades, the heritage of the past has been updated and architectural objects built in the 20th century are studied with more respect, a great interest in concept, proportions and volumes, and not only in domestic circles, but also at the international level.

This unique phenomenon in the architecture of the former Yugoslavia is characterized by genius achievements from a narrow connection between architecture, sculpture, and artistic expression. It was built in the fields of education, sport, culture and art, both in large cities and in small towns. Concerning Modern architecture, centralism of the capital cities of Yugoslavia did not exist, or at least was not expressed to the extent that it was the case with other historical Periods. Significant financial resources have been invested in the construction of housing, and especially in theatres, museums and galleries, and in general in the cultural-entertainment and recreational segment of the working class's life. Driven by the ideas of common good, industrial development and cultural bloom, the cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been given the chance to develop themselves in infrastructure and to develop with great strides into the future of a planned space, designed urbanism and creative architecture.

²¹⁰ UNESCO (2017) *The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier, an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement* [whc.unesco.org], available on: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1321> [accessed on 15th March, 2016]

The analysed examples of Villa Savoye and the Museum of the Revolution show some similarities and differences in the approach to the architecture of Modernism. The Villa Savoye has become a role model for many architectural objects designed and constructed after its construction. The principles of the architecture of Modernism which Le Corbusier promoted through the Villa Savoye, were taken over at other *Modern* buildings and interpreted with more or less success as can be seen in the example of Museum of the Revolution in Sarajevo.

Many of the buildings designed in the spirit of Modernism in Bosnia and Herzegovina and France are currently in a poor physical condition of preservation and do not meet the current requirements regarding energy sustainability. Such status raises a number of questions about their use, renewal and retrieval, or creating some new features.

The cultural-historical value of the analysed buildings of the Modern architecture is reflected in their importance for the development of the world's architectural scene, national cultures and history, and educational and tourist potentials. In addition to architectural values, the buildings of the Villa of Savoye and the Museum of the Revolution have high monumental and artistic values and, as such, deserve the full attention and protection of future generations as exceptional achievements of civilization.

2.7. Post Modernism in Architecture: Theater in Zenica

While the architecture and art of antiquity, the Middle Ages, Ottoman period and Austro-Hungarian period are academically explored and valorized through a series of publications of scientific significance, the industrial heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been sufficiently explored and it is presented through concise monographic or short reviews without expertist architectural criticism and valorization. Zenica, like most other towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, has gone through the developmental path from antiquity to the contemporary times, which is confirmed by material heritage sometimes more, and sometimes less preserved from a certain historical period. In recent decades, the heritage of the recent past has been put at focus and architectural objects built in the second half of the 20th century have been approached by researchers with respect, a great interest in the concept, proportions, and volumes. This attitude grows not only in domestic circles, but also at the international level. This unique phenomenon in the architecture of the former Yugoslavia is characterized by genius achievements from a close relationship between architecture, sculpture, and artistic expression. Significant financial resources were invested in the construction of housing developments, and especially in theaters, museums and galleries, and in general in the cultural-entertainment and recreational segment of the working class's life. Stunned by the ideas of common good, industrial development and cultural blooming, small Bosnian towns such as Zenica, have got the chance to develop its infrastructure and to make big steps in the future of a planned space, designed urbanism and creative architecture. By accepting historical and political conditions, knowing the current trends in the European architecture of the seventies of the last century, as well as a series of Bosnian-Herzegovinian specifics in the construction and attitude towards the space, it is possible to understand the role and significance of the largest theater in Bosnia and Herzegovina in that historic period, theater in Zenica.²¹¹

The event of prime importance for the culture and architecture of the small Bosnian town was the construction of the theater. This technically demanding architectural facility was one of the most successful projects in former Yugoslavia. The opportunity to project an impressive building of great importance for Zenica and the culture and art of Bosnia and Herzegovina was given to two academicians from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Professors Jahiel Finci and Zlatko Ugljen. Particularly expressed sensibility of two architects in creating an urban setting, architectural forms, volumes and proportions, the choice of materialization and their way of thinking about the

²¹¹ Trapara, Boris (2016) *Novo vrijeme: Zeničko pozorište - Total-dizajn u arhitekturi Bosne i Hercegovine*, [www.novovrijeme.ba], available on: <http://novovrijeme.ba/zenicko-pozoriste-total-dizajn-u-arhitekturi-bosne-i-hercegovine/> [accessed on 21th November 2017]

space, resulted in a unique architectural object, a triumph of technical progress and artistic creativity, the building of today's Bosnian National Theater in Zenica.

The highlight of the post-modern architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina and total-design is the building of the theater in Zenica, built in 1978 and designed by architect Jahiel Finci and Zlatko Ugljen. It is one of the best examples of theater architecture on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, but also in the countries of Southeast Europe.

Jahiel Finci (In memoriam) graduated from the High Technical School in Prague in 1936. He was a full-time professor of the first generation of professors at the Faculty of Technical Sciences (now: Faculty of Architecture, UNSA), one of the founders of Faculty of Architecture (UNSA), and a member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. After the Second World War he dealt with the theory of housing and heritage protection, which resulted in several scientific articles, books and other publications, but before he was more active as an architect. He performed the function of ZAVNOBIH's commissioner for construction, that is, the Minister of Construction of State Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. His contribution to the construction and today's appearance of the Sarajevo Railway Station is of great importance. Finci worked with his colleagues Muhamed Kadić, Emanuel Šamanek and Bogdan Stojkov (who made the main project) on the redesign of an ambitious project started by Czech architects. In the Jewish cemetery in Sarajevo in 1952, Finci designed a monument to the victims of fascist terror. Finci is the author of a large number of projects for various architectural objects, and he is also one of the founders of the "Collegium Artisticum" group. This group of intellectuals, scientists, artists and antifascists gathered around the idea of reviving cultural life in Sarajevo and had more than a hundred members from 1939 to 1941, when it was banned. Among the members were Vojo Dimitrijević, Ismet Mujezinović, Roman Petrović, Mica Todorović, Danijel Ozmo, Jovan Krstić, Emerik Blum, and others. For his creative work, Jahiel Finci was awarded the largest national awards, the Prize of the ZAVNOBIH, the 27th July Award of BiH, and the Award of Yugoslav Magazine for Architecture called "Borba".

Zlatko Ugljen²¹², one of the greatest architects from the former Yugoslavia, is a member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Croatia, and the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Slovenia. Extremely opulent creative work, characterized by the synergy of architectural, sculptural and artistic expression, emerged from the transition from modern to postmodern architecture. The architectural objects of Zlatko Ugljen make up an immaculate part of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian town and they are the result of a synthesis of the spirit of the place (lat. Genius loci), the spirit of time, and a the great creative power of this architect. In the array of functionally different architectural objects, religious architecture occupies a special place, including the best example of the contemporary interpretation of traditional Ottoman architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Šerefudin (White) mosque in the town of Visoko. The specialty in the approach to architecture has made Ugljen's work recognizable through white modernist volumes, pure geometric bodies and images, the specific role of natural lighting, and a powerful seal of total design. Ugljen is the author of artistically valuable monuments, and has made a significant contribution to art and interior he gave through product design. Exceptional examples of the tourist facilities that he designed were hotels "Ruza" in Mostar, "Bregava" in Stolac, "Kalin" in Bugojno, "Visoko" in Visoko and "Vucko" on Jahorina Mt. Thanks to this and many other architectural projects, sculptural achievements, and visual and design solutions, Zlatko Ugljen was the winner of the biggest national awards such as the Sixth April Award of Sarajevo, Award of Yugoslav Magazine for Architecture called "Borba", and the prestigious Aga Khan Architecture Award.

By imparting a theater building to a paved square in the new city center surrounded by multi-storey buildings, the aim was to form a business zone in Zenica. Close to the theater building, the City Tavern building was built in the same design manner. These two buildings can be viewed from the aspect of architecture and urbanism as a closed circle. The main entrance for the audience with a figurative plastic that invokes the impression of the scenic frame lies on the eastern facade of the theater building. The official entrance is located on the western facade of the building, which features

²¹² Bušatlić, Lejla (2015) *Arhitektura Zlatka Ugljena - kontinuitet tradicionalnih formi u modernoj i postmodernoj reinterpretaciji, magistarski rad*, Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Filozofski fakultet, p. 37-57

interesting architectural solutions of window openings. On the one hand, the monumentality of the building of the theater is emphasized, and on the other hand, the building gives the impression of the interpolation of an industrial complex that does not build an equal spatial relationship with the residential houses in the side street. The side facades, as well as the main façade, have better views and more space to be seen as a whole in all their monumentality and conformity. Although the theater building is surrounded by higher buildings, it is not trapped in space. On the contrary, this facade-canvas square emphasizes the importance of a theater building that the visitor remembers as a focal point of the square. By imparting an architectural object to some other location in the town, such as the bank of the Bosnia River, the impression of monumentality would increase, where the river could have the role of a mirror that emphasizes the sculptural and artistic value of the Zenica theater building, and where the building could, in relation to a strong natural environment have greater significance.

The building of the Bosnian National Theater²¹³ in Zenica has impressive dimensions; it is 90 meters long, 60 meters wide, and 45 meters high, and it has an area of useful space of 11,500 square meters. In addition to the main entrance for the audience, the official entrance for employees, there are two more entrances to the building; an entrance for technical equipment and entrance into propulsion plants. Its five floors meet all the requirements of a modern theater. There are different stage spaces, as the Great Stage, Small Stage, Side Stage, Cabaret Stage and Basement Stage, as well as other alternative stages and exhibition spaces, have been especially designed. The multifunctional interior of the Zenica Theater building is characterized by a sensible shaping of space and a specific artistic expression when it comes to plastic and polychrome details, as well as furniture, lighting and other details in the spirit of total design.²¹⁴

A Great Stage of an Italian type with seven fixed entrances (25x17x11 meters) features significant technical possibilities. Three curtains are separating the stage

²¹³ Bernik, Stane (2002) *Arhitekt Zlatko Ugljen – Architect Zlatko Ugljen*, Tuzla: Međunarodna galerija portreta, p. 82 - 83

²¹⁴ Bosansko narodno pozorište Zenica (2018) *Bosansko narodno pozorište Zenica*, [www.bnp.ba], available on: <http://www.bnp.ba/bnp/component/k2/item/3-bnp-zenica> [accessed on 21th November 2017]

from the audience; a two-piece blue plush curtain, tapestry (work by artist Jagode Buić), and metal fire-resistant curtain. Between the scene and the audience there is an annexation with the space for the orchestra, and the side walls carry balconies that are used for mobile lighting bodies and can serve for the audience also. The spacious, well-shaped auditorium with 408 seats has good acoustic characteristics. The walls and ceilings are covered with cherry wood, the armchairs are covered with blue fabric, and the lighting is specially designed to enhance the overall design impression. The Side Stage is separated from the Great Stage by the moving "accordion" door and it can be used as part of the main scene of the Great Stage. The Small Stage is a multifunctional space that can be used for various cultural events such as book promotions for 80 to 120 guests. The Basement Stage is located on the ground floor of the building and meets the needs of the theater for an optimal 150 guests. On the first floor, in the part of the building intended for actors and administration, there is the Cabaret Stage, popularly called "Kabare". The interior of this space has been completely changed comparing to the original appearance in order to provide catering. The current interventions, although reversible, are degrading the architectural value of the building. There are eighteen wardrobes for actors in the building, two rooms for reading rehearsals, a room for stage rehearsals, a music auditorium, two guest apartments, a technical salon, twenty offices, an archive, a museum and a library. The area of the foyer is enriched with artistic paintings in accordance with the aesthetics of high modernism done by academician painter Ljubomir Perčinlić (In memoriam). The details of the building's total-design went to the level of designing the building's logo by the architect Aleksandar Saša Levi. The equipment of the toilets, foyers, wardrobes, offices, as well as inscriptions and visuals for the functional division of groups of premises in the building are specially designed. As part of the theater building, there are a number of other accompanying contents, such as locksmith and tailoring workshops, a painter's workshop, a make-up artist's room, laundry, cellars, depots, utensils and toilets. The building of the Bosnian National Theater in Zenica with its functionality and interior aesthetics enables the organization of the largest national and international events.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Trapara, Boris (2016) *Novo vrijeme: Zeničko pozorište - Total-dizajn u arhitekturi Bosne i Hercegovine*, [www.novovrijeme.ba], available on: <http://novovrijeme.ba/zenicko-pozoriste-total-dizajn-u-arhitekturi-bosne-i-hercegovine/> [accessed on 21th November 2017]

Figures 63, 64, 65, 66: The drawings of the Theater in Zenica, source: S. Bernik: Architect Zlatko Ugljen (Removed images because of the copy rights.)

The author of the monography on Zlatko Ugljen²¹⁶ (published by the International Portrait Gallery Tuzla, Tuzla, 2002), Slovenian art historian Stane Bernik, studiously describes the creative work of one of the architects of the Zenica Theater: "Ugljen's work follows a creative line on which a modernist vocabulary of architectural forms, without falling into the trap of modernist manner and the dogmatic application of the modernist syntax." By looking at the building of the Zenica Theater, the pure geometric shapes of rollers, cubes, parallels and embroidered pyramids are dominated by white wall claddings, glass panels and steel, associated with the Zenica Ironworks.



Figure 67: The Theater in Zenica, 12/09/2014, Photograph by Author

The visitor experiences the monumentality of the theater building through the access sequence of the main entrance for the audience, which is modeled through architecture and sculpture into a unique composition. The doubled white frame of the

²¹⁶ Bernik, Stane (2002) *Arhitekt Zlatko Ugljen – Architect Zlatko Ugljen*, Tuzla: Međunarodna galerija portreta, p. 82 - 83

entrance carries the sculpture of Dušan Džamonja (In memoriam) and emphasizes the importance of the theater as a cultural institution. The "Union" sculpture made of iron, is a recognizable symbol of the Zenica theater and has become one of the symbols of the town. Materialization of the sculpture, as well as facade cladding, is a clear association with the Zenica Ironworks, one of the most remarkable spatial and subconscious reperties of industrial Zenica. Dušan Džamonja is a Croatian sculptor, born in 1928 in Strumica (Macedonia). Some of the most important Džamonja's sculptures are related to the national liberation struggle in Yugoslavia, such as the Monument to the Revolution at Mrakovica (Kozara Mt.) and the Monument of the Revolution of the People of Moslavina in Podgarić. Džamonja often collaborated with architects and, through his artistic contribution, erased the boundary between architecture and sculpture. He was a member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and a member of Arts and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

The façades of the Zenica theater building represent sculptural compositions made in corten-steel "ingot" and rounded with white plates and towers with perforations in glass. Architects have skillfully bypassed the symmetry trap by forming a foyer space so as to build a dialogue with the environment. The framed panoramas of the environment enters to the building through the window openings of enviable proportions and in this way they become the living actors of the interior. The author of the monography on the Zenica Theater (publisher: Association of Writers of the Zenica-Doboj Canton, Zenica, 2002), the playwrighter, Hasan Džafić, concludes about the architecture of the theater: "Every view on the building leaves the impression of a distinctive architectural refinement in the treatment and design of plastics of all façades." About the phenomenon of Ugljen's architecture, Professor Lejla Bušatlić²¹⁷ in her master's thesis: *Architecture of Zlatko Ugljen - the continuity of traditional forms in modern and postmodern reinterpretations* (University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Art History, Sarajevo, 2015), says: "We are faced with an author's recognizable creative access to architecture as a universal value. The author's postmodernism reception is a critical rather than a simple ideological copy or a formal decline in postmodern manner." The building of the

²¹⁷ Bušatlić, Lejla (2015) *Arhitektura Zlatka Ugljena - kontinuitet tradicionalnih formi u modernoj i postmodernoj reinterpretaciji, magistarski rad*, Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Filozofski fakultet, p. 37-57

Zenica Theater, devoid of superfluous decorations, satisfies all the requirements of the postmodernist architecture.

In 1979, the building of the Zenica Theater, a year after its construction, won the prestigious annual award of the Yugoslav Magazine for Architecture called "Borba" for the Best Architectural achievement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and then the annual award for the best architectural achievement in SFR Yugoslavia. This formal confirmation of virtuosity in the composition of the space crowned Finci's and Ugljen's temple of culture, identifying it a deserved place of inspiration for the future development of architectural rhetoric in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2.8. Vernacular and Contemporary Bosnian Architecture

2.8.1. Secular Architecture: Bosnian Ethno Village Lukomir

The term vernacular is derived from the Latin word *vernaculus* which refers to native language, folk speech, or dialect, which are contrary to the literary language. In the broadest and most sense, is the definition of *vernaculus* used in the theory and history of architecture. Bernard Rudofsky²¹⁸ first introduced the concept of vernacularity to the theory of architecture in the 1960s through his book "Architecture without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-pedigreed Architecture." However, only in 1999, was a charter issued in Mexico on the protection of the architectural vernacular heritage, which suggests that vernacular architecture has not been valorized through the history of protection of cultural and historical heritage, and especially not treated in an adequate way. The term vernacular architecture refers to autochthonous, anonymous, rural, folk, or traditional architecture, which is a clear indication of the degree of development of a particular cultural circle and which in Bosnia and Herzegovina presents the majority part of the entire built fund.

Over the past decade, the question of vernacularity has been actualized within the framework of the theory of architecture and the protection of the architectural heritage. In practice, the trend of mapping, documentins and valorization of this form of architectural heritage is increasing. Professor Borut Jovanec, from the Faculty of Architecture, University of Ljubljana for vernacular architecture says: "Vernacular architecture is an important part of our culture. It is simple and modest, but surely purposeful, unlike science that is neither primitive, nor modest, nor simple. With its primitive methods, it is far closer to science than we can imagine. Primitive people realized that the order of things is the most important, and that is the order between the sizes - direction, plane, and space."

In recent years, many experts have attempted to define the term of vernacularity in architecture. Paul Hereford Oliver was an British historian of architecture who defined

²¹⁸ *Bernard Rudofsky was born on April 19, 1905. He was a Czech-American writer, architect, historian, professor, and collector. He finished his PhD studies in Austria and after that he has worked in meny other countries (Germany, Italy, etc.) His written work constitutes a sustained argument for humane and sensible design and he is well-knowen for organizing a series of controversial MOMA exhibits in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. Bernard Rudolfsky passed away on March 12, 1988.*

vernacular architecture as²¹⁹: "A phenomenon that includes people and objects. In ecological terms, and through traditional techniques, available materials are selected by the owner, or by the community that builds it. All forms of vernacular architecture are oriented towards specific needs, adapting cultural and economic values to the way of life that produces them."



Figures 68 and 69: Lukomir, Bjelašnica, 13/05/2018, Photographs by Author

²¹⁹ Paul Hereford Oliver was born on 25 May 1927. He was a British historian of architecture and writer on the blues and other forms of African-American music. He started work as an artist at the Architectural Association in 1960, and after a few years began teaching the history of architecture. From the early 1960s, Oliver studied vernacular architecture traditions around the world, particularly stimulated by a trip to Ghana in 1964 to research appropriate housing for people displaced after the building of the Akosombo Dam. He argued that vernacular architecture will be necessary in the future to "ensure sustainability in both cultural and economic terms beyond the short term." He wrote many books on vernacular architecture, and was well known for his 1997 work *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*. Spanning three volumes and 2500 pages, it includes contributions from researchers from 80 countries. In 2003, he was awarded the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire for services to architectural education.

The term of vernacularity is defined as a link between the cultural-historical and socio-economic factors of a certain geographical area. The structures of vernacular architecture are the result of not only natural materials characteristic for the certain area, and not only traditional techniques known to local builders, but they are also connected to a series of historical, cultural, traditional, social, and economic flows. The great importance of vernacular architecture is in the preservation of *Genius loci*, where structures of this architecture play an indispensable role. It is often said that vernacular architecture reflects the civilizational flow. In terms of geographic distribution and quantitative construction, the structures of vernacular architecture represent 90% of the total world's construction. If the vernacular architecture is viewed through these indicators, then its valorization and protection are indispensable for the preservation of traditional values as cultural and historical traits. Vernacular architecture is a logical response to the environment in which it was created. This can be seen in the example of Lukomir, one of the most isolated Bosnian and Herzegovinian villages, located at almost 1500 meters a.s.l., on Bjelašnica Mt. The housing architecture of the mountainous regions was formed in specific climatic and geographical conditions and therefore is classified as the architecture of Dinaric type. Depending on the materialization and functional division of the building, several types of houses developed over time. The types of country houses depend on the region they are located in, the development stage and the constructive solutions. The way of life of their tenants, their socio-political status, material possibilities, and to some extent a religious-ethnic affiliation are also influenced²²⁰ by the formation of these houses. The village of Lukomir was built entirely by a local builder on a hill between the valley and the mountain. The houses are formed into microzones that are connected to the village roads. The specificity of the village is that the houses are generally not enclosed with fences, and that stables and storages are built close to the houses. Recognizable points in the village are a mosque, a former primary school (now an accommodation facility for guests and tourists) and a cemetery. In the village of Lukomir there are no asphalt roads. Infrastructure (water supply, sewage and electricity) were installed in the village in the second half of the 1980s. The romantic picture of a mountain village is complemented by hipped roofs randomly arranged according to the terrain.

²²⁰ Bugarski, Astrida (2001) *Sjećanje na korijenje - Tradicionalne stambene zgrade Hrvata Bosne i Hercegovine u drugoj polovici XIX i prvoj polovici XX stoljeća*, Sarajevo: Matica Hrvatska

Living units - huts, were built of stone, since there was not enough forest in that part of Bjelašnica Mt., and because of the first inhabitants of the village, who originated from Herzegovina, and did not know how to use wood as a construction material in a way they used stone before. The inner room of the cottage was called „house“, and the huts were built without chimneys, without a ceiling construction and with an opening on the roof through which the smoke would come out. In the middle of the hut there was an open fireplace. On both sides of the open fireplace, and raised from the ground, there were beds. Later the cottages were built as two-room units, one of which was „house“, and the other was used as a bedroom. This happened during the transition from seasonal village to village for permanent residence. In the 1960's there was a more massive vertical development of the interior of the cottage by dividing the attic into rooms or storage. Such cottages are called houses with *chardak*²²¹ and are characteristic of Bjelašnica Mt. its villages, but also for other places in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. It could be built with three floors (basement space created by the slopes of the terrain, floor and staircase that extends only in one part of the attic space), or it could be built with just one floor. According to the vertical development of a traditional rural residential building they can be classified into four types: a ground floor without a basement, a ground floor with a basement, a ground floor with an attic room and a one-storey cottages. In the first half of the 20th century, in the hilly and mountainous parts of Bosnia, the largest and most widespread of them was the type with the ground floor with a basement under just one part of the ground floor, and which was laid down on a slope of terrain. In a smaller number of these buildings, a narrow two-story façade, typical for the house of the Dinaric cultural area, appeared in northern Herzegovina, while in other parts of Herzegovina it was rare.²²² Both huts and stables are regularly rectangular in the ground plan. Analysed by their vertical development, the cottages in Lukomir are mostly built as semi-detached houses, or as a ground floor with a basement type of a cottage. As Kadić states, the elements of the semi-digged stable and rooms above it were imposed by the configuration of the terrain, often without human will.²²³

²²¹ Bugarski, Astrida (1972/73) „Kuća sa 'čardakom' u Podbjelašničkim selima“, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja sv XXVII/XXVIII*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej BiH, p. 232

²²² Bugarski, Astrida (2001) *Sjećanje na korijenje - Tradicionalne stambene zgrade Hrvata Bosne i Hercegovine u drugoj polovici XIX i prvoj polovici XX stoljeća*, Sarajevo: Matica Hrvatska

²²³ Kadić, dr. Muhamed (1967) *Starinska seoska kuća u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe, „Veselin Masleša“, p. 117

In addition to semi-detached cottages, there are also cottages with chardaks among horns (typology according to Kadić), that is, cottages with the room in the attic (typology according to Bugarski). In Lukomir, cottages were built with chardak which differ from the houses with chardak in the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Chardak often has a storage function; the window opening is smaller compared to other window openings on the cottage, or is walled up, and sometimes did not even exist in the original shape of the cottage. The specificity of the cottages in Lukomir is a steep roof covered with wood. The large volume of this space allowed the spread of the cottage in the horizontal plane, and its base remained unchanged. The cottages were built in the period from 1952 or 1955 (depending on the reports of the inhabitants) until the mid-seventies of the 20th century²²⁴ (the last house was built in 1974.) Over time, the needs of the inhabitants of cottages have changed, and the "house" was adapted to create a space for communication between the ground and the first floor and between the outer and inner parts. The stable in the basement was rarely used for livestock, and its purpose was usually a food pantry, which has been kept up to this day.

In order to preserve vernacular architecture it means to deal with it as a phenomenon with a constant tendency to improve the quality of the treated inhabited place from the architectural and socio-economic aspect. The sustainability of vernacular architecture is achieved through the balance of protection and use. It is unrealistic to strive for the complete protection of vernacular architecture, considering that its technical characteristics are poor materials, which resulted in poor construction. But it is possible to treat this phenomenon through the term of vernacularity which kept its continuity in the housing architecture of Lukomir. The heritage of vernacular architecture can be considered in terms of self-sustainability, if it is built from materials from the environment and with a minimal part of the materials that produce waste. Specific climatic conditions dictated the specific unwritten construction laws.

²²⁴ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Selo Lukomir (Gornji Lukomir), kulturni krajolik* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3250 [accessed on 20th October 2018]

2.8.2. Sacred Architecture: Orthodox Wooden Churches

Thanks to the natural geographical area, specific historical circumstances, and the touching and overlapping of cultural and civilizational circles, Bosnia and Herzegovina has produced the material heritage of the sacral architecture of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. The buildings of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian sacred architecture were built under the influences of sacred buildings from both; the East and the West, but also under strong local influences on form, size and materialization. One of the strongest local influences is an element of nature, which through the vernacular construction achieved a completely unique form of sacral wooden buildings. Stone and wood are the most common materials in the traditional architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina and they are often used together. Due to the physical characteristics of stone, a significant percentage of preserved buildings were built of stone. Those built of wood are now rare are now rare in Bosnian and Herzegovinian heritage.²²⁵ Completely, or partially, the mosques were built of wood in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as churches that represent material testimonies of history, culture and vernacularism (vernacular architecture - architecture without an architect).

Orthodox wooden churches represent a unique phenomenon in national construction in the Western Balkans, or in the northwestern part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and further along the Sava River in the territory of Croatia, and across the Drina River in the territory of Serbia. On the European continent, log-cabin churches are found in countries rich with forests, especially in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Belarus, Romania, and Bulgaria.²²⁶ These churches carry many elements of the folklore of the countries in which they were built, but also show certain similarities more in construction, and less in design. Orthodox wooden churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in addition to their constructive and design elements, have an extremely important historical component²²⁷ that makes them unique in the world. Constructive elements are simple and practical, in the spirit of local construction,

²²⁵ Kadić, dr. Muhamed (1967) *Starinska seoska kuća u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno naslijeđe, „Veselin Masleša“

²²⁶ Lindblad, Jakob (2009) *Studier till Sveriges Kyrkor: „470 Nya kyrkor: bidrag till Sveriges arkitekturhistoria 1850-1890“*, Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet, p. 215, 229, 247-257

²²⁷ Ševo, Ljiljana (2002) *Pravoslavne crkve i manastiri u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1878. godine*, Banja Luka: Glas srpski

proportions and dimensions are modest in the line with economic conditions. The decoration carries symbolism, but it is simple with either plant or geometric designs, depending on the skill of the master. What makes the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Orthodox wooden churches special is the historical moment in which they were created and which influenced the way of their construction and design.

Wooden churches have their deep roots in Big Slavic migrations (The Migrant period) and the construction of stilt settlements, which, according to archaeological findings, are the first buildings which were built of wood in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.²²⁸ The tense historical situation, as well as the physical characteristics of wood, resulted in a small number of preserved objects from wood and especially religious buildings. According to the data from 1911, from the Eparchy of Banja Luka Diocese, in the area of the Bosnian Krajina Region (North Bosnia and Herzegovina), in the beginning of the 20th century, there were 83 sacral buildings²²⁹ made of wood, most of which disappeared during the Second World War. Today, there are no more than twenty wooden sacral buildings, of which a dozen are Orthodox churches, two Catholic churches and three mosques. The largest number of churches is located in northwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina.²³⁰

Choosing a location for raising a wooden church depended on historical conditions, economic opportunities and religious needs. Legends, folk tales and records about the churches are related to the selection of construction sites and the method of construction. In order to raise an Orthodox church in the Ottoman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, special permission was needed from the sultan. In order to get this permission one needed to travel to Constantinople. The position of the Orthodox population was conditioned by the political situation in the Ottoman Empire and historical data indicates that religion could jeopardize this position. The legends about the "flying" wooden churches have their own historical strongholds and they talk about the ingenuity of the local builder. In order to save a wooden church from

²²⁸ Fočo, Mirzah (2006) *Sakralni objekti od drveta u Bosni i Hercegovini, Godišnjak Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine „Baština II“*, Sarajevo: Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 325-344

²²⁹ Ševo, Ljiljana (1996) *Manastiri i crkve brvnare banjalučke eparhije*, Banja Luka: Glas srpski

²³⁰ Momirović, Petar (1956) *Drvene crkve Zapadne Bosne, Godišnjak Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine „Naše starine III“*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 149-172

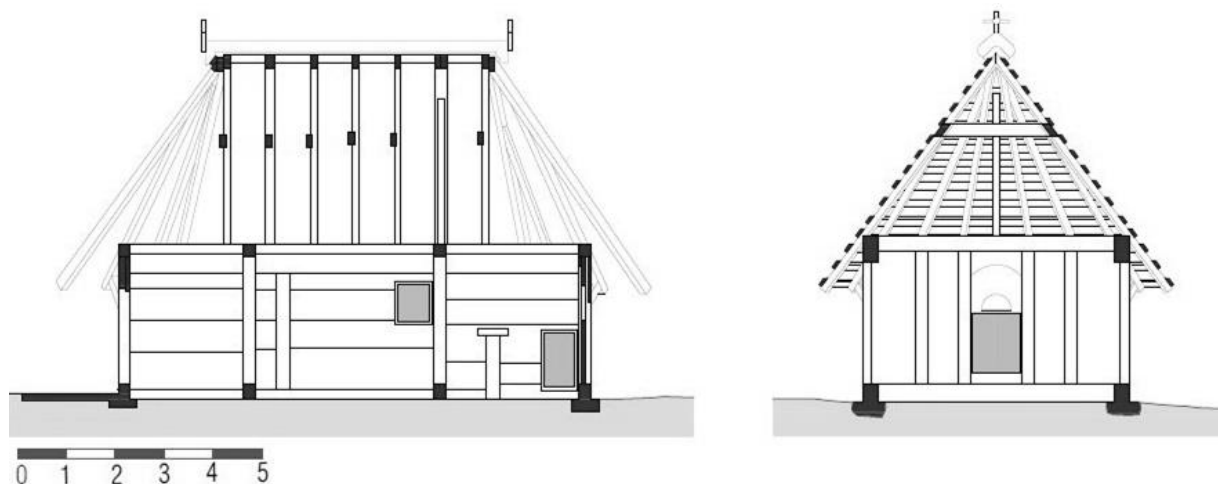
possible demolition or fire, the church was built in a way that it could be easily and quickly deconstructed and transferred to another hidden location. Historical sources, as well as the construction methods, show that this was not a rare case in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Towards the end of the Ottoman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ottoman Porte relaxed its attitude under the pressure of the West and, following Abdulmejid's reforms, it increased religious freedom in its large territory, resulting in the construction of a number of churches, such as those monumental (cathedrals in Sarajevo and Mostar.) This meant the end of the construction of wooden churches, but also insured the survival of existing ones. As the political conditions and economic situation for the Orthodox population in Bosnia and Herzegovina improved, so did sacral architecture experienced a sudden leap from modest churches and monastery churches built in wood and stone to luxurious and monumental churches and temples built in neo-styles. In this way, the stylistic development of the wooden churches was stopped in the Ottoman period. Later, in the Austro-Hungarian period, a wooden Catholic church was built (the church of Saint Joseph in Pale, near Sarajevo), which is an exception and does not continue on the tradition of Bosnian-Herzegovinian wooden churches, but carries other architectural elements that are closer to neo-style's construction, at that time popular method of construction in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Oak and pine wood were primarily used in the construction of churches. The one-room and two-room log – cabin houses of the Dinaric type²³¹ served as a model or inspiration to the local builder. Wooden churches were often completely made of wood, and the usage of other materials is minimal. In some cases, all elements of the interior, as well as other items used in the Orthodox Church during the religious service, are also wooden, and even candlesticks and cressets. Wooden churches are often decorated with carving with motifs that were also used for distaffs.²³² This (wood carving) gave a man the opportunity to express himself in the way that, on the other hand, that a woman could do with distaff. Although moderate in artistic values, carved wooden churches show a significant degree in the development of wood

²³¹ Bugarski, Astrida (2001). *Sjećanje na korijenje - Tradicionalne stambene zgrade Hrvata Bosne i Hercegovine u drugoj polovici XIX i prvoj polovici XX stoljeća*, Sarajevo: Matica Hrvatska

²³² Lalić, Slobodanka (2005) *Folklorni elementi u dekoraciji u crkvama brvnarama u Bosni i Hercegovini, Godišnjak Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine „Baština I“*, Sarajevo: Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 329-357

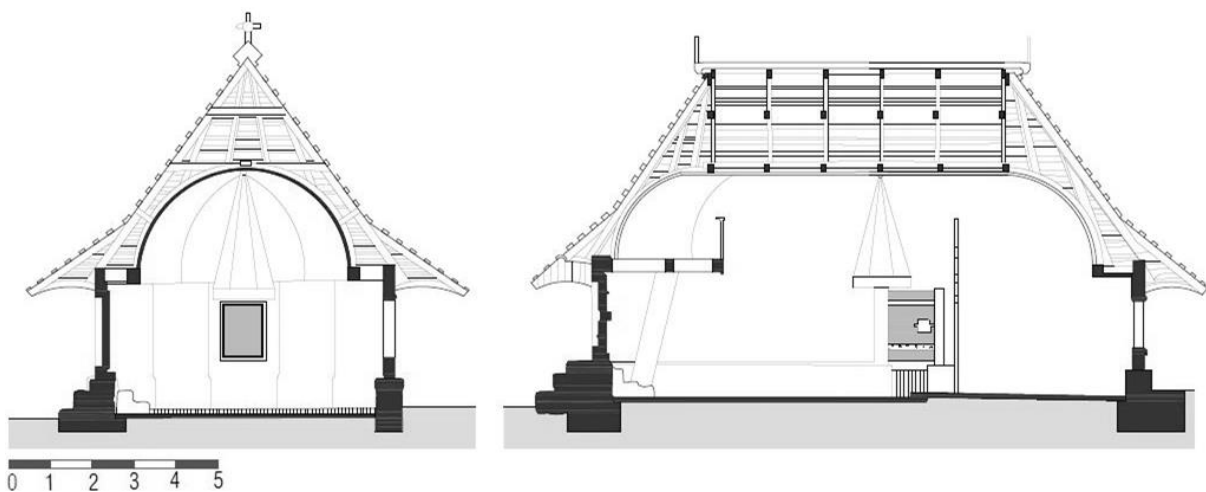
processing and have a significant cultural and historical value. The choice of the type of wood is not random; it does not only depend on the physical characteristics of oak and pine, but also it has a spiritual character. In the Balkans, oak trees are related to the legends about its miraculous effects, or myths about the sacred trees that have been protected and respected as such by tradition, which is especially represented in the Christian tradition in Bosnia and Herzegovina. To this day, there is a tradition that in one of the Orthodox rituals, the tree of pine or oak that is located near the church is the starting point of the *lithium* (religious procession.) It is also the place where the non religious sessions, gatherings and other important ceremonies that are not necessarily related to the church are held, but were important from the social aspect for the village community. This is another indication of the relationship of our ancestors to nature, as a *holy* good of all of us.



Figures 70 and 71: Tehnical drawing of the Malo Blaško Church, source: Naše Starine, redrawn by Author

All Orthodox wooden churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be divided into three groups according to the design features and according to the time of origin, which are the wooden churches of the older, the transitional and the younger Periods. The churches of the older period date from the 18th century and these are the churches in Malo Blaško (Slatina), Javorani (Skender Vakuf), Romanovci (Gradiška) and Han Kola (Banja Luka). The transition type of wooden churches consists of only two churches; the church in Tovilovići (Krupa na Vrbasu), from the 18th century and the church in Palačkovci from the 19th century (between Prnjavor and Banja Luka). The

churches of the younger period includes the churches in the villages of Jelička²³³, Marička, Rakelići and Busnovi (near Prijedor), dating back to the 19th century. All the mentioned churches are in good condition, after the conservation work has been carried out, except the church in Rakelići which should be urgently accessed with methods and measures of protection. Although historical records indicate that these wooden churches originated in the 18th and 19th centuries, the methods of construction, and archaeological findings, suggest that some of these churches originated from the older sanctuaries and from the older churches (they represent reconstructed versions of a much older churches.)



Figures 72 and 73: Tehnical drawing of the Jelička Church, source: Naše Starine, redrawn by Author

Wooden churches of the older period are modest in size. The width does not exceed four meters, and the length does not exceed nine meters. They are without altar apse and with simple woodwork. These churches originally did not have foundations and they are leaned directly on the ground. The entrance to the church located on the west side is also the largest source of light, because the windows in the side walls are avoided due to the nature of the construction itself. There could be cuts in the side walls that provide a small amount of light, but these are insufficient light sources, leaving the interior of these churches in the dark. The roof structure is open, without a ceiling and from a constructive aspect it is the most interesting part of the building. The wooden churches in the villages of Han Kola and Malo Blaško²³⁴ are examples of that. The roof is rounded by the double horns on the west and east

²³³ Momirović, Petar (1953) *Dve drvene crkve u Bosanskoj Krajini, Godišnjak Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine „Naše starine I“*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 151-162

²³⁴ Momirović, Petar (1953) *Dve drvene crkve u Bosanskoj Krajini, Godišnjak Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine „Naše starine I“*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 151-162

sides, and it is very steep. The wooden churches in the villages of Romanovci and Palačkovci are examples of that. This is done with a practical role which is to protect the church from winds and different atmospheric conditions. Instead of the ridge in the roof construction there is a trough. The walls are made in the skeletal system and are often lower than the height of human. Above the entrance a semicircular crust is made in the roof to provide easier access to the interior of the church. The example of this kind of entrance is the wooden church in the village of Javorani, which has an altar barrier with *royal doors* which separates the altar section and the napse. The division between the napse and the nartex is often a fence. Above the napse, there is located there is a circular wooden candelabrum which is called Virgin's kolo (circle dance.) Originally, churches of the older period were built without bell towers, so that some of them in the Austro-Hungarian period got a wooden bell tower which in terms of style does not provide a connection with the original building. These bell towers have certain stylistic and constructive similarities with the bell towers raised by the wooden churches in the Scandinavian²³⁵ and the Baltic areas.

In the transitional type of wooden churches there are only two saved churches; the church in the Tovilovići village, which has many characteristics of the church of the older period's churches, with the exception of a three-sided apse which classifies it as a transitional type. The second one is the church in the Palačkovci village, which was built in the 19th century, as well as all the churches belonging to the younger period, but with the exception of apse. Both of these wooden churches are laid on the stone foundations, they are modest in the size, and originally they did not have bells. They were subsequently erected and are in good physical condition. Both churches have two entrances, of which the main one is on the west, and the other is on the south side, the windows are cut in on the façade. In the interior, on the altar barrier, there are artistically important *royal doors*. The altar barrier - the iconostasis has three entrances and in both churches contains culturally and historically valuable icons. The roof covering is in the form of shingle, as it originally was with the other wooden churches, and the roof structure of the steep roof is visible in the interior of the church. The church is divided into an altar, a napse with a candelabrum of

²³⁵ Lindblad, Jakob (2009) *Studier till Sveriges Kyrkor: „470 Nya kyrkor: bidrag till Sveriges arkitekturhistoria 1850-1890“*, Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet, p. 215, 229, 247-257

modest decoration and nartex. Above the nartex, in both churches there is a gallery, that is, a choir approached by the wooden stairs.

The wooden churches of the younger period are larger in dimensions. The width is more than eight meters long, and the length is bigger than fourteen meters. They have an altar apse with a more complex woodwork. The churches in the villages of Marička, Rakelići and Busnovi were built on stone foundations with bells on the western façade, of which the size and concept of the church are most similar in the villages of Busnovi and Marička. The church in Rakelići is somewhat modestly shaped. The church in the village of Jelička has a wooden bell tower from the Austro-Hungarian period which is separated from the church and placed in front of the entrance on the west façade. The main entrance to the churches of the younger period group is located on the west façade, below or in front of the bell tower, and there is one another entrance on the side façade. Window openings are larger and more numerous than in other wooden churches. Roof construction is hidden by a wooden vault or ceiling. The roofs were originally covered with wooden tiles, and now the roof covering is a metal sheet or tile. The altar barrier is in the form of an iconostasis with *royal doors* and with a total of three doors. The interior space is divided into an altar (apsida), napse and nartex. Wooden churches of the younger age in their form are closer in form to the stone/ bricks built churches, than to the wooden churches of the older period.

The readiness of the local builders to build the whole building completely out of wood, fitting it into the environment and respecting primarily the nature, and then, apparently a series of insurmountable construction, technical, political and historical obstacles is materialized through the Orthodox churches built in the northwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina. Divided according to construction time and dimensions in three basic types, wooden churches show the continuity of the development of national construction in the natural material of wood and in harmony with nature. In addition to functional, the local builder also showed the aesthetic possibilities of the wood, developing non-verbal communication with symbols between generations, but also showing that architecture does not only satisfy mere functions, but also aesthetics, symbolism and art in its expression. As special representatives of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian vernacular architecture and as custodians of the identity and

tradition, the wooden churches are valuable monuments of culture. They can be a source of inspiration for the contemporary construction of sacred and profane architecture in terms of sustainability and a reliance upon nature and natural materials.

2.8.3 Current State

Throughout history, architecture has been valued as an artistic discipline. Its achievements are material evidence of the culture of life, scientific advancement and the development of artistic creativity, as well as sense of beauty not only on the individual but also on the collective level. The desire to achieve good architecture as a quantitative and qualitatively durable product has always existed, or at least from the time of drawings in the caves in Altamira, Spain. This need to decorate the space in which a person resides in prehistoric times is significant because it has separated the pure function (construction) from the aesthetic component (art), creating in such way the architecture in its full significance.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the development of architecture can be traced from the Roman mosaics in Butmir, Ilidža, through tombstones-stećci, such as those in Radimlja near Stolac (a unique phenomenon in world culture, history and architecture), to the medieval old towns, fortifications and castles like Srebrenik, Vranduk, Bobovac, or Kastel, or many others from the time of Bosnian kingdom, through the Ottoman sacral and profane architecture, including the Old Bridge in Mostar and the Mehmed pasha Sokolović Bridge in Višegrad, to architecture of the Austro-Hungarian residential-business palaces and other public and private buildings such as the City Hall in Sarajevo, through socialist architecture whose artistic valuable part is made up of memorials such as the monuments of Kozara and Tjentište, to the architecture of Modernism, which includes the Museum of the Revolution/ Museum of History in Sarajevo, all the way to architecture the time in which we live and which by its nature should be called contemporary, but it is largely a construction without any consideration of space or place. All these mentioned monuments were created by respecting the existing ambience and as a result of a sensible and scientific approach to the environment and nature. They are material evidence that our ancestors knew better and were more humane.

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian architecture of today loses its artistic or aesthetic component with each new result²³⁶, which is, besides technical, another important component of architecture. The crisis in architectural creativity, which increasingly takes the form of unethical business in Bosnian practice, results in less architecture with primal values and reflects the current state of the society. It is not a sudden phenomenon and it is not a phenomenon that will soon disappear. French architect

²³⁶ Husukić Erna, Zejnilović Emina (2017) *The environmental aesthetics of Sarajevo: A city shaped by memory*, Urbani Izziv, Vol. 28, No. 1, Ljubljana: Urbanistični inštitut Republike Slovenije, p. 96-106

Le Corbusier said that architecture is a true image of society. What kind of society we live in best speaks to the general appearance of superficially designed, or not at all designed buildings and ambiances. In today's society, architects and investors seriously threatens to endanger not only the current conditions of life in Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns, but also of its heritage. As this practice shows, we have learned little from this heritage.

The question of bad architecture is not an isolated phenomenon, and it is present in other countries that are in the process of social, political and economic transition, such as certain countries of the former Yugoslavia. But architecture, as such, cannot be bad, because *bad architecture* does not exist, there is just *construction* as a concept and phenomenon that is contrary to good architecture. Also, not all constructions are necessarily be bad, as evidenced by a vernacular architecture whose examples are numerous in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnian-Herzegovinian vernacular architecture, architecture without an architect, shows that with minimal economic resources, turbulent historical circumstances that are not allowing continuity in the development of craftsmanship and building technologies, human relations can still be realized in the built environments with respect towards nature and with more or less aesthetic values. Most of what we are building today, regardless of the availability and evolution of building materials, shows a fundamental lack of understanding of architecture. On a broader level it completely ignores the nature and the true values we inherited. It seems that never before, in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, has there been so much kitsh in architecture. There is a reign of bad taste and unethical values. While in some parts of the world primitive constructions are the result of a bad economic situation and the inaccessibility of quality materials, in the Balkans it happens that we are creating architecture with good and high quality materials, but with very low design quality and minimal or no aesthetic values at all.

The situation *in situ*, starting from the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the level of urbanism and architecture, has taken in practice such form that it can be classified as the sociopathology of construction, as a phenomenon that needs to be treated as an illness. In the SARTR's theatre play "The Secret of Jams of Raspberries"²³⁷

²³⁷ Zaimović, Karim (2005) *Tajna džema od malina*, Biblioteka DANI, Sarajevo: Civitas d.o.o., MKT Print d.d., Ljubljana

directed by Selma Spahić to the book of the author Karim Zaimović, the narrator hints at the danger that Sarajevo will turn into a "slum conglomerate lured into dreams of a self-importance," adding: "if is not already." The inherited organic urbanism from the Ottoman period could no longer follow the needs of a modern society, which was partially corrected in the Austro-Hungarian period. Streets were no longer intended for walking and horse-riding traffic, but for the first time for the automobile and tram traffic, which required essential changes. Therefore, it is clear that we have inherited a part of the problem; however, we have created the second part under the direct influence of politics by creating the so-called "ad hoc urbanism", which Professor Vesna Hercegovac Pašič frequently spoke about in her lectures at the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Sarajevo. We have come to the situation of drawing in buildings on the existing urban, spatial and planning documentation whose essential role is not to record the existing ones, but to plan the future ones. If the desire for a good architecture exists on both sides (the architect and the investor), the question is how it is lost in the construction process. The construction process should be regulated by law, and the existing laws in this area should be applied more rigorously in practice for the general well-being of the society. The consequences we are witnessing are the (non)existing social system, the bad educational system, the absence of architectural criticism, the absence of professionalism, existential and political issues, and the impoverishment of the spirit and culture that block creative activity.

Boris Morsan, a Professor of the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Zagreb, in his article "How to Treat the Architecture: Contribution to the Analysis of the Sociopathology of Construction" published in September 1994 in the *Prostor* magazine says²³⁸: *"There is a practice of cheap production of projects, mass construction and the creation of profits at the expense of architecture and its damage. This practice has developed a distinct mentality and a way of thinking in which the development, legal regulation of architecture and its protection are systematically disrupted. Our laws and regulations that have been adopted so far are the immediate and clearest expression of such thinking and behavior."* This practice also exists in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is shown by a canopy recently erected

²³⁸ Morsan, Boris (1994) *Kako liječiti arhitekturu: Prinos analizi sociopatologije građenja*, Zagreb: Časopis Prostor Vol.2, p. 269 - 282

above the main entrance to the building of the Rectorate and the Faculty of Law of the University of Sarajevo. The cheapest solution is obviously not the best solution. The above-mentioned canopy has caused a whole stampede of negative comments and criticism, but its construction is only the result of the current situation in society. The canopy has undermined the aesthetic value of one of the most architecturally and culturally-historically most valuable buildings in the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is marginal in comparison with the real problems of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian society and the direction in which its architectural boat sails. This well-known canopy in Sarajevo indicates that it is essential to satisfy the form of the architecture, but not the aesthetics, and it also stresses another important problem of design practice, which Professor Morsan discusses in the same article: *"In addition, the law again establishes the collective power of design. Only legal entities have the right to design. The authors from history of architecture were always the authors of the project. This principle is abolished, and the consequences are tragic. Just look at what kind of architecture is coming out of most of the big bureaus. European laws today protect the individual right to design, but also prescribe the responsibilities arising from that right. Furthermore, the law obliges the investor to engage a supervising engineer in the technical implementation of the construction, which is not responsible to the author of the project. Throughout the entire history, the authors of the project have led design and construction as a unique process. The laws of European countries still insist precisely on such integrity."* In practice, this means that the artistic contribution that the author of the project achieved through design documentation, which is a materialized author's idea, is often a matter of economic profitability for the supervisory authority and investors, while the aesthetic component is neglected. This situation *in situ* opens a lot of space for abuse and has become a general phenomenon where the author of the project, or architect, is aware, at the beginning of the works, of the fact that his project will not be fully implemented as it was conceived.

Architecture is a public thing, it's a public good for all of us and that is why it is important for discussion among for us all. It is not and should not be a luxury, because it is a cultural need and as such it should be accessible to everyone. However, the interest of the local community and individuals who are not directly involved in the architectural branch is minimized which can be seen in public debates

about the spatial planning documents. Professor at the Faculty Architecture of the University of Sarajevo, Nasiha Pozder is trying to change this approach through constructive criticism for a better current situation in the urban practice of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Architect and Urbanist, Nasiha Pozder²³⁹ is well aware of the legislative aspect of the problem about which she spoke in an interview for "Prometej" in August 2016 under the title *"Urbanism in the service of populism"*. In this interview she says: *"In the inability to quickly change the complete Law, which has in this moment already changed (at the moment the New law is currently being drafted), Article 46 of the Law on Physical Planning of Sarajevo Canton has been added. This Article allows for minor corrections to be done in a short period of time, without public participation or informing councilors of the municipality or councilors of the city, but in a way not to affect the basic Concept of the plan. Unfortunately, this Article has experienced great popularity among investors, and was often used with misinterpretation precisely for changes in the Concept of the plan, that is, for increasing the number of floors and dimensions of the buildings, and even changing the function of the building. Its popularity was influenced by the fact that it is necessary to obtain the signatures of the ministers of the competent ministries (Traffic and Spatial planning), the mayor (if it is a city municipality), the chief of the municipality, and the director of the Institute for Planning and Development of Sarajevo Canton. Therefore, the influence of municipal services here and elected councilors is minor, more precisely does not exist in this case."*

Professor Maja Popovac from the University "Džemal Bijedić" from Mostar in an interview from December 2014 for "Oslobođenje" says: *"We have completely mixed the concepts of the regulatory plan and legalization. Unfortunately, most institutions and institutes have turned into a polygon for political negotiations, so they are less and less the expert bodies. A small number of urban planners is educated, and the profession is completely ignored. It goes by path of least resistance, people are afraid of their work and survival, so they agree to "compromise." In this situation there is no professional conscience - you are blackmailed by your existence, and you can not feed your children from the principles. "*

²³⁹Kukić, Ena (2016) *Prometej: Intervju s dr. Nasihom Pozder - Urbanizam u službi populizma*, [www.prometej.ba], available on: <http://www.prometej.ba/clanak/intervju/intervju-s-dr-nasihom-pozder-urbanizam-u-sluzbi-populizma-2652> [accessed on 29th October 2018]

Architect Igor Kuvač²⁴⁰, president of the Research Center for Spatial Planning (Istraživački centar za prostor), in an interview he gave in May of 2016 to the web portal "enterijer.ba" he spoke about the poor state of the interior design: *"It seems to me that there is no relevant professional magazine that would critically depict a large production of interior designs. Recently I have talked with my colleagues about the necessity of a professional criticism, because it is difficult to establish any reference system and define quality standards. We have noticed that pure decorative interventions have recently been called interior design projects, which is completely unjustified. Unfortunately, sometimes the architects themselves act in this way, their role is minimized, and the actual "designers" are actually the owners of properties. In such projects there is an emphasis on materialization, while the most important elements such as concept, message and connection with the context - are missing. "*

Unfortunately, there are many bad examples from different areas of architecture, such as the protection of cultural and historical heritage. One of them is an example of Sarajevo's Baščaršija, always the current issue of the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is known that Sarajevo's Baščaršija lost its authenticity due to construction changes and that a small number of the original structures are presently preserved. Mosques and bazaars, the monumental buildings are original, but the appearance of traditional shops is significantly changed in terms of dimensions and proportions. The process of adapting space to a modern way of life is quite natural and often necessary. However, when it comes to disturbing the monumental and even ambient values of the site, then any action in order to "improve the living conditions" can not be justified. In this particular case, it is about changing the the Dalmatian streets with stones that do not retain the distinctive features of the Bosnian ambience. At the end of December 2015, the existing stone lining of Baščaršija square, where Sebilj is placed as one of the most recognizable symbols of Sarajevo, was replaced as has already been recently done in with other streets in that area. The square and some streets received a new lining that materializes and aesthetically resembles the cities of Dalmatia. The official explanation was that the aim of the new liner was to facilitate movement, as previous stone pebbles and

²⁴⁰ Mujezinović Pribilović, Belma (2016) *Enterijer.ba: Igor Kuvač - Stanje u oblasti enterijera je nesređeno i neophodna je stručna kritika*, [www.enterijer.ba], available on: <http://www.enterijer.ba/index.php/novosti/intervju/2712-igor-kuvac-stanje-u-oblasti-enterijera-je-nesredeno-i-neophodna-je-strucna-kritika> [accessed on 29th October 2018]

cobblestone made it difficult. In this way, one of the key values of the ambient is physically torn off and permanently lost.

These examples are related to Sarajevo, but the situation is the same in other towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Other smaller towns do not carry the burden of a capital city. Not unreasonably, they do not have the same responsibilities as the capital. Unfortunately they are often not heard or present in the capital. The absence of criticism, or at least the reaction to the "bad architecture" that is happening in other Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns does not change the fact that it exists. This enables constructions in disbalance with the environment, in disharmony of composition, proportion and volume, and even in the extremes of fluorescent colors of the facades. In practice, this often seems like a scenario for a low-budget films aimed at meeting the minimum legal requirements, with as a surgically removed sense of aesthetics. The aggravating circumstance is the political dimension of this problem. Architecture has always been related to art, sculpture, painting, poetry and music. We find concrete examples of this in the history of art, such as in the group De Stijl founded in the twenties of the last century. But other art movements showed the importance of harmony and order and where architecture was an integral part. Today it is not popular to talk about architecture as an art which is evident in practice. Regardless of the positive examples from the past, regardless of the mistakes we have learned from and regardless of the existence of good will to create a good architecture, in practice, there are definitely misses, where the aesthetic and ecological aspects are completely ignored, and good architecture is an exception. This is not a normal situation, because good architecture should not be an exception, but standard. For objective reasons new positive trends can not be created in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but nothing prevents us from following the positive practices of other European countries. Nevertheless, it seems that the current quality of the architecture of residential buildings is much lower than the settlements that were built in the 1980s. Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina can not only keep track of contemporary trends, but it can not maintain the quality achieved from the past.

There are some positive examples of quality architecture that appears as *lonely* actions of individuals who, unfortunately, are not strong enough to stop the backwardness of Bosnian and Herzegovinian architecture, but they are extremely important from the aspect of culture and aesthetic development. However, "bad

architecture" implies that we, as architects, but also as a society in general have made a mistake somewhere. "Bad architecture", as the unpleasant images that surround us on a daily basis in all spheres of society, causes dissatisfaction and directly affects the quality of life. How to prevent further expansion of the architecture of deprivation of aesthetics and quality is a complex question. Answers can be sought in a different approach in the education of architects where the great burden is borne by faculties, then in construction legislation that should control the situation in practice as well as in development of cultural awareness and spirit upgrading, which is the responsibility of each of us individually.

3. CONFLICT OF DESIRES AND OPPORTUNITIES

3.1. Political, social and cultural relations of a confident Centre and restless Colony

At the 19th century transcended to the 20th, the Balkans were once again in the focus of world's politics. In this turbulent period, a small country, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, attracted the interest of great powers. The great European forces saw in Bosnia and Herzegovina a number of hazards, but at the same time a lot of opportunities for realizing their own interests through territorial expansion under the mask of a "civilization mission" aimed at introducing order and peace in one unregulated and exotic region of the Balkans. The great European forces were becoming aware of the dangers that came after the Treaty of San Stefano, such as the influences of Russia in the Balkans, and after the liberation from the Ottoman Empire, the unification of the Yugoslav countries into a vast and powerful state union. Tensions in the world on the political scene had been brought to a boiling point that was only partially postponed by the Congress of Berlin held between June 13th and July 13th, 1878, in which the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was granted the right to occupy²⁴¹ Bosnia and Herzegovina that would de jure remain part of the Ottoman Empire.²⁴² Forty years later, the world faced the largest known conflict until then - World War I, the outbreak of which was the *Sarajevo assassination*.

The poor state and general dissatisfaction of the local population in Bosnia and Herzegovina resulted in the Herzegovina uprising "Nevesinje rifle"²⁴³ (Nevesinjska puška)", which lasted from 1875 to 1878 and which, with the help of neighbouring Serbia and Montenegro, spread from Herzegovina to Bosnia. The leaders of the uprising were mostly Orthodox population from Bosnia and Herzegovina who saw the possibility of a national awakening and liberation from the centuries-old Ottoman rule, and Serbia and Montenegro saw the possibility of joining Bosnia and Herzegovina to its territories; Serbia would merge Bosnia into it and Montenegro would merge into it Herzegovina. This caused the Serbo- Turkish War (1876–78) and Montenegrin– Turkish War (1876–78), which in turn led to the Russo-Turkish War (1877–

²⁴¹ Kasumović Amila, Radušić Edin (2017) *Zaljubljeni u plijen- Austrougarska vladavina u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. – 1918. in Između dvije imperije, Bosna i Hercegovina na fotografijama Františka Topića 1885. – 1919.*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 187

²⁴² Kapidžić, Hamdija (1968) *Bosna i Hercegovina u vrijeme austrougarske vladavine*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost

²⁴³ Екмечић, Милорад (1996) *Устанак у Босни 1875-1878*, Београд: Службени лист

78) and provoked the Great Eastern Crisis. These plans were interrupted by the Berlin Congress, which brought the independence for Serbia and Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, under Article 25²⁴⁴ got the new a occupier - the dual Monarchy.²⁴⁵ This decision was displeased with the Muslim population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who feared the loss of social positions and economic privileges that they had in the Ottoman Empire. As a result, the entry of the Austro-Hungarian Army on July 28, 1878, into the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was *welcomed* with the armed resistance and general dissatisfaction by the local, predominantly Muslim population. They opposed the change of one imperial power with another imperial power with open opposition.²⁴⁶ The dissatisfaction of the Muslim population in Bosnia and Herzegovina began in the Ottoman period, and culminated in organized resistance to the Ottoman authorities, as was the movement for Bosnian autonomy, which was led by Husein-kapetan Gradaščević, the Dragon of Bosnia in 1831. This movement was suppressed, but its ideas were awakened in the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Sultan's sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian period was ignored in practice, and both members of the dual Monarchy often issued parallel laws for Bosnia and Herzegovina that contributed to the general state of disorder in the political-legal sense in the country. Bosnia and Herzegovina remained within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy until 1918. During this period the country experienced a complete transformation of a system that left an indelible mark in architecture²⁴⁷, but also in all other areas of life and work, after which Bosnia and Herzegovina entered in the composition of the State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, and very quickly in the composition of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.²⁴⁸

Figure 74: Le Petit Journal (Dimanche 18 Octobre 1908), source: Private author's archive (Removed image because of the copy rights.)

²⁴⁴ Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“, p. 13

²⁴⁵ Džeko, Lebib (2007) *Sarajevo između dvije carevine (Fotografije Františka Topića iz Perioda 1885. – 1919.) Katalog izložbe*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine

²⁴⁶ Kasumović Amila, Radušić Edin (2017) *Zaljubljeni u plijen- Austrougarska vladavina u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. – 1918. in Između dvije imperije, Bosna i Hercegovina na fotografijama Františka Topića 1885. – 1919.*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 190

²⁴⁷ Besarović, Risto (1974) *Iz kulturnog života u Sarajevu pod austrougarskom upravom*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka „Kulturno nasljeđe“, Veselin Masleša

²⁴⁸ Ekmečić, Milorad (1989) *Stvaranje Jugoslavije, 1790-1918, I-II*, Beograd: Prosveta

The Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina lasted for 40 years²⁴⁹ during the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.²⁵⁰ While short, but intense time, this historical period has determined the direction of the development of all segments of modern society and politics in the country. The Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina was marked by strong industrial development, the suppression of feudalism, and the strengthening of the capitalist society, the modernization of society, the improvement of administration, the rapid increase of the city population, the shift of two great empires, the collision of various cultures, the expansion of construction activity through buildings of different purposes, infrastructure, and the system of roads and railways.²⁵¹ In an attempt to respond to these and many other problems, the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina represented its occupying mandate as a "peacekeeping mission" of a pacifist character, but in practice it was organized through an absolutist regime²⁵² whose goal was to re-educate the primary rural (89% rural population) and stagnant population. The Austro-Hungarian administration strongly believed that the new Western European cultural wave they propagated would bring prosperity and general progress to, as they saw it, the exotic ambience of a deeply divided society.

Benjamin von Kállay, appointed by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, won the leading position in power in Bosnia and Herzegovina.²⁵³ Even before the occupation, on a meeting of the joint government of the Monarchy in 1882, the status of new territories within the dual Monarchy was discussed.²⁵⁴ In these meetings Kállay explicitly advocated the uniqueness and indivisibility of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the joint administration of the country by both equal members. The Hungarian representatives, referring to their historical right, tried to acquire new territory for themselves, but this was not achieved. One of the possibilities that was discussed

²⁴⁹ Kapidžić, Hamdija (1968) *Bosna i Hercegovina u vrijeme austrougarske vladavine*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost

²⁵⁰ Jelavich, Barbara (1983) *History of the Balkans. Eighteen and Nineteenth Centuries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

²⁵¹ Trapara, Boris (2012) *Arhitektonske intervencije u istorijskom urbanom kontekstu: Mejdani (Mostar)*, diplomski – magistarski rad, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerzitet u Sarajevu, p. 20-21

²⁵² Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“

²⁵³ Imamović, Mustafa (2007) *Pravni položaj i unutrašnje-politički razvitak BiH od 1878. - 1914.*, Sarajevo: Magistrat

²⁵⁴ Stix, Edmund (1887) *Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Herzegovina vom Beginn der Occupation durch die österr.-ung. Monarchie bis in das Jahr 1887*, Wien: Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Herzegovina

was also the division²⁵⁵ of Bosnia and Herzegovina between the two members of the Monarchy. They try to avoid the creation of a triple community that would further complicate the already complicated organization of the country.²⁵⁶ The Monarchy was yet to face the three disunited movements for autonomy with their wishes and fears, which were mutually exclusive. Religious communities divisions were deeper than they looked on the surface, and they went to social and economic reasons. Therefore, some of the basic challenges of the new regime were the prevention of the creation of a large Yugoslavian state, the emancipation of the society, the introduction of order and peace according to "Western European standards", the industrialization of the country, the mass exploitation of forests and ore resources, the creation of a unique Bosnian and Herzegovinian nation and language, and finally the elimination of the Croatian, Serbian, Turkish and Russian influences in the country and the Balkans. The answer to this complex Bosnian-Herzegovinian question was given by Benjamin von Kállay's absolutist administration mostly composed of foreigners: Austrians, Germans, Czechs, Poles, and Hungarians.²⁵⁷

The Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina was composed of the Land (National) Government consisting of a finance department, internal affairs departments, judiciary department, and later a construction department established by the need to meet the great demands imposed by the massive construction of infrastructure in the country. The authorities were divided into civilian and military. The head of the government was the superior/chef of the Land Government, who was subordinate to the Commonwealth (for both equal members of the Monarchy) ministry in Vienna and his assistants were the generals for the military affairs and the civil adlatus.²⁵⁸ The smallest instance of power was made by interim offices that, in addition to administrative and financial affairs, also had judicial and administrative authority with accompanying contents such as tax, forestry or construction departments. The link between the city's offices and the Land Government made up the district areas that were tasked with ensuring the unified functioning of the

²⁵⁵ Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“, p. 45

²⁵⁶ Noel, Malcom (2002) *Bosnia – A short history*, London: Pan Books, p.137

²⁵⁷ Besarović, Risto (1974) *Iz kulturnog života u Sarajevu pod austrougarskom upravom*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka „Kulturno nasljeđe“, Veselin Masleša

²⁵⁸ Noel, Malcom (2002) *Bosnia – A short history*, London: Pan Books, p.136-138

administration on its territory.²⁵⁹ The inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not have the right to Austrian or Hungarian citizenship²⁶⁰, and they were called "land's members."

Figure 75: Anton von Werner, *Congress of Berlin* (1881), Final meeting at the Reich Chancellery on 13 July 1878, reproduction, source: www.alamy.com (Removed image because of the copy rights.)

One of the basic tasks of the Monarchy was the establishment of a self-financing administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which Kállay accomplished. This enabled him greater freedom in decision-making in matters related to the country. The Austro-Hungarian administration operated covered by the cloak of enlightenment, but still in a colonial and imperialist way, which could be understood through the relationship between the center and the periphery in different social spheres.²⁶¹ The center dictated the rules for culture, education, health, industry and architecture – and the periphery followed them. Nevertheless, the periphery was not left entirely without voice, although it was occupied, and later, in 1908²⁶² it was annexed. Since 1910, the Sabor, a political representative body – National assembly, has been operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina, providing the opportunity for the political action of the local population and enabling participation in resolving issues related to Bosnia and Herzegovina, but not the issues concerning the Monarchy. The Austro-Hungarian administration has consistently tried to offer compromises to the local population, what could be understood through several concrete examples in practice, such as the approval of the work of Muslim, Roman Catholic and Orthodox schools, and the use of the Cyrillic alphabet which was not just the question of letter, but also a question of national identity for the Orthodox population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the other hand, Muslim culture was promoted through the book of poems collected by Kosta Hörmann and texts that affirmatively spoke about the new government, which was especially supported by Mehmed-bey Kapetanović who issued the affirmative brochure "What are the thoughts of Muhammadans in Bosnia." This was financed by

²⁵⁹ Imamović, Mustafa (2007) *Pravni položaj i unutrašnje-politički razvitak BiH od 1878. - 1914.*, Sarajevo: Magistrat

²⁶⁰ Kasumović Amila, Radušić Edin (2017) *Zaljubljeni u plijen- Austrougarska vladavina u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. – 1918. in Između dvije imperije, Bosna i Hercegovina na fotografijama Františka Topiča 1885. – 1919.*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 190

²⁶¹ Džeko, Lebiba (2007) *Sarajevo između dvije carevine (Fotografije Františka Topiča iz Perioda 1885. – 1919.) Katalog izložbe*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine

²⁶² Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“, p.38

the Austro-Hungarian government, which considered this brochure as very positive²⁶³ one for the regime. Through this approach, the new administration tried to gain the trust of Muslim population by giving them certain privileges in cultural life and thus weakening their relationship with Turkey and the Ottoman heritage. The answer to this question in architecture was given by the construction of the Imperial Mosque in the north of Bosnia and Herzegovina funded by the Monarchy. This practice was not new, and it is known from the end of the Ottoman period when the Ottoman authorities allowed the construction of Orthodox churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Cathedral Churches in Sarajevo and Mostar) in order to counter accusations of religious intolerance that came from Western Europe.

Fearing that Muslims would fall for Croatian or Serbian influences, the Austro-Hungarian regime allowed them to develop a national identity. Cultural emancipation was achieved by respecting the Muslim elite as the main bearers of the Bosnian nationalist idea. A *special approach*²⁶⁴ to the Muslim population in Bosnia and Herzegovina had already begun from the fact that, for the first time, the significant population of Islamic religion enters the Monarchy. The position of the Roman Catholic population in the Austro-Hungarian period can be learned from the cultural and historical heritage that testifies that almost all of the new Catholic churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina were built in that period, and yet the Austro-Hungarian administration took particular care of the influences from Croatia and the relation of Roman Catholics from Bosnia and Herzegovina towards Croatia. The regime tried to make the approach toward the Roman Catholic population in Bosnia and Herzegovina equal to the relationship with the other two religious communities because they feared that it would not cause the counter-effect of bringing Muslims and Orthodoxies together. On the other hand, the rapprochement of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatia would have directly violated the dualist concept of the Monarchy in which Hungary would be dominant one. Due to the complexity of the situation in the country, the Austro-Hungarian regime acted very cautiously.

²⁶³ Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“, p. 186

²⁶⁴ Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“, p. 400



Figure 76: Bosnia and Herzegovina in Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Map drawn by Author

The main goal of Kállay's policy was to create a unique Bosnian-Herzegovinian nation²⁶⁵ that would become immune to direct Serbian and Croatian influence, as well as completely deprived of indirect Russian and Turkish influence. This ambitious task was considered by a great challenge. But Kállay believed in the victory of the "Western spirit" in over the "Eastern spirit." Kállay acted through the absolutist rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to achieve his plans. In the direct and indirect way, the regime was working to suppress Serbian and Croatian influence on Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the development of the ideas of autonomous movements in Bosnia and Herzegovina could not be stopped. The regime was aware of this, so the administration considered the success of its policy to slow down the development of these ideas, which is often achieved by the method of delays in negotiations and official statements and public appearances in a diplomatic spirit.

²⁶⁵ Kasumović Amila, Radušić Edin (2017) *Zaljubljeni u plijen- Austrougarska vladavina u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. – 1918. in Između dvije imperije, Bosna i Hercegovina na fotografijama Františka Topića 1885. – 1919.*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 190



Figure 77: The flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian occupation, source: T. Kraljičić, redrawn by Author

The regime had very seriously and thoroughly analyzed each of its movements, like the question of the flag and coat of arms for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The authorities ordered a research to be conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to select a new coat of arms and a new flag. The research that did not yield significant results continued in Vienna and Budapest. The selected colours of the flag and coat of arms had a task to suppress the South Slovenian trumpet, through which the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Orthodox and Roman Catholics were linked culturally, historically and emotionally, as well as a crescent moon with a star on a green or red background, which was the flag of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina during public and private festivities in the past.²⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the new coat of arms and flag were not accepted by the local population. During the private celebrations, they continued to use the national flags of the past, while the new flag and coat of arms were emphasized by the institutions of the new administration in their buildings and the ceremonies they organized.

One of the burning issues often used as an excuse for a kind of "cultural mission" of the Monarchy in the Balkans was the issue of the education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the beginning of the occupation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, under 10% of the population was literate (the smallest percentage of the literate population in the entire Monarchy), and the education system consisted of mono-ethnic confessional schools, dominated by mektebs attended only by boys.²⁶⁷ In accordance with the current policies of the Monarchy, and immediately after the occupation, multi confessional schools were introduced by the government advisor

²⁶⁶ Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“, p. 201 - 210

²⁶⁷ Kasumović Amila, Radušić Edin (2017) *Zaljubljeni u plijen- Austrougarska vladavina u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. – 1918. in Između dvije imperije, Bosna i Hercegovina na fotografijama Františka Topića 1885. – 1919.*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 192

Milutin Kukuljević. The regime did not prohibit the work of confessional schools, but it provided all the advantages and better conditions for new schools that, in addition to the tasks of *Europeanization*, had a hidden motive for suppressing the national ideas of the three dominant communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These schools were organized according to the model of schools in Vienna and Budapest²⁶⁸, and teachers in the first years of their work came primarily from neighbouring Croatia. Compulsory education was introduced in 1909.²⁶⁹ The daily press was often conditioned by the regime's stances, and the national newspapers built a counterbalance to positions conditioned by national, often non-affirmative attitudes towards the Monarchy. Some of these newspapers were Behar, Bosnian villa, Sarajevo herald, Nada (Hope) and others. In the archive research, these newspapers provide us with insight into the everyday life in the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Much effort was invested in the improvement of culture, architecture and education, as well as in the scientific and research work of the new colony. With the establishment of the National Museum²⁷⁰ of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Austro-Hungarian administration sent a good message to the local population and made a remarkable contribution to the preservation of the cultural and historical heritage that had been neglected before, and even resold outside the country.²⁷¹ The Austro-Hungarian administration, as a benevolent sign towards the three dominant groups of peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina, approved in 1902 the establishment of cultural-educational, national societies "Gajret" (Muslims), "Napredak" (Roman Catholic) and "Prosvjeta" (Orthodox).²⁷²

The mass construction done by the Austro-Hungarian regime in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina should not be viewed only from the point of good-natured approach of the mother/center to the colony, but also from the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina in relation to other European countries in the Ottoman period was almost completely neglected and undeveloped. In the first two years of the Austro-Hungarian occupation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2000 new and renovated

²⁶⁸ Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“, p. 242

²⁶⁹ Noel, Malcom (2002) *Bosnia – A short history*, London: Pan Books, p.144

²⁷⁰ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 129

²⁷¹ Kasumović Amila, Radušić Edin (2017) *Zaljubljeni u plijen- Austrougarska vladavina u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. – 1918. in Između dvije imperije, Bosna i Hercegovina na fotografijama Františka Topića 1885. – 1919.*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 193

²⁷² Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 136

kilometers of roads were built.²⁷³ For Kállay, motives the reconstruction of road communications and railway construction, were in the economic, social, political and strategic interests of the Monarchy. The aim was to better connect Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as to satisfy the military and security conditions in case of conflicts that did not go in favour of the new administration because the country was divided and very poorly connected. The economic justification for the construction of railway lines through Bosnia and Herzegovina was reflected in the reduction of the costs of transporting ore, forest and other natural resources from Bosnia and Herzegovina to the rest of the Monarchy. The construction of the railroads took place in two phases. In the first phase, it was aimed at increasing the exploration of the natural resources of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The aim of the second phase was strategic - strengthening the military position of Austria-Hungary towards Serbia, Montenegro and further to the east. The choice of railway-building style in the north and north-west of Bosnia and Herzegovina was not accidental. The Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina brought a new stylistic expression, Neo-Moorish style, as a kind of political project aimed at bringing the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina into a unified nation. The administration *flirted* very openly with the Orient. This can be clearly seen through the cultural and historical heritage of Neo-Moorish architecture in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns. Even without attempting to resist the charm of the East, the Austro-Hungarian administration tried to give its own view of the Eastern architecture, but within the framework of the dominant Western European neo-styles.

The dominant rural²⁷⁴ population in Bosnia and Herzegovina was gradually turning into a city population, which was hastened by the development of infrastructure and Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns that received Western European characteristics completely different from inherited ones. There are numerous examples of material culture that speak to the collision of two great empires. One of them is also a place in Sarajevo with the Šeher-Ćehaja Bridge which connects two banks of Miljacka River. On one shore is the Town Hall (Vijećnica), the synonym of the coming Austro-

²⁷³ Zadro, Sanja (2017) *Mostarska arhitektura od 1850. do Drugoga svjetskog rata*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu

²⁷⁴ Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“, p. 13

Hungarian monarchy, and on the other shore is the Spite (Inat) house²⁷⁵, the synonym of the outgoing Ottoman Empire. The contribution of the Austro-Hungarian government in Bosnia and Herzegovina is especially evident in the architecture and urban planning of towns that have undergone a complete transformation in a short period of time. For the first time, a construction line, a cadastre, and a number of other rules in construction are being introduced through the Construction Order (An official construction law.) Streets were designed with pavements, and buildings in accordance with new needs received new content. Also for the first time in the towns the parks and squares in towns were built in Western European style. For the first time, neo-styles are used in Bosnia and Herzegovina, of which Neo-Moorish style is the dominant one, and later the Bosnian style as a result of the natural development of the local architectural tradition and the influence of Western European forms and proportions. The regime had greatly respected the architectural heritage that has existed, so even today, in the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina, clear boundaries can be seen between the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Periods, such as in Sarajevo, the merging point of Ferhadija Street and Sarači Street, which is also a symbolic encounter between the East and the West.²⁷⁶

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Austro-Hungarian administration achieved enviable results in terms of industrialization through an absolute form of government. Progress was made through the construction of roads and railroads, public and private constructions, the development of a Western European spirit and culture, the improvement of living standards, economic, social, educational and sanitary opportunities in the country. The culture of life had undergone almost complete transformation and a system of governance, labor, state regulations and political actions were established. The short-term goals of the regime were met in a record

²⁷⁵ *The beginning of Alifakovac Street in Sarajevo is a place where the commercial part is separated from the residential part of the „Ottoman's“ Sarajevo. The architecture of this period is at the scale of man, and respect for neighborly relations and rights are its unwritten rules. In its position, architectural and stylistic characteristics, as well as the solution to the disposition, one house on Mustaj-paša mejdan (square) stood out from others. This open space from the Ottoman period (mejdani), which no longer exists, became the place on which the town hall was built. However, the owner of the house, old Benderija did not want to sell the land and its house. Negotiation and blackmails took place. Only after the authorities promised a bag of ducats and that his house would be transferred to the left bank of the Miljacka River, the owner decided to sell it. On the one bank of the river there is the town hall now, and on the other, there is a house which, due to the spite of its owner, was called "Spite house". Today it holds a national restaurant.*

²⁷⁶ Kruševac, Todor (1960) *Sarajevo pod austrougarskom upravom 1878. – 1918.*, Muzej grada Sarajeva, Sarajevo: Svjetlost

time, but the achievement of long-term goals and open political issues related to external influences remained "under the carpet." The long-term goals of the Austro-Hungarian administration, such as the creation of a unique Bosnian-Herzegovinian nation deprived of external influences from Serbia and Croatia was never realized. The character of the "cultural mission" in the eyes of Europe justified the absolutist methods and measures of its actions. But in the eyes of the local population it was often viewed with contempt, or at best sense as a relationship of a self-confident centre and restless colony. The culmination of unsettled long-term goals led to the escalation of local dissatisfaction on June 28, 1914, when Gavrilo Princip, a member of the organization Young Bosnia (Mlada Bosna), assassinated Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sofia Chotek, who were at that time on an official visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina. This event, on which opinions are still different in Bosnia and Herzegovina, led to the First World War, the biggest armed conflict known until then.

3.2. New rules for space treatment: The Construction Order and Urbanism of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo

In the last two centuries, and especially in the last two decades of the Ottoman period, Sarajevo experienced stagnation in the construction and development. The activities that were immediately taken by the Austro-Hungarian administration were radical in character much more for the reason of dormant and passive past, rather for the reason of intense and active construction and expansion. In the Austro-Hungarian period, all the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina were expanded extensively in a way that they retained the old centre from the Ottoman period (*čaršija*), but continued to simultaneously develop a new centre with administrative, public and cultural contents.²⁷⁷ This is particularly visible in larger Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns such as Sarajevo, Mostar and Banja Luka. The adoption of the construction laws regulated a number of open questions in this area, but they imposed rules and obligations for architects and investors in terms of dimensions, floors and design of new architectural accomplishments and the treatment of space that underwent complete transformation from the transition from "organic urbanism" created for the *man and horse* in the Ottoman period into the "urbanism of the narrow lines" created for the *man and automobile* in the Austro-Hungarian period.²⁷⁸

In the first two years of occupation, the Austro-Hungarian administration used the Law on Construction and Roads²⁷⁹ from 1863 (from the Ottoman period.) On May 14, 1880, the first Construction Order was published and it immediately came into force in Sarajevo. In the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina it was used as a "government recommendation." A controversial fire in Sarajevo in 1879²⁸⁰, which damaged or destroyed a significant part of the town, led to the adoption of the construction order. A new part of the city for new construction was "freed". The implementation of the construction order was in practice led by a group of engineers who were subordinate to the police director. The Land Government had final word on complaints about their

²⁷⁷ Hrasnica, Mehmed (2003) *Arhitekt Josip Pospišil – život i djelo*, Sarajevo: Acta Architectonica et Urbanistica, p. 31-40

²⁷⁸ Trapara, Boris (2012) *Arhitektonske intervencije u istorijskom urbanom kontekstu: Mejdan (Mostar)*, diplomski – magistarski rad, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerzitet u Sarajevu, p. 20-21

²⁷⁹ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 14

²⁸⁰ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 13

decisions. By enhancing the city administration and establishing a Construction Department, competencies related to the Construction Order were specified. The first Building Order has brought revolutionary regulations, and some of them are still in force. In the general part of the Construction Order, the issuing of approvals for construction or adaptation was defined by the competent administration. A special part of the Construction Order defined the treatment of space. It established parameters for streets, squares, parks and other important parameters for different constructions.²⁸¹

One of the biggest contributions of the Construction Order from the Austro-Hungarian period is the introduction of a *building line* that is multifaceted and completely altered the town's urban matrix.²⁸² The transition from "organic urbanism" to the building line was fast and intense.²⁸³ Inherited regulation of land from the Ottoman period also affected the fact that Sarajevo did not receive a central city square in the Austro-Hungarian period.²⁸⁴ The reason for this is that the market in Orient-type towns was unknown in a form as it was in Oxidant-type towns. In the Ottoman period, a synonym for the market is an open space called *mejdan*. The previously divided land according to the old rules and customs made it difficult to build and plan the centre of new Sarajevo. Regulatory plans were determined by the width of the streets by class and this was included in the Construction Order. As a special contribution to the development of the town in the Austro-Hungarian period, the regulation of the Miljacka River flow was emphasized, with the construction of high walls from three to five meters on the right bank. Also, the Miljacka River flow was accelerated because the bottom of the riverbed was levelled with cascades.

The second Construction Order was published on August 5, 1893. It differed from the first one, providing new regulations and detailed clarification. They addressed problems and issues that were not included before, and in the construction they proved to be important for construction. This construction order covered the whole city, and not just its narrow centre. The use of the second Construction Order in

²⁸¹ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 14-17

²⁸² Hrasnica, Mehmed (2003) *Arhitekt Josip Pospišil – život i djelo*, Sarajevo: Acta Architectonica et Urbanistica, p. 31-40

²⁸³ Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p.19

²⁸⁴ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 124-141

practice has encountered problems that were conditioned by the inherited form of the plots, the narrow streets, the density of construction, and others. The Construction Order has demanded that new constructions on free plots must be implemented through the Regulatory Plan. The municipality proposed that the expert commission prepared a new, third one, Construction Order, which was submitted to the Land Government in 1909 for adoption. The third Construction Order was never adopted.²⁸⁵

In the first years of occupation, the administrative centre of Sarajevo was located in the zone of the Emperor (Careva) Mosque, in the immediate vicinity of the Old town - Baščaršija and the capacity did not meet the needs of the new administration. The construction of new facilities was continued according to existing land divisions with respect to private ownership, resulting in narrow streets with high buildings that were disproportionate to their surroundings. In the first years of its activities, the Austro-Hungarian administration showed a certain degree of respect towards existing ambience, and apart from some examples that had political connotations, it did not build in the old town centres, but continued where the former authority stopped²⁸⁶ (Ottoman period.) Thanks to this, the city developed along a longitudinal historical and microgeographic line that can be chronologically followed in Sarajevo²⁸⁷; from the medieval village of Brodac and Vratnik, through the Ottoman part with Baščaršija and the residential zones of Nadmlini and Alifakovac, to the part of Sarajevo from the Austro-Hungarian period with a typical Western European model of a city such as the Mariahof Palace, and all the way to the socialist housing settlements on Alipašino and Dobrinja.

While in Sarajevo, the development of the city can be followed along the Miljacka River. In Mostar²⁸⁸, the Neretva River is a kind of symmetry axis whose shores develop through historical Periods, but not along the river, but the development line stands perpendicular to the river. The first layer of the heredity is the oldest along the coast, followed by the Ottoman period, which binds the Austro-Hungarian period (on

²⁸⁵ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 14-17

²⁸⁶ Koštović, Nijazija (1995) *Sarajevo između dobrotvorstva i zla*, Sarajevo: „El-kalem“

²⁸⁷ Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p.19

²⁸⁸ Pašić, Amir (2005) *Celebrating Mostar: Architectural history of the city 1452 – 2004*, Gračanica: Grin, p. 53-79

one side of Tito's Street, and on the other with the Rondo and Boulevard, and then with the architecture of socialism. In the Ottoman period there was a double *čaršija* – old town centre in Banja Luka, conditioned by nature - Vrbas River, while the medieval fortress Kastel is in near the centre, and yet it is separated from the centre, so the development of the city can be traced through the development of ambitious units and the construction of individual buildings in different historical zones, unlike Sarajevo and Mostar where these zones are quite homogeneous.

In the Ottoman period, Sarajevo was divided into two functionally different parts of the city: Baščaršija in the valley which represents the commercial, business and administrative part of the city and mahallas that were predominantly in the hilly terrain and had a residential character. In the Austro-Hungarian period, this zoning was abandoned. This was influenced by several factors. For the first time, a residential-business palace is introduced which brought both functions of business and housing into one building giving them the same importance in the frame of the city. The new part of the city was created at the border with the old part of the city, that is, in the area that was "liberated" by the controversial fire of 1879²⁸⁹, in such a way that public and sacral buildings are repertoires and urban cadets, while the space is filled with block buildings with housing or residential- business character. The type of block building is represented by the Mariahof Palace²⁹⁰, but also in the other palaces of the city where the land-legal conditions allowed it. In the Austro-Hungarian period, the building was designed to be oriented towards the street regardless of the sides of the world, which is the opposite of the Ottoman period, where the building is projected towards the inner courtyard and in relation to the sides of the world and "right to the view." This is especially evident in Ottoman period family houses that are organized around the inner courtyard while the facade to the street is simple in ornament and form, without burdening decoration, while family villas and residential-business palaces from the Austro-Hungarian period emphasize the rich facade of the street and the most important rooms face the street and simple courtyard facades are not decorated. This change can be attributed to the change in the culture of life. For the first time, life enters the streets and leaves the closed family courtyards, and not just in the sphere of culture and art, but also in other social spheres.

²⁸⁹ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 124-141

²⁹⁰ Prstojević, Miroslav (1999) *Zaboravljeno Sarajevo*, Sarajevo: Stubovi kulture

Already in the Ottoman period, during the time of Gazi Husrev-bey, Sarajevo had the first water supply system with 40 public fountains. The water supply system was upgraded in the Austro-Hungarian period, and the new sewerage network was completed in 1903.²⁹¹ According to the law, each building had to be connected to the sewage system back then. In the Austro-Hungarian period, sanitary conditions in the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina were significantly improved in such a way that the water supply network was as wide as the sewage network that was rebuilt.²⁹² Newly constructed buildings were provided with internal toilets that were outside in the past (initially the toilet was separated from the bathroom, and later it was in the same room.)

Since the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian occupation there has been a tendency for Sarajevo to be designed as the capital city by receiving the characteristics of a Western European city. Nevertheless, in the zoning of the city, several major mistakes were made left permanent consequences for future development. The Austro-Hungarian administration largely built the bottom of the Sarajevo basin, ignoring the slopes of the valley, and thus disturbed the balance and the density of construction. Industrial development brought with it new factories that were built in the immediate vicinity of the city centre, according to the wishes of the investors, and with the giving and encouragement of the administration, which saw the development of industry as a priority in relation to the long-term goals of Sarajevo. The positioning of the graveyard in the Koševo Valley prevented the natural development of the city in that area and thus permanently closed Sarajevo for territorial expansion through a natural exit to the north, leaving the city blocked, and in longitudinal form.²⁹³

The adoption of the first modern urban plan for Sarajevo²⁹⁴ was discussed in the 1910, in the Sabor (National Assembly) parliamentary session in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At that time, architect Josip Pospišil²⁹⁵ was the head of the Construction Department of the Land Government, and he saw the possibility of a

²⁹¹ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 14-17

²⁹² Poloni, Željka (2009) *Česi u Sarajevu 1878 - 1918/ Česi v Sarajevu 1878 – 1918, magistarski rad*, Olomouc: Univerzity Palackého

²⁹³ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 14-17

²⁹⁴ Aščerić, V. M. (2005) *Sarajevo i njegova okolina*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing.

²⁹⁵ Hrasnica, Mehmed (2003) *Arhitekt Josip Pospišil – život i djelo*, Sarajevo: Acta Architectonica et Urbanistica, p. 31-40

new Western European architectural and urban concept, which would respect the heritage of the past as an active part of the city, but with a dominant role for the new city centre. He paid special attention to the analysis and valorisation of the cultural and historical heritage from the Ottoman period in the context of proportions and volumes, and pointed to the failures of the *fast* construction at the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo. The city of Sarajevo²⁹⁶ faced a complex task that other European cities had in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. But Sarajevo had many specificities, such as the dominant oriental architecture and culture that, besides the Muslim population, were accepted and lived by the Orthodox population and Roman Catholic population. Discussing the future appearance of the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, three different ideas emerged. Some thought that the problem should be approached from the artistic point of view. Others considered that the issue of regulation was a matter of geometric lines (ignoring the inherited "organic urbanism.") Still, others were emphasizing the significance of cultural and historical heritage as a compromise solution.

The Austro-Hungarian period in the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina is characterized by increased migration²⁹⁷ of the population that can be viewed from two angles. Initially, this was the migration of the rural population into the city, which brought with it an industrial revolution, and that was especially developed in Sarajevo. With the arrival of the new administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a large number of foreigners moved in. New colonies and villages whose material remains still exist today were established in the north. According to the population census of 1910, 114 591 foreigners were registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There were 46 859 Austrians, 61 151 Hungarians, and the rest were foreigners from different parts of the Monarchy.²⁹⁸ The foreigners occupied key positions in the new administration. During this period for Bosnia and Herzegovina, mass migration caused major changes in the construction activity. There was a high demand for housing, which significantly influenced the formation of cities, as well as other social and cultural factors. A large number of foreigners in the country accelerated indirectly the urbanization, because the parties brought with them the cultural and social needs

²⁹⁶ Aganović, Midhat (1995) *Razvojne i životne dileme Sarajeva*, Sarajevo: VKBI

²⁹⁷ Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“, p. 13

²⁹⁸ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC

and customs for which the answers were sought in the new city centres that they had the task of satisfying a number of different functions (reconstruction and construction of water supply and sewerage, tramway transport, modern PTT network, electric power station, etc.)

The Austro-Hungarian administration transformed the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina in a way that enriched urban elements to a great extent respecting the existing cultural and historical heritage. One of the biggest contributors was the Construction Order, which defined the rights and obligations in the construction of new architectural facilities, as well as in urban planning and treating space within the city. Solving the issues of new demands under the influence of social, economic, political, administrative, cultural and other pressures, the Austro-Hungarian administration tried to create a Western European city for which the cities in the rest of the Monarchy were the role models. In the first years of the occupation, the *fast* building produced several problems and initial errors that permanently influenced the development of Sarajevo, but later the work of the Construction Department of the Land Government tried to correct these mistakes and to fulfil the maximum conditions for the development of Sarajevo as the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

3.3. New monumental buildings of sacral and public architecture: Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the National Theater in Sarajevo

The arrival of the new empire on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina marked the arrival of new architecture and a different treatment of space in relation to previously known rules.²⁹⁹ The massive construction of various types and various architectural values and proportions introduced the new building typology to the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the first time, and developed the existing ones, or treated them as ornaments in the space, or completely rejected them.³⁰⁰ Public buildings for different purposes were built to a large extent, primarily for the needs of the new administration and a new way of life. Sacred buildings, primarily for the Roman Catholic Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and then for the needs of all other confessions, were also built. Public monumental buildings are constructed as: free-standing, attached buildings, or buildings with an open or closed central courtyard and as buildings of a pavilion type such as the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Sacral objects of the Roman Catholic Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina are constructed as free-standing, in a row, or as part of the monastery complex, with churches built as central-type buildings covered with a dome, or constructions of a basic type with one or three bays such as the Cathedral of the Sacred Jesus Heart in Sarajevo.

In addition to the Roman Catholic churches, synagogues were also built and modeled on synagogues in the centers of the Monarchy, then the mosques under the influence of the Moorish architecture and the Orthodox churches in neo-styles (most often Baroque or Byzantium.) A new type of housing was a residential-business palace³⁰¹ that combined the business part on the ground floor with apartments on the upper floors. This aspect of the building also marked a break with the traditional *Oriental* town divided into the commercial zone in which there is a traded and housing zone. The most representative examples of residential-business palaces are in Sarajevo, and they are built in a block with an inner courtyard or in a row with or

²⁹⁹ Smiljanić, Dušan (1958) *Arhitektura u razdoblju 1878. – 1918. Bosna i Hercegovina*, Zagreb: ELU 1

³⁰⁰ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 13

³⁰¹ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC

without an inner courtyard. Individual housing units were luxurious family villas built mostly with one or two apartments that were subsequently redesigned into several residential units. By introducing a new way of education, facilities were built for the needs of schools of different levels, mainly as free-standing buildings with yards. From public buildings from the Austro-Hungarian period, banks were also constructed, as well as other administrative buildings and both as free-standing monumental facilities, rarely in a series, like the building of the National Theater in Sarajevo. The construction and modernization of roads, bridges and railroads, as well as the construction of factory buildings, signifies the transition from feudal to capitalist society. Nevertheless, the backbone of the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina's towns remained public and sacred type building around which the urban center was developed, and in the future it continued to serve as well recognizable markers in space.

Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Sarajevo

The designs for the Catholic cathedral³⁰² in Sarajevo, whose construction was planned in the immediate vicinity of the Orthodox cathedral, were made in Vienna. However, as there was a small Muslim cemetery on the site where the Austro-Hungarian administration had already built an Officer's palace in 1881 and because the designated cathedral seemed too big and too expensive, a solution was sought at the new location. Archbishop Josip Štadler asked the minister Benjamin von Kállay for help. He sent from Vienna the architect Josip pl. Vancaš.³⁰³ Kállay believed that Vancaš was the right person to design such an important building as the cathedral; Vancaš was a Catholic and he had completed a special school for architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. Vancaš independently created the project of today's cathedral in Sarajevo. Few modifications were made by his professor at the Academy.

³⁰² Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019). *Katedrala (Katedralna crkva Srca Isusova), historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2518 [accessed on 11th March 2019]

³⁰³ Božić, Jelena (1989) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave, doktorska disertacija*, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu

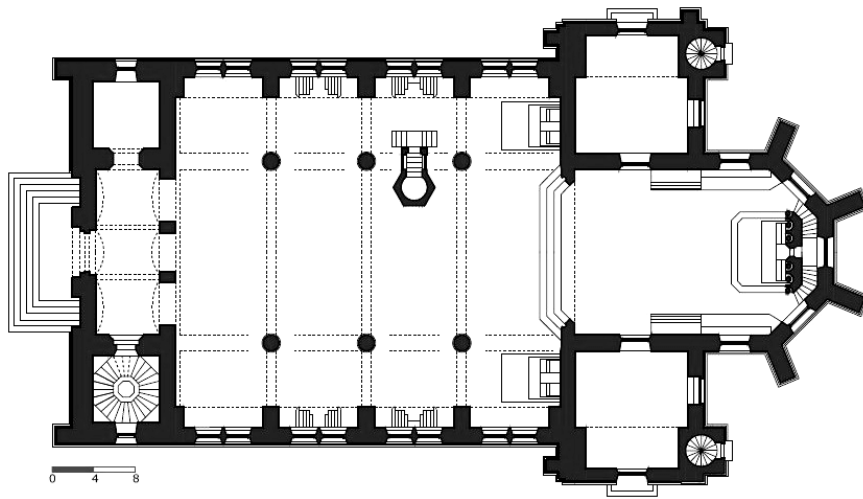


Figure 78: Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Sarajevo, source: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, redrawn by Author

After the selection of the builder, the excavation of the foundations began in August 1884.³⁰⁴ The same year, a month after the commencement of construction, the commission found that the construction was running in the best order. Construction works were completed on November 9, 1887, to the extent how it was agreed with the contractor. The walls in the interior were only painted, and the windows were closed with ordinary glass. Another great work of artistic furnishing of the cathedral was underway, and it took another two years.

The external length of the cathedral is 42.00 m, and the width is 21.00 m. The facade is flanked with two towers of approximately 43.00 m in height. Roofs are in the form of simple sharp pyramids extended at the bottom. A high-pitched façade in the level of the roof is divided into five arcades. Below it is a large blind arch, and inside it is an eight-corner rosette, made of two sets of Gothic elements. Below it is a portal with one early Gothic column in a profiled door frame. At the top, partially in front of the rosette, there is a statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, made in Vienna from special stone. The statue is a work by the Viennese sculptor Hausmann. On the ground floor of the western tower, there is a baptistery. In the eastern tower there are stairs for entering the choir and the bells. The baptistery is made in white marble according to Vancaš's drawings.

³⁰⁴ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 148-151

The cathedral was built under the influence of the Romanesque, but in the style of the early Gothic³⁰⁵, modeled on the Notre Dame Church in Dijon, France. It seems that Vancaš was impressed with the outer walls of the Burgundian Gothic, hard and very stiff with architectural decoration. He had a real sense of the measure when he changed some of its elements for Sarajevo's modest circumstances. Vancaš retained the form of the sanctuary, but the transepts were turned into two two-story annexes; in the sacristy and treasury, both with an oratory on the first floor. The semicircular endings of the secondary ships in Dijon were used as towers detached from the main shaft and leaning against the northern wall of the annex. At the place of trephine in the Church in Dijon, he placed circular openings into which he painted the heads of the church's Fathers. Vancaš transferred the rosette from the transept to the front. It was a great skill to transform the narrow and lean French church into a cathedral of restrained height, without losing all the magnificence of the early Gothic.



Figure 79: Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Sarajevo, 19/11/2014, Photograph by Author

The hard stone from which the churches were built in Burgundy did not allow the scattering of decorations, which Vancaš successfully accomplished at the Sarajevo Cathedral which is not a template building, but a completely new and authentic architectural creation. With its volume and material selection, it is completely adapted

³⁰⁵ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 32

to the historical core of the city. The cathedral does not impose itself on the environment. Instead, it builds a monumental oasis the other monuments of the city.³⁰⁶

The roof of the cathedral was covered with a simple tile. One of its parts was dipped in tar, and it was composed in a way to form rhombus motifs on towers and ships. The rooms for the sacristy and treasury gave the appearance of the cross to the overall appearance of the building. Both of these are two-storey. In the rooms on the first floor there is a semi-circular staircase placed in separate towers. At the northern end of the ridge there is an iron tower of 33.00 m high. The arch in the main ship is 13,50 m high and in the secondary ships, it is 8,50 m. At the entrance to the western side room there is a decorated portal richly profiled. The north end of the building is five-sided and with five tall windows and each of the corners is reinforced with buttresses. They are grounded to the level of the inner floor, covered with fine white limestone, which also makes walls. The floor is laid in ceramic tiles in three warm colors; brown, red and black. During the renovation of the cathedral in 1987, the tiles were removed and again placed in the same row with a considerable effort after central heating was installed under the floor.



Figures 80 and 81: Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Sarajevo, 05/05/2015, Photograph by Author

In the sanctuary there are five stained glasses of 05.75 m in height, each of them representing events from the life of Jesus Christ. Most of the stained glasses are the gifts of Sarajevo's wealthy families. One of the stained glasses is the gift of Augusta Braun, a famous Sarajevo building material maker and builders of the Mariahof

³⁰⁶ Božić, Jelena (1989) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave*, doktorska disertacija, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu

Palace. The plans for the altar and the fences of the altars were made by Vancaš. They were ordered from Trieste and were made in marble. The altar space is divided into seven niches, of which the middle niche is slightly higher than the others. It is approached by the stairs behind the altar. Above the middle aperture is a statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the work of Franz Erler from Vienna. Other stone sculptures were modeled by Dragan Morak, and Ivan Novotny. Altar's table rests on four pillars of Tyrolean marble. In the western ship is the altar of the Immaculate Conception. It was done in Vienna and it was the gift of the Emperor Franz Josef I. The altar, located in the eastern ship is the gift from the Czech Republic, and represents brothers Cyril and Methodius. In the western ship there is a pulpit. The tower of the canopy, decorated with Gothic gypsum, reaches almost to the top of the arc between the ships. In the western shaft there is also the Crucifixion with Mary and John. It is a solid artistic work of a skilled sculptor in the Renaissance style.

The frescoes in the Sarajevo cathedral have an interesting story related to their appearance. Their creation was entrusted to an experienced and old artist from Rome who passed away during the work on the frescoes. The work on the completion of the started frescoes was supposed to be carried out by his son. However, as he worked on the painting of the church in the Vatican, the work was finally completed by his assistant Alberto de Rohden. The issue of the authorship of all the frescoes in the cathedral has remained open until today. In the port of the west wall, Jesus' speech on the mountain is shown, and on the east side there is a fresco representing Moses receiving the Law. Original frescoes have not been preserved. During the renovation of the cathedral in 1988, credible copies in the oil on canvas were placed on their spots. The successful work was entrusted to the painter Anto Martinović, who first recorded and drew all six images in their original size on paper, using the restaurateur method, taking into account the preserved photographs of the frescoes, and the remains of paint on the wall. The walls above the arches are adorned with the faces of the angels, and below them there is a tape with the text of the Holy Scripture. One other artist, Josip Voltolini, who attended the decorative painting schools in Venice and Vienna, was also working on ornaments for the cathedral. The vaults in the main and side ships are blue in color with bordures. The fields above the arches are blue bases with a dispersed vegetable ornament. The pillars are decorated with golden leaves. Special praise deserves a wrought iron

fence made according to Vancaš's drawings. Vancaš created drawings of the organ, the space around them, as well as the wooden furniture that was made in one of Sarajevo's workshop. Soon after the internal furnishing of the cathedral was finished, crosses were placed on the roofs and bells were placed in the towers.

National Theater in Sarajevo

The building, which was intended for the theater in Sarajevo, was actually a building of the Social Club and served for the cultural and social needs of the city of Sarajevo at that time. It was built in 1899 in the style of Italian Neo-Renaissance³⁰⁷ according to designs developed by the architect Karel Pařík.³⁰⁸ Before the relocation of the theater to this building, certain adaptations were made, primarily in the interior which was intended to receive new content which partly damaged the concept of the building.

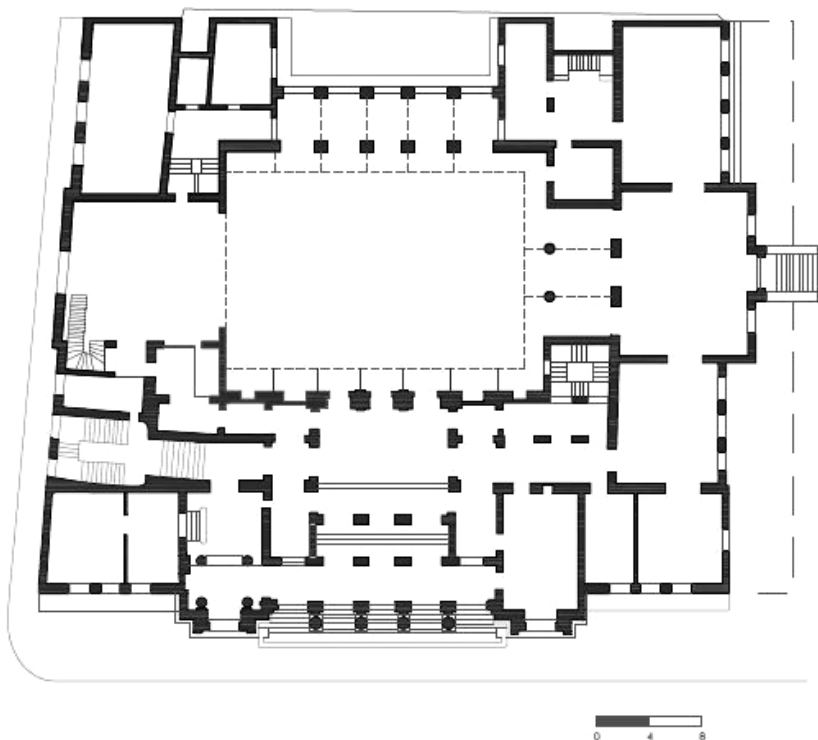


Figure 82: The National Theater in Sarajevo, source: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, redrawn by Author

In November 1921, the ceremonial act of opening the National Theater³⁰⁹ was given to Branislav Nušić, then head of the Art Department of the Ministry of Education. On

³⁰⁷ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

³⁰⁸ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 180

³⁰⁹ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019). *Narodno pozorište, povijesna građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2981 [acc. on 11th March 2019]

November 9, 1946, with the new event, the solemn premiere of "Sold Bride" signified that the artistic activity of the Sarajevo Opera had started. It was also a big step in the development of musical culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina was achieved. The same year the Sarajevo Ballet was founded. Since then, until now, the National Theater Sarajevo³¹⁰ has not interrupted its artistic activity, despite numerous historical events that have in their way left a unique mark on its work. It is also the only theater house in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which offer Opera and Ballet as well as Drama.

The theater building contains two halls. The larger, with armchairs for audiences and foyers, and galleries, is richly decorated. Two colors are complemented consistently: red and gold, the combination of which is present on the plastic elements of the walls and fences. This hall is the most representative and is visually the most eye-catching part of the building. Actors often use a smaller hall for theater rehearsals. The adapted part of the building contains offices and other necessary premises for the purpose of administration. This part is not decorated and a separate entrance is opened on the side looking to the Miljacka River, and it is located in the left wing of the building.



Figure 83: The Main Post Office and The National Theater in Sarajevo, Miljacka River, 29/01/2018, Photograph by Author

One of the basic characteristics of the building is the quadrant organization of the facade. The facade on the ground floor is made of deep quarry rust, and on the floor it is decorated depending on its position, so that the front facade, which faces the

³¹⁰ Prstojević, Miroslav (1999) *Zaboravljeno Sarajevo*, Sarajevo: Stubovi kulture

Miljacka River and the back facade are symmetrical, but not equal. The composition of the façade is similar to the one on the Vienna Stock Exchange Building designed by Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen and Carl Tietzn in 1877. Balconies with load-bearing pillars are drawn on both facades of the National Theater in Sarajevo (facade towards the Miljacka River and façade on the square), and their central parts are separated by a semicircular entrance and balcony doors. The windows and door color is black. The higher ground floor is visually separated from the ceiling by a cordon wreath which does not always accompany the internal division of the floor, which is a consequence of the adaptation in order to improve the utilization of space. The third facade has symmetrically arranged walls, columns, decoration and windows. At its center there is another entrance to the building. On the facade facing the side street there is almost no decoration, or it is poorly executed, and the window openings are only accentuated by plastic decorative elements. The fence on the balconies is the same as on the roof, but the one on the roof has only a decorative role. Parts of the facade on the ground floor are light gray, and those above the cordon wedding are white.³¹¹

The building of the National Theater³¹² Sarajevo is a building that gives the impression of a visually compact entity in whose elements Pařík has consistently applied the characteristics of the style of Italian Neo-Renaissance. By this project, Pařík presented Sarajevo with the unity of traditional and contemporary architectural features, and he preserved the spirit of place and time in the building of National Theater.

³¹¹ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

³¹² Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 23

3.4. Materials of the new era in the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina

During the Austro-Hungarian period³¹³, the construction industry experienced an expansion in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A large number of different architectural facilities were constructed and infrastructure projects were implemented. The materials used were of high quality, as evidenced by the current state of buildings built in this historical period. All materials in the construction industry were tested and mainly industrial manufactured, which ensured their quality and their durability. The production and installation of materials is most often carried out on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, so that the new established factories for the production of construction materials were largely supplied the local market. The raw materials were of local origin, and the new recipes were brought with the new management. In the construction of buildings for various purposes, stone, brick, iron, wood, eternity, sheet metal, and tiles were most commonly used, and concrete and reinforced concrete were used before the end of the Austro-Hungarian period as well. The architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period improved upon the architecture of the Ottoman period brought an improvement in technical terms and in the way of construction methods. Also, for the first time, the rules of construction were defined through the laws of the Construction Order.³¹⁴

In the Ottoman period and the Austro-Hungarian period, wood was used for the production of pillars, fences, roofs and floor structures, interior and exterior joinery, and other decorative elements.³¹⁵ The ceiling structure of the buildings of the Austro-Hungarian period consisted of two parts, bearing steel profiles with filling of wood and other materials, or entirely derived from wood, where the bearing parts were wooden beams. The ceilings are very high, especially considering the previously inherited construction unwritten rules from the Ottoman period, in which the ceiling structure is completely wooden and in which the ceilings, with the exception of monumental architecture, are adapted to the scale of man. To the extent that this difference in the height of the ceilings was big, it also testifies that for buildings built in the Austro-

³¹³ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 148-151

³¹⁴ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC

³¹⁵ Trapara, Boris (2012) *Arhitektonske intervencije u istorijskom urbanom kontekstu: Mejdan (Mostar)*, diplomski – magistarski rad, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerzitet u Sarajevu, p. 20-21

Hungarian period³¹⁶, the synonym became a high ceiling. In the Austro-Hungarian period, the walls were plastered, and the floors were covered with parquets. During the Ottoman period, the walls of the ground were made of stone blocks, and the walls were compodes of clay blocks. The roof slabs of the buildings from the Austro-Hungarian period were under a slope of 35 degrees, and more. But initially, although it was passable, under-roof spaces were not intended for use (housing in residential buildings and work in public buildings.) Immediately after the Second World War, the attics of the Austro-Hungarian residential palaces were turned into apartments, which had a negative effect on the appearance of the facades. The roof structure is completely wooden, and buildings from this period represent classic solutions in terms of roof construction. The tiles were made of baked clay.

The stone used in the Ottoman period for the construction of monumental, mostly sacral and public buildings, continued as one of the basic building materials in the Austro-Hungarian period. But due to its cost, it was used less often. The stone was almost always used to build the foundations, especially in the parts of the building where it came in contact with the earth. In the interior of the buildings, different types of stones were mostly used for safety and aesthetic reasons. In relation to the buildings, the use of stone was spread in the basement and ground level. In relation to the environment, the stone was used for sidewalks, terraces, pavements, stairs and the arrangement of park surfaces as it is an extremely resistant material to external influences.

The use of bricks increased dramatically in the Austro-Hungarian period. In Sarajevo alone in 1885 there were seven brick factories that produced 15 million pieces of bricks annually. The first brick factory in Sarajevo was opened by August Braun, who founded the company for the production of building materials and whose products regularly received awards for quality. August Braun also erected the first residential business palace of this kind in Sarajevo, which he named by his wife Maria (Mariahof.) The brick had dimensions 3 x 15 x 7 cm and it was built in a lime mortar in walls with a thickness of 15 cm, 30 cm, 45 cm, etc. In addition to the brick, clay elements of various shapes and purposes were produced, and they were sold

³¹⁶ Prstojević, Miroslav (1999) *Zaboravljeno Sarajevo*, Sarajevo: Stubovi kulture

through the catalog. In addition to the brick used for the walls, brick pieces for floors and attics with dimensions of 25 x 25 x 4 cm were also made.

The iron was used in the Austro-Hungarian period in interconnected structures and for indoor and outdoor fences on buildings. The staircase fences were designed in the pattern of those in Vienna and Budapest, and often the same fence design was used for different buildings. The same was the case for plastic decoration that was ordered through a catalogue and which was often used. The iron was used for constructive purposes in the form of various supports, gratings, basement windows, for the entrance doors, as well as for the production of various details during the construction of individual buildings. Installation pipes, sewer pipes and water pipes were made of cast iron. The sheet metal was used to cover the details of the roof and windows. Iron was used to build bridges and railways.

The glass in the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina plays an important role arising from the regulations related to the surface of a particular room and the size of the window openings, which are significantly higher than the average from the Ottoman period. In housing construction, the glass is generally 2-3 mm thick and rarely painted on the kitchen door of the apartment. The glass is used as painted in the form of stained glass in public buildings, among which a representative building is the former Austro-Hungarian bank on the Kulina Bana Street in Sarajevo, built in 1912 and designed by Rudolf Tönnies. It is considered to have the most valuable stained glass from the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Analyzing technical documentation from the Austro-Hungarian period, one concludes that the details of the object are very often solved on the spot and that they are very often presented at the level of the idea and schematically in the drawings.³¹⁷ This suggests that craftsmen and masters who worked on the construction of buildings and facilities, especially those of private and residential ones, were actively involved in the decision-making process with architects and investors. The architecture from the Austro-Hungarian period today testifies that this process was very successful thanks to the use of quality materials and the smart and innovative way of using them

³¹⁷ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC

for the purpose of making the building as long as possible. Considering the fact that the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period represents a significant percentage of the overall construction of Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns and that it continues to be of great use in everyday life, it is necessary to study it scientifically in order to expand the recently expired 100-year guarantee of the Austro-Hungarian administration.

When designing and constructing the new buildings, architects had to respect the Construction Order and so the rules concerning the physics of the building. But they usually did not respect the most favorable orientation of the building in relation to the world's sides. All masonry and masonry and craft works were performed at the highest level of quality in order to ensure the longest lifespan of the building. Because of this, these buildings are still pleasant for users. In the winter, these buildings are warm and they are cold in the summer. Special attention is paid to fire regulations, air flow in the facility, humidity and temperature issues, and drainage of rainwater and sewage. The quality materials, the way of their installation, the principles of design, the respect of the building order have ensured the durability of the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period, and thanks to these factors, some objects of this architecture still represent representative architectural achievements.

3.5. Stylistic articulation of architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina: four dominant groups

By the mid-nineteenth century in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which at that time was part of the Ottoman Empire, buildings with Western European character in their purpose and design were already built. The architecture that emerged before the end of the Ottoman period testifies to the natural continuity of the development of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian region, which due to its geographical, political, cultural and other factors would definitely take on certain characteristics of Western European architecture whose influence could not be stopped. Still, historians of architecture³¹⁸ and art as a turning point in the development of architecture and art in Bosnia and Herzegovina take 1878 year³¹⁹, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy occupied and enabled the intensive penetration of Western European culture, architecture, art, lifestyle, etc.³²⁰ For the first time in history, the country has received architectural accomplishments in Neo-Renaissance, Neo-Baroque, Neo-Classicalism, Neo-Gothic, and Neo-Romanticism.³²¹ These types of construction were already in a late stage in the rest of the monarchy.³²² The Secession was already a dominant style in the rest of the Monarchy.³²³ The architectural accomplishments in the Neo-Moorish style, which in the background of political ideas was unnaturally forced exclusively in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and finally, architectural achievements in Bosnian style, authentic architectural expression arising from the collision of autochthonous architecture and a new way of life. Modern architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina has arrived with a certain time lag in relation to the rest of Europe. Besides a number of buildings built just before the end of the Austro-Hungarian period³²⁴, one can not define a special group because no quantitative or clear stylistic conditions had been achieved.

³¹⁸ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

³¹⁹ Božić, Jelena (1989) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave*, doktorska disertacija, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu

³²⁰ Džeko, Lebib (2007) *Sarajevo između dvije carevine (Fotografije Františka Topića iz perioda 1885. – 1919.) Katalog izložbe*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine

³²¹ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 29-32

³²² Marković, Slavica (1992) *Ćiril Metod Iveković – arhitekt i konzervator*, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske

³²³ Moravánszky, Ákos (2005) *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture*, Budapest: The MIT Press

³²⁴ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 148-151

The issue of stylistic articulation and stylistic determination for a large number of buildings built in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Austro-Hungarian period is still unresolved. Architects who arrived with the new administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina acted under the direct influence of Western European architecture³²⁵ and the architectural accomplishments of their professors, or were under the influence of the architecture from the cities in which they lived, studied, worked, and from which they moved to the new colony. The choice of construction style for a particular building depended on several factors. These factors could have been the personal nature of the architect, the demands of the investors, the official policy of the Austro-Hungarian regime, and often the future functions of the architectural object. Through their architectural works, mostly young architects often combined several neo-styles³²⁶ on the facades in the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where some details were inspired by the facades of Vienna and Budapest, as well as other cities of Monarchy.

The stylistic non-articulation of the initial, but also some later achievements created in the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be seen from two angles. The first angle of view starts from the understanding that the new architect in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Austro-Hungarian period were mostly young architects at the beginning of their careers, although successful students were faced with numerous questions and tasks through which they learned and progressed. For this, it was necessary to have a time in which, of course, certain errors could have occurred naturally, but much more quoted elements were directly taken from the centers of the Monarchy. The second angle of view starts from the fact that in the Monarchy, where it was built in neo-styles, there was generally accepted experimentation in combining different historical styles. Architecture in this historical period was at a crossroads, so the combination of different historical styles represented a sort of deluge of a turning point that could not be avoided and which, leaving behind the secessionist ideals, offered a modernist vision of the new world of architecture.³²⁷

³²⁵ Toman, Rolf (2008) *Vienna: Art and Architecture*, Postdam: Tandem Verlag, h.f. ullmann

³²⁶ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC

³²⁷ Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 21-31

Neo-styles

Historicism³²⁸, through various forms of neo-styles, has been intensively used in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian period for the construction of public, private, sacred and secular buildings.³²⁹ Exploring the architectural heritage of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is possible to find examples of almost all Western European historical styles in construction that were realized in Bosnia and Herzegovina in “Neo-shaped” form like Neo-Renaissance, Neo-Baroque, Neo-Gothic, Neo-Classicalism, Neo-Romanesque, Neo-Romanticism, etc. Neo-Renaissance sought its models in Florentine and in general the Italian Renaissance, which reached Sarajevo through Vienna, through the first monumental building, the building of the Land Government, was designed by architect Karel Pařík³³⁰, who remained attached to this style until the end of his professional career. In addition to public and administrative buildings, neo-Renaissance was also used in the design of representative residential and business palaces, while other neo-styles, such as, neo-Romanticism is particularly present in the design of summer villas.



Figure 84: The Cathedral Church of the Nativity of the Theotokos in Sarajevo, 27/06/2017, Photograph by Author

³²⁸ Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vančaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, p. 96

³²⁹ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 13-26

³³⁰ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

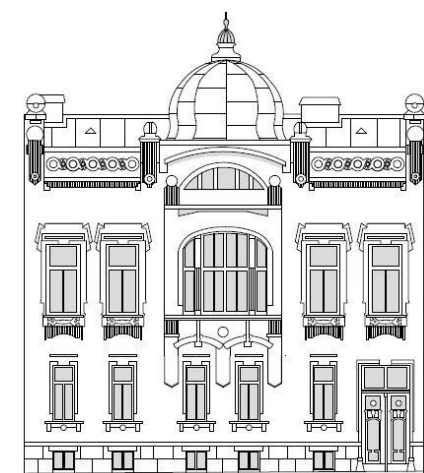
For the construction of sacral buildings, specific styles have traditionally been used for certain confessions, for example, the tower of the Old Orthodox Church in Baščaršija was originally built in neo-Baroque, since the Baroque was identified with the Serbian Orthodox Church and was often used to design buildings related to the church, while the Catholic Cathedral in Sarajevo was designed with elements of Neo-Gothic and neo-Romanesque, because the Gothic was identified with the Catholic Church. In the Neo-Gothic style, some administrative buildings have also been designed for the administration of the Roman Catholic Church in Sarajevo also. The choice of style of construction style depended on the function of the building, but also on the tendency of the architect and the wishes of the investor, so that buildings built in the first years of the Austro-Hungarian occupation cannot be given a high architectural and artistic significance. They, with a great delay, tried to overcome the several missed trends in architecture of the Monarchy. Nevertheless, these buildings have a significant cultural and historical value because they showed a whole range of different historical styles in a small space in complex historical and political circumstances. They built a solid foundation for the development of architectural thought for the new styles that came, primarily for secession.

Secession

Secession as a style and movement in architecture which marked a formal break with academism and represented an architectural stylistic expression that came to Bosnia and Herzegovina from the centers of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, primarily from Vienna, where it originated from the Secession association.³³¹ The Secession primarily developed through applied art; objects from glass, ceramics, furniture, etc., and then through the architecture and interior design of the area. There were several different approaches depending on the country or area, such as Art Nouveau (Germ. Jugendstil), and others. The most famous form of Secession was experienced in Vienna under the patronage of Gustav Klimt in fine art and Otto Wagner in architecture. The Vienna Secession from the center of the Monarchy reached the periphery, to the cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

³³¹ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 121-126

Although architects in Bosnia and Herzegovina were quite shy in the beginning in following the advanced ideas that came from Vienna and quite carefully adopted new elements of architecture, the Secession was developing at the same time in Vienna and Sarajevo, without any time delay, which is a special value for the architecture of that time. Secession³³² had a task to assemble in the architect multivalent of artists, engineers and masters who shaped the space from different angles, using new materials and their design possibilities. Among the first examples of secession architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the house designed on 2 March 1898 by Josip pl. Vancaš for Rasema Svrzo. Since 1900 Vancaš has been intensively building in Sarajevo in a floral or geometric secession.³³³



Figures 85 and 86: The Jošua D. Salom Palace in Sarajevo, 29/03/2013, Photograph and drawing by Author

Floral³³⁴ secession is characteristic for early works in the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The façade developed from the ground floor, over floors, to the roof where the ground floor was solved quite simply with the elements of academism, or geometric secession, to put emphasis on the floral elements of the façade of the floors. Floral elements that could be seen on the facades are flowers, leaves, vines, fruits, especially olive and chestnut leaves, then the flowers of cyclamen, sunflower, violet, margarita, etc.³³⁵ The secession into the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina enters through Vancaš and his individual

³³² Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, p. 115

³³³ Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 43-55

³³⁴ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 126-131

³³⁵ Krzović, Ibrahim (2004) *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 45

residential villas. It gradually spread to other types of buildings, but as floral secession it remained dominant in residential and residential-business palaces. A representative example of floral secession in Sarajevo is the house of Jošua D. Salom from 1901, designed by architect Josip pl. Vancaš. An excellent example of the Hungarian secession from 1904 is the house of Hermina Rädisch, probably co-designed by Josip pl. Vancaš and Rudolf Tönnies.

Ten years after the entry of the floral secession on the architectural scene of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a geometric³³⁶ Secession took a primacy before the architecture of Modernism. Geometric tendencies³³⁷ revealed the beauty of simple, unsaturated decor and purified façade panels that indicated the arrival of the new architecture, *Modern* architecture. In relation to Vienna, the geometric secession in Bosnia and Herzegovina arrives relatively late and in a milder form, but its intensive development can be traced back to 1910, mostly in the works of the architect Rudolf Tönnies. Secession retained the composition of facades from previous neo-styles, but offered a completely new plastic and polychrome decoration. Although the secession in Bosnia and Herzegovina offered an original solution that could equally stand with the architectural achievements of the Monarchy centers, it nevertheless remained in its final expression more withdrawn and closer to historicism and neo-styles in relation to the great step that was made in Vienna and which periphery monitored, but it did not subsist. The Secession relied on neo-styles in Bosnia and Herzegovina in which it sought a foothold, developing formally, through a floral and geometric phase, while parallel to secession, as a natural continuation of the development of neo-styles; Neo-Moorish and the Bosnian style emerged.

Neo-Moorish style

The Neo-Moorish style³³⁸ in the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina enjoyed a privileged position in the Austro-Hungarian period as a political project of the regime. The goal was to combine elements of the Eastern and elements of Western architecture into a unified entity that could be identified by all the peoples of Bosnia

³³⁶ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 134-136

³³⁷ Krzović, Ibrahim (2004) *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 163

³³⁸ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 26-29

and Herzegovina as their own. The terms used for this stylistic expression, such as pseudo-Moorish ³³⁹, Neo-Moorish and Oriental have long been considered inadequate by architects and historians of architecture since they did not accurately defined the style that developed in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Neo-Moorish style produced original architectural works that were not "pseudo" (false), but neither the way of their construction, nor the concept of the architectural elements were completely "neo" (new), while the term Oriental is too wide to define such a narrow stylistic direction in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only in recent years there has been a tendency for the architecture of this style to be mapped, valorized and systematized.

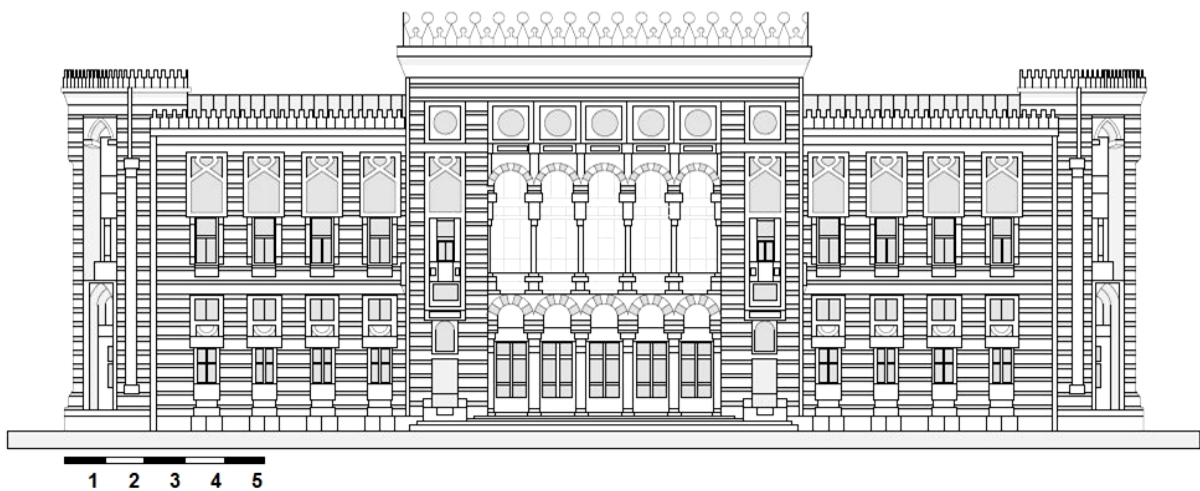


Figure 87: The Vijećnica in Sarajevo, main façade, source: Vijećnica (Sarajevo permanent Exhibition), Redrawn by Author

The Neo-Moorish style sought for its decorative elements in the East and Moorish architecture of North Africa and South Spain. These were the elements with which the Muslim population in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be identified. Regarding functional organizations, as well as the volume and proportions with a link to Western European architecture like the ones in Secession and Neo-styles, a Neo-Moorish style brought elements which should be identified by the Orthodox and Roman Catholic population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nonetheless, Neo-Moorish architecture in the cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina was seen as foreigner and remote and was met with aversion by the local population. Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina in Neo-Moorish architecture did not see a link with their cultural and

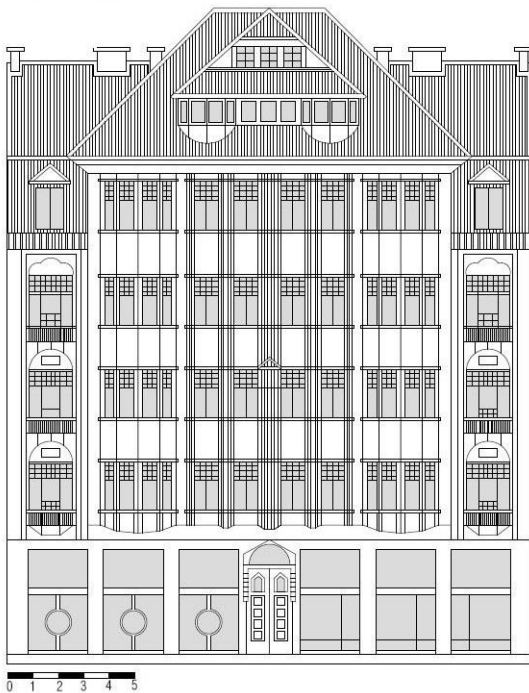
³³⁹ Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, p. 108

historical heritage, nor could they identify themselves with the intense colors and oriental decoration of Andalusia and Egypt that were completely opposite to the simple forms and universal verges of white surfaces and stones and wooden elements close to nature and traditional construction. For Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians, Neo-Moorish architecture was even less a reflection of their cultural and historical heritage, identity, and history.

Among the most representative buildings built in the Neo-Moorish style are the town halls (Sarajevo and Brčko), and then the railway station (Bosanski Brod.) These constructions that were financed by the Austro-Hungarian government and which represented the mirror of the new society. The town hall was synonymous with the new administration. The train stations were intended to send a clear message to tourists who came to Bosnia and Herzegovina from the remote Europe. In the Neo-Moorish style, the structures of administration and offices for the Islamic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, then sacral buildings such as synagogues and mosques, hotels, school buildings (madradas), public baths, family houses and other facilities were built. Although it had strong support from the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Neo-Moorish architecture was never accepted as an autochthonous architecture of the local population. Buildings designed in this style remained lonely ornaments in the cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Moreover, Neo-Moorish architecture represented the Western European vision of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian ambience and the oriental influences on this region that foreign architects from Vienna to Sarajevo had experienced as far-fetched, unexplored and exciting exotic. Neo-Moorish architecture was more than that, it was a kind of *flirting* between an Occident and Orient, but through the fantasies of the "1001 nights" that the West had about the East and for whose accomplishment through architectural action it saw the perfect play ground in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Realizing that Moorish ideas were not accepted at the local level, Austro-Hungarian architects turn to the exploration of local traditions and construction with the aim of offering a new national style for Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus creating the first ideas about the Bosnian style.

Bosnian style

The Bosnian style³⁴⁰ is a style in architecture that appeared at the end of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a result of the natural development of architecture that found its role models in the tradition and which tried to respond to contemporary requirements of shaping the space and always current issues of national identity. Bosnian style³⁴¹ is a combination of elements of secession architecture in terms of proportions, volumes, rules of construction and the concept of space with design, decorative and functional elements inherited from the traditional construction of Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁴² In a short period of time, the Bosnian style produced significant achievements in which development and interpretation were shown, not just copying the elements of traditional Bosnian-Herzegovinian architecture. Moreover, the Bosnian style can be seen as the precursor of early Modern architecture and as such has a special value because it is not an imposed architectural direction or style imposed by the current politics, but rather an authentic and autochthonous Bosnian-Herzegovinian cultural and artistic achievement.



Figures 88 and 89: Musafija Palace in Sarajevo, main façade, source: B. Spasojević, Redrawn by Author, Photograph (19/03/2013) by Author

³⁴⁰ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 225-230

³⁴¹ Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, p. 122

³⁴² Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 149

By the first architectural achievements in Bosnian style³⁴³, Bosnia and Herzegovina was returned to the architectural scene of the world as an active participant of changes, unlike the previous period and mostly passive accompanying changes. The emergence of the Bosnian style is also related to the period of awakening of interest and enhanced heritage protection throughout Europe, as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as evidenced by the initiative of Josip pl. Vancaša in the 1911 in National Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina that special attention should be devoted to the preservation of cultural and historical heritage, and that the new Bosnian-style buildings should be free of tax and enjoy certain benefits.

According to architect Borislav Spasojević³⁴⁴, Bosnian style is an architectural expression essentially modern, but formally secessionist, while it is a formidable association with the architecture of this (Bosnian-Herzegovinian) ambience. Professor Ibrahim Krzović Bosnian style defines as the answer to the question: "How much is a new European architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina justified?", an issue that became actual in the middle of the Austro-Hungarian period. Considering that Bosnian style buildings such as the family villa Husedžinović in Banja Luka, Theodor Todeschini residential building in Sarajevo, Hadim Ali Paša residential-business building in Sarajevo and others represent authentic architectural achievements, it is necessary to pay special attention to their valorization.

During this period, architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina enters the Modernist era (Slavija Building in Sarajevo), but with a delay in relation to the rest of the world, because the development of modern Bosnia and Herzegovina will only begin to intensify after the Second World War. Interests for details from the traditional architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and their interpretation through Bosnian style were developed by architects Josip pl. Vancaš, Hans Berger, Josip Pospišil, Karel Pařík, Rudolf Tönnies and others. Studying and researching traditional elements did not have too much support from the Austro-Hungarian administration, unlike the Neo-Moorish style did. Still, architects understandings were much better than politicians understands of the needs and essence of architecture and

³⁴³ Hrasnica, Mehmed (2003) *Arhitekt Josip Pospišil – život i djelo*, Sarajevo: Acta Architectonica et Urbanistica, p. 141-174

³⁴⁴ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 23-24

construction in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by liberating the politically imposed architectural styles, with a lot of understanding and creativity, architects joined the development of Bosnian style. These activities were interrupted by the First World War. But attempts to revive it, or at least to continue the influence of the Bosnian style on architecture, continued after the Second World War in the architectural accomplishments of architect Andrija Čičin-Šain and the theoretical discussions and ideas of the architect Juraj Neidhardt. The Bosnian style was also a kind of victory over the regime that for the past thirty years had tried to impose a political view of architecture through imported neo-styles in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

3.6. Architecture as a voice of politics: Neo-Moorish style in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The change of power from the Ottoman Empire to the Austro-Hungarian Empire significantly influenced the flows in the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These historical processes officially began with the Treaty of Berlin³⁴⁵ (1878), and they permanently influenced the present-day appearance of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns that have faced a new concept of space; new urbanism and new historical styles in architecture. The issue of Bosnia and Herzegovina's identity has become an important topic once again³⁴⁶, and the Austro-Hungarian government tried to give its answers through all segments of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A whole series of neo-styles of Western Europe in architecture, whose development leaders were mostly foreign architects from the centers of the Monarchy, sank Bosnia and Herzegovina towns that received these changes unprepared. The intellectual, and especially the political elite of the new administration, was not quite satisfied with the visions of foreign architects on the future architectural direction in which the country moved. The new administration offered a compromise solution that would reconcile the East and the West, and a design style for the idea of unity and a uniqueness of culture of different three, different nations who lived for centuries beside others in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, nurturing, their own traditions and cultures.

In architecture, the answer to the question of common identity was given by the Austro-Hungarian administration by favoring the Neo-Moorish style³⁴⁷ which, in the according to professional literature found its model is in North Africa and Southern Spain. However, it is not entirely clear whether the Moorish architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina came from Southern Spain, or from Western Europe, where the synagogues were already built in the Neo-Moorish style. The names of pseudo-Moorish and neo-Moorish have the same meaning, and they describe architectural objects built in a modified style of Moorish architecture, but in other materials and

³⁴⁵ Kasumović Amila, Radušić Edin (2017) *Zaljubljeni u plijen- Austrougarska vladavina u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. – 1918. in Između dvije imperije, Bosna i Hercegovina na fotografijama Františka Topića 1885. – 1919.*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 187

³⁴⁶ Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“, p. 242

³⁴⁷ Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, p. 108

another period of time, for which they carry a prefix *pseudo* or *neo*. In a series of photographs created by architect Igor Kuvač in Cordoba, Granada and Malaga, which are considered to be the cradle of the Moorish architecture of Southern Spain, with the aim to record all available examples of Moorish architecture, a comparative analysis between these buildings and with the examples of Neo-Moorish architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina shows little similarity. On the other hand, the architectural conception, urban setting, scale, volume and proportions of the synagogues built in the Neo-Moorish style in Budapest, Prague, Berlin, Timisoara, Sofia, Turin, and St. Petersburg have many similarities with the Neo-Moorish architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is unique in its own design and as such can be regarded as unique specific of Bosnian and Herzegovinian setting.

All buildings built on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Neo-Moorish style can be divided into six groups: city houses - town halls, sacral buildings, cultural and educational facilities, railway stations and hotels, public baths, and private family villas. Among these buildings, the town halls are particularly distinguished, aiming to send a clear message and they represent the most exquisite buildings in the towns in which they were built.

The most famous example of a Neo-Moorish style town hall is a town hall (Vijećnica³⁴⁸) in Sarajevo from 1896, which is also the most monumental building built during the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁴⁹ The building was built according to a project on which Karel Pařík³⁵⁰, Alexander Wittek and Cyril Metod Iveković³⁵¹ worked together. The issue of authorship and the contribution of each of these architects to the final appearance of the town hall in Sarajevo have remained unresolved to this day. Karel Pařík, next to Josip pl. Vancaš, who built the Isa bey bath in Neo-Moorish style (now Isa-bey's hotel) at the site of the oldest Sarajevo hamam, was one of the most influential architects of the Austro-Hungarian period in

³⁴⁸ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019). *Gradska vijećnica, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: <http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?mod=spomenici&extra=Odluke&action=view&lang=1&id=2860> [accessed on 11th March 2019]

³⁴⁹ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 168-171

³⁵⁰ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Pařík (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

³⁵¹ Marković, Slavica (1992) *Ćiril Metod Iveković – arhitekt i konzervator*, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske

Bosnia and Herzegovina. Josip pl. Vancaš³⁵² also designed one of the first *modern* hotels in Sarajevo, the Hotel Central (Ajas-pašin dvor) from 1889 in Neo-Moorish style, which is, according to the architectural composition, similar to the town hall in Bosanski Novi (Novi Grad), because both buildings, although different in the heights and volume were designed as a building on a corner with a circular base that connects two tracts of the facades and ends with a dome. The building of Hotel Central has retained the function of the hotel to date, and the color of the renovated façade is not in the spirit of the original façade which reflected the Moorish spirit more.



Figure 90: Vijećnica (town hall) in Sarajevo, 05/03/2017, Photograph by Author

Karel Pařík received a direct order from Benjamin von Kállay, who was the Minister of Finance and Governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina at that time. However, Kállay did not like the designs made by Pařík, because the offered solution looked like a Serbian-Byzantine style that he discovered while working as a consul in Belgrade. Taking into account the antagonism between Austro-Hungary and Serbia, Kállay did not want a building that reminded him of Serbia and which would emphasize the national identity of one of the three dominant national groups of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Namely, by building a town hall in Sarajevo, Kállay wanted to offer a new "common" identity to the all three dominant national groups of Bosnia and Herzegovina and he wanted to ensure the conditions for the current politics in the Monarchy.

³⁵² Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva

Alexander Wittek, who in quantitative terms, was not among the most important architects of Sarajevo, continued to work on the corrections of the Pařík's designs for the town hall in Sarajevo. Wittek was a favorite of the *Vienna society*, which probably gave him such a significant business opportunity, like the one to design the town hall in Sarajevo. During the work on this task, Wittek became mentally ill and committed a suicide because, according to the sayings, he was not happy with the lighting in the building. It is less known that Wittek was also a designer of the Sebilj fountain at Baščaršija (old town in Sarajevo.) His work was continued by Ćiril Metod Iveković, who had the role of supervisor of the construction works. His contribution was significant because he provided solutions and ideas during the works and thus changed the original appearance of the town hall in Sarajevo. He is often referred to as an architect who, for the first time through a modern scientific method, restored the Ali-paša mosque in Sarajevo, originally built in 1561.



Figure 91: Sebilj, Baščaršija (old town) in Sarajevo, 04/07/2017, Photographed from the minaret of the Mustafa Muslihudin Čekrekčija Mosque by Author

By constructing a magnificent town hall in the crushed tissue of Sarajevo's Baščaršija, the Austro-Hungarian administration wanted to show all the strength and supremacy of its empire. They achieved that by creating a unique building with exceptionally architectural and artistic valuable interior decoration, with the central aula above which the stained glass dome raises, then ceremonial and council hall a room decorated with geometric and floral motifs that contribute to the oriental character of the building. The town hall in Sarajevo has changed its purpose several times, and is remembered as the University and National Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the night between August 25 and 26, 1992, the building was heavily damaged by fire, and the reconstruction lasted for almost twenty years.³⁵³ The exceptionally rich decorative plastic façade of the town hall in Sarajevo represents the pinnacle of Neo-Moorish architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its elements served as a model for building other buildings of the same style. Pentagon fields above the window openings on the building of today's National Library "Branko Radičević" (from 1889) in Derventa irresistibly resemble to a plastic decoration above the window openings of the town hall in Sarajevo. This library was restored in 2009.

Karel Pařík in the Neo-Moorish style designed in Sarajevo the building of the Sharia Judicial School³⁵⁴, today the Faculty of Islamic Sciences, built in 1887 according to the concept of organization of Ottoman-Turkish madressa with an inner courtyard, originating from the Hellenistic period. This representative building, according to Pařík, was influenced by the oldest madressa in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Gazi Husrev-bey or Kuršumlija madressa built in 1537/38. The Sharia Judicial School building in Sarajevo has repeatedly changed its function several times, and visitors remember it by a rosette above the main entrance, inner courtyards with colonnades, as well as a specially decorated *mescid*.

Pařík worked on designs for the Ashkenazi synagogue³⁵⁵ in Sarajevo³⁵⁶, built in 1902 with shallow Neo-Moorish plastic on the façade and four towers with domes on

³⁵³ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019). *Gradska vijećnica, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: <http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?mod=sponenici&extra=Odluke&action=view&lang=1&id=2860> [accessed on 11th March 2019]

³⁵⁴ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 154-155

³⁵⁵ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 188

drums. The choice of the Neo-Moorish³⁵⁷ style for the building of the synagogue seemed logical given the origin of the Jews. A synagogue was constructed in Zenica in 1904, according to the Miloš Komadina designs, but also many larger synagogues in other European cities were also designed in the Neo-Moorish style. The renovated façade of the synagogue in Zenica is a bad example of the selected gray and yellow color that does not make any connection to the original appearance of the building.

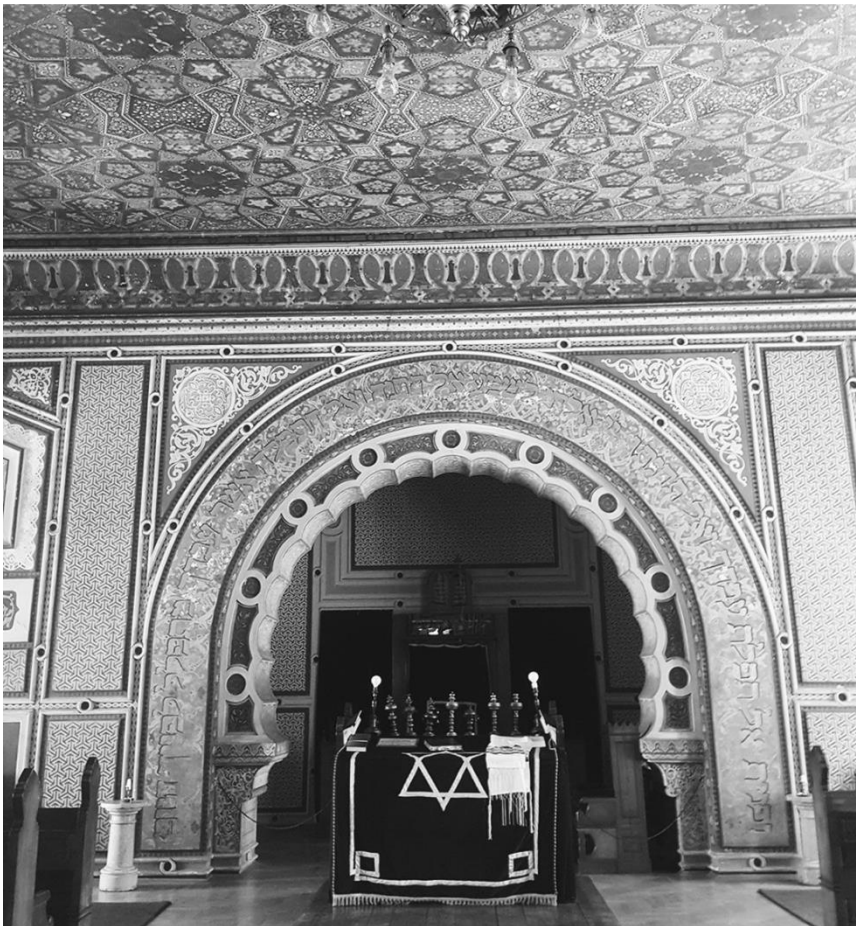


Figure 92: Ashkenazi synagogue in Sarajevo, 04/07/2017, Photograph by Author

Today's Gymnasium in Bugojno was built in 1901 as a town hall. The gymnasium building has the "E" floor disposition, as well as the building of the Konaka / town hall in Gračanica, and it was built with all the elements of Neo-Moorish style as the most representative building of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bugojno. The symmetrically resolved main façade ends with a row of stone flowers that irresistibly resembles the town hall in Sarajevo. In front of the building there is a monument dedicated to the

³⁵⁶ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019). *Aškenaski hram, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2844 [accessed on 12th March 2019]

³⁵⁷ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 26-29

National Liberation Fight, which with the Neo-Moorish façade in the background, witnesses various historical periods. The building has been adapted several times, and with the last renovation, the façade has received new colours approximating the original colours.

The Mostar³⁵⁸ town hall was originally built in 1899 as a primary school in honor of the Emperor Franz Joseph I, and is located in the immediate vicinity of the Gymnasium built in 1893. The building has a concept similar to the building of the Museum in Visoko (the original building of a town hall built in 1902), but smaller in proportions. The building of Mostar town hall was almost completely demolished during the war (1992/95.) During the 2012 renovation, the educational function was changed to an administrative one. The Mostar Gymnasium building is the most representative example of the Neo-Moorish style in Mostar and was built according to the project of the Czech architect František Blažek. Other important buildings built in Mostar in Neo-Moorish style are the buildings of Mekteb, Symphony and Public Bath, built according to Miroslav Loos's 1912 project. While the Mostar town hall is more modest in decorative elements on the façade and without almost any bigger plastic elements, it is more conceptually closer to the Bosnian architectural tradition, unlike the Gymnasium building in Mostar.³⁵⁹

The first modern hotel in Mostar³⁶⁰ was built in a pseudo-Moorish style in 1892 on the Neretva coast. Hotel "Neretva" brought the spirit of Western Europe to Mostar by offering a new type of hotel room, until then unknown in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But it also brought a new culture, which included a piano, *Sacher* cake and *Wiener* steak. The building was adapted several times to reflect new tourist demands. It was demolished in the war (1992/95) and has not yet been renovated. Significant and unbuilt Neo-Moorish style projects in Mostar were a mosque project on the site of the former Kamberaga's *mescid* and a bridge project linking Mejdan and Baščine that Professor Amir Pašić writes about in his book "Celebrity Mostar - Architectural History of the City, 1452-2004".

³⁵⁸ Pašić, Amir (2005) *Celebrating Mostar: Architectural history of the city 1452 – 2004*, Gračanica: Grin, p. 74-79

³⁵⁹ Pašić, Amir (2005) *Celebrating Mostar: Architectural history of the city 1452 – 2004*, Gračanica: Grin, p. 74-79

³⁶⁰ Trapara, Boris (2012) *Arhitektonske intervencije u istorijskom urbanom kontekstu: Mejdan (Mostar)*, diplomski – magistarski rad, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerzitet u Sarajevu, p. 20-21



Figure 93: Vijećnica (town hall) in Brčko, 05/04/2019, Photograph by Author

The town hall in Brčko was built in 1892 according to designs of Ćiril Metod Iveković who, at the time worked as an architect in the Lend Government in Sarajevo. There are indications that Alexander Wittek made a preliminary design for this building built next to the hotel "Posavina", which is also designed in the Neo-Moorish style. Both architects worked on designs for the town hall in Sarajevo. The hotel building adjacent to the town hall in Brčko gives the impression of a pale image of Neo-Moorish style. After changing its function several times, the town hall building in Brčko was restored to its original appearance in 2006, when the façades of the building also were restored to the *recognizable* colors of the Moorish architecture. The symmetrical main façade has an emphasized central avant-corps and side four-edged towers ending with domes, which makes it the most representative façade of the building. The building of a town hall in Brčko in the Neo-Moorish style with a rich plastic and polychrome façade decoration was an exception to the previous construction practices in this town on the Sava River. This exception was a manifestation of the clear political goal of creating a unified identity for all three dominant groups of people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless of their geographical position or their religious affiliation. Taking into account the proximity of the state border, the local population was much closer to the Croatian and Serbian cultural circles than to oriental architecture, regardless of their religious affiliation,

which is also indicated by the stylistic design of some mosques in the area of Brčko, they have more Western European architectural elements than the town hall.

The emphasized oriental character of the Neo-Moorish style³⁶¹ was suitable for the construction of madressas, such as the ones in Travnik, Tuzla, Bihać and Gradiška. Madressa, as a religious school, used recognizable associations from the East and the West. As such with its function it fully matched Neo-Moorish design and its background.³⁶² On the other hand, the construction of the mosques did not experienced significant expansion. The religious buildings built in this style are Behrem Bey (Colorful Mosque) in Tuzla, Varoška and Lončarica mosques in Travnik, as well as the Tuzla and Travnik *majlises* buildings. The fact that Neo-Moorish architecture was closer to the one particular national group of people of Bosnia and Herzegovina is shown in the data. The contractors who designed villas in the Neo-Moorish style were representatives of the Muslim intellectual and political elite, among which the best examples are in Sarajevo are: Villa Mustaj- bay Fadilpašić, a villa in which the Turkish Consulate is located (Villa Langer), then the house Šarenica in Jajce, the house of Alija Kučukalić in Brčko and others.

The Town Hall in Gradiška has a lot of similarities with the town hall in Brčko when certain architectural compositions are in question, such as the tower that ends with the dome, then the number of floors, the amount of decorative plastic on the façade, and the shape and proportion of the window openings. Construction of the town hall in Gradiška was completed after 1880. The disposition of the building has the shape of a trapezoid where the smaller side carries the main façade flanked with a tower with an oriental dome. Built on the state border with Croatia, the Gradiška town hall and Bosanski Novi town hall had a task *to seduce* visitors who came from Western Europe with impression of the Eastern culture, which in the subconscious should be a link with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The town hall in Bosanski Novi, built in 1888 on the left bank of the Una River, had the function of the town hall until the end of the Second World War, when the local

³⁶¹ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 26-29

³⁶² Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 32

museum was founded there. Annex was added that damaged the architectural composition. Taking into account the function, the building has modest dimensions. The façade was painted with in ocher color with motifs of five-pointed and eight-pointed stars.



Figure 94: Public Bath in Mostar, 27/10/2018, Photograph by Author

The town hall in Gračanica was built as an inn in 1887. In 1891 it changed its function and became a town hall according to the designs of the architect who is not known. The inn / town hall in Gračanica, according to the architectural composition is similar to the Inn in Kladanj, where the Municipality of Kladanj is located today. Similarities in the volume composition of the space can also be found on the building of the *Beladija* (town hall) in Odžak, which was built in 1903. The façade of the building is designed in Neo-Moorish manner, but according to certain architectural elements this building is close to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian architecture. Architectural elements that served as models for the design of a particularly decorative portal on this building originate during the Fatimid period of Muslim architecture in the north of Africa. The building is used as a municipal building and as such has experienced some

adaptations and additions to the annexes on the western wing, which have damaged architectural values.

In addition to the town halls, there were also buildings of railway stations, inns and hotels designed in the Neo-Moorish style.³⁶³ There was a clear goal to leave a specific impression on foreign guests and the first tourists. At first glance, a railway station or a hotel designed in the Neo-Moorish style, travelers were meant to feel as if they had arrived in North Africa or southern Spain. Those better informed ones who came mainly from Western Europe knew it was all about a kind of political³⁶⁴ maneuvering of the Monarchy to give Bosnia and Herzegovina a national style in architecture.³⁶⁵ It is less known that the Bosanski Brod Railway Station was the largest traffic junction in Bosnia and Herzegovina until the end of the Second World War, when it was almost completely destroyed in the attack of allied aircrafts. This imposing building, whose project documentation is signed by architect Hans Niemezcek, was built in Neo-Moorish style in 1897. The same architect designed the Vakuf Palace (Arsa Tekija) on the Miljacka River bank in Sarajevo in the Neo-Moorish style just a year before. First time travelers to Bosnia and Herzegovina were not indifferent to the size and aesthetics of the railway station, among locals simply called the Railway Station. The building did not provide continuity in the development of Bosanski Brod construction, nor did it create any association with Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the contrary, it acted as a building from the fairytales of *Oriental* countries. The railway station in Bosanski Brod had a monumental façade with the solution of the main entrance similar to the Faculty of Islamic Sciences³⁶⁶ in Sarajevo. The façade ended with a wreath with stylized stone flowers, as was the case at the town halls in Bugojno and Sarajevo. The characteristic element of the façade are also decorative tiled pillars on the corners of the façade which are an integral part of the façade and which can be seen in this form at the Lončarica mosque in Travnik.

³⁶³ Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, p. 108

³⁶⁴ Kasumović Amila, Radušić Edin (2017) *Zaljubljeni u plijen- Austrougarska vladavina u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. – 1918. in Između dvije imperije, Bosna i Hercegovina na fotografijama Františka Topića 1885. – 1919.*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, p. 187

³⁶⁵ Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 32

³⁶⁶ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 154-155

The new architects from the Monarchy, the bearers of the idea of "common" identity, sought to unite the cultural circuits belonging to the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina through a Neo-Moorish style that appeared as a counterpoint to secessionist architecture. Representatives of this style did not realize that the Bosnian-Herzegovinian architectural heritage was important for the very reason that they wanted to change, which was a multi-time duration and mutual respect for the eastern and western directions in the construction without the attempt of inter-fusion into unnatural creations such as the Neo-Moorish style and all this in order to create a false identity within political aspirations. This style, in relation to the surroundings of Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns, was imposed, forced, alienated, stolen, and never had its forms and colors fit into the inherited Ottoman building traditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Based on the built facilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which are now part of Bosnia and Herzegovina's heritage, it is possible to draw parallels to the Moorish and Neo-Moorish styles in other European cities where there has been a mixing of Western and Eastern culture. The Neo-Moorish style is a specific product of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian cultural and historical milieu.

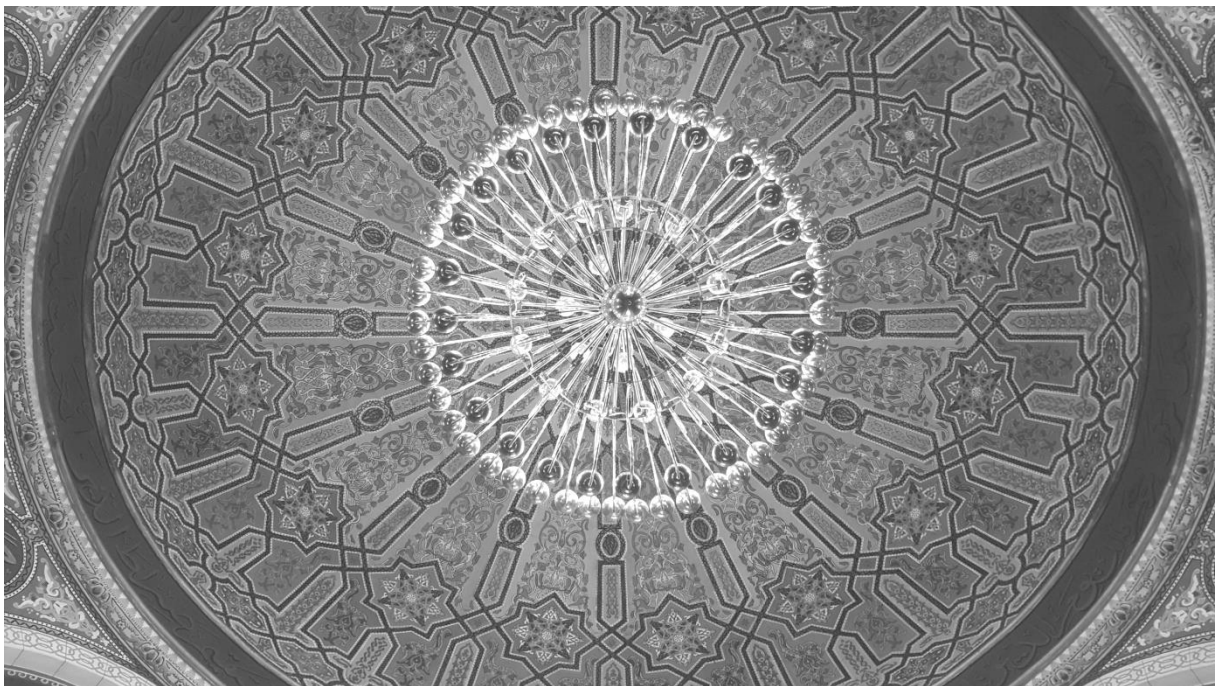


Figure 95: The dome of the *mescid* in the Faculty of Islamic Sciences (built as Sharia Judicial School) in Sarajevo, 08/05/2018, Photograph by Author

3.7. The celebrated protagonists of the new architecture in Sarajevo: Josip pl. Vancaš and Karel Pařík

With the new Austro-Hungarian administration since 1878, young architects from different parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These were mainly graduate students who acquired their knowledge in Vienna, Prague, and Budapest in newly established schools and departments of architecture. Some of these architects were given the opportunity to design new facilities for the first time in the new part of the Monarchy. Although, the students were successful and highly recommended, it should be noted that most of them before coming to Bosnia and Herzegovina had no significant, or almost any working experience. In this fact lies the answer about the great influence of the architecture of Vienna and Budapest on the new architecture of Sarajevo. Young architects³⁶⁷ often used existing projects and the designs of the already built buildings of their professors and the well-known architects who built in different parts of the Monarchy. Their professional development path can be tracked through at least three stages; the first stage in which they rely on the existing buildings and patterns that they had among their professors, the second stage in which they built in Secession, Neo-Moorish style and other neo-styles that were chosen in accordance with personal and professional preferences and commitments and the third stage in which some of them turned to Bosnian style, or to the architecture of Modernism.

Among the numerous architects of the Austro-Hungarian period who, each in their own way, made great contributions to the development of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, several names are particularly important to be mentioned: Hans Berger, Franz Blažek, August Butscha, Ludwig Huber, Ćiril Metod Iveković, Miloš Komadina, Jan Kotera, Rudolf Lubynski, Hans Niemczek, Carl Pánek, Karel Pařík, Josip Pospišil, Edmund Stix, Dionis Sunko, Rudolf Tönnies, Josip pl. Vancaš, Aleksandar Wittek, etc.³⁶⁸ Each of these names in the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina left a recognizable stylistic manuscript, or a peculiar opus of facilities of different purposes and in different styles, and some, besides the creative, made a

³⁶⁷ Krzović, Ibrahim (2004) *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 197

³⁶⁸ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 247-253

significant scientific contribution to the study and protection of Bosnian and Herzegovinian heritage. Apart from being architects, most of them were actively involved in the social and political life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and thus had the opportunity to create an environment of Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns in architectural, cultural and political aspects. They came to Bosnia and Herzegovina as foreigners and as young professionals. They stayed in the new country and formed families and built successful careers. For the development of Sarajevo in the Austro-Hungarian period, most of the listed names made a certain contribution (the rest is for the other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.) The two most important names that have left the very strongest mark on Sarajevo, in terms of the quality and quantity of their work are Josip pl. Vancaš³⁶⁹ and Karel Pařík.³⁷⁰

Josip pl. Vancaš³⁷¹ was born on March 22, 1859, in Sopron (Hungary), in the famous Croatian family. He finished elementary school and gymnasium in Zagreb (Croatia), and the architectural department in the class of Professor Heinrich Ferstel at High Technical School in Vienna in 1881. He came to practice for a year at the architectural studio of architects Fellner and Helmer in Vienna, and in Zagreb he worked shortly with Janko Grahor. At the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts, he enrolled in 1882 in the study of medieval architecture in the class taught by Professor Friedrich Schmidt. He interrupted his studies the following year in order to travel to Sarajevo at the invitation of government and in order to dedicate himself to the construction of the Cathedral and the palace of the Land Government. In the spring of 1884, Josip pl. Vancaš moved his architectural studio to Sarajevo, where he remained for the next 37 years and where he was extremely fruitful social engagement in the fields of architecture, culture, music and politics. In Sarajevo, he lived with his family in a house in Mula Mustafa Bašeskija Street, which he designed and in which his architectural studio was located.³⁷²

³⁶⁹ Božić, Jelena (1989) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave*, doktorska disertacija, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu

³⁷⁰ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Pařík (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

³⁷¹ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 247-253

³⁷² Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, p. 15-31



Figure 96: Josip pl. Vancaš,
source: J. Božić, Historical
Photograph

Josip pl. Vancaš made an extraordinary contribution to the architecture through engaging in politics. He was one of the founders (December 1, 1896) of the Technical Club, a professional association in Sarajevo, where he was a president for some period of time. He actively participated in various organizations, clubs and societies in Sarajevo (Croatian Club, Economic Club, Construction Joint Stock Company, etc.) As a participant in numerous debates in the Sabor (National assembly) he was extremely active in advocating a better position for architects, engineers, construction workers and craftsmens. He emphasized the special value of Bosnian and Herzegovinan heritage, which resulted in the submission of the Resolution on the Protection of Heritage (April 1, 1911) in the Sabor (National assembly.) Josip pl. Vancaš lived a productive, dynamic and contented life in Sarajevo whose standing was interrupted by political arrest in the spring of 1919. After 100 days spent in prison

where he continued to design, and after the court acquitted him of ungrounded charges (involvement in raising international tensions on June 29, 1914) Josip pl. Vancaš decided to leave Sarajevo and go to Zagreb. The Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts accepted him in 1929, and in the reasoning it stood: "... extraordinary work in the field of artistic construction in our country, its vivacious engagement and work for domestic traditional art in Bosnia." He passed away in Zagreb, December 15, 1932.³⁷³

According to the data of a studios research that resulted in a doctoral dissertation and a book about Josip pl. Vancaš, Professor Jelena Božić emphasizes that in almost forty years of residence in Sarajevo Vancaš designed and realized around 240 different buildings (102 residential buildings, 70 churches, 12 schools and institutes, 10 administrative buildings, 10 banks, 7 palaces, 6 hotels and cafes, 6 factories, etc.), mostly in Sarajevo, and then throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. His significance for the Roman Catholic Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is evident in the fact that he designed almost all the churches in Sarajevo and the majority in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such an extensive creative opus in sacral architecture only requires a special research treatment that cannot be achieved through a concise biographical overview of the life and work of the famous architect as Vancaš was. However, it is possible to distinguish similarities in the construction, reconstruction and upgrading of sacral buildings that are recognized as specializations of Vancaš's architecture. The use of various neo-styles, among which Neo-Gothic and Neo-Romanesque were predominant, and the general presence of medieval stylistic patterns related to Bosnia and Herzegovina in the context of Genius loci are stylistic characteristics of his sacral architecture. For the reason of mass production, there are many similarities, but also templates in solving certain details, proportions, volumes and shapes in sacral buildings that Josip pl. Vancaš designed for the Roman Catholic Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Public buildings in the architectural creation of Josip pl. Vancaš have a monumental character and they are often based on stylistic values and interpretations of the Renaissance. With the arrival of the new administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina,

³⁷³ Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, p. 15-31

there was a need for a new space, which was one of Vancaš's first tasks. He solved it through the construction of the palace of the Land Government. For schools, homes and other government buildings Vancaš used neo-styles. He had more freedom in the design and construction of family houses and villas where he combined different styles, and later especially in the use of the Bosnian style³⁷⁴ at the family house Husedžinović in Banja Luka. In its entirety, the residential architecture of individual houses and residential-business palaces takes the most important place in quantitative terms. It should be emphasized that, regardless of the number of designed housing units, each of them had a certain specificity, where Vancaš approaches each building and each investor individually, as well as the case should be with the evaluation of its architecture. Buildings of different purposes and for different investors designed by Josip pl. Vancaš show that he could fully respond to different tasks in terms of stylistic articulation, which was almost always related to the function.³⁷⁵

Karel Pařík³⁷⁶ was born on July 5, 1857 in Veliš (near Jičín, Czech Republic). He completed his secondary technical school in Vienna. Pařík³⁷⁷ was enrolled in a special architecture school, which was led by Professor Theophil von Hansen, from 1878 and he finished four years later (six semesters) with praise. During his studies and after graduation, Pařík worked as an architect in Vienna and came to Sarajevo in 1884 (the same year when Josip pl. Vancaš came to Sarajevo.) He stayed in Sarajevo until his death on June 16, 1942. During almost 60 years of his life and work in Sarajevo, he designed and built some of the most important buildings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and with his professional engagement, he made a great contribution to the development of architecture and culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The influence of his Viennese professors and the influence in general from Vienna, Czech Republic and Hungarian had a very significant impact on the buildings he built mostly in Sarajevo, but also in the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

³⁷⁴ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 23-24

³⁷⁵ Božić, Jelena (1989) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave*, doktorska disertacija, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu

³⁷⁶ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

³⁷⁷ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 247-253



Figure 97: Karel Pařík,
source: B. Dimitrijević,
Historical Photograph

As a civil servant, Karel Pařík spent most of his creative and professional life in the Construction Department of the Land Government where he was employed as a provisional engineer since 1886, and through promotion in service, and through various positions, he came to the position of construction superintendent in 1913. He retired in 1916, and work on creating and practicing architecture continued until his death. He spent part of his professional life as a court expert, as evidenced by the court summons of the District Court in Sarajevo from 1902 and 1903, and he dedicated some of his professional activities to work in the Secondary Technical School as a professor. Karel Pařík was one of the founders of the Technical Club in Sarajevo and a member of the Hansen Club in Vienna (the only one from Bosnia and Herzegovina.) He wrote the architecture and buildings he designed for foreign professional journals and for the Bulletin of the National Museum of BiH. The most

important professional award he won was a gold medal at the Millennium Exhibit in Vienna in 1896 for exposed implemented and unproved projects that he has made for the Construction Department and for private investors.

According to the data of a studios research that resulted in a doctoral dissertation and a book about Karel Pařík, professor Branka Dimitrijević points out that Pařík, in only sixty years of his professional career in Sarajevo, designed and constructed about 120 different buildings that can be divided into two groups; sacred and secular. Most of these buildings are located on the territory of Sarajevo, and then throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Albania. All buildings that Pařík designed could be divided into school facilities (Sharia Judicial School in Sarajevo), cultural buildings (National Theater in Sarajevo), buildings of administration (Sarajevo Canton building/ Land Government building 3), courts and prisons (court building in Foča), administrative buildings of religious communities (Evangelical Church and Municipality in Sarajevo), sacral buildings (Ashkenazi Synagogue in Sarajevo), factory/economy buildings (State Printing Office in Sarajevo), banks, residential and commercial buildings, residential villas, etc. His creative work was influenced by a ten-year stay in Vienna where he studied and worked and where he had the opportunity to become acquainted with the works of his famous Professor Hansen. He also had the opportunity to come into contact with the architecture and culture of the Orient through exhibitions and presentations that came to the Vienna in 1870's. His design skills came to be especially evident in the organization of monumental and public buildings. His artistic sensibility was expressed through the selection of a large number of neo-styles with which Pařík skillfully played in his designes. The value of his architecture lies in good proportions, volumes and good relationships with the environment.

About business relationship and friendship between Josip pl. Vancaš and Karel Pařík testify several historical links and opportunities that could have been traced even before they came to Sarajevo. Vancaš and Pařík studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, but it is not known if they knew each other as college students because Pařík completed his studies in Professor Hansen's group in 1882 when Vancaš started his studies in Professor Schmidt's group. In Sarajevo, they worked on joint projects for the construction of the Government buildings and the Cathedral for which

Vančaš made technical drawings, while Pařík supervised works on the construction of these facilities. According to the data provided by professor Branka Dimitrijević in her doctoral thesis and the book about the architecture of Karel Pařík, this direct cooperation between Vančaš and Pařík lasted from March 1884 to March 1886, when Pařík began to work in the construction committee for the construction of the government building. In March, 1886, he was employed in the Construction Department of the Land Government in Sarajevo. Their joint project, the only found drawing on which both architects were signed, is the building of the *Vakuf* Palace in Sarajevo, built in 1886. This building represents a modest architectural accomplishment compared to the other architectural achievements of the two architects, yet it has significant documentary and cultural values. Based on their professional connections and initial large joint projects it can be assumed that Vančaš and Pařík cooperated after their first joint task, but no drawings signed by both of them were found. The contribution of their individual architectural creativity is an extremely important and valuable part of the entire architectural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina; not only are they the most fertile architects of the Austro-Hungarian period in terms of quantity, but they also represent the highest quality of stylistic achievements of architectural styles in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through the visionary ideas of architecture and space treatment, they together created a panorama of Western European Sarajevo and a panorama of the modern city throughout most other towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

3.8. New ornamental aesthetics: Iron fences in the residential and business palaces in Sarajevo

The history of architecture testifies that the desire to decorate living space originated in ancient times. Enriching the aesthetics of a space is as old as the need for space to be functional. The decoration of living space can be found already in caves with painted motifs of animals and plants aged over 20,000 years. In the period of antiquity, plastic or sculptural decoration had gained significance, and color is often used. The architecture of the Middle Ages continues the tradition of decorating the interior and exterior with painted images, craft products and artistic sculptural decorations. Throughout historical periods and styles of architecture development as the art of building and crafts, polychrome and plastic decoration evolved into complex compositional shapes that reached their peak during the Baroque and Rococo. By introducing new materials and using old materials in new ways, there were countless possibilities in the field of decoration of architectural achievements. Ultimately, polychrome and plastic decoration that had been recognizable elements of a certain style of construction lost their importance and quantity in the mid-20th century. This reflected on the architecture of Modernism and post-Modernism and contemporary architecture as well, which almost completely rejected the burden of decorations at the expense of the function.

Bosnia and Herzegovina also went through the mentioned historical periods of development from antiquity to the post-Modernist architecture. The preservation of the cultural and historical heritage of certain periods was sometimes almost fully, and sometimes to a much lesser extent. One of the striking historical periods in the development of Bosnian-Herzegovinian architecture is the Austro-Hungarian period, which introduced the Western European architects to Bosnia and Herzegovina and left a qualitatively and quantitatively significant construction fund behind them, which mostly consists of residential-business palaces built in all the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially Sarajevo. Borislav Spasojević³⁷⁸ writes about representative examples of the Austro-Hungarian period's architecture of collective housing in Sarajevo in his book "Architecture of the residential-business palaces of the Austro-

³⁷⁸ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC

Hungarian period in Sarajevo", which gives an expert review accompanied by photographs and drawings of certain residential-business palaces.



Figures 98, 99, 100: Examples of the fences in Dolina Street 1, Behaudina Selimovića Street 7, and Strossmayerova Street 3, 15/03/2016, Photographs by Author

In the Austro-Hungarian Period in Sarajevo, iron was an essential material in construction and decoration. Iron, for the first time since the Industrial Revolution, encountered architecture as a structural element. In 1820, Eaton A. Hodgkinson developed a bill of quantities for the dimensioning of cast iron constructions. Since then, the use of iron in architecture has become commonplace. Prior to this, Matthew Boulton and James Watt, for the first time, applied hollow pillars of cast iron to the project of a factory, through which the steam for heating the building passed. There is accurate data about the time and method of using iron as a constructive element in architecture. However, there is little literature referring to using iron as a decorative element in construction in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Iron in all historical periods was used for decorative purposes. In the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was mostly used in the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian periods.

Professor Ibrahim Krzović³⁷⁹ believes that metal processing in the Ottoman period inspired Venetian craftsmen. In the fifteenth century there was a Venetian-Oriental school in which Eastern techniques and designs from Islamic art were applied. European craftsmen had begun to apply Oriental experiences and processes for metal processing using silver and gold wire instead of colored spreads. The

³⁷⁹ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH

technological way of processing decorative elements in iron did not differ substantially between the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and, therefore, in Bosnia and Herzegovina as one of its provinces. In particular, two methods for processing decorative elements are performed: *Cloisdne* and *Champleri*. The first procedure is based on the classic treatment of enameled iron; the second procedure is based on the experiences and principles of the Eastern craftsmen.



Figures 101, 102, 103: Examples of the fences in Ćumurija Street 5 and 6, Strossmayerova Street 4, 15/03/2016, Photographs by Author

In addition to the function role, iron played an extraordinary decorative role. Depending on the size of the residential-business palace, its significance and location in the city, the fence on the interior stairs of the Austro-Hungarian period was different in terms of the complexity and quantity of decorative elements. The most commonly, wrought iron was used for fence of interior stairs, which are generally two-pointed, but it is possible to find examples when it is used on the façade and on the balconies. Residential-business palaces are many in Sarajevo, but few of them stands out. The residential-business palace built in 1912 upon the request of two brothers, Jeshua and Mojca Salom, and according to the designs of the architect Rudolf Tönnies with a sculptured facade with figures in Bosnian folk costumes and with the Napredak residential-business palace built in 1913 according to the designs of Dionizije Sunko, created a harmonies architectural ensemble with other buildings of the Austro-Hungarian period in Titova Street in Sarajevo.

Marienhof (from 1899) is the largest residential-business palace of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo. But the most representative examples of iron fences are not located in this palace. Instead, these are in palaces built in today's Strossmayerova Street and in the old Austro-Hungarian core of the city. The palaces built in Strossmayerova Street, which goes to the square Fra Grge Martić, where the Catholic Cathedral of the Sacred Jesus Heart (from 1889) is located, were built in a series. The fences in these palaces were made in combination with a wooden grip, masonry and plaster pillars, or more often entirely derived from iron.

Professor Vjekoslava Sanković Simčić highlights the special aesthetic values of the architectural heritage of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Interiors and exteriors of buildings built in neo-styles in Bosnia and Herzegovina present the synthesis of Western European influences in larger and local influences in smaller scale. Iron fences constituted one of the elements of the interior equipment, and despite the primary functional role, they made a significant contribution to the aesthetic values of a particular building.

By comparing fences in Sarajevo's palaces from Austro-Hungarian period with fences in other European countries, primarily in Austria and Hungary (the heirs of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) and from the same time period, certain similarities can be recognized, but there are also a number of differences in detail and precision of performance can be noticed. The fences in Sarajevo's Austro-Hungarian residential-business palaces are at a much lower aesthetic level than those in the former centers of the Monarchy (Vienna and Budapest.) Almost all the fences, from the simplest ones (Behaudin Selimović Street No.7 and Kralj Tvrtko Street No.10), to the more complex ones (Ćumurija Street No.5) are derived from flat elements that are repeated in the series. The fence located in Ćumurija Street on number 5 represents a representative example of wrought iron fence from the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo. Most often a single stair step brings a single flat iron element. Decoration in the form of floral elements and pure geometric shapes is enclosed in a rectangular frame. Examples where the decorative elements are more complex, and where they develop not only in width and height, but also in the space are almost unknown, except in the residential-business palace in Strossmayerova Street at number 3. On this fence, the iron bars are closed in circles, which are then serially arranged in one

whole - staircase fence. Taking into account the construction time of these residential-business palaces, a small number of fences have been preserved completely to this date. The elements of the fence on the first floor are most often missing, as is the case in the palace at Strossmayerova Street at number 4. In some palaces, the fence on the first floor is completely replaced, but with a new inadequate fence, which has not been shaped or functionally aligned in the existing ambience with the original fence (the palace in Ćumurija Street No.6). The staircase fence is in a neglected state in the Mariahof palace. This is the case with most fences in the residential-business palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo. This fence is interesting because it consists of two composite units combined (a + b + b + a + b + b + a + ...), and not one element is set serially, as in the other palaces. The fences in the residential-business palaces in Vrazova Street, Kralja Tvrtka Street, Kralja Tomislava Street and Gajev square are also valuable examples with high aesthetics.

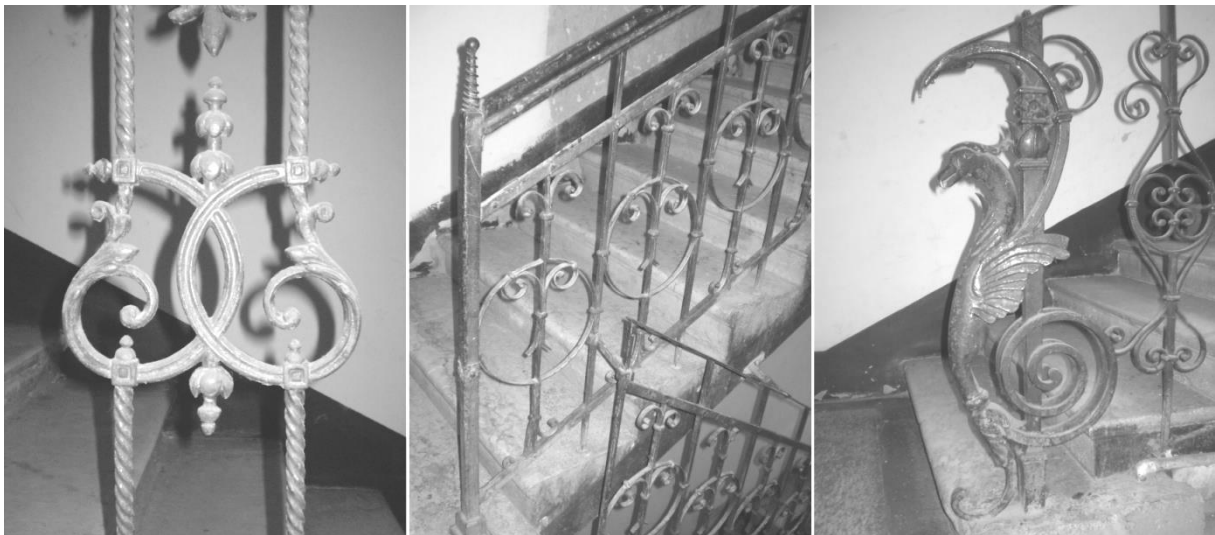


Figures 104, 105, 106, 107: Examples of the fences in Mula Mustafe Bašeskije Street 31 (104, 105) and Zelenih beretki Street 16 (106, 107), 17/03/2016, Photographs by Author

A special representative fence is located in the palace of Jeshua D. Salom, in Obala Kulina bana Street No.20. The Jeshua D. Salome Palace was built in 1901 according to a project made by one of the most important architects of the Austro-Hungarian period, Josip pl. Vancaš. Professional literature considers this palace as one of the Vancaš's best works and a good example of the architecture of Secession Style. The fence in the Jeshua D. Salom palace is set on a two-story staircase and is in a good state of preservation. The fence consists of floral decorative elements in the form of crowns made of wrought iron. The handle is made of wood. The composition, whose central part makes a crown with leaves and fruits, is continuously repeated after every three steps, making this fence unique in Sarajevo.

In the residential building in Mula Mustafe Bašeskije Street at number 31 there is a fence that is shaped in the style of an Art Nouveau style, one of the few of its kind in Sarajevo. It reminds on the fences of Victor Horta's palaces in Brussels. Elements of Art Nouveau could be also found on a fence in a building located in Zelenih beretki Street at number 16. This fence is made in a combination of floral and geometric shapes and is extremely valuable because it presents the material evidence of Sarajevo's involvement in world architectural trends, in this the case it is the evidence of Art Nouveau, which is complemented by the forms of interior joinery in the building.

The finest examples of fences are in Vrazova Street at numbers 16 and 18. Two similar examples of a fence made in a combination of circular and straight elements with floral decoration are located in the streets of Valter Perić at number 2 and Skenderija at number 7, and these fences point out to a serial production. In Sime Milutinovic Sarajlije Street at number 15, a particularly attractive decorative element was made, which is different from the ones set in the rest of the fence. It's a stylized pheasant. This element is an exception to the fences of other palaces, and therefore it is a valuable artistic contribution.



Figures 108, 109, 110: Examples of the fences in Vrazova Street 16, Skenderija Street 7, Sime Milutinovića Sarajlije Street 15, 17/03/2016, Photographs by Author

The current state of the fences of wrought iron and cast iron in Sarajevo residential-business palaces, as well as other buildings from Austro-Hungarian period, varies according to the overall state of preservation. Most fences have to be cleaned and protected from further deterioration. Missing and damaged parts should be replaced, which has already been done with a small number of fences in individual residential

buildings. In order to preserve, the fences are to be approached through prevention measures. Common cases are that in some palaces, the fence is colored with an inadequate color type, because the density of the color has completely covered certain decorative elements (for example, the residential palace in Strossmayerova Street No.1), as well as an inadequate color tone, thus jeopardizing its values and which is not in line with the modern principles of protection and presentation of the cultural and historical heritage.

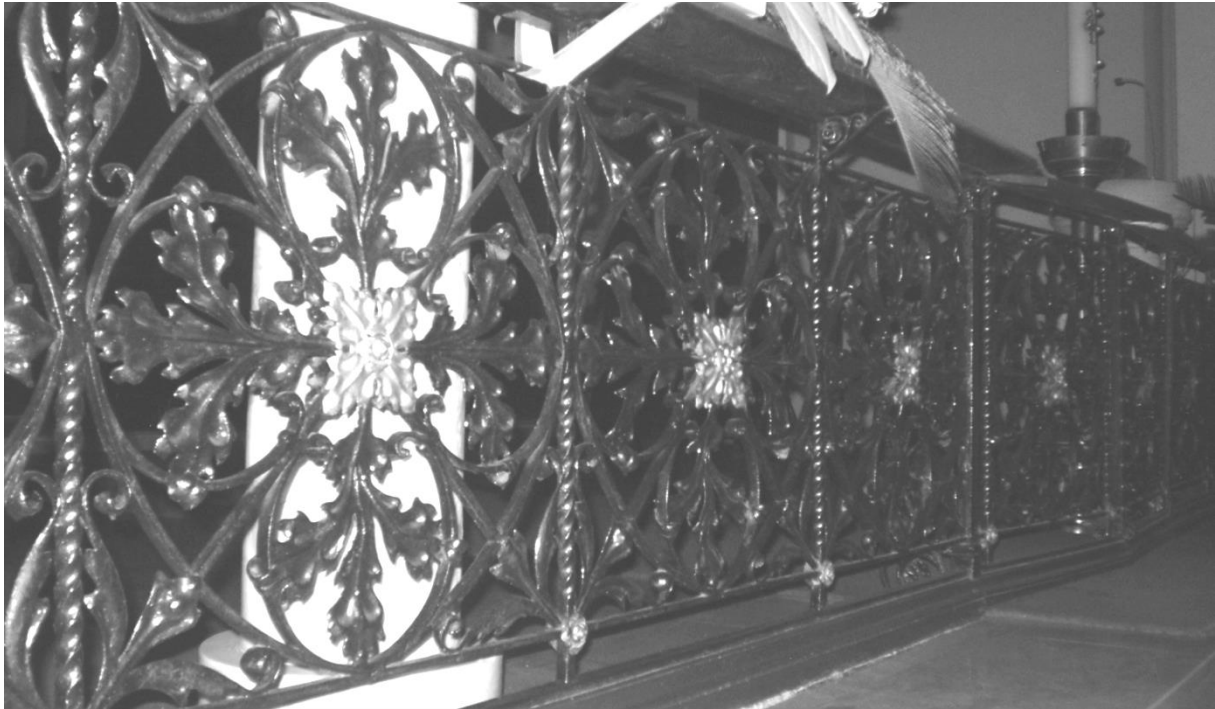


Figure 111: Example of the fence in Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Sarajevo, 08/05/2018, Photographs by Author

In addition to the fences in Sarajevo's residential-business palaces, there are several exceptional examples that are found in public and sacral buildings. One of them is a fence on the altar of the Cathedral of the Sacred Jesus Heart in Sarajevo. This fence was presented at the annual exhibition in Vienna, which was held a couple of months before the fence was placed in the altar space of the cathedral. Josip pl. Vancaš, who designed the Cathedral, received a special award for the design solution of this fence. The fence on the outer and inner staircases of the Archbishop's Seminary with the Church of St. Cyril and Methodius (architect Josip pl. Vancaš), then fences on the balconies of the residential-business palaces in Titova Street, Ferhadija Street and Zelenih bertki Street, courtyard fence in Petrarkijina Street (villa Mandić, architect Karel Pařík), and others. The fences at the National Museum (architect Karel Pařík), the National Theater (architect Karel Pařík), the Music Academy (architect Josip pl.

Vancaš), Bor bank (formerly the Austro-Hungarian Bank, Arch. Rudolf Tönnies), the Main Post Office (architect Josip pl. Vancaš) and others. They all certainly deserve to be mentioned, because they represent the best examples of wrought iron fences that originated in the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In relation to the fences in the residential-business palaces, fences and other elements of wrought iron and cast iron on the windows and doors of public and sacral objects from the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo were made with more details.



Figures 112, 113, 114: Example of the fence in the Archbishop's Seminary with the Church of St. Cyril and Methodius, the Music Academy, and the National Museum of BH, 01/04/2010, Photographs by Author

The wrought iron fences in palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo are a material proof of the involvement of Sarajevo in the world trends in architecture at the transition from the 19th century to the 20th century. Most fences are in poor condition and must be protected from further deterioration through preventive protection measures. In some cases, the restoration and production of lost parts is necessary. Wrought iron fences represent the architectural elements of the interior equipment of the building, which besides the functional have a significant aesthetic value as an inseparable part of the neo-styles in which the residential-business palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo were built.

**4. SARAJEVO AND VIENNA
IN THE CONTEXT OF GENIUS LOCI**

4.1. Introduction with chosen examples in Sarajevo and Vienna

Vienna³⁸⁰ and Sarajevo³⁸¹, once two cities within the same Monarchy, experienced significant changes at the end of the nineteenth century, which had a revolutionary character and set new rules for their future development. In Vienna, the announcement of these changes was the directive³⁸² issued by Emperor Franz Jozeph to his Interior Minister Baron Alexander von Bach, on December 20, 1857, concerning the expansion of the city centre (demolishing the city walls and drainage of wetlands) and the construction of the Ringstrasse Boulevard that was completed in 1865. In Sarajevo, these changes began with the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which took place in 1878 and marked the beginning of the 40-year period of mass construction and urbanization of the city.³⁸³

For both cities, taking into account their scale and time component, the results of new constructions were unprecedented in scale. The relation between these cities was that between the centre and the periphery, where Sarajevo searched for role models in Vienna; in new urbanism, in new architecture, in new culture, and in the way of life that directly reflected on the physiognomy of both cities. The construction of the Ringstrasse Boulevard³⁸⁴ in Vienna, and a number of other new buildings from that time, represented a kind of transformation of Vienna from the imperial city into metropolis. The regulation of the Miljacka River in Sarajevo and the construction of new monumental buildings and wide streets³⁸⁵ during the Austro-Hungarian period marked the transformation of Sarajevo into the Western European city.

³⁸⁰ In 1804 Vienna became the capital of the newly-formed Austrian Empire. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, Vienna became the capital of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The city was the capital of the Monarchy until 1918.

³⁸¹ Sarajevo was in Austro-Hungarian Monarchy between 1878 and 1918.

³⁸² Nierhaus, Andreas (2014) *An Urban Revolution: The Ringstrasse project and its organization in Vienna's Ringstrasse. The Book*, Ostfildern Hatje Cantz Verlag, p. 18

³⁸³ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 124-141

³⁸⁴ Fogarassy Alfred, Schoeller Nora, Faber Monika, Martz Jochen, Mattl Siegfried, Nierhaus Andreas, Orosz Eva-Maria, Morton Frederic (2014) *Vienna's Ringstrasse. The Book*, Ostfildern Hatje Cantz Verlag

³⁸⁵ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 11-18

According to the guidelines from current politics, the bearers of the great changes were mostly professors of art and architecture for Vienna, and young architects (their former students) for Sarajevo. It is therefore not surprising that the two cities have a number of similarities in terms of scale and urban design. Vienna is in the urban setting the central type of city with an irregular concentric circle represented by the Ringstrasse³⁸⁶ and in which the most monumental buildings in the city were built. Sarajevo is a longitudinal type of urban setting that developed downstream along the Miljacka River on its banks³⁸⁷, as well as in the main city street (parallel to the river), in which the most monumental buildings in the city were built. In the Ringstrasse (Stubenring, Parkring, Schubertring, Kärntner Ring, Opernring, Burgring, Dr.-Karl-Renner-Ring, Universitätsring and Schottenring), the most representative buildings are the Vienna State Opera (formerly K.u.K Hofoper), the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, the Palace of Justice (now Federal Ministry of Justice), the Austrian Parliament Building, the Rathaus (Town Hall), the Burgtheater (formerly K.u.K. Hofburgtheater), the University of Vienna, the Votivkirche, the Wiener Stock Exchange, the Urania Observatory, the Österreichische Postsparkasse (Postal Savings Bank), the Museum of Applied Arts, the Künstlerhaus (Art House), the Musikverein (Music Hall), the Hotel Imperial (formerly Palais Württemberg), the Palais Schey von Koromla, the Palais Ephrussi, and others... All of the above buildings served as role models for the young architects in the construction of "new" Sarajevo, and most architectural elements are directly taken from buildings from Vienna and applied to buildings in Sarajevo such as: the Main Post Office, the National Theater, the Faculty of Law, the Palace of Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Pension Fund Building, the Markthalle, the Faculty of Theology (now Faculty of Economics), the Austrian Bank (now BOR Bank), the First Gymnasium, the St. Augustin (now Music Academy), the Hotel Grand, the Land Government III (now Canton Sarajevo), the Marienhof Palace, the Army's Hall, the Evangelical Church (now Academy of Fine Arts), the National Museum, the Department Store (National Art Gallery), and many others.

Figure 115 (on the next page): Table of Role models in Vienna and Replicas in Sarajevo, Designed by Author

³⁸⁶ Nierhaus, Andreas (2014) *An Urban Revolution: The Ringstrasse project and its organization in Vienna's Ringstrasse. The Book*, Ostfildern Hatje Cantz Verlag, p. 18 - 40

³⁸⁷ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 11-18

„Role models“ in Vienna		„Replicas“ in Sarajevo	
Christuskirche, Matzleinsdorf Protestant Cemetery (Chapel of the Holy Christ)	1858/60	Akademija likovnih umjetnosti (Academy of Fine Arts)	1st phase (church): 1899; 2nd phase: 1911
	Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen		Karel Pařík
Palais/ Palace Schey von Koromla	1864	Prva gimnazija (First Gimnasiym)	1891
	Johann Julius Romano and August Schwendenwein		Karel Pařík and August Butscha
Warenhaus der Teppichfirma Philipp Haas und Söhne (Department Store)	1867 (demolished 1987)	Nacionalna galerija BiH (National gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina)	1912
	August Siccard von Siccardsburg and Eduard van der Nüll		Josip pl. Vančaš
Palais/ Palace Epstein	1868	Srednja umjetnička škola (Art High School)	1906
	Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen		Carlo Panek
Künstlerhaus (Art House)	1868	Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (National museum of BH)	1908/13
	August Weber		Karel Pařík
Musikverein (Music hall)	1870	Zemaljski muzej BiH (National museum of BH)	1908/13
	Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen		Karel Pařík
Museum für Angewandte Kunst (Austrian Museum of Applied Arts)	1871	Predsjedništvo BiH (Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina)	1884/86
	Heinrich von Ferstel		Josip pl. Vančaš
Palais/ Palace Ephrussi	1873	Penzioni fond (Pension Fund)	1887
	Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen		Karel Pařík
Wiener Börse (Vienna Stock Exchange)	1877	Narodno pozorište (National Theater)	1898
	Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen and Carl Tietz		Karel Pařík
<i>Katholische Kirche Hütteldorf (St. Andreas Apostel)</i> Hütteldorf parish church	1882	Katolička katedrala Presvetog Srca Isusova (Catholic cathedral of Sacred Jesus Heart)	1889
	Richard Jordan		Josip pl. Vančaš
Institut für empirische Sozialforschung GmbH - IFES(Institute for Empirical Social Research)	1884	Predsjedništvo BiH (Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina)	1884/86
	Förster Emil and Alois Augenfeld		Josip pl. Vančaš
Institut für empirische Sozialforschung GmbH - IFES(Institute for Empirical Social Research)	1884	Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)	1896
	Förster Emil and Alois Augenfeld		Carlo Panek
Palais/ Palace <i>Baldiahof</i>	1892	Palata Marijin-dvor (Palace <i>Marienhof</i>)	1895
	Ferdinand Baldia and Hans Kraus		Unknown, probably Josip pl. Vančaš
Österreichische Postsparkasse (Austrian Postal Savings Bank)	1906	Glavna pošta (Central Post Office)	1913
	Otto Wagner		Josip pl. Vančaš

Analyzing Vienna's Ringstrasse reveals all the wealth of neo-styles³⁸⁸ used in designing the monumental public buildings that served as role models for other cities of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and beyond.³⁸⁹ Some neighborhoods of Sarajevo that were created during the Austro-Hungarian period, and primarily the ones like Obala Kulina bana Street (next to the Miljacka River), Titova Street, and Ferhadija Street shows that under the influence of Viennese architecture. Students from Vienna used the same stylistic patterns for the construction of public and private buildings in Sarajevo as their professors did in Vienna. The selected representative examples from Vienna and Sarajevo show some interesting similarities. The largest number of buildings in Sarajevo under the influence of architecture of Vienna was built by Josip pl. Vancaš and Karel Pařík, who both studied and worked briefly in Vienna, and who were also the most productive architects of the Austro-Hungarian period³⁹⁰ in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their models were their professors, but also other famous architects who had the opportunity to design in Vienna and Budapest. Unlike Vienna, where almost all variations of different neo-styles (historicism) could be seen in one street³⁹¹, in Sarajevo these buildings are arranged in several locations where, much smaller in size than those in Vienna, they act as spatial checkpoints and they have a monumental character in relation to the environment. For both Vienna and Sarajevo, this mass construction was a driving force for the development of trade and industry. It also created a large number of newly-founded construction companies that were operating very well. The construction land was sold and bought, a mass buy-sale of housing had started, the introduction of new functions led to the construction of various buildings and the development of art was accompanied by new social changes. Throughout the public buildings, a culture gained a significant place in the society.

³⁸⁸ Nierhaus, Andreas (2014) *Of the Use and Abuse of the History for Building: Observations on the Ringstrasse architecture in Vienna's Ringstrasse. The Book*, Ostfildern Hatje Cantz Verlag, p. 56 - 65

³⁸⁹ Peichl, Gustav (2008) *Overview of Viennese Architecture in Vienna: Art and Architecture*, Postdam: Tandem Verlag, h.f. ullmann, p. 6 - 12

³⁹⁰ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 13 - 32

³⁹¹ Plassmeyer, Peter (2008) *Nineteenth Century Architecture: From Classicism to the Era of the Ringstrasse 1780 - 1890 in Vienna: Art and Architecture*, Postdam: Tandem Verlag, h.f. ullmann, p. 144 - 216

Among the first monumental buildings built in the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo is the building of the Land Government I³⁹² (now the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina), designed by architect Josip pl. Vancaš and which construction was completed in 1885.³⁹³ For this project, Vancaš used as a role model two buildings from the Vienna's Ring; one in terms of the volumes - Austrian Museum of Applied Arts building from 1871, and other in terms of the style of construction and the details of the facade - Institut für empirische Sozialforschung GmbH - IFES (Institute for Empirical Social Research) building from 1884. The details taken from the Institute for Empirical Social Research are even clearer on the project for the Land Government Building II³⁹⁴ (now the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) designed by Carlo Panek and built in 1896 next to the Land Government building I. The main characteristics of the Sarajevo's palaces of the Land Government I and II are the use of the Florentine Renaissance³⁹⁵ in the form of neo-style, the central avant-corps of the main façade, the quadrant rustics, and the copied details of the window openings, as well as the way of forming the façade which are almost identical to the Vienna's role model. As a Viennese student, Vancaš³⁹⁶ had an opportunity to see the construction of the most important buildings in the Ringstrasse, and he had the opportunity to see drawings of his professors and bring their ideas to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Palace Ephrussi by architect Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen, built in 1873 on the Ringstrasse, served as a role model for the construction of other smaller palaces throughout the Monarchy, and the detail of the towers at the corners and decomposition of the facade and decorative plastic around the window openings were adapted by Karel Pařík³⁹⁷ for the project of the Pension Fund building in which the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina was firstly located. Pařík has found

³⁹² Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019) *Zgrada Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine (Zgrada Zemaljske vlade I), sa pokretnim naslijeđem, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3034 [accessed on 23th March 2019]

³⁹³ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 152 - 153

³⁹⁴ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019) *Zgrada Zgrada Zemaljske vlade II (Zgrada željeznica), historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3026 [accessed on 23th March 2019]

³⁹⁵ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 38 - 39

³⁹⁶ Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, p. 15-31

³⁹⁷ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

many role models in Vienna's Ringstrasse for his Sarajevo buildings, and one of these models is the Vienna Stock Exchange building from 1877 by architects Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen and Carl Tietz³⁹⁸ whose facade with pillars irresistibly resembles to the facade of the National Theater³⁹⁹ in Sarajevo from 1898. The Viennese version is still monumental and is a *mature* and stylistically completed example, while the Sarajevo's replica, as a smaller building and its smaller volumes blindly takes over the conception and details of the Viennese facade.

Complete transformation in the way of life in Sarajevo had also influenced all the social segments, as well as the definition and organization of housing.⁴⁰⁰ For the first time, in residential-business palaces are being built, among which the Marienhof⁴⁰¹ palace stands out. Unfortunately, the author of the project is not known to this day. For this reason, it is difficult to determine whether the architect had the opportunity to see the Baldiahof palace in Vienna whose façade and organization of space are clearly visible links to the Marienhof⁴⁰² Palace in Sarajevo. The construction of both palaces was carried out in stages and planned as a block building type with an inner courtyard, which was carried out in Sarajevo in 1895⁴⁰³, while only the first phase of the project was completed in Vienna by 1892. There are many similarities between these two residential-business palaces. They are reflected in an almost identical facade, with the Vienna variant having a more representative central avant-corps. They are also similar in the design and organization of apartments, stairways, window openings, interior and exterior joinery. These similarities extend to the way to the smallest details of decorative elements and point to a direct connection between these two buildings.

³⁹⁸ Toman, Rolf (2008) *Vienna: Art and Architecture*, Postdam: Tandem Verlag, h.f. ullmann

³⁹⁹ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 180 - 181

⁴⁰⁰ Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing

⁴⁰¹ Trapara, Boris (2015) *Marienhof/ August i Marija Braun* [www.coolbastina.ba], available on: <http://coolbastina.ba/vodic-kroz-bastinu/marienhof-august-i-marija-braun/> [accessed on 23th March 2019]

⁴⁰² Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 75 - 84

⁴⁰³ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 166 - 167

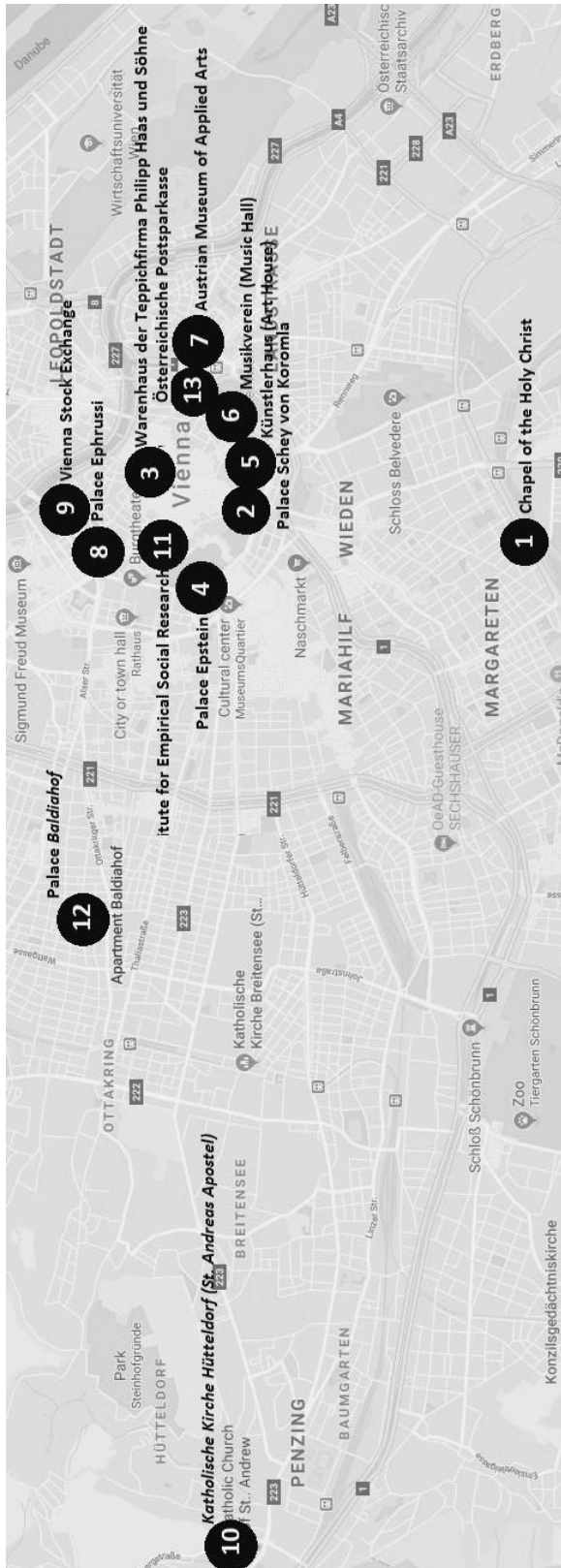


Figure 116: Map of the Role models in Vienna: 1. Christuskirche, Matzleinsdorf Protestant Cemetery (Chapel of the Holy Christ), 2. Palace Schey von Koromla, 3. Warenhaus der Teppichfirma Philipp Haas und Söhne (Department Store), 4. Palace Epstein, 5. Künstlerhaus (Art House), 6. Musikverein (Music hall), 7. MAK - Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, 8. Palace Ephrussi, 9. Vienna Stock Exchange, 10. (St. Andreas Apostel) Hütteldorf parish church, 11. Institute for Empirical Social Research, 12. Palace *Baldiahof*, 13. Austrian Postal Savings Bank, Designed by Author



Figure 117: Map of the Replicas in Sarajevo: 1. Academy of Fine Arts, 2. First Gimnasiym, 3. National gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 4. Art High School, 5. National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 6. Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 7. Pension Fund, 8. National Theater, 9. Catholic Cathedral of Sacred Jesus Heart, 10. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 11. Palace Marienhof, 12. Central Post Office, Designed by Author

One role model for the Sarajevo First Gymnasium⁴⁰⁴, whose construction was completed in 1891 according to the designs of architects Karel Pařík and August Butscha, is the Schey von Koromla palace built according to the designs of architects Johann Julius Romano and August Schwendenwein. The Epstein Palace from 1868, designed by the architect Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen is another. Both of these buildings are representative buildings from Ringstrasse.⁴⁰⁵ The Epstein Palace shows more connections and similarities in the design sense with the building of the Art School in Sarajevo (which is located near the First Gymnasium) and whose construction was completed in 1906 according to the project done by architect Carl Panek. During this stay in Vienna, Karel Pařík⁴⁰⁶ had the opportunity to see the architectural and stylistic facades of the Kromla and Epstein palaces. He was amazed by their aesthetic values and used them as role models for his palaces in Sarajevo. It is possible to establish a direct link with their Sarajevo versions. Replicas built in Sarajevo are modest in proportions, dimensions and volumes, but they present good examples of neo-style in which they were designed.

With the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo, for the first time, department stores are built, inspired by those in Vienna, which were built inspired by those in Paris. The building of the National Gallery⁴⁰⁷ of Bosnia and Herzegovina was built in 1912 by the architect Josip pl. Vancaš. It was built as department store for the brothers Ješua and Mojca Salom. Later, the building changed its function into an art gallery. By comparing the photo documentation of this building with the building of Warenhaus der Teppichfirma Philipp Haas und Söhne, one of the first department stores built in Vienna in 1867, it is possible to find many similarities in the design of the facade, and especially its characteristic corner. The Vienna department store, where the controversial Haas Haus (Stephansplatz) is now situated, was designed by architects August Siccard von Siccardsburg and Eduard van der Nüll.

⁴⁰⁴ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019) *Školske zgrade u Gimnazijskoj ulici, graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3336 [accessed on 23th March 2019]

⁴⁰⁵ Fogarassy Alfred, Schoeller Nora, Faber Monika, Martz Jochen, Mattl Siegfried, Nierhaus Andreas, Orosz Eva-Maria, Morton Frederic (2014) *Vienna's Ringstrasse. The Book*, Ostfildern Hatje Cantz Verlag

⁴⁰⁶ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

⁴⁰⁷ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 202 - 203

In addition to public architecture, the sacral architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina found its models in Vienna's churches and their interior design. As example is the church of St. Andreas Apostel from 1882, designed by architect Richard Jordan. Its three altars are almost identical to the altars in the Sarajevo Cathedral of Sacred Jesus Heart⁴⁰⁸, built in 1889 according to designs of the architect Josip pl. Vancaš.⁴⁰⁹ As for Pařík and Vancaš, the time they spent in Vienna has left a strong influence on their future professional development as architects who began by copying the famous elements of the famous buildings they admired in Vienna, and who produced completely original creations. They became the most famous architects of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Austro Hungarian period. For one of the most important buildings built in Sarajevo, Vancaš used a building of the Österreichische Postsparkasse (1906) designed by the architect Otto Wagner.⁴¹⁰ Influenced and inspired by this building in Vienna, Vancaš designed the Main Post Office building⁴¹¹ in 1913, in Sarajevo. Although Wagner's project is rather advanced and points to new trends in architecture and suggests a new direction in architecture, Vancaš's version in Sarajevo remained within historical contexts. Unfortunately, he did not have the courage to open up to future contemporary architectural trends.

Analyzing the work of the architect Karel Pařík, it is possible to notice several other important buildings built in Sarajevo, influenced by the buildings built in Vienna's Ringstrasse. These are primarily the National Museum⁴¹² of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1913 and the Evangelical Church (now the Academy of Fine Arts) built in 1899 with side wings built in 1911 in Sarajevo. The organization of the facade of the Vienna Concert Hall - Musikverein (1870) and the Art House (1869) show that Pařík was directly inspired by these buildings. When designing the Pavilion of the National Museum in Sarajevo, similarities can be seen in the details of the tympanum and the composition of the windows. While the details for the Sarajevo Museum were taken from Vienna's buildings on the Ringstrasse, the project for the Evangelical Church in Sarajevo is almost a copy of a project for the Christuskirche, the Chapel of the Holy

⁴⁰⁸ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 148 - 151

⁴⁰⁹ Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019) *Katedrala (Katedralna crkva Srca Isusova), historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2518 [accessed on 23th March 2019]

⁴¹⁰ Toman, Rolf (2008) *Vienna: Art and Architecture*, Postdam: Tandem Verlag, h.f. ullmann, p. 288-291

⁴¹¹ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 208 - 209

⁴¹² Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 210 - 211

Christ from 1858, by architect Baron Theophil Edward von Hansen. The Vienna version is more precise in details, more elegant in the dome and has a more complex facade treatment, yet the elements of decorative plastic on the façade and in the interior are almost the same. This also applies to the wrought iron elements whose motifs were also used for other residential-business buildings in Sarajevo. An interesting detail is encountered on the fence of the inner staircase of Musikverein (architect of the project is Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen), which was also used at the St. Augustin palace (today the Music Academy) from 1893 (architect Josip pl. Vancaš) in Sarajevo.

The above examples of representative buildings from Vienna and Sarajevo show the relation between the center and the periphery, the attitude of the role models and the replicas, as well as the creative and driving power of the ideas that came from the Vienna Ringstrasse, and through Vienna's students arrived on Sarajevo's streets. The bearers of the *Vienna Wave* were the two most important architects of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Josip pl. Vancaš and Karel Pařík. These Viennese students initially copied the ideas of their professors, but naturally relied on the familiar environment from which they derived ideas for creativity in a new environment, in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Chronologically, following their architectural opus, it is also possible to see their professional development that goes from copies, to the very original architectural accomplishments. Vienna and Sarajevo, regardless of the different economic conditions and their historical and cultural background, responded to new demands and new functions in the same architectural language through the interpretation of historical styles in the form of neo-styles in which the most monumental and most important buildings of these two cities were built.

4.2. The Academy of Fine Arts Building in Sarajevo and Protestant Chapel in Vienna

The Evangelical Chapel/Church dedicated to Christ (Germ. Evangelische Christuskirche)⁴¹³ in Vienna, the Academy of Fine Arts⁴¹⁴ (formerly the Evangelical Church) in Sarajevo and the Orthodox Church of St. Archangel Michael in Herceg Novi present good examples of cultural values and ambient influences in religious architecture and with their similar floor plans and facades.⁴¹⁵ It is possible to compare these three churches through a detailed analysis of urban and architectural concept in terms of geographical circumstances, access sequences, positioning in the urban fabric of the city, volume relationships, layouts and elevations, facades and details of polychrome and plastic decorations. All of these architectural elements are unique connections between three buildings which imply their same source.

The Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna was built in 1860 as part of cemetery complex (Germ. Evangelischer Friedhof Matzleinsdorf),⁴¹⁶ designed by architect Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen. The church's plan is the shape of an enrolled cross with an apse. Above this cross is a dome of a circular drum with arched windows. Architectural models that served as inspiration when the chapel was built were the Greek Church of St. Trinity in Vienna, Evangelical Church in Kezmark, and the Catholic Cathedral in Seville dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁴¹⁷ Thoroughly studying the characteristic details of the facade, as well as the concept, it is very likely that the architect took a large number of architectural elements from the architectural objects mentioned above. The entrance portal is accentuated by pillars with moldings of the capitals in the form of angels above which there is a semicircular golden mosaic with the motif of Jesus Christ holding a sacred scroll. The proportions and volume of the entrance portal of the church of St. Archangel Michael in Herceg Novi is almost the same comparing it to this church. The differences are in capitals

⁴¹³ Eltz, Liselotte (1991) *Theophil Hansen und seine Bauten für die Evangelischen in Saat*, Wien: Saat

⁴¹⁴ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 184 - 185

⁴¹⁵ Trapara, Boris (2014) *U kontekstu tri ambijenta: Svojstva jednog koncepta in Novo vrijeme No. 83/84*, Sarajevo: Epoha press d.o.o., p. 34 - 35

⁴¹⁶ Wolf Michael (2001) *Evangelische Christuskirche*, Wien: Favoriten, p. 15

⁴¹⁷ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

where instead of evangelical angels, there are Orthodox crosses and gilded mosaics of St. Archangel Michael. The interior of the Evangelical Church in Vienna is decorated with 35 figures of angels that symbolize dogmatic principles.⁴¹⁸ Interestingly, the equivalent figures of angels are on the entrance portal of the Academy of Fine Arts in Sarajevo, which is Romanesque profiled with three pillars on the both sides of the entrance.⁴¹⁹ The interior of the Vienna church/chapel is very elegant and decorated with reduced elements of Byzantine and Moorish style. Big, white surfaces are almost not decorated at all, except for some details such as the dome and stained glass windows with motifs of birth, life and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. These stained glass windows are quite modern in terms of the visual design for the period in which they were constructed.



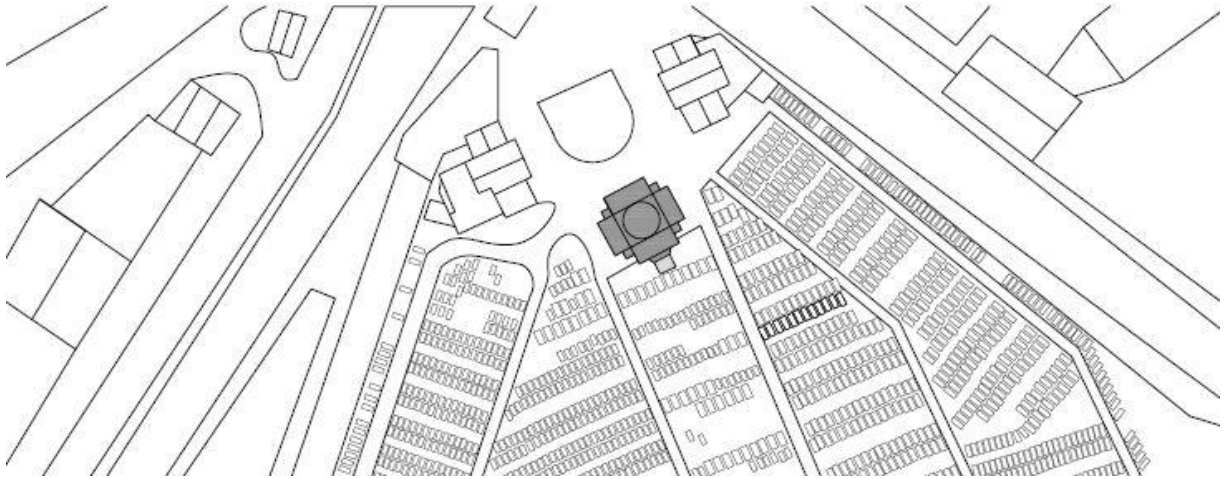
Figures 118, 119, 120: Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna (image: 116, 05/01/2014), Evangelical Church in Sarajevo (image: 117, 12/03/2014), and Orthodox Church of St. Archangel Michael in Herceg Novi, Montenegro (historical postcard, source: Herceg Novi tourist organisation), Photographs by Author

Construction of the Evangelical Church in Sarajevo started in 1889 by architect Karel Pařík⁴²⁰ and was carried out in several stages, during which the facility was expanded by receiving new features. In 1960 the building was transformed for the needs of the Academy of Fine Arts. This extension and adaptation was designed by architects Dobrović and Rosić. By designing the church in the form of a free cross, Pařík developed a layout and design solution should that reconciled the demands of confessions, traditions and the environment. In terms of proportion and volume,

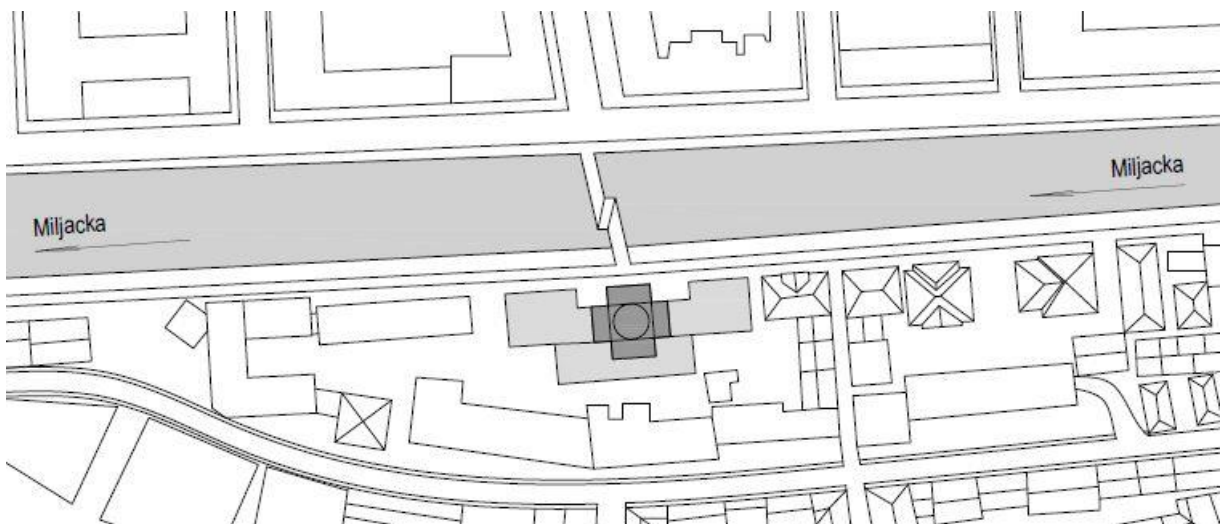
⁴¹⁸ Wolf, Michael (2001) *Evangelische Christuskirche, Wien: Favoriten*, p. 2 - 23

⁴¹⁹ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

⁴²⁰ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 184 - 185



Figures 121 and 122: Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna (up), Evangelical Church in Sarajevo (down), Site plans drawn by Author



architectural object - the Evangelical Church in Sarajevo is very different from the church in Vienna and the church in Herceg Novi. However, the details are copied. A prayers space is covered by a dome on an octagonal drum with window openings in the form of triforas.⁴²¹ Volumes and decorative plastics of side annexes generate a balance in a unique ensemble with the church. The windows panes are elongated with a specific end and regularly follow the shape of the facade that harmoniously and proportionally play well together. According to the requirements of the space organization, which has set a new purpose, the division on the horizontal level of the building was made. The side wings have one floor, with the eaves part. A space that

⁴²¹ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 109

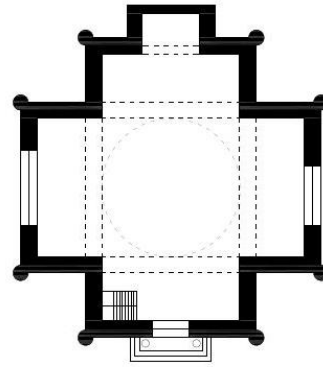
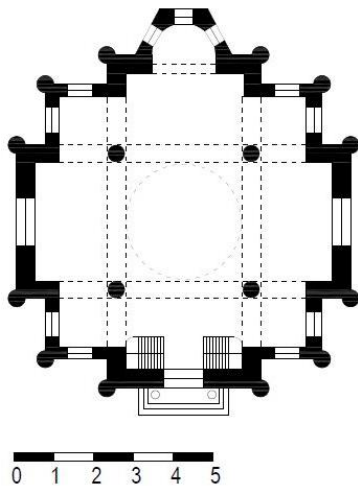
covers the dome is a patchwork of multiple floors. Behind the facade, new parts were added functionally adapted to modern needs. By changing the original function, and adapting the interior to a different content, the spatial system was violated. Decorations of the interior made by Ivana Koblica were not preserved. While the facade of the Evangelical Church in Vienna is lined with brick of unusual format in two colors characteristic of Moorish's Spain, the facade of the Sarajevo's Academy of Fine Arts is plastered and painted in a light beige color. The church in Herceg Novi was built of stone from the Mediterranean. The materialization of all three buildings is the biggest difference between them. Secular art and plastic details are almost the same. The only difference is in those who determine the religious affiliation of the building (angels and crosses). Elements of different styles: Byzantine, Gothic, Roman, and Moorish elements are present in each of the three examples in accordance with Genius loci.



Figures 123, 124, 125: Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna (image: 119, 05/01/2014), Evangelical Church in Sarajevo (image: 120, 12/03/2014), and Orthodox Church of St. Archangel Michael in Herceg Novi, Montenegro (image: 121, 18/08/2007), Photographs by Author

The Orthodox Church of St. Archangel Michael was built from 1883 to 1911 in Herceg Novi. It is located in the small square of Herceg Stefan, known as Bellavista. Many architects were involved in the construction of the church. The most important role was played by the architect Milan Karlovac. There was a church built by Herceg Stefan on the site, by who Herzegovina and Herceg Novi were named. Herceg Stefan's church was destroyed during the Ottoman conquest. The church was positioned almost in the center of the market square and as such it is possible to overlook its facades equally from all four sides of the square. These facades are equally important and they make aesthetic values of the church extremely emphasized. The facade poles at the corners of the church are the most distinctive element and they are profiled in a combination of cone and pyramid. They are presented at all three buildings and they are reminiscent of the facade elements in

the buildings of Andalusia, Spain. Special attention is given to a rosette which is placed above the portal, which is taken from the Evangelical Church in Kezmark.⁴²² This decorative motif gives the building a touch of elegance and lightness which is harmoniously balanced with a heavy stone from Korčula Island.

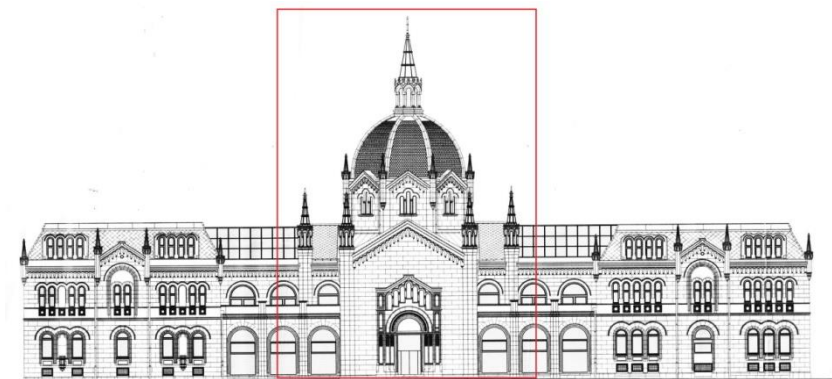


Figures 126 and 127: Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna (left, source: Michael Wolf), Evangelical Church in Sarajevo (right, source Sabira Husedžinović), The Ground Floor plans measured and drawn by Author

By observing all three churches without their environment, the first association for the church from Herceg Novi would be coastal regions, although one could question such architecture. Thanks to its materialization one could say for sure that the church from Herceg Novi could be built in the neighborhood of the Adriatic Coast. On the other hand, the churches in Vienna and Sarajevo are unquestionably typical buildings in the urban fabric of continental, Western European capitals. The church of St. Archangel Michael is enrolled Cross in scale and proportions and volumes are not largely different from the Evangelical Church in Vienna. The dome rests on a circular base drum with window openings with arched endings. The most valuable element of the interior is the iconostasis made of white Italian marble and it consists of two rows of icons and a crown with three icons in the central part. The iconostasis was made by Francis Ziegler. The lower zone contain icons of St. John the Baptist, the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ and St. Archangel Michael with a baroque altar gate in gold. The upper parts are icons of the apostles, and in the central part is the Last Supper icon. As does the church in Vienna, the church in Herceg Novi also has four massive stone columns whose capitals carry Corinthian motifs.

⁴²² Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

Analysis of urban conditions specified in terms of ambience shows huge differences between treated architectural objects. Access to the church in Vienna is confusing and represents an example of how modern transport infrastructure can undermine the value of cultural and historical objects. It was built as a chapel at the beginning of the cemetery with outbuildings and unpretentious horticultural landscaping. Because of that, the church is not sufficiently presented. The restored facade of bright Moorish tones make this church more dominant. The access sequence in Sarajevo has a "longitudinal" line of looking at the architectural object which was further accentuated by building a bridge Festina Lente. Since the neighboring buildings are almost all representative and mainly come from the same period, the importance and aesthetic value of the building of today's Academy of Fine Arts is reduced to such urban concept. In this case, the object is perceived as part of a group, a row building, or part of the street. The Herceg Novi building is in the center of a small market, and as such is dominant. It leaves the primary impression on the visitor, while the buildings that form the circumference of Bellavista are not remembered by the visitor. It is an excellent example of how good urban planning can highlight the good architecture, and is an example of how the character of the site or Genius loci plays a vital role in the perception of architectural structure.



Figures 128 and 129: Facades of Evangelical Church in Sarajevo (source: Sabira Husedžinović, redrawn by Author) and Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna (Removed drawing because of the copy rights, source: Michael Wolf, Evangelische Christuskirche.)

Figure 130 (on the next page): Table of comparison for the Evangelical Church in Sarajevo and the Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna, Collected and designed by Author

Filters	The Evangelical Chapel dedicated to Christ (Germ. Evangelische Christuskirche) in Vienna	The Academy of Fine Arts Building in Sarajevo	Comment
Year of construction	1860	1898/99 (church) 1911 (wings)	The construction of the building in Sarajevo was done in several stages.
Architect/s	Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen	Karel Pařík	Karel Pařík was a student of Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen. Karel Pařík studied in Vienna in the time of construction of Vienna's Chapel.
Architectural Style	Historicism	Historicism	Both buildings with elements of Moorish, Byzantine, Roman, and Gothic styles.
Type of building	Religious: Chapel	Religious: Church Public: Faculty	After 1960 Sarajevo's Church changed its function into a public building. It was transformed into The Academy of Fine Arts.
Urban setting	Centre	Linear	Vienna's Chapel is the centre of a cemetery and Sarajevo's Complex was built as equal part of street's facade.
Ornaments	Rich	Light	There are the same ornaments in the interior and exterior of both buildings.
Facade (size, volumes, proportions)	Both buildings have similar size, volumes and proportions. The Sarajevo's church got extensions in 1911 in a form of two buildings on both sides of the church.		
Facade (polychrome and plastic decorations)	Rich in details and amount Colourful	Light in details and amount Pale	Different stylistic approach to facade treatment.
Interior	Simple	Simple	After 1960 Sarajevo's Church changed its interior in order to receive a new function.
Function	Original	Changed	
Current State	Excellent	Very good	Both buildings went through renovation works in recent years.
Visually similar elements	Architectural style, decorative details on facades, windows in form and size, volumes and proportions.		

4.3. The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo and Künstlerhaus and Musikverein in Vienna

The complex of buildings of the National Museum⁴²³ of Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the highest professional achievements of the architect Karel Pařík.⁴²⁴ The pavilion type complex also represents the most valuable realization of this typology of construction from the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴²⁵ Analyzing the Künstlerhaus and Musikverein buildings⁴²⁶ in Vienna's Ringstrasse, it is possible to find a great number of similarities with the Sarajevo's museum building that Pařík made in terms of proportions, volumes and details. All three facilities have been built as public buildings intended for the cultural purposes and all three buildings have a similar urban setting. The largest area is the Sarajevo pavilion-type complex. It consists of five buildings, three of which are interconnected. The other two buildings are built as free-standing facilities. Analyzing the urban setting, the connection between architects, the relationship between the center and the periphery, the function of the buildings, the design and other architectural elements, it is possible to establish a number of similarities between the Vienna's role models - the Künstlerhaus⁴²⁷ and the Musikverein, which were interpreted in Sarajevo through its replica - the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The final designs for the museum were completed on October 26, 1906. The construction of the museum complex's buildings lasted from the autumn of 1908 to July of 1912, when the mineralogical, etymological, geological, and other collections were relocated to new, still unfinished buildings. In the first version that Pařík made, the project envisioned a monumentally resolved entrance building with a five-cornered square oriented to the east. The original project was never realized. The complex contains five pavilions: an entrance building located between the prehistoric and antique pavilions, opposite to them is a natural history pavilion, and on the left and right are an ethnographic pavilion and an administration pavilion. All pavilions

⁴²³ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 202

⁴²⁴ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 210 - 211

⁴²⁵ Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

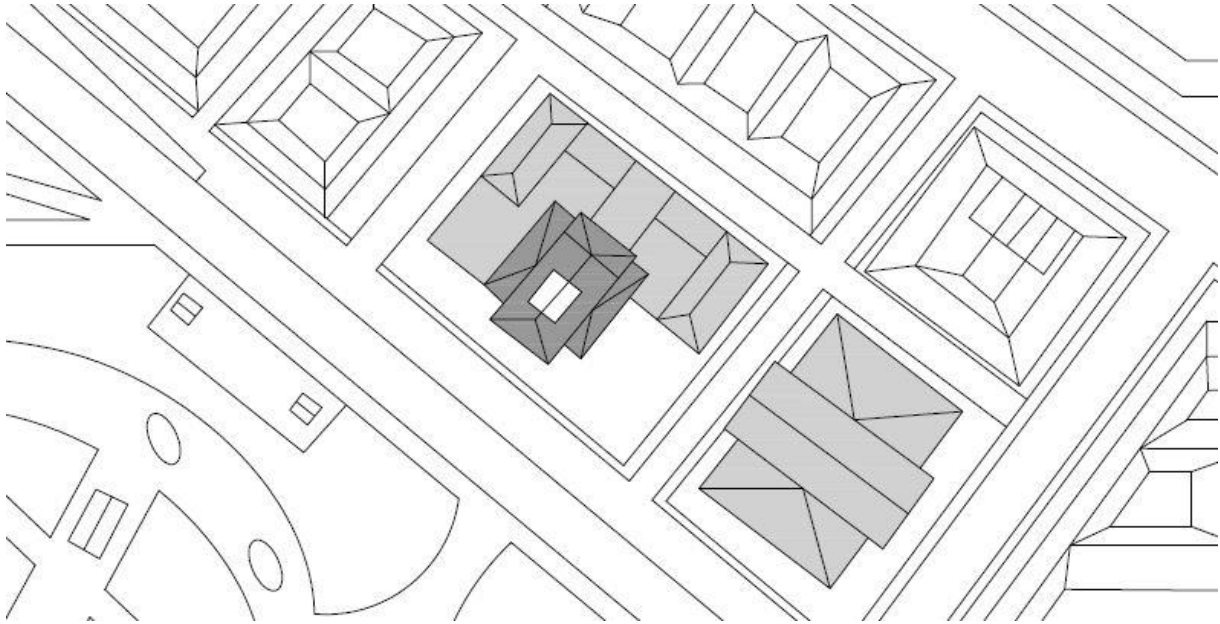
⁴²⁶ Toman, Rolf (2008) *Vienna: Art and Architecture*, Postdam: Tandem Verlag, h.f. ullmann, p. 207

⁴²⁷ Nierhaus, Andreas (2014) *Of the Use and Abuse of History for Building in Vienna's Ringstrasse. The Book*, Ostfildern Hatje Cantz Verlag, p. 78

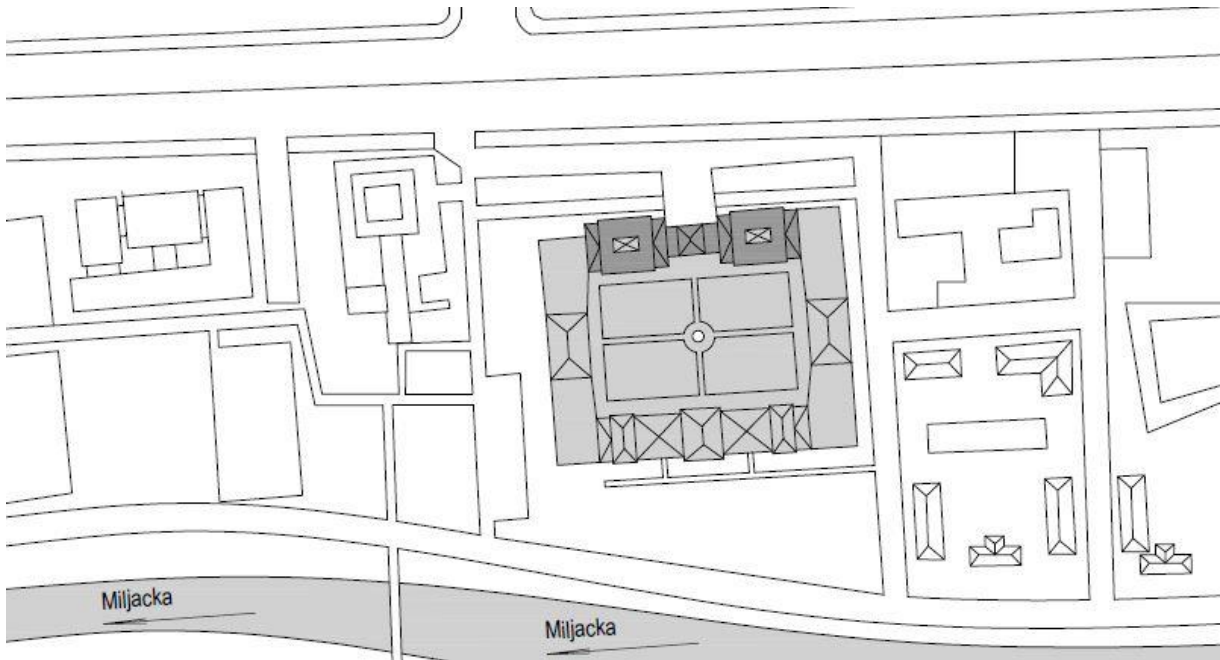
are interconnected by terraces. The botanical garden is located in the centre of the complex. There was a plan to expand the museum by constructing lower tracts among the pavilions and upgrading the ground and constructing semicircular wings alongside the natural history pavilion, but this plan has never been realized. The original design experienced a reduction and simplification in which the basic concept of the pavilion layout was retained, but the monumentally solved entrance was sacrificed. The entrance is now facing north. Both connection buildings and arcades are left out.



Figures 131 and 132:
Facades of Art House -
Künstlerhaus in Vienna
(image: 125, 22/06/2018) and
Zemaljski muzej BiH –
National Museum of Bosnia
and Herzegovina in Sarajevo
(image: 126, 16/05/2019),
Photographs by Author



Figures 133 and 134: The Art House - Künstlerhaus in Vienna (up) and Zemaljski muzej BiH⁴²⁸ – National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo (down), Site plans drawn by Author



All the architectural characteristics of the museum are carefully considered, and it can be concluded that the rectangular organization almost perfectly fits the urban values of the city of Sarajevo. The interior and exterior architectural elements of the museum complex are designed in Italian neo-Renaissance. The same style was used for the Künstlerhaus which was built in 1868 according to the design of the architect August Weber. In Neo-Renaissance, in 1870 the Musikverein building⁴²⁹ was built

⁴²⁸ Arhiv BiH: Zemaljski muzej, ABH, ZVS-GO, br. 29, 99

⁴²⁹ Toman, Rolf (2008) *Vienna: Art and Architecture*, Postdam: Tandem Verlag, h.f. ullmann, p. 207

according to a project made by architect Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen. In the period of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this style of construction was most often applied in the construction of public buildings and administration buildings⁴³⁰, so that some of the most representative solutions to the architecture of their time were realized there. Through the architecture of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Karel Pařík created a representative spatial-structural composition, which emphasized the importance of the exhibited artefacts.

The spatial functional concept of the complex of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina is clear and transparent. The entrance hall is made with clean finishing lines, and above it there is an ornamented dome. This part of the museum is richly decorated, which primarily refers to the vaults and the dome. Other interior parts of the museum are slightly less decorated, as the exhibition space would not undermine the authenticity of the exhibited artifacts. This is opposite to the Viennese Musikverein whose concert hall carries one of the richest plastic and polychrome decorations of the interior of the time when it was built. The concert hall is spread over three floors, and on the facade it corresponds to the central avant-corps, which is most similar architecturally to the buildings of prehistoric and antique pavilion of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In relation to the proportions, volumes, details and plastics of the facade, the prehistoric and antique pavilions in Sarajevo show a high degree of similarity with the facade of the Künstlerhaus in Vienna. The above elements are almost identical, and small deviations from this Vienna role model can be attributed to the changes that occurred during the construction of the building of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The prehistoric pavilion of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina has a representative arcade hall in the parter and at the gallery. Analogously with parasitic, an antique pavilion was built, but under the rooms it was lowered to the ground level of the soil. At the Department of Archeology there is a safe room where valuable books are located, including the famous Sarajevo Haggadah.⁴³¹ The building of the

⁴³⁰ Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 43 - 145

⁴³¹ Sijarić, Mirsad (2019) *National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo Haggadah: „If we were to pick the brightest gems from the treasure trove of material and intangible heritage kept in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is no way we could leave out the illuminated*

nature department consists of a middle part with two staircases and two wings. Here are located mineralogical collections, a collection of birds, an exhibition of cave

Jewish codex known around the world as the Sarajevo Haggadah. The haggadah (Hebrew for story, account) is a collection of religious rules and traditions arranged into the order of the Seder observed on Passover, the holiday celebrating the liberation of the Jews from slavery in Egypt. Haggadot were especially important during the ceremonial family dinner – the Seder, when all household members and guests, book in hand, read or followed the accounts of the journey to freedom and everything else that was connected, in a ceremonial sense, with that well-known Old Testament story. The tradition of reading from a haggadah in the family circle lead to the production of a relatively large number of such books. The Sarajevo Haggadah, because of its aesthetic value and historical significance, is foremost among them. The Sarajevo Haggadah comprises 142 leaves of parchment, 16.5 cm x 22.8 cm in size, made out of extraordinarily thin, bleached calf skin. The first 34 leaves feature 69 illuminated miniatures showing the Creation of the World, slavery in Egypt, coming out of Egypt under Moses' leadership, and beyond, all the way to the succession of Joshua, son of Nun. The last four miniatures are an exception, in that they are not biblical in character. The next 50 leaves contain the text of the Haggadah, written on both the recto and the verso in Hebrew, in the mediaeval, Spanish-type square script. The last part of the book is a subsequently added poetic/ceremonial appendix containing poems by some of the most famous Hebrew poets from the golden era of Hebrew literature (10th–13th century): Yehudah HaLevi, Yitzhak ben Yehudah ibn Ghiyyath HaLevi, Salomon ibn Gabirol, Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra, and others. The discovery of the Sarajevo Haggadah in 1894 piqued the interest of art historians of the day, because the Haggadah is a rare piece of evidence proving that Jews, in spite of a strict scriptural prohibition (You shall not make for yourself a graven image or any likeness, Exodus 20:4), engaged in highly artistic figural representation of humans and animals. Based on stylistic analysis of the illuminations and miniatures contained in its pages, it was determined that the book was made in mediaeval Spain, in the former kingdom of Aragon, most likely in Barcelona, around 1350. It may have been a present for the wedding of members of two prominent families, Shoshan and Elazar, because their coats of arms – a shield with a rosette/rose (shoshan in Hebrew) and a wing (elazar in Hebrew) – are featured on the page showing the coat of arms of the city of Barcelona. According to a note from the book itself, it changed owners after the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492, but we do not know the names of the original or the new owner. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the book was in the north of Italy, as confirmed by two short notes on its pages. A note entered in 1609 says that the book does not contain anything directed against the Church, probably the result of a content check by the Roman Inquisition. The circumstances under which it made its way into Bosnia, as well as when that happened, are unknown. It leaves a reliable trace in history again in 1894, when the National Museum purchased it from the Sarajevo Sephardic family Koen for the sum of 150 crowns. It was then sent to Vienna for analysis, and was returned after a few years of vicissitudes. In keeping with its destiny, the Sarajevo Haggadah could not find peace even in the museum collection. In the first days following the occupation of Sarajevo by the German forces in 1941, German authorities demanded that Jozo Petrović, the director of the Museum at the time, hand over the famous leather-bound codex. Petrović, aided by the curator Derviš Korkut, took enormous risks, dodged the demand, and arranged for the Haggadah to be stowed somewhere safe. According to reliable accounts, it was hidden in a mosque in one of the Muslim villages on Mt Bjelašnica, where it stayed until the end of World War II. Another attempt to steal it was made in the 1950s; this time, too, the employees of the Museum prevented the theft. Most recently, and hopefully for the last time, this valuable tome was endangered at the beginning of the siege of Sarajevo in 1992, when the National Museum found itself on the first line of defence. The museum took heavy shelling then, from which it has still not recovered. Today, for the first time in its rich, tumultuous history, the Sarajevo Haggadah is accessible to the general public; it is kept in an especially secure space, under strictly defined environmental conditions, and is displayed on special occasions. These facts about the Sarajevo Haggadah – both those inferred through research and analysis as well as those known to us from the notes on its pages and through traditional stories that have followed this book for decades – make it a priceless resource for studying the cultural history of a nation in century-long pursuit of homeland. The Sarajevo Haggadah is physical proof of the openness of a society in which fear of the Other has never been an incurable disease.” [www.zemaljskimuzej.ba], available on: <https://www.zemaljskimuzej.ba/en/archaeology/middle-ages/sarajevo-haggadah> [accessed on 23th March 2019]

fauna, and others. The ethnographic department on the ground floor contains rooms for collections. The first floor has authentically presented Bosnian-Herzegovinian interiors, where elements of autochthonous architecture are used. Other buildings of the complex, as well as the building of the administration were built in the style of Neo-Renaissance. In its ground floor there is an administration, and on the first floor there is a special library, with about 200 000 publications. The old collections of libraries have been systematically collected over the course of 115 years and are of a rarity character. Some settings and some exhibitions are closed to visitors, because these parts of the museum are devastated.



Figure 135: Facade of Music Hall - Musikverein in Vienna, 09/02/2018, Photograph by Author

The characteristics of the facade of the Sarajevo museum and the Vienna Künstlerhaus are reflected in the selection of lighter tones and reflexively applied ornamental details. Window selection is dependent upon the purpose of the space. The front ends with arches, and the lateral ones are flat and regularly smaller. On the right and left sides of the central part of the facade, the slightly protruding avant-corps are divided vertically and horizontally into six window fields, which end on the floor with arches, both on the building of the Museum and on the building Künstlerhaus. These arches have decorative plastics on the facade in the form of angels on all three buildings (Museum, Künstlerhaus and Musikverein.) The similarity of the facades of the Museum and the Musikverein is also reflected through the final

tympanum at the museum pavilions and the central avant-corps of Musikverein. The windows on this part are interconnected by the right-angled pillars that are integral parts of the facade. There are no balconies on the pavilions of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a fence placed on the edges of a roof has a decorative function. The floor and the ground floor are visually divided among all the buildings by a decorative wreath, a usual characteristic of buildings designed in the style of the Italian Neo-Renaissance.

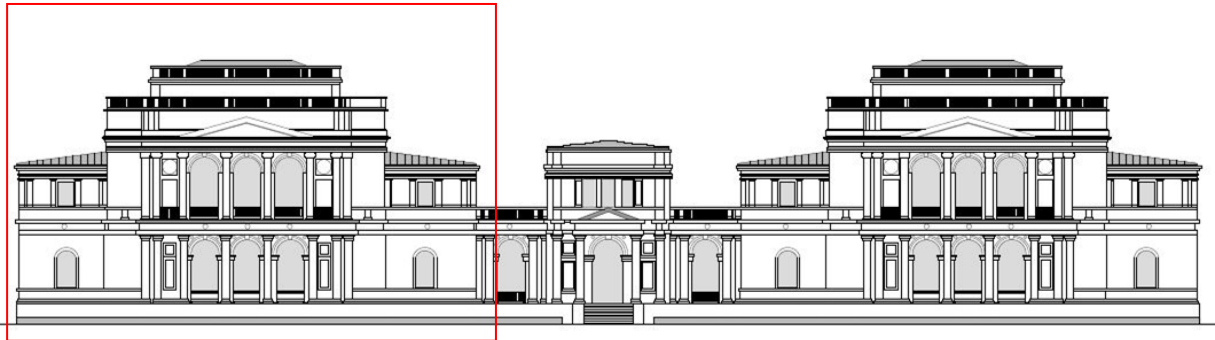


Figure 136: Facade of The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, source: CHwB, redrawn by Author

Among the many projects of the architect Karel Pařík, the National Museum's project is a clear result of his experience and his professional work that was created at the end of his career. Through the design of this building and his other high quality interpretation of historical styles, he left a recognizable and striking stamp on the architecture of Sarajevo.



Figure 137: Facade of The Künstlerhaus in Vienna, source: www.k-haus.at, redesign by Author

Figure 138 (on the next page): Table of comparison for Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (National museum of BH), Künstlerhaus (Art House), and Musikverein (Music hall), Collected and designed by Author

Filters	Künstlerhaus (Art House) and Musikverein (Music hall)	Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (National museum of BH)	Comment
Year of construction	1868 (Künstlerhaus) 1870 (Musikverein)	1908/13	The construction of the building in Sarajevo was done in two stages.
Architect/s	August Weber (Künstlerhaus) and Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen (Musikverein)	Karel Pařík	Karel Pařík was a student of Baron Theophil Edvard von Hansen. Karel Pařík studied in Vienna in the time period of construction of Künstlerhaus and Musikverein.
Architectural Style	Neo – Renaissance	Neo – Renaissance	
Type of building	Public: Culture	Public: Culture	All three buildings were designed for different cultural proposes.
Urban setting	Linear	Linear	All three buildings are positioned on the main urban axis in both; Vienna and Sarajevo.
Ornaments	Rich	Rich	There are the same ornaments in the interior of all three buildings.
Facade (size, volumes, proportions)	The National Museum in Sarajevo is a pavilion type complex that has similarities in main building with Künstlerhaus in volume and proportions as well with Musikverein in details as timpanon, columns, windows, etc.		
Facade (polychrome and plastic decorations)	Rich in details and amount Intense (Musikverein) Pale (Künstlerhaus)	Rich in details and amount Pale	The same stylistic approach to facade treatment.
Interior	Complex and Rich	Simple	Musikverein in Vienna has one of the richest (in terms of decoration) music halls in the world. National Museum in Sarajevo is modest in interior decoration according to the function of the building.
Function	Original	Original	
Current State	Excellent	Renovation works are currently being performed.	Both buildings went through many renovation works in recent years.
Visually similar elements	Architectural style, decorative details on facades, windows in form and size, volumes and proportions, composition of the main facade, plastic decorations of facades, etc...		

4.4. The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Building in Sarajevo and Museum of Applied Arts Building in Vienna

The Museum of Applied Arts Building (Germ. Museum für Angewandte Kunst, MAK)⁴³² in Vienna and the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Building⁴³³ in Sarajevo present good examples of cultural values and ambient influences in public architecture and with the similar floor plans and facades. Both of these buildings were designed as monumental public palaces in the Neo-Renaissance Style popular in the public architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period. A comparison of these buildings provides an interesting insight into their connection in context of urbanism, volumes, proportions, architecture, details and ornaments. The MAK Building in Vienna and the Presidency of BH Building in Sarajevo show many similarities in terms of visual identity. Their facades, colours, proportions and volumes are similar. The connection in terms of ornaments and details can be found in Vienna's other role model, and that is the Institute for Empirical Social Research Building (Germ. Institut für empirische Sozialforschung GmbH – IFES) which was built as a bank. All three of these buildings are heavily influenced by forms and concepts of famous Italian palaces built in Florence in the Renaissance Style. By placing these palaces in chronological order it is possible to monitor the impacts between the centre and the periphery, that is, between Vienna and Sarajevo, as well as their deep roots in the architecture and art of Italy (Palata Pitti, Palazzo Rucellai.) All three buildings are typical examples of public and monumental structures in the urban fabric of continental, Western European capitals.

The Museum of Applied Arts Building in Vienna was built in 1871 as a part of construction activities on Ringstrasse, Vienna's new and big prestigious boulevard. The MAK's building was designed by architect Heinrich von Ferstel, one of the most famous architects of that time. The floor plan of the Museum in Vienna is in the form of a monumental hall with a three-sided staircase and two side wings. The same concept of the three-sided staircase has introduced in the floor plan of Presidency Building in Sarajevo. The similarity between these two buildings is also reflected in the design of the central hall in the Museum and the festive salon in the Presidency,

⁴³² Nierhaus, Andreas (2014) *Of the Use and Abuse of History for Building in Vienna's Ringstrasse. The Book*, Ostfildern Hatje Cantz Verlag, p. 82

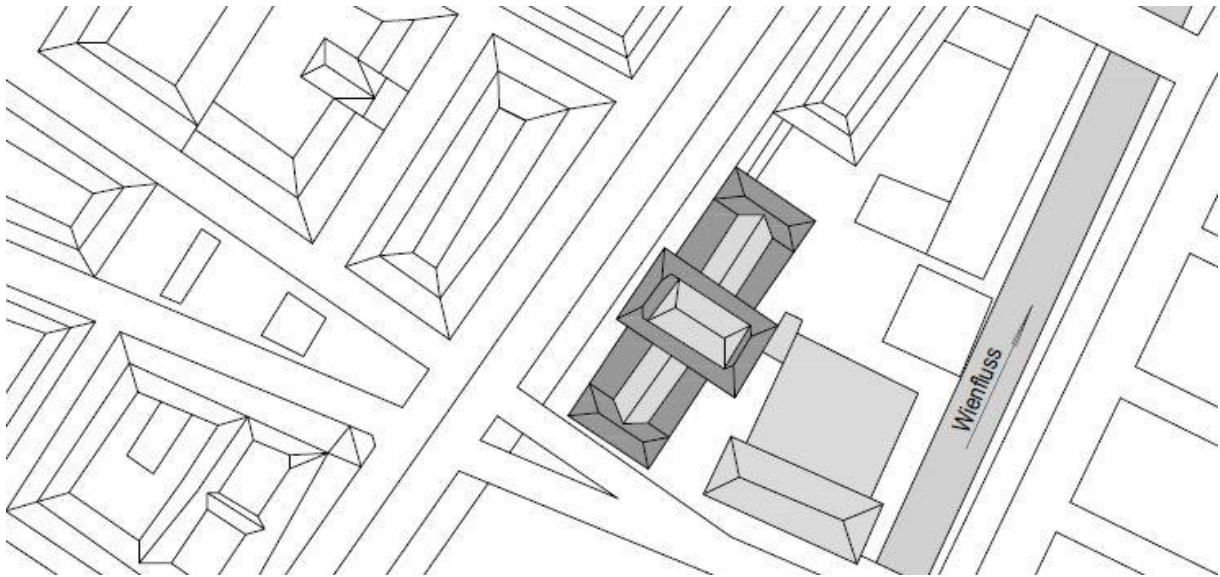
⁴³³ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 152 - 153

especially in the plastic and polychrome details between the ceilings and the walls. Thoroughly studying the characteristic details of the facade of the Sarajevo's Building, as well as the concept, it is very likely that the architect took a large number of architectural elements from the architectural objects built in Vienna, especially the MAK and the IFES buildings.

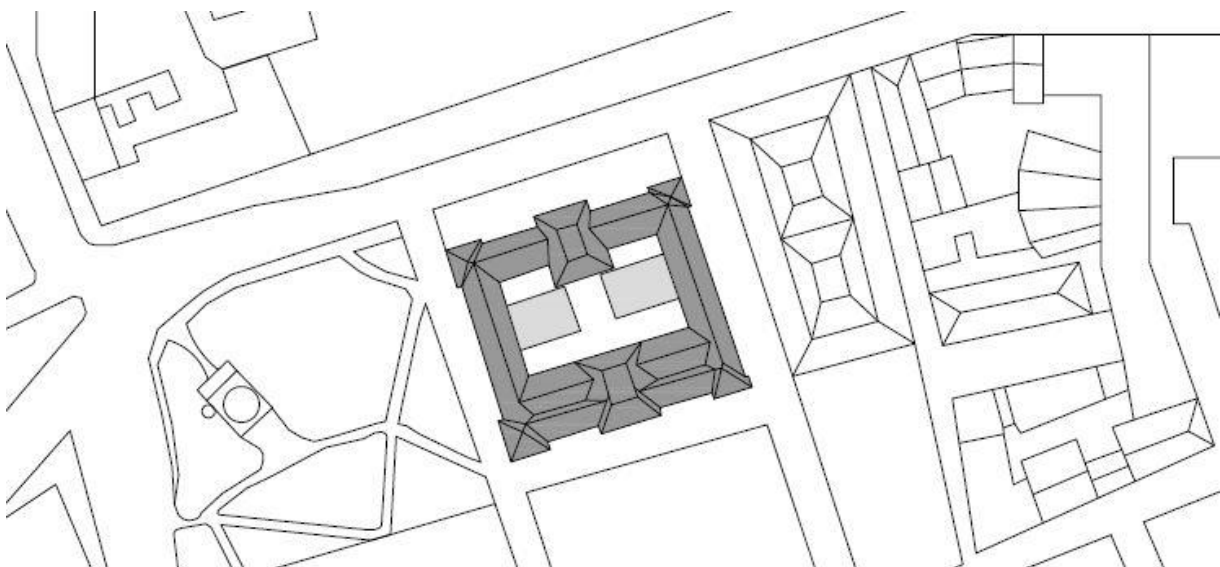


Figures 139 and 140: Facades of the Museum of Applied Arts Building (Museum für Angewandte Kunst, MAK) in Vienna (image: 130, 07/02/2018) and Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Predsjedništvo BiH) in Sarajevo (image: 131, 26/02/2019), Photographs by Author

The composition of the main facade of the role model from Vienna (MAK's building) and the building from Sarajevo is the same; it is created through a symmetrical division of facades into the central risalit/ avant-corps and two corner risalits. The entrance to the MAK is emphasized through a portal covered with tympanum, while the entrance to the Presidency is modestly resolved. The greatest difference between these two buildings, when it comes to their main facades, is seen in the design of the central avant-corps, while the rest of the facade is very similar to each other. Both facades of present a typical Renaissance Style's shaping of windows and quadrant rustics. The quadrant rustics, facade decomposition, balustrades, architectural polychrome and plastic elements used on the facade of the Presidency building in Sarajevo satisfy all the strict rules of the Renaissance Style, making this building the best example of Neo-Renaissance Style in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The facade of the MAK building is somewhat lighter in terms of plasticity compared to the building of the Presidency in Sarajevo. Nevertheless, the Presidency building in Sarajevo shows a great amount of similar details in visual terms with the IFES building in Vienna. Considering that the construction of both buildings (Presidency and IFES) began in 1884, it is difficult to establish a chronological relationship between them.



Figures 141 and 142: The Museum of Applied Arts Building (Museum für Angewandte Kunst, MAK) in Vienna (up) and the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Predsjedništvo BiH) in Sarajevo (down), Site plans drawn by Author



Construction of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Building⁴³⁴ in Sarajevo started in 1884 by architect Josip pl. Vancaš⁴³⁵ and it was carried out in several stages, during which the building was expanded in 1911 by adding 3rd floor designed by architect Karel Pařík, and by receiving new features in future extensions (annex in inner courtyard). Designing a government building in Sarajevo was, next to the Cathedral in Sarajevo, one of Vancaš's first tasks in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁴³⁴ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 39

⁴³⁵ Božić, Jelena (1989) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave*, doktorska disertacija, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu

Vančaš proposed three ideas for the new Presidency Palace: the Florentine early Renaissance, the Italian Gothic and the Italian late Renaissance, but because of insufficient financial resources, it was decided that the building would be shaped in the Neo-Renaissance Style. After almost 2 years the construction was finished as the biggest⁴³⁶ building in Sarajevo with dimensions 70 x 62.5 meters. In both buildings a circular communication is established, even though there is a significant difference in the concept of the floor plans. The Palace of Presidency in Sarajevo is built as a block-building with the open courtyard, which is different from MAK Building. Professor Jelena Božić describes the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Building as *“a clear and functional layout, with a harmonious composition of space and mass. The composition of architectural and decorative elements creates a clean, well-proportioned frontispiece, given rhythm by its evenly-spaced windows and the Renaissance articulation, by means of string courses, into the rusticated ground floor and the upper storeys, terminating in a massive, markedly projecting roof cornice on consoles. This pronounced horizontality is balanced by the verticals of the central projections of the south and north wings, terminating in corner projections with their own separate roofs, suggesting towers and, with the emphatic rustication of the ground floor and corners, adding to the overall impression of solidity, severity and massivity of the palace.”*

⁴³⁶ According to Decision (published in the “Official Gazette of BiH” no. 94/09.) of Commission to Preserve national Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina to declare Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina building (First Provincial Government Building) with movable heritage, a national monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina: *„It was the largest building in Sarajevo, consisting of a basement, ground floor and two upper storeys, with an overall footprint of 70.00 x 62.50 m and an inner courtyard measuring 48.00 x 16.00 m. The building was about 3,082 m² in area, with a total of 180 rooms on the ground, first and second floors, and 32 in the basement. The property was purpose-built to house the administrative bodies of the Provincial Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina: the ground floor housed the national exchequer, cadastral records office, various political department services, the postal and telegraph office, and the caretaker's flat. The first floor housed the Grand Hall and the government offices, and the second floor was designed to house the remaining government departments and the Supreme Court. Initially the ground floor housed the Museum Society and the editorial department of Sarajevski list, while the Provincial Press was in the basement. As the administration grew, so there was a need for more space, and in 1911 a third floor designed by architect Karl Pařik was added to the entire First Provincial Government Building.”*

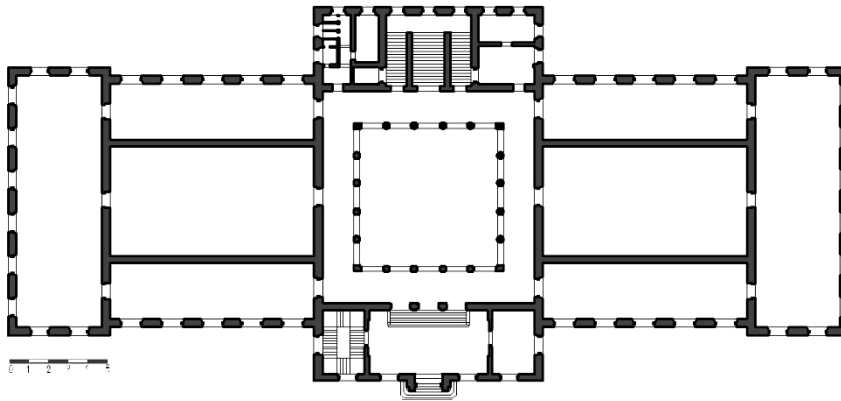


Figure 143: The Ground floor of the Museum of Applied Arts Building (Museum für Angewandte Kunst, MAK⁴³⁷) in Vienna, source: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, redrawn by Author

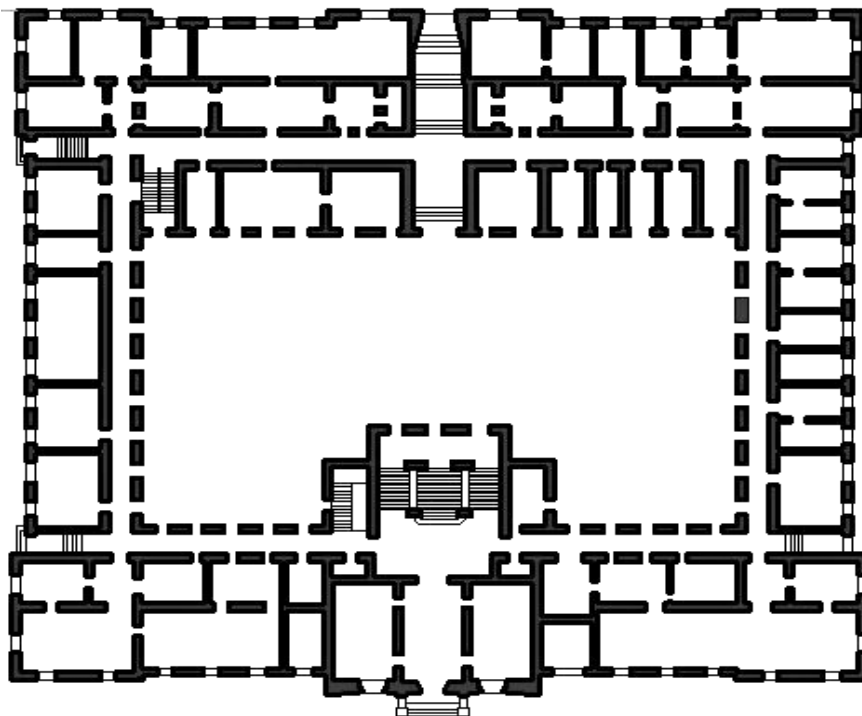


Figure 144: The Ground floor of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Predsjedništvo BiH) in Sarajevo, source: Arhiv BiH⁴³⁸, redrawn by Author

In terms of proportion and volume, architectural object – Palace of Presidency in Sarajevo is very different from the Museum of Applied Arts Building in Vienna and the Institute for Empirical Social Research Building in Vienna. However, in terms of style, ornaments, composition of facades, exterior and interior architectural elements, as well as urbanism and visual language, all three buildings, and especially the museum building and the presidency building, have an unbreakable connection. Since the architect of the MAK's building was the famous Heinrich von Ferstel, with whose work Josip pl. Vancaš was already familiar, and since it is easy to establish a visual connection between the two buildings based on the technical and photo documentation found in archives, it is possible to compare architectural elements, as

⁴³⁷ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv: AT-OeStA/AVA PKF PS A-II-c/3

⁴³⁸ Arhiv BiH: Zgrada Zemaljske vlade za BiH, ABH, ZVS-GO, kutije 15, 16

well as volumes and ornaments between the two buildings in the context of role model or centre and periphery. Similarities between the two buildings are also in the colour scheme for the facades (dark baron-red), while the building of IFES is painted all in white. The Museum in Vienna has a linearly starched facade, while the Palace of Presidency has a more compact facade.

Figure 145: Facade of the Museum of Applied Arts Building (Museum für Angewandte Kunst, MAK⁴³⁹) in Vienna, source: MAK (www.mak.at), redesign by Author (Removed illustration because of the copy rights.)

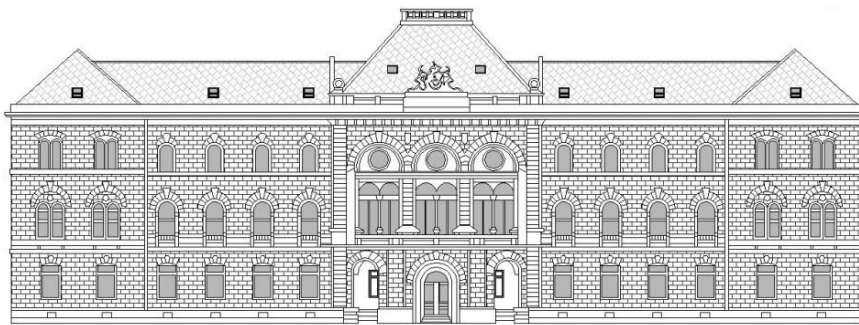


Figure 146: Facade of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Predsjedništvo BiH) in Sarajevo, source: Arhiv BiH⁴⁴⁰, redrawn by Author

Analysis of urban conditions specified in terms of ambience shows many similarities between treated architectural objects. The main access to all three buildings is from the main streets, but also from side streets (IFES and Presidency). Access sequence in Sarajevo has a "longitudinal" line of looking at the architectural object, as well as the access sequence for the MAK building, while this is slightly different for the IFES building. Since the neighbouring buildings are almost all representative and mainly come from the same period, the importance and aesthetic value of the Palace of Presidency in Sarajevo and both buildings in Vienna makes them a part of an ambient architectural group. Both the Sarajevo and Vienna cases are excellent examples of how good urban planning can highlight the good architecture. These buildings show a lot of understanding for Genius loci which is shown through chosen visual language in communication with neighbouring buildings and their functions.

⁴³⁹ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv: AT-OeStA/AVA PKF PS A-II-c/3

⁴⁴⁰ Arhiv BiH: Zgrada Zemaljske vlade za BiH, ABH, ZVS-GO, kutije 15, 16

Figure 147: Table of comparison for Museum für Angewandte Kunst (MAK), Institut für empirische Sozialforschung GmbH – IFES (Institute for Empirical Social Research Building), and Predsjedništvo Bosne i Hercegovine (The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Building), Collected and designed by Author

Filters	Museum für Angewandte Kunst (Austrian MAK) Institut für empirische Sozialforschung GmbH – IFES (Institute for Empirical Social Research Building)	Predsjedništvo Bosne i Hercegovine (The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Building)	Comment
Year of construction	1871, MAK 1884, IFES	1884/86, Josip pl. Vancaš 1911, Karel Pařík	The construction of the building in Sarajevo was done in two stages.
Architect/s	Heinrich von Ferstel, MAK Förster Emil and Alois Augenfeld, IFES	Josip pl. Vancaš Karel Pařík (3 rd floor extension)	Josip pl. Vancaš studied in Vienna in the time period of construction of the Museum.
Architectural Style	Neo – Renaissance	Neo – Renaissance	The Presidency in Sarajevo has lots of elements of “Florence’s Renaissance.”
Type of building	Public: Culture and Government	Public: Government	Both buildings are designed as monumental public buildings of different functions.
Urban setting	Linear/ Block	Linear	Both buildings are positioned on the main urban axis in both cities; Vienna and Sarajevo.
Ornaments	Rich	Rich	There are the same ornaments in the interior of both buildings.
Facade (size, volumes, proportions)	The Museum has linearly starched facade, while the Presidency has more compact fasade; both buildings are with the same volume division of main facades and the same roof shape.		
Facade (polychrome and plastic decorations)	Rich in details and amount a) Intense, dark similar colours b) White facade	Rich in details and amount Intense, dark similar colours	The same or similar architectural and stylistic elements on both facades of both buildings.
Interior	Moderate Rich	Very Rich	The MAK in Vienna has one of the richest (in terms of decoration) interiors in the world. The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina has very rich interior decorations.
Function	Changed	Original	
Current State	Excellent	The building is listed as a national monument in danger.	Both buildings went through many renovation works in the past.
Visually similar elements	Architectural style, colours of exterior, windows, facades in details and in general, roofs, etc.		

4.5. The Marienhof Building in Sarajevo and Baldiahof Building in Vienna

Although with the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, residential-business palaces were a novelty in architecture⁴⁴¹, although these buildings were already built in Vienna. The residential-business palaces in Sarajevo were a turning point in the understanding of the space. In the Ottoman period, housing and business/ commercial functions were never mixed. The town was divided between trade and work (čaršija) and housing areas (mahala.) The residential-business palace, for the first time, entered the architecture of Sarajevo. New architects, using already built residential and commercial palaces in Vienna as role models, built similar structures in Sarajevo.

There are numerous examples from Vienna and Sarajevo that are linked by a large number of similar solutions in relation to the urban setting, but also in relation to details, such as a fence on stairs. Wrought iron fences in the buildings of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina can also be found in buildings built in the same period in Vienna, referring to the same manufacturer, or the same design solutions of one person. Two examples, one from Vienna and the other from Sarajevo, show a lot of visual and conceptual similarities, but it's still difficult to establish the connection between these buildings or which might be the role model because they were built during the same time and the architect for the Sarajevo building is unknown. In Vienna this is the Baldiahof palace, and in Sarajevo it is the Marienhof⁴⁴² palace.

The Marienhof palace⁴⁴³ was designed in the spirit of the Italian Neo-Renaissance, and it is located in the neighborhood of Sarajevo named after this palace (Marijin dvor), in the Maršala Tita Street no. 1. The Baldiahof palace located in Vienna on Ottakringer Street no. 104, is an example of Italian Neo-Renaissance architecture as well. Both palaces are residential-business two-storeyed palaces with attics in which the apartments were subsequently built. The Marienhof is designed as a block type

⁴⁴¹ Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC, p. 75 - 84

⁴⁴² Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 166 – 167

⁴⁴³ Trapara, Boris (2015) *Marienhof/ August i Marija Braun* [www.coolbastina.ba], available on: <http://coolbastina.ba/vodic-kroz-bastinu/marienhof-august-i-marija-braun/> [accessed on 23th March 2019]

building with a closed interior courtyard in the form of a trapezoid. The Baldiahof is planned as a block building with a closed inner courtyard, but only a part of it was built. Communications at the Marienhof palace are provided over nine entrances and ten stairways. At the Baldiahof palace, the communications are provided over three entrances and four staircases (the fourth staircase leads from the third floor to the attic.)

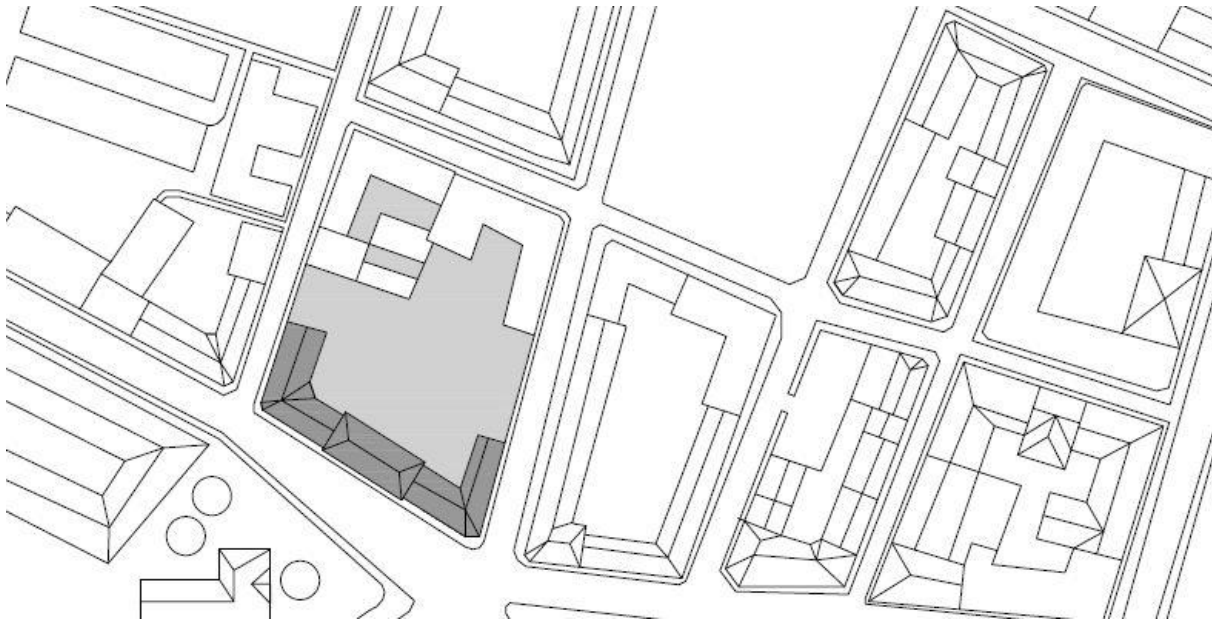


Figures 148 and 149: Facades of the Baldiahof palace in Vienna (image: 135, 21/03/2018) and Marienhof palace in Sarajevo (image: 136, 18/04/2017), Photographs by Author

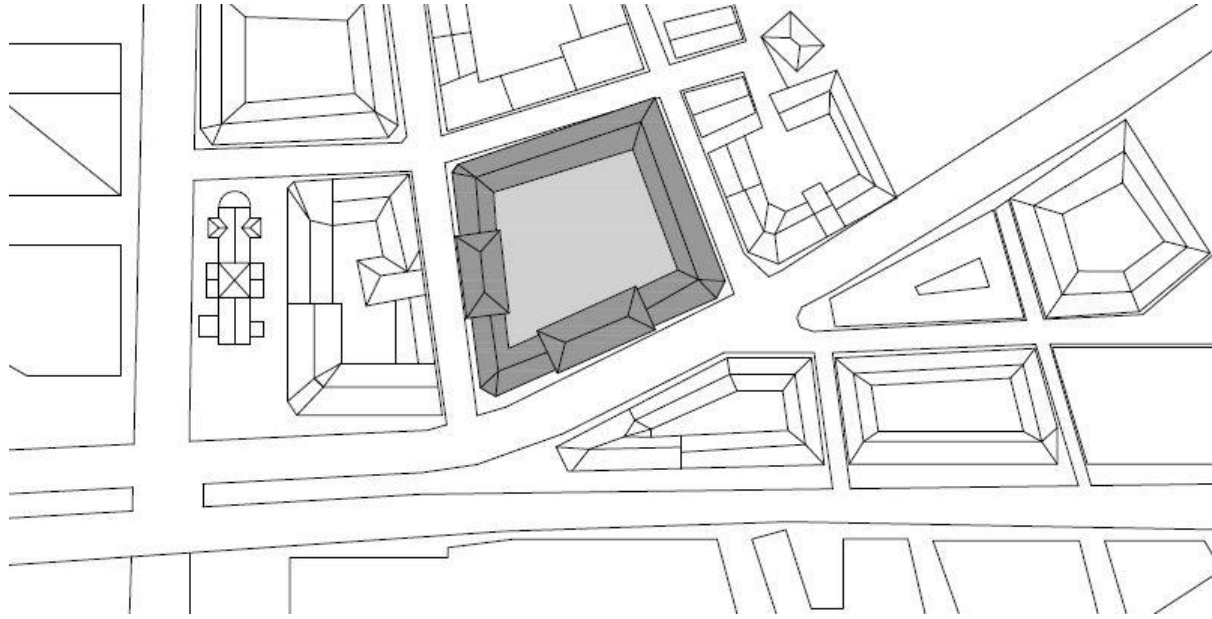
The Sarajevo's Palace⁴⁴⁴ is designed by unknown architect, although on the basis of certain architectural elements, there is speculation that it could be Josip pl. Vancaš,

⁴⁴⁴ In addition to business premises in the ground floor and storages in the basements, there are 78 apartments of various structures: 8 one-bedroom, 2 one-and-half-bedroom, 28 two-bedroom, 12 two-and-half-bedroom, 21 three-bedroom, 1 three-and-half-bedroom and 6 four-bedroom apartments. The size of the apartments ranges from 44.5 m² to 125 m². The rooms are very large, so the square meters of each apartment type do not match today's surfaces of flats of the same type. The size of the building is witnessed by the number of windows of 544 pcs. and the number of doors in the apartments (563 pieces.) Hight diversity vary, from G + 2 to G + 3. The height of the floor is from 3, 20 to 5, 00 meters, depending on whether it is a residential or business part of the building. The dimensions of the building were not previously seen in Sarajevo, and the longest facade extends in the length of 86,00 m. Foundations and basement walls were built of stone in mortar or drywall.

and it is known that the investor was a famous local industrialist and manufacturer of building materials August Braun. The palace was named after his wife Maria, and every piece of brick, which was used in the construction of the building, bears the symbol "AB". After meeting Maria, August added a heart around the initials on every single brick he produced. From these bricks, the Braun family house and the building of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo were built.



Figures 150 and 151: The Baldiahof palace in Vienna (up) and Marienhof palace in Sarajevo (down), Site plans drawn by Author



On the ground floor of Marienhof, along the Tito Street, there is a commercial space, which is designed as such. There is another office space in the building, but it has been taken from renovated apartments. The tendency of using apartments as the offices is present with Marienhof palace since its construction, as well as with the Baldiahof palace. Several times during the Austro-Hungarian period the building was adapted to receive new functions in the form of a flat or an office space. Before the Second World War, in the building of Marienhof, in addition to other functions, there were an elementary school, a women's vocational school and a police station. The attic was used to dry the laundry, until it was once redesigned and rebuilt as housing space with apartments. The same intervention took place at Baldiahof when the attic was filled with apartments. This caused great damages to both palaces. The biggest problem was with water and sewage, which in the first phase of the project was not even planned for in the Marienhof.

The main façade of the Marienhof is oriented towards Tito Street. It has a symmetrical composition with a slightly protruding avant-corps which is four floors high, while the wings are lower for one floor. In the same way, the main facade of Baldiahof is also built in Ottakringer Street. Both palaces are dominated by a strong ground floor with wall plates that were originally modeled in *bosage*. A strong cordon wreath of the Marienhof palace divides the ground and the floor areas of the facades. The façade of the wings ends with a prominent under-roof wreath. Between the windows of III floor at the avant-corps there are double pilasters with a maskeron in the position of the capitals. At the Baldiahof palace, the modeling of avant-corps is much richer, and this is the only distinguished difference in comparing the two facades of these two palaces. The other facades of Marienhof have a symmetrical composition. The common feature of the inner court yard facades of both palaces is that they follow the mass and volume of street facades in width and height and that their surface treatment is very poor. The roof is correctly resolved according to all rules for solving the sloping roof, and as a mass it is an ideal example of a successfully resolved fifth facade.

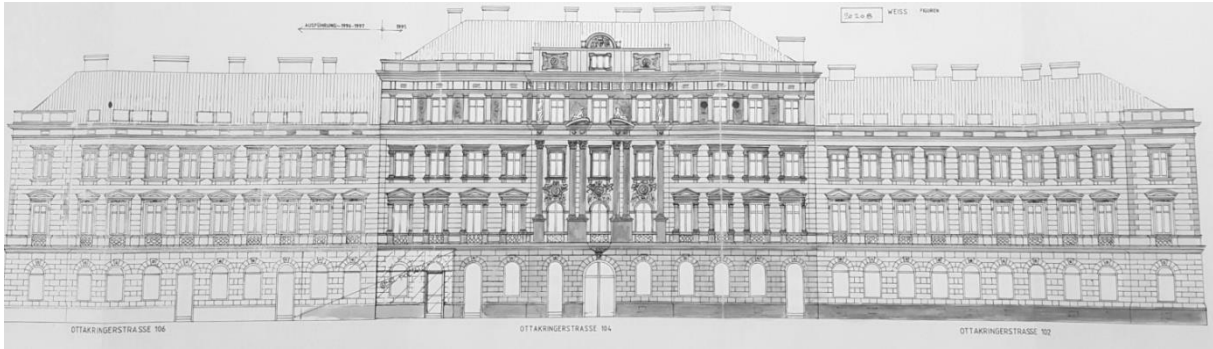


Figure 152: Facade of the Baldiahof palace in Vienna, source: Archive of Vienna Municipality 1160 Ottakring, redrawn by Anton Wosolsobe and Michael Neudecker

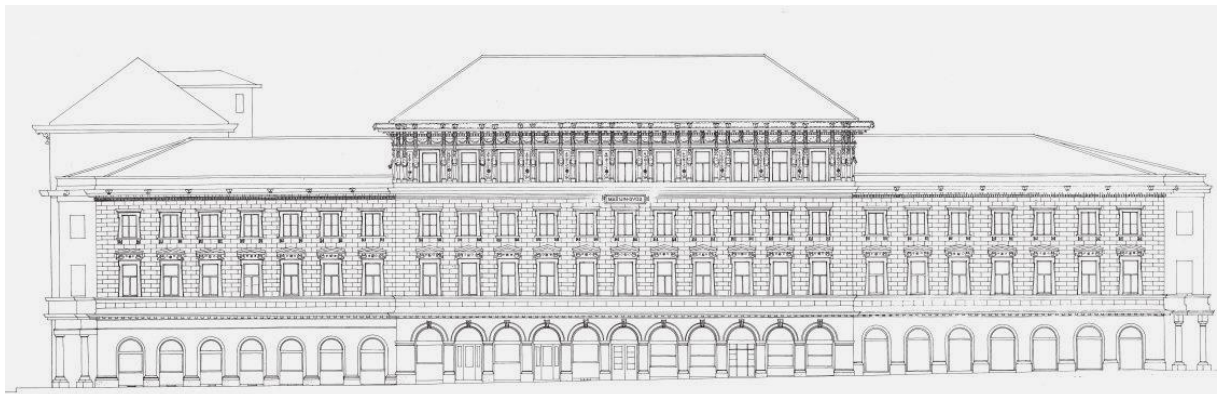


Figure 153: Facade of the Marienhof palace in Sarajevo, source: Borislav Spasojević, Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu, redrawn by Author

The characteristic of almost all apartments is to enter only two apartments from the hallway at the Maienhof Palace. In multi-dwelling apartments, one room is regularly accessed from another, regardless of the fact that in these dwellings the hallway is often formed, for access to an increased number of rooms, and this applies to both palaces. This allowed circular movement at the apartments. From the current point of view, the Marienhof palace is very successfully, masterly and skillfully aesthetically composed. The present state of the building is at a very modest level. The main problems are the worsening of installations, water supply, plaster, flooring, carpentry, etc. The external facades were repaired on several occasions. It is done poorly, without sufficient means, with the desire to be at least painted. In order to once again highlight the artistic value and to keep the functions of Marienhof, in 1986, with great effort, the external facades were restored and deep rustics in the ground floor were re-executed.

By analyzing the archival materials, the urban setting, the architectural features and details of both palaces, it is clear that the common features of both palaces are the deep quadrant rustics - *bosage* of the ground floors with window openings ending

semicircularly, then the first floors have square window openings with decorative tympanons which are not above the windows of the second floor. At the level of the first floor parapet at Baldiahof there is a balustrade. At the Marienhof the balustrade only emerges on the cut corners. The number of windows from central to lateral avant-corps is ten in the Baldiahof (symmetrically on both sides), which makes the facade stretched in relation to the Marienhof with seven windows from the central avant-corps to the lateral ones (symmetrically on both sides.) The number of windows in the central avant-corps in both palaces is the same (11 on all three floors.) The urban matrix for both palaces is of the same concept as the architectural composition. The similarities reflected in visually almost identical façades, proportions, dimensions and scale, point out to a direct connection between the Baldihof in Vienna and the Marienhof in Sarajevo.

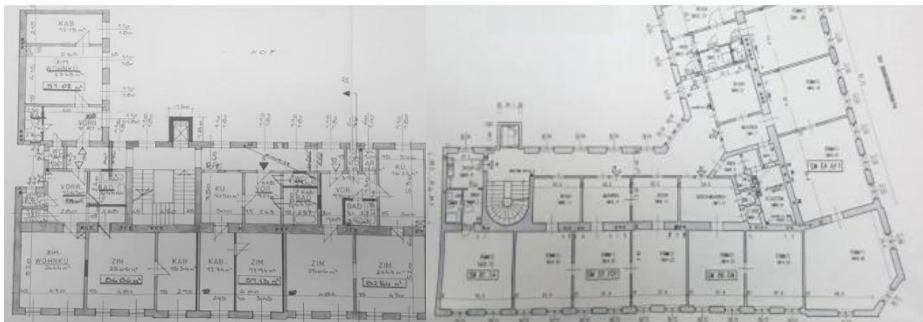


Figure 154: A small segment of the First floor of the Baldiahof palace in Vienna, source: Archive of Vienna Municipality 1160 Ottakring, redrawn by Anton Wosolsobe and Michael Neudecker

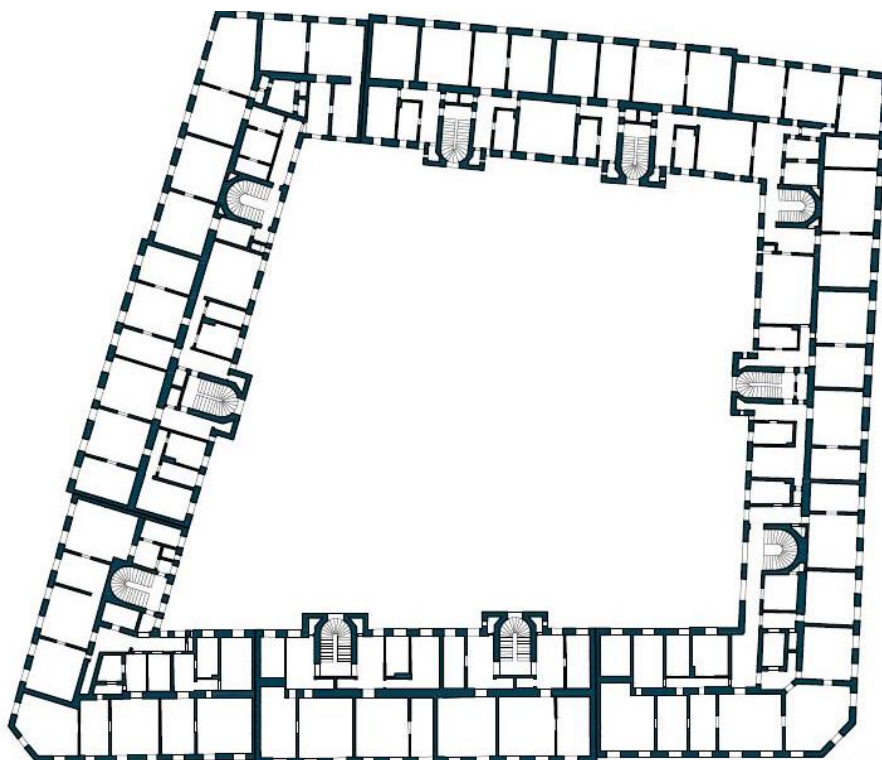


Figure 155: The First floor of the Marienhof palace in Sarajevo, source: Borislav Spasojević, Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu, redrawn by Author

Filters	The Baldiahof Building	Marijin dvor (The Marienhof Building)	Comment
Year of construction	1892	1895/97.	The construction of the building in Sarajevo was done in few stages, and the construction of the building in Vienna was never finished.
Architect/s	Ferdinand Baldia Hans Kraus	Unknown, but probably Josip pl. Vancaš	There is no connection between architects of two palaces.
Architectural Style	Neo – Renaissance	Neo – Renaissance	
Type of building	Residential-business palace	Residential-business palace	Both buildings are designed with commercial ground floors and apartments on upper floors.
Urban setting	Linear, with courtyard	Linear, with courtyard	Both buildings are positioned in similar urban fabric.
Ornaments	Modest	Modest	The treatment of facades is the same with both buildings with some rich details at the facade of Vienna's building.
Facade (size, volumes, proportions)	Both buildings are with the same volume division of main facades and the same roof shape.		
Facade (polychrome and plastic decorations)	Modest in details and amount Light colours	Modest to rich in details and amount Light colours	The same or similar architectural and stylistic elements on both facades of both buildings.
Interior	Simple	Simple	Some of the apartments changed their function from housing to offices.
Function	Original	Original	
Current State	Very good	Very bad	Both buildings went through many renovation works in the past.
Visually similar elements	Architectural style, concept, proportions, volumes, size, windows, facades in details and in general, roofs, etc.		

Figure 156: Table of comparison for Baldiahof Palace in Vienna, and Marienhof Palace (Marijin dvor) in Sarajevo, Collected and designed by Author

4.6. The Post Office Building in Sarajevo and Austrian Postal Savings Bank Building in Vienna

In Vienna, Otto Wagner took one of the first steps from the architecture of Secession to the architecture of Modernism through a project for the *Österreichische Postsparkasse* in Vienna's Ringstrasse.⁴⁴⁵ A few years later, the Viennese student Josip pl. Vancaš designed the *Glavna pošta* building⁴⁴⁶ in Sarajevo, the most monumental expression of Secession architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These two buildings, designed with a similar purpose and a similar urban setting, represent significant achievements in the context of the time and environment in which they were built. Although the Vienna role model is exceptionally advanced for its environment, the Sarajevo's replica⁴⁴⁷ has not followed a new wave in architecture, but has retained established and well-known rules of Secession. Although dispositively different, conceptually, both buildings exhibit a series of diversity, while the main façade is in proportions and rhythms of windows, and the horizontal level of squaring rustics in the lower zone are almost identical. The Austrian Postal Savings Bank Building in Vienna and the Main Post Office in Sarajevo represent an examples of the application of two different Secession interpretations to proportional identical façades of buildings of similar purpose; in Sarajevo it is a *mature* Secession, and in Vienna a *delayed* Secession at the transition to Modern architecture. This is contradictory, taking into account that the more advanced Vienna version is older, and the Sarajevo version is the younger one, which could be explained by the relation between the center and the periphery, that is, the leader and the followers. The ideas in architecture and culture that came from Vienna to the distant parts of the Monarchy were implemented with a time distance, and the periphery failed to catch up with the centers as can be seen on this example.

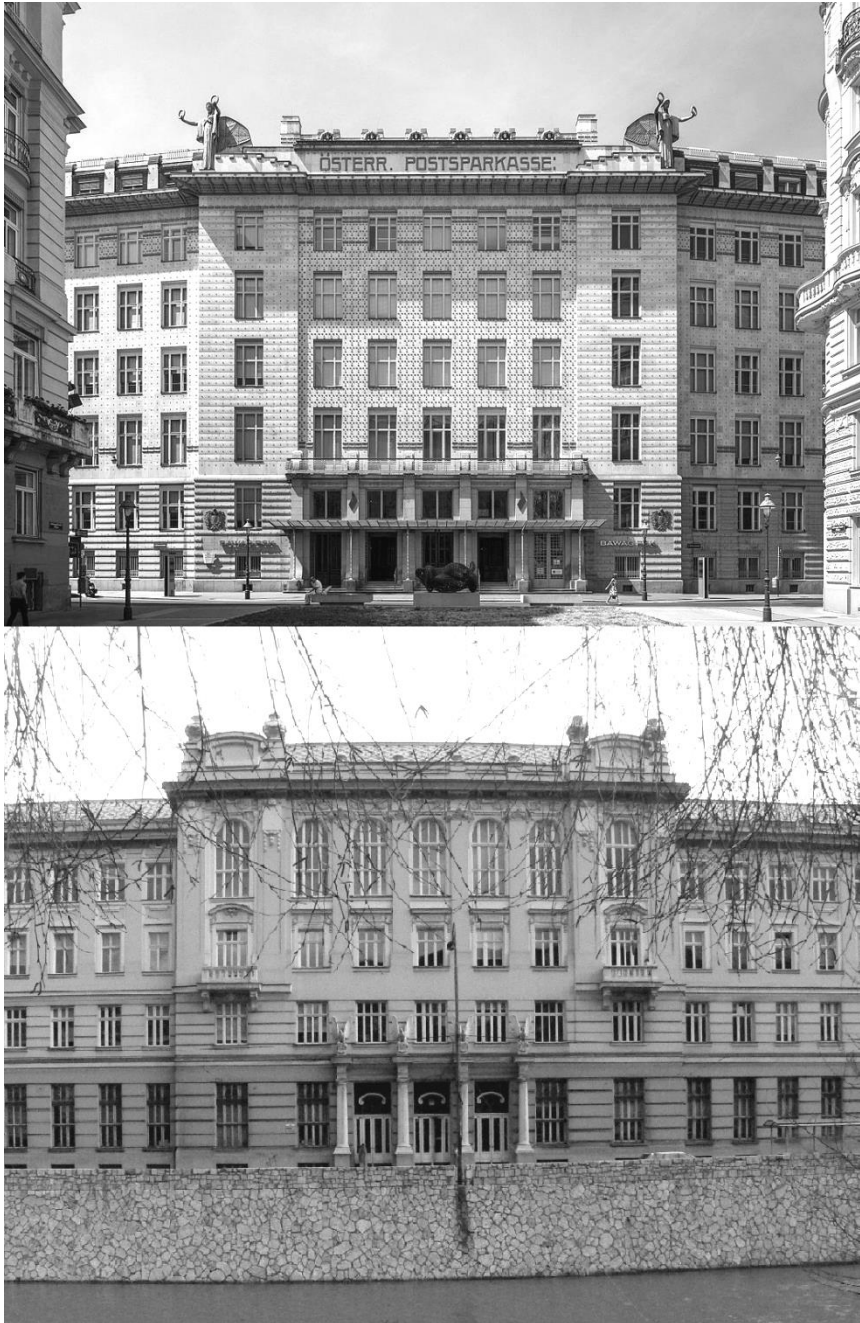
The urban design of the Main Post Office in Sarajevo from 1913, at the front of the then representative Apollo river bank and in the immediate neighborhood with the Social Club (now The National Theater), gave the building a monumental, solemn and dignified architectural expression. Architect Josip pl. Vancaš applied all

⁴⁴⁵ Nierhaus, Andreas (2014) *Of the Use and Abuse of History for Building in Vienna's Ringstrasse. The Book*, Ostfildern Hatje Cantz Verlag, p. 132

⁴⁴⁶ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 183

⁴⁴⁷ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 208 - 209

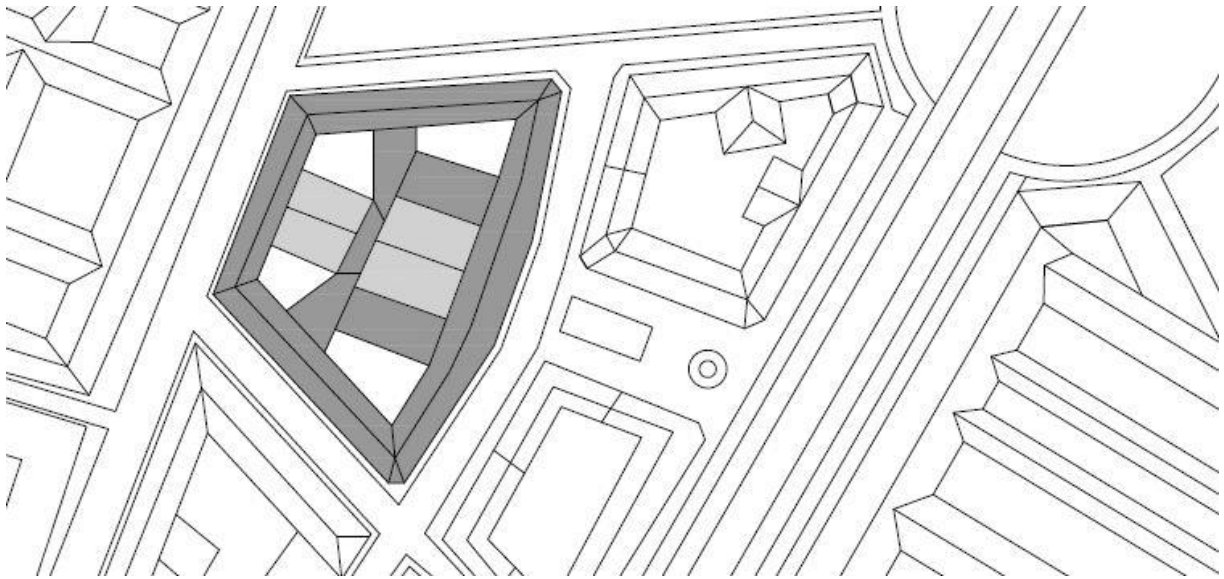
advanced technical improvements at this facility, which were innovative for that period. The Post Office was equipped with modern installations and connected to the railroad line that entered the building itself. On the basis of numerous functional and physical similarities, it is clear that Vancaš knew Wagner's Postal Savings Bank in Vienna in 1906 and that it served as the basic concept for his project.



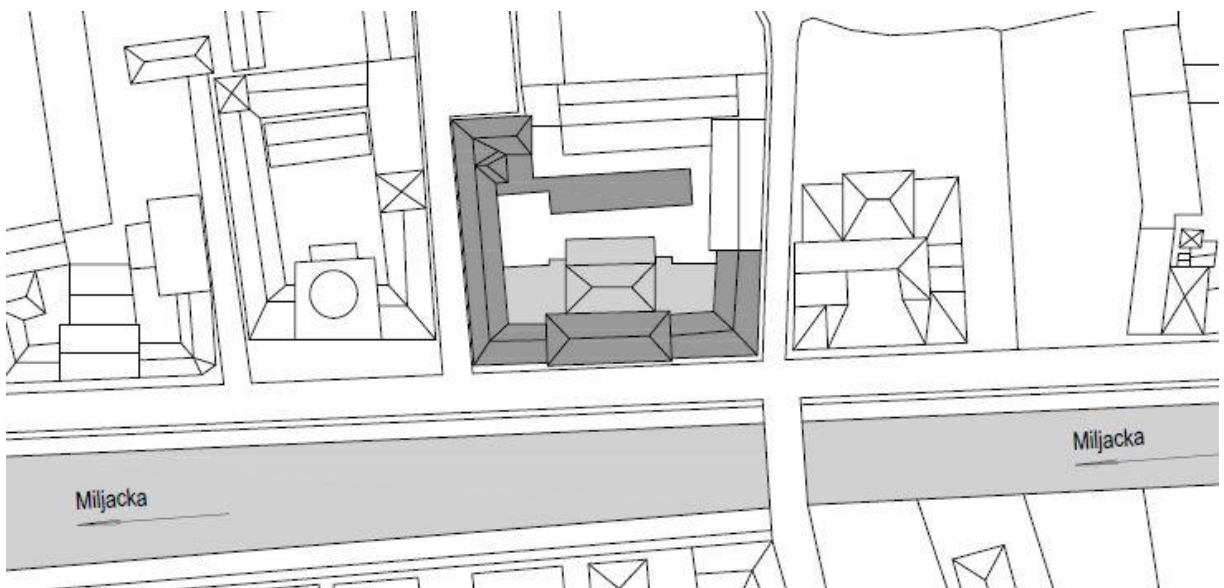
Figures 157 and 158:
Facades of the
Österreichische
Postsparkasse - Austrian
Postal Savings Bank (image:
140, 22/09/2018) and Glavna
pošta – Central Post Office in
Sarajevo (image: 141,
10/11/2009), Photographs by
Author

The main hall of the Main Post Office, as a central representative space of the building, is covered by an iron structure and there is glass on the total surface of the roof which gives a zenithal lighting. The hall has no pillars, and by this Vancaš shows a standard secession approach to design. The elements of the facade as a whole are

secessionist, and there is a deviation in certain parts, which is probably the result of the location and the context in which the building is created. The central hall of the Österreichische Postsparkasse in Vienna is like the one in Sarajevo; the most representative part of the building. It has been modeled with a lot of advanced and futuristic use of iron for decorative and constructive purposes, which was in the context of an industrial revolution, which indicates Wagner's vision of the development of architecture in the future.



Figures 159 and 160: The Österreichische Postsparkasse⁴⁴⁸ - Austrian Postal Savings Bank (up) and Glavna pošta – Central Post Office in Sarajevo (down), Drawn by Author

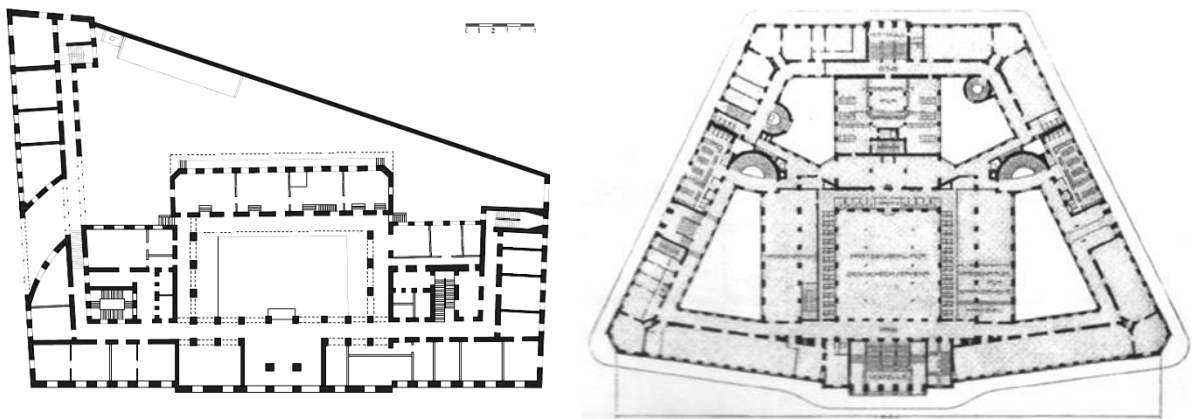


⁴⁴⁸ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv: AT-OeStA/AdR PK 2Rep AR Reden Schärf 454

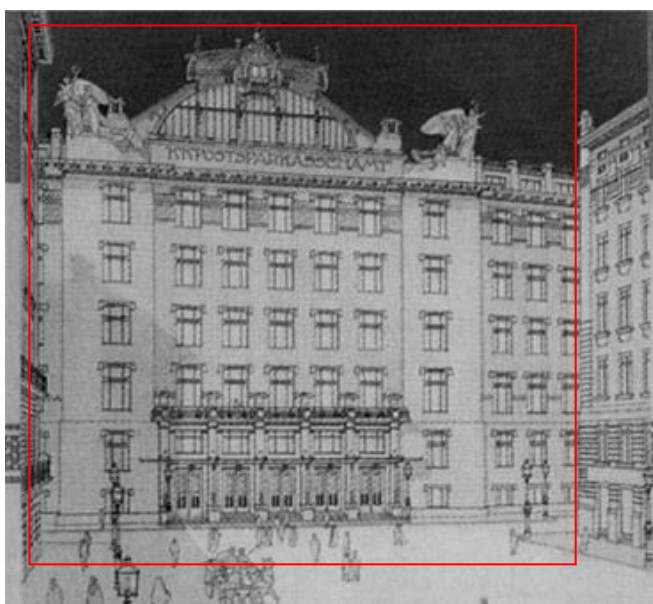
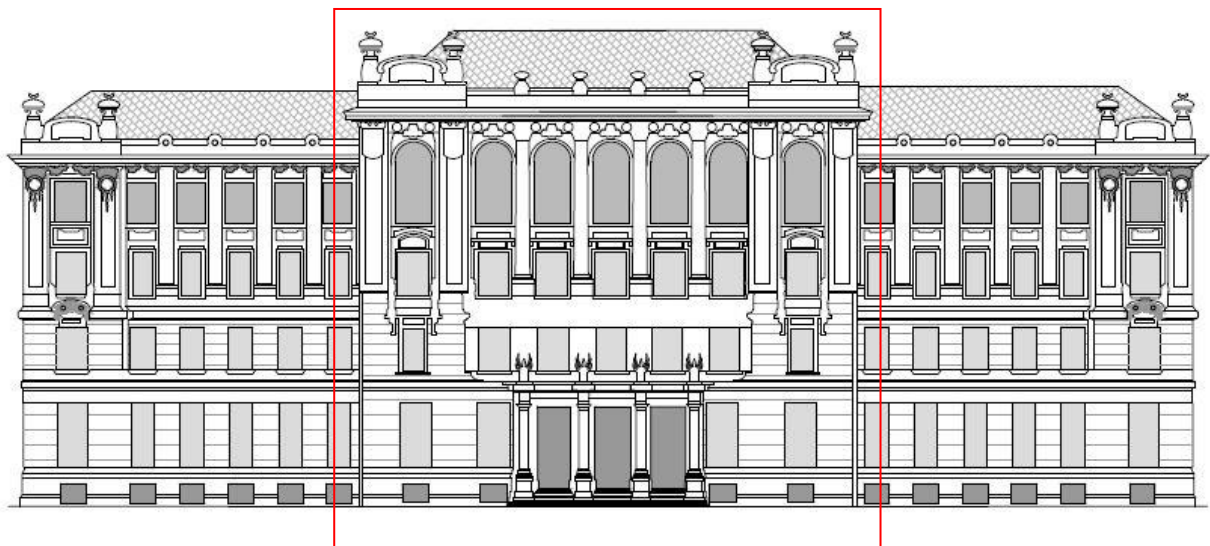
Both buildings were built with massive walls, using reinforced concrete in structures above the basement and above the first floor. From reinforced concrete, the first reinforced concrete beam above the passage of a significant range was made on the Sarajevo Main Post office building. Structures above the first, second and third floors were constructed as wooden structures with all the appropriate layers. Originally, the building was covered with metal in two colors, black and gray. This detail was found in the Viennese archives, after it was forgotten. In the original project for the Main Post office, Vancaš⁴⁴⁹ built the central hall in height of 6.35 which would correspond to the corners of the first floor. By further analyzes, he found that he had picked a small dimension in which the central hall's representativity would not be possible, so he changed his own designs before the beginning of the construction. Just after finishing the construction, Vancaš decided to raise the height of the iron-glass roof of the central hall to the level of the second floor. During the execution of the project, he made changes to the plastic elements on the facade and performed another extension/ construction in the northern part of the annex. Wagner's Österreichische Postsparkasse has a central hall modeled as a basilica with three ships, but a fully glazed roof and pillars between ships. Although the traditional solution, in practice, the interior of the central hall materials and the massive proportional representation of the mass achieved a modernist solution. Unlike the Sarajevo version, the Viennese version has the features of an industrial design and it is completely free of polychrome and plastic decoration, which was also an indirect goodbye to academism and an opening up to the new ideas in architecture. One of the rare decorative elements in Wagner's central hall are steel rivets on the pillars.

During the usage of the Main Post office in Sarajevo, and after its completion, there were changes made by the owners for their needs, sometimes contrary to the principles of the protection of cultural-historical heritage sites. During the modernization of the Main Post office building in 1920, shields of the monarchy that were in the central hall were removed. During the Second World War, a decorative roof wreath was destroyed with all the details, which was then dismantled and not renewed until the 1995-2000 Recovery Project.

⁴⁴⁹ Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, p. 15-31



Figures 161 and 162: The Ground floor of the Central post Office (Glavn pošta) in Sarajevo, source: Arhiv BiH⁴⁵⁰, and the Ground floor of the Austrian Postal Savings Bank (Österreichische Postsparkasse) in Vienna, redrawn by Author and source: Caroline Jäger-Klein



Figures 163 and 164: Facade of the Central post Office (Glavn pošta) in Sarajevo (up, redrawn by Author), source: Arhiv BiH, and the facade of the Austrian Postal Savings Bank (Österreichische Postsparkasse) in Vienna (right, source of the illustrations (right, facade: Caroline Jäger-Klein.)

⁴⁵⁰Arhiv BiH: Zgrada pošte, ABH, ZVS-GO, kutija 59

The Main Post office⁴⁵¹ in Sarajevo experienced significant damage during the earthquake in 1980 when certain construction activities had to be undertaken to stabilize the building. The central hall, as the central and most representative part of the building, remained almost untouched all the way to the last war events from 1992 until 1995, when the damage to the building was about 80%. All infrastructural systems, wooden interconstructions, roof structure, interior doors and windows were completely destroyed. Due to the fire, the iron grid above the central hall was deformed to such a level that it could not be repaired. According to the investor's program, the adaptation of the building is designed for an administrative function with the use of central space-telephone and telephone booths as a public space. The decorative plastic in the aula is completely destroyed due to fire and atmospheric influences. It was possible to take photogrammetric recording one of the wall surfaces that was in the best condition, and to dismantle the decorative plastic details on the basis of which the workshop restoration was done, and then the filling and assembly of new elements were modeled in gypsum. The cassettes of the entrance part are based on the original details also made of the modeling gypsum on the basis of which the restoration was done. Gypsum-lime plaster was used for the peripheral walls in the final layer. All steel window grids were restored, and those that were missing were modeled based on the existing ones.

Unlike the Sarajevo version, the Viennese model did not undergo a violent war destruction, and a large percentage of the originality and authenticity of the building has been retained to this date. One of the basic differences between these two buildings is the form of the disposition that is in the Österreichische Postsparkasse a trapeze. It is square in the Main Post office. In the urban setting, the difference is that regardless of the position in the newly built Appel's river coast in Sarajevo, the disproportion with the environment makes it impossible for the Main Post office

⁴⁵¹ *Research in the Vienna Archives did not unfortunately fail to provide the original documentation of the author. Only basic layouts of the disposition of floors and sections on a modest scale of 1: 100 were found without any details. The hotdocumentation found in the archives in Vienna significantly helped to identify façade elements that were destroyed and dismantled in 1945. During the development of the project, a complete architectural and geodetic recording of the object was performed, showing significant deviations in horizontal and vertical dimensions, which can be interpreted as errors in the original performance. The project was realized in phases, as well as its renovation. Projects for constructive rehabilitation, roof and roof renovation were completed, restoration and adaptation of the facility for functional use, restoration of aula and façade, and projects of all installations and interiors. The building was officially opened on May 3, 2002.*

building to be seen in its size and monumentality, and if there was not that possibility on the other side of the Miljacka river, the visual significance the building would be greatly reduced. At the Österreichische Postsparkasse, a small square is formed in front of the main facade and it is placed in such a way that it emphasizes the main facade of the Wagner's Österreichische Postsparkasse. Such an urban setting emphasized the importance of the facility through the access sequence that does not exist with the Sarajevo Main Post office. In relation to the central façade of both buildings, the difference is reflected in the fact that Vancaš designed a large hall through the third and fourth floors of the Main Post office building which is shown on the facade as well, and Wagner's division of the façade was contradictory to the visual design remaining traditional. The volume of the central avant-corps of both main facades is almost identical according to the graphic and photo documentation.

Figure 165: Illustration of the the Österreichische Postsparkasse⁴⁵² - Austrian Postal Savings Bank, source: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Photograph of the illustration taken by Author on 12/03/2019 (Removed illustration because of the copy rights.)

Figure 166 (on the next page): Table of comparison for Österreichische Postsparkasse (Austrian Postal Savings Bank) in Vienna, and Glavna pošta (Central Post Office) in Sarajevo, Collected and designed by Author

⁴⁵² Österreichisches Staatsarchiv: AT-OeStA/AdR PK 2Rep AR Reden Schärf 454

Filters	Österreichische Postsparkasse (Austrian Postal Savings Bank)	Glavna pošta (Central Post Office)	Comment
Year of construction	1906	1913	Both buildings were constructed in one stage.
Architect/s	Otto Wagner	Josip pl. Vancaš	Josip pl. Vancaš studied in Vienna and he was very well familiar with Otto Wagner's work.
Architectural Style	Secession	Secession	The building in Vienna presents developed form of Secession, while the building in Sarajevo presents earlier version of Secession despite it was built after its Vienna's <i>role model</i> .
Type of building	Public: Postal Bank	Public: Post Office	Both buildings are designed with almost the same function.
Urban setting	Linear, with closed and covered courtyard	Linear, with closed and covered courtyard	Both buildings are positioned on the main urban axis in both cities; Vienna and Sarajevo.
Ornaments	Modest to Rich (according to style)	Modest to Rich (according to style)	The treatment of facades is similar with both buildings with some rich details at the facade of Vienna's building.
Facade (size, volumes, proportions)	Both buildings are with similar volumes, division of main facades and similar proportions.		
Facade (polychrome and plastic decorations)	Modest in details and amount (according to style) Light colours: white	Modest to rich in details and amount (according to style) Light colours: yellow	The same or similar architectural and stylistic elements on both facades of both buildings.
Interior	Rich	Rich	Some of the apartments changed their function from housing to offices.
Function	Original	Original	
Current State	Very good	Very Good	Both buildings went through many renovation works in the past.
Visually similar elements	Architectural style, concept, proportions, volumes, size, windows, facades in details and in general, roofs, etc.		

4.7. Originals and copies in Architecture: The Power of the Centers - East and West

Sarajevo is 750 kilometres far from Vienna and almost twice as much from Istanbul. By looking at these distances from a context of time it is possible to understand why such a geographical position of the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina directly conditioned historical and political circumstances, and indirectly events in architecture and culture. If Bosnia and Herzegovina is analyzed from the corners of the two most dominant historical periods, of which the first Ottoman period is with the centre in Istanbul, and the second Austro-Hungarian period with the centre in Vienna (and Budapest), then in both these historical periods it was periphery, but not only in the geographical, but also in the administrative, cultural and social segments. As the domains of the eastern culture realized through the Ottoman period with Istanbul as a centre and role model, and as the ultimate reach of the Western culture realized through the Austro-Hungarian period with Vienna and Budapest as centres and role models, Bosnia and Herzegovina produced from the mentioned external influences and its own inherited values of tradition an authentic cultural and historical heritage. The architectural heritage of the periphery, and in relation to the centre, represents a specific form of cultural and historical value, often expressed through replicas created under the influence of the role model. As such, the architectural heritage of the periphery can be considered twofold; in the context of the centre and the periphery.

Analyzing historical ambiences in Ottoman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina; from monumental to simple buildings, details and ornaments in the context of the centre and the periphery, it is possible to monitor the weakening of the impact coming from the centre to the periphery, as well as adapting its influence to the local circumstances. Examples of this in the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina are numerous, and among the sacral buildings there are monumental mosques such as the Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka (whose role model was the Muradiye mosque in Manisa, Turkey), all the way to residential architecture (for example Svrzo house in Sarajevo) which shows a series of similarities with the residential architecture of Anadolu, Turkey. The spread of cultural and architectural influences that came from Istanbul are now the remains of a well-preserved material culture, which can be traced back to the Blagaj Takke. The Levant Baroque in Ottoman architecture comes

to Bosnia and Herzegovina through Bulgaria, Macedonia and South Serbia. This exceptionally decorative period in the development of Ottoman architecture in similarly conceived buildings in Bulgaria has retained a polychrome decoration (intense colours of wall plates and ornaments), while in Bosnia and Herzegovina only architectural elements (proportions and volumes) arrived, and the wall surfaces stayed white, devoid of polychrome decoration. The similarities between the architectural heritage of the centre and the architectural heritage of the periphery are not only evidence of material culture, but also the historical, political, social and private links between the Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns with Istanbul.

On the other hand, by analyzing urban and spatial concepts, the relationship between private and public, the emergence of wide streets, boulevards and parks, through monumental public buildings, private buildings all the way to details and ornaments in the context of the centre and periphery when it comes to the Austro-Hungarian period⁴⁵³ in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is possible to monitor the influence that comes from the centre to the periphery, but also to determine completely original results of the combination of this influence and the local circumstances realized through the neo-styles in architecture and architecture of the Bosnian style. Examples of this in the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina are numerous, and among the sacral buildings those are the Franciscan monasteries that were mostly restored in the Austro-Hungarian period and which in most cases preserved their appearance from the Austro-Hungarian period, but also individual sacred buildings such as the Evangelical Chapel in Vienna and the former Evangelical Church⁴⁵⁴ in Sarajevo (now the Academy of Fine Arts), then the ELTE University Library in Budapest and the Villa Mandić⁴⁵⁵ in Sarajevo, then Baldiahof in Vienna and Marienhof⁴⁵⁶ in Sarajevo, as well as a number of other role models and replicas. The Sarajevo versions of buildings built in Vienna and Budapest are generally smaller in size, simplified in plastic and polychrome decoration, while the volumes and proportions are retained, as well as the façade design in accordance with the chosen style of construction whose rules apply the same to both; to the centre and the

⁴⁵³ Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 43 - 145

⁴⁵⁴ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 184 - 185

⁴⁵⁵ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 192 - 193

⁴⁵⁶ Trapara, Boris (2015) *Marienhof/ August i Marija Braun* [www.coolbastina.ba], available on: <http://coolbastina.ba/vodic-kroz-bastinu/marienhof-august-i-marija-braun/> [accessed on 23th March 2019]

periphery. The connection between the role model and the replica among the architectural achievements of the Austro-Hungarian period testifies not only to material evidence, but also to historical, political, study, private and social ties between the Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns and Vienna and Budapest on the one hand, as well as the architects who created or influenced the architecture of this period in both; in centres and on the periphery.

If the examples of the replica, or architectural units and buildings created under the influence of the large centres of the East and the West are viewed in the regional context, they represent outstanding achievements of architecture on the Bosnian and Herzegovinian soil, and their value is even greater than their diversity in terms of historical styles, opportunities and cultures mixed in the area. German professor Lipp Wolfgang⁴⁵⁷ explains this perception through regionalism and the "intimate soil" syntagm whose strength is greater than the strength of the centres, since individual creative impulses, although sometimes impeded and ignored, form a significant part of the parallelograms of creative forces. Therefore, the architectural achievements in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be analyzed in the context of the spirit of the place and historical conditionality and the dataset, and not stripped without the physical and cultural-historical environment. Whatever is the power of the centre, the power of the periphery is reflected in the response to the dictation coming from the centre and in the ability to apply it directly or interpret it to the local ambience. Both approaches are challenging, first because it is an attempt to reconcile strange and unknown architecture with established rules of space, and the other because it represents the creative effort of an individual or group to reconcile the inherited - old and imposed - new.

Exceptional architectural achievements in centres such as Vienna and Istanbul as a foundation have had strong and secure economic, political and social foundations that have provided a stable environment for the development and progress of various architectural styles and trends. On the other hand, the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the outskirts of turbulent historical circumstances could not achieve the continuity of artistic and craft activities and developments that would be interrupted by a new war conflict, or economic, political and social instability, every

⁴⁵⁷ Lipp, Wolfgang (1986) *Heimatbewegung, Regionalismus, Kultur und Gesellschaft, Sonderheft*, Köln: Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, p. 331-352

few decades. In cities and peripheries, the administrative system was often of a temporary character and sometimes totally opposite to the previous system to which it referred with ignorance. Such a historical and political climate could not provide a stable architectural scene that always relied on the results of the centres. The special value of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian cultural and historical heritage lies in its authenticity, which is achieved through slow and *small steps* results from the tracking of often unachievable galloping development of centres such as Vienna and Istanbul. Apart from the fact that the architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina has offered representative achievements relying on the role models from the centres, and in the context of the *Genius loci*⁴⁵⁸ and historical opportunities, quite original architectural works were realized in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns.

Professor Vjeran Katunarić⁴⁵⁹ from the University of Zagreb writes about the relation between the centre and the periphery, in the article "Center, Periphery and Regionalism: *hard* European Postmodern" emphasizing the importance of collective identity in the context of its cultural-symbolic and political representativeness. The stratification of the national identity is especially expressed in the relationship between the centre and the periphery, as Katunarić says it can be developed in their directions; from above - through the prism of absolutism, from the bottom - through the individual interests of one or more peripheries, and from the sides through the external influences of neighbours whose interests merge economic, cultural, political, or historical sense. All these three directions were present in the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina and they directly reflected on the architectural creation whose Vienna dictation was not quoted in Bosnian cities, but interpreted in accordance with the environment. At the beginning it was done with less understanding, but before the end of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina with much more understanding of spatial relations inherited from tradition, memory of places and the spirit of the place as well.

The relation between the copy and the original, or the relation between the role model and the replica is not viewed as *a priori* negative phenomenon through the

⁴⁵⁸ Patterson, Barry (2005) *The Art of Conversation with the Genius Loci*, Milverton: Cappall Bann Books

⁴⁵⁹ Katunarić, Vjeran (1992) *Centar, periferija i regionalizam: „Tvrd“ europska postmoderna in Društvena istraživanja 1, br. 1, Zagreb: Društvena istraživanja*

history of architecture and the history of art.⁴⁶⁰ In the history of art⁴⁶¹, the most exemplary example is iconography, where the artist creates an icon, as an artwork under well-defined canonical guidelines, yet his every new achievement carries an artistic value. Another example is series from a specific theme, such as Van Gogh's sunflowers, but also other important works of art that usually have two or more versions painted by the same, and often another artist. But, unlike art, there are still measurable filters in architecture that can make a clear distinction between the rules of a particular style of construction and a mere copy. These filters are dimensions of the building, the materials used in its construction, proportions, volumes, function, urban design, and they go up to the polychrome and plastic details on the facade and in its interior. These indicators may include the timing, the connection between the architect of the replica and the role model, the historical circumstances, and any other physical connection between two or more buildings. The emergence of construction of the same buildings or entire housing areas has experienced its expansion in the Socialist period, but its roots are deep in the history of architecture, and such examples can be found not only within the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian periods in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but in the overall development of architecture in the world.

To look at the architectural values of cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina through the context of pattern and replication means to look at these values through the prism of the relations between the centre and the periphery, through the question of identity, through the spirit of places and the memory of the place. By analyzing the architectural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina in such a complex and layered context it is possible only through mapping, comparing and valorising the architecture of different historical periods and architecture as products of local and external influences. Since the periphery in relation to the centre was never "void", so the replica in relation to the role model was never a mere copy of the original, which is illustrated by numerous examples of architectural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina that originated in the Middle Ages, the Ottoman period, the Austro-Hungarian period, the Modernist period and Contemporary architecture. The power of

⁴⁶⁰ Read, Herbert (1967) *Istorija modernog slikarstva: Od Sezana do Pikasa*, Beograd: Publicističko izdavački zavod „Jugoslavija“

⁴⁶¹ Levey, Michael (1967) *Istorija slikarstva: Od Đota do Sezana*, Beograd: Publicističko izdavački zavod „Jugoslavija“

the East and the West is on the architectural scene of Bosnia and Herzegovina materialized through concrete architectural achievements whose significance lies in the fact that such buildings were built far from the centres, and close to one another in the way of respecting and appreciating local values trough making an integral part of the spirit of the place.



Figures 167 and 168: Wiener Börse (Vienna Stock Exchange) in Vienna (image: 145; 23/09/2018) and Narodno pozorište⁴⁶² (National Theater) in Sarajevo (image: 27/01/2018), Photographs by Author

⁴⁶² Arhiv BiH: Narodno pozorište, ABH, ZVS-GO kutija 57

4.8. Defining the Genius loci: Weaknesses and Advantages of Genius loci

Collins English Dictionary defines Genius loci⁴⁶³ as a guardian spirit of a place and as a special atmosphere of a particular place. Genius loci⁴⁶⁴, as the spirit, or the atmosphere of a particular place together with the memory of places in architecture is one of the elementary principles of creating the space that surrounds us. The space is made of a lot of different places, and according to the author Norberg-Schulz, the place is an integral part of the existence. A place is necessary in order for some event to happen, and different events require different places. Genius loci play an important role in the perception of places as part of the space. The spirit of the place determines a number of different characteristics and sets a number of different conditions for a particular event in a space that can be of a material nature such as an architectural accomplishment. Such intervention in the space never happens without a context, which can be achieved through acceptance and cooperation with the built and natural environment, or by ignoring the built and non-urban environment, which in practice is often the case. For an architect it is extremely rare to have the opportunity to design in a totally un-built environment, and even then there is a natural spirit of place that gives certain parameters for new construction and which is related to historical and natural circumstances.

On the example of the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo, the memory and the atmosphere of places especially those in Sarajevo, it is possible to look at Genius loci through all its components and explore its impact on the creation of space. Observing the Genius loci means analyzing space and place through urbanism, proportions, volumes, dimensions and details through architecture, then tradition and culture through heritage, then the tactility of the building through materialization, and finally history through society and politics in the context of time. A series of these factors and their multifaceted nature forms Genius loci as an inseparable part of the atmosphere of space, the perception of space and the design of that space that has experienced significant external influences in Sarajevo through various systems of society organization and the rules of space treatment.

⁴⁶³ Patterson, Barry (2005) *The Art of Conversation with the Genius Loci*, Milverton: Cappall Bann Books

⁴⁶⁴ Norberg-Schulz, Christian (1979) *Genius Loci- Towards a phenomenology of architecture*, New York: Rizzoli

Genius loci	Memory of the place	Urbanism	Space	Macro and micro location in the context of climate, construction, population density, etc.
			Place	
	Atmosphere of the place	Architecture	Volumes, proportions	Relation with the environment and its scale, relation of architectural elements to the building in the context of stylistic layers and stylistic determinations.
			Dimensions, details	
	Perception	Heritage	Culture	Material and non-material heritage through the current conditions of space creation
			Tradition	
	Perception	History	Politics	Socio-economic conditions, political stability, the degree of social development, etc.
			Society	

Figure169: Genius loci chart, Designed and drawn by Author

The different perception that the observer has in relation to the role models built in Vienna and their replicas in Sarajevo is the result of the local Genius loci through all its constituents. Urban analysis of buildings built in Vienna such as the MAK Museum⁴⁶⁵, Postal Savings Bank⁴⁶⁶, Evangelical Chapel⁴⁶⁷ and others shows the planned treatment of space based on the principles of Western European urbanism. Thanks to the inherited principles of the space treatment, the mentioned buildings melt with the environment and they act like expected and justified response to the ever-present issues of space treatment. Buildings built in Sarajevo in the Austro-Hungarian period, such as the Town Hall⁴⁶⁸, Academy of Fine Arts⁴⁶⁹, Main Post Office⁴⁷⁰ and others in the conditions of inherited urbanism and fragmented partitioning conditioned the rules of space treatment, and ultimately the way of perception of the architecture that surrounds them. While buildings constructed in Vienna in neo-styles were natural and expected part of the atmosphere and

⁴⁶⁵ Nierhaus, Andreas (2014) *Of the Use and Abuse of History for Building in Vienna's Ringstrasse. The Book*, Ostfildern Hatje Cantz Verlag, p. 82

⁴⁶⁶ Nierhaus, Andreas (2014) *Of the Use and Abuse of History for Building in Vienna's Ringstrasse. The Book*, Ostfildern Hatje Cantz Verlag, p. 132

⁴⁶⁷ Wolf Michael (2001) *Evangelische Christuskirche*, Wien: Favoriten, p. 2 - 23

⁴⁶⁸ Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, p. 168 – 171

⁴⁶⁹ Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, p. 109

⁴⁷⁰ Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, p. 15-31

ambience, the buildings that were built in Sarajevo in the Austro-Hungarian period were monumental (they were often much smaller than their Vienna's role-models), sometimes foreign (they did not build a connection with architecture of the Ottoman period) and especially striking in relation to the micro-location and the perception of the environment and architecture that builds that environment.

Architecture that builds a harmonious environment provides a sense of security, relaxation and shelter that Professor Boris Morsan writes about in the article "How to Cure Architecture: A Contribution to the Analyzes of Sociopathology of Building" and it is an important determinant for a good relationship with space on the physical and psychological level.⁴⁷¹ According to authors coming from the West, an example of harmonious architecture can be found in European cities such as Paris, Rome, Vienna, etc. These are the cities that were created according to the Western European vision of space in accordance with the rules of the Western civilization. Sarajevo, as a European city, was treated as an Oriental city until the Austro-Hungarian occupation. In the Ottoman period, Sarajevo, as most other Bosnian and Herzegovina towns, was built in the scale of man, according to the rules of "organic" urbanism, with a clear division into commercial and residential areas. With the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian administration, this kind of space treatment and such architecture were changed from the roots. The new, enlarged architecture in the Sarajevo's ambience, in its original achievements, gives an impression of the degree of intolerance, misunderstanding and non-deprivation. By analyzing buildings built at the beginning and at the end of the Austro-Hungarian period, paradoxically, the impression is that architecture from the end of the Austro-Hungarian period is much closer to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian tradition and more clearly understands the Genius loci that is shown in its volumes and details.

By observing the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period and its relation to the architecture of the Ottoman period in Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns from a time distance, and in the context of the Genius loci, it is possible to distinguish two basic groups in relation to the environment: a group of conflicts and a group of conciliation. Yet today, it is possible to get a sense of conflict in the space in homogeneous architectural environments where buildings from the same historical period and

⁴⁷¹ Morsan, Boris (1994) *Kako liječiti arhitekturu: Prinos analizi sociopatologije građenja*, Zagreb: Časopis Prostor Vol.2

similar historical styles were built, but in proportion or in some other way differ from the environment. These buildings, constructed in disagreement with the environment in the perception process, often cause discomfort that the observer hardly defines, but still feels. On the other hand, buildings built in the harmony with the environment, in line with the different parameters of the Genius loci in the observer create a sense of security and relaxation as Professor Kevin Lynch speaks of, emphasizing that the *image* of the environment gives to observer an important sense of emotional security.

The tactility of the space reflected through the materialization of buildings, facades, pavements, roofs, benches, etc. presents a significant part of architecture and urbanism which directly influences the Genius loci.⁴⁷² American architect Gerhard Kallmann speaks about tactility of the space through an intimate confession of return to his native Berlin after the Second World War. Kallmann wanted to see his native house that had been destroyed in the war, but he could not find it. In an unsuccessful attempt to find his home, he wandered the street in a sense of hopelessness and sorrow. At the moment when he lowered his head and looked at the sidewalk, he recognized the pavement and remembered his childhood. He remembered playing on the same sidewalk in childhood and he felt a familiar feeling of security and belonging to the family home.

How a particular building is perceived in Vienna or Sarajevo depends on the cultural and historical heritage of these environments and the contexts that it inherits in culture and tradition at the individual and national levels. The cultural and historical heritage, as part of the identity of an individual, or a group, is one of the most important spatial values whose features directly influence the creation of space and new constructions. As a positive value of space treatment, the reliance on tradition in the new construction is almost always taken in consideration, and reliance on tradition sees its stronghold not only in the known aesthetic values of the general acceptance of the environment in which it is being built, but also on the already tested functional and physical characteristics of the building. So the answer to the question why the new buildings in Vienna acted as a natural sequence of the development of architecture, and the new buildings in Sarajevo acted as a foreign

⁴⁷² Norberg-Schulz, Christian (1979) *Genius Loci- Towards a phenomenology of architecture*, New York: Rizzoli

and unnatural in relation to the environment should be searched in the memory of the place and atmosphere of the place, two basic characteristics of the Genius loci.

Genius loci, besides the mentioned material segments, also carries a significant time, historical, political and social component, which are especially accentuated on the example of Vienna and Sarajevo. The specific relation between these two European capitals manifested through their material heritage is the result of complex historical and political circumstances that have determined the fate of several millions of ordinary people, but also the ways in which they see and experience space. Socio-economic conditions, almost completely opposite in the countries in which these cities are located, directly influenced the perception of space, and while the new buildings on the Vienna's Ringstrasse caused pride and enthusiasm, the new buildings on the Sarajevo's coast caused the feeling of defeat and misunderstanding.

The arrival of the new architecture to the cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina was experienced through the replacement of two empires, two occupiers and taking into account the extremely difficult material situation and the low standard of living, the glittering and monumentality of new buildings built in the Austro-Hungarian period⁴⁷³ did not cause the same feelings in towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as it was the case in the centres of the Monarchy: Vienna and Budapest. The socio-economic conditions, mutual substantive misunderstanding, external influences from Serbia and Croatia, political instability, general dissatisfaction, and a number of other factors resulted in the tragic breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that is, the beginning of the First World War, which resulted in a large number of civilian victims.

Differences in the spirit and memory of places in Sarajevo and Vienna are reflected in the natural and built environment / space, tradition, culture, customs, socio-economic opportunities, social system, politics, mentality, way of treating the space, to the relationship between neighbouring buildings and their proportions, volumes and details. A smaller space meant more accentuated Genius loci, as can be seen on the example of Bosnia and Herzegovina and some Austrian cities. Looking at the bigger environments, the characteristics of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian or Austrian Genius

⁴⁷³ Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, p. 43 - 145

loci are quite general comparing to those settlements and towns in certain ambiances of smaller scale. Sarajevo and Mostar are Bosnian and Herzegovinan cities with distinctly different characteristics of the spirit of the place (climate, history, tradition, etc.) and just a small cross-section of these characteristics builds common Bosnian-Herzegovinian Genius loci. The same example could be mentioned for cities in Austria, for example, Salzburg and Graz. That is why it is impossible to talk about national Genius loci, which is, as these examples show only micro-geographical or at widest sense, regional.

Since Genius loci represent the specificity of a certain space, ambience, settlement, or a city, it is therefore clear that the same design solution will not suit different environments. The same or, or in a large extent similar building will give the observer a different impression about the environment in which it is built, in the context of urbanism and the natural surroundings. The same or similar building placed in a different environment in relation to that environment has different architectural and spatial values, different access sequence, different atmosphere and natural surroundings that are reflected through the configuration of the terrain (flatland or mountain panorama.) All these elements directly affect the perception of the space that surrounds us combined into a single syntagm called the spirit of the place - Genius loci.

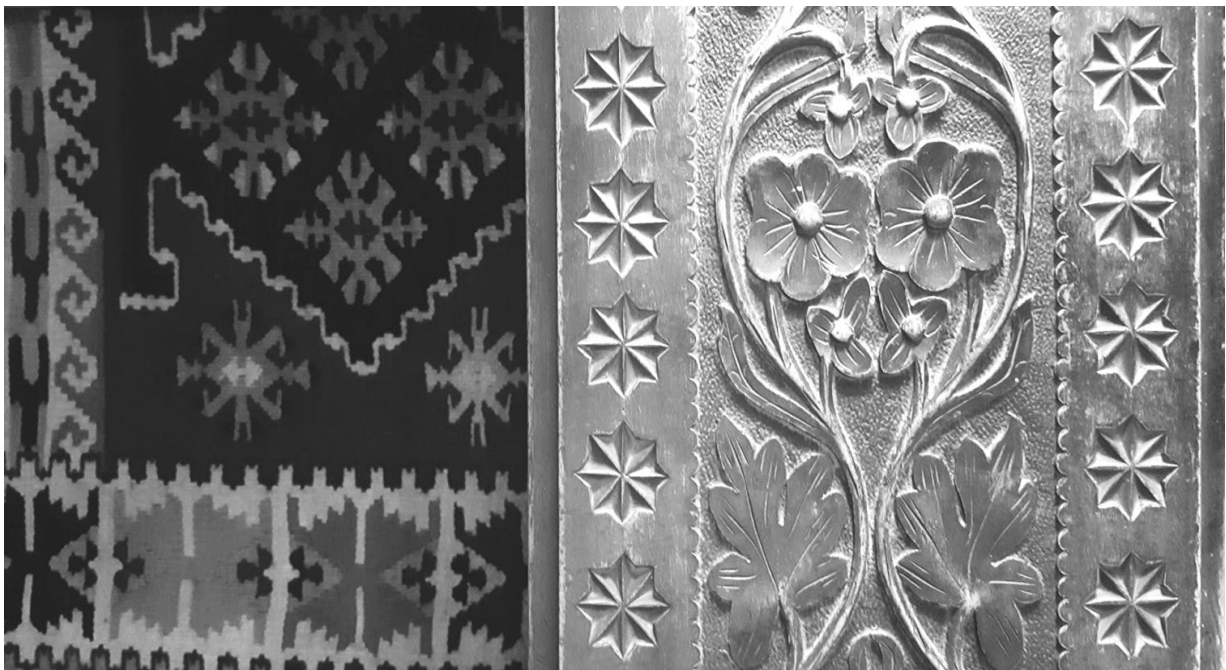


Figure170: Despić House in Sarajevo built in Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian periods, 04/03/2017, Photograph by Author

4.9. The Question of Identity in Terms of Past and Future Architectural Creativity

The Austro-Hungarian administration tried to answer the open questions of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian identity through 40 years of its activity in all social segments in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the complex political history in which the country has been through centuries, the identity has become the loudest issue during and after numerous warfare conflicts that were extremely frequent and extremely destructive in the Balkans. In such a harsh situation, the development of identity and culture was often abruptly interrupted and re-built from the foundations at intervals of 40-50 years. As an indirect product of these events, the remains of material culture are preserved, the most visible element of which is the architectural heritage, which was created under the influence of different policies and cultures. Architecture has been a direct answer to the identity through history, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina the complexity and diversity of architectural heritage points to the logical impossibility of fully defining identity, yet it provides a great space for research work and the questioning of all different segments of the identity conditioned by the influences of the East and the West.

Architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period provides an insight into the intense and short period of the development of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian identity, which in this period gained significant Western European value that remained permanently a part of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian culture. Not for the first time in history, but the most intense influence of Western European culture, Bosnia and Herzegovina experienced during the Austro-Hungarian period, and this influence has manifested itself through architectural activity to this day. Buildings that were built in Bosnian-Herzegovinian towns in the Austro-Hungarian period have gained significance also through the fact that their previously known environment was totally different in all social segments. Such an environment emphasized the *strangeness* of the new architecture that ignored the established values of space treatment, and at the same time creates an environment that once again was questioning Bosnian and Herzegovinian identity.

The first attempt to reconcile the influence of the East and the West through architecture was the creation of Neo-Moorish style, but this completely unnatural and intense attempt was not accepted by the local population. Just before the end of the Austro-Hungarian period, as a result of the natural development of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the intensive study of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian architectural tradition and a different approach by foreign architects, and especially Josip pl. Vancaš caused emergence of Bosnian style. The Bosnian style, as a style in architecture for the first time qualitatively, visually, and spatially reconciled East and West in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but unfortunately its developmental path was again violently interrupted by the First World War.

In his doctoral dissertation: "Forced transitions. New settlements of the displaced persons after the war (1992-1995) in Bosnia and Herzegovina" Igor Kuvač⁴⁷⁴ defines the identity in four basic segments; personal, common, cultural and spatial. Applying this classification to the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is possible to follow the developmental path of architecture through these four segments. With the arrival of foreign architects in Bosnia and Herzegovina, they bring with them personal identity, which, without questioning through their architectural creativity, was applied to the first buildings they build in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Vienna's students were designing their first buildings, modelled on the buildings of their professors, and modelled on those buildings with which they grew up and formed themselves as personalities and professionals. This is quite understandable, given the fact that they knew little or almost nothing about the Bosnian-Herzegovinian complex context. Sarajevo, for the first time got buildings in Neo-Renaissance, Neo-Gothic, Neo-Baroque, and other Western European styles that at the time were "foreign". The Bosnian-Herzegovinian architectural tradition, simple and pure in geometric shapes, devoid of excessive plastic and polychrome decoration, is left aside, neglected and shaded by the glitteringly decorative richness and overdimensioned imported architecture of Western Europe. Without respecting the rules and values of the place, acting sometimes as a superior actor, young architects were

⁴⁷⁴ Kuvač, Igor (2017) *Forced transitions. New settlements of displaced persons after the war (1992-1995) in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, PhD Thesis, Granada: Departament for Urban and Territorial Planning. University of Granada

given the opportunity to show all characteristics of personal identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina through their first architectural creations.

The collective or common identity of the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina reflected the goals of an absolutist politics of the administration which believed in the idea of a common Bosnian-Herzegovinian nation and acted in accordance with that idea. Nevertheless, the absolutist administration never understood the essence of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian complex cultural context that for several centuries enabled the development of parallel identities of several nations without interference, threatening, or violating the established rules of a particular community. Collective identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina was almost always identified with a religious identity, although members of a particular group could have been more or less believers, their culture or customs through tradition were closely related to dogmatic rules of faith.

By giving various concessions to national and religious groups, the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina tried to get the respect of the local population, and yet these concessions were cosmetic and did not permanently solve the problem. Culture, as one of the main bearers of identity, was the result of turbulent historical processes and events in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and as such it has always represented a source of inspiration and a great challenge. The periphery of the East and the West in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina provided numerous opportunities for architectural creativity; yet, comparing the results of this work with the results achieved by the centres of power and influence (Vienna and Istanbul), architectural creativity in Bosnia and Herzegovina has achieved unsatisfactory results. Nevertheless, if these results are observed in the context of historical and political circumstances, as well as the given and creative possibilities, then they are exceptional achievements within certain historical periods and as such in the national context represent the greatest reach of architecture. The universal values of the legacies of different periods, which are the direct product of identity questioning, represent a significant component in the European framework, reflected in the diversity and conflict/ encounter of opposites of influence in a small geographical area. And the area or the space in all its manifestations is the fourth determinant of identity that has special importance for Bosnia and Herzegovina in terms of architecture, urbanism, history, politics and society.

In the context of spatial identity and relationship with the environment at the micro location level, interesting examples are buildings – role models built in Vienna and buildings - their replicas built in Sarajevo. The urban setting of the building directly influences its perception, and the access sequence determines the spatial values, as well as the quality of the architecture of a particular building. The Evangelical Chapel in Vienna is the central point of the Protestant cemetery and acts as a focus point in the space when it comes to volumes, proportions, and dimensions of the building. The Evangelical Church, today the Academy of Fine Arts in Sarajevo was built in a row with other buildings on river bank, and in harmonious proportions and volumes with surrounding buildings, so this building is perceived as part of the facade of the street, thus providing a different experience and giving a different significance. If we look at both buildings in the context of the city, then the Evangelical Chapel in Vienna does not represent a sacred building that in its significance enters the top ten sacral buildings in the city. If we look at the building of the Academy of Fine Arts in Sarajevo, this building in the Austro-Hungarian period, as well as in the overall development of architecture in Sarajevo, represents one of the most representative architectural achievements and spatial focus points in the city.

The context of spatial identity can also be seen through the perception of an environment by an individual, and there are clear differences between the way in which an individual or group from a certain environment treats and experiences another environment or culture. An adult person in the Sarajevo *mahala* (housing area from the Ottoman period) will have a different perception of spatial relationships in Tito's street (Austro-Hungarian period) in Sarajevo, and vice versa.⁴⁷⁵ In this way, the spatial identity is much more connected with personal identity than it looks like at first glance without deeper analysis. Spatial identity is much wider, and that is the panorama of the city in which the individual grew up, in which he/she lives and works and it is also a subjective sense of *being* in space. There is no doubt that the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo completely changed the perception of spatial identity for locals and thus created the foundations for future and different architectural

⁴⁷⁵ Opačin Nerkez, Dursun Ibrahim (2016) *Learning from the Past: Exploring the role of Transitional justice in Rebuilding Trust in a Post-conflict Society*, Sarajevo: International University of Sarajevo, Sabah Print

development in the area. In his doctoral dissertation, Igor Kuvač⁴⁷⁶ states: "Life in a particular type of neighbourhood can be considered as an expression of identity, but in many cases people cannot be identified with the place where they live."

In addition to the fact that different architectural and cultural heritage is a source of creative energy for future accomplishments in all segments of art, it can also cause the problem of identification and identity that Amin Maalouf writes about in his book "In the Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong." How conflicting identities, differences between them, and denial of collective identity in contemporary architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina shows several good examples from practice, but it also shows the overall bad image of an architectural scene that barely meets the criteria of architecture and not to even mention architectural standards. Certain degree of ignorance and intolerance between "old" and "new" identities in practice has caused not only a number of aesthetically challenging buildings, but also a number of functional problems in relation to urban structures and zones of Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns. Identity, and especially the space as one of its components, is in the process of changing and adjusting, and only if accepted as such it is possible to understand the architectural answers to the current situation. The relation between identity and architecture is conditioned by geography, climate, language, culture, tradition, customs, heritage, and a number of other factors that put man in the point of contact of identity and architecture. In this way, identity affects the past, present and future creative work of architects in certain place.

Numerous authors have defined identity in different ways, but often tying it to place, as David Seamon defines the relationship between places and people through three spatial dimensions: *geographic ensable*, *people - in - place*, *Genius Loci*. All three dimensions are inseparable parts of identity and they are active factors in the creation of the space. Seamon further emphasizes that identity is an integral dimension of a tragic understanding of spatial experience and the creation of space. The space, as well as the identity, is subject to the changes according to William Neill and his book "Urban Planning and Cultural Identity." The material heritage that originates from different historical periods and has been created under various

⁴⁷⁶ Kuvač, Igor (2017) *Forced transitions. New settlements of displaced persons after the war (1992-1995) in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, PhD Thesis, Granada: Departament for Urban and Territorial Planning. University of Granada

influences in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the foundation of future architectural action in space whose identity is multilayered and whose multilayerity should be seen as an advantage and a source of creativity, which in the contemporary architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a common practice. In a country divided by the 1992/95 war. and environments that after the war have become ethnically clean, modern architecture approaches the issue of identity accesssally partially in a way to force one, and ignore the other, or third party. This approach directly endangers the quality of the space and arouses uncertainty regarding the future architectural creativity.

5. CONCLUSION

5. CONCLUSION

Starting from a general picture towards developing specific case-studies, this research presents a significant number of buildings from different historical periods in Bosnia and Herzegovina's architecture- with a particular analysis of the Austro-Hungarian period emphasizing its position at the border of the Empire. This centre and periphery relationship is obvious especially when we consider "Genius loci" - the spirit of the place. This research work presents a comprehensive overview of the architectural heritage on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina that emerged throughout many historical periods from the Stone age, Illyrians, Romans, Middle Ages, Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and the period of Modernist architecture.

The first part of the research, chapter number two presents some of the most significant and underresearched architectural forms in Bosnia and Herzegovina with sensitive consideration to their amount, form, and content of the presented findings. By introducing all important elements of history and culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as they are necessary pre-knowledge for the reader to understand the context of architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period, this thesis is positioning Austro- Hungarian architecture within the entire cultural-historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The second part, a chapter number three, analyzes the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, focusing on Sarajevo, from various aspects: political, social, economic, educational, topographical, aesthetical, etc. Each of these significant segments has been deeply explored through special parts of research, but in multidisciplinary manner, based on facts known about the architecture of a certain period and space.

The third part of this research work questions case-studies through the spirit of place and their position in the relationship between the centre - Vienna and the periphery - Sarajevo. The architectural achievements in the centre of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy are analyzed from many different aspects and for the first time they are compared with their replicas created at the same time on the periphery of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, in the cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This thesis answers to the research questions set out in the first chapter. Starting from Stone ages and Butmir culture, representing the theory that Bosnia and Herzegovina emerged as territory developed parallel with other cultures on European continent. Starting with late Stone Age findings (Velika Gradina, Rama well, 125,000 - 60,000 BC) this thesis is emphasizing the importance of cultural heritage in context of their current political and social position, and their significance in universal world heritage.

The research work continues in the Middle Ages bringing the most significant Bosnian and Herzegovinian examples of material heritage from this period – mostly fortified towns, and necropolises with tombstones - “stećak”. The old towns and fortresses were built from the 12th to the 15th century in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and they reflect a number of external influences, primarily from the Western European architecture. In the Ottoman period, those old towns and fortresses were enlarged, and their appearance was influenced by the architecture and culture of the Eastern Circle. These influences were mixed with local conditions and thus produced specific architectural achievements with different and often contradictory design elements that united the Genius loci of Bosnian-Herzegovinian towns.

Stećaks, medieval tombstones are representing an authentic example of cultural and historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They could be found also in neighbouring countries, what can be explainable by territorial expansion of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Middle Ages. Stećaks are on the UNESCO World Heritage List, carrying the motives of local architecture, but also the motives of external influences. They represent an extremely important material testimony of the unique Genius loci of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The character of this research work is descriptive, chronologically presenting the development of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as many other segments of its cultural and historical heritage, emphasizing specific forms created under the influence of “foreign” cultures. Architectural achievements explored through historical periods were presented into two groups: sacral and secular architecture. The secular architecture from the Ottoman period is presented through the example of Svrzo house in Sarajevo, and sacral architecture, from the same period, is presented through the example of different typologies of mosques from Banja Luka. Svrzo house is an example of a house from Ottoman period in Sarajevo, and it is explored through a detailed analysis of spatial relationships and sequences. This house has a direct connection to the Anatolian family houses, and to the Eastern architecture in general, but the design of the house achieved its special form in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through Banja Luka's mosques it is possible to follow the typology of all other mosques built in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Ottoman period. The mosques of Bosnia and Herzegovina were built under the direct influence of the Istanbul mosques, and their builders almost always came from abroad, especially when it comes to stone mosques. Most significant example is in comparing Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka and the Manisa mosque - obviously showing the relationship between the centre and the periphery, as well as the relationship between the role models and replicas. Cities in Turkey, like Istanbul, in Ottoman period represented a centre for Bosnia and Herzegovina - influencing social and political segments, as well as secular and sacral architecture which are only minor indicator of these influences.

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the geographical and cultural centre dramatically changed for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Four hundred years of Istanbul domination changed drastically in favour of Vienna domination in 1878. The architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo made complete breakout with the architecture of the Ottoman period. The comprehension and treatment of the space essentially changed. The development concept of Sarajevo changed spatially and typologically. Introducing business-housing palaces (combining business and residential functions in the same building for the first time), versus previous Ottoman strict spatial division (čaršija - business, mahala - housing), entirely new traditions a functions were introduced once again. The society was

eagerly awaiting these changes and worked hard to understand a new living culture. The spirit of the place is once again under a test and it is again observed from two points. Through the eyes of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Bosnian Genius loci was exotic and mystic. On the other hand, local population considered new and massive architecture over-aggressive. For locals, this imported architecture didn't show any understanding of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian environment. Two major division of typology repeats once again: secular architecture and sacral architecture (same as in the previous historical periods.) Sacral architecture consists mostly of new Catholic churches and restored Franciscan monasteries, which were restored in neo-styles. Some of these styles were newly introduced to Bosnia and Herzegovina as new architecture coming from the West. The architectural features of the Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly renovated or rebuilt in the Austro-Hungarian period, represent direct influences from the "outside". Some of the architectural elements of these buildings were directly duplicated from their Western role models.

Following the chronological development line after the Austro-Hungarian period, having in mind two World Wars, architectural accomplishments in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period of Socialism tried to catch up with the advanced technological and creative ideas of the Modernism. In this period, architecture was in the service of politics and its identity is being questioned once again. The issue of identity has been researched throughout all historical periods, with particular emphasis on the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian periods. In the Ottoman period, Bosnian and Herzegovinian identity was strongly influenced by the Orient, and in the Austro-Hungarian period it was strongly influenced by the Occident.

Socialist period in Bosnia and Herzegovina emphasized common Yugoslav identity instead of the individual national and republic identities. The Bosnian and Herzegovinian spirit of the place - Genius loci was particularly powerful to the extent that it exerts a tremendous influence on the architecture of Modernism, which, following the strict Le Corbusier's rules of Modernist architecture, but still bears the note of traditional and local. An analysis of the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina's building in Sarajevo reveals many similarities to buildings dating from the same time period, or slightly earlier, such as the Villa Savoye in Poissy. Through a deeper analysis of the parterre, exterior and interior design of the Museum, strong

interpretive elements of the traditional Bosnian architecture are clearly evident. There are just few examples of secular architecture of Modernism period in Bosnia and Herzegovina in comparison to the total number of buildings, but they clearly point out the strong international character of Modernity and the even stronger influence of the Genius loci. In the case of the architecture of Modernism in Sarajevo, the influence of the spirit of the place is so powerful that this movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina's architecture is recognized as the Sarajevo School (of Architecture.) Examples of monumental architecture from the period of Socialism are numerous and they are widespread throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. The monuments dedicated to the National Liberation War represent unique architectural, sculptural and artistic solutions that do not quote, but interpret the strict political message of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The architecture of this period dedicated to the National Liberation War (WW II) in former Yugoslavia has a common identity of brotherhood and unity as the greatest values that it strives for and above all that it seeks to achieve. Yet, the architectural accomplishments of this period in Bosnia and Herzegovina are specific which is directly correlated with the multi-ethnicity of the country. Through this approach architecture avoids direct symbols, introducing interpretive symbols that do not refer to any group of people specifically, but to an idea, vision, or message. The concept, vision, and message are of particular importance in the postmodern architecture, where, through the example of the building of Bosnian National Theatre in Zenica traditional elements were interpreted and shaped by the spirit of the place. This can be clearly read through the overall design of the theatre's building.

All four analyzed, dominant historical periods through official architecture shows direct external influences and the role of the spirit of place in their perception. The above examples of architectures in Sarajevo, and some examples of architectures in other cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, undoubtedly show that, regardless of the external influences that have been coming from different centres for centuries, the periphery was not "voiceless" and the periphery managed to produce exceptional architectural achievements in the context of local technological, economic, political and historical circumstances. Unofficial or vernacular architecture shows an authentic image of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the example of the mountain village of Lukomir on Mt Bijelasnica and the Orthodox log churches in the north-western part of Bosnia

and Herzegovina. Although BH's vernacular architecture offers quite original solutions, it is impossible not to connect it to the developments in construction in Europe at the time. This is especially clear with the log churches, which in their technical solutions show many similarities with the wooden churches in Northern Europe. In this case, it is a natural development of ideas, not imported ideas, as it was the case with official architectures of different historical periods in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This research work has carried out a detailed analysis of all historical periods of architectural development with characteristic examples of secular and sacral architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina throughout a descriptive and comparative form of presentation, providing necessary basis for a better understanding of the Austro-Hungarian period's architecture. Only by analyzing all historical periods of the development of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was possible to contextualize one of those historical periods - the Austro-Hungarian period, with an emphasis on Sarajevo.

The third chapter of this research work discusses different aspects in politics and architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Political and historical analysis of the complex circumstances of the country offered better opportunities for understanding certain phenomena and processes in the architectural scene of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the turn between the 19th and the 20th century. These processes can be best described through the relationship between the *confident* centre and the *restless* periphery. Without the ambition to offer a solution, neither exclusively political, historical, educational, economic, of some other perspective of the problems were offered, this research work give an objective image of certain time and space in the context. From such a setting, it was possible to observe more clearly the values of styles, volumes, proportions and generally architectural achievements in the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, when placed in a wider European context with unremarkable political and economic circumstances, are exceptional.

The Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina operated through an absolutist form of government and succeeded in achieving the short-term goals of its "cultural mission." In the long terms, the goals of the regime, such as the creation

of a unified Bosnian-Herzegovinian nation freed from the external influences of Croatia and Serbia, were not achieved. Attempts to create a unified national style in architecture failed as well. The intensive and massive development of industry and construction in the Austro-Hungarian period left a long-lasting impact on the architecture and culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This influence was so powerful that it altered the spirit of place, which got, by that time with the primary oriental component, an occidental component. The mass construction of the Austro-Hungarian period altered the panoramas of almost all Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns and thus directly imported a strong form of *Western European* culture that was initially copied and later contextualized.

The influence of the West on the architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina is readable in the rules of new urbanism and treatment of space that came to Sarajevo with the new administration, as well as in the two Building orders that, for the first time, defined Western policy in urban areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The bearers of advanced ideas (at the beginning of opposing ideas in relation to what was created before) were mostly foreign architects who, unintelligible to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian spirit of the place, introduced new architectural forms. Following the professional development of the protagonists of the Austro-Hungarian period's architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is possible to look at their relationship to the environment and their acceptance and understanding of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian urban fabric in the context of the spirit of the place. The analysis of both Building orders established in the Austro-Hungarian period for Sarajevo shows that the rules of urbanism and treatment of space were not just transcribed from the centres of the Monarchy, but adjusted as much as possible to the current situation in Sarajevo. These improvements are visible in the second Building order from 1893, but also in the way natural materials were used. Natural materials in the construction have been used in previous periods (stone, wood, clay, etc.) as well, but their use in the Austro-Hungarian period was defined by law (construction order) for the first time and for the first time materials for construction in Bosnia and Herzegovina were factory tested.

Both urbanism and architecture underwent a complete transformation in the Austro-Hungarian period. New and monumental buildings were built with new functions

which and in line with the new culture of living. In Sarajevo, these are the Community Centre (National Theatre), the Main Post Office, the Presidency Palace, the Judicial Palace (University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Law, Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina), the City Hall, the Ashkenazi Synagogue, the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and other facilities- as new architectural solutions in terms of construction and style. The issue of construction style became especially relevant in the Austro-Hungarian period, and four dominant groups can be identified; neo-styles, Secession, neo-Moorish style and Bosnian style.

Neo-styles were used to directly copy architectural forms from the centres of the Monarchy and the rest of Europe. Art Nouveau was a novelty in architecture and with a slight delay it was developed in Vienna and Sarajevo in parallel. The Viennese Secession, as the emergence of the centre, was much stronger and more complex than the Sarajevo Secession, as it was expected on the periphery. The neo-Moorish style and the Bosnian style represent two extremely attractive and new styles in architecture.

The Bosnian style emerged as a natural occurrence of the development of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina and united the rules of new architecture that entered Bosnia and Herzegovina through the neo-styles and rules of inherited, traditional architecture and construction from the Ottoman period. Moreover, the Bosnian style was a form of early Modernity, which was extremely advanced for modest Bosnian conditions. Although neo-Moorish-style (Moorish Revival) buildings have already been built throughout Europe, especially in Andalusia, and used for certain buildings types (such as Ashkenazi synagogues), neo-Moorish style has produced original and extremely valuable architectural works in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The buildings designed in the neo-Moorish style did not fit into the existing Bosnian and Herzegovinian ambiances, these buildings seemed *alien* and far beyond those designed in neo-styles and Secession. The local society saw no connection to Oriental tradition although that was the authorities explanation, who also believed that plastic and polychrome decoration of these buildings would win the sympathy of the Muslim population. That didn't happen. Buildings designed in the neo-Moorish style showed once again a fundamental misunderstanding of the Bosnian ambience

and spirit of the place. The Austro-Hungarian administration did not understand the futility of the idea of creating a unified national style, because it equated the development of multiple national styles with the development of multinational ideas that were unacceptable and dangerous politically for the Monarchy. The Neo-Moorish style remained alone and unfulfilled political project for the regime in the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It met only the short-term goals of the scenic nature, the long-term goals of the Austro-Hungarian regime were not achieved.

Holders of new ideas in the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina were foreign architects, among whom Josip pl. Vancaš and Karel Pařík are standing out as the most productive ones. Foreign architects have been educated in Vienna, Prague and Budapest and, as newly graduated students, came to a new, first occupied and then annexed country - Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although they were exceptional students who were given new assignments through the recommendations of their professors, at the beginning of their work, they almost copied architectural solutions they had the opportunity to see during their studies, primarily in Vienna. Their first works are a significant step towards to neo-styles within the Bosnian-Herzegovinian architectural scene, but in the European context these works represents a copy of existing architectural forms and in some parts of Europe, this approach was completely rejected.

Pařík was consistent in neo-styles until the end of his work, directly implementing the familiar architecture of Western Europe in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Vancaš more easily embraced new ideas and opened up to Secession and later to the Bosnian style. Lack of understanding of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian spirit of the place and ambience, which is understandable in their first years after arrival, both architects went through a developmental path through which they shaped their professional activities. As time went by, both Pařík and Vancaš were becoming more and more successful. Vancaš became very sensitive towards local environment through his political and architectural work in the field of heritage protection and the affirmation of the Bosnian style.

The level of similarity between the role models in Vienna and their replicas in Sarajevo is evident in decorative details such as wrought iron and cast iron fences, plaster ornaments in the exterior and interior of various buildings, fine art decorations,

as well as numerous details in the construction. An analysis of 40 stairways in Sarajevo's private and public buildings from the Austro-Hungarian period, which included a tour of more than 40 buildings in Sarajevo, and a tour of more than 20 buildings in Vienna - showed that the same design solutions were used, in some cases identical decorations on wrought iron fences and cast iron. This is a solid proof and confirmation of the fact that Sarajevo was involved in Western European flows and that they influenced architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The time and space framework of this research did not allow for more extensive research activity in this segment of architecture from Austro-Hungarian period, but it did open the space and provided the basis for future research of decorative elements on buildings in Vienna and Sarajevo, which undoubtedly show a direct connection between the two cities, where Vienna is a role model, a symbol of a centre, and Sarajevo is a replica, a symbol of the periphery.

On the other hand, during the Austro-Hungarian period, Sarajevo offered completely original architectural creations that, through a deeper analysis, shows thoughtful reflection on space and inherited ambient values, that is, the spirit of the place. These examples appeared at the very end of the Austro-Hungarian period, but their natural development was interrupted by the *Sarajevo assassination* and beginning of World War I.

The selection of case studies in this research work was made with the aim to present different typologies and functions of buildings, ranging from private, public, sacral, educational, residential, administrative, to residential and commercial. Each of these groups consist of a role models and replicas, a unique comparative analysis methodology was adopted, which aimed to show, through graphical documentation, textual descriptions, tables and comparisons of all relevant sources, the direct correlation of the two (or three) buildings in the context of the spirit of the place. For some buildings, the level of similarity is extremely high, such as the Marienhof in Sarajevo and Baldiahof in Vienna, residential and commercial palaces. In some cases, the proportions and shapes of the facades have been copied but with the different layout, as is the case with the Vienna Museum of Art - MAK and the Sarajevo Presidency Palace. Some replicas directly took on the design elements of their role models, such as the case of the facade of the National Museum in Sarajevo and the facades of the Künstlerhaus and Musikverein in Vienna. Paradoxically, the

Main Post Office building in Sarajevo was built in early Secession, while its role model - Postal Savings Bank from Vienna was built in advanced Secession with elements of modern architecture. Yet, the proportions, volumes and division of the facade remained the same.

Through this research work, the question of the relationship between the original and the copy in architecture was examined on several examples. The spirit of the place was examined in the context of conflict and harmony in the environment through the relationship between architecture in the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian periods in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Strengths and weaknesses of the spirit of the place were determined within the limits of the time and space, that is, several historical periods in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Finally, the relationship between the centre and the periphery in the context of personal, shared, cultural and spatial identity was examined, with the discouraging realization that it is impossible to answer all the open questions within the scope of this research, but it was possible to identify certain causes and consequences in the architectural scene in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Deeper analysis and understanding the causes and consequences in space is extremely important in terms of future architectural work.

This research work is a kind of background and contribution to the study of architectural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina, explaining the necessity of analysis and decisive factors for future architectural creations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It answered extensive research questions about the importance and influence of historical periods on the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as its impact on the Bosnian and Herzegovinian spirit of the place shaped during those historical periods.

The relationship between the model and the replica was deeply analyzed, and this research confirmed that the architecture was at the turn of the 19th and 20th century in Vienna and other centres of the Monarchy as a model for construction in Sarajevo and other cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The comparative analysis of individual cases proved that it was not a matter of merely obeying the rules of certain neo-styles, but of a direct link between the original and the copy, that is, the model and the replica. This connection was in most cases evidenced by a professional connection between a professor designing in Vienna and his student designing in

Sarajevo, then by comparing archival documentation, photo documentation, and a number of other sources relevant to the selected case studies.

This research has shown that the spirit of the place, regardless of the same design solution, is crucial in the perception of a particular architectural realization. The physical environment is only one of the segments that define the spirit of the place, and that the other components are historical, cultural, economic, political, etc. Examining the spirit of the place in the local (Sarajevo), regional (Vienna) and broad (European) context, this research confirmed the hypothesis of the importance of the spirit of the place in architecture, and especially in the example of the Austro-Hungarian period's architecture, which paradoxically represents a replica of a role model hundreds of kilometres away. Yet, replicas created in the relationship between the centre and the periphery carried the spirit of the place so strong that their perceptions are completely different in Sarajevo and in Vienna. One of the examples is comparison of Evangelical Chapel in Vienna and the Evangelical Church (Academy of Fine Arts) in Sarajevo, where the buildings so similar- are completely different in perception. This research confirmed the hypothesis of the importance of the Genius Loci in the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This research work has contributed to the study and promotion of cultural and historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina by observing it in a broader context and bringing together in one place all the values and specificities of different historical periods which Bosnia and Herzegovina has gone through during its development. In a comprehensive approach, this research has laid the foundations for future research work at the international level, without ambition to provide answers to all outstanding questions, but with the tendency to emphasize those questions and individual cases of utmost importance for the culture and heritage. The universal value of the heritage presented in this thesis was confirmed by the same approach in research work applied to different historical periods. The scientific contribution of this thesis was realized through the contextualization of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina by mapping, comparing and vaporizing individual cases of architectural achievements through analysis of the spirit of the place and memory of the place all the way from the urban setting to the plastic details and polychrome ornaments. For the first time, this research established a direct link

between *role model* buildings in Vienna and their *replicas* in Sarajevo. Their relationships and connections were examined in the context of the centre and periphery, and in the context of the weakness and strengths of the Genius loci.

iv. SOURCES, GRAPHIC AND PHOTO DOCUMENTATION

iv.1. Bibliography

- A

Anđelić, Pavao (1965) *Blagaj-srednjovjekovni grad*, Beograd: Arheološki pregled 7

Anđelić, Pavao (1973) *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska, stolna mjesta bosanskih vladara u XIV i XV stoljeću*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša

Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakki (1981) *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri – Yugoslavya*, II-III cilt, 3. kitap, Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti

Andrejević, Andrej (1984) *Islamska monumentalna umetnost XVI veka u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd: Institut za istoriju umetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogra

Aritio, Luis Blas/ INCAFO (1990) *Svjetska kulturna i prirodna baština/ El patrimonio del mundo*, Zagreb: Prosvjeta/ Madrid: Plaza & Janes

Aganović, Midhat (1995) *Razvojne i životne dileme Sarajeva*, Sarajevo: VKBI

Aščerić, V. M. (2005) *Sarajevo i njegova okolina*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing.

Alami, M. H. (2011). *Art and Architecture in the Islamic Tradition*, London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd.

- B

Barišić, R. (1890) *Franjevački samostan i crkva u Sutjeskoj*, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini, knjiga I*, Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija

Bejtić, Alija (1953) *Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugoslovenskih naroda pod turskom vladavinom, III-IV, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša

Bejtić, Alija (1953) *Naše starine I: Banjaluka pod turskom vladavinom: Arhitektura i teritorijalni razvitak grada u XVI i XVII vijeku*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika

Bešlić, Šefik (1953) *Naše starine I: Proučavanje i zaštita stećaka*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika

Basler Đuro, Bešlić Šefik, Tihic Smajil (1966) *Zaštita spomenika kulture, Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti*, Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod

Basler, Đuro (1967) *Sjeverni dio gradskih utvrda u Jajcu*. Naše starine XI, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika SR Bosne i Hercegovine

Benac, Alojz (1967) *Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija

Bašlar, Gaston (1969) *Poetika prostora*, Beograd: Kultura

- Bertrand, Russell (1970) *Mudrost Zapada*, Zagreb: Mladost
- Bugarski, Astrida (1972/73) „*Kuća sa 'čardakom' u Podbjelašničkim selima*“, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja sv XXVII/XXVIII*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej BiH
- Besarović, Risto (1974) *Iz kulturnog života u Sarajevu pod austrougarskom upravom*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka „Kulturno nasljeđe“, Veselin Masleša
- Bešlagić, Šefik (1989) *Stećci – Kultura i umjetnost*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša
- Božić, Jelena (1989) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave, doktorska disertacija*, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu
- Bećirbegović, Madžida (1990) *Džamije sa drvenom munarom*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša
- Bublin, M. (1999) *Gradovi BiH: Milenijum razvoja i godine urbicida*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo publishing
- Božić, Jelena (2001) *Svjedoci istorije. Arhitektonsko naslijeđe austrougarskog perioda u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva I. Sarajevo
- Bugarski, Astrida (2001) *Sjećanje na korijenje - Tradicionalne stambene zgrade Hrvata Bosne i Hercegovine u drugoj polovici XIX i prvoj polovici XX stoljeća*, Sarajevo: Matica Hrvatska
- Bernik, Stane (2002) *Arhitekt Zlatko Ugljen – Architect Zlatko Ugljen*, Tuzla: Međunarodna galerija portreta
- Božić, Jelena (2004) *Vrijeme u prostoru: Teorija i istorija očuvanja graditeljskog nasljeđa*, Srpsko Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva (Banja Luka – Glas srpski – Grafika)
- Bussagli, Marco (2005) *Capire l'Architettura: Il primo grande libro illustrato sull'architettura di tutti i tempi e paesi*, Firenze: Giunti Editore
- Božić, Jelena (2006) *Arhitekt Josip Vancaš – Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva
- Bušatlić, Lejla (2015) *Arhitektura Zlatka Ugljena - kontinuitet tradicionalnih formi u modernoj i postmodernoj reinterpretaciji*, magistarski rad, Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Filozofski fakultet
- C
- Challet, Jean (1965) *Naše starine X: Bogumili i simbolika stećaka*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika

Çelik, Zeynep (1992) *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, Los Angeles: University of California Press

Choay, Françoise (2001) *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Čelić -Čemerlić, V. (2001) *Svrzina kuća vrijedan spomenik kulture in Monografija, Svzina kuća*, Sarajevo: Muzej Sarajeva

Chamberlain, Kevin (2004) *War and Cultural Heritage*, London: Institute of Art and Law

- D

Deroko, Aleksandar (1968) *Narodno graditeljstvo*, Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti

Durrell, Lawrence (1976) *L'esprit des lieux*, Paris: Gallimard

Doksijadis, Konstantinos (1982) *Čovek i grad*, Beograd: Nolit

Dimitrijević, Branka (1991) *Arhitekt Karl Paržik (Karel Pařík)*, doktorska disertacija, Zagreb: Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

Dunleavy, Patrick (2003) *Authoring a PhD: How to plan, draft, write and finish a doctoral thesis or dissertation*, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Donia, Robert J. (2006) *Sarajevo: biografija grada*, Sarajevo: Institut za historiju

Džeko, Lebiba (2007) *Sarajevo između dvije carevine (Fotografije Františka Topiča iz perioda 1885. – 1919.) Katalog izložbe*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine

Đokić, V. Bojanić, P. (2009) *Teorija arhitekture i urbanizma*, Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

- E

Ekmečić, Milorad (1989) *Stvaranje Jugoslavije, 1790-1918*, I-II, Beograd: Prosveta

Eltz, Liselotte (1991) *Theophil Hansen und seine Bauten für die Evangelischen in Saat*, Wien: Saat

Екмечић, Милорад (1996) *Устанак у Босни 1875-1878*, Београд: Службени лист

Eco, Umberto (2015) *How To Write a Thesis*, Massachusetts/ Cambridge/ London: MIT Press

- F

Finci, Jahiel (1962) *Razvoj dispozicije i funkcije u stambenoj kulturi Sarajeva*, Sarajevo: Zavod za stambenu izgradnju Sarajeva

Fine, John V. A. Jr. (1975) *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation, A study of the Bosnian Church and Its Place in State and Society from the 13th to the 15th Centuries*, New York - London: Columbia University Press

Fawcett, A. Peter (2003) *Architecture: Design Notebook*, Oxford: Architectural Press

Fočo, Mirzah (2006) *Sakralni objekti od drveta u Bosni i Hercegovini, Godišnjak Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine „Baština II“*, Sarajevo: Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine

Frederick, Matthew (2007) *101 Things I Learned in Architecture School*, Cambridge: The MIT Press

Fogarassy Alfred, Schoeller Nora, Faber Monika, Martz Jochen, Mattl Siegfried, Nierhaus Andreas, Orosz Eva-Maria, Morton Frederic (2014) *Vienna's Ringstrasse. The Book*, Ostfildern Hatje Cantz Verlag

- G

Grabrijan Dušan, Neidhardt Juraj (1959) *Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno*, Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije

Guillebaud, Jean-Claude (2000) *L'esprit du lieu*, Paris: Arléa

- H

Hrasnica, Mehmed (1983) *Život i djelo arhitekta Josipa Pospišila, doktorska disertacija*, Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

Hrasnica, Mehmed (1985) *Živa prisutnost: Arhitekt Josip Pospišil i početak modernog pokreta u arhitekturi i urbanizmu Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Odijek 1999.

Heynen, Hilde (1999) *Architecture and modernity: a critique*, Cambridge/ Massachusetts/ London: MIT Press - Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Hamidović, Muhamed (2000) *Gramatika Bosne*, Zenica: Muzej grada Zenice

Husedžinović, Sabira (2001) *Nastanak i razvoj Svrzine kuće in Monografija, Svrzina kuća*, Sarajevo: Muzej Sarajeva

Hrasnica, Mehmed (2003) *Arhitekt Josip Pospišil – život i djelo*, Sarajevo: Acta Architectonica et Urbanistica

Hall, S., Gay du, P. (2003) *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage Publications

Husedžinović, Sabira (2005) *Dokumenti opstanka (Vrijednosti, značaj, rušenje i obnova kulturnog naslijeđa)*, Zenica: Muzej grada Zenice

Hartley, James (2008) *Academic Writing and Publishing: A practical handbook*, London and New York: Routledge - Taylor and Francis Group

- Hadžimuhamedović, Amra (2008) *Baština IV: Godišnjak Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Štamparija „Fojnica“
- Hadžimuhamedović, Amra (2009) *Baština V: Godišnjak Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Štamparija „BLICDRUK“
- Husedžinović, Sabira (2009) *Stari gradovi Unsko-sanskog kantona*, Bihać: Zavod za zaštitu kulturnog naslijeđa Bihać i Muzej Unsko-sanskog kantona
- Hamidović Muhamed, Mičić Lidija, Petrović Angela (2010) *Zaštita kulturne i graditeljske baštine: 2003.-2009.*, Sarajevo: Federalno ministarstvo kulture i sporta/športa Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine, Hercegtisak d.o.o., Suton d.o.o.
- Hadžimuhamedović, Amra (2015) *Naslijeđe, rat i mir*, Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu
- Horvat, S., Štiks, I. (2015) *Welcome to the Desert of Post-Socialism: Radical Politics After Yugoslavia*, London: Verso
- Husukić Erna, Zejnilović Emina (2017) *The environmental aesthetics of Sarajevo: A city shaped by memory*, Urbani Izziv, Vol. 28, No. 1, Ljubljana: Urbanistični inštitut Republike Slovenije
- I
- Idrizbegović, Aida (2003) *Arhitektonske smjernice – Upute za intervencije u Starom gradu Mostaru*, magistarski rad, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerzitet u Sarajevu
- Imamović, Mustafa (2007) *Pravni položaj i unutrašnje-politički razvitak BiH od 1878. - 1914.*, Sarajevo: Magistrat
- J
- Jelavich, Barbara (1983) *History of the Balkans. Eighteen and Nineteenth Centuries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Jencks Charles, Kropf Karl (1997) *Theories and Manifestos of Contemporary Architecture*, GB, Chichester, West Sussex: Academy Editions
- K
- Kreševljaković, Hamdija (1952) *Prilozi povijesti bosanskih gradova pod turskom upravom*, Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugoslovenskih naroda pod turskom vladavinom, II/1951, Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu
- Kreševljaković, Hamdija (1953) *Naše starine I: Stari bosanski gradovi*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika Sarajevo

Kruševac, Todor (1960) *Sarajevo pod austrougarskom upravom 1878. – 1918.*, Muzej grada Sarajeva, Sarajevo: Svjetlost

Kadić, Muhamed (1967) *Starinska seoska kuća u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“

Kraljačić, Tomislav (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe: „Veselin Masleša“

Kapidžić, Hamdija (1968) *Bosna i Hercegovina u vrijeme austrougarske vladavine*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost

Krstić, Branislav (1982) *Čovjek i prostor*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost

Krzović, Ibrahim (1987) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. – 1918.*, Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH

Kapetanović Karlić, Jelica (1990) *Juraj Najdhart, život i djelo*. Sarajevo: „Veselin Masleša“

Karamatić Marko, Nikić Andrija (1990) *Blago franjevačkih samostana Bosne i Hercegovine*, Zagreb: Privredni Vjesnik - Turistička propaganda

Klajić, Bratoljub (1990) *Rječnik stranih riječi, tuđice i posuđenice*, Zagreb: Nakladni zavod MH

Katunarić, Vjeran (1992) *Centar, periferija i regionalizam: „Tvrda“ europska postmoderna*, Zagreb: Društvena istraživanja Vol. 1

Kruft, Hanno-Walter (1994) *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press

Koštović, Nijazija (1995) *Sarajevo između dobrotvorstva i zla*, Sarajevo: „El-kalem“

Kurto, Nedžad (1998) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, razvoj Bosanskog stila*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing

Krzović, Ibrahim (2004) *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing

Karović Elma, Kunovac Saša (2006) *Područje sa posebnim karakteristikama: Igman-Bjelašnica-Treskavica i Kanjon Rakitnice (Visočica)*, Sarajevo

Kadić, Emir (2010) *Arhitekt Reuf Kadić i počeci moderne arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini/ Architect Reuf Kadić and the beginnings of modern architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo: Bemust

Kasumović Amila, Radušić Edin (2017) *Zaljubljeni u plijen- Austrougarska vladavina u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. – 1918. in Između dvije imperije, Bosna i Hercegovina na*

fotografijama Františka Topića 1885. – 1919., Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine

Kuvač, Igor (2017) *Forced transitions. New settlements of displaced persons after the war (1992-1995) in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, PhD Thesis, Granada: Departament for Urban and Territorial Planning. University of Granada

- L

Loss, Adolf (1952) *Ornament i zločin*, Zagreb: Mladost

Levey, Michael (1967) *Istorija slikarstva: Od Đota do Sezana*, Beograd: Publicističko izdavački zavod „Jugoslavija“

Lipp, Wolfgang (1986) *Heimatbewegung, Regionalismus, Kultur und Gesellschaft, Sonderheft*, Köln: Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie

Lalić, Slobodanka (2005) *Folklorni elementi u dekoraciji u crkvama brvnarama u Bosni i Hercegovini, Godišnjak Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine „Baština I“*, Sarajevo: Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine

Lovrenović, Dubravko (2007) *Baština III: Godišnjak Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Štamparija „Fojnica“

Lovrenović, Dubravko (2009) *Stećci: bosansko i humsko mramorje srednjeg vijeka*, Sarajevo: Rabić

Lindblad, Jakob (2009) *Studier till Sveriges Kyrkor: „470 Nya kyrkor: bidrag till Sveriges arkitekturhistoria 1850-1890“*, Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet

- M

Mazalić, Đoko (1948) *Travnik i Toričan (prilog bosanskoj arhitekturi srednjeg vijeka)*, Sarajevo: Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, nova serija, sveska VIII

Mazalić, Đoko (1952) *Stari grad Jajce*. Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, n.s. sveska VII, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej u Sarajevu

Momirović, Petar (1953) *Dve drvene crkve u Bosanskoj Krajini, Godišnjak Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine „Naše starine I“*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine

Momirović, Petar (1956) *Drvene crkve Zapadne Bosne, Godišnjak Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine „Naše starine III“*, Sarajevo: Zemaljski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine

Miletić, Nada (1982) *Umetnost na tlu Jugoslavije: Stećci*, Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, Zagreb: Spektar

Marković, Slavica (1992) *Ćiril Metod Iveković – arhitekt i konzervator*, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske

Morsan, Boris (1994) *Kako liječiti arhitekturu: Prinos analizi sociopatologije građenja*, Zagreb: Časopis Prostor Vol.2

Mujezinović, Mehmed (1998) *Islamska epigrafija Bosne i Hercegovine I, II*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing

Moravánszky, Ákos (2005) *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture*, Budapest: The MIT Press

Malcolm, Noel (2010) *Bosna - Kratka povijest*, Sarajevo: Buybook

Macdonald, Sharon (2013) *Memorylands: Heritage and identity in Europe today*, New York: Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group)

- N

Norberg-Schulz, Christian (1979) *Genius Loci - Towards a phenomenology of architecture*, New York: Rizzoli

Nilsén, Anna (2003) *Focal Point of the Sacred Space. The Boundary between Chancel and Nave in Swedish Rural Churches: From Romanesque to Neo-Gothic*, Uppsala, Uppsala University: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Figura Nova Series 30

Noel, Malcom (2002) *Bosnia – A short history*, London: Pan Books

Neidhardt, Tatjana (2006) *Sarajevo kroz vrijeme*, Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ

- O

Osmanković, Jasmina (2002) *Teorija i politika regionalnog razvoja Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Ekonomski fakultet Univerziteta u Sarajevu

Osmanković, Jasmina (2004) *Regionalization and regional development in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the post-war period*, Ljubljana: Institute for Economic Research

Opačin Nerkez, Dursun Ibrahim (2016) *Learning from the Past: Exploring the role of Transitional justice in Rebuilding Trust in a Post-conflict Society*, Sarajevo: International University of Sarajevo, Sabah Print

- P

Pašić, Amir (1989) *Prilog proučavanju islamskog stambenog graditeljstva u Jugoslaviji na primjeru Mostara, koliko je stara stambena arhitektura Mostara autohtona pojava – doktorska disertacija*, Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu

Popović, Marko (1995) *Srednjovjekovne tvrđave u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine 1, Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti

Prstojević, Miroslav (1999) *Zaboravljeno Sarajevo*, Sarajevo: Stubovi kulture

Pašić, Amir (2005) *Celebrating Mostar: Architectural history of the city 1452 – 2004*, Gračanica: Grin

Patterson, Barry (2005) *The Art of Conversation with the Genius Loci*, Milverton: Cappall Bann Books

Poloni, Željka (2009) *Česi u Sarajevu 1878 - 1918/ Česi v Sarajevu 1878 – 1918, magistarski rad*, Olomouc: Univerzity Palackého

Pašić, Amir (2012) *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Arhitektura prije 1463.godine*, Sarajevo: Skripta za predmet Arhitektura na tlu BiH

Popovac - Roso, Maja (2015) *One-span Ottoman Bridges in Bosnia and Herzegovina*: Mostar, Slovej doo

- R

Read, Herbert (1967) *Istorija modernog slikarstva: Od Sezana do Pikasa*, Beograd: Publicističko izdavački zavod „Jugoslavija“

Rudofsky, Bernard (1973) *Arquitectura sin arquitectos: breve introducción a la arquitectura sin genealogía*, Buenos Aires: Eudeba

Rozić, Tihomir (2004) *Mostar – A Bridge Story*, Široki Brijeg: Hercegtisak d.o.o.

Redžić, Husref (2009) *Srednjovjekovni gradovi u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing d.d.

- S

Stix, Edmund (1887) *Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Herzegovina vom Beginn der Occupation durch die österr.-ung. Monarchie bis in das Jahr 1887*, Wien: Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Herzegovina

Skarić, Vladislav (1937) *Sarajevo i njegova okolina od najstarijih vremena do austrougarske okupacije*, Sarajevo: Opština grada Sarajeva

Šumi, Nace (1954) *Arhitektura secesijske dobi v Ljubljani*, Ljubljana: Mestni muzej v Ljubljani

Smiljanić, Dušan (1958) *Arhitektura u razdoblju 1878. – 1918. Bosna i Hercegovina*, Zagreb: ELU 1

Štraus, Ivan (1977) *Nova bosanskohercegovačka arhitektura/ 1945. – 1975.*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost, OOUR Izdavačka djelatnost

Šoe, Fransoaz (1978) *Urbanizam, utopija i stvarnost*, Beograd: Građevinska knjiga

Sanković, Vjekoslava (1981) *Revitalizacija starog grada Počitelja*, Naše starine XIV-XV, Sarajevo: Zemaljski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine

Ševo, Ljiljana (1996) *Manastiri i crkve brvnare banjalučke eparhije*, Banja Luka: Glas srpski

Spasojević, Borislav (1999) *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu*, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo: RABIC

Ševo, Ljiljana (2002) *Pravoslavne crkve i manastiri u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1878. godine*, Banja Luka: Glas srpski

Suma, Stefania (2008) *Arhitektura – protagonisti: Le Corbusier*, Zagreb: EPH Liber

Štraus, Ivan (2010) *99 arhitekata sarajevskog kruga/ 1930. – 1991.*, Sarajevo/ Zagreb: TKD Šahinpašić/ BTC Šahinpašić

Savić, Jelena (2013) *Moderno i vernakularno u urbanoj transformaciji Banjaluke*, Doktorska disertacija, Beograd: Unverzitet u Beoradu, Arhitektonski fakultet

- T

Truhelka, Ćiro (1904) *Naši gradovi, opis najljepših sredovječnih gradova Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Naklada Knjižare J. Studnička i dr.

Toman, Rolf (2008) *Vienna: Art and Architecture*, Postdam: Tandem Verlag, h.f. ullmann

Trapara, Boris (2012) *Arhitektonske intervencije u istorijskom urbanom kontekstu: Međan (Mostar)*, diplomski – magistarski rad, Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerzitet u Sarajevu

Trapara, Boris (2015) *Kako historija kreira sliku grada: Velika Kladuša i njeni spomenici*, Sarajevo: Novo vrijeme, sedmične novine

Trapara, Boris (2016) *Sakralna arhitektura osmanskog perioda: Banjalučke džamije nekad i sad*, Sarajevo: Novo vrijeme, sedmične novine

- V

Vidović, Drago (1954) *Naše starine II: Simbolične predstave na stećcima*, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika

Vellinga Marcel, Oliver Paul, Bridge Alexander (2007) *Atlas of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, London: Routledge

- W

Wenzel, Marian (1965) *Ukrasni motivi na stećcima*, Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša

Winters, Nathan B. (1986) *Architecture is elementary: Visual Thinking Through Architectural Concepts*, Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, Peregrine Smith Books

Wolf Michael (2001) *Evangelische Christuskirche*, Wien: Favoriten

Walter, Benjamin (2002) *The Arcades Project: Paris, Capital of the 19th Century*, Harvard: Harvard University Press

Williams M. Joseph, Colomb G. Gregory, Booth C. Wayne (2003) *The Craft of Research*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press

- Y

Yin, Robert K. (2003) *Case Study Research, Design and Methods*. London: Sage Publications

- Z

Zumthor, Peter (1999) *Thinking Architecture*, Basel/ Boston/ Berlin: Birkhäuser - The Publisher for Architecture

Zukić, Kemal (2001) *Islamska arhitektura, slikarstvo i primjenjene umjetnosti, Knjiga I i II*, Sarajevo: Bošnjački institut (Vakuf Adil Zulfikarpašić)

Zaimović, Karim (2005) *Tajna džema od malina*, Biblioteka DANI, Sarajevo: Civitas d.o.o., MKT Print d.d., Ljubljana

Zadro, Sanja (2017) *Mostarska arhitektura od 1850. do Drugoga svjetskog rata, doktorska disertacija*, Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu

Zejnlović Emina, Husukić Erna (2018) *Architectural aesthetics*, Sarajevo: International BURCH University, OR Mint Print

iv.2. Online Sources

UNESCO, World Heritage List (2017) *Stećci Medieval Tombstones Graveyards* [whc.unesco.org], available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1504> [accessed on 06th February 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Prahistorijsko naselje u Butmiru, arheološko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2500 [accessed on 05th June 2017]

Trapara, Boris (2016) *Stećci: kameni spavači iz srednjovjekovne Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Novo vrijeme [www.novovrijeme.ba], available on: <http://novovrijeme.ba/stecci-kameni-spavaci-iz-srednjovjekovne-bosne-i-hercegovine/> [accessed on 05th December 2016]

Bosna i Hercegovina - Državna komisija za Saradnju sa UNESCO-m (2017) *Stećci-srednjovjekovni nadgrobni spomenici* [www.unescobih.mcp.gov.ba], available at: <http://www.unescobih.mcp.gov.ba/spomenici/Default.aspx?id=14274> [accessed on 03th July 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Odluke o proglašenju dobara nacionalnim spomenicima* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: <http://aplikacija.kons.gov.ba/kons/public/nacionalnispomenici> [accessed on 03th July 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2016) *Kompleks Svrzine kuće, stambena graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2515 [accessed on 12th September 2016]

Muzej Sarajeva (2017) *Svrzina kuća* [www.muzejsarajeva.ba], available on: <http://muzejsarajeva.ba/bs/dani-kantona-dan-noc-muzejadepandansi/svrzina-kuca> [accessed on 29th January 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Harem Grabske (Hadži Begzade) džamije sa česmama na Grabu, historijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1871 [accessed on 21st March 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Harem Jama (Sofi Mehmed-pašine) džamije, historijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1872 [accessed on 21st March 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Harem Hadži Osmanije (Taline) džamije, povijesno područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1834 [accessed on 21st March 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Harem Pećinske (Seferbegove) džamije, historijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1874 [accessed on 21st March 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Mjesto i ostaci graditeljske cjeline Džamije na Hisetima (Mehdi-begove džamije) u Banjoj Luci* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1873 [accessed at 22nd March 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Harem Hadži Omerove (Dolačke) džamije u Banjoj Luci, historijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1836 [accessed on 24th March 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Harem Hadži Kurd džamije u Lijevoj Novoseliji, historijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1870 [accessed on 24th March 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Hadži Zulfikareva (Tulekova) džamija u Banjoj Luci, istorijsko područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1833 [accessed on 26th March 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Napretkova palača (Zgrada Hrvatskog kulturnog društva "Napredak"; Napretkov Zakladni dom) u Titovoj 56, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3907 [accessed on 23th April 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017). *Salomova palata, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3008 [accessed on 24th May 2017]

Franjevački samostan Duha Svetoga Fojnica (2017) *Sveti Franjo i Franjevački red* [www.fojnica-samostan.com], available on: <http://www.fojnica-samostan.com/novo/index.php/franjevacki-pokret/> [accessed on 07th February 2017]

Franjevačka provincija BS (2017) *Samostani i župe* [www.bosnasrebrena.ba], available on: <http://www.bosnasrebrena.ba/v2010/samostani-i-zupe.html> [accessed on 06th February 2017]

Hercegovačka franjevačka provincija (2017) *Naša nazočnost* [www.franjevci.info], available on: <http://franjevci.info/about-us/nasa-nazocnost-2/> [accessed on 06th February 2017]

Rama – Šćit, Franjevački samostan (2017) *Crkva* [www.rama.co.ba], available on: <http://www.rama.co.ba/stranice/crkva/> [accessed on 09th February 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Franjevački samostan i crkva Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Šćitu, kulturni pejzaž i područje* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2801/ [accessed on 09th February 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Franjevački samostan i crkva sv. Ive Krstitelja u Kraljevoj Sutjesci, graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=1930/ [accessed on 09th February 2017]

Kraljeva Sutjeska (2017) *Samostan* [www.kraljeva-sutjeska.com], available on: <http://www.kraljeva-sutjeska.com/index.php?otvori=onama&prikazi=samostan/> [accessed on 09th February 2017]

Franjevački samostan i župa sv. Ante Padovanskog Humac - Ljubuški (2017) *Povijest* [www.franjevci-humac.net], available on: <http://www.franjevci-humac.net/index.php/samostana/povijest/> [accessed on 09th February 2017]

Novicijat Franjevačke provincije Bosne Srebrene (2017) *Samostan Gorica-Livno* [www.novicijat-bosnesrebrene.com], available on: <https://www.novicijat-bosnesrebrene.com/polazna/samostan-gorica-livno/> [accessed on 09th February 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Franjevački samostan Gorica - Livno, graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2543/ [accessed on 09th February 2017]

Villa Savoye (2017). *History of the monument* [www.vill-savoye.fr], available on: <http://www.villa-savoye.fr/en/Explore/History-of-the-monument> [accessed on 15th March, 2016]

Villa Savoye (2017) *History of the monument* [www.vill-savoye.fr], available on: <http://www.villa-savoye.fr/en/Explore/History-of-the-monument> [accessed on 15th March, 2017]

UNESCO (2017) *The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier, an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement* [whc.unesco.org], available on: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1321> [accessed on 15th March, 2016]

Trapara, Boris (2016) *Novo vrijeme: Zeničko pozorište - Total-dizajn u arhitekturi Bosne i Hercegovine*, [www.novovrijeme.ba], available on: <http://novovrijeme.ba/zenicko-pozoriste-total-dizajn-u-arhitekturi-bosne-i-hercegovine/> [accessed on 21th November 2017]

Bosansko narodno pozorište Zenica (2018) *Bosansko narodno pozorište Zenica*, [www.bnp.ba], available on: <http://www.bnp.ba/bnp/component/k2/item/3-bnp-zenica> [accessed on 21th November 2017]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2017) *Selo Lukomir (Gornji Lukomir), kulturni krajolik* [www.kons.gov.ba], available at: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3250 [accessed on 20th October 2018]

Kukić, Ena (2016) *Prometej: Intervju s dr. Nasihom Pozder - Urbanizam u službi populizma*, [www.prometej.ba], available on: <http://www.prometej.ba/clanak/intervju/intervju-s-dr-nasihom-pozder-urbanizam-u-sluzbi-populizma-2652> [accessed on 29th October 2018]

Mujezinović Pribilović, Belma (2016) *Enterijer.ba: Igor Kuvač - Stanje u oblasti enterijera je nesređeno i neophodna je stručna kritika*, [www.enterijer.ba], available on: <http://www.enterijer.ba/index.php/novosti/intervju/2712-igor-kuvac-stanje-u-oblasti-enterijera-je-nesredeno-i-neophodna-je-strucna-kritika> [accessed on 29th October 2018]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019). *Katedrala (Katedralna crkva Srca Isusova), historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2518 [accessed on 11th March 2019]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019). *Narodno pozorište, povijesna građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2981 [acc. on 11th March 2019]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019). *Gradska vijećnica, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: <http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?mod=spomenici&extra=Odluke&action=view&lang=1&id=2860> [accessed on 11th March 2019]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019). *Gradska vijećnica, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: <http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?mod=spomenici&extra=Odluke&action=view&lang=1&id=2860> [accessed on 11th March 2019]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019). *Aškenaski hram, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2844 [accessed on 12th March 2019]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019) *Zgrada Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine (Zgrada Zemaljske vlade I), sa pokretnim naslijeđem, historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3034 [accessed on 23th March 2019]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019) *Zgrada Zgrada Zemaljske vlade II (Zgrada željeznica), historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3026 [accessed on 23th March 2019]

Trapara, Boris (2015) *Marienhof/ August i Marija Braun* [www.coolbastina.ba], available on: <http://coolbastina.ba/vodic-kroz-bastinu/marienhof-august-i-marija-braun/> [accessed on 23th March 2019]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019) *Školske zgrade u Gimnazijskoj ulici, graditeljska cjelina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3336 [accessed on 23th March 2019]

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (2019) *Katedrala (Katedralna crkva Srca Isusova), historijska građevina* [www.kons.gov.ba], available on: http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2518 [accessed on 23th March 2019]

iv.3. List of Technical Drawings, Graphics, Photographs, Tables, and Charts

- Figure 1: Interior of the City Hall (Vijećnica) in Sarajevo, 21/11/2014, Photograph by Author
- Figure 2: Plan of the Neolithic Station in Butmir, source: F. Fiala, M. Hoernes: Die neolithische Station von Butmir bei Sarajevo in Bosnien. Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1894–1896, Wien 1898.
- Figure 3: A typical Butmir vase, source: M. Popovac, One-span Ottoman Bridges in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mostar 2015
- Figure 4: The Old town in Velika Kladuša, 02/05/2011, Photograph by Author
- Figure 5: The Old town of Bobovac, source: S. Husedžinović, Map redrawn by Author
- Figure 6: The Old town in Gradačac, 26/05/2015, Photograph by Author
- Figure 7: The Old town of Jajce, source: S. Husedžinović, Map redrawn by Author
- Figure 8: The panorama of Jajce, 31/03/2019, Photograph by Author
- Figure 9: Old town of Maglaj, source: S. Husedžinović, Map redrawn by Author
- Figure 10: The Old town of Počitelj, 27/10/2017, Photograph by Author
- Figure 11: Old town of Srebrenik, source: S. Husedžinović, Map redrawn by Author
- Figure 12: The Old town of Tešanj, 28/08/2016, Photograph by Author
- Figure 13: Old town of Travnik, source: S. Husedžinović, Map redrawn by Author
- Figure 14: Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina showing disposition of necropolises, drawn by Author
- Figure 15: Different shapes of stećaks, source: Š.Bešlagić, redrawn by Author
- Figure 16 (left): Stećak from Donja Zgošća, The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 07/05/2018, Photograph by Author
- Figure 17 (right): Stećak, The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 28/10/2018, Photograph by Author
- Figure 18: Radimlja, Stolac, UNESCO World Heritage Site, 17/05/2019, Photograph by Author
- Figure 19: Decorations on stećaks, source: S. Husedžinović, redrawn by Author
- Figure 20: Svrzo House in Sarajevo, “male/public courtyard” (selamluk), 13/06/2016, Photograph by Author
- Figure 21: Svrzo House in Sarajevo, “female/family courtyard” (haremluk), 13/06/2016, Photograph by Author
- Figure 22: Svrzo House in Sarajevo, Female/family part of the house with the living room/ lounge area (veliki halvat), 13/06/2016, Photograph by Author
- Figures 23 and 24: Svrzo House in Sarajevo, ground floor and first floor, measured and drawn by Author
- Figures 25 and 26: Jama / Sofi-Mehmed pasha mosque in Banja Luka, Main façade and ground floor, source: S. Husedžinović, redrawn by Author
- Figure 27: The site of Ferhadija / Ferhad-pasha mosque in Banja Luka: 1. Mosque, 2. Courtyard, 3. Entrance, 4. Ferhad-pasha mausoleum, 5. Safi-kaduna mausoleum, 6. Medžlis Building, 7. Šadrvan/ fountain. 8. Ferhad Pasha’s captains, 9. Fucet, source: S. Husedžinović, redrawn by Author
- Figures 28, 29, 30, 31: Ferhadija / Ferhad-pasha mosque in Banja Luka, interior, 15/10/2016, Photographs by Author
- Figures 32, 33, 34, 35: Tehnical drawings of Ferhadija / Ferhad-pasha mosque in Banja Luka, source: S. Husedžinović, Redrawn by Author
- Figures 36, 37, 38, 39: Tehnical drawings of Arnaudija / Teftedarija / Hasana Defterdara mosque in Banja Luka, source: S. Husedžinović, Redrawn by Author
- Figures 40, 41, 42, 43: Tehnical drawings of Behram effendi mosque in Banja Luka, source: S. Husedžinović, Redrawn by Author
- Figures 44: Table Mosques, Data collected and Table Designed by Author
- Figure 45: Napredak Palace and Salom’s Palace in Titova Street in Sarajevo, 19/03/2013, Photograph by Author

Figure 46: Napredak Palace in Titova Street in Sarajevo, source: B. Spasojević, redrawn by Author

Figures 47 and 48: Salom's Palace in Titova Street in Sarajevo, details, 19/03/2013, Photograph by Author

Figure 49: The Franciscan monastery of Rama-Šćit with the Church of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary in the Rama Lake in the municipality of Prozor-Rama, 09/05/2016, Photograph by Author

Figure 50 and 51: Tehnical drawings of the Franciscan monastery of Kraljeva Sutjeska with the church of St John the Baptist, source: J. Božić, redrawn by Author

Figures 52, 53, 54: The Franciscan monastery of Kraljeva Sutjeska with the church of St John the Baptist, 08/06/2013, Photographs by Author

Figure 55: The Franciscan monastery of Gorica with the church of St Peter and Paul, Livno, 08/09/2016, Photograph by Author

Figure 56: Tehnical drawing of the Franciscan monastery of Bistrik with the church of St Anthony of Padua, Sarajevo, measured and drawn by Author

Figure 57: The Franciscan monastery of Bistrik with the church of St Anthony of Padua, Sarajevo, 27/06/2017, Photograph by Author

Figure 58: The Monument to the Revolution on Mrakovica (Kozara), 31/03/2019, Photograph by Author

Figure 59: The Monument to the Battle of Sutjeska (Tjentište), 24/03/2019, Photograph by Author

Figure 60: The Villa Savoy, Poissy, 17/11/2016, Photograph by Author

Figure 61: The Museum of the Revolution (Museum of History of Bosnia and Herzegovina), historical photograph, source: Museum of History of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Figure 62: Tabular presentation of two architectural objects (Villa Savoye in Poissy near Paris and Museum of the Revolution (Historical Museum) of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo) through Le Corbusier's principles of Modern architecture.

Figures 63, 64, 65, 66: The drawings of the Theater in Zenica, source: S. Bernik: Architect Zlatko Ugljen

Figure 67: The Theater in Zenica, 12/09/2014, Photograph by Author

Figures 68 and 69: Lukomir, Bjelašnica, 13/05/2018, Photographs by Author

Figures 70 and 71: Tehnical drawing of the Malo Blaško Church, source: Naše Starine, redrawn by Author

Figures 72 and 73: Tehnical drawing of the Jelićka Church, source: Naše Starine, redrawn by Author

Figure 74: Le Petit Journal (Dimanche 18 Octobre 1908), source: Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 75: Anton von Werner, *Congress of Berlin* (1881), Final meeting at the Reich Chancellery on 13 July 1878, reproduction, source: www.alamy.com

Figure 76: Bosnia and Herzegovina in Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Map drawn by Author

Figure 77: The flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian occupation, source: T. Kraljčić, redrawn by Author

Figure 78: Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Sarajevo, source: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, redrawn by Author

Figure 79: Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Sarajevo, 19/11/2014, Photograph by Author

Figures 80 and 81: Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Sarajevo, 05/05/2015, Photograph by Author

Figure 82: The National Theater in Sarajevo, source: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, redrawn by Author

Figure 83: The Main Post Office and The National Theater in Sarajevo, Miljacka River, 29/01/2018, Photograph by Author

Figure 84: The Cathedral Church of the Nativity of the Theotokos in Sarajevo, 27/06/2017, Photograph by Author

Figures 85 and 86: The Jošua D. Salom Palace in Sarajevo, 29/03/2013, Photograph and drawing by Author

Figure 87: The Vijećnica in Sarajevo, main façade, source: Vijećnica (Sarajevo permanent Exhibition), Redrawn by Author

Figures 88 and 89: Musafija Palace in Sarajevo, main façade, source: B. Spasojević, Redrawn by Author, Photograph (19/03/2013) by Author

Figure 90: Vijećnica (town hall) in Sarajevo, 05/03/2017, Photograph by Author

Figure 91: Sebilj, Baščaršija (old town) in Sarajevo, 04/07/2017, Photographed from the minaret of the Mustafa Muslihudin Čekrekčija Mosque by Author

Figure 92: Ashkenazi synagogue in Sarajevo, 04/07/2017, Photograph by Author

Figure 93: Vijećnica (town hall) in Brčko, 05/04/2019, Photograph by Author

Figure 94: Public Bath in Mostar, 27/10/2018, Photograph by Author

Figure 95: The dome of the *mescid* in the Faculty of Islamic Sciences (built as Sharia Judicial School) in Sarajevo, 08/05/2018, Photograph by Author

Figure 96: Josip pl. Vancaš, source: J. Božić, Historical Photograph

Figure 97: Karel Pařík, source: B. Dimitrijević, Historical Photograph

Figures 98, 99, 100: Examples of the fences in Dolina Street 1, Behaudina Selimovića Street 7, and Strossmayerova Street 3, 15/03/2016, Photographs by Author

Figures 101, 102, 103: Examples of the fences in Ćumurija Street 5 and 6, Strossmayerova Street 4, 15/03/2016, Photographs by Author

Figures 104, 105, 106, 107: Examples of the fences in Mula Mustafe Bašeskije Street 31 (104, 105) and Zelenih beretki Street 16 (106, 107), 17/03/2016, Photographs by Author

Figures 108, 109, 110: Examples of the fences in Vrazova Street 16, Skenderija Street 7, Sime Milutinovića Sarajlije Street 15, 17/03/2016, Photographs by Author

Figure 111: Example of the fence in Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Sarajevo, 08/05/2018, Photographs by Author

Figures 112, 113, 114: Example of the fence in the Archbishop's Seminary with the Church of St. Cyril and Methodius, the Music Academy, and the National Museum of BH, 01/04/2010, Photographs by Author

Figure 115: Table of Role models in Vienna and Replicas in Sarajevo, Designed by Author

Figure 116: Map of the Role models in Vienna: 1. Christuskirche, Matzleinsdorf Protestant Cemetery (Chapel of the Holy Christ), 2. Palace Schey von Koromla, 3. Warenhaus der Teppichfirma Philipp Haas und Söhne (Department Store), 4. Palace Epstein, 5. Künstlerhaus (Art House), 6. Musikverein (Music hall), 7. MAK - Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, 8. Palace Ephrussi, 9. Vienna Stock Exchange, 10. (*St. Andreas Apostel*) Hütteldorf parish church, 11. Institute for Empirical Social Research, 12. Palace *Baldiahof*, 13. Austrian Postal Savings Bank, Designed by Author

Figure 117: Map of the Replicas in Sarajevo: 1. Academy of Fine Arts, 2. First Gimnasiym, 3. National gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 4. Art High School, 5. National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 6. Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 7. Pension Fund, 8. Nathional Theater, 9. Catholic Cathedral of Sacred Jesus Heart, 10. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 11. Palace Marienhof, 12. Central Post Office, Designed by Author

Figures 118, 119, 120: Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna (image: 116, 05/01/2014), Evangelical Church in Sarajevo (image: 117, 12/03/2014), and Orthodox Church of St. Archangel Michael in Herceg Novi, Montenegro (historical postcard, source: Herceg Novi tourist organisation), Photographs by Author

Figures 121 and 122: Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna, Evangelical Church in Sarajevo, Site plans drawn by Author

Figures 123, 124, 125: Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna (image: 119, 05/01/2014), Evangelical Church in Sarajevo (image: 120, 12/03/2014), and Orthodox Church of St. Archangel Michael in Herceg Novi, Montenegro (image: 121, 18/08/2007), Photographs by Author

Figures 126 and 127: Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna (source: Michael Wolf), Evangelical Church in Sarajevo (source Sabira Husedžinović), Floor plans measured and drawn by Author

Figures 128 and 129: Facades of Evangelical Church in Sarajevo (source: Sabira Husedžinović, redrawn by Author) and Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna (source: Michael Wolf, Evangelische Christuskirche.)

Figure 130: Table of comparison for the Evangelical Church in Sarajevo and the Evangelical church dedicated to Christ in Vienna, Collected and designed by Author

Figures 131 and 132: Facades of Art House - Künstlerhaus in Vienna (image: 125, 22/06/2018) and Zemaljski muzej BiH – National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo (image: 126, 16/05/2019), Photographs by Author

Figures 133 and 134: The Art House - Künstlerhaus in Vienna (up) and Zemaljski muzej BiH – National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo (down), Site plans drawn by Author

Figure 135: Facade of Music Hall - Musikverein in Vienna, 09/02/2018, Photograph by Author

Figure 136: Facade of THE National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, source: CHwB, redrawn by Author

Figure 137: Facade of The Künstlerhaus in Vienna, source: www.k-haus.at, redesign by Author

Figure 138: Table of comparison for Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (National museum of BH), Künstlerhaus (Art House), and Musikverein (Music hall), Collected and designed by Author

Figures 139 and 140: Facades of the Museum of Applied Arts Building (Museum für Angewandte Kunst, MAK) in Vienna (image: 130, 07/02/2018) and Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Predsjedništvo BiH) in Sarajevo (image: 131, 26/02/2019), Photographs by Author

Figures 141 and 142: The Museum of Applied Arts Building (Museum für Angewandte Kunst, MAK) in Vienna and the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Predsjedništvo BiH) in Sarajevo, Site plans drawn by Author

Figure 143: The Ground floor of the Museum of Applied Arts Building (Museum für Angewandte Kunst, MAK) in Vienna, source: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, redrawn by Author

Figure 144: The Ground floor of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Predsjedništvo BiH) in Sarajevo, source: Arhiv BiH, redrawn by Author

Figure 145: Facade of the Museum of Applied Arts Building (Museum für Angewandte Kunst, MAK) in Vienna, source: MAK (www.mak.at), redesign by Author

Figure 146: Facade of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Predsjedništvo BiH) in Sarajevo, source: Arhiv BiH, redrawn by Author

Figure 147: Table of comparison for Museum für Angewandte Kunst (MAK), Institut für empirische Sozialforschung GmbH – IFES (Institute for Empirical Social Research Building), and Predsjedništvo Bosne i Hercegovine (The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Building), Collected and designed by Author

Figures 148 and 149: Facades of the Baldiahof palace in Vienna (image: 135, 21/03/2018) and Marienhof palace in Sarajevo (image: 136, 18/04/2017), Photographs by Author

Figures 150 and 151: The Baldiahof palace in Vienna (up) and Marienhof palace in Sarajevo (down), Site plans drawn by Author

Figure 152: Facade of the Baldiahof palace in Vienna, source: Archive of Vienna Municipality 1160 Ottakring, redrawn by Anton Wosolsobe and Michael Neudecker

Figure 153: Facade of the Marienhof palace in Sarajevo, source: Borislav Spasojević, Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu, redrawn by Author

Figure 154: A small segment of the First floor of the Baldiahof palace in Vienna, source: Archive of Vienna Municipality 1160 Ottakring, redrawn by Anton Wosolsobe and Michael Neudecker

Figure 155: The First floor of the Marienhof palace in Sarajevo, source: Borislav Spasojević, Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu, redrawn by Author

Figure 156: Table of comparison for Baldiahof Palace in Vienna, and Marienhof Palace (Marijin dvor) in Sarajevo, Collected and designed by Author

Figures 157 and 158: Facades of the Österreichische Postsparkasse - Austrian Postal Savings Bank (image: 140, 22/09/2018) and Glavna pošta – Central Post Office in Sarajevo (image: 141, 10/11/2009), Photographs by Author

Figures 159 and 160: The Österreichische Postsparkasse - Austrian Postal Savings Bank (up) and Glavna pošta – Central Post Office in Sarajevo (down), Drawn by Author

Figures 161 and 162: The Ground floor of the Central post Office (Glavn pošta) in Sarajevo, source: Arhiv BiH, and the Ground floor of the Austrian Postal Savings Bank (Österreichische Postsparkasse) in Vienna, redrawn by Author and source: Caroline Jäger-Klein.

Figures 163 and 164: Facade of the Central post Office (Glavn pošta) in Sarajevo (up, redrawn by Author), source: Arhiv BiH, and the facade of the Austrian Postal Savings Bank (Österreichische Postsparkasse) in Vienna (right, source of the illustrations (right, facade: Caroline Jäger-Klein.)

Figure 165: Illustration of the the Österreichische Postsparkasse - Austrian Postal Savings Bank, source: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Photograph of the illustration taken by Author on 12/03/2019

Figure 166 (on the next page): Table of comparison for Österreichische Postsparkasse (Austrian Postal Savings Bank) in Vienna, and Glavna pošta (Central Post Office) in Sarajevo, Collected and designed by Author

Figures 167 and 168: Wiener Börse (Vienna Stock Exchange) in Vienna (image: 145; 23/09/2018) and Narodno pozorište (National Theater) in Sarajevo (image: 27/01/2018), Photographs by Author

Figure 169: Genius loci chart, Designed and drawn by Author

Figure 170: Despić House in Sarajevo built in Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian periods, 04/03/2017, Photograph by Author

iv.4. Libraries, Archives, Public Institutions

Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna

Arhiv Republike Srpske, Banja Luka

Arhiv Hercegovine, Mostar

Historijski arhiv, Sarajevo

Bošnjački institut (Fondacija Adil Zulfikarpašić), Sarajevo

Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, Inalco, Paris

Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka, Sarajevo

Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations, BULAC, Paris

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

International Burch University, Ilidža

Univerzitet u Sarajevu, UNSA, Sarajevo

Universität Wien, UW, Vienna

Université Sorbonne Paris Cité, USPC, Paris

Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

Kulturno naslijeđe bez granica, CHwB, Sarajevo

Muzej Sarajeva

Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine

Historijski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine

v. SUMMARY in French

Chapitre I

Le patrimoine historico-culturel de Bosnie-Herzégovine est le fruit de diverses et intenses périodes historiques, qui ont façonné les panoramas des villes, et qui ont été conditionnées par la situation politique et économique complexe dans laquelle s'est trouvée la région pendant des siècles. Ces périodes historiques, qui ont laissé derrière elles des traces matérielles sous la forme de monuments, se sont souvent opposées dans leur compréhension de cet espace et de ses populations. Le passage d'une période historique à une autre fut presque toujours marqué par une coupure abrupte et profonde, ne laissant aucune chance à une transformation naturelle. Cela se reflète directement dans le tableau architectural bosnien, d'une telle façon que l'on peut aujourd'hui nettement diviser une ville en plusieurs parties en fonction de la période historique durant laquelle chacune d'entre elles est apparue.

La spécificité de l'environnement bâti et naturel des villes bosniennes réside dans le fait qu'il est possible, dans un petit espace géographique, de trouver des exemples d'un grand nombre de courants et de styles architecturaux d'Occident et d'Orient. La position géographique et politique du pays a conditionné son implication dans les événements contemporains liés aux grandes puissances européennes, ces dernières ayant, à travers l'architecture, tenté de présenter leurs doctrines et leur vision de la Bosnie-Herzégovine. Dans le cadre d'événements aussi intenses et d'un combat constant pour une domination d'influence entre l'Orient et l'Occident, ces réalisations originales, d'une authentique architecture bosnienne, sont tout à fait remarquables.

Afin de mieux comprendre les circonstances historico-culturelles bosniennes, il est indispensable de considérer les réalisations architecturales créées sous l'influence d'autres architectures, tout comme les originales, dans le contexte de l'atmosphère et de l'environnement, des politiques contemporaines, des possibilités économiques et des relations sociales. L'esprit du lieu, ou *Genius Loci*, de l'architecture de Bosnie-Herzégovine s'est manifesté durant toutes les périodes historiques que la région a

traversées en tant qu'élément indissociable dans la création de l'espace et la formation de ce qui allait plus tard devenir le patrimoine bosnien.

Examiner l'histoire complète de l'architecture et de son développement en Bosnie-Herzégovine est une tâche complexe, qui nécessite une approche multiple dans la recherche et la présentation. Cette longue et passionnante piste de recherche doit impérativement démarrer de l'Antiquité, ce qui relève plutôt d'un travail d'historien ou d'archéologue, que de celui d'un historien de l'architecture. De la période antique en Bosnie-Herzégovine nous sont parvenus des vestiges de routes, de villas, de bains et d'autres édifices romains, mais leur apparence exacte est moins connue, et est aujourd'hui sujet à plusieurs hypothèses. Les municipalités de Delminium (Tomislavgrad), Domavia (Srebrenica), Dilluntum (Stolac), Aqua S... (Sarajevo, Ilidža), les villas de Mogorjelo, Ilidža, Ljusina (près de Bosanska Krupa), ainsi que les basiliques de Cim, Zenica, Breza, Žitomislići, Japra (Blagaj), et bien d'autres, occupent une place particulière dans la période antique en Bosnie-Herzégovine. Pour la plupart ne sont demeurées que des traces archéologiques et trop peu de données pour pouvoir reconstituer un tableau complet de l'architecture de cette époque. Par conséquent, les historiens de l'architecture, dans leur présentation et dans leur recherche concernant le patrimoine historico-culturel en Bosnie-Herzégovine, démarrent le plus souvent à partir des monuments funéraires appelés *stećci*, caractéristiques de la Bosnie et du Hum (future Herzégovine) médiévaux, points de départ d'un sentier historique multiséculaire.

Les *stećci* sont des pierres tombales qui constituent une rareté et une spécificité de l'héritage historico-culturel de Bosnie-Herzégovine. Ils ont émergé au Moyen Âge, entre les XIII^e et XVI^e siècles. À la racine du mot « *stećak* » se trouve une métaphore rappelant solidité et force. Le *stećak* peut être isolé, ou faire partie d'un ensemble, que l'on appelle alors « nécropole ». Cette forme de monument funéraire médiéval est caractéristique de la Bosnie-Herzégovine, de la Serbie, du Monténégro et de la Dalmatie (Croatie) actuels.

Parmi les nécropoles de *stećci* les plus remarquables de Bosnie-Herzégovine on compte celles de Radimlja et Boljuni (dans la région de Stolac), Gvozno et Čengić bara (dans la région de Kalinovik), Konjic (Biskup), Nevesinje (Kalufi), Rogatica (Borak - Burati), Novi Travnik (Maculje), Jablanica (Dugo Polje), Bileća (Grebnice -

Bunčići), Ljubuški (Bijača), Kladanj (Olovci), Olovo (Mramor - Musići), Goražde (Kučain - Žilići), Trnovo (Umoljani), Sokolac (Luburića polje), Berkovići (Potkuk), Šekovići (Bečani), Foča (Mramor - Vrbica) et Kupres (Ravanjska vrata.) Les *stećci* portent en eux une intense mémoire du lieu, profondément enracinée dans les paysages bosniens, et en tant que tels témoignent d'un *Genius Loci* dominant par rapport à l'environnement naturel dans lequel ils se situent.

Durant les périodes ottomane et austro-hongroise, des mentions populaires et scientifiques des *stećci* étaient plus ou moins présentes, mais tous les textes et études de ces deux périodes ne les ont ni suffisamment mis en valeur, ni opéré d'analyse détaillée à leur sujet. Ce n'est que lorsque les *stećci* ont été présentés lors d'une exposition tenue à Paris en 1950, qu'a subitement émergé et grandi un intérêt de la part de la communauté scientifique et du grand public pour ce phénomène caractéristique de l'histoire médiévale bosnienne. La conséquence de l'exposition de 1950 fut le lancement d'une série d'activités de recherche, qui aboutirent au recensement d'environ 70 000 *stećci* sur le territoire de Bosnie-Herzégovine. La reconnaissance internationale de la valeur des *stećci* s'est matérialisée lors du sommet de l'UNESCO tenu à Istanbul en juin 2016, lorsqu'il a été décidé que les *stećci* d'un total de trente nécropoles (vingt-deux en Bosnie-Herzégovine, trois en Serbie, trois au Monténégro, deux en Croatie) soient inscrits sur la prestigieuse Liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO.

Si les *stećci* constituent une partie du patrimoine monumental et mémoriel, les vieilles villes du Moyen Âge, quant à elles, comportent tous les traits distinctifs de l'héritage architectural et représentent des preuves matérielles de l'époque où la Bosnie constituait un État indépendant. Les vieilles villes font partie d'un système défensif de fortifications construit en Europe du sud-est, notamment en Bosnie-Herzégovine où elles étaient courantes durant la période médiévale. Elles étaient généralement bâties sur des hauteurs, des rochers, rarement dans les vallées fluviales, et souvent au niveau d'importants nœuds de communication ou de zones frontalières. D'après la professeure Sabira Husedžinović, l'importance de ces vieilles villes et autres forteresses médiévales en Bosnie-Herzégovine était étatique, militaire, administrative, et, bien plus que cela, elles pouvaient avoir un rôle de protection des communications, des exploitations minières, des quartiers résidentiels situés dans leur enceinte, des faubourgs dans leurs environs immédiats, ou

pouvaient sinon prendre la forme de burgs (châteaux nobles) avec une tour et des murs de défense.

Sous les périodes ottomane, austro-hongroise et socialiste, les vieilles villes ont été activement incluses dans le fonctionnement de la ville, et leur fonction était différente selon la période historique. Elles ne furent pas traitées en tant que musées à ciel ouvert, mais bien au contraire, comme une partie intégrante de la ville où elles se situaient. Après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, un intérêt nouveau pour les vieilles villes a émergé, et dans les décennies qui ont suivi elles ont été converties et adaptées en espaces hôteliers et d'hébergement, en centres culturels, d'exposition et de loisirs, etc. Certaines furent utilisées partiellement ou totalement en tant que musées, et ce encore de nos jours.

Au regard des sources historiques, on peut distinguer, parmi les presque 300 forteresses médiévales de Bosnie-Herzégovine, et au regard de leur importance architecturale et historico-culturelle, les vieilles villes suivantes : Blagaj, Bobovac, Bužim, Cazin, Doboj, Dobor, Gradačac, Jajce, Kastel, Ključ, Maglaj, Ostrovica, Počitelj, Srebrenik, Stolac, Tešanj, Travnik, Todorovo, Velika Kladuša et Vranduk. L'analyse de ces dernières permet de suivre le développement des localités à partir de leur vieille ville et à travers les différentes périodes historiques. Dans l'exemple des vieilles villes en Bosnie-Herzégovine, le *Genius Loci* est dominant, autrement dit l'esprit du lieu, et celui-ci, en corrélation avec l'environnement naturel, a pris sa pleine mesure.

Durant la période ottomane, les vieilles villes furent enrichies de *tabije* (des tours basses et polygonales, remplies de terre), de poudrières, de mosquées, et d'autres édifices, conséquence d'un changement dans la façon de faire la guerre et au niveau du système social. Le régime austro-hongrois a laissé son empreinte sur les villes médiévales à travers l'introduction de fonctions résidentielles, administratives et militaires. L'étape suivante de développement, celle de la période socialiste, est caractérisée par une adaptation, un changement dans la fonction, mais aussi une conservation et une restauration des vieilles villes.

Après le Moyen Âge survient ensuite, dans l'historique de développement de l'architecture en Bosnie-Herzégovine, la période ottomane. On construit alors des bâtiments résidentiels, des édifices sacrés, des ponts, des *bezistans* (*bezistani*), des

madrassas (*medrese*), des caravansérails (*hanovi*), et d'autres édifices d'architecture publique. La ville était divisée en deux parties : le quartier des affaires, dans lequel se pratiquait le commerce (la *čaršija*) et les zones résidentielles, (les *mahale*). Les rues et des maisons sont alors à l'échelle humaine, l'urbanisme possède un caractère organique, et l'architecture est en partie vernaculaire, en partie monumentale. Durant la période ottomane on commence pour la première fois en Bosnie-Herzégovine à construire des ponts en pierre à une ou plusieurs travées. Les plus remarquables sont le Vieux Pont (*Stari Most*) de Mostar et le pont Mehmed-paša Sokolović à Višegrad, qui sont inscrits sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO.

De la période ottomane nous sont parvenues certaines réalisations architecturales sacrées des plus prestigieuses, telles que les mosquées Careva, Gazi Husrevbegova, Ali-pašina (toutes à Sarajevo), Ferhadija et Arnaudija mosquées (à Banja Luka), Karađoz et Koskijina mosquées (à Mostar), Aladža mosqué (à Foča), et d'autres. Les valeurs historico-culturelles de ces mosquées diffèrent au cas par cas, mais toutes peuvent être incluses dans la typologie allant de la mosquée monumentale à minaret et coupole en pierre, jusqu'à la mosquée construite en bois. Les valeurs esthétiques de ces mosquées reflètent l'esprit du lieu, soit le *Genius Loci*, clairement tangible dans l'architecture bosnienne traditionnelle.

Les maisons familiales de la période ottomane, construites à la mesure de l'homme et selon des considérations panoramiques, sont en Bosnie-Herzégovine du ressort de l'architecture vernaculaire. Elles étaient fonctionnellement divisées en une partie pour les hommes (*selamluk*) et une partie pour les femmes (*haremluk*), ou bien entre une partie hivernale et une partie estivale, voire encore entre une partie pour la famille et une partie pour les invités. On distingue, comme exemples représentatifs de l'architecture résidentielle de la période ottomane en Bosnie-Herzégovine, la maison Svrzo (*Svrzina kuća*, Sarajevo), la maison Sabura (*Saburina kuća*, Sarajevo), la maison Muslibegović (*Muslibegovića kuća*, Mostar), la maison Gušić (*Gušića kuća*, Banja Luka) et d'autres. Ces maisons familiales sont caractérisées par des pièces meublées qui durant la journée pouvaient changer de fonction selon les besoins de la famille. Toutes les pièces étaient équipées d'ustensiles domestiques de facture artisanale (broderie, gravure sur bois, ...), ainsi que de toute une série d'objets servant aux usages du quotidien.

Les événements historiques et politiques turbulents, au passage du XIXe au XXe siècles, marquèrent la fin de la période ottomane et le début de la période austro-hongroise. Ce tournant complet en matière d'architecture, d'urbanisme, de culture et de mode de vie s'est reflété de façon significative dans la morphologie des villes bosniennes. Les lois non écrites en vigueur jusque-là en matière de construction furent alors abandonnées, et pour la première fois furent adoptés un décret et une législation visant à réglementer les activités de construction et à transformer les villes bosniennes, est-européennes et orientales, en villes occidentales. Mis à part les nouveaux styles, dans lesquels on construisait déjà dans le reste de l'Europe, le style néo-mauresque (*Moorish Revival*) a constitué un phénomène particulier, et le nouveau pouvoir voulut unifier tous les peuples de Bosnie-Herzégovine en utilisant ce style dans l'architecture des hôtels de ville et mairies. Durant la période austro-hongroise, de nombreux édifices publics et sacrés furent construits, surtout à Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla, Zenica et Banja Luka. Les solutions originales et adaptées aux circonstances bosniennes furent rares, et nombreuses furent les copies d'édifices construits dans les nouveaux styles existant à Vienne et Budapest.

Durant la période austro-hongroise, des édifices à vocation publique furent construits en Bosnie-Herzégovine, tels que les hôtels de ville de Sarajevo, Brčko et Mostar, la Grande Poste (*Glavna pošta*) et le théâtre de Sarajevo, l'École de filles et le Lycée de Mostar, ainsi que des bâtiments hôteliers comme l'hôtel Neretva à Mostar et l'hôtel Europa à Sarajevo, des structures pédagogiques comme le Musée national (*Zemaljski muzej*) et le Premier lycée à Sarajevo, des édifices sacrés tels que la cathédrale catholique (*Katedrala*) et la synagogue ashkénaze (*Aškenaska sinagoga*) à Sarajevo, ou enfin des villas familiales et des palais commerciaux-résidentiels. Les édifices les plus remarquables de la période austro-hongroise furent construits à Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka et Tuzla.

Du début de la Première Guerre mondiale, et jusqu'à la fin de la Seconde, il n'y eut de constructions majeures sur la scène architecturale de Bosnie-Herzégovine ; la région s'est parallèlement incluse aux courants mondiaux de l'architecture, et, avec un certain retard, à celui du Mouvement moderne. Bien qu'étant sous une forte influence internationale, l'architecture bosnienne du Moderne s'est fondée sur les bases locales de la tradition des trois principales périodes historiques précédentes : celles du Moyen Âge, de la période ottomane et de la période austro-hongroise.

Parmi les exemples les plus remarquables de l'architecture moderne et post-moderne on compte le Musée historique de Sarajevo (*Istorijski muzej*), le théâtre national bosnien de Zenica (*BNP Zenica*), l'hôtel Holiday Inn de Sarajevo, le bâtiment d'Elektroprivreda à Sarajevo, et toute une série de bâtiments d'affaires, de maisons de la culture, de quartiers résidentiels et d'autres édifices publics.

Durant la guerre de Bosnie-Herzégovine de 1992-1995, le patrimoine architectural a connu une destruction partielle voire quasi totale. Outre le grand nombre de monuments endommagés, les édifices publics et privés, les quartiers résidentiels, les infrastructures, les réseaux de communication, les usines, l'industrie furent partiellement ou complètement détruits. Cette violente interruption dans le développement de l'architecture et l'avancement des activités de construction a eu des conséquences durables sur la Bosnie-Herzégovine. Parmi les instants les plus tragiques de cette période, on compte les destructions du Vieux Pont de Mostar, de la mosquée Ferhadija de Banja Luka, de la mosquée Aladža de Foča, ainsi que de beaucoup d'autres édifices, qu'il est impossible et peu pertinent de tous mentionner dans ce bref compte rendu historique.

La période de l'après-guerre en Bosnie-Herzégovine peut se diviser en deux segments : le premier est celui de la restauration des monuments et autres édifices architecturaux détruits, le second est celui des nouvelles constructions, qui a évolué selon plusieurs orientations. Pour ce qui est des restaurations, la priorité a été donnée aux monuments historico-culturels les plus prestigieux, ainsi qu'aux édifices les plus significatifs en vue d'un retour des déplacés et des réfugiés, et de la mise en place de milieux de vie pérennes. Le second segment est marqué par la construction massive de centres commerciaux et d'autres bâtiments représentant un net indicateur du nouveau système sociétal, en l'occurrence le passage du socialisme au capitalisme. Cela s'est reflété, dans la majorité des cas, de façon désastreuse, dans l'architecture de Bosnie-Herzégovine, qui n'est pas parvenue à satisfaire les critères esthétiques et qualitatifs basiques. Les exemples réussis d'architecture contemporaine, se conformant à la tradition et présentant une interprétation contemporaine de l'architecture des périodes ottomane et austro-hongroise, sont peu nombreux.

Chapitre II

Au passage du XIXe au XXe siècle, les Balkans furent encore une fois au centre de la politique internationale. Durant cette période historique tumultueuse, le petit pays qu'est la Bosnie-Herzégovine est devenu un enjeu pour les grandes puissances. Ces dernières ont vu en elle de nombreuses opportunités, et y ont perçu en même temps les dangers qu'impliquait la recherche de leurs intérêts propres à travers un élargissement territorial, sous couvert d'une « mission civilisatrice » ayant pour objectif d'instaurer l'*ordre* et la *paix* dans une région turbulente et exotique des Balkans. Après le traité de paix de San Stefano, les grandes puissances européennes prirent conscience des menaces à venir, qu'il s'agisse des ingérences de la Russie dans les Balkans ou de l'union de régions sud-slaves, jusque-là inféodées à l'Empire ottoman, en une grande et puissante communauté étatique. Les tensions sur la scène politique mondiale furent proches de conduire à l'éclatement, et ce dernier ne fut que partiellement différé grâce au congrès de Berlin, tenu le 13 juillet 1878, par lequel la monarchie austro-hongroise obtint le droit d'occuper la Bosnie-Herzégovine, cette dernière demeurant *de jure* au sein de l'Empire ottoman. Une quarantaine d'années plus tard, le monde se trouva au cœur du plus grand conflit jusqu'alors, la Première Guerre mondiale, dont l'élément déclencheur fut l'attentat de Sarajevo.

La mauvaise condition et le mécontentement général de la population locale de Bosnie-Herzégovine provoquèrent l'insurrection de la *Nevesinjska puška*, qui s'étala sur la période de 1875 à 1878, et qui, avec l'aide de la Serbie et du Monténégro voisins, s'étendit de l'Herzégovine à la Bosnie. Les meneurs de la révolte étaient dans leur majorité des orthodoxes de Bosnie-Herzégovine, qui perçurent alors l'opportunité d'un réveil et d'une émancipation nationale vis-à-vis de plusieurs siècles de gouvernance ottomane, tandis que la Serbie et le Monténégro entrevirent la possibilité d'un rattachement de la Bosnie-Herzégovine à leurs territoires respectifs : la Serbie récupérerai la Bosnie, le Monténégro obtiendrai l'Herzégovine. Cette « grande crise d'Orient » déclencha également une guerre entre la Serbie et l'Empire ottoman, à laquelle mit fin le Congrès de Berlin, par lequel la Serbie et le Monténégro obtinrent leur indépendance, et la Bosnie-Herzégovine, d'après l'article 25, vit arriver un nouvel occupant : la double monarchie austro-hongroise. La population musulmane de Bosnie-Herzégovine fut insatisfaite de cette décision, et craignait par

là même de perdre les positions sociales et les monopoles économiques qu'elle possédait au sein de l'Empire ottoman. Ainsi l'entrée des troupes austro-hongroises le 28 juillet 1878 sur le territoire de Bosnie-Herzégovine fut-elle marquée par une résistance armée et un mécontentement général de la population locale, surtout des musulmans, qui accueillirent ce passage d'un pouvoir impérial à un autre par la violence. La souveraineté du sultan sur la Bosnie-Herzégovine fut en pratique ignorée, et les deux membres de la double monarchie promulguèrent souvent des lois parallèles pour la Bosnie-Herzégovine, ce qui contribua à la situation générale de désordre politico-légal dans la région. La Bosnie-Herzégovine demeura au sein de la monarchie austro-hongroise jusqu'en 1918, et durant cette période le pays connut une transformation complète de son système, qui a laissé une empreinte indélébile dans l'architecture, ainsi que dans tous les autres domaines sociaux et professionnels. La Bosnie-Herzégovine fut ensuite incluse dans l'État des Slovènes, des Croates et des Serbes, puis très rapidement au sein du Royaume des Serbes, des Croates et des Slovènes.

La période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine a duré quarante ans, au passage du XIXe au XXe siècles. De par sa durée, courte mais intense, cette période historique a déterminé une direction de développement pour tous les segments de la société et de la politique modernes. La période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine fut marquée par un important essor industriel, un recul de la société féodale et un renforcement de la société capitaliste, une modernisation de la société, la promotion du système administratif, une croissance rapide de la population urbaine, une alternance entre les deux grands empires, un heurt entre deux cultures différentes, une expansion de l'activité de construction avec différents édifices, aux fonctions diverses et variées, des infrastructures et un système de routes et de chemins de fer. En cherchant à résoudre ces problèmes et bien d'autres, l'administration austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine a présenté son mandat d'occupation comme une « mission de paix » à caractère pacifiste, mais mise en œuvre en pratique par un régime absolutiste. Son objectif était la *rééducation* d'une population primaire, rurale (à 89%) et arriérée, pour laquelle le régime estimait que le nouveau fond culturel occidental qu'il propageait apporterait prospérité et progrès général à une société profondément divisée, et perçue comme *exotique*.

La construction massive que le régime austro-hongrois a entreprise sur le territoire bosnien ne doit pas être uniquement perçue sous l'angle de l'inclination bien intentionnée d'une métropole vis-à-vis de sa colonie, mais aussi de par le fait que la Bosnie-Herzégovine ottomane, comparativement aux autres régions d'Europe, était très largement délaissée et sous-développée. Dans les deux premières années de l'occupation austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine furent construits ou rénovés plus de 2000 kilomètres de routes. Les intérêts économiques, sociaux, politiques et stratégiques de la monarchie poussèrent Kállay (gouverneur de Bosnie-Herzégovine) à faire rénover les communications routières et construire un chemin de fer. L'objectif était de couvrir du mieux possible toute la Bosnie-Herzégovine, et d'assurer des conditions militaires et sécuritaires optimales en cas de conflit, ces dernières étant alors au désavantage de la nouvelle administration, la région étant divisée et très mal connectée. Le bien-fondé économique de la construction d'un réseau de chemin de fer à travers la Bosnie-Herzégovine entraîna une réduction des coûts de transport des minerais, du bois et d'autres ressources naturelles de Bosnie-Herzégovine vers le reste de la monarchie. La construction du chemin de fer s'est opérée en deux phases, une première ayant pour objectif l'exploitation maximale des richesses naturelles de Bosnie-Herzégovine, le but de la seconde étant quant à lui stratégique, soit un renforcement de la position militaire de l'Autriche-Hongrie vis-à-vis de la Serbie et du Monténégro et, au-delà, de l'Orient. Le choix de style de construction des gares ferroviaires du nord et du nord-ouest de la Bosnie-Herzégovine n'était pas fortuit. L'administration austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine apporta avec elle une nouvelle expression stylistique, le style néo-mauresque, qui en tant que projet politique propre, avait pour objectif de réunir les peuples de Bosnie-Herzégovine au sein d'une nation unique. L'administration a rapidement et ouvertement « flirté » avec l'oriental, ce que l'on peut observer le plus nettement à travers le patrimoine historico-culturel d'architecture néo-mauresque dans les villes bosniennes. L'administration austro-hongroise a tenté de donner sa propre vision de l'architecture orientale, mais ce dans le cadre des néo-styles dominants d'Europe occidentale, et sans pour autant résister au charme de l'Orient.

La population rurale, dominante en Bosnie-Herzégovine, s'est progressivement muée en une population urbaine, ce qui a tout particulièrement contribué au développement des infrastructures et des villes bosniennes, qui intégrèrent des

caractéristiques occidentales totalement différentes de celles héritées jusqu'alors. Nombreux sont les exemples de culture matérielle qui témoignent de la rencontre entre les deux grands empires, et l'un d'entre eux est l'endroit où se situe le pont Šeher-ćehajina, à Sarajevo, qui relie les deux rives de la Miljacka. Sur une rive se trouve l'hôtel de ville (*Vijećnica*), symbole de l'arrivée de la monarchie austro-hongroise, sur l'autre se trouve la maison Inat (*Inat kuća*), symbole du départ de l'Empire ottoman. L'apport de l'administration austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine est particulièrement visible dans l'architecture et l'urbanisme des villes, qui ont connu, en une courte période, une transformation complète. Pour la première fois sont introduites une directive de construction et un certain nombre d'autres normes, à travers un Décret de construction. Les rues sont conçues en vue de la circulation carrossable, et les bâtiments ont une nouvelle teneur, en concordance avec les nouveaux besoins. Pour la première fois apparaissent dans les villes des parcs et des places de type occidental. Pour la première fois en Bosnie-Herzégovine, on emploie les néo-styles, au sein desquels le néo-mauresque occupe une place particulière, tout comme, plus tard, le style dit bosnien, combinaison entre le développement naturel d'une tradition de construction locale et l'influence des formes et des proportions ouest-européennes. Le régime a dans une importante mesure respecté l'héritage architectural existant alors, et ainsi, aujourd'hui, dans les villes de Bosnie-Herzégovine, peut-on voir très distinctement les frontières entre les périodes ottomane et austro-hongroise, comme en témoigne le point de jonction entre les rues Ferhadija et Sarači à Sarajevo, qui représente la rencontre symbolique entre l'Orient et l'Occident.

L'administration austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine a, en matière d'industrialisation, obtenu des résultats probants, à travers une forme de gouvernance absolutiste. Des progrès furent accomplis grâce à la construction de routes, de voies ferrées, d'édifices publics et privés, au développement d'un esprit et d'une culture ouest-européens, à l'amélioration du niveau de vie et des conditions économiques, sociales, éducatives et sanitaires dans la région. Le mode de vie a subi une transformation presque complète, tout comme le système de gouvernement, de travail, d'organisation étatique et d'activité politique. Les objectifs à court terme du régime furent satisfaits en un délai record, mais la poursuite des objectifs à long terme et la résolution des questions politiques concernant les

influences extérieures, demeurèrent « cachées sous le tapis ». Les objectifs à long terme de l'administration austro-hongroise tels que la création d'une nation bosnienne unifiée, libérée des influences extérieures de la Serbie et de la Croatie, ne furent jamais menés à terme. Le caractère de « mission culturelle » légitimait, aux yeux de l'Europe, l'emploi de méthodes et de mesures absolutistes, mais, aux yeux de la population autochtone, il fut souvent perçu avec mépris, ou dans le meilleur des cas à travers le prisme d'une relation entre une métropole présomptueuse et une colonie turbulente. Le point culminant, dans cet échec d'aboutissement des objectifs à long terme, fut le début de l'escalade enclenchée le 28 juin 1914 lorsque Gavrilo Princip, membre de l'organisation Jeune Bosnie (*Mlada Bosna*), commit l'attentat contre l'héritier austro-hongrois François-Ferdinand et sa compagne Sophie Chotek, alors en visite officielle en Bosnie-Herzégovine. Cet événement, qui aujourd'hui encore en Bosnie-Herzégovine divise les opinions, a été le déclencheur de la Première Guerre mondiale, le plus grand conflit armé jusqu'alors.

Dans les deux dernières décennies de la période ottomane, Sarajevo a connu une stagnation de la construction et du développement de la ville. Ainsi, les activités entreprises par l'administration austro-hongroise immédiatement après l'occupation le furent bien plus du fait de raisons latentes, enfouies dans le passé, plutôt que participant d'une construction et d'une expansion intensives et actives. Durant la période austro-hongroise, toutes les villes bosniennes s'étendirent considérablement, d'une telle façon qu'elles conservèrent leur vieux centre de la période ottomane, représenté par la *čaršija*, tout en développant parallèlement un nouveau centre-ville avec des infrastructures administratives, publiques et culturelles. Cela fut tout particulièrement le cas pour les villes bosniennes les plus importantes telles que Sarajevo, Mostar et Banja Luka. Avec la mise en place d'une législation sur la construction, de nombreux problèmes furent réglés dans ce domaine, mais des normes et des obligations furent imposées aux architectes et aux investisseurs en matière de dimensions, d'étages et de formes, concernant les nouvelles réalisations architecturales et le traitement de l'espace. Ce dernier subit une transformation totale, avec le passage d'un « urbanisme organique », créé à l'échelle de l'homme et du cheval, durant la période ottomane, à un « urbanisme de lignes droites », créé à l'échelle de l'homme et de l'automobile, durant la période austro-hongroise.

Durant les deux premières années de l'occupation, l'administration austro-hongroise utilisa la loi sur la construction et la voirie de 1863 (datant de la période ottomane), avant de publier, dès le 14 mai 1880, le premier décret sur la construction, qui prit immédiatement effet à Sarajevo, et qui, dans le reste de la Bosnie-Herzégovine, fut utilisé sur recommandation gouvernementale. La promulgation du décret avait été précédée par l'incendie controversé de Sarajevo en 1879, dont avait pâti une importante partie du fond immobilier, et suite auquel avait été « libéré » une nouvelle partie de la ville en vue de nouvelles constructions. Le premier décret sur la construction a mis en place des règlements révolutionnaires, et certains sont encore en vigueur aujourd'hui. Dans la partie générale du décret étaient définies les modalités concernant l'émission d'un permis de construction ou de rénovation de la part de l'administration compétente, et une partie spécifique portait sur le traitement de l'espace, des rues, des places, des parcs, et d'autres paramètres importants en termes de construction.

La période austro-hongroise est caractérisée dans les villes de Bosnie-Herzégovine par des migrations accrues de populations, que l'on peut observer sous deux angles. Il s'agit d'une migration de la population rurale vers la ville, induite par la révolution industrielle, un phénomène qui est particulièrement tangible à Sarajevo. D'autre part, avec l'arrivée d'une nouvelle administration en Bosnie-Herzégovine, un grand nombre d'étrangers se sont installés, et ont fondé dans le nord du pays des colonies et des villages entiers, dont les vestiges matériels existent encore aujourd'hui. Ces étrangers s'emparèrent de positions clés en tant que fonctionnaires dans le gouvernement et la nouvelle administration. Cette migration, massive pour l'époque et pour la Bosnie-Herzégovine, a impliqué de grands changements dans l'activité de construction et une importante recherche d'espace habitable, ce qui a profondément influé sur la formation des villes, tout comme sur d'autres facteurs sociaux et culturels. Le grand nombre d'étrangers dans le pays accéléra indirectement l'urbanisation, car ils amenèrent avec eux des besoins et des habitudes culturelles et sociales qu'ils cherchèrent à satisfaire dans les nouveaux centres urbains. On eut alors pour objectif de mettre en place dans ces derniers un certain nombre d'infrastructures variées (reconstruction et construction de conduites d'eau et de canalisations, introduction d'un réseau de tramway, mise en place d'un réseau moderne de PTT, construction d'une centrale électrique, etc.).

L'administration austro-hongroise a transformé les villes de Bosnie-Herzégovine d'une telle façon qu'elle a mis en avant des éléments urbains, tout en respectant largement l'héritage historico-culturel alors présent. En résolvant les questions liées aux nouvelles exigences, sous l'effet de pressions sociales, économiques, politiques, administratives, culturelles et autres, le gouvernement austro-hongrois a tenté de fonder une forme de ville occidentale, dont les modèles étaient les villes du reste de la monarchie. La construction spontanée des premières années de l'occupation a occasionné quelques problèmes et erreurs de débutants, qui influèrent durablement sur le développement de Sarajevo. Mais plus tard, le département gouvernemental à la construction s'est évertué dans ses travaux à corriger ces erreurs et à mettre en place les conditions optimales en vue d'un essor de Sarajevo en tant que capitale de la Bosnie-Herzégovine.

La construction massive d'édifices de différents types, mais aussi de valeurs et de proportions diverses a, pour la première fois, introduit dans l'architecture de Bosnie-Herzégovine de nouveaux types d'édifices. Les édifices préexistants furent soit développés, soit traités en tant qu'ornements dans l'espace, soit même complètement rejetés. On construisit en majorité des édifices publics de différentes fonctions, avant tout pour satisfaire les besoins de la nouvelle administration et du nouveau mode de vie, ainsi que des lieux de culte, surtout pour l'Église catholique romaine en Bosnie-Herzégovine, mais aussi pour toutes les autres confessions. On construisit les édifices publics monumentaux en tant que bâtisses indépendantes, en rangée, avec une cour ouverte ou fermée, ou dans un type pavillonnaire, à l'image du Musée national de Bosnie-Herzégovine. Les édifices sacrés de l'Église catholique romaine en Bosnie-Herzégovine furent construits en tant que bâtisses indépendantes, en rangée, ou comme faisant partie d'un complexe monastique. Les églises furent construites en tant qu'édifices de type central à coupole, ou en tant qu'édifices de type basique, avec une ou trois nefs, comme dans le cas de la cathédrale du Coeur-de-Jésus de Sarajevo (*Katedrala Presvetog srca Isusova*).

Outre les églises catholiques, des synagogues furent construites, sur le modèle de celles situées dans les centres de la monarchie, puis des mosquées, influencées par l'architecture mauresque, et des églises orthodoxes, dans les néo-styles (le plus souvent baroque ou byzantin). Le nouveau type de résidence fut matérialisé par le palais commercial-résidentiel, qui combine un espace commercial au rez-de-

chaussée et des appartements à l'étage. Cet aspect de l'édifice marqua également une rupture avec la ville orientale traditionnelle, divisée entre une zone où l'on pratiquait le commerce et une zone où l'on résidait. Les exemples les plus représentatifs de palais commerciaux-résidentiels se trouvent à Sarajevo, et furent construits sous forme de bloc avec une cour intérieure, ou en rangée avec ou sans cour intérieure. Les résidences individuelles étaient de luxueuses villas familiales, construites le plus souvent avec un ou deux appartements, qui furent plus tard morcelés en plusieurs parcelles habitables. Avec l'introduction d'un nouveau système scolaire se construisirent des édifices pour les besoins des écoles des différents niveaux, et ce principalement sous la forme de bâtiments indépendants avec une cour attenante. Parmi les édifices publics construits durant la période austro-hongroise on trouve des banques, des bâtiments administratifs, gouvernementaux et autres, bâtis en tant qu'édifices monumentaux indépendants (rarement en rangée), tels que le Théâtre national de Sarajevo. La construction et la modernisation des routes, des ponts et des voies ferrées, ainsi que la construction d'édifices industriels, marquant le passage d'une société féodale à une société capitaliste, prirent de l'ampleur. Pour autant, l'épine dorsale du développement des villes bosniennes demeura les édifices publics et sacrés autour desquels se développait un centre-ville urbain, ces derniers continuant ensuite à servir de repères identifiables dans l'espace.

Durant la période austro-hongroise, l'industrie du bâtiment a connu en Bosnie-Herzégovine une expansion à travers la construction d'un grand nombre d'édifices architecturaux variés et la réalisation de projets d'infrastructures. Les matériaux utilisés étaient de haute qualité, ce dont témoigne l'état actuel des bâtiments construits durant cette période. Tous les matériaux de l'industrie du bâtiment étaient certifiés et pour la plupart produits en usine, ce qui assurait leur qualité et leur durabilité. La production et le montage des matériaux était le plus souvent opérée sur le territoire bosnien, et, ainsi, les usines ouvertes pour la production de matériaux de construction approvisionnaient pour la plupart le marché local. Les matières premières étaient d'origine locale, et la nouvelle administration amena avec elle de nouvelles façons de faire. On utilisa, dans la construction des différents édifices architecturaux, la pierre, la brique, le fer, le bois, le fer-blanc, la tuile, et, dans les dernières années de la période austro-hongroise, le béton et le béton armé.

L'architecture de la période austro-hongroise a, comparativement à celle de la période ottomane, apporté une amélioration tant au niveau technique que dans la façon de bâtir.

Lorsqu'ils construisaient de nouveaux édifices, les architectes se devaient de respecter le décret sur la construction, ainsi que les normes se rapportant à la physique du bâtiment, non sans oublier une orientation optimale de la bâtisse. On veilla à ce que tous les travaux de maçonnerie et d'artisanat soient conduits avec un grand professionnalisme, en vue d'assurer la plus longue durée de vie possible à l'édifice. Pour ces raisons, le séjour dans ces édifices de la période austro-hongroise, aujourd'hui encore, est agréable pour leurs usagers ; ces bâtiments sont au chaud en hiver, au frais en été. Une attention particulière fut portée aux réglementations anti-incendies, à l'aération de l'édifice, à la question de l'humidité et de la température, à la limitation des moisissures, ainsi qu'au drainage de l'eau de pluie et des égouts. Des matériaux de qualité, la méthode d'assemblage, les principes de conception, le respect du décret sur la construction, ont assuré la durabilité de l'architecture de la période austro-hongroise, et grâce à tous ces facteurs les édifices uniques de cette architecture constituent encore aujourd'hui des réalisations remarquables.

La Bosnie-Herzégovine du milieu du XIXe siècle, qui se situait alors au sein de l'Empire ottoman, était déjà dotée de structures qui, de par leur fonction et leur forme, possédaient un caractère *occidental*. L'architecture qui émergea vers la fin de la période ottomane témoigne d'une continuité naturelle dans le développement de la région, qui, grâce à des facteurs géographiques, politiques, culturels et autres, a très certainement revêtu certaines caractéristiques de l'architecture d'Europe occidentale, dont les influences ne pouvaient être stoppées. Et pourtant, les historiens de l'architecture et des arts prennent l'année 1878 comme tournant dans le développement de la construction et de l'architecture en Bosnie-Herzégovine, lorsque la monarchie austro-hongroise a occupé la région, et ainsi permis la pénétration intensive de la culture, de l'architecture, des arts, du mode de vie occidentaux. Pour la première fois dans l'histoire émergent dans la région des réalisations architecturales dans les néo-styles, dans lesquels la construction dans le reste de la monarchie était déjà à un stade avancé. On voit ensuite des réalisations architecturales de type sécession, un style dans lequel on construisait alors

majoritairement dans le reste de la monarchie, puis des réalisations architecturales dans le style néo-mauresque, qui fut implanté artificiellement et exclusivement en Bosnie-Herzégovine, sur fond d'idées politiques. Apparurent enfin des réalisations architecturales dans le style bosnien (*Bosnian style* en anglais, *bosanski slog* en bosniaque), une expression architecturale authentique née sous l'influence de la rencontre entre architecture autochtone et nouveau mode de vie. L'architecture moderne est arrivée en Bosnie-Herzégovine avec un retard significatif par rapport au reste de l'Europe et, mis à part quelques édifices construits vers la fin de la période austro-hongroise, on ne peut pas vraiment parler d'une catégorie à part entière, car ni les conditions quantitatives, ni les critères stylistiques ne furent réellement remplis en la matière.

La question de l'articulation et de la dissonance stylistiques continue à se poser pour un grand nombre d'édifices construits en Bosnie-Herzégovine durant la période austro-hongroise. Les architectes qui arrivèrent en Bosnie-Herzégovine en même temps que la nouvelle administration opérèrent sous l'influence directe de l'architecture occidentale et des réalisations architecturales de leurs professeurs, ou bien sous l'influence de l'architecture qui les entourait dans les villes où ils vivaient, étudiaient, travaillaient et desquelles ils étaient partis pour s'installer dans la nouvelle colonie. Le choix d'un style de construction pour un édifice dépendait de plusieurs facteurs. Ces facteurs pouvaient être les préférences personnelles de l'architecte, les exigences de l'investisseur, les politiques officielles du régime austro-hongrois, et, souvent, les fonctions futures de l'édifice. La majorité des jeunes architectes de la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine ont souvent combiné, dans leurs réalisations architecturales, plusieurs néo-styles sur les façades, où l'on trouvait des détails inspirés de ceux des façades de Vienne et Budapest, ainsi que d'autres villes de la monarchie. La désarticulation stylistique des réalisations initiales, et de certaines autres, plus tardives, apparues durant la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine, peut être examinée sous deux angles. Le premier angle d'observation part du fait que les tenants de la création architecturale en Bosnie-Herzégovine durant cette période étaient pour la plupart de jeunes architectes en début de carrière, néanmoins talentueux, et qui furent confrontés à de nombreuses questions et tâches, qui leur permirent d'apprendre et de progresser. Cela a nécessité un certain temps, durant lequel pouvaient naturellement se produire

quelques erreurs, mais surtout l'emploi d'éléments directement empruntés aux centres de la monarchie. Le second angle d'observation part du fait qu'il existait, sur tout le territoire de la monarchie, où l'on construisait alors dans les néo-styles, un usage largement répandu de combinaisons de plusieurs styles historiques. À cette époque, l'architecture se trouvait à un carrefour, et une telle combinaison représentait une sorte d'ajournement d'un tournant inévitable, qui, en abandonnant derrière elle les idéaux sécessionnistes, offrait une vision moderne du nouveau monde architectural.

Parmi les nombreux architectes de la période austro-hongroise qui ont, chacun à leur manière, apporté une importante contribution au développement de l'architecture en Bosnie-Herzégovine se distinguent plusieurs noms : Hans Berger, Franz Blažek, August Butscha, Ludwig Huber, Ćiril Metod Iveković, Miloš Komadina, Jan Kotera, Rudolf Lubynski, Hans Niemczek, Carl Pánek, Karel Pařík, Josip Pospišil, Edmund Stix, Dionis Sunko, Rudolf Tönnies, Josip Vancaš, Aleksandar Wittek, etc. Chacun d'entre eux a laissé une empreinte stylistique caractéristique dans l'architecture de Bosnie-Herzégovine, ou une œuvre distincte composée d'édifices architecturaux aux fonctions diverses et de différents styles. Outre leur apport architectural, certains ont largement contribué à l'étude et à la protection du patrimoine bosnien. Il est possible de suivre leur parcours professionnel à travers au moins trois étapes : la première, durant laquelle ils s'appuient sur les édifices déjà existants et les modèles qu'ils ont de leurs professeurs ; la deuxième, durant laquelle ils construisent dans les styles sécession, néo-mauresque et d'autres néo-styles, pour lesquels ils optent en fonction de préférences et d'orientations personnelles et professionnelles ; et la troisième, durant laquelle certains d'entre eux prennent le parti du style bosnien, d'autres celui de l'architecture moderne.

En plus d'être architectes, la majorité d'entre eux étaient largement actifs dans la vie sociale et politique de Bosnie-Herzégovine, et eurent ainsi l'opportunité de créer un environnement architectural, culturel et politique dans les villes bosniennes. Ils arrivaient en Bosnie-Herzégovine en tant qu'étrangers et jeunes professionnels, qui s'installaient dans le nouveau pays, y fondaient des familles et y bâtissaient des carrières heureuses. La majorité des architectes cités apportèrent à la Sarajevo austro-hongroise une contribution déterminante (le reste d'entre eux ont opéré dans d'autres villes bosniennes). Cependant, le choix s'impose de deux noms qui ont pour

toujours, qualitativement et quantitativement, laissé une trace à Sarajevo : Josip Vancaš et Karel Pařík.

Quelques conjonctions et circonstances historiques témoignent de liens professionnels et amicaux qui ont pu avoir lieu entre Josip Vancaš et Karel Pařík, dès avant leur venue à Sarajevo. Vancaš et Pařík ont tous deux étudié à l'Académie des beaux-arts de Vienne, mais l'on ne sait pas s'ils s'y sont croisés comme camarades de classe, car Pařík, après avoir étudié auprès du professeur Hansen, a obtenu son diplôme en 1882, au moment où Vancaš a quant à lui entamé ses études auprès du professeur Schmidt. Ils furent réunis à Sarajevo par leurs projets communs de construction du bâtiment du gouvernement et de la cathédrale, pour lesquels Vancaš a réalisé les dessins techniques, et Pařík a opéré la supervision des travaux de construction. D'après les informations fournies par la professeure Branka Dimitrijević dans sa thèse et son ouvrage sur l'architecture de Karel Pařík, cette collaboration directe entre Vancaš et Pařík a duré de mars 1884, lorsque ce dernier a commencé à travailler pour le Bureau de construction en vue du projet du bâtiment du gouvernement, jusqu'au 24 mars 1886, lorsqu'il a été employé au sein du Département de construction du gouvernement à Sarajevo. L'unique plan portant la signature des deux architectes est celui de leur projet commun du bâtiment du palais des *vakufi* de Sarajevo, construit en 1886. Cet édifice représente une réalisation architecturale modeste comparativement à d'autres édifices construits par les deux architectes, mais il possède pourtant une valeur documentaire et culturelle importante. Au regard des liens professionnels et de leurs premiers grands projets communs, on peut supposer que Vancaš et Pařík ont collaboré par la suite, mais aucun plan commun n'a été retrouvé en ce sens. L'apport de leur création architecturale individuelle représente sans aucun doute une partie significative et précieuse du patrimoine architectural bosnien tout entier. Ils ne sont pas seulement les architectes les plus prolifiques de la période austro-hongroise, d'un point de vue quantitatif, mais également les auteurs des créations architecturales les plus réussies stylistiquement parlant en Bosnie-Herzégovine. Josip Vancaš et Karel Pařík ont fondé ensemble, à travers leurs idées visionnaires concernant l'architecture et le traitement de l'espace, un panorama de la Sarajevo occidentale, de la ville *moderne*, ainsi que de la majorité des villes de Bosnie-Herzégovine.

Chapitre III

Vienne et Sarajevo, un temps incluses au sein de la même monarchie, connurent des changements significatifs et révolutionnaires à la fin du XIXe siècle, qui fixèrent de nouvelles orientations pour leur développement futur. À Vienne, le prétexte de ces changements fut une directive que l'empereur François-Joseph délivra à son ministre de l'Intérieur, le baron Alexander von Bach, le 20 décembre 1857, et qui concernait l'élargissement du centre-ville (destruction des murs d'enceinte, drainage des zones marécageuses) ainsi que la construction du boulevard de la Ringstrasse, achevé en 1865. À Sarajevo, ces changements furent initiés par l'occupation de la Bosnie-Herzégovine par la monarchie austro-hongroise en 1878, qui marqua pour la ville le début d'une période de quarante ans de construction massive et d'urbanisation. Pour les deux villes, compte tenu de leur taille, les résultats de ces nouvelles constructions étaient d'une ampleur sans précédent. La relation entre ces villes étaient celles d'un centre et de sa périphérie, dans laquelle Sarajevo prenait exemple sur Vienne, et ce tant au niveau du nouvel urbanisme, de la nouvelle architecture, que, dans le cas précis de Sarajevo, de la nouvelle culture et du nouveau mode de vie, ce qui se refléta directement dans la physionomie des deux villes. La construction de la Ringstrasse, et d'une série d'autres nouvelles bâtisses de cette époque, représentait une transformation inédite pour Vienne, qui passait de ville impériale à métropole, tandis que la régulation de la Miljacka, ainsi que la construction de nouveaux édifices monumentaux et de rues plus larges durant la période austro-hongroise, a signifié, pour Sarajevo, sa mutation en une ville occidentale.

Les porteurs de ces changements étaient dans leur majorité, eu égard aux directives politiques d'alors, des professeurs d'architecture, dans le cas de Vienne, et des jeunes architectes ayant été leurs étudiants, dans le cas de Sarajevo. En prenant tout cela en considération, il n'est donc pas surprenant que ces deux villes, présentant pourtant des échelles et des milieux urbains complètement différents, possèdent un grand nombre de similitudes au regard de la conception de certains édifices et des styles artistiques dans lesquels ils ont été élaborés et construits. Urbanistiquement parlant, Vienne est une ville de type central, avec un cercle concentrique irrégulier représenté par la Ringstrasse, sur laquelle ont été construits les édifices les plus monumentaux de la ville. Sarajevo est quant à elle une ville de

type longitudinal, qui s'est développée en aval le long de la rivière Miljacka, dont la rive, ainsi que l'artère principale qui lui est parallèle, comptent les édifices les plus monumentaux ayant été construits dans la ville. Sur la Ringstrasse (Stubenring, Parkring, Schubertring, Kärntner Ring, Opernring, Burgring, Dr.-Karl-Renner-Ring, Universitätsring i Schottenring), les édifices les plus représentatifs sont l'Opéra d'État de Vienne (*Wiener Staatsoper*, ancien *K.u.K. Hofoper*), l'Académie des beaux-arts de Vienne (*Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien*), le Palais de Justice (*Wiener Justizpalast*, actuel Ministère fédéral de la Justice), le bâtiment du Parlement autrichien (*Parlamentsgebäude*), l'Hôtel de ville de Vienne (*Rathaus*), le Burgtheater (ancien *K.u.K. Hofburgtheater*), l'Université de Vienne (*Universität Wien*), l'église votive (*Votivkirche*), la Bourse de Vienne (*Wiener Börse AG*), l'observatoire Urania, la Caisse d'épargne postale autrichienne (*Österreichische Postsparkasse*), le Musée d'arts appliqués (*Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst – MAK*), l'Arthouse, le Musikverein, l'hôtel Imperial (ancien Palais Wurtemberg), le palais Schey von Koromla, le palais Ephrussi, etc. Tous ces edifices ont été utilisés comme modèles par les jeunes architectes dans la construction de la « nouvelle » Sarajevo. La plupart des éléments architecturaux ont été directement empruntés à des édifices de Vienne, puis appliqués à des édifices de Sarajevo, tels que : la Grande Poste (*Glavna posta*), le Théâtre national (*Narodno pozorište*), l'Université de Sarajevo et la Faculté de droit, le Palais de la Présidence (*Palata predsjedništva*), le Ministère des Affaires étrangères, le Fonds de pension, le marché fermé, la Faculté de théologie (actuelle Faculté d'économie), la Banque autrichienne (*Austrijska banka*), le Premier lycée, l'Institut Saint-Augustin (*Zavod Svetog Augustina*, actuelle Académie de musique, *Muzička akademija – MAS*), l'hôtel Grand (*Hotel Grand*), le siège n°III du gouvernement provincial (*Zemaljska vlada III*, actuel siège du Canton de Sarajevo), le palais Marijin-dvor (*zgrada Marijin-dvora*), le hall des officiers, l'église évangélique (*Evangelistička crkva*), le Musée national, le grand magasin Ješua & Mojca Salom (*robna kuća Ješue i Mojce Saloma*, actuelle Galerie d'art de Bosnie-Herzégovine, *Umjetnička galerija Bosne i Hercegovine*), etc.

Une promenade sur la *Ringstrasse* de Vienne dévoile toute la richesse des néo-styles dans leur usage pour la construction d'édifices publics monumentaux, qui servirent de modèles à d'autres villes de la monarchie austro-hongroise, et même au-delà. Une promenade dans les quartiers de Sarajevo apparus sous la période austro-

hongroise, et notamment sur la rive Obala Kulina et les rues Titova et Ferhadija, montre comment, sous l'influence de Vienne et par l'intermédiaire d'étudiants en architecture viennois, furent employés des modèles stylistiques similaires dans la construction d'édifices publics et privés. Les exemples représentatifs choisis à Vienne et Sarajevo fournissent quelques informations intéressantes, et ce d'autant plus que la plupart des édifices construits à Sarajevo sous l'influence de ceux de Vienne furent conçus par Josip Vancaš et Karel Pařík, qui avaient étudié et brièvement travaillé à Vienne, et qui furent les architectes les plus prolifiques de la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine. Leurs modèles étaient leurs professeurs, et d'autres architectes célèbres, qui avaient eu l'occasion de travailler à Vienne et Budapest. À la différence de Vienne, où l'on peut dans une même rue voir toutes les variantes des différents néo-styles (historicisme), à Sarajevo ces édifices sont éparpillés à plusieurs endroits et, bien qu'étant de plus petites dimensions que ceux de Vienne, font office de marqueurs spatiaux, et possèdent, eu égard à leur environnement, un caractère monumental. Cette construction massive a représenté pour Vienne comme pour Sarajevo une force motrice de développement du commerce et de l'industrie, ainsi que pour un grand nombre de nouvelles firmes de matériaux de construction, qui ont grandement prospéré. Les terrains à construire se sont achetés et vendus, un immense marché immobilier a été lancé, l'introduction de nouvelles fonctions a entraîné la construction d'édifices variés, le développement des arts a accompagné les changements sociaux, et la culture, à travers des édifices publics, a acquis une place de choix dans la société.

Parmi les premiers édifices monumentaux construits durant la période austro-hongroise à Sarajevo se trouve le siège n°I du gouvernement provincial (*zgrada Zemaljske vlade I*, actuelle Présidence de Bosnie-Herzégovine), conçu par l'architecte Josip Vancaš, et dont la construction s'est achevée en 1885. Pour son projet, Vancaš a pris comme modèles deux édifices du Ring de Vienne : le Musée autrichien d'Arts appliqués – MAK (1871), pour ce qui est des volumes, l'Institut de recherche sociale empirique (*Institut für empirische Sozialforschung – IFES*) (1884), pour ce qui est du style de construction et des détails de traitement de la façade. Les détails inspirés de ceux de l'IFES sont encore plus visibles sur le projet du siège n°II du gouvernement provincial (*zgrada Zemaljske vlade II*, actuel Ministère des Affaires étrangères), conçu par Carlo Panek et achevé en 1896. L'utilisation de la

Renaissance florentine sous la forme d'un néo-style, l'avant-corps central de la façade principale, le bossage rustique, les détails imités des ouvertures de fenêtres, et la façon de concevoir la façade, presque identique au modèle viennois, sont caractéristiques des sièges n°I et II du gouvernement à Sarajevo. Lorsqu'il était étudiant viennois, Vancaš fut contemporain de la construction des édifices les plus remarquables de la Ringstrasse, eut l'occasion de voir les projets de ses professeurs, et importa ensuite leurs idées en Bosnie-Herzégovine. Le palais Ephrussi, de l'architecte Theophil Edvard von Hansen, construit en 1893 sur la Ringstrasse, a servi de modèle pour la construction de nombreux et plus petits palais dans toute la monarchie, et Karel Pařík emprunta les détails des tours angulaires et de la conception de la façade, ainsi que les ornements plastiques autour des ouvertures de fenêtres, pour son projet du bâtiment du fonds de pension, qui abrita à l'origine le Musée national de Bosnie-Herzégovine. Pařík trouva sur la Ringstrasse viennoise de nombreux modèles pour ses projets sarajéviens, et l'un d'entre eux est le bâtiment de la Bourse de Vienne (1877), conçu par les architectes Theophil Edvard von Hansen et Carl Tietz, dont la façade à colonnes rappelle inévitablement celle du Théâtre national de Sarajevo (1898). La version viennoise est bien plus monumentale et constitue un exemple mûr et plus abouti, tandis que la version sarajévienne, de plus petites dimensions et volumes, reprend aveuglément le concept et les détails de la façade.

Le changement de mode de vie à Sarajevo a également favorisé l'émergence d'une nouvelle manière de définir et d'organiser l'espace résidentiel. Pour la première fois à Sarajevo sont construits des palais commerciaux-résidentiels, parmi lesquels le palais Marijin-dvor, dont l'auteur, malheureusement, n'est toujours pas connu à ce jour. De ce fait, il est difficile de déterminer si l'architecte a eu l'occasion de voir le palais Baldiahof à Vienne, dont la façade et l'organisation spatiale prévue présentent des liens très nets avec le palais Marijin-dvor de Sarajevo. La construction des deux palais s'est opérée par étapes et dans une conception de type bloc avec cour intérieure ; elle s'acheva à Sarajevo en 1895, tandis qu'à Vienne seule la première phase du projet fut terminée en 1892. Les similitudes entre ces deux palais commerciaux-résidentiels sont nombreuses, et elles s'observent dans la façade, formée quasi à l'identique - la variante viennoise possédant néanmoins un avant-corps central plus marqué -, ainsi que dans la conception et l'organisation des

appartements, des escaliers, des ouvertures de fenêtres, des menuiseries intérieures et extérieures, jusque dans les détails les plus infimes des ornements plastiques, ce qui témoigne d'une connexion directe entre ces deux édifices. On peut également trouver des modèles pour le Premier lycée de Sarajevo, dont la construction fut achevée en 1891, d'après le projet des architectes Karel Pařík et August Butsch, à travers d'autres palais importants de la Ringstrasse viennoise. Il s'agit du palais Schey von Koromla construit d'après les plans des architectes Johann Julius Romano et August Schwendenwein, ainsi que du palais Epstein (1868), conçu par l'architecte Theophil Edvard von Hansen. Le palais Epstein montre de nombreux liens et similitudes en termes de conception avec le bâtiment de l'École d'arts secondaires de Sarajevo (qui se situe dans les environs immédiats du Premier lycée), dont la construction s'est achevée en 1906, d'après un projet de Karl Panek. Karel Pařík a eu l'occasion de voir les façades des palais viennois Koromla et Epstein durant son séjour à Vienne, et, plus tard, admiratif de leurs beautés esthétiques, les a utilisés comme modèles pour ses travaux futurs. En analysant les caractéristiques architecturales et stylistiques de leurs façades, il est possible d'établir un lien direct avec les versions sarajéviennes qui, bien que de proportions, de dimensions et de volumes plus modestes, constituent un cas d'école du néo-style dans lequel elles ont été conçues.

Sous la période austro-hongroise, des grands magasins furent construits pour la première fois à Sarajevo, sur le modèle de ceux de Vienne, eux-mêmes inspirés de ceux de Paris. Le bâtiment de la Galerie nationale de Bosnie-Herzégovine fut construit en 1912, d'après un projet de l'architecte Josip Vancaš, et abritait initialement le grand magasin Ješua & Mojca Salom, qui prit par la suite sa vocation actuelle. En comparant les photographies de ce bâtiment avec celles du bâtiment Warenhaus der Teppichfirma Philipp Haas und Söhne, l'un des premiers grands magasins construits à Vienne (1867), on remarque de nombreuses similitudes dans la conception de la façade, et en particulier au niveau la coupe angulaire caractéristique. Ce grand magasin viennois, à l'emplacement duquel se trouve désormais le controversé immeuble Haas (*Haas-Haus*, sur la Stephansplatz), fut conçu par August Siccard von Siccardsburg et Eduard van der Nüll. Outre l'architecture publique, l'architecture religieuse de Bosnie-Herzégovine a trouvé ses modèles dans les églises de Vienne et leur aménagement intérieur, comme le

montre l'exemple de l'église catholique de Hütteldorf (*Hütteldorfer/St. Andreas Apostel Pfarrkirche*), construite en 1882 par l'architecte Richard Jordan, et dont les trois autels sont presque identiques à ceux de la cathédrale du Cœur-de-Jésus de Sarajevo, construite en 1889, d'après un projet de l'architecte Josip Vancaš. Le séjour à Vienne de Vancaš, tout comme pour Pařík, a eu une forte influence sur son développement professionnel ultérieur en tant qu'architecte, qui s'est manifestée par la reprise d'éléments connus d'édifices célèbres qu'il avait apprécié à Vienne, pour finalement aboutir à une création entièrement originale, signée par l'un des plus grands architectes de Bosnie-Herzégovine. Vancaš a utilisé, pour l'un des édifices les plus remarquables construits à Sarajevo, celui de la Grande Poste (1913), un modèle viennois, le bâtiment de la Caisse d'épargne postale autrichienne (1906), construit par l'architecte Otto Wagner. Si le projet de Wagner était alors déjà assez avancé et qu'il présageait des nouvelles tendances et de la nouvelle direction à venir en matière d'architecture, la version de Vancaš à Sarajevo est malheureusement demeurée dans le champ de l'historicisme, sans oser s'ouvrir aux futurs courants architecturaux contemporains.

En analysant le travail de l'architecte Karel Pařík, il est possible de découvrir quelques autres édifices importants construits à Sarajevo sur le modèle d'édifices de la Ringstrasse de Vienne. Il s'agit en premier lieu du Musée national de Bosnie-Herzégovine (1913) et de l'église évangélique de Sarajevo (construite en 1899, mais dont les ailes latérales furent ajoutées en 1911). L'agencement de la façade du Musikverein de Vienne (1870), tout comme de celle de l'Arthouse (1868), montre que Pařík s'est directement inspiré de ces bâtiments au cours de la conception du pavillon du Musée national à Sarajevo, notamment des détails des tympans et de la composition des ouvertures de fenêtres. Si seuls quelques détails du musée sarajévien ont été empruntés aux édifices viennois de la Ringstrasse, le projet de l'église évangélique de Sarajevo est quant à lui presque entièrement calqué sur celui du Temple du Christ (*Christuskirche*) (1858), situé dans le cimetière protestant de Matzleinsdorf (*Evangelischer Friedhof Matzleinsdorf*), de l'architecte Theophil Edvard von Hansen. La version viennoise est plus fine au niveau des détails, plus élégante pour ce qui est de la coupole, et possède un traitement plus complexe en façade, mais pour autant, ses éléments de décoration plastique sur la façade et à l'intérieur ont presque été calqués. Cela vaut également pour les éléments en fer forgé, dont

les motifs ont été utilisés dans certaines parties des palais commerciaux-résidentiels sarajéviens. Un détail intéressant se retrouve aussi sur la rambarde de l'escalier intérieur de la Musikverein de Vienne (l'architecte est Theophil Edvard von Hansen), repris sur l'Institut Saint-Augustin de Sarajevo (1893).

Les exemples mentionnés d'édifices significatifs de Vienne et Sarajevo témoignent de la relation entre le centre et la périphérie, entre le modèle et la réplique, ainsi que d'une force créatrice et motrice tirée des idées venues de la Ringstrasse de Vienne, et qui arrivèrent dans les rues de Sarajevo avec les étudiants viennois. Les porteurs de la vague viennoise étaient les deux architectes les plus remarquables de la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine, Josip Vancaš et Karel Pařík. En suivant chronologiquement leur œuvre architecturale, il est également possible de comprendre leur développement professionnel, qui part de réalisations architecturales imitées, pour aboutir à des créations tout à fait originales. Vienne et Sarajevo, au-delà de situations économiques et de contextes historico-culturels différents, ont répondu aux nouvelles exigences et fonctions avec la même langue architecturale, à travers l'interprétation des styles historiques sous une forme d'historicisme, dans lesquels sont construits les édifices les plus monumentaux et les plus remarquables de ces deux villes.

Sarajevo est distante de Vienne de 750 kilomètres, et presque du double d'Istanbul. Cette position géographique de la capitale de la Bosnie-Herzégovine a directement conditionné les circonstances historiques et politiques, et, indirectement, les événements liés à l'architecture et la culture. Si l'on considère la Bosnie-Herzégovine sous l'angle des deux périodes historiques les plus dominantes, la première étant la période ottomane avec son centre Istanbul, la seconde la période austro-hongroise avec son centre à Vienne (et Budapest), on observe qu'elle y constitue à chaque fois la périphérie, non seulement sur le plan géographique, mais aussi administratif, culturel et social. Représentant les confins de la culture orientale développée durant la période ottomane, avec Istanbul en tant que centre et modèle, et les confins de la culture occidentale développée durant la période austro-hongroise, avec Vienne et Budapest comme centres et modèles, la Bosnie-Herzégovine a tiré de ces influences étrangères et de ses propres valeurs traditionnelles un authentique patrimoine historico-culturel. L'héritage architectural de la périphérie représente, par rapport au centre, une forme spécifique de valeur historico-culturelle, souvent matérialisée à

travers des répliques apparues sous l'influence de modèles. Ainsi, l'héritage architectural de la périphérie peut être envisagé de deux manières : dans le contexte du centre et dans le contexte de la périphérie.

En analysant les concepts urbains et spatiaux, le rapport entre le privé et le public, l'émergence de rues élargies, de boulevards et de parcs, à travers les édifices publics monumentaux, les édifices privés, et jusqu'aux détails et ornements, et ce dans les contextes du centre et de la périphérie, on peut, en ce qui concerne la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine, suivre les effets des influences venues du centre vers la périphérie, et les résultats tout à fait originaux produits par la combinaison de ces influences et des circonstances locales, à travers l'architecture néo-mauresque et l'architecture du style bosnien. De tels exemples sont nombreux dans l'architecture de Bosnie-Herzégovine : on trouve, parmi les édifices sacrés, les monastères franciscains, qui furent pour la plupart rénovés sous la période austro-hongroise, durant laquelle ils revêtirent leur forme actuelle, puis des structures sacrées individuelles telles que la chapelle évangélique de Vienne et l'ancienne église évangélique de Sarajevo. Citons également la bibliothèque universitaire ELTE (*Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem*) de Budapest et la villa Mandić de Sarajevo, le Baldiahof de Vienne et le Marienhof de Sarajevo, ainsi qu'un certain nombre d'autres modèles et répliques. Les versions sarajéviennes d'édifices construits à Vienne et Budapest sont généralement de plus petites dimensions, avec des décorations plastiques et polychromes simplifiées, tandis que les volumes et les proportions sont conservés, ainsi que la conception de la façade, conformément au style de construction choisi, dont les normes valent pour le centre comme pour la périphérie. La connexion entre modèles et répliques d'édifices architecturaux de la période austro-hongroise est attestée non seulement par des preuves matérielles, mais aussi par des liens historiques, politiques, universitaires, privés et sociaux entre les villes bosniennes, Vienne et Budapest, d'une part, entre les acteurs ayant créé ou influencé l'architecture de cette période dans les centres comme dans la périphérie, d'autre part.

Si l'on considère dans un cadre régional les exemples cités de répliques ou de structures et édifices architecturaux apparus sous l'influence des grands centres orientaux et occidentaux, on peut affirmer qu'ils représentent des réalisations architecturales remarquables sur le sol bosnien, et leur valeur est aussi importante

que leur variété au regard des styles, des circonstances et des cultures historiques mélangés sur ce territoire. Le professeur allemand Wolfgang Lipp explique cette perception à travers le régionalisme et le syntagme du « sol intime », dont la puissance est plus grande que celle des centres, les impulsions créatrices individuelles, bien que parfois entravées ou négligées, constituant une partie importante du parallélogramme des forces créatrices. Il faut par conséquent analyser les réalisations architecturales sur le territoire de Bosnie-Herzégovine dans le contexte de l'esprit du lieu et des conditions historiques, et non pas comme étant dénuées d'un milieu physique et historico-culturel. Quelle que soit la puissance du centre, celle de la périphérie se miroite dans la réponse au diktat venu du centre, et dans la façon dont elle l'applique ou elle l'adapte à l'environnement local. La première comme la seconde approche constituent un défi, car la première représente une tentative de conciliation entre une architecture étrangère et inconnue, avec les normes spatiales en usage, et la seconde l'effort créatif d'un individu ou d'un groupe, visant à réconcilier l'hérité et l'imposé.

Les exceptionnelles réalisations architecturales apparues dans les centres que sont Vienne et Istanbul avaient des bases économiques, politiques et sociaux solides et sûres, qui ont assuré un environnement stable propice au développement et aux progrès de différents styles et courants architecturaux. À l'inverse, les villes bosniennes de la périphérie ne sont pas parvenues, du fait de turbulentes circonstances historiques, à assurer une continuité dans l'activité et le développement artistiques et artisanaux, sans cesse interrompus par un nouveau conflit armé ou par une période d'instabilité économique, politique et sociale. Dans les villes de la périphérie, le système administratif était généralement provisoire et souvent complètement opposé au système précédent, qu'il ignorait. Un tel climat historique et politique n'a pas pu fournir une scène architecturale stable, et cette dernière s'est toujours reposée sur les réalisations des centres. La valeur particulière du patrimoine historico-culturel bosnien réside dans son authenticité, construite au cours de modestes et lentes étapes opérées dans le sillage du développement frénétique, souvent inatteignable, des centres que sont Vienne et Istanbul. Si l'architecture a apporté en Bosnie-Herzégovine des œuvres remarquables en s'inspirant des modèles des centres, des réalisations tout à fait originales furent

également créées dans les villes bosniennes, dans le contexte de l'esprit du lieu et eu égard aux circonstances historiques.

Le *Collins English Dictionary* définit le *Genius Loci* comme l'« esprit gardien d'un lieu » et comme « l'atmosphère particulière d'un lieu donné ». En architecture, le *Genius Loci*, en tant qu'esprit ou atmosphère d'un lieu déterminé constitue, avec la mémoire du lieu, l'un des principes élémentaires dans la création de l'espace qui nous entoure. L'espace signifie plus de place, et, d'après l'auteur Norberg-Schulz, l'espace fait partie intégrante de l'existence. Pour qu'un événement quelconque se déroule, un espace est indispensable, et différents événements nécessitent divers lieux/espaces. Le *Genius Loci* joue un rôle important dans la perception du lieu en tant que composante de l'espace. L'esprit du lieu détermine toute une série de caractéristiques variées et établit un certain nombre de conditions diverses, en vue d'un événement précis dans l'espace, qui peut être de nature matérielle, tel qu'une réalisation architecturale. Une telle intervention dans l'espace ne se déroule jamais sans un contexte, qui peut être établi en adoptant et en coopérant avec les environnements bâti et non bâti, ou à travers la non-prise en compte de ces derniers, ce qui en pratique est souvent le cas. L'architecte a très rarement l'occasion de concevoir un projet dans un milieu complètement vierge de constructions, et même dans ce cas, il existe un esprit du lieu naturel, offrant des paramètres déterminés en vue une nouvelle construction, et qui est lié aux conditions historiques et naturelles.

À partir de l'exemple de l'architecture de la période austro-hongroise à Sarajevo, ainsi que de la mémoire et de l'atmosphère du lieu, qui sont tout particulièrement prégnants à Sarajevo, il est possible d'observer le *Genius Loci* à travers toutes ses composantes essentielles et d'étudier son influence dans la création de l'espace. Examiner le *Genius Loci* signifie analyser l'espace et le lieu à travers l'urbanisme, les proportions, les volumes, les dimensions et les détails à travers l'architecture, la tradition et la culture à travers le patrimoine, la tangibilité d'un édifice à travers la matérialisation, l'histoire à travers la société et la politique dans le contexte du temps. Un certain nombre de ces facteurs, polysémiques, établissent le *Genius Loci* comme étant une partie indissociable de l'atmosphère d'un espace, de la perception et de la conception de cet espace, qui à Sarajevo a subi d'importantes influences extérieures, par le biais de différents systèmes d'organisation de la société et de diverses normes de traitement de l'espace.

La perception différente qu'a l'observateur vis-à-vis des modèles bâtis à Vienne et de leurs répliques construites à Sarajevo émane du *Genius Loci* à travers toutes ses composantes essentielles. L'analyse urbanistique des édifices bâtis à Vienne, comme le MAK, la Caisse d'épargne postale, la chapelle évangélique et d'autres, montre un traitement planifié de l'espace fondé sur les principes de l'urbanisme occidental. Grâce à ces principes, ces édifices se fondent dans leur environnement et répondent de façon optimale aux questions intemporelles liées au traitement de l'espace. Les édifices construits à Sarajevo durant la période austro-hongroise, tels que l'Hôtel de ville, l'Académie des beaux-arts (*Akademija likovnih umjetnosti*), la Grande Poste et d'autres, dans le contexte d'un urbanisme hérité et d'une parcellisation fragmentée, ont également influé sur les normes de traitement de l'espace, et au final sur la façon de percevoir l'architecture qui nous entoure. Tandis que les bâtiments construits dans les néo-styles à Vienne s'inséraient naturellement dans l'atmosphère et dans l'ambiance, ceux construits à Sarajevo durant la période austro-hongroise apparaissaient comme monumentaux (bien qu'étant souvent de plus petites dimensions que leurs modèles viennois), étrangers (ils n'opéraient aucun lien avec l'architecture de la période ottomane) et particulièrement frappants eu égard à leur micro-localisation et à la façon de percevoir l'environnement et l'architecture qui le construit.

L'architecture qui construit un environnement harmonieux offre un sentiment de sécurité, de détente et de refuge, comme l'explique le professeur Boris Morsan dans son article « Comment soigner l'architecture : contribution à l'analyse des sociopathologies de la construction », et constitue une base importante en vue d'une bonne relation avec l'espace aux niveaux physique et psychique. Selon les auteurs occidentaux, un exemple d'architecture harmonieuse peut se retrouver dans des villes européennes comme Paris, Rome, Vienne, dans des villes créées d'après la vision occidentale de l'espace, conformément aux normes de la civilisation *occidentale*. Sarajevo, ville européenne, fut traitée jusqu'à l'occupation austro-hongroise en tant que ville orientale. Durant la période ottomane, Sarajevo, comme la majorité des autres villes bosniennes, a été construite à l'échelle de l'homme, selon les normes d'un urbanisme « organique », avec une division très nette entre zones commerciale et résidentielle. Avec l'arrivée de l'administration austro-hongroise, ce traitement de l'espace et cette architecture ont été modifiés en

profondeur. Cette nouvelle architecture, importée dans l'atmosphère sarajévienne, suscite l'impression d'une contrainte, d'un manque de naturel, d'une non-appartenance. Paradoxalement, en comparant les édifices construits au début et à la fin de l'occupation austro-hongroise, émerge l'impression que l'architecture de la fin de la période se trouve être très proche de la tradition bosnienne et bien plus en concordance avec le *Genius Loci*, comme le montrent ses volumes et ses détails.

En examinant l'architecture de la période austro-hongroise et son rapport à celle de la période ottomane dans les villes bosniennes, et ce dans le contexte du *Genius Loci*, il est possible de distinguer deux groupes fondamentaux en interaction avec l'environnement : le groupe de la discorde et le groupe de l'adéquation. Cependant, il est aussi possible que naisse une sensation de conflit dans l'espace, dans des milieux architecturaux homogènes où l'on trouve des édifices de la même période et de styles historiques semblables, mais qui tranchent avec leur environnement de par leur proportions, ou du fait d'autres éléments. Ces édifices, construits en rupture avec l'environnement, causent fréquemment, dans la perception de l'observateur, un malaise qu'il a du mal à définir, mais que pourtant il ressent. En revanche, les édifices construits en adéquation avec l'environnement, conformément aux différents paramètres du *Genius Loci*, suscitent chez l'observateur un sentiment de sécurité et de relaxation, évoqué par le professeur Kevin Lynch, qui met l'accent sur le fait que l'*image* de l'environnement procure à l'observateur un important sentiment de sécurité émotionnelle.

La façon dont est perçu un édifice déterminé à Vienne ou à Sarajevo dépend également de l'héritage historico-culturel de ces milieux et contextes, ces derniers le véhiculant dans la culture et la tradition à un niveau individuel et national. L'héritage historico-culturel, en tant que composante de l'identité d'un individu ou d'un groupe, représente l'une des plus importantes valeurs spatiales, dont les caractéristiques influent directement sur la création d'espace et les nouvelles constructions. Dans le cadre d'une nouvelle construction, cette valeur positive de traitement de l'espace prend presque toujours appui sur la tradition, et cet appui prend sa source non seulement dans les valeurs esthétiques connues et généralement admises pour le milieu dans lequel il est construit, mais aussi dans les caractéristiques fonctionnelles et physiques déjà éprouvées de l'édifice. La réponse à la question de savoir pourquoi les nouveaux édifices du Ring de Vienne constituent une séquence naturelle du

développement de l'architecture, et pourquoi ceux de la rive de Sarajevo apparaissent comme étrangers et artificiels au regard de leur environnement, doit par conséquent être recherchée dans la mémoire et l'atmosphère du lieu, deux caractéristiques fondamentales du *Genius Loci*.

Le *Genius Loci*, au-delà de ses segments intrinsèques en matière de bâti, comporte une importante composante historique, politique et sociale, qui est tout particulièrement palpable dans les exemples de Vienne et Sarajevo. La relation spécifique entre ces deux villes européennes, exprimée à travers leur patrimoine matériel, est le résultat de circonstances historiques et politiques complexes, qui ont conditionné les destins de plusieurs millions de personnes ordinaires, tout comme leurs façons de percevoir et de vivre l'espace. Les circonstances socio-économiques presque entièrement opposées des pays où se situent ces villes ont directement influé sur la perception de l'espace, et alors que les nouveaux édifices du Ring viennois suscitèrent fierté et ravissement, ceux de la rive sarajévienne éveillèrent des sentiments d'échec et d'incompréhension. Les villes bosniennes ont connu l'arrivée d'une nouvelle architecture à travers un changement d'empire, un changement d'occupant, et, en prenant en compte la situation matérielle exceptionnellement difficile et la faiblesse du niveau de vie, la splendeur et la monumentalité des nouveaux édifices construits durant la période austro-hongroise n'y ont pas suscité les mêmes émotions que dans les centres de la monarchie : Vienne et Budapest. Les conditions socio-économiques, l'incompréhension mutuelle substantielle, les influences extérieures de la Serbie et de la Croatie, l'instabilité politique, l'insatisfaction générale, et toute une série d'autres facteurs, furent les conséquences de la césure tragique qu'a représentée la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine.

Les différences d'esprit et de mémoire du lieu entre Sarajevo et Vienne se reflètent à travers l'atmosphère/l'espace naturel et bâti(e), la tradition, la culture, les habitudes, les circonstances socio-économiques, le système social, la politique, la mentalité, la façon de traiter l'espace, et jusque dans les relations entre des édifices voisins ou dans les proportions, les volumes et les détails d'un édifice déterminé. Plus l'espace défini est petit, plus son *Genius Loci* est prononcé, comme cela s'observe dans l'exemple des villes bosniennes et autrichiennes. Les caractéristiques des *Genius Loci* bosnien et autrichien sont assez générales, au regard de celles des *Genius Loci*

d'autres atmosphères, quartiers, villes. Sarajevo et Mostar sont des villes bosniennes présentant des caractéristiques nettement différentes de l'esprit du lieu, mais une petite section de ces caractéristiques témoigne d'un *Genius Loci* bosnien commun. Un exemple similaire peut se retrouver avec certaines villes d'Autriche, telles que Salzbourg et Graz.

Le *Genius Loci* représentant la spécificité d'un espace restreint, d'une atmosphère, d'un quartier ou d'une ville donnés, il est évident, à partir de cela, qu'une même solution conceptuelle ne conviendra pas à différentes atmosphères. Un édifice identique, ou largement similaire, suscitera une impression variable chez le visiteur, en fonction de l'environnement où il est placé, et ce dans le contexte de l'urbanisme et du milieu naturel. Un édifice identique, ou largement similaire, placé dans un environnement différent, possédera, eu égard à cet environnement, des valeurs architecturales et spatiales différentes, une séquence d'approche variable, une atmosphère distincte, et un milieu naturel reflété par la configuration du terrain, ou par le panorama, de plaine ou de montagne. Tous ces éléments influent directement sur la perception de l'espace qui nous entoure, et sont condensés dans le syntagme de l'esprit du lieu (*Genius Loci*).

L'administration austro-hongroise a tenté de résoudre les questions liées à l'identité bosnienne à travers quarante ans d'activités dans tous les segments sociaux en Bosnie-Herzégovine. Au cours de l'histoire politique complexe caractéristique de la région pendant des siècles, la question de l'identité s'est faite de plus en plus aiguë durant et après les conflits militaires, qui dans les Balkans sont particulièrement fréquents et destructeurs. Dans des circonstances aussi brutales, le développement d'une identité et d'une culture fut souvent interrompu brusquement, puis à nouveau relancé du néant, par intervalles de quarante ou cinquante ans. Un des effets indirects de ces événements est la présence de vestiges de culture matérielle, comme en témoigne le patrimoine architectural apparu durant les siècles passés sous les influences des différentes politiques et cultures. Au cours de l'histoire, l'architecture a constitué une réponse directe à l'identité, et en Bosnie-Herzégovine la complexité et la diversité de l'héritage architectural a justement conduit à l'impossibilité d'arriver à une définition complète de l'identité, en offrant pour autant un important espace pour un travail de recherche et de questionnement de tous les

différents segments de cette identité, conditionnée par les influences de l'Orient et de l'Occident.

L'architecture de la période austro-hongroise offre un aperçu d'une période courte et intense de développement de l'identité bosnienne, qui se voit alors conférer une caractéristique occidentale, qui est durablement restée une composante de la culture bosnienne. Ce ne fut pas la première influence culturelle occidentale dans l'histoire de la Bosnie-Herzégovine, mais il s'agit, durant la période austro-hongroise, de la plus intensive que la région ait connue, et cette influence s'est manifestée à travers l'activité architecturale jusqu'à nos jours. Les édifices construits dans les villes bosniennes durant la période austro-hongroise ont également pris de l'importance de par le fait que leur environnement était jusqu'alors totalement différent dans tous les segments sociaux. Un tel environnement a ainsi mis en exergue le « caractère étranger » de la nouvelle architecture, qui ne niait pas les préexistantes, mais qui ignorait plutôt les valeurs établies de traitement de l'espace, en questionnant à nouveau l'identité bosnienne. La première tentative de conciliation entre les influences de l'Orient et de l'Occident à travers l'architecture a été la création du style néo-mauresque, mais cette initiative complètement artificielle et contrainte ne fut pas acceptée par la population locale. Ce n'est qu'à la fin de la période austro-hongroise, du fait d'un développement naturel de l'architecture, d'une étude intensive de la tradition de construction bosnienne et d'une nouvelle approche de la part d'architectes étrangers, en particulier Josip Vancaš, que fut fondé le style bosnien. Le style bosnien, en tant que style architectural, a pour la première fois réconcilié l'Orient et l'Occident en Bosnie-Herzégovine, mais malheureusement sa courbe de développement fut, encore une fois, brutalement interrompue, cette fois par l'attentat de Sarajevo.

Dans sa thèse de doctorat « Transitions forcées – Les nouveaux habitats de personnes déplacées après la guerre en Bosnie-Herzégovine (1992-1995) », Igor Kuvač divise l'identité en quatre segments fondamentaux : personnelle, collective, culturelle et spatiale. En appliquant cette typologie à la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine, il est possible, à travers ces quatre segments, d'y suivre le fil du développement de l'architecture. L'arrivée d'architectes étrangers en Bosnie-Herzégovine amena avec elle une identité personnelle, qui sans se poser de questions, l'ont appliquée à travers leur création architecturale aux premiers édifices

qu'ils ont construit dans les villes bosniennes. Les étudiants de Vienne ont conçu leurs premiers édifices sur les modèles de leurs professeurs, sur les édifices auprès desquels ils ont grandi et se sont formés personnellement et professionnellement. Cela est tout à fait compréhensible étant donné qu'ils ne connaissaient que peu de choses au sujet du complexe contexte bosnien, sinon rien. Ainsi a-t-on l'occasion de voir à Sarajevo pour la première fois des édifices néo-renaissance, néo-gothiques, néo-baroques, ou dans d'autres styles occidentaux, qui à cette époque apparaissent comme « étrangers » et « exotiques ». La tradition de construction bosnienne, composée de formes géométriques simples et épurées, dépourvue de décorations plastiques et polychromes superflues, fut marginalisée, dédaignée et éclipsée par l'éclat de la richesse décorative et des dimensions bien plus élevées de l'architecture importée d'Europe occidentale. Sans respecter les normes et les valeurs établies, apparaissant parfois comme des personnages hautains, les jeunes architectes ont eu l'opportunité en Bosnie-Herzégovine de mettre en œuvre toutes les facettes de l'identité personnelle à travers leur création architecturale.

L'identité collective, ou commune, de l'architecture de la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine a traduit les objectifs d'une politique absolutiste qui croyait en l'idée d'une nation bosnienne unifiée, et qui a opéré dans le sens de cette idée. Avec l'octroi de différentes concessions aux groupes nationaux et religieux, l'administration austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine a tenté de gagner le respect de la population locale. Néanmoins, ces concessions étaient de nature cosmétique et n'ont pas résolu durablement le problème. La culture, étant l'un des porteurs fondamentaux de l'identité, est en Bosnie-Herzégovine le résultat de processus et d'événements historiques turbulents, et en tant que telle a depuis toujours constitué à la fois une source d'inspiration et un important défi. L'activité périphérique de l'Orient et de l'Occident sur le territoire de Bosnie-Herzégovine a offert de nombreuses possibilités en matière de création architecturale ; cependant, en mettant en parallèle les résultats de cette création avec ceux obtenus dans les centres de pouvoir et d'influence (Vienne et Istanbul), force est de constater que la création architecturale en Bosnie-Herzégovine a eu des résultats exceptionnels. À nouveau, si l'on considère ces résultats dans le contexte des circonstances historiques et politiques, ainsi que des possibilités présentes en matière de création, alors il s'agit d'accomplissements remarquables, dans le cadre de périodes

historiques déterminées, et en tant que tels, comptent, à une échelle nationale, parmi les plus importantes contributions architecturales. Les valeurs patrimoniales universelles des différentes périodes, qui sont le produit direct du questionnement identitaire, représentent une composante significative des cadres européens, qui se reflète dans la diversité et le conflit/la rencontre entre des influences contradictoires dans un petit espace géographique. Enfin, l'espace, dans toutes ses manifestations, est le quatrième élément déterminant l'identité, et dans le cas de la Bosnie-Herzégovine comporte une charge particulière au regard de l'architecture, de l'urbanisme, de l'histoire, de la politique et de la société.

Dans le contexte de l'identité spatiale et des interactions avec l'environnement au niveau d'une micro-localité, les édifices-modèles bâtis à Vienne et les édifices-répliques construits à Sarajevo représentent des exemples intéressants. Le cadre urbain d'un édifice influe directement sur sa perception, et la séquence d'approche détermine des valeurs spatiales, tout comme la qualité de l'architecture de l'édifice en question. La chapelle évangélique de Vienne est le marqueur central du cimetière protestant et fait office de repère dans l'espace quant aux volumes, aux proportions et aux dimensions de l'édifice. L'église évangélique, aujourd'hui Académie des beaux-arts, de Sarajevo, est construite dans une rangée, sur la rive d'un fleuve et dans des proportions et des volumes en harmonie avec les édifices voisins. Cet édifice se perçoit ainsi comme une composante de la façade de la rue, et en cela offre un ressenti et une signification différents. Si l'on considère les deux bâtisses dans leurs contextes, alors la chapelle évangélique de Vienne ne constitue pas un édifice qui, de par son importance, pourrait faire partie des dix édifices sacrés les plus prestigieux de la ville ; si l'on prend l'édifice de l'Académie des beaux-arts de Sarajevo, datant de la période austro-hongroise, il représente quant à lui l'une des réalisations architecturales et l'un des repères spatiaux les plus significatifs de la ville.

Le contexte de l'identité spatiale peut aussi être observé à travers la perception de l'environnement par l'individu, et ce en prenant en compte les différences tangibles existant dans la façon dont un individu ou un groupe issu d'un milieu donné traite et expérimente un autre milieu ou une autre culture. Une personne ayant grandi dans une *mahala* sarajévienne aura une perception différente des rapports spatiaux dans la rue Maršala Tita à Sarajevo, et inversement. Ainsi, l'identité spatiale est bien plus

liée à l'identité personnelle que ce qu'il peut paraître sans une analyse plus approfondie. L'identité spatiale est bien plus vaste : il s'agit du panorama de la ville dans lequel a grandi l'individu, dans lequel il vit et travaille, et de son sentiment subjectif d'orientation dans l'espace. Il ne fait aucun doute que la période austro-hongroise à Sarajevo a complètement modifié la perception de l'identité spatiale, et a ainsi posé les fondements d'une activité architecturale future et diverse dans l'espace. Igor Kuvač écrit dans sa thèse doctorale : « La vie dans un type d'environnement donné peut être considérée comme une expression identitaire, mais dans la plupart des cas les gens ne parviennent pas à s'identifier au lieu où ils vivent. »

Outre le fait qu'un héritage architectural et culturel varié représente un terreau fertile pour une création future dans tous les domaines artistiques, il peut également poser le problème de l'identification et de l'identité dont parle Amin Maalouf dans son ouvrage « Les identités meurtrières ». Plusieurs exemples probants montrent dans la pratique comment les identités conflictuelles, les divergences entre elles et la négation d'une identité collective influent sur l'architecture contemporaine en Bosnie-Herzégovine. Cela est également démontré par le tableau général médiocre qu'offre la scène architecturale bosnienne, qui répond plus à des critères de construction qu'aux standards de l'architecture. Un certain degré d'ignorance et d'intolérance entre l'« ancienne » et la « nouvelle » identités a, en pratique, non seulement fait émerger de nombreux édifices esthétiquement discutables, mais également toute une série de problèmes fonctionnels en rapport avec les structures et les zones urbaines des villes bosniennes. L'identité, et notamment l'espace comme étant l'une de ses composantes, se situe dans un processus constant de mutation et d'adaptation, et c'est seulement si on la considère comme telle qu'il est possible de comprendre les réponses architecturales à une situation présente. La relation entre identité et architecture est conditionnée par la géographie, le climat, la langue, la culture, la tradition, les coutumes, l'héritage, et toute une série d'autres facteurs, qui placent l'homme dans un espace de contact entre identité et architecture. De cette façon, l'identité influe sur l'activité architecturale passée, actuelle et future dans l'espace.

Conclusion

En partant du général pour aller au particulier, cette thèse a présenté une série de cas individuels dans le cadre de plusieurs périodes historiques de développement de l'architecture en Bosnie-Herzégovine, à travers une analyse spécifique de la période austro-hongroise et des relations entre le centre et la périphérie dans le contexte de l'esprit du lieu. Cette thèse opère un important recensement du patrimoine architectural se trouvant en Bosnie-Herzégovine, ce dernier recouvrant les périodes antique, médiévale, ottomane, austro-hongroise et celle de l'architecture moderne. Dans la première partie de cette recherche, le chapitre II présente certaines des formes architecturales de Bosnie-Herzégovine les plus significatives et parmi les moins étudiées, en veillant scrupuleusement à ne pas omettre tous les éléments importants d'histoire et de culture, et dans le même temps à ne pas s'écarter du thème et de l'objectif de cette thèse. Cela permet ainsi de contextualiser un cadre et de jeter les bases d'une meilleure compréhension de la position de l'architecture de la période austro-hongroise au sein de l'héritage historico-culturel bosnien tout entier. Dans la deuxième partie de cette recherche, le chapitre III analyse la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine, en opérant un focus sur Sarajevo, et ce sous différents aspects : politique, social, économique, éducatif, urbain, architectural, typologique, design, esthétique, etc. Chacun de ces segments fondamentaux fait l'objet d'une partie spécifique, mais pas de manière isolée, bien au contraire – dans une démarche multidisciplinaire, dont la base est toujours l'architecture d'une époque et d'un espace. Dans la troisième partie de ce travail de recherche, des cas particuliers sont examinés dans le cadre de l'esprit du lieu et de leurs relations mutuelles, entre position de centre (Vienne) et position de périphérie (Sarajevo). Pour la première fois, les réalisations architecturales du centre de la monarchie austro-hongroise sont analysées à travers le prisme de nombreux et différents aspects, et sont comparées à leurs répliques, apparues à la même période à la périphérie de la monarchie, dans les villes de Bosnie-Herzégovine.

Cette thèse répond aux questions de recherche soulevées dans le premier chapitre. À partir de la période antique et de la culture de Butmir, il s'agit de présenter le territoire sur lequel a ensuite émergé, sur la scène mondiale, la Bosnie-Herzégovine. Cela permet de souligner le lien entre les développements parallèles de différentes cultures sur le continent européen, et ainsi d'attester de l'origine précoce d'un

développement de tous les segments de la société sur le territoire de l'actuelle Bosnie-Herzégovine. Ces vestiges de culture matérielle datent de la fin de l'âge de pierre (Velika Gradina, puits de Rama, entre 125 000 et 60 000 avant J.-C.), et ils sont examinés et présentés dans le cadre de leur position actuelle dans la société et la politique, ainsi qu'au regard de leur valeur pour le patrimoine mondial dans son ensemble.

La thèse poursuit ensuite avec la période médiévale et apporte des exemples significatifs d'héritage matériel de cette époque en Bosnie-Herzégovine : les vieilles villes et les *stećci* (monuments funéraires). Les vieilles villes et forteresses furent construites du XIIe au XVe siècles sur le territoire de Bosnie-Herzégovine et témoignent d'un grand nombre d'influences extérieures, venues essentiellement des architectures d'Occident. Durant la période ottomane, les vieilles villes et forteresses furent rénovées et enrichies de nouveaux édifices, et leur apparence subit alors une forte influence de l'architecture et de la culture orientales. Ces influences se sont mêlées aux facteurs locaux, et ont ainsi produit des réalisations architecturales spécifiques avec des éléments formels variés et souvent opposés, que l'esprit du lieu *bosnien* a réuni. Les monuments funéraires (*stećci*) représentent un patrimoine historico-culturel authentique de Bosnie-Herzégovine et des pays voisins, sur les territoires desquels ils ont été découverts après leur diffusion naturelle durant la période médiévale. Les *stećci*, qui sont inscrits sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, portent en eux les symboles d'une construction locale, mais aussi d'influences externes, et représentent un témoignage tout particulièrement remarquable d'un esprit du lieu *bosnien* singulier.

Cette thèse a un caractère descriptif à travers lequel est présenté le développement chronologique de l'architecture, mais aussi de tous les autres segments du patrimoine historico-culturel en Bosnie-Herzégovine, en mettant l'accent sur ses formes spécifiques et sur celles créées sous l'influence de cultures étrangères. Les réalisations architecturales, examinées sous l'angle des périodes historiques susmentionnées, sont traitées selon deux branches : l'architecture sacrée et l'architecture profane. Durant la période ottomane, l'architecture profane est présentée à travers l'exemple de la maison Svrzo à Sarajevo, et la sacrée à travers l'exemple des mosquées de Banja Luka. À partir de l'exemple de cette maison caractéristique de la période ottomane à Sarajevo, et à travers une analyse détaillée

des conditions et des séquences spatiales, on observe un lien direct avec les maisons familiales d'Anatolie, et plus généralement avec l'architecture orientale, qui a laissé son empreinte spécifique en Bosnie-Herzégovine. Il est possible, à partir de l'exemple des mosquées de Banja Luka, de suivre la typologie de toutes les autres mosquées construites en Bosnie-Herzégovine durant la période ottomane. Les mosquées bosniaques ont été construites sous l'influence directe de celles d'Istanbul, et leurs bâtisseurs étaient presque toujours issus de l'étranger, surtout quand il s'agissait de mosquées en pierre. La mosquée Ferhadija de Banja Luka et la mosquée de Manisa montrent un lien entre centre et périphérie, tout comme une relation entre modèle et réplique. Pendant des siècles, Istanbul a représenté pour la Bosnie-Herzégovine le centre duquel provenaient les influences ayant façonné tous les segments sociétaux et politiques, et l'architecture profane et sacrée n'est seulement qu'un petit indicateur de ces influences.

Au tournant du XIXe au XXe siècles, la notion de centre et sa définition géographique ont été substantiellement modifiées pour la Bosnie-Herzégovine. À partir de 1878, Vienne est devenue pour Sarajevo ce qu'Istanbul avait représenté pendant quatre siècles. L'architecture de la période austro-hongroise a marqué pour Sarajevo une rupture presque complète avec l'architecture de la période ottomane, de laquelle elle s'est alors démarquée, tout particulièrement dans le traitement de l'espace. Parmi les nombreuses nouveautés à Sarajevo, on remarque la construction de palais commerciaux-résidentiels qui, pour la première fois, combinent des fonctions commerciales et résidentielles, ces dernières étant à l'époque ottomane séparées dans deux parties différentes de la ville (la *čaršija* pour le commerce, la *mahala* pour la résidence). Le bâti hérité fut à nouveau négligé, et l'on importa du bâti totalement nouveau, un changement auquel la société n'était alors pas préparée, occupée par ses propres affaires et par ses tentatives de comprendre le nouveau mode de vie. L'esprit du lieu se retrouve encore une fois mis à l'épreuve et s'observe à nouveau sous deux angles. Du point de vue de la monarchie austro-hongroise, l'esprit du lieu *bosnien* est exotique, du point de vue de la population locale, la nouvelle architecture, importée, nouvelle et massive, est trop agressive et témoigne d'une complète incompréhension de l'atmosphère. Toutes sortes d'édifices furent construits, que l'on peut présenter à travers deux groupes : l'architecture profane et l'architecture sacrée. L'architecture sacrée se compose dans sa majorité de

nouvelles églises catholiques et de monastères franciscains restaurés, que l'on rénove dans les néo-styles, dont certains font pour la première fois leur entrée sur la scène architecturale de Bosnie-Herzégovine, et qui sont empruntés à l'architecture occidentale. Les caractéristiques architecturales des monastères franciscains en Bosnie-Herzégovine, qui furent dans leur majorité rénovés ou reconstruits durant la période austro-hongroise, présentent des influences directes de l'extérieur, et certains éléments de ces édifices sont directement empruntés à leurs modèles occidentaux.

En suivant le fil chronologique des développements après la période austro-hongroise et après les guerres mondiales, on arrive à la création architecturale en Bosnie-Herzégovine durant la période socialiste, qui pour la première fois se développa en simultanéité avec les idées technologiques et créatives progressistes d'alors, portées par le mouvement moderne. L'architecture s'est encore une fois trouvée au service de la politique et a à nouveau interrogé l'identité. La question de l'identité fut d'actualité durant toutes les périodes historiques, et particulièrement aiguë sous les périodes ottomane et austro-hongroise. Durant la période ottomane, l'identité bosnienne se trouve sous une forte influence de l'Orient, et durant la période austro-hongroise sous une forte influence de l'Occident. Pendant la période socialiste, la Bosnie-Herzégovine constitue une partie de l'État fédéral de Yougoslavie, ce dernier mettant l'accent sur une identité commune transcendant les identités nationales et républicaines individuelles de ses membres. L'esprit du lieu *bosnien* demeure particulièrement actuel et prégnant, dans la mesure où il exerce une influence considérable sur l'Architecture moderne, qui tout en respectant les normes strictes de Le Corbusier, porte encore une note traditionnelle, locale, bosnienne. En analysant le bâtiment du Musée historique de Sarajevo, on relève de nombreuses similitudes avec les édifices ayant émergé durant la même période, ou un peu plus tôt, comme la villa Savoye. Avec une analyse approfondie de la conception du parterre, ainsi que des aménagements externe et interne du bâtiment du Musée historique de Sarajevo, on observe qu'il porte en lui de forts éléments interprétatifs de l'architecture bosnienne traditionnelle.

Les exemples d'architecture profane datant de cette période sont peu nombreux à Sarajevo comparativement à l'ensemble du fond bâti, mais ils témoignent clairement du fort caractère international du Moderne et de l'influence encore plus forte de

l'esprit du lieu. L'influence de l'esprit du lieu est tellement forte sur l'Architecture moderne à Sarajevo, que ce mouvement est connu dans l'architecture de Bosnie-Herzégovine sous le nom d'École de Sarajevo. Les exemples d'architecture monumentale de la période socialiste sont nombreux et étendus à travers toute la Bosnie-Herzégovine. Les monuments à la gloire de la Guerre de libération populaire en Yougoslavie représentent des solutions architecturales singulières, sculpturales et artistiques qui, sans le citer, interprètent le message politique strict du Parti communiste de Yougoslavie. L'architecture de cette période, dédiée à la Guerre de libération populaire, tient l'identité collective de fraternité et d'unité (*bratsvo i jedinstvo*) comme valeur suprême à laquelle elle aspire et qu'elle cherche à atteindre par-dessus tout. Le concept, la vision et le message prennent tout particulièrement de l'importance dans le post-modernisme, et, à travers l'exemple du bâtiment du Théâtre national bosnien de Zenica, on peut clairement observer des éléments traditionnels interprétés, façonnés par l'esprit du lieu à travers le design tout entier de cet édifice de l'architecture publique moderne.

Les quatre périodes historiques dominantes analysées à travers l'architecture officielle montrent des influences extérieures directes et le rôle de l'esprit du lieu dans leur perception. Les exemples architecturaux mentionnés pour Sarajevo et les quelques exemples architecturaux cités pour d'autres villes bosniennes montrent indubitablement que, quelles que soient les influences externes issues, pendant des siècles, de différents centres, la périphérie n'est pas « sans voix » et qu'elle opère des accomplissements architecturaux remarquables, dans le contexte de circonstances technologiques, économiques, politiques et historiques locales. L'architecture non officielle, ou vernaculaire, montre une image bosnienne authentique, à travers le village de montagne de Lukomir sur le mont Bjelašnica ou les églises-chalets orthodoxes dans le nord-ouest de la Bosnie-Herzégovine. Bien que l'architecture vernaculaire bosnienne offre des solutions tout à fait originales, il est impossible de la dissocier des courants contemporains en matière de construction dans l'Europe de la même époque. Cela est notamment le cas pour les églises-chalets, qui montrent un certain nombre de similitudes avec les solutions techniques pour lesquelles on a opté dans le cas des églises en bois du nord de l'Europe. Dans ce cas précis, il s'agit d'un développement naturel des idées, et non

d'idées importées, comme cela fut le cas avec les architectures officielles des différentes périodes historiques en Bosnie-Herzégovine.

Le troisième chapitre de cette thèse aborde les différents aspects de la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine. L'analyse politique et historique des circonstances complexes dans lesquelles la région s'est trouvée offre de meilleures possibilités de compréhension des phénomènes et des processus s'étant produits sur la scène architecturale de Bosnie-Herzégovine au tournant du XIXe au XXe siècles. Il est possible de mieux décrire ces processus à travers la relation entre un centre sévère et une périphérie agitée. Sans pour autant avoir l'objectif ambitieux d'apporter une solution, les angles politiques, historiques, éducatives, économiques d'approche de la problématique ont proposé, dans le cadre de cette thèse, une image objective d'un temps et d'un espace en contexte. Il est possible, à partir d'un tel tableau, d'entrevoir plus clairement les valeurs des styles, des volumes, des proportions et plus généralement des réalisations architecturales durant la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine, qui, replacées dans le contexte plus large de l'Europe et de ses propres circonstances politiques et économiques, s'avèrent être remarquables.

L'administration austro-hongroise a opéré en Bosnie-Herzégovine dans le cadre d'une forme absolutiste de gouvernance, et a réussi à mener à bien les objectifs à court terme de sa « mission culturelle ». Les objectifs à long terme du régime, tels que la fondation d'une nation bosnienne unifiée, libérée des influences assimilationnistes de la Croatie et de la Serbie, ne furent pas remplis, et avec eux échouèrent également les tentatives de fondation d'un style national unique en matière d'architecture. Le développement intensif et massif de l'industrie et de la construction durant la période austro-hongroise a eu un impact durable sur l'architecture et le mode de vie bosniens. Cette influence a été si forte qu'elle a modifié l'esprit du lieu qui, d'une composante initialement orientale, est passée à une composante occidentale tout aussi prégnante. La construction massive de la période austro-hongroise a transformé les panoramas de presque toutes les villes bosniennes, et ainsi directement introduit une importante forme de culture occidentale, au départ imitée, puis ensuite contextualisée.

L'influence de l'Occident sur l'architecture de Bosnie-Herzégovine est perceptible dans les normes du nouvel urbanisme et du nouveau traitement de l'espace, arrivées à Sarajevo avec la nouvelle administration, ainsi que dans les deux décrets de construction qui ont, pour la première fois, défini dans les milieux urbains bosniens une politique de construction fondée sur des principes occidentaux. Les porteurs de ces idées progressistes, au départ situées aux antipodes de ce qui avait créé jusqu'alors, étaient principalement des architectes étrangers qui, ne saisissant pas l'esprit du lieu *bosnien*, introduisirent de nouvelles formes architecturales. L'analyse des deux décrets de construction publiés sous la période austro-hongroise pour Sarajevo montre que les normes en matière d'urbanisme et de traitement de l'espace n'étaient pas seulement édictées depuis les centres de la monarchie, mais aussi adaptées, autant que possible, à la situation d'alors de Sarajevo. Ces amendements positifs sont particulièrement visibles dans le deuxième décret de construction de 1893.

L'urbanisme comme l'architecture ont connu une transformation complète durant la période austro-hongroise. Des édifices nouveaux et monumentaux furent construits, portant en eux une nouvelle essence, en conformité avec la nouvelle culture de vie. À Sarajevo, il s'agit de la Maison de la culture (*Društveni dom*, Théâtre national), de la Grande Poste, du Palais de la Présidence, du Palais de Justice (*Pravosudna palata*, Université de Sarajevo, Faculté de droit, Tribunal de Bosnie-Herzégovine), de l'hôtel de ville, de la synagogue ashkénaze, de la cathédrale du Cœur-de-Jésus, et d'autres édifices, qui ont introduit de nouvelles solutions architecturales au regard du style de construction. La question du style de construction est demeurée sous la période austro-hongroise particulièrement aiguë, et l'on peut distinguer quatre groupes dominants : néo-styles, sécession, style néo-mauresque et style bosnien.

Les édifices architecturaux conçus dans le style néo-mauresque ne se sont pas bien insérés dans les atmosphères existantes, et ce d'autant plus que ces édifices apparaissaient comme étrangers et très éloignés des édifices conçus dans les néo-styles et style sécession. La population locale n'a pas vu de lien avec la tradition, que les autorités ont tenté de retranscrire à travers une ornementation orientale, estimant que la décoration plastique et polychrome de ces édifices leur attirerait justement les sympathies de la population musulmane. Cela ne fut pas le cas. Il en fut de même avec les populations catholique et orthodoxe, qui ne virent, dans les formes

exotiques néo-mauresques, proportionnées à *l'occidentale*, ni lien avec leurs traditions, ni affirmation de leur identité. Les édifices conçus dans le style néo-mauresque témoignent une fois de plus d'une incompréhension fondamentale de l'atmosphère et de l'esprit du lieu *bosniens*. L'administration austro-hongroise n'a pas saisi l'inanité de l'idée de créer un style national unique, car elle assimilait le développement de plusieurs styles nationaux au développement de plusieurs idées nationales, politiquement inacceptables et dangereuses pour la monarchie. Le style néo-mauresque est demeuré un projet politique isolé et inachevé de la part du régime dans les villes bosniennes. Il a seulement rempli des objectifs à court terme, de nature scénographique, les objectifs à long terme du régime austro-hongrois n'ayant pas été atteints.

Les premiers travaux des étudiants en architecture viennois à Sarajevo ont constitué une avancée significative pour ce qui est des néo-styles au sein de la scène architecturale bosnienne. Cependant, dans le contexte européen, ces travaux n'ont représenté que des copies de formes architecturales déjà existantes, voire, dans certaines parties d'Europe, totalement rejetées. Jusqu'à la fin de sa carrière, Karel Pařík est resté résolument enfermé dans les néo-styles architecturaux, et de cette façon a directement implanté en Bosnie-Herzégovine une architecture déjà bien connue en Europe occidentale. Josip Vancaš s'est quant à lui montré plus ouvert aux nouvelles idées et s'est tourné vers la sécession, puis plus tard vers le style bosnien. En partant d'une totale incompréhension de l'esprit du lieu et de l'atmosphère *bosniens*, ce qui est compréhensible en prenant en compte l'ignorance des circonstances en Bosnie-Herzégovine avant leur arrivée dans la région, les deux architectes ont suivi une trajectoire de développement à travers laquelle, grâce à leurs activités professionnelles, ils ont façonné l'esprit du lieu *bosnien*. Vancaš a mieux réussi en ce sens, grâce à son activisme politique et architectural dans le champ de la protection du patrimoine et dans l'affirmation du style bosnien.

Les détails décoratifs témoignent également du niveau de similitude entre les modèles de Vienne et les répliques de Sarajevo, tels que les rampes en fer forgé et en fonte, les ornements en plâtre à l'extérieur et à l'intérieur de différentes bâtisses, la décoration artistique, et de nombreux autres, utilisés dans la construction des édifices architecturaux. L'analyse d'une quarantaine d'escaliers situés dans des bâtiments privés et publics de la période austro-hongroise à Sarajevo, incluant la

visite de cette quarantaine d'édifices, et de vingt autres situés à Vienne, a montré que les mêmes solutions furent utilisées en matière de design, et dans certains cas on retrouve des décorations identiques sur les rampes en fer forgé et en fonte. Cela constitue une preuve formelle de l'inclusion de Sarajevo dans les courants occidentaux et de l'influence directe de ces derniers sur l'architecture bosnienne. Le cadre temporel et spatial de cette thèse n'a pas permis une activité de recherche plus approfondie au sujet de ce segment de l'architecture de la période austro-hongroise, mais a ouvert un espace et sécurisé les bases pour des recherches ultérieures, dont l'objet serait les éléments décoratifs des édifices de Vienne et de Sarajevo. Ces éléments démontrent assurément le lien direct existant entre ces deux villes, Vienne étant le modèle, le symbole du centre, et Sarajevo la réplique, le symbole de la périphérie. Pour autant, Sarajevo a offert durant la période austro-hongroise des réalisations architecturales totalement originales, qui, au travers d'une analyse approfondie, témoignent d'une profonde réflexion quant à l'espace et aux valeurs ambiantes héritées, autrement dit l'esprit de lieu.

La sélection des cas d'étude de cette thèse s'est opérée avec l'objectif de présenter différentes typologies et fonctions d'édifices, en allant du sacré, du muséal, du résidentiel, de l'administratif, jusqu'au commercial-résidentiel. Pour chaque groupe, composé de modèles et de répliques, une méthodologie d'analyse comparative unique a été adoptée, qui avait pour objectif de montrer, à travers des propositions graphiques, des descriptions écrites, des tableaux et des recoupements de toutes les sources pertinentes, la liaison directe entre les deux édifices, et de les mettre en valeur dans le contexte de l'esprit du lieu. Le degré de similitude est extrêmement élevé pour certains édifices, comme dans le cas des palais commerciaux-résidentiels du Marienhof de Sarajevo et du Baldiahof de Vienne, tandis que dans le cas de certains autres édifices, les proportions et les formes des façades ont été conservés, mais les fondations modifiées, comme dans le cas du MAK de Vienne et du Palais de la Présidence de Sarajevo. Certains édifices ont directement repris des éléments formels sur leurs modèles, comme c'est le cas avec les façades du Musée national de Sarajevo, de la Künstlerhaus et de la Musikverein de Vienne. Le bâtiment de la Grande Poste à Sarajevo est construit dans un style sécession précoce, tandis que son modèle, la Caisse d'épargne postale de Vienne, est bâtie dans un style sécession avancé, avec des éléments d'architecture moderne. Pour autant, les

proportions, les volumes et les parties rustiques de la façade sont demeurés identiques.

La question de la relation entre l'original et la copie en architecture a été explorée dans cette thèse, à partir d'exemples de réalisations architecturales de la période austro-hongroise. L'esprit du lieu est examiné dans le contexte du conflit et de l'harmonie dans l'atmosphère, à travers la relation entre les architectures des périodes ottomane et austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine. Les forces et les faiblesses de l'esprit du lieu ont été définies dans le cadre d'un temps et d'un espace donnés, en l'occurrence plusieurs périodes historiques et le territoire de Bosnie-Herzégovine. Et finalement, le rapport entre le centre et la périphérie a été interrogé, dans le contexte des identités personnelle, collective, culturelle et spatiale, en ayant bien conscience qu'il est impossible, dans la présente thèse, de répondre à toutes les questions posées, mais qu'il est cependant possible d'identifier certaines causes et conséquences sur la scène architecturale de Bosnie-Herzégovine. La compréhension de ces causes et conséquences devient particulièrement importante au regard de l'activité architecturale future. Cette thèse constitue d'une part une base solide et une contribution à la recherche sur le patrimoine architectural en Bosnie-Herzégovine, et d'autre part une tentative de présenter ces causes et conséquences comme étant des facteurs directs et décisifs pour la future création architecturale en Bosnie-Herzégovine.

Cette thèse a amplement répondu aux questions de recherche concernant l'importance et l'influence des périodes historiques sur l'architecture de la période austro-hongroise à Sarajevo et en Bosnie-Herzégovine, ainsi que sur l'esprit du lieu *bosnien*, qui a été façonné durant ces périodes historiques. Cette thèse a identifié, examiné et présenté différents segments de l'architecture de la période austro-hongroise, dans le contexte du centre et de la périphérie et dans celui du modèle et de la réplique. Ce ne sont pas seulement les influences de l'Occident sur l'architecture de Bosnie-Herzégovine qui ont été étudiées et présentées, mais plus largement les influences dans le contexte européen, tout comme les influences de l'Orient et des pays voisins. Grâce à une analyse comparative concrète des édifices construits à Sarajevo et à Vienne, le lien direct entre le centre et la périphérie a été démontré, et la relation entre le modèle et la réplique a été analysée en profondeur. Cette thèse a confirmé que l'architecture créée à Vienne et dans d'autres centres de

la monarchie au tournant du XIXe au XXe siècles a fait office de modèle dans la construction à Sarajevo et dans d'autres villes de Bosnie-Herzégovine. L'analyse comparative de cas individuels a démontré qu'il ne s'est pas agi d'un respect pur et simple des normes de certains nouveaux styles, mais bien plus d'un lien direct entre l'original et la copie, autrement dit entre le modèle et la réplique. Dans la plupart des cas, ce lien est attesté par la relation professionnelle entre le professeur ayant conçu à Vienne et son étudiant ayant conçu à Sarajevo, puis par la comparaison de documents d'archives, de photographies, ainsi que d'un certain nombre de sources pertinentes dans le cadre des cas d'étude choisis.

Cette thèse a montré que l'esprit du lieu, peu importe le fait que la solution conceptuelle soit la même, est crucial dans la perception d'une réalisation architecturale donnée, et ce dans la mesure où le milieu physique ne constitue que l'un des segments qui définissent l'esprit du lieu, les autres étant des facteurs de nature historique, culturelle, économique, politique, déterminants dans la création d'une impression globale procurée par un édifice architectural donné, et indispensables en vue de valoriser cet édifice. En examinant l'esprit du lieu dans un contexte local (sarajévien), régional, ou plus large (européen), cette thèse confirme par là même l'hypothèse de l'importance de l'esprit du lieu en architecture, notamment à partir de l'exemple de l'architecture de la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine, qui, paradoxalement, représente la réplique d'un modèle situé à plusieurs centaines de kilomètres. Cependant, les répliques et les édifices bâtis sous l'influence du centre portent en eux un esprit du lieu si prégnant que les façons de les percevoir diffèrent complètement à Sarajevo et à Vienne. Cela est particulièrement visible dans les cas d'étude choisis, tels que l'analyse comparative entre la chapelle évangélique de Vienne et l'église évangélique (actuelle Académie des beaux-arts) de Sarajevo, ou d'autres exemples où l'édifice prend, dans le cadre sarajévien, une toute autre signification par rapport à celle qu'il possède dans le cadre viennois. Avec cette recherche se consolide l'hypothèse d'une importance de l'esprit du lieu dans l'architecture de la période austro-hongroise à Sarajevo et en Bosnie-Herzégovine.

Cette thèse a contribué à l'étude et à la promotion du patrimoine historico-culturel de Bosnie-Herzégovine, en le replaçant dans un contexte plus large et en réunissant dans un seul travail toutes les valeurs et les spécificités des différentes périodes

historiques durant lesquelles s'est développée la Bosnie-Herzégovine. Grâce à une approche globale, cette recherche a posé les fondements d'un travail futur à l'échelle internationale, sans avoir la prétention de fournir des réponses à toutes les questions posées, mais avec la volonté de mettre en exergue ces questions, ainsi que certains cas individuels de valeur remarquable pour la culture et le patrimoine mondiaux. Dans cette thèse, la valeur universelle du patrimoine présenté est renforcée par une approche identique dans une recherche portant sur plusieurs et différentes périodes historiques. L'apport scientifique de cette thèse se concrétise à travers la contextualisation de la période austro-hongroise en Bosnie-Herzégovine par la cartographie, la comparaison et la mise en valeur de cas particuliers de réalisations architecturales, ainsi qu'à travers l'analyse de l'esprit et de la mémoire du lieu, des propositions urbanistiques aux détails de la décoration plastique et polychrome. Dans cette thèse est établi pour la première fois le lien direct entre les édifices construits à Vienne et ceux construits à Sarajevo, et leurs relations sont examinées dans les contextes du centre et de la périphérie, du modèle et de la réplique, des faiblesses et des forces de l'esprit du lieu.

vi. BIOGRAPHY

Boris Trapara was born and raised in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina where he completed primary, secondary and higher education. He graduated and received his master's degree at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo. During his studies, he took part in international innovator competitions in the field of technical creativity, where he won 9 gold, silver and bronze medals in less than a year in: Banja Luka, Moscow, Geneva, Paris, Budapest, Seoul and Zagreb. Thanks to his technical innovation from 2006, Bosnia and Herzegovina has achieved the biggest success in the field of innovation in the last 20 years at the international level. On the occasion of this success, the Association of Innovators in Bosnia and Herzegovina awarded him with a special recognition and received in their membership as the youngest innovator of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Boris Trapara was an Austrian government scholar of research program in the field of history of architecture at Institute for art history, University of Vienna in Vienna, Austria, and a French government scholar of doctoral studies in the history of architecture at INALCO Institute, Sorbonne Paris Cité University in Paris, France.

After graduation, Boris Trapara volunteered in the Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina, he was an intern in the foundation "CHwB" (Cultural Heritage Without Borders) and worked as senior teaching assistant on the subject History of Architecture and Art at the Department of Architecture of the International "Burch" University. He was engaged in several small national and international projects dealing with the protection and promotion of cultural and historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina, primarily through the work of "CHwB", first as an intern, and later until today, as an external associate. He organized and led 10 study visits to the national monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina for more than 200 foreign students of architecture and art history from Sweden, Austria, France and USA.

Beside the heritage, which is his preoccupation and passion, Boris Trapara is actively working as an architect. He has published more than 50 professional and scientific papers in national and international publications; magazines, books and online portals on the topics of heritage protection, history of architecture and tourism. He visited all European countries and a large number of monuments from the UNESCO World Heritage List, which were the main goal of his travels. As an invited guest lecturer, he presented the cultural heritage of B&H at the faculties of architecture in Stockholm, Uppsala, Gotland, Riga, Vienna and Paris. Boris Trapara is an individual member of NC ICOMOS in B&H, an active member of the Association of Architects in B&H, and organizer and host of the first Seminar on cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina at INALCO Institute, Sorbonne Paris Cité University.

vii. Acknowledgments

This research work is about the valuable cultural and historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina; about architectural monuments, historical and political circumstances, the contact of the East and the West, the relationship between the centre and the periphery, the spirit of the place and the people who are the beginning, the centre and the end of these processes, events, opportunities, reasons, motives and creative shaping of space that surrounds us. Without a large number of people, this huge work would not be possible. Each of them with a unique way of doing it, within its possibilities and opportunities, directly or indirectly supported my research process resulting in a doctoral dissertation. And that's why I'm grateful to all of them.

I would like to thank Campus France for the opportunity to study, live and enjoy Paris, because they financially and logistically supported my doctoral study, and have been given me a three-years long experience that has personally and professionally changed me for the better. Special thanks to Željka Divković from the Sarajevo office of Campus France, to Catherine Palpant from French Embassy in Sarajevo, as well as to Fatiha Berkane, Solène Rabiers Du Villars and Vesselina Grozdeva from the Paris office of Campus France. Thanks to their support, the administrative part of the scholarship was much easier. I will always be grateful to France on the opportunity to be the best version of myself, to visit the best French museums and galleries, to study and research in the best libraries in Paris, to be part of one of the best educational systems in the world, to enjoy all the benefits of student life, to get to know and explore the country whose architecture I have always admired, and I am particularly grateful for the equal and excellent conditions for studying and for scholarship. Thank you!

Thanks to Université Sorbonne Paris Cité, Inalco - Institute of national languages and civilizations orientales, L'École doctorale n°265, and in particular thanks to Manuelle Franck, Stéphane Sawas, Etienne Boisserie, Catherine Gery, Barbora Chavel, Cécile Corniquel, Sara Sanches, Stéphane Londero and Pierre Jobard, who made it easier for me to study and provided great and necessary support, especially during the organization of two seminars on Bosnia and Herzegovina heritage in Paris.

I would like to thank my mentor Taline Ter Minassian and co-mentor Maja Popovac for supporting me in formulating my research the way I want and I think that should be, on useful guidelines during research work, useful tips and suggestions when writing this thesis, for including me in academic circles, for providing friendly support and for motivating me to work more, better and smarter. Thank you for all the constructive discussions, meetings and useful ideas and suggestions that helped in making this work as good as possible. Thank you, Taline Ter Minassian, because you always found time for the infinite French administration related to my doctorate. Thank you, Maja Popovac, for being a strong supportive friend in addition to the academic support. Thank you!

I would like to thank to OeAD (*Österreichische Austauschdienst - Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in Education and Research*) for the opportunity to spend two months in Vienna and explore for my doctorate and to travel and get to know the cultural-historical heritage of the whole of Austria. Thanks to Teresa Karamat, Karin Kietreiber and Katharine Tuschl for the administrative support during my stay in Vienna. Thanks to Maximilian Hartmuth, who was my mentor at the Institute for the History of Art at the University of Vienna and who supported my research project which is part of my doctoral thesis. Thanks to Caroline Jäger-Klein and Julia Ruediger who I met at the Institute and with whom I later worked in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the project *Islamic Architecture and Orientalizing Style and Habsburg Bosnia, 1878-1918*. These two months spent in Vienna were of particular importance to the key part of my doctoral research and I will always be grateful to Austria for the giving me this opportunity and for the hospitality.

Thanks to Minister Mirko Šarović, Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations from the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who financially supported my travel expenses between Sarajevo and Paris in the first year of study.

Thanks to Sabira Husedžinović, my lifelong teacher, endless inspiration, the best connoisseur of the universal values of the cultural and historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thanks to her for everything she taught me about heritage, and because she passed her passion and love for heritage to me. Our conversations about heritage, architecture and life will always be part of me that I brought from Aleja Lipa 3 from Sarajevo, and which are among the most beautiful memories I have gained. Thank you my dear professor!

Thanks to Nedžad Kurto, Ibrahim Krzović, Ognjenka Finci, Aida Idrizbegović Zgonić, Vesna Hercegovac-Pašić, Nasiha Pozder, Mirsad Hadžirović, Olga Bojanić, Nermina Zagora, Elša Turkušić, Senka Ibrišimbegović and Lana Kudumović on sharing their knowledge unselfishly and for a huge support during bachelor and master studies at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo. The mentioned professors and teaching assistants laid the foundations of my professional development in different areas of architecture, and they recognized and encouraged the development of my talent for architecture and sensitivity to the cultural and historical heritage.

Thanks to the Student affairs office and my colleagues and professors at the International Burch University: Emina Zejnilović, Erna Husukić, Adnan Novalić, Ahmed El Sayed, Lejla Odobašić Novo, Dina Šamić and Omar Kapetanović on endless support, understanding and unselfish knowledge sharing.

Thanks to the International Burch University who enrolled me at doctoral studies free of charge, and especially thanks to Emina Zejnilović, who persist in the right values to the end.

Thanks to colleagues and friends from Uppsala University and Campus Gotland: Susanna Carlsten, Jakob Lindblad, Maria Brunskog and Petra Eriksson, thanks to

whom I had the opportunity to get to know the cultural-historical heritage of Sweden, visit Sweden on several occasions and co-operate on the organization of study visits for students from Sweden to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thanks for collegiality and friendship.

Many thanks to CHwB (Cultural Heritage without Borders), who repeatedly hired me during the doctoral study on various projects promoting the cultural-historical heritage and which has always been my professional and private support. Thanks to colleagues and friends Adisa Džino Šuta, Aida Vežić, Aida Mia Alić, Arijana Pašić Mandić, Aida Salketić, Vanja Vuković, Amela Adžamija, Tatjana Mijatović, Halid Lepad, Jasmina Ferhatović, and to my dear German boy Lucian Hanschke and my dear Italian boy Antono Carfi. Thank you for being my second family, for giving me the opportunity to work with you and for all the wonderful things that we shared together while we were trying to raise awareness of the importance of the cultural-historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thank you for the laughter, joy and love that we shared and thank you for all the wonderful moments of happiness in front of more than 500 cultural and historical monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina that I had the opportunity to see, explore and fell in love with all my heart thanks to CHwB. Thank you!

Museums, libraries, archives, galleries and other cultural institutions and individuals from some institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Austria, France and Sweden have contributed to this research. I particularly thank the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Tatjana Mijatović), the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Nataša Trapara), the Austrian State Archives, the Gazi Husrev-Bey Mosque (Abid Mujkić), the Gazi Husrev-Bey Library, the Bosniak Institute in Sarajevo, the Old Church in Baščaršija (Dalibor Kaljević), the Orthodox Cathedral in Sarajevo (Rajka Simanić), the Museum of Sarajevo, the Military Museum in Vienna, the Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Amra Hadžimuhamedović, Aleksandra Bunčić, Nermina Katkić, Aida Bucalović), NC ICOMOS in BH (Vjekoslava Sanković Simčić, Elša Turkušić, Aida Murtić, Haris Dervišević), the Association of Architects of BH (Ana Bosankić, Vedad Islambegović, Dario Kristić), the Research Center for Spatial Planning (Igor Kuvač, Isidora Karan), the University of Sarajevo, the Sorbonne Paris Cité University, the University of Vienna, the Uppsala University, the Džemal Bijedić University of Mostar and others.

Thanks to Boro and Tatjana Sladoje, Goran Lalović and Samir Hanna Fahmy, who through our projects directly financially supported my studies in Sarajevo, Paris, and Vienna.

Thanks to my cousin Zdravko Grgić, who has thoroughly analyzed the political and historical part of this research work and gave his constructive suggestions that made this thesis better. Thanks to my dear friend Arlene Sheskin from the United States of America who have reviewed and edited this work. Thanks to my friend and colleague from INALCO, Robin Cognée who translated summary of this work into French.

I thank students from Austria, Sweden, Czech Republic and Italy with whom I had a few opportunities to explore and research the cultural-historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and thanks to which I have seen the heritage with other eyes. Thanks to my friends in Paris: Brent, Lohan and Léna thanks to whom I met Paris better.

Thanks to all my friends from the Balkans; from our dear countries of Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

And especially thanks to my friends and loved ones who have always been enormous support and full of understanding during the time I devoted to this doctoral research, and I often took from them. Thanks to Ana, Alma, Aleksandra, Alen, Aljoša, Andrea, Danilo, Erol, Kenan, Linda, Lejla, Meldin, Mirjana, Nina, Omar, Sara and Tatjana. Thanks for the memories we created and we still create in Sarajevo and Paris.

Thanks to my family.

Thanks to Ljiljana, Jelena, Dijana, Irena, Tanja and the children.

Thanks to my dear grandparents Višnja, Lazar, Ravijojla and Milorad on the warmth of sincere love that you have unconditionally provided me with. I know I was always your favorite grandson.

Thanks to my parents Brankica and Tihomir, brother Stefan, sister Vesna and her husband Ilija and their beautiful daughters Lara and Lorena, who gave a new meaning to our world.

Translation: Zahvalnice

Ovo je rad o vrijednom kulturno-istorijskom naslijeđu Bosne i Hercegovine; o arhitektonskim spomenicima, o istorijskim i političkim prilikama, o kontaktu Istoka i Zapada, o odnosu centra i periferije, o duhu mjesta i ljudima koji su početak, centar i kraj ovih procesa, dešavanja, prilika, razloga, motiva i kreativnog oblikovanja prostora koji nas okružuje. Bez velikog broja ljudi ni ovaj veliki rad ne bi bio moguć. Svako od njih je na sebi svojstven način, u okviru svojih mogućnosti i prilika direktno ili indirektno podržao moj istraživački proces koji je rezultovao doktorskom disertacijom. I zato sam zahvalan svima njima.

Želim se zahvaliti *Campus France* na prilici da studiram, živim i uživam u Parizu, na tome što su finansijski i logistički podržali moj doktorski studij i što su mi omogućili trogodišnje iskustvo koje me je lično i profesionalno promjenilo na bolje. Posebno hvala Željki Divković iz sarajevske kancelarije *Campus France*, Catherine Palpant iz Francuske ambasade u Sarajevu, kao i Fatiha Berkane, Solène Rabiers Du Villars i Vesselina Grozdeva iz pariške kancelarije *Campus France*. Zahvaljujući njihovoj podršci administrativni dio stipendije je bio značajno olakšan. Uvijek ću biti zahvalan Francuskoj na pruženoj prilici da budem najbolja verzija sebe, da posjetim najbolje francuske muzeje i galerije, da učim i istražujem u najboljim pariškim bibliotekama, da budem dio jednog od najboljih obrazovnih sistema na svijetu, da uživam sve blagodeti studentskog života, da upoznam i istražim zemlju čijoj arhitekturi sam se uvijek divio, a posebno sam zahvalan na ravnopravnim i odličnim uslovima studiranja i stipendiranja. Hvala!

Hvala *Université Sorbonne Paris Cité*, *Inalco - Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales*, *L'École doctorale n°265*, a posebno hvala Manuelle Franck, Stéphane Sawas, Etienne Boiserie, Catherine Gery, Barbora Chavel, Cécile Corniquel, Sara Sanches, Stephane Londero i Pierre Jobard što su mi olakšali studiranje i pružili veliku i neophodnu podršku, posebno tokom organizacije dva seminara o bosanskohercegovačkoj baštini u Parizu.

Želim se zahvaliti svom mentoru Taline Ter Minassian i ko-mentor Maji Popovac na podršci da formulišem svoje istraživanje onako kako želim i mislim da treba, na korisnim smjernicama tokom rada na istraživanju, na korisnim savjetima i sugestijama prilikom pisanja ove teze, na tome što su me uključivale u akademske krugove, što su pružile prijateljsku podršku i što su me motivisale da radim više, bolje i pametnije. Hvala na svim konstruktivnim razgovorima, sastancima i korisnim idejama i prijedlozima koji su pomogli da ovaj rad bude što bolji. Hvala Taline Ter Minassian što je uvijek našla vremena za beskrajnu francusku administraciju vezanu za moj doktorat. Hvala Maji Popovac što mi je pored akademskog bila snažan prijateljski oslonac. Hvala!

Želim da se zahvalim OeAD (*Österreichische Austauschdienst - Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in Education and Research*) na prilici da dva mjeseca provedem u Beču i istražujem za potrebe svog dokorskog rada i putujem i

upoznajem kulturno-istorijsko naslijeđe čitave Austrije. Hvala Teresa Karamat, Karin Kietreiber i Katharina Tuschl na administrativnoj podršci tokom mog boravka u Beču. Hvala Maximilian Hartmuth koji je bio moj mentor na Institutu za istoriju umjetnosti univerziteta u Beču i koji je podržao moj istraživački projekat koji je dio ovog doktorskog rada. Hvala Caroline Jäger-Klein i Julia Ruediger koje sam upoznao na institutu i sa kojima sam kasnije radio u Bosni i Hercegovini na projektu *Islamic Architecture and Orientalizing Style in Habsburg Bosnia, 1878-1918*. Ova dva mjeseca provedena u Beču bila su od posebnog značaja za ključni dio mog doktorskog istraživanja i biću uvijek zahvalan Austriji na pruženoj prilici i pruženom gostoprimstvu.

Hvala ministru Mirku Šaroviću, Ministarstva vanjske trgovine i ekonomskih odnosa iz Vijeća ministara Bosne i Hercegovine, koji je finansijski podržao moje putne troškove između Sarajeva i Pariza u prvoj godini studija.

Hvala Sabiri Husedžinović, mom cjeloživotnom učitelju, beskrajnoj inspiraciji, najboljem poznavaoocu univerzalnih vrijednosti kulturno-istorijskog naslijeđa u Bosni i Hercegovini. Hvala joj za sve što me je naučila o baštini i što je svoju strast i ljubav prema baštini prenijela i na mene. Naši razgovori o baštini, o arhitekturi i o životu će uvijek biti dio mene koji sam ponio iz Aleje lipa br. 3 u Sarajevu, i koji su među najljepšim uspomenama koje sam stekao. Hvala Vam, draga profesrice!

Hvala Nedžadu Kurti, Ibrahimu Krzoviću, Ognjenki Finci, Aidi Idrizbegović Zgonić, Vesni Hercegovac-Pašić, Nasihi Pozder, Mirsadu Hadžiroviću, Olgi Bojanić, Nermini Zagori, Elši Turkušić, Senki Ibrišimbegović i Lani Kudumović na nesebičnom prenošenju znanja i ogromnoj podršci tokom studiranja bečelor i master studija na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Pomenuti profesori i asistenti su, svaki u svojoj oblasti, postavili temelje mog profesionalnog razvoja i prepoznali i podsticali razvoj mog talenta za arhitekturu i senzibilitet prema kulturno-istorijskom naslijeđu.

Hvala studentskoj službi i mojim kolegama i profesorima na *International Burch University*. Emini Zejnilović, Erni Husukić, Adnanu Novaliću, Ahmedu El Sayedu, Lejli Odobašić Novo, Dini Šamić i Omaru Kapetanoviću na beskrajnoj podršci, razumijevanju i nesebičnom dijeljenju znanja.

Hvala *International Burch University* koji me je bez novčane naknade upisao na doktorski studij, a posebno hvala Emini Zejnilović koja je do kraja istrajala u pravim vrijednostima.

Hvala kolegama i prijateljima sa *Uppsala universitet* i *Campus Gotland*: Susanna Carlsten, Jakob Lindblad, Maria Brunskog i Petra Eriksson zahvaljujući kojima sam imao priliku upoznati kulturno-istorijsko naslijeđe Švedske, boraviti u Švedskoj u više navrata i sarađivati na organizaciji studijskih posjeta studenata iz Švedske Bosni i Hercegovini. Hvala za kolegijalnost i prijateljstvo.

Veliko hvala CHwB-u (Kulturno naslijeđe bez granica) koji me je više puta tokom doktorskog studija angažovao na različitim projektima promocije kulturno-istorijskog naslijeđa i koji je uvijek bio moja profesionalna i privatna podrška. Hvala kolegama i prijateljima Adisi Džino Šuta, Aidi Vežić, Aidi Mii Alić, Arijani Pašić Mandić, Aidi Salketić, Vanji Vuković, Ameli Adžamiji, Tatjani Mijatović, Halidu Lepanu, mom dragom njemačkom dječaku Lucian Hanschke i mom dragom italijanskom dječaku Antonio Carfi. Hvala vam što ste mi druga porodica, što ste mi pružili priliku da radim sa vama i na svim predivnim stvarima koje smo dijelili mimo posla dok smo zaneseno pokušavali da podignemo svijest o važnosti kulturno-istorijskog naslijeđa u Bosni i Hercegovini. Hvala vam za smijeh, radost i ljubav koje smo dijelili i hvala za sve predivne trenutke sreće ispred više od 500 kulturno-istorijskih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine koje sam imao priliku vidjeti, istražiti i svim srcem zavoliti zahvaljujući CHwB-u. Hvala!

Doprinos ovom istraživanju dali su muzeji, biblioteke, arhivi, galerije i druge kulturne institucije i pojedinci iz tih institucija u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj, Srbiji, Austriji, Francuskoj i Švedskoj. Posebno se zahvaljujem Zemaljskom muzeju Bosne i Hercegovine (Tatjana Mijatović), Arhivu Bosne i Hercegovine (Nataša Trapara), Austrijskom državnom arhivu, Gazi Husrev-begovoj džamiji (Abid Mujkić), Gazi Husrev-begovoj biblioteci, Bošnjačkom institutu u Sarajevu, Staroj crkvi na Baščaršiji (Dalibor Kaljević), Sabornoj crkvi u Sarajevu (Rajka Simanić), Muzeju Sarajevo, Vojnom muzeju u Beču, Komisiji za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine (Amra Hadžimuhamedović, Aleksandra Bunčić, Nermina Katkić, Aida Bucalović), NK ICOMOS u BiH (Vjekoslava Sanković Simčić, Elša Turkušić, Aida Murtić, Haris Dervišević), Asocijaciji arhitekata BiH (Ana Bosankić, Vedad Islambegović, Dario Kristić), Istraživačkom centru za prostor (Igor Kuvač, Isidora Karan), Univerzitetu u Sarajevu, Sorbonne Paris Cité univerzitetu, Bečkom univerzitetu, Upsala univerzitetu, Džemal Bijedić Univerzitetu u Mostaru i dr.

Hvala Boru i Tatjani Sladoje, Goranu Laloviću i Samiru Hanna Fahmyu koji su kroz zajedničke projekte finansijski direktno olakšali moje studiranje na relaciji Sarajevo – Pariz – Beč.

Hvala mom rođaku Zdravku Grgiću koji je detaljno iščitao političko-istorijski dio ovog istraživačkog rada i dao svoje konstruktivne sugestije koje su ovu tezu učinile boljom. Hvala mojoj dragoj prijateljici Arlene Sheskin iz Sjedinjenih američkih država koja je pregledale i lektorisale ovaj rad. Hvala mom prijatelju i kolegi sa INALCO-a, Robin Cogné koji je preveo sažetak ovog rada na francuski.

Hvala studentima iz Austrije, Švedske, Češke i Italije sa kojim sam imao više prilika za druženje i istraživanje kulturno-istorijskog naslijeđa u Bosni i Hercegovini i zahvaljujući kojima sam vidio baštinu drugim očima. Hvala mojim pariškim prijateljima: Brentu, Lohanu i Léni zahvaljujući kojima sam bolje upoznao Pariz.

Hvala svim mojim prijateljima sa Balkana; iz naših dragih zemalja Slovenije, Hrvatske, Srbije, Kosova, Makedonije, Crne Gore i Bosne i Hercegovine.

I posebno hvala mojim prijateljima i voljenima koji su mi uvijek bili ogromna podrška i puni razumijevanja za vrijeme koje sam posvetio ovom doktorskom istraživanju, a često uzimao od njih. Hvala Ani, Almi, Aleksandri, Alenu, Aljoši, Andrei, Danilu, Erolu, Kenanu, Lindi, Lejli, Meldinu, Mirjani, Nini, Omaru, Sari i Tatjani. Hvala za uspomene koje smo stvarali i koje stvaramo u Sarajevu i Parizu.

Hvala mojoj porodici.

Hvala Ljiljani, Jeleni, Dijani, Ireni, Tanji i djeci.

Hvala dragim dedama i bakama Višnji, Lazaru, Ravijolji i Miloradu na toploti iskrene ljubavi koju su mi bezuslovno pružali. Znam da sam uvijek bio vaš najdraži unuk.

Hvala roditeljima Brankici i Tihomiru, bratu Stefanu, sestri Vesni i zetu Iliji i njihovim predivnim kćerkama Lari i Loreni koje su dale novi smisao našem svijetu.

Résumé

La thèse doctorale « De Vienne à Sarajevo, modèles et répliques; architecture de la période austro-hongroise » offre un aperçu chronologique et historique du développement de l'architecture en Bosnie-Herzégovine, en se focalisant sur la période austro-hongroise à Sarajevo. La monarchie austro-hongroise occupa la Bosnie-Herzégovine à partir de 1878 et opéra alors une transformation complète du pays durant une période de quarante ans. Sarajevo, comme la plupart des autres villes de Bosnie-Herzégovine, initialement orientale, s'est muée en ville occidentale, sous l'influence des centres de la monarchie. Les édifices construits sur la Ringstrasse de Vienne ont fait office de modèles pour les répliques bâties à Sarajevo. Les circonstances politiques spécifiques de la Bosnie-Herzégovine durant la période austro-hongroise furent influencées par la relation entre le centre et la périphérie. La thèse doctorale compare et met en valeur des exemples concrets d'édifices construits dans les néo-styles et style sécession à Vienne et Sarajevo, dans les contextes de l'identité, du Genius Loci, et de la relation entre le centre et la périphérie. Le patrimoine culturel et historique bosnien, en particulier l'héritage architectural de Sarajevo datant de la période austro-hongroise, est également replacé dans un contexte européen plus large. La cartographie et la valorisation d'exemples architecturaux concrets ont mis en évidence de nombreuses similitudes proportionnelles et stylistiques, mais aussi les différences essentielles existant dans la perception des modèles et des répliques dans le cadre du Genius Loci, ce dernier constituant un facteur clé dans la comparaison des exemples sélectionnés.

Mots clés : patrimoine en Bosnie-Herzégovine, héritage architectural, période austro-hongroise, Sarajevo, Vienne, modèles, répliques, comparaison, identité, Genius Loci

Résumé en anglais

Doctoral dissertation *From Vienna to Sarajevo, role models and replicas in the architecture of Austro-Hungarian period* brings a chronological and historical overview of the development of the architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina with an emphasis on the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 and made a full transformation of the country during a period of 40 years. Sarajevo, like most other Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns, has been transformed from the Oriental to a Western European city under the influence of the centers of Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The buildings built on the Vienna's Ringstrasse served as role models for the replicas built in Sarajevo. The specific political circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Austro-Hungarian period were influenced by the relationship between the center and the periphery. The doctoral dissertation compares and valorizes concrete examples of buildings built in Neo-styles and Secession in Vienna and Sarajevo in the context of identity, Genius loci and the relationship between the center and the periphery. In this way, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian cultural and historical heritage, primarily the architectural heritage of Sarajevo from the Austro-Hungarian period, is placed in a wider European context. Mapping and valorization of concrete examples of architecture showed numerous proportional and stylistic similarities, but also the essential differences in the perception of patterns and replicas in the context of Genius loci, which is shown as a key factor in the comparison of the selected examples.

Keywords: heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina, architectural heritage, Austro-Hungarian period, Sarajevo, Vienna, role models, replicas, comparison, identity, Genius loci