

# SAVREMENE PERCEPCIJE KULTURNOG NASLIJEĐA AUSTRO-UGARSKE U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

CONTEMPORARY PERCEPTION OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN  
CULTURAL HERITAGE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



Nacionalni komitet ICOMOS u Bosni i Hercegovini  
Национални комитет ИЦОМОС у Босни и Херцеговини  
ICOMOS National Committee in Bosnia and Herzegovina







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## MIT O SRETNOME DOBU

Značenja i sadržaji što su u bosanskoj historiji i u pamćenju Bosanaca i Hercegovaca nataloženi pod pojmom „Austrije“ tako su kompleksni, da ih je nemoguće obuhvatiti i definirati jednoznačnim političkim pristupom. Svakom takvom pokušaju uvijek se otima ogromni svijet činjenica duhovne i materijalne kulture, nove dinamike i civilizacijskih procesa koji su pokrenuti u austrougarskoj epohi. Njihovo detaljno nabranjanje, opisivanje i vrednovanje morala bi uraditi jedna akribična i objektivna, do danas nenapisana kulturna i politička povijest Bosne i Hercegovine. Umjesto toga, ovdje je moguće zamisliti se nad jednim paradoksom, koji je svima dobro poznat: u kolektivnom pamćenju Bosanaca (doista, bez obzira na etnokonfesionalne razlike) predodžba o „Austriji“ zadržala se do danas kao mitska slika sretnoga doba. A kolektivno pamćenje jest uvijek dobrim dijelom zasnovano na nostalziji za tzv. boljim vremenima, ali makar ponešto i na realnim činjenicama svakodnevnoga života.

\*

Završetak duge epohe osmanske vladavine u Bosni i Hercegovini obilježen je masovnim ustankom 1875-78. godine. Ustanak je izbio u Hercegovini, brzo se proširio i na Bosansku krajinu i na cijelu Bosnu i Hercegovinu, uzgibao i politički angažirao cijelu južnoslavensku javnost, bio signal za niz ustanaka i pobuna u turskim zonama Balkana, uvukao u rat s Turskom Srbiju i Crnu Goru kao aktivne pomagače ustanka i partnera u planiranoj podjeli Bosne i Hercegovine, zatim i Rusiju, koja odnosi ratnu pobjedu i Sanstefanskim mirom (1878) kroji političku mapu Balkana po svojim interesima, oprečnim interesima ostalih velikih sila. Iste godine, na Berlinskom kongresu, one revidiraju odredbe Sanstefanskog mira i prekrajaju Balkan po novom rasporedu, u kojem se Austro-Ugarskoj odobrava okupacija Bosne i Hercegovine, u ime civilizatorske misije.

Austro-Ugarska imala je specijalnih, upravo vitalnih razloga da se učvrsti u Bosni. Ona joj je pružala značajne privredne i tržišne mogućnosti. Držeći ovu južnoslavensku zemlju, ona je uspostavljala efikasnu protutež utjecaju Rusije na Balkanu, mogla mnogo djelotvornije nadzirati Srbiju, a istovremeno primicala se ostvarenju krupnog plana, prodoru

na Istok. Konačno, direktnom prisutnošću u Bosni, Austro-Ugarska je tražila lijeka svojoj velikoj političkoj fobiji, opasnosti od nastajanja jedne veće južnoslavenske državno-političke strukture koja bi ugrozila u krajnjoj liniji njezin politički *raison d'être*. Ovi razlozi i interesi determinirali su austrougarsku politiku u Bosni, u cjelini i u detaljima. Novoj upravi nije bilo teško u konzerviranoj feudalnoj, svestrano zaostaloj Bosni relativno brzo postići efekte napretka i modernizacije u mnogim sferama života, a da to nimalo ne kolidira s njezinim političkim i ekonomskim ciljevima.

Za četrdeset godina provedenih u okviru austrougarske monarhije, prvo kao okupirana provincija, pod formalnim suverenitetom turskoga sultana, a od aneksije 1908. godine u sastavu Monarhije, Bosna i Hercegovina proživiljava, na pragu svoje moderne historije, fazu dubokoga unutrašnjeg preobražaja. Naslijedena opterećenja i suprotnosti izbijaju na vidjelo kao nikad do tada, ali se istovremeno ubrzavaju i pozitivni historijski procesi kao posljedica modernizacije i evropeizacije društva.

Najvidnije promjene nastaju u svakodnevnom životu, osobito gradskom, u koji ulaze evropski, točnije – srednjoevropski, oblici ishrane, odjevanja, stanovanja, ponašanja. Donosici tih novih oblika su brojni činovnici pretežno iz slavenskih austrougarskih zemalja od kojih nova uprava izgrađuje administrativni aparat. Osim činovnika i raznih vrsta stručnjaka, okupacijska vlast naseljava u neka područja Bosne i Hercegovine znatan broj seljaka iz nekih svojih evropskih zemalja. Istovremeno, iseljavanje Bošnjaka-muslimana poprimilo je masovne razmjere.

Socijalno-ekonomska fizionomija Bosne pod Austro-Ugarskom profilira se kao bizaran konglomerat, jedinstven u tadašnjoj Evropi. Uz drevne begovske-kmetske feudalne, zaostale agrarne odnose, u koje austrougarska uprava ne dira, iako joj je rješavanje agrarnoga pitanja bila jedna od najglasnijih pobuda za okupaciju, razvijaju se počeci moderne industrije, na prvom mjestu drvne, pa rudarske i metalurške, što je praćeno izgradnjom putova i željezničkih pruga. Neminovna konzervacija ovih poduhvata bila je diversifikacija socijalne slike društva, u kojoj se prvi put pojavljuje sloj industrijskoga radništva.

Položaj seljaštva ostao je najakutnije socijalno pitanje. O tome govori i statistika: 1910. godine u Bosni je odnos seoskoga i gradskog stanovništva 1,606.862 naspram 264.754. Vlast je doduše proglašila postupno dobrovoljno otkupljivanje kmetova, ali uz visoke novčane naknade koje je kmet morao platiti za zemlju i za otkup, i uz još nepovol-

jniji interes u bankama koje su davale zajmove, tako da je ta uredba samo otežavala položaj seljaka. Ovim sistemom likvidacija kmetstva u Bosni – izračunao je jedan bečki stručnjak – uslijedila bi tek 2025. godine.

Krupna novina koju austrougarska uprava unosi u Bosnu i Hercegovinu je organizirano zdravstvo i prvi oblici masovne zdravstvene zaštite stanovništva, koje je uslijed opće zaostalosti i zapuštenosti izloženo raznovrsnim endemskim bolestima (sifilis, tifus, osteomalacija), epidemijama, zarazama... Ustanove koje se tada stvaraju, i liječnici koje vlada dovodi da u njima rade, veliko su i važno poglavje moderne povijesti Bosne i Hercegovine, koje do danas nije sistematski istraženo i napisano, jer je, kao i mnogi drugi aspekti socijalne historije i historije svakodnevnoga života, ostalo u sjeni političko-ideološke historiografije kojoj se kod nas robuje kroz cijelo XX stoljeće do danas.

Nova okupacijska vlast od početka je veliku pažnju posvećivala vjerskim zajednicama, nastojeći ih vezati uz carsku vlast i volju. Rezultati ubrzo bivaju vidljivi, a Bosna i Hercegovina dobiva ustrojene sve tri najveće vjerske zajednice, čije su uprave mnogim organizacijskim i statusnim nitima, pa tako i prilično obilnim financijskim primanjima, vezane uz vladu i cara. Rezultat intenzivnih pregovora austrougarske diplomacije s Ekumenskim patrijarhatom u Carigradu bila je Konvencija iz 1880., kojom je Beč dobio mnogo veće mogućnosti da utječe na položaj i ustrojstvo Srpske pravoslavne crkve u Bosni i Hercegovini. Smijenjen je fanariotski (grčki) sarajevski mitropolit Antim i 1881. postavljen domaći čovjek, Savo Kosanović. Redovita hijerarhija Katoličke crkve uvedena je 1881. i postavljen vrhbosanski nadbiskup Josip Stadler, a 1882. Vrhovnom odlukom cara Franje Josipa uspostavljen je medžlis-ul-ulema (kasniji Rijaset Islamske zajednice) i prvi reis-ul-ulema Hilmi ef. Omerović.

Proživljavajući svaku svoju historijsku dramu, narodi Bosne i Hercegovine – s golemim negativnim iskustvom, još uvijek na niskom stupnju nacionalno-političke zrelosti – našli su se ponovo okupirani, ponovo ne-svoji. Eksperti za ove situacije, austrougarski političari od početka sasvim precizno znaju glavni uvjet stabilnosti pozicija Monarhije u ovakvoj zemlji: ne dopustiti nacionalno i političko zrenje. Tim nastojanjima su bitno obilježeni svi postupci kojima je nova uprava u pojedinim fazama rješavala nacionalno pitanje u Bosni. Najviši izraz te politike, i u njenim okvirima najosmišljeniji, bila je formula nacionalnoga bosanstva Benjamina Kallaya, koji je dvadesetak godina (1882-1902) upravljao Bosnom. Za vlast koju je predstavljao ona je bila savršena. Kao specifičnu razliku ostavljala je samo vjere i vjerske institucije, ali dovoljne da i dalje djeluju kao faktor međusobnoga razilaženja i izolacije,

a odsjecalo je Bosnu od integracijskih političkih procesa na širem južnoslavenskom prostoru. U prvo vrijeme Kallayjeva formula doista je uspjela naći pristalice. No, taj ambiciozni politički planer ipak je bio previdio jednu stvar dovoljno krupnu da njegov pokušaj ostane bez trajnijih izgleda. Opće socijalno-političke i odnosi tokom XIX stoljeća onemogućili su formiranje zajedničkoga političkog identiteta stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini, i pospješili procese zasebnih etnonacionalnih samoidentifikacija. Ti su procesi, dakle, započeli već prije ulaska Austro-Ugarske, i nije ih bilo moguće zaustaviti ni vratiti natrag.

Historijski utemeljena u teritorijalnom, političkom i vjerskom jedinstvu, koje se izražavalo u instituciji i politici Srpske pravoslavne crkve, kod bosanskih Srba nacionalna ideja je u osobitom porastu od srpskoga ustanka početkom stoljeća. Učvršćivana je sistematskom propagandnom djelatnošću srpske vlade preko njezinih povjerenika, nakon što je političkim programom Načertanje Ilike Garašanina polovicom stoljeća utvrđena dugoročna državnonacionalna strategija. U toj aktivnosti na svoj način sudjelovali su i agenti ruske vlade, htijući na svaki način uvećati dio pravoslavnoga elementa u strukturi Bosne i Hercegovine, jer je to bio jedan od važnih kriterija pri međunarodnom utvrđivanju prava na protektorat. Kroz zbivanja u bosanskohercegovačkom ustanku 1875-78. godine taj se motiv svijesti i težnje za svenacionalnim integritetom u Srbu još više učvrstio. U austrougarskom razdoblju to je došlo do izražaja u pokretu za vjersko-prosvjetnu autonomiju 1893-1903. godine. Temeljio se na tradiciji iz otomanskoga milet-sistema, u kojem su crkvene vlasti i politički zastupale svoj narod. Srpske crkveno-školske opštine težile su da u novim uvjetima te ovlasti zadrže i razvijaju u pravcu potpunije političke autonomije. Ugledniji prvaci pokreta bili su Gligorije Jeftanović, Vojislav Šola, Kosta Kujundžić, Vladimir Radović. Pokret je dugo pripreman i dobro organiziran, i imao je dakle vrlo značajne nacionalno-političke implikacije. Okončan je samo s pola uspjeha, što je bio rezultat rafiniranih poteza austrougarske diplomacije i Carigradske patrijaršije, te oportunizma srpskih čaršijskih krugova.

Geneza nacionalne svijesti u bosanskih Hrvata također je započela prije dolaska Austro-Ugarske, iako je tekla zaobilaznije i isprekidanije. Na putu toj novoj ideologiji stajala je ukorijenjena tradicija i memorija franjevaca i katolika kao autohtonog i drevnog bosanskog naroda, a s druge strane dugo su se zadržali i refleksi ilirizma. Karakterističan je u tom pogledu primjer fra Grge Martića, koji je u svojem dugom životu prošao sve faze – od tradicionalnog franjevačkog bosanstva, preko ilirizma, do hrvatstva. Međutim, u vrijeme kada se početkom XX stoljeća na bosanskoj političkoj sceni nepomirljivo bore jedna protiv druge dvije političke stranke, klerikalna Hrvatska katolička udruga bisk-

upa vrhbosanskoga Josipa Stadlera i liberalna Hrvatska narodna zajednica, potpuno je jasno da je hrvatski nacionalni identitet politički gotova stvar.

Kada je po odluci za zelenim stolom Berlinskoga kongresa Turska morala Austro-Ugarskoj prepustiti Bosnu, to je za bosanske muslimane označilo početak jedne nove povijesne epohe, pune dramatskih iskušenja. Stoljećima je za njih praktično bio izjednačen osjećaj pripadnosti Bosni, Osmanskom Carstvu i islamu, tj. konkretnom regionalno-jezičnom identitetu, političkoj državnosti velikoga kozmopolitskog carstva, i univerzalnom religijsko-civilizacijskom sistemu. Sad je, odjednom, dovedena u pitanje sinonimnost tih triju elemenata. Raspala se slika do jučer stabilnoga i harmoničnog svijeta. Kada je, ipak, prošao prvi šok, trebalo je utvrditi svoju poziciju u tom novom svijetu, i s obzirom na vlast i upravu, i s obzirom na već deklarirani nacionalni identitet domaćih Srba i Hrvata i na njihove asimilacijske težnje prema Muslimanima. Ona glavna, immanentna opcija bila je već tada artikulirana. Mehmedbeg Kapetanović Ljubušak piše 1891. godine: „Mnikad nećemo poreći da pripadamo južnoslavenskoj porodici, ali čemo ostati Bošnjaci, kao i naši preci, i ništa drugo.“ Kako i zašto je moralno proći čitavo stoljeće da bosanski Muslimani uzmognu sami sebe nacionalno odrediti tim imenom (1993. godine, usred još jednoga rata) - to je tema za posebnu studiju.

Za razdoblje austrougarske vladavine vezane su korjenite promjene u kulturnom životu Bosne i Hercegovine. U daleko izravnijim dodirima sa zapadnoevropskim duhovnim strujanjima, preko odlazaka na studije u Beč, Peštu i druge univerzitetske gradove Monarhije, preko življeg i svestranijeg cirkuliranja kulturnih tekovina, u uvjetima snaženja novog, građanskog društvenog sloja i sekularizacije kulture - stvaraju se dinamičnije kulturne sredine Sarajeva, Mostara, Banje Luke i domaća svjetovna inteligencija, kakve do tada u Bosni nije bilo. Njena aktivnost u pravilu ima kulturno-politički karakter, sa svim implikacijama kaotičnog političkog života jedne višetradicijske i višenacionalne, okupirane zajednice, do jučer zaostale turske provincije, a sada - austrougarskog kolonijalnog posjeda. Kao pojava koja po definiciji pripada modernitetu i sekularnome društvenom kontekstu, i nastanak bosanskoga multikulturalizma, o kojemu se često sasvim pogrešno govorи kao о „vjekovnoј tradiciji“, bio je moguć tek od vremena Austro-Ugarske. Važno je dodati i to, da je stvaranje multikulturalnoga ambijenta i formi života proces koji je ograničen na gradove; ogromna većina seoskoga svijeta još će zadugo ostati čvrsto uokvirena u folklorno-mitske i religijske okvire i predodžbe, i u stare obrasce trokonfesionalnoga života jednih pored drugih. Nova slika svijeta i moderni senzibilitet, obilježen širim evropskim horizontima, počinju

prodirati osobito posredstvom književnoga rada. Zanimljiv dio kulturnoga mozaika su kulturno-umjetnička društva, osnivana na vjersko-nacionalnim platformama, što austrougarska uprava podržava. Uz ovu aktivnost veže se nastanak, i relativno snažan razvoj, dramskog i muzičkog teatarskog života, do tada u Bosni nepoznatog. Jedna od najvažnijih novina što dolaze s Austro-Ugarskom je uvođenje državnoga, svjetovnog školstva, s modernim nastavnim programima. Turske su vlasti, doduše, u deceniju prije austrougarske okupacije bile počele osnivati državne škole, tzv. ruždije, ali njih je bilo malo, i mali je bio odziv za školovanje u njima.

U prvoj generaciji evropski obrazovanih intelektualaca, iz sva tri naroda, javlja se znatan broj kulturnih radnika, književnika i poligrafa. U velikom broju listova i periodičnih publikacija najznačajnije mjesto po općem utjecaju na kulturni i nacionalno-politički život zauzimaju književni časopisi, kakvi su, na primjer, sarajevski Behar, Nada i Bosanska vila, i mostarska Zora. To je kontekst koji omogućuje i pojavu prvih književnih nastojanja sukladnih onodobnim modernim evropskim kretanjima. Između ostalih, u djelima pisaca i pjesnika: Edhema Mulabdića, Muse Ćazima Ćatića, Safet-bega Bašagića, Alekse Šantića, Petra Kočića, Svetozara Čorovića. Javlja se i Ivo Andrić svojim ranim, formalno smioniim stihom. S Musom Ćazimom Ćatićem (1878-1915), nadarenim pjesnikom moderna senzibiliteta, prevodiocem, boemom i nesretnikom, bošnjačko-muslimanska književnost izlazi u horizonte evropskih poetskih preokupacija i postupaka.

Za književnu i kulturnu klimu u Bosni i Hercegovini na prijelazu iz XIX u XX stoljeće značajan je bio boravak hrvatskog pjesnika Silvija Strahimira Kranjčevića u Sarajevu, odnosno njegov uređivački rad u časopisu Nada. Kranjčević je uspio ostvariti na stranicama časopisa suradnju najvećih južnoslavenskih književnih imena tog vremena, objavljajući s istančanim kriterijima i tekstove iz suvremene evropske literature, te je na taj način znatno pridonio širenju književnih i kulturnih horizonta sredine. Malo je poznato da je kasnije veliki talijanski dramatičar Luigi Pirandello prvi prijevod svoga teksta na neki strani jezik dobio na stranicama Kranjčevićeve Nade.

U ovo razdoblje padaju i počeci modernoga slikarstva u Bosni i Hercegovini. Ovamo dolaze, i putuju Bosnom, mnogi slikari, u potrazi za egzotičnim žanr-motivima, a neki od njih otvaraju i kursove slikarske poduke. Školovana na akademijama u velikim centrima Monarhije, u duhu evropske slikarske tradicije, uskoro se javlja i prva generacija domaćih slikara: Gabrijel Jurkić, Risto Vukanović, Petar Tiješić, Karlo Mijić, Roman Petrović, Đoko Mazalić, Todor Švrakić, Jovan Bijelić, Jelena Ber, Lujza Kuzmić, Špiro Bocarić, Vilko Šeferov, Lazar Drljača, Petar Šain. Godinu dana pred kraj Pr-

vog svjetskog rata održana je u Sarajevu velika, reprezentativna izložba umjetnika iz Bosne i Hercegovine, na kojoj su se mogle vidjeti zastupljene sve relevantne likovne tendencije onoga doba.

Upravo je likovna umjetnost bila ono područje kulturnoga stvaralaštva na kojemu je na prijelazu iz XIX u XX vijek, s laicizacijom i sekularizacijom kulture, prosvjete i javnog života uopće, u Bosni došlo do snažnoga probijanja i neutraliziranja vjersko-etničkih granica. Spomenuti prvi evropski školovani slikari jesu u etničkom smislu Hrvati ili Srbi (ili nešto treće), ali u načinu na koji su slikari, ta je identifikacija irelevantna. Ono što svi oni rade kao umjetnici, kolikogod svaki od njih bio stvaralački individualan, pripada istom, zajedničkom kulturnom obrascu i kontekstu, tvori jedan likovno potpuno homologan svijet, te ih je i moguće i nužno sumjeravati jedne s drugima, unutar istih izražajnih kodova i mjerila vrijednosti. Kada se toj plejadi nešto kasnije (a to, opet, ima svoje sasvim objašnjive kulturno-socijalne razloge) pridruže njihovi zemljaci Muslimani (Rizah Štetić, Muhamed Kulenović, Hakija Kulenović, Omer Mužadžić, usamljeni i neusporedivi Behaudin Selmanović, Ismet Mujezinović itd.), bit će također integralnim dijelom istoga kulturnog i umjetničkoga svijeta.

Jedna od najuočljivijih karakteristika austrougarskoga razdoblja očituje se u graditeljstvu, koje u orijentalnu fizionomiju bosanskohercegovačkih gradova unosi nove oblike evropske arhitekture i urbanizma, stvarajući u zanimljivom susretu dvaju svjetskih slikovite kontraste i neočekivane odnose. Mnoge zgrade za javne funkcije, škole, kolodvorske zgrade, upravljanje objekti, izgrađene su u tzv. „maurskom stilu“, koji je vlast forsirala kao površno i pogrešno shvaćen izraz kontinuiteta orijentalne arhitekture u Bosni. Najreprezentativniji objekt ovoga stila je zgrada Vijećnice u Sarajevu. Osim toga, u graditeljstvu ovoga doba dolaze do izražaja i elementi drugih suvremenih srednjoevropskih stilova – neoromanike, neogotike, neorenesanse, te nešto kasnije i bečke secesije. U Sarajevu i u Bosni grade neki od vrlo nadarenih arhitekata toga vremena. Ćiril Iveković sagradio je, osim Vijećnice, neke poslovne zgrade i Muzej grada Travnika, Karl Panek franjevačku crkvu i samostan sv. Ante na Bistriku, te zgradu uprave željeznica (danasa Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova BiH), a vrijedna ostvarenja u Sarajevu ostvarili su Dionis Sunko (zgrada Napretka), Josip Pospišil, Franjo Blažek i Jan Kotera. Ipak, najizrazitiji autori, arhitekti koji su dali snažan, do danas prepoznatljiv pečat Sarajevu, bili su Karl Pařík i Josip Vančaš. Prvi je izgradio zgradu Univerziteta (i Pravnog fakulteta), Zemaljskoga muzeja i Muzeja grada Sarajeva, a drugi sarajevsku katedralu, zgradu Zemaljske vlade (Predsjedništva BiH), Glavnu poštu i hotel Central. Najvrednija kulturna i znanstvena tekovina koju je austrougarska vlast ostavila u Bos-

ni svakako je Zemaljski muzej u Sarajevu, i znanstvena djelatnost koja se u okviru ove ustanove razvijala kroz istraživanja i znanstvenu periodiku, omogućujući istovremeno i početak formiranja domaćega znanstvenog kadra. Na osnovi intenzivnoga rada osobito u oblasti arheologije, etnografije i prirodoslovnih disciplina, Zemaljski muzej se već u prvim decenijama nakon osnutka afirmirao kao znanstvena i muzejska ustanova značajna u evropskim relacijama. Zemaljski muzej i generacije njegovih naučnih radnika dali su osobito velik doprinos rasvjetljavanju i muzejskom prezentiranju kulturne historije Bosne i Hercegovine. To se prvenstveno odnosi na prethistorijsku, antičku i srednjovjekovnu problematiku, u čemu su istraživanja obavljena u okviru projekata Muzeja bila temelj za spoznaje i sinteze od značaja za cijeli južnoslavenski i balkanski prostor.

\*

Objavljinjem rata Srbiji 28. srpnja 1914. godine, Austro-Ugarska je započela ratnu konflagraciju koja će narasti do svjetskih razmjera. Stjecajem okolnosti, početak ove međunarodne katastrofe, najveće u dotadašnjoj povijesti, ostao je u historiografiji i u općim predodžbama vezan za Bosnu, odnosno za Sarajevo i Principov atentat, u kojemu su smrtno stradali nadvojvoda Franjo Ferdinand i njegova žena Sofija.

U jesen 1918. godine Austro-Ugarske više nema – raspala se pod težinom anakronizma vlastite državnopolitičke strukture. Sile pobjednice prišle su demontaži umornoga srednjoevropskoga kozmopolitskog carstva, svaka sa svojim interesima, ali bez osobito dalekovidne političke inspiracije. Tako se, ne temelju Versajskoga ugovora, stvaraju od bivših austrougarskih zemalja nove države, sa starim društvenim odnosima. Pokazat će se da je Bosna i Hercegovina, sve do najnovijih krvavih zbivanja na kraju Dvadesetoga stoljeća, ostala žrtva i talac tih i takvih rješenja. A mit o sretnomu dobu jedne uljudene i uredene države, kada smo dugim koracima kretali da postanemo integralnim dijelom Evrope, ostao je psihološki i politički živ i djelatan do danas.

<sup>1</sup> U nedostatku cjelovite slike i umjesto nje, na dragocjene podatke i na imena zaslужnih liječnika nailazimo u memoarskoj literaturi, kao, na primjer, u izvanrednoj knjizi Bronisławie Prašek-Całczyńskie, Memoari jedne liječnice, Zagreb 1997.

**Ibrahim Krzović**

## NAGOVJEŠTAJI BOSANSKOG SLOGA - PRIHVATANJE

### NEPRIHVATLJIVO

#### PROBLEMI PERCEPCIJE ARHITEKTURE AUSTROUGARSKOG PERIODA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

U tekstu se ukazuje na primjere prožimanja stilskih karakteristika tradicionalne bosanske gradske arhitekture sa novim oblicima koje je donijela austrougarska vlast i na otpor muslimanskog stanovništva prema toj tuđoj arhitekturi. Autor donosi primjere ranih primjena konstruktivno-gradivnih elemenata evropske provenijencije na tradicionalne gradske muslimanske kuće. Ovi rani primjeri nisu do sada zapaženi kao neplanirani nagovještaji pojave do koje je došlo u posljednjoj deceniji arhitekture austrougarskog perioda, već poznatog kao bosanski slog.

**Ključne riječi:** bosanski slog / bosanski stil, adaptacije, Građevni red za Sarajevo, rana faza gradnje austrougarskog perioda.

Samu godinu nakon okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine započela je intenzivna izgradnja i u oblasti niskogradnje i visokogradnje. Dok u oblasti niskogradnje: puteva, željezničkih pruga, nije bilo nikakvog otpora, ni vjerske, ni nacionalne, ni političke prirode, u visokogradnji, izgradnji stambenih, stambeno-poslovnih i javnih objekata, javili su se otpori prema gradnjama koje je poduzimala austrougarska uprava. Najveći otpor pružilo je muslimansko stanovništvo koje je bilo većinski vlasnik zemljišta u gradovima, posebno u Sarajevu. Iako je antagonizam spram nove vlasti bio izražen upravo u Sarajevu, Sarajevo je postalo sjedište nove uprave, poglavara zemlje i zemaljske vlade, sa centrima svih vrsta vlasti: administrativne, sudske, financijske. A tu su ubrzo prenesena i sjedišta katoličke i pravoslavne crkve. Svi su bili smješteni u privremene i adaptirane objekte: poglavar u valijinom konaku, vojska u staroj kasarni Kršla na Bistriku, bolnica takođe u staroj bolnici izgrađenoj šezdesetih godina 19. stoljeća. Napetost između potreba i zatvorenosti većinskog muslimanskog stanovništva je rasla i nije bilo izgleda za saradnju i ostvarenje planova nove vlasti. Rješenje je donijela takozvana viša sila, veliki požar koji je izbio u Latinluku 1879. godine i koji se brzo proširio i zahvatio širok prostor na desnoj strani Miljacke, između Ćumurije i Careve čuprije, prema Ferhadiji, „preko Kundurdžiluka, Malog i Velikog Čurčiluka,

kraj Begove džamije i preko Đulagine ulice na Hrgića ulicu i odavde Čemerlinom, Štrosmajerovom i Zrinjskog ulicom do Ćumurije čuprije“.<sup>1</sup> Požar se pojavio „u kući Sime Sokolovića u Latinluku (kraj s desne strane Miljacke i Latinske čuprije), u kojoj je bio nastanjen neki trgovac Švarc (Schwarz)... On je oko pet sati popodne baratao špiritom i sa svijećom se primakao buretu, žesta se upalila, plamen zahvatio kuću i prešao na susjedne zgrade“.<sup>2</sup> To, da je spomenuti Švarc u vrijeme ljetne žage i suše u augustu, u pet sati popodne „baratao“ špiritom i svijećom, izazvalo je sumnju u nesretan slučaj i mislilo se da je požar izazvan. „Sarajlije su“, kaže Kreševljaković, „još više zamrzile Austrijance, držeći da su grad zapalili hotimice“.<sup>3</sup>

Sljedeće, 1880. godine, proglašen je Građevni red za Sarajevo i ostale gradove, kojim su uneseni novi standardi u regulacijama i novogradnjama, građevinskim materijalima i konstrukcijama, koje su mahom prihvatali sarajevski i doseljeni Jevreji, katolici i sarajevski pravoslavci, među kojima je bilo Cincara i Grka. To pokazuje vlasnička struktura nad zgradama na dva pravca, ondašnjom Čemalušom i Ferhadijom, između današnjeg Slatkog čošeta i Katedrale. Iako su ranije na tim dijelovima grada sarajevski trgovci i esnaflije muslimani imali i kuća i dućana, placeve poslije požara su kupovali uglavnom Jevreji; nešto su imali i zadržali Despići, Besarovići, Jeftanovići, Cekovići. Nove stambeno-poslovne zgrade, najprije jednokatnice, tu su izgradili Giusepe Vita Salom (trgovac iz Trsta, brat ili bliski srodnik Daniela Saloma), Kabiljo, Israel, Finci, Schlesinger, a samo jedan musliman, Omer-aga Kramarović, na ugлу Ferhadije i Strosmayerove, i to skoro dvadeset godina poslije požara.

Problem prihvatanja novih građevinskih standarda nije bio izražen u svim vidovima visokogradnje. Na kućama koje su gradili muslimani po mahalama vide se uticaji i mjere koje je donijela nova vlast. I dalje se po periferiji gradi čerpićem, ali ima i primjene cigle, umjesto čeremita i tahte, krov se pokriva crijevom, umjesto prozora na čefenak ugrađuje se nova stolarija. I sada postoje kuće po sarajevskim mahalama koje su izgradene u obliku starih jednokatnica sa prepustom, čardakom i divanhanom, s pokaldirmisanom avlijom do ulice, ograđenom visokim zidom.

U ovakovom stanju odbojnosti prema novogradnjama, kojima je austrougarska vlast nastojala predstaviti prednosti novog prema starom i tradicionalnom bosanskom načinu građenja, ističući i pravilima i praktičkim građevinskim rješenjima vrijednosti boljih građevinskih materijala, jačih konstrukcija, veće trajnosti, bolje ekonomičnosti i protupožarne sigurnosti, bilo je slučajeva da su neki pripadnici drugih konfesija gradili nove stambene objekte koji su imali formalne odlike tradicionalne bosansko-hercegovačke stambene arhitekture. Jedan od najuglednijih Jevreja, Daniel Salom,

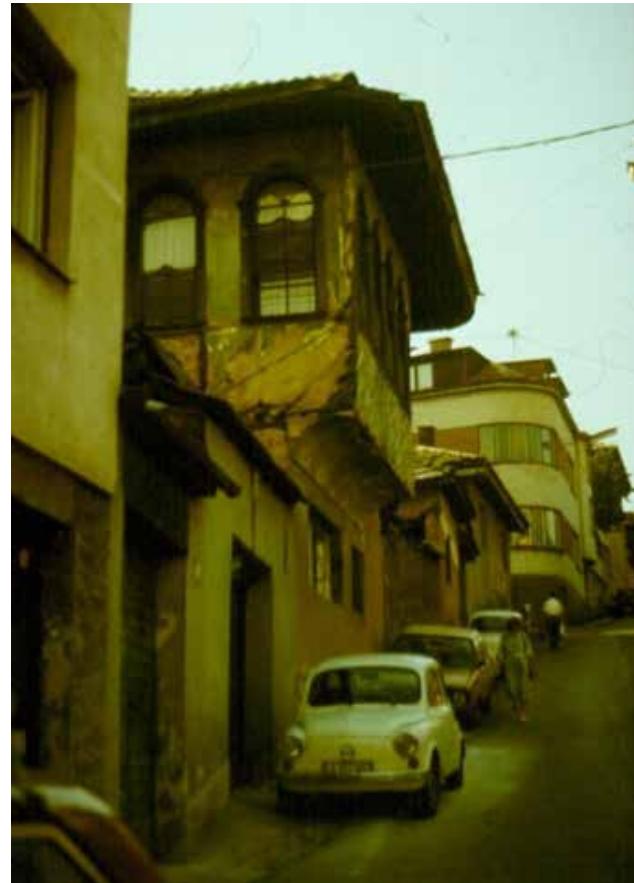
izgradio je svoju kuću (u ulici Abdage Šahinagića) kao jednokatnicu sa erkerom kao divanhanom, s avlijom iza i baščom ispred kuće.



Vila Daniela Saloma, Sarajevo, ul. Abdage Šahinagića

Ova rana faza gradnje, okvirno prva decenija graditeljstva austrougarskog vremena, nije jednako sagledana i vrednovana u svojoj ukupnosti. U literaturi se ističu monumentalne i sakralne gradnje kao zgrada Zemaljske vlade, Katedrala, Šerijatska sudačka škola, Hotel Evropa, a izostavljaju brojne gradnje tog vremena po sarajevskim mahalama, građene u spoju starog i novog.<sup>4</sup> Štaviše, brojnost ovih objekata miješanih, prelaznih karakteristika nameće pitanje njihovog stilskog određenja i u njima mogućeg anticipiranja pojave bosanskog sloga - stila iz posljednje decenije austrougarske vlasti. Dok se decenija bosanskog sloga dosad posmatrala kao jedan specifikum, fenomen i produkt secesijom senzibiliziranog modernizma, akademizma

i stare bosanske stambene tradicije, dakle jedan sloj ili faza neovisne osobenosti, sad bi se, ako se bolje sagledaju gradnje s početka austrougarskog perioda, ta gradnja i ti stilski oblici mogli uzeti kao parabola kojom se povezuje početna i završna decenija arhitekture austrougarske vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini. Bosanski slog jest nastao na projektantskim stolovima jednog broja akademski obrazovanih arhitekata i u vrijeme nakon kritika koje su sarajevskim arhitektima izricali kolege, arhitekti koji su oko 1900-te dolazili u Sarajevo iz evropskih centara, najviše iz centra Monarhije (tajni savjetnik Cornelius Gurlitt, arhitekt i profesor Visoke tehničke škole iz Drezdена, profesor Thöry iz Budimpešte, profesor Mayredar iz Beča, prof. arhitekta Pilar iz Zagreba), dok su one gradnje iz prve decenije djelo boljih majstora, dundera, a možda i poneka skica kakvog tehničara u vrijeme kad je kritikovana domaća arhitektura i graditeljska tradicija, a ne nova austrougarska. Antagonizam spram novog nije nastao samo zato što je to novo bilo drugačije, nego i stoga što su novine dolazile od vlasti čija je vojska okupirala zemlju, vlasti protiv čije vojske je domaće stanovništvo organizovalo otpor, i to uz velike žrtve, a možda je najvažniji uzrok otporu bio taj što je okupaciona vlast bila kršćanska. Za koga je nova vlast, pa tako i ono što je ona željela uspostaviti i sprovesti, bila prihvatljiva, pokazuju i statistički podaci o broju stanovnika po vjerskoj pripadnosti kroz nekoliko decenija trajanja te vlasti. U Sarajevu je 1851. godine bilo 15.224 stanovnika muslimana ili 72,23 %, pravoslavnih 3.575 ili 16 %, rimokatolika 230 ili 1,14 %, Jevreja 1.714 ili 8,12 %. Godinu nakon okupacije, 1879., u Sarajevu je popisano 14.848 muslimana ili 69,45 %, pravoslavnih 3.747 ili 17,52 %, rimokatolika 678 ili 3,26 %, Jevreja 2.077 ili 9,74 %. Od 1885. broj muslimana u gradu se povećao, i bio nešto veći nego polovinom 19. stoljeća, na 15.787, ali je procenat u odnosu na stanovnike druge vjere iz godine u godinu bio sve manji: 1885. je iznosio 60,09 %, 1895., deset godina kasnije, 45,06 %, 1910 iznosi 35,57 %.<sup>5</sup> Dok je pravoslavno stanovništvo ostalo na približno jednakom procentu, između 16 i 17 %, katoličko stanovništvo se rapidno povećavalo pa je 1879. godine činilo 3,26 %, a 1910. 34,51 %. Najprije neprijateljstvo, potom antagonizam, pa postepeno prihvatanje i na kraju saradnja odnosili su se ne samo na novu arhitekturu, nego i na obrazovanje i još neke društvene manifestacije i učešće muslimana u njima. Dobar primjer evolucije u odnosima muslimanskog stanovništva prema novoj vlasti bio je izražen na vojnom planu. Prilikom okupacije muslimani i vojne snage Monarhije su vodili žestoke borbe, od granice na Savi pa sve do uličnih borbi po Sarajevu. Muslimani su teško prihvatali uvođenje vojne obaveze, ali tokom ratnih operacija na italijanskom frontu, na Soči, bili su najbolji borci u austrougarskim formacijama. Eto, od neprijatelja su tokom tridesetak godina postali branitelji i žrtve vojnih interesa Monarhije.



Kuća porodice Hadžibaščaušević, Sarajevo, ul. Sagrdžije

Ima i drugih primjera iskazivanja odbojnosti muslimanskog stanovništva prema okupatoru, a slikovit je onaj koji je u svom slikarskom bloku zabilježio austrijski oficir i slikar Eduard Loidolt 1882/1883. godine, gdje je nacrtao i akvarelisao crtež u kojem pokazuje kako se neka muslimanka, susrećući se na ulici sa austrijskim oficirom, okrenula prema zidu dok on prolazi, da ga ne bi pogledala, a i on nju vidio.<sup>6</sup> To je zabilježeno na početku okupacije. Ali i kasnije, prilikom posjete jedne grupe beogradskih novinara Sarajevu 1912. godine, obilazeći stare dijelove Sarajeva, krivudave ulice po mahalama i raspitujući se o stanju vlasti, stanovništva, načinu života ljudi koje je susretao, jedan od novinara je zabilježio kako u tim mahalama i starim kućama i poznatim sarajevskim porodicama ima još ljudi koji poslije okupacije nisu sišli u čaršiju da se ne bi susreli sa mrskim neprijateljem.



Kuća u ulici Veliki Alifakovac



Detalj kapije sa ašik-mušepkom (kuća u ulici Veliki Alifakovac)

Otpor prema novinama koje je donosilo vrijeme i nova vlast može se zapaziti i kod nekih uglednih pravoslavnih Sarajlija. Jedan od najuglednijih Sarajlija bio je hadži Makso Despić, čija je kuća (danas depandans Muzeja grada Sarajeva na Obali) izgledala kao gradnja u evropskoj tradiciji i s elementima renesanse i baroka, ali je čak i poslije Prvog svjetskog rata, u poznim godinama života hadži Makse Despića, bila u velikoj mjeri opremljena i uređena u skladu sa starim načinom života, koje je ovaj ugledni trgovac sarajevski nastojao sačuvati. Rođen tridesetih godina 19. stoljeća u Sarajevu, odrastao uz oca u sarajevskoj čaršiji, hadži Makso je još u doba osmanske vlasti putovao trgovackim poslovima sve do Beča, pa je tako imao mogućnost još kao mlad da vidi i prihvati manire bečkih i drugih trgovaca, ali on se u svojoj kući ipak protivio nekim novinama koje je smatrao samo pomodarskim i lošim u odnosu na stare navike, odgoj i moral. Nije bio isključiv i konzervativan, neki tvrdoglavi starina i glava ugledne patrijarhalne pravoslavne sarajevske porodice. U njegovoju su se kući priređivale pozorišne predstave, okupljao se i stariji i mlađi svijet, domaći i strani. Ipak, kad su mu kćerke predlagale da se u kuću ulazi u obući, odlučno je to odbio riječima kako se na obući tako može unijeti i nedžase (nečist, životinjski izmet i sl.). Na takvo protivljenje kćerka mu je odgovorila: „Babo, ti si pravi musliman“, aludirajući na običaj da se u muslimanske kuće ne ulazi u obući.<sup>7</sup>

Ako u prvoj deceniji muslimani Sarajlije nisu prihvatali od tuđinske vlasti ništa što nisu morali, recimo nošnju, porodične običaje, vjerske nazore, a tek je nezamislivo bilo njihovo učešće u vojnim formacijama, nakon uvođenja vojne obaveze i pod kraj austrougarske vladavine, zapravo tokom rata 1914-1918, vojnici muslimani i muslimanske jedinice pokazivale su veliku odlučnost i hrabrost u odbrani pozicija koje su držale njihove jedinice i na nekim vrlo teškim pozicijama fronta (Piave).



Vrata kuće u ulici Mejlijina (ranije Kulina bana)

Od početka izgradnje stambenih, stambeno-poslovnih, javnih i drugih objekata austrougarskog perioda pa do danas bilo je više različitih gledanja na stilske vrijednosti te arhitekture. Dok su domaći i doseljeni Jevreji i kršćani, kao i organi okružne i općinske vlasti kako u Sarajevu tako i u drugim centrima bili nosioci intenzivne izgradnje, oko 1900. i kasnijih godina pojavljuju se i neki poslovni i ugledniji musli-

mani koji grade privredne i stambeno-poslovne zgrade u nekim mirnijim varijantama neorenesansa i neomaurskog stila (Šahinagići, Hadžišabanovići, Husedžinovići, Zildžić, Azabagići, Sulejmanpašići, Rasema Svrzo, rođena Čomara, iz 1897, pa Nurihanuma Fadilpašić za svadbu svojih sinova u Sarajevu i Travniku 1902. godine, Esma-hanuma Spaho, rođena Krzović, 1902, žena reisa Spahe, Mujezinović sa Tadićem i Kanazarevićem u Tuzli, Mehmed, Mustafa, Hasan i Ahmet Butum u Mostaru, 1892., vila Mujage Komadine u Mostaru, Kučukalići u Brčkom). Ne samo da su učesnici u izgradnji u stilovima koje je donijela nova vlast bile i najuglednije muslimanske porodice, nego je bilo i žena muslimanki koje su gradile takve objekte, a koji i danas spadaju u reprezentativnije arhitektonске objekte Sarajeva. Tendencije prihvatanja i izjednačavanja, ne u broju, ali u nivou i stilu, mogu se zapaziti u oblasti školstva, studiranja, poslovanja. U oblasti slikarstva zabilježeno je učešće na svjetskoj izložbi u Parizu 1900. slikara Salke Šarića, čija je Panorama Stoca bila izložena u Bosanskom paviljonu na toj izložbi. Tradiciji arabeskognog i kaligrafskog slikarstva trebalo je više vremena da se tek dvadesetih i tridesetih godina 20. stoljeća, u slikarstvu evropskih stilskih oblika pojave slikari Hakija Kulenović, Rizah Štetić, Ismet Mujezinović, dok se kod pripadnika drugih vjera javljaju već krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća (Anastas i Špiro Bocarić, Petar Šain, Đorđe Mihajlović, Pero Popović, Todor Švrakić, Gabrijel Jurkić, Karlo Mijić i drugi).

Gradenje je gotovo prekinuto tokom Prvog svjetskog rata, a poslije se sporo obnavljalo. Neki od arhitekata austrougarskog perioda su ostali u Sarajevu. Niti su oni zagovarali stilove i standarde građenja iz vremena austrougarske vlasti, niti su nove vlasti Jugoslavije između dva rata nudile nešto novo što bi bilo konfrontacija starom. Tek tridesetih godina, s prodorom moderne na ovaj prostor, koju su donijeli praški studenti arhitekture, te dolaskom Dušana Grabrijana iz Slovenije i Juraja Neidhardta iz Hrvatske, započelo je udaljavanje od načina oblikovanja što su ga donijeli Austrougari. I u prvim decenijama poslije Drugog svjetskog rata pa sve do osamdesetih godina i struka i javnost su se odnosili ili negativistički ili neutralno prema arhitekturi austrougarskog perioda. Kada se govori o recepciji arhitekture toga perioda koju struka ima, treba reći da su prisustvo ove arhitekture opažali samo tadašnji urbanisti i arhitekti, ali ne i historičari i teoretičari umjetnosti. Tadašnji historičari umjetnosti su pratili i proučavali slikarstvo, skulpturu, grafiku, a arhitektura ih je zanimala samo iz starijih stilskih perioda, rijetko i iz 19. stoljeća. Te generacije historičara umjetnosti nisu bile ni u prilici da se tokom svoga studija historije umjetnosti u Beogradu ili Zagrebu obavijeste o umjetnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini, pogotovo ne o njenoj novoj i savremenoj arhitekturi. Kako nisu imali ni znanja, tako nisu imali ni kriterije da je vrednuju i lako su je ignorisali, kao jednu vrstu materijalnog naslijeda konzervatizma.



Kuća porodice Hadžihasanović, Džinina ulica (porušena)

Ni arhitekti starije generacije između dva svjetska rata nisu imali sluha za ovaj sloj arhitektonskog naslijeda. Odmah poslije Drugog svjetskog rata u Sarajevu je osnovan Tehnički fakultet, iz kojeg se izdvojio Arhitektonski fakultet, ali su na njemu vodeće pozicije imali profesori koji su studij završili na Tehničkom fakultetu u Pragu – linija Wagnerove škole, koja je dala njegove sljedbenike i u Pragu, i u Zagrebu, i u Ljubljani i koji su bili sljedbenici moderne. U Sarajevu su se susreli s onima koji su dolazili sa zapadne strane, opet sljedbenici Behrensa ili Le Corbusiera. Oni su započeli svoju djelatnost već tridesetih godina i izveli niz djela u duhu moderne, koja se i danas ističu takvim vrijednostima i zapažena su u arhitektonskom naslijedu Bosne i Hercegovine. Oni su nastavili takvu djelatnost u ranom periodu obnove u pedesetim i šezdesetim godina, istovremeno djelujući i na formiraju novih generacija arhitekata na Arhitektonskom fakultetu u Sarajevu. Stoga se u njihovim projektima i pisanim radovima, kao i kod njihovih studenata, ne nalaze spone s arhitektonskim naslijedom austrougarskog vremena. Štaviše, budući da žive u ambijentu, okruženju i u stanovima zgrada austrougarskog vremena, oni zadržavaju shvatanje o tom sloju urbanizma i arhitekture kao o naslijedu kojem se odriču vrijednosti, kao naslijedu zastarjelih shvatanja i neželjenom ostatku nesretnih bosanskohercegovačkih i svjetskih okolnosti. Ovaj sloj

arhitekture, koji se nikako nije mogao izbjegći onda kad su se pisali tekstovi za Likovne enciklopedije ondašnjeg Jugoslovenskog leksikografskog zavoda, jednostavno je ocijenjen kao eklektika, što ju je označilo nekreativnom pojavom u inače manje vrijednoj historističkoj arhitekturi 19. stoljeća.<sup>8</sup>

Takav tretman ignorisanja arhitektonskog naslijeda austrougarskog perioda u Bosni i Hercegovini u svjetu struke vladao je i u sistemu vlasti i kulturne politike. Stoga je odluka da se obradi, istraži i valorizuje ovaj sloj arhitektonskog naslijeda bio lični izbor koji je najprije rezultirao velikom izložbom i katalogom u Umjetničkoj galeriji BiH 1987. godine, a potom i drugim vidovima prezentacije. Od tada se značajnije promijenio odnos i struke i javnosti jer se pokazalo da ovaj period ima tematsku raznovrsnost i potpunost koja je odgovarala konceptu vlasti i potreba života, da – iako je to period od svega četrdeset godina građenja – ovo naslijede ima i svoje unutrašnje slojeve, relativno brojnu stilsko-formalnu raznovrsnost, kreativne faze i djela i prepoznatljivost opusa pojedinih arhitekata, te da i danas pokazuje značajnu ulogu autorskog djelovanja u Bosni i Hercegovini.

## Zaključak

U relativno kratkom periodu graditeljske djelatnosti za vrijeme austrougarske vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini uočene su karakteristične stilske promjene, kao i različit intenzitet građenja. U ranijoj literaturi cijelo četrdesetogodišnje razdoblje označeno je kao arhitektura eklektike i ugledanje na arhitektonska ostvarenja historicizma u Monarhiji. U istraživanjima osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća utvrđena su tri glavna perioda i stila: u prvim decenijama preovlađuje historicizam: neomaurski stil, neoromanika, neogotika, neorenesans, neobarok, neoklasicizam i romantizam. U drugoj fazi, oko 1900, nastaju gradnje u stilu bečke secesije, i to kao aktuelne pojave u evropskoj umjetnosti. U trećoj fazi nastaje bosanski slog / stil, koji zagovaraju uglavnom arhitekti prethodnih stilskih shvatanja, a nakon spoznaje vrijednosti domaće stilsko-graditeljske tradicije. Zvanično se uzima da se ovaj stil javlja u posljednjoj deceniji austrougarske vlasti, a u ovom radu se nastoje predočiti primjeri spoja domaće graditeljske tradicije i donesenih oblika historicizma na samom početku nove vladavine, i to kod gradnji najprije privatnih stambenih objekata muslimanskog stanovništva, kod kojeg je prema stilovima gradnje nove vlasti bio izuzetno jak otpor, koji je bio u skladu i sa otporom prema samoj okupaciji.

<sup>1</sup> Hamdija Kreševljaković, Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske uprave (1878-1918), Sarajevo, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> Hamdija Kreševljaković, Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske uprave (1878-1918), Sarajevo, 1969, str.24-25.

<sup>3</sup> Isto, str. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Edmund Stix, Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina von Beginn der Occupation durch die österr.-ung. Monarchie bis in das Jahr 1887, Wien, 1887.

<sup>5</sup> Hamdija Kreševljaković, gore spomenuti rad, str. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Ibrahim Krzović, Eduard Loydolt, Bošnjački institut Adil Zulfikarpašić, Zürich/Sarajevo, 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Stevo Dimitrijević, Šta priča Hadži Makso Despić - Babo?, Večernje novosti, Sarajevo, II, 1923, br. 196- 306, od 4. VIII do 15. XII.

<sup>8</sup> Dušan Smiljanić, Arhitektura u razdoblju 1878-1918. Bosna i Hercegovina, ELU I, LZ JAZU, Zagreb 1959, str. 460-462.

**Aida Abadžić Hodžić**

## LIKOVNE PRILIKE U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI U GODINAMA AUSTROUGARSKE UPRAVE I PITANJE UMJETNIČKOG MODERNITETA: ZNAČAJ I ULOGA ČASOPISA NADA

### Uvodne napomene

Period reformi u poznim godinama Osmanskog carstva ostavio je traga i u oblasti kulture i umjetnosti. U periodu tzv. *tanzimata* (1839 - 1876) usvajani su određeni zapadni modeli u privredi i administraciji, a susret dvaju kulturno-civilizacijskih krugova – *a la turca* i *la franga* – u oblasti umjetnosti postepeno se razvijao i prije dolaska same austrougarske uprave, već u godinama reformske uprave odlučnog Omer paše Latasa. Spomenimo, između ostalih, slikara „llirskog pokreta”, mladog i tragično preminulog slikara Vjekoslava Karasa (1821-1858) te francuskog bakropisca i litografa Théodora Valéria (1819-1879), koji su, u historicističko-romantičarskoj maniri, osobito kroz grafike, crteže i akvarele Valéria, izlagane na Svjetskoj izložbi u Parizu (1855) i pariškim Salonima (1857, 1859), po prvi puta predstavili široj evropskoj publici svu šarolikost motiva bosanskih gradova, sela, ljudi, nošnji i običaja.<sup>1</sup> U godinama uoči i na početku austrougarske uprave raste broj arheologa, istraživača, crtača karata, putopisaca, pa i akademski obrazovanih slikara poput braće Evans ili Ferde Quiquereza, slikara velikih historijskih scena i epskih kompozicija, karakterističnih za studente münchenske akademije, u klasi Karla von Pilotyja (1826-1886). Iako je dolazak spomenutih slikara i ilustratora na ove prostore bio primarno motiviran nastojanjem da se dokumentarno-veristički i etnografski precizno zabilježe dogadaji i fisionomije stanovnika, ili, kao što je to bilo u slučaju s nešto kasnijim dolaskom austrijskih i mađarskih oficira-crtača, da se dokumentiraju vojne akcije, ove su slikarske kompozicije, akvareli, crteži, skice i oleografije, u pravilu, faktografski nevjerodstojne.<sup>2</sup> U posljednjoj četvrtini 19. stoljeća dominiraju crteži i akvareli stranih slikara<sup>3</sup>, uz izuzetak tek nekoliko domaćih imena u ovoj oblasti.<sup>4</sup> Stilski su varirali od minucioznog verizma i akademskog realizma do rijetkih plenerističkih otvaranja, dok su na sadržajno-simboličkoj ravni bili početak orientalizirajućeg viđenja Bosne. Tema „balkanizma“ unutar austrijske kulture, kroz primjer Bosne i Hercegovine u razdoblju između 1878. i 1918, odnosno orientalističkog diskursa o Balkanu, kako je Marija Todorova definirala pojам balkanizma<sup>5</sup>, do sada je primarno tematizirana kroz književnu historiografiju, a u novije vrijeme i

sa problemskim proširivanjem ove teme prema ispitivanju slika o sebi i o drugome, i konstrukcije nacionalnog identiteta u bosanskohercegovačkoj književnosti u predmetnom razdoblju.<sup>6</sup> Ovome su u ranijim godinama prethodile detaljne monografske, bibliografske i problemske studije o bosanskohercegovačkoj književnosti i štampi austrougarskog razdoblja domaćih autora.<sup>7</sup>



### Časopis Nada: historijski i kulturni kontekst

Časopis *Nada* u ovom je kontekstu bio predmetom brojnih istraživanja i monografskih studija, kao „jedini književni časopis koji je pokrenula i izdavala Zemaljska vlada za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, pokrenut sa neskrivenim ambicijama da okupi brojne saradnike, pisce, prevodioce i likovne umjetnike, te da kvalitetom literarnih i likovnih priloga i tehničkom opremom, kao ilustrovani beletristički časopis dostigne visok domet u evropskim relacijama, i, na taj način prikaže svjetskoj javnosti Sarajevo, glavni grad na okupiranom području, kao snažan kulturni centar.“<sup>8</sup> O ulozi časopisa *Nada*, kao medija u promoviranju probosanskog političkog koncepta i programa ministra finansija Benjamina Kállaya (1839-1903), slaže se većina autora u dosad objavljenim studijama<sup>9</sup>, pri čemu tek one novijeg datuma nastoje otvoriti pitanje značaja ovog časopisa u kulturnom životu, većem od (tek) „instrumenta austrougarske imperijalne politike – čije ciljeve, na kraju, nije uspio ostvariti.“<sup>10</sup> Ono što do sada nije bilo detaljnije razmatrano jest utjecaj časopisa *Nada* na oblikovanje likovnog modernite-

ta u Bosni i Hercegovini, na konceptualnoj i na formalno-izvedenoj razini, u svjetlu središnjeg pitanja koje je obilježilo polemike u kulturnom životu na razmeđu 19. i 20. stoljeća, a koje se ticalo odnosa „narodnog“ i „kozmopolitskog“, odnosno, u širem smislu, odnosa tradicije i moderniteta, a o čemu je tih godina pisano i na stranicama *Nade*. Pri tome treba imati na umu i odnos tzv. centra i periferije,<sup>11</sup> odnosno centra i sredinâ udaljenih od središta likovnog moderniteta<sup>12</sup>, a kao jedno od središnjih pitanja u analizama povijesti umjetnosti južnoslavenskih prostora na prijelazu stoljeća, zbog osobitih povijesnih okolnosti u kojima se u različitim „rubnim sredinama“ imperije na specifične načine prihvataju, razvijaju i sa lokalnim prilikama uskladjuju koncepti „likovnog moderniteta“ i isti uskladjuju sa dominantnim političkim, odnosno nacionalnim ideologijama.



Djelovanje časopisa *Nada* (1895-1903) koincidira sa formiranjem bečke secesije (1897)<sup>13</sup>, utemeljenjem venecijanskog bijenala (od 1895.), djelovanjem „Hrvatskog salona“ u Zagrebu (od 1898.), burnim raspravama oko Klimtovog ciklusa za aulu bečkog Univerziteta i Rodinovog Balzaca. Godine su to u kojima u Beču, u klasi profesora Edmunda Hellmera (1850-1935), jednog od utemeljitelja bečke Secesije, studira najveće ime modernog kiparstva sa južnoslavenskih prostora, Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962), kasnije i sam aktivni sudionik secesijskih izložaba.<sup>14</sup> Istih godina u Beču je i ugledni bosanskohercegovački orijentalni filolog, česti saradnik *Nade* - Safvet beg Bašagić (1870-1934), koji na bečkom Univerzitetu priprema doktorsku disertaciju i paradigmatski utjelovljuje sretan i plodonosan susret dvaju kulturno-civilizacijskih krugova kroz izvanredno poznavanje orijentalnih jezika i njemačkih izvora.<sup>15</sup> U koliko je mjeri Bašagić bio spremjan za nemirni duh mlade bečke umjetnosti, otkrivaju nam završni stihovi njegove pjesme „Dojmovi iz Secesije“,<sup>16</sup> koju je napisao neposredno nakon posjete prvoj izložbi secesijske umjetnosti u tom gradu, a potaknut, pretpostavljam, Klimtovim radom Riblja krv, sa plutajućim izduženim ženskim aktovima, duge raspušten kose. Uz naslov svoje pjesme Bašagić je pojasnio: „Kada su se u Beču 1898. neki umjetnici iselili iz slikarske akademije u novu zgradu, koju

su prozvali secesijom, zaputio sam se i ja kao laik, da vidim tu novu stečevinu. Kako me se dojmila vidi se iz ove pjesmice koju sam isti dan spjevao“. Iz pjesme donosimo nekoliko završnih stihova:

*Žena duga ko stožina / Pod njom noge dvije štake / Žuta kosa sto aršina / Strši negdje u oblake.*

*Iz lica joj bieda bije / Iz očiju teku suze / S usana se zloba smije / Eto slike nove Muze.*

*Ako je to svietu liepo / Onda zbogom umjetnosti! / Za te mi je oko sliepo / A pojmovi preveć prosti.“*

U srodnom je duhu i njegova nešto ranija pjesma „Iz velegrada“, objavljena prvi puta u „Viencu“ 1896. godine, a koja, kao i najveći dio njegove rane poezije ispunjene rođoljubivo-patriotskim i romantičarskim nabojem<sup>17</sup>, pokazuje još uvijek nerazriješeni i proturječan odnos između naslijedenih vrijednosti i duha moderniteta („Vila moja u toj buci drijema...“), pri čemu su motivi „javor-gusli“ i „lakog narodnog duha“ usuglašeni sa dizajnom vinjete na prvom broju *Nade*, Hörmannovog umjetničkog urednika E. Arndta. Tu podvojenost između starog i novog, ali primarno kao potrebu da se isti kritički promisle, Bašagić tematizira i u osudi kolonijalnog diskursa austrijskih antropologa, putopisaca i slikara za koje kaže da su nas „slikali kao amerikanske Indijance“.<sup>18</sup> Istovremeno ovaj bečki student i suradnik *Nade* osuđuje i pretjeranu konzervativnost svoga naroda, pa na početku 20.stoljeća navodi: „Vas se svijet promjenio, a mi ostali onakvi isti kao što smo bili prije više vjekova: konzervativci od glave do peta.“<sup>19</sup>

### Izbor tema i suradnika *Nade*: uloga Koste Hörmanna

U iscrpnom izvještaju vladinog savjetnika Koste Hörmanna o pokretanju ilustriranog časopisa *Nada*, a podnesenog zajedničkom ministru finansija B.Kállayu<sup>20</sup>, uz detaljno navođenje planiranih sadržaja i tematskih rubrika, navodi se i planirani sadržaj ilustracija, a u kojem dominiraju: prizori gradova, većih industrijskih pogona, odabrane pejzažne vedute, narodni motivi i prizori (scene svadbe, prizori s tržnicama, slavlja i narodne igre, scene lova i sl.), prizori iz života vojnih trupa, ilustracije nošnji<sup>21</sup>, historijski prizori i portreti uglednika.<sup>22</sup> Izbor tema ilustracija bio je očito u skladu sa planiranim namjerom časopisa koji bi, kako je bilo navedeno u Kallayevom pismu Zemaljskoj vlasti, „u slici i ri-

jeći" te „u strogo objektivnoj i dostoјnoj formi", na „bosanskom jeziku" ponudio „s jedne strane domaćim čitalačkim krugovima, njima primjerenu, lektiru iz svih oblasti znanja" i koji bi, s druge strane, upoznao sa „ubrzanim kulturnim razvojem Bosne i Hercegovine."<sup>23</sup> Za ovaj zadatak, čini se, bili su potrebni akademski školovani slikari i grafičari, dobrog i sigurnog crteža i rafiniranog kolorističkog senzibiliteta koji bi, odabrane pejzažne vedute i genre-scene, dopunili historicističko-romantičarskim patosom. O tome svjedoče kvalitetni ilustrativni prilozi i reprodukcije slika umjetničkog urednika Ewalda Arndta Tscheplina (npr Dvor Begove džamije<sup>24</sup>, U ašikluku<sup>25</sup>, Kahvedžija<sup>26</sup>...), njegovog brata Leo Arndta (Ženska i muška lica iz Svilaja<sup>27</sup> Pazarni dan u sarajevskoj Čaršiji<sup>28</sup>...), Maximiliana Liebenweina (Španjolski Jevreji u sarajevskoj Čaršiji<sup>29</sup>...), L. Kube, Ivane Kobilce, K. Liebschera, Ferdinanda Velca, a koji su bili usklađeni sa tematskim konceptom časopisa - između idilične vizije egzotične zemlje i brzog napretka modernog doba koje je donijela nova uprava (fotografije električne željeznice u Sarajevu, dvorane za operacije Zemaljske bolnice, posjete čeških turista, industrijalizacije tuzlanske regije itd.).<sup>30</sup> Koliki je utjecaj Hörmann imao na sve aspekte koncipiranja lista ilustrira i podatak iz pisma upućenog 1895. godine suradniku Nade, hrvatskom slikaru Leu Anderleu, o potrebi da „dodatno aranžira" svoju kompoziciju sa prizorom šetnje na vrelu Bosne, a u koju bi, u duhu orijentalizma, trebalo uvesti stanovite „etnografske korekcije" i upotpuniti prizor sa nekoliko Bošnjaka i Bošnjakinja te barem jednim Turčinom, a za što mu je Hörmann u prilogu pismu poslao i tipologiju odgovarajućih narodnih nošnji.<sup>31</sup>

Sarajevo, 15. jula 1895.

NADA.

Broj 14. Strana 275.

\* *Slikarski umjetnici u Sarajevu.* Radosno bilježimo svakako važnu pojavu, da našu domovinu sve to više radi studija posjećuju slikari umjetnici. Nedavno boraviše kroz dulje vremena u našem gradu jedan od najglasovitijih akvarelista na svijetu g. *Passini* i poznati majstor g. *Ruben*. Od dulje vremena rade kod nas češki slikarski umjetnici gg. *Adolf Liebscher*, *Ljudevit Kuba* i *Ferdinand Velc* a nedavno je stigao iz Berlina i slikar umjetnik g. *Leo Arndt*, brat našeg stalnog umjetnika E. *Arndt-Caplina*. Bilježimo s opravdanjem zadovoljstvom, da će „Nada" doskora moći donijeti koji umjetnički prilog pomenutih umjetnika iz bogate zbirke njihovih uspomena s ovoga putovanja kroz krasne krajeve naše lijepi Herceg-Bosne.

Sarajevo, 1. novembra 1895.

NADA.

Broj 21. Strana 407.



Iz zemaljske bolnice: Dvorana za operaciju.

Страна 304. Број 16.

НАДА.

Сарајево, 3. августа 1897. (15. аугуста 1897.)



Сликар у Сарајеву. Сликао Л. Куба.



Iz naših umjetničkih bilježnica,  
u "Nadi". Adolf

Kontaktni izvor u Savljevačkom radu

"Nada" br.5, 1.3.1899., str.76



"Nada" br.3, 1.2.1901., str.41.

Druški spavati.



Maks Liebenstein: Iz života bosansko-hercegovinskih četa:  
Jutrenji obrok.

"Nada" br.8, 15.4.1899., str.117

I arhitektura bosanskih paviljona koji su se, kao posebni objekti tendenciozno predstavljali na tadašnjim velikim svjetskim izložbama, otkriva u velikoj mjeri pristup orientalizma.<sup>32</sup> Elementima neomaurskog stila, koji je dominirao u arhitekturi bosanskih paviljona, nije mogao odoliti ni Hörmannov suradnik, svestrani kustos i urednik „Glasnika Zemaljskog muzeja“, dr. Ćiro Truhelka (1865-1942) prilikom dekoracije dijela dvorane Društvenog doma 1903. godine.<sup>33</sup> I dok se u Nadi ažurno pisalo o tada savremenim likovnim izložbama i imenima (o Venecijanskom bijenalnu, pariškom Salonu i Rodinovom Balzacu, plakatima Alfonsa Muche, o Klimtovoj Medicini...)<sup>34</sup>, u arhitekturi je posebna pažnja bila posvećena bosanskim paviljonima na svjetskim izložbama (1896-1900). U osudi kipara Roberta Jeana o nespojivosti „bosanske idile“ i „građevina u stilu Wagnera“ u tekstu iz 1911. godine, objavljenom u sarajevskim dnevnim novinama, još je primjetan odjek nerazriješene napetosti između lokalne tradicije i novih stilova.<sup>35</sup> Ovo će pitanje, barem u arhitekturi, biti sretno riješeno u definiranju tzv. bosanskog sloga, a u čemu su značajnu ulogu imale i studije upravo Wagnerovih studenata.

Ako se uzme u obzir pažnja koja je posvećena finansijskim sredstvima za pokretanje časopisa, formatu časopisa i kvaliteti njegove štampe i papira<sup>36</sup>, kao i nizu putovanja koje je Hörmann poduzeo u nastojanju da privuče kvalitetne suradnike, te uvažava-

jući njegovu upućenost i kontakte koje je imao kao direktor Zemaljskog muzeja i vladin savjetnik, teško možemo prihvati činjenicu da on „nije znao ili nije mogao da se obavijesti šta se dešava u savremenim tokovima evropskog slikarstva ili bar najnovijim umjetničkim gibanjima u Berlinu i Beču gdje je otišao da potraži svoje glavne ilustratore”, kako to u svojoj studiji o slikarstvu 19. stoljeća u Bosni i Hercegovini podcrtava Ljubica Mladenović.<sup>37</sup> Iako je otkupom prava na reprodukciju Nada pomagala rad umjetnika sa južnoslavenskih prostora (Bukovca, Crnčića, Čikoš-Sesije, Frangeša, Ivezovića, Medovića, Vidovića....)<sup>38</sup>, danas nam ostaje otvorenim pitanjem da li bi i u kojoj mjeri utjecaj ovog časopisa na domaću likovnu produkciju, koja će stasati tek pred kraj austrougarske uprave, bio veći da je Hörmann za likovnog urednika uspio dobiti, na primjer, Vlahu Bukovcu, s kojim je također razgovarao, a koji je od 1898. godine već bio u Beču. Upravo je Bukovac, nakon povratka sa pariške akademije, 1897. predvodio grupu umjetnika koja je istupila iz službenog strukovnog udruženja, Društva umjetnosti, i prvom izložbom Hrvatskog salona 1898. godine u Umjetničkom paviljonu najavila sukob „starih” i „mladih” i neslaganje s ustaljenom tradicijom akademizma<sup>39</sup>, a o čemu je, na stranicama Nade pisao i ugledni pravnik, historičar i publicist Ivo Pilar (1874-1933), jedan od glavnih ideologa moderne u krugu Kranjčevićeve Nade. U osvrtu na Drugu izložbu Društva hrvatskih umjetnika u Zagrebu, na kojoj su bili izloženi radovi slovenačkih slikara, te Crnčića i Muche, Pilar ističe sretan susret „narodnog individualiteta”, „samosvijesti malog naroda” i „zajedničkog pokreta k napretku što danas pokreće cijelo čovječanstvo.”<sup>40</sup>

U Beču je, istih godina kad i Bukovac, boravio Felician (von) Myrbach (1853-1940), tada jedno od središnjih imena i uteviljitelja bečke Secesije, profesor, a potom i direktor Škole primijenjenih umjetnosti (1889), uteviljitelj Bečkih radionica, umjetnik iz „Klimtove grupe”, a kojeg je Ludwig Hevesi (1843-1910), kao dobar poznavatelj secesije, smatrao jednim od „najboljih ilustratora u Beču”.<sup>41</sup> Iako je F. von Myrbach u Sarajevu ranije (1878. godine) boravio kao oficir u štabu vrhovnog komandanta Filipovića, slavu je ubrzo stekao upravo kao slikar-amater, autor velikih kompozicija sa prikazima vojnih tema, a što ga je kasnije, kroz marljivo umjetničko školovanje i studijske boravke, te nesumnjivi talent, učinilo tako značajnom ličnosti u bečkoj umjetničkoj moderni na prijelazu stoljeća.<sup>42</sup> Iste te 1895. godine Myrbach je boravio u Sarajevu i sa grupom austrijskih slikara otvorio izložbu akvarela u Oficirskom domu. Ostaje otvorenim pitanjem da li je Hörmann obavio razgovore i sa ovim autorom, kao potencijalnim umjetničkim urednikom Nade.

## Nada i južnoslavenski likovni prostor: od likovnih priloga do likovne kritike

Napredna imena umjetničke kritike toga vremena, a koji su objavljivali priloge sa uglednih izložbi tada savremene umjetnosti, poput Milutina Nehajeva, Dušana Plavšića, Vladimira Jelovšeka i spomenutog Ivo Pilara, pravilno su razumjeli i interpretirali mogućnosti skladne sinteze „lokalnih tema i motiva” sa slobodnim likovnim izrazom i formalnim istraživanjem, u kojem motivi vezani uz tradiciju više nisu bili dijelom obavezognog programa, a slikarstvo u službi neke „više ideje”, nego je osobitost „lokalnog motiva ili teme” postala okidač u traganju za slobodom likovnog izraza i izgradnjom osobenog stila. U osvrtu na izložbu secesije u Beču 1902. godine, hrvatski književnik i novinar Milutin Nehajev (1880-1931), kao pozitivan primjer takvog aktivnog i kreativnog odnosa prema tradicijskim motivima, navodi u svome tekstu u *Nadi* primjer slovačkog slikara Jože Uprke (1861-1940). Uprka je, naime, kroz folklorne motive i raskošne narodne nošnje rodne Moravske, istraživao fenomen svjetla i čiste boje u slikarstvu, u duhu francuskog slikarstva s kojim je došao u kontakt tokom boravka u Parizu početkom devedesetih godina 19. stoljeća. Nehajev u spomenutom osvrtu navodi: „Uprka ne riše svoje Slovake zato jer su to Slovaci - nego zato, jer on u tim bojama može najbolje dati maha svom temperamentu, zato jer te boje sa svojom jednostranom snagom odgovaraju slikarskom njegovom pogledu.”<sup>43</sup>

Do posljednjeg broja Nade niti jedan od onih domaćih slikara sa kojima uvriježeno započinje otvaranje luka bosanskohercegovačkog slikarstva 20. stoljeća - od najstarijeg Đordja Mihajlovića iz Tuzle (r.1875), do najmlađeg Romana Petrovića iz Donjeg Vakufa (r.1896)<sup>44</sup> – nije još bio ni završio niti započeo školovanje na akademijama u Beču, Münchenu, Budimpešti, Pragu ili Krakowu. U samo nekoliko godina, u jedva dva puna desetljeća, bosanskohercegovačko slikarstvo je na stanovit način, kako je to zapisala Azra Begić, „proživjelo i iživjelo svoje 19. stoljeće i sa prvim slikama Đordja Mihajlovića ušlo u modernu umjetnost jugoslavenskih naroda.”<sup>45</sup> Nije se ovdje uspjelo razviti veliko historijsko ni historicističko slikarstvo karakteristično za tradiciju srednjoevropskih akademija s kraja 19. stoljeća na kojima su se školovali slikari iz Bosne i Hercegovine, a kakav su izuzetan primjer u južnoslavenskoj sredini bile tzv. Zlatna i Pompejanska dvorana nekadašnjeg Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu Zemaljske vlade, a danas sjedišta Hrvatskog instituta za povijest u Zagrebu. U bogatom ikonografskom ciklusu isprepliću se teme iz klasične i nacionalne historije: od Medovićevih kompozicija Dolazak Hrvata i Zaruke kralja Zvonimira do skulptura Platona i Aristotela Rudolfa Valdeca, u prosvjetiteljsko-historiističkom duhu. U realizaciji ovog dekorativnog programa sudjelovali su, između ostalih, Bela Čikoš Sesija, Oton Ivezović, Ferdo Kovačević, Celestin Medović, Vlaho Bukovac, Robert Frangeš Mihalović i Rudolf Valdec, čija su djela našim mladim, budućim slikarima bila poznata

upravo kroz reprodukcije u *Nadi*.<sup>46</sup> Ovdje treba imati na umu i da je zbog složenosti političkih prilika u Bosni i Hercegovini i definiranje jedinstvenog nazivnika tema iz nacionalne historije bilo mnogo složenije negoli u susjednim južnoslavenskim sredinama pod austrougarskom upravom, te dominantno definirano pokušajem uspostavljanja "probosanskog" koncepta naspram snaženju nacionalnih programa.

Odličan crtež snažnog verizma glavnog *Nadinog* ilustratora Leo Arndta, uz secesijsku ekspresiju Liebenweina bili su dobra priprema za susret sa programom srednjoevropskih akademija, utemeljenim na "provjerenim vrijednostima". Godine njihovog studija godine su već zrelog ekspresionizma, kubizma i otvaranja prema apstrakciji. Tokom studija bosanskohercegovački slikari, očekivano, uglavnom kopiraju stare majstore iz Louvrea, sa zadrškom i nevjericom prema dinamičnim promjenama u tada avangardnoj praškoj ili krakovskoj sredini. To ne čudi ako se uzme u obzir opća klima vremena i uzori, i sklonost prema simbolizmu kakvu prepoznajemo već u ranim bečkim radovima G. Jurkića i Đ. Mazalića u Budimpešti. I još 1910. godine Simbolizam je kod Mazalića prisutan na slikama sa biblijskom tematikom, a iste godine Jurkić radi na svojoj velikoj kompoziciji "Vila naroda moga". Godina je to značajne izložbe "Nejunačkom vremenu usprkos" u Zagrebu, pa je Grgo Gamulin, u svojoj studiji o počecima modernog slikarstva, otvorio pitanje da li je tema nacionalnog mita i junashta južnoslavenskih naroda i simbolizam kasne secesije onemogućila, ili barem odgodila, pojavu ekspresionizma u hrvatskom slikarstvu?<sup>47</sup> Ovdje je Gamulin imao na umu djelovanje društva "Medulić" iz 1908. godine, a radovi njegovih članova (Meštrovića, Račkog, Krizmana, Vidovića), kao i osvrti na njihove izložbe, bili su tematizirani i u *Nadi*. Možda stoga i ne čude neke vremenske podudarnosti: zreli primjeri ekspresionizma u bosanskohercegovačkom slikarstvu. poput Milićeve slike "Brat i sestra", odgovaraju godini zagrebačkog Salona kojim je 1919. godine bio najavljen radikalni zaokret prema ekspresionizmu, a i Bljelićevu i Petrovićevu približavanje apstrakciji dešava se u osviti 1920. godine.

Otvaranje prema modernitetu kod bosanskohercegovačkih slikara bio je složen put sabiranja i zrenja, inicijalnih iskustava i prilika u sredinama u kojima su se školovali, pa čak i ako u njima tada nisu izravno sudjelovali, pri čemu vremenska pravovremenost ne treba biti zalogom kvalitete i talenta, osobito ako se ima u vidu činjenica da pojedina iznimna djela bosanskohercegovačke slikarske moderne nisu dobila svoju punu ocjenu ni zasluženo mjesto u nekadašnjim osvrtima jugoslavenske umjetnosti. U kojoj su mjeri prilozi koji su objavljivani u *Nadi* bili i poticaj u ovom procesu moguće je odgovoriti tek kroz detaljne analize pojedinačnih opusa. Ilustrativni prilozi svojom su kvalitetom bili prije dobra priprema za akademski rad negoli prozor u novi

svijet. Dometi pionirskih tekstova likovne kritike, u nekoliko primjera, ponajprije uz osvrte na recentne izložbe tada prevratne umjetnosti, nesumnjivo su bili poticajni.

<sup>1</sup> Detaljnije u: Ljubica Mladenović, Građansko slikarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini u XIX veku, V. Masleša, Sarajevo, 1982, str. 9-14.

<sup>2</sup> Kao rijedak izuzetak od ovog pravila, spomenimo na ovom mjestu, na primjer, akvarele austrijskog slikara Theodora Breidwisa koji se danas čuvaju u fundusu Muzeja grada Sarajeva, a koji vjerno dokumentiraju, između ostalog, egzekuciju vođa otpora u Sarajevu, osvajanje Sarajeva i boj kod Žepča. Detaljnije vidjeti u: Lj. Mladenović, str. 30-32.

<sup>3</sup> U prvom valu stranih slikara bila je riječ uglavnom o oficirima, školovanim za vojnu službu, pri čemu treba imati na umu da su nastavu slobodnog crtanja, kao obavezan predmet, na vojnim školama i akademijama u Austro-Ugarskoj vodili poznati umjetnici, kao što je to bio slučaj i u Bosni još za osmanske vlasti, gdje je slobodno crtanje u vojnoj školi, poznatoj Idadiji, predavao Mustafa Faginović.

<sup>4</sup> O prilikama u umjetnosti u prvim godinama austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini detaljnije u: Azra Begić, Prilike, u: Umjetnost BiH 1894-1923, UGBiH, Sarajevo, 1978., b.p.

<sup>5</sup> Maria Todorova, Imaging the Balkans, New York, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.

<sup>6</sup> Detaljnije u: Stijn Vervaet, Centar i periferija u Austro-Ugarskoj. Dinamika izgradnje nacionalnih identiteta u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918. godine na primjeru književnih tekstova, Synopsis, Zagreb-Sarajevo, 2013. U uvodnim razmatranjima autor studije navodi značaj dvaju projekata za nastanak njegove knjige, a koji se odnose na navedenu temu, a osobito habilitacijski rad jednog od istraživača, Clemensa Ruthnera, pod nazivom: Kakaniens kleiner Orient. Konstruktionen des 'balkanischen' Fremden in kulturellen Texten Österreichs: Bosnien-Herzegowina 1878-1918, (2006).

<sup>7</sup> Popis predmetnih publikacija u: Risto Besarović, Iz kulturne prošlosti Bosne i Hercegovine (1878-1918), V. Masleša, Sarajevo, 1987. (poglavlje: Pisana riječ u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878-1918, str. 5-29). O štampi detaljnije u: Đorđe Pejanović, Bibliografija štampe Bosne i Hercegovine 1850-1941, V. Masleša, Sarajevo, 1961; Todor Kruševac, Bosanskohercegovački listovi u XIX veku, V. Masleša, Sarajevo, 1978; Monografije o časopisima a-ug. doba: Ljubica Tomić-Kovač, Zora: književnohistorijska monografija, Svetlost, Sarajevo, 1971; Muhsin Rizvić, Behar: književnohistorijska monografija, Svetlost, Sarajevo, 1971; Dejan Đuričković, Bosanska vila: književnohistorijska studija, Svetlost, Sarajevo, 1975; Boris Čorić, Nada: književnohistorijska monografija 1895-1903; Zora: književnohistorijska monografija, Svetlost, Sarajevo, 1978.

<sup>8</sup> Risto Besarović, Iz kulturne prošlosti Bosne i Hercegovine, str. 12-13.

<sup>9</sup> U ovome se slažu prikazi Lj. Mladenovića, str. 73-74; B. Čorića, str. 8-21, pri čemu Čorić, u osvrtu na političke prilike u kojima se časopis pokreće, navodi kako je (str.9) „jedna okupacija smijenjena drugom, istina civiliziranjom i dobromanjernjom, ali ipak okupacijom.“ /kurziv AAH.

<sup>10</sup> Stijn Vervaet, Centar i periferija u Austro-Ugarskoj, str. 90.

<sup>11</sup> O ovome vidjeti i u: Emil Brix, The Structure of the Artistic Dialogue Between Vienna and Other Urban Centres in the Habsburg Monarchy Around 1900, u: Art Around 1900 in Central Europe, Cracow: International Cultural Centre, 1999: 11.

<sup>12</sup> O ovom pitanju u širem problemskom kontekstu i dalje je neizbjegna studija Ljube Karamana, O djelovanju domaće sredine na umjetnost hrvatskih krajeva - Problemi periferijske umjetnosti, Zagreb, Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 1963. (i: Ljubo Karaman, Problemi periferijske umjetnosti. Zagreb, Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2001, drugo izdanje).

<sup>13</sup> O društveno-političkim prilikama u Beču u godinama pojave secesije te o internacionalnom i liberalnom karakteru bečke secesije vidjeti u: Karl Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle, Vienna: politics and culture*. NY, Vintage Books, 1981.

<sup>14</sup> Ivan Meštrović prvi je puta izlagao na izložbi Secesije u Beču na XVII proljetnoj izložbi Secesije 1903. godine, a koja je bila posvećena iskuljučivo austrijskim umjetnicima. Kako austrijska umjetnost tada nije bila i nacionalna umjetnost, nego se odnosila na sve umjetnike unutar povijesnog okvira Monarhije, Meštrović je aktivno sudjelovao na izložbama bečke Secesije i Hagenbunda, udruženja naprednih umjetnika osnovanog 1900. godine, koje je, nakon odlaska Klimtove grupe iz Secesije (1905), na stanoviti način utjelovljavao stvarni duh i ideju secesije. Godine 1910. bila mu je priređena i samostalna izložba u umjetničkom paviljonu Secesije u Beču. O vezama Meštrovića i secesije, detaljnije u: Irena Kraševac, Ivan Meštrović i secesija: Beč-München-Prag 1900-1910, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Fondacija Ivan Meštrović, Zagreb, 2002.

<sup>15</sup> Doktorska disertacija Safvet-bega Bašagića objavljena je u vlastitoj nakladi, u Sarajevu, 1912. godine.

<sup>16</sup> Safvet-beg Bašagić, Dojmovi iz Secesije, u: Misli i čuvstva (Nove pjesme), vlastita naklada, Sarajevo, 1905, str. 19-21.

<sup>17</sup> O Safetu Bašagiću detaljnije u: Muhsin Rizvić, Bosansko-muslimanska književnost u doba Preporoda 1887-1918, 2. izdanje, Sarajevo, 1990, str. 282-283.

<sup>18</sup> Behar 1900-1901, 20:322, cit. prema: Stijn Vervaet, str. 273. (pogl. Odgovor na austrougarski, hrvatski i srpski orientalizam)

<sup>19</sup> Behar 1900-1901, 20:322, cit. prema: Stijn Vervaet, str. 274.

<sup>20</sup> Izvorni tekst Izvještaja C. Hörmanna (Bericht: ad. 2037/B.H.), datiran 4.2.1894, vidjeti u: Risto Besarović, Kultura i umjetnost u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom, Građa - Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Tom IV, Sarajevo, 1968, str. 74-91.

<sup>21</sup> O značaju časopisa Nada kao referentnom izvoru za izučavanje kulture odijevanja na prijelazu stoljeća, vidjeti u: Aida Abadžić Hodžić, Kultura odijevanja u Bosni i Hercegovini na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće - uloga i značaj ilustracija i priloga u časopisu Nada (1895.-1903.), Zbornik radova naučnog skupa „Odjeća kao simbol identiteta“, Tehnički univerzitet, Bihać, 2011, str. 13-29.

<sup>22</sup>Isto, str. 79-80.

<sup>23</sup> Prepis pisma zajedničkog ministra finansija Kallaya Zemaljskoj vladu u vezi sa pokretanjem Nade (Abschrift, Z:2037/B.H. ex 1894), Besarović, Građa, Arhiv BiH, str. 91.

<sup>24</sup> Nada, br.1, 1.1.1985, str.8.

<sup>25</sup> Nada, br. 6, 15.3.1895, str.105.

<sup>26</sup> Nada, br. 8, 15.4.1895, str. 148.

<sup>27</sup> Nada, br.1, 1.1.1901, str. 8, 9.

<sup>28</sup> Nada, br.6, 15.3.1895, str. 119.

<sup>29</sup> Nada, br. 19, 1.10. 1902, str. 260.

<sup>30</sup> Reprodukcije navedenih motive vidjeti u: Nada. br.12, 15.6.1895. (naslovica); Nada, br. 21, 1.11.1895, str. 407; Nada, br. 11, 1.6.1897, str. 218; Nada, br.4, 15.2.1896, str.77.

<sup>31</sup> Prema: B. Čorić, str. 761, fuznota 127.

<sup>32</sup>Diana Reynolds, Kavaliere, Kostüme, Kunstgewerbe: Die Vorstellung Bosniens in Wien 1878-1900, u: U. Prutsch, J. Feichtinger, M. Csáky (ur.), Habsburg postcolonial. Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis. Innsbruck et al.: Studien Verlag, str. 246-248. U svojoj studiji Reynolds se oslanja na seminalni tekst Tonyja Bennetta The Exhibitionary Complex (new formations, a journal of culture, theory and politics, No 4, spring 1988, London, pp.73-102).

<sup>33</sup> Ova dekoracija izvedena je povodom dvadesetogodišnjice dobrotvornog društva, tzv. Gospojinskog društva u Sarajevu, pod pokroviteljstvom Willme pl. Kallay. Vidjeti. Nada, br. 9, 1.5.1903, str.117. Ovakva će se reprezentacija Bosne nastaviti i kroz arhitekturu paviljona Kraljevine Jugoslavije između dva svjetska rata. O ovome vidjeti iznimno instruktivan tekst Aleksandra Ignjatovića pod naslovom Periferna imperija i unutrašnja kolonizacija: jedan istorijski primjer, Vizura, Sarajevo, 2/2008, str. 149-163. Tekst tematizira primjere jugoslavenskih oficijelnih paviljona Stjepana Hribara i Josipa Seissela na svjetskim izložbama u Parizu i dodataka Bosanskog kioska iz 1925. i Bosanske kuće iz 1937. godine kao primjere imperialističkog zahvata.

<sup>34</sup> Vidjeti: Nada, br. 22, 15.11.1898, str. 346-347. (Josip Marković, Osvrt na pariški Salon); Nada, br.3, 1.2.1901, str. 39-41. (V.Jelovšek, O modernom plakatu); Nada, br.12, 15.6.1901, str. 192 (M. Nehajev, O Klimtovo Medicini).

<sup>35</sup> R.Jean, Die Baukunst, "Sarajevoer Tagblatt", 24.XII 1911, str. 16-17. Nav.prema: Ibrahim Krzović, Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo Publishing, Sarajevo, 2004, str.8.

<sup>36</sup> R. Besarović, str. 80-83.

<sup>37</sup> Lj. Mladenović, str. 87.

<sup>38</sup> B. Čorić, str. 647.

<sup>39</sup> O ovim događajima detaljnije u: Petar Prelog, Artikulacije modernitet. Institucije, secesije, publika, u: Moderna umjetnost u Hrvatskoj 1898.-1975, IPU, Zagreb, 2012. (ur. Lj. Kolešnik, P. Prelog), str.10-40.

<sup>40</sup> P.i P. (I.Pilar), II izložba Društva hrvatskih umjetnika: Slovenci, Menci Cl. Crnčić, Alfons Mucha, Nada, br.3, 1.2.1901. str.44. (rubrika: Naša pisma).

<sup>41</sup> Ludwig Hevesi, Die Wiener Secession und ihr 'Ver Sacrum', Kunstgewerbeblatt 8, 1899, str. 146. (<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kunstgewerbeblatt1899/0153>, str. posjećena 1.9.2014.)

<sup>42</sup> O školovanju i ciklusima von Myrbaca, detaljnije u: Lj. Mladenović, str.27-29.

<sup>43</sup> M. Nehajev, Umjetničke izložbe: Secesija -"Hagenbund - Künstlerhaus", Nada, br.1, 1.1.1903, str.11 (rubrika: Naša pisma)

<sup>44</sup> Na ovome mjestu samo ćemo spomenuti da je toj generaciji pripadao i Milivoj Uzelac (rođen u Mostaru 1897. godine), ali koji je nakon završene banjalučke gimnazije i prvih slikarskih poduka kod Pere Popovića, trajno napustio Bosnu i Hercegovinu (s V. Gecanom, 1912. odlazi u Zagreb) i svoje djelovanje vezuje dominantno uz hrvatsku i francusku likovnu sredinu). Zbog značaja njegovih radova izloženih na Proljetnim salonima u Zagrebu (osobito onom iz 1919. godine), Uzelac zauzima posebno važno mjesto u hrvatskom modernom slikarstvu,

<sup>45</sup> Detaljnije u: Azra Begić, Slikarstvo - Umjetnost Bosne i Hercegovine 1894-1923: Slikarstvo (pogl. Podsticaji i opredjeljenja), UGBiH, Sarajevo, 1978.

<sup>46</sup> "Na njenim stranicama objavljene su reprodukcije djela Vlahe Bukovca, Clementa Crnčića, Bele Čikoša, Roberta Frangeša, Otona Ivezovića, Pavla Jovanovića, Ivane Kobilce, Celestina Medovića, Meneghella-Dinčića, Franje Pavačića, Ivana Rendića, Ivana Tišova, Emanuela Vidovića." B. Čović, Nada, str. 647.

<sup>47</sup> Grgo Gamulin, Hrvatsko slikarstvo 20. stoljeća, sv.1, Naprijed, Zagreb, 1997, str. 11-12.

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**Andrea Baotić**

## TIROLSKA SKULPTURA I OLTARISTIKA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

### REVALORIZACIJA AUSTROUGARSKOG NASLJEĐA SAKRALNE UMJETNOSTI I NJENO TRENUTNO STANJE

#### Sažetak

Osnivanjem Vrhbosanske nadbiskupije 1881. godine Katolička crkva u Bosni i Hercegovini je dobila poticaj koji je rezultirao opsežnom gradnjom sakralnih objekata u historijskim stilovima. Njihov neizostavan dio je sačinjavao enterijer oblikovan prema principima Gesamtkunstwerka, odnosno, crkveni inventar u vidu oltara i kipova, koji je u novopodignute crkve dopreman iz tirolskih drvorezbarskih radionica. Riječ je zapravo o manufakturama sakralne opreme koje su u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća doživjele svoj vrhunac i procvat, te su svoje proizvode distribuirale širom Austro-Ugarske Monarhije. Promjena umjetničke paradigme pod uticajem moderne, te zaključci Drugi vatikanskog sabora su nešto kasnije uticali na stvaranje negativnog odnosa prema ovom segmentu austrougarskog umjetničkog naslijeda, koji je uslijed toga, kao i ratnih razaranja u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1992. do 1995. godine, prorijeden, degradiran, a u nekim slučajevima i uništen. U ovom radu se vrši historijsko-umjetničko revaloriziranje tiolske skulpture i oltaristike u crkvama Bosne i Hercegovine, te se daje prikaz njezinog današnjeg stanja. Namjera rada je ukazati na one aspekte tiolskog umjetničkog obrta koji se zanemaruju pri obnovi crkvenih zdanja, a koji zapravo svjedoče o uključivanju Bosne i Hercegovine u tada aktuelne tokove sakralne umjetnosti u okviru Austro-Ugarske Monarhije.

**Ključne riječi:** historicizam, Gesamtkunstwerk, drvorezbarstvo, skulptura, oltaristica.

#### Uvod

Kada se govori o kulturnim i umjetničkim dosezima u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom, najčešće se ističu oni elementi po kojima se prepoznaje prib-

ližavanje tada "duboko orijentaliziranih pokrajina" zapadnoeuropskom civilizacijskom krugu. Procesi modernizacije i afirmiranja građanskih duhovnih i materijalnih vrijednosti, koji su na ovom prostoru započeli s "kulturnom misijom" Habsburške Monarhije, bili su polazište s kojega je i historijsko-umjetnička struka posmatrala umjetnost austrougarskog razdoblja u BiH. Tokom druge polovine 20. stoljeća su tako napravljene opsežne studije iz oblasti graditeljstva i slikarstva, s naglaskom na aspekte moderne i građanske umjetnosti.<sup>1</sup> S druge strane, sakralna umjetnost u kojoj se historicizam kao antipod modernizmu najduže zadržao, još uvijek nije dobila svoju naučnu valorizaciju. O tiolskom drvorezbarstvu, koje je u sakralnoj umjetnosti katoličke provenijencije krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća bilo najzastupljenije, iznošena su štaviše negativna mišljenja po kojima se radi o serijskim, neoriginalnim i neautentičnim proizvodima bez estetske vrijednosti. Takvi su stavovi, a potom i odluke Drugog vatikanskog koncila, kao i ratna zbivanja od 1992. do 1995. godine, u konačnici doveli do prorjeđivanja, degradacije i uništavanja tiolskog naslijeda u BiH. Ova činjenica, te spoznaja da je u novije vrijeme došlo do revalorizacije umjetnosti historicizma u regiji i šire, pružaju osnov da se preispitaju i dosadašnja poimanja umjetničke vrijednosti tiolskog drvorezbarstva, te da se ovo naslijede zaštiti od daljnje devastacije. Stoga će u ovom radu biti ukazano na osnovne značajke tiolskih skulptura i oltara koji su bili neizostavan dio crkvenih interijera, biće navedene najznačajnije radionice iz kojih su isti dopremani u Bosnu i Hercegovinu, te će biti prikazano stanje u kojemu se danas nalaze. Prikazom različitih vidova devastacije i neadekvatnih intervencija na tiolskim drvorezbarijama namjerava se ukazati na one aspekte tiolskog umjetničkog obrta koji se zanemaruju pri obnovi crkvenih zdanja, a o kojima bi radi njihove zaštite trebalo voditi računa.

#### Tiolsko drvorezbarstvo - određenje pojma i odlike u kontekstu sakralne umjetnosti druge polovine 19. stoljeća

Pod tiolskim drvorezbarstvom se općenito podrazumijeva umjetnički obrt i kiparstvo nastalo na središnjem alpskom području centralne Europe. Nekada historijsko-geografski objedinjen pod Habsburgovcima (1363), a nakon raspada Austro-Ugarske Monarhije (1918.) podijeljen na južni, talijanski i sjeverni, austrijski dio, Tirol je sa svojim drvorezbarskim radionicama postao priznatim centrom sakralne umjetnosti u 19. stoljeću. Tradicija izrade crkvene opreme u ovoj provinciji zapravo seže još u srednji vijek, odnosno period kasne gotike, kada su se pojedini tiolski drvorezbari istaknuli izradom krilnih oltara, osiguravši si tako značajno mjesto u njemačkoj umjetnosti 15. stoljeća.<sup>2</sup> Premda je vještina izrade skulpture i oltara njegovana i tokom narednog perioda, tiolsko drvorezbarstvo je svoj vrhunac dosegнуlo između 1890. i 1914. godine i to sa osnivanjem i djelovanjem

radionica u Dolini Gröden (tal. Val Gardena).<sup>3</sup>

Naime, povećana potreba za opremom koja bi upotpunila interijere historicističkih crkava podignutih krajem 19. stoljeća, u spomenutom razdoblju je dovela do otvaranja velikog broja ateljea i takozvanih instituta za kršćansku umjetnost u St. Ulrichu i St. Christini (Dolina Gröden). Riječ je zapravo o manufakturama koje su vodili kipari i drvorezbari, a u kojima je bio zaposlen veći broj radnika (crtača, stolara, rezbara, polikromatora i pozlatara i drugih) i saradnika u tzv. kućnoj radinosti. Njihove konačne artefakte, tj. oltare, kipove, propovjedaonice, križne puteve, itd. potpisivao je vlasnik radionice i glavni majstor, odnosno izučeni, ako ne i akademski obrazovani kipar. Premda skoncentrirane u teško pristupačnom alpskom području, ove su radionice zahvaljujući razvoju željeznice, ali i sve većoj popularnosti tirolskog drvorezbarstva, do Prvog svjetskog rata svoju robu uspijevale distribuirati i van granica Monarhije, od Rusije pa sve do Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.<sup>4</sup>

Zbog tehničkog savršenstva koje odlikuje sakralnu opremu izaslu iz tirolskih radionica, njenoga reklamiranja putem kataloga, relativno brze izrade i isporuke kipova i oltara, uvriježilo se stajalište kako se radilo o serijskim i neoriginalnim radovima bez umjetničke vrijednosti. Premda je činjenica da su tiolske radionice bile pod uticajem industrijalizacije te je zbog velike konkurenkcije i pada cijena kvaliteta drvorezbarskih radova početkom 20. stoljeća počela opadati, treba naglasiti da je postojala razlika između djelâ masovne proizvodnje koja su strojno izrađivali drvorezbari (Schnitzer) i rukom izdjeljanih radova kipara (Bildhauer).<sup>5</sup> Upravo su potonji vodili najveće radionice te su im radovi dosegnuli izvanredne kvalitete sakralne skulpture razdoblja historicizma. Među najznačajnijim i najplodotvornijim se tako izdvajaju imena Ludwiga Moroder-a, Insam & Prinotha, Franza Shmalzla te Ferdinanda Stuflessera,<sup>6</sup> a neki od njih su izrađivali opremu i za crkve po Bosni i Hercegovini.

Ono što je doprinijelo popularnosti tirolskog drvorezbarstva u materijalnom smislu svakako je bila veća dostupnost drvenih skulptura i oltara od kamenih, koji ne samo da su bili skuplji, nego su tražili i više vremena za izradu. U umjetničkom pogledu pak daleko važniju ulogu je odigrala sposobnost kipara i drvorezbara da udovolje zahtjevima sakralne umjetnosti koja se oslanjala na historicističku obnovu srednjovjekovnih formi, upotpunjениh likovnim oblicima klasične idealizacije i akademizma. Naime, u vrijeme koje su u Europi na političkom, ekonomskom i društvenom planu obilježili procesi sekularizacije i liberalizacije, Crkva je tražila likovni izraz kojim bi se iskazao njezin historijski kontinuum, hijeratičnost i autoritet. Otuda se u crkvenom graditeljstvu najprije javila obnova gotike i romanike kao "kršćanskih stilova", a kasni-

je i renesanse i baroka, u kojima su tokom druge polovine 19. stoljeća još prepoznavani i nacionalni elementi.<sup>7</sup> Oblikovanju oltara, kao središnjeg mesta liturgije, u vrijeme historicizma je posvećivana velika pažnja, tako da su akademski obrazovani arhitekti žrtvenike najčešće oblikovali u skladu sa osnovnom stilskom konцепциjom same građevine i načelom Gesamtkunstwerka.<sup>8</sup> Drugim riječima, oltari su morali doprinositi stilskom jedinstvu sakralnog prostora. Njihova je izrade često povjeravana tirolskim majstorima, upravo zbog njihove vještine da dosljedno sproveđu u djelu zamisli arhitekata. Poznato je da je i sâm Friedrich von Schmidt (1825-1891), graditelj, restaurator i najviši autoritet sakralnog graditeljstva na Likovnoj akademiji u Beču,<sup>9</sup> radeći na projektu crkve sv. Nikole u Innsbrucku dao nacrt za glavni oltar, koji je potom izradio Tirolac Josef Andergassen, stvorivši tako uzorno djelo i „paradigmatski primjer tirolskog neogotičkog oltara sa ugrađenom predelom i tabernakulom“.<sup>10</sup> Slično Schmidtu su postupali i polaznici njegove arhitektonske škole na bečkoj akademiji, koji su projektirajući sakralne objekte i njihove interijere diljem Monarhije širili aktualnu akademsku arhitektonsku misao.<sup>11</sup> Takav je, uostalom, bio slučaj i sa Josipom pl. Vancašem, koji će u Bosni i Hercegovini projektirati brojna crkvena zdanja, a kojemu će u realizaciji načela „jedinstva sakralnog prostora“ u velikoj mjeri doprinijeti i tirolski drvorezbari sa svojim oltarima, propovjedaonicama i drugom crkvenom opremom.

Za razliku od oltara koji su ovisno o stilskom izboru arhitekata mogli biti stroge gotičke i romaničke arhitektonike, te "mješovitog stila" renesanse i baroka, tiolska skulptura koja ih je upotpunjavala po pravilu je oblikovana prema srednjovjekovnim uzorima, s tim da je zadržavala klasičnu renesansnu idealizaciju. Upravo, skulptura tiolske izrade je temeljena na modelima nazarenskog slikarstva<sup>12</sup> koje je favorizirano u umjetnosti katoličke provenijencije tokom 19. stoljeća zbog arhaičnih, linearnih i lako čitljivih formi koje su odgovarale funkciji zadovoljenja kulta. Osim što je naslijedovano na akademijama u Beču, Münchenu i Rimu, gdje su ga prihvaćali tamo školovani tirolski kipari, slikarstvo nazarenaca je prenošeno i putem predložaka (tzv. Musterbücher) koji su korišteni u drvorezbarskim radionicama. Zajedno s modelima priznatih autora sakralne umjetnosti, kao što su bili Josef Gasser, Franz Erler i Josef Knabl,<sup>13</sup> ovi su predlošci bili razlog zbog kojega je tiolska skulptura zadobila odlike "antiindividualizirane tipičnosti" – na polikromiranim reljefima i statuama rigidne frontalnosti i zatvorenih kontura, sa uzdržanim gestama i kontemplativnim izrazima lica svetaca, odsutna je bilo kakva emotivnost i ekspresija koja bi govorila u prilog autorove posebnosti. Upravo takva umjetnost, kod koje su subjektivna viđenja i stremljenja umjetnika bila „apsorbirana u kolektivnom stilu“ i kod koje nema traga

individualnosti i originalnosti kao premisama moderne građanske umjetnosti, bila je u skladu s načelima Crkve s kraja 19. stoljeća.<sup>14</sup>

Može se, dakle, reći da je tiolsko drvorezbarstvo krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća bilo uvjetovano potrebama i načelima sakralne umjetnosti, a njegovom uobličenju je doprinijela akademska misao, kako pri arhitektonskom oblikovanju neostilskih oltara, tako i pri izradi pripadajućih im kipova. Premda akademsko obrazovanje nije bilo dostupno svim tiolskim drvorezbarima, ipak je naslijedovano i prenošeno radom škole crtanja u St. Ulrichu (Zeichnungsschule zu St. Ulrich, osnovane 1825. god.), te škole za obuku drvorezbara (Lehrwerkstatte, osnovane 1872. god.), na kojima su predavali akademski obrazovani slikari i kipari.<sup>15</sup> Institucionalni okvir je, dakle, omogućavao usavršavanje umjetničkog obrta u Tirolu, koji je zahvaljujući toj činjenici mogao imati veliki uticaj na prostoru Austro-Ugarske Monarhije.

### "Tirolici" u Bosni i Hercegovini

Prodor tiolskog drvorezbarstva se u Bosni i Hercegovini osjetio nedugo nakon osnivanja Vrhbosanske Nadbiskupije, na čje je čelo 1882. god. postavljen nadbiskup dr. Josip Stadler (1843-1918). Nastojeći pokazati novi status koji je Katolička crkva zadobila pod austrougarskom upravom, Stadler je, između ostalog, poticao i gradnju sakralnih objekata, pa se navodi da je broj katoličkih bogomolja u samo prvih petnaest godina od uvođenja redovite crkvene hijerarhije u BiH porastao s 35 na njih 188.<sup>16</sup> Za uobličenje novih, ali i za postojeće kojima je bila potrebna obnova, gotovo po pravilu je bio angažiran arhitekt Josip pl. Vancaš (1859-1932)<sup>17</sup>, koji je reputaciju stekao gradnjom Sarajevske katedrale (1884-1889).<sup>18</sup> Osim što je davao osnovne arhitektonske nacrte, Vancaš je značajnije crkve oblikovao i u njihovoј unutrašnosti, držeći se pritom načela koje je usvojio kao polaznik Schmidtove arhitektonске škole u Beču. Kako su za izradu cjelokupne crkvene opreme po njegovim nacrtima često bili angažirani tiolski majstori, tačnije Ferdinand Stuflesser, kao najistaknutiji kipar u Tirolu s kraja 19. stoljeća, moglo bi se reći da je upliv tiolskog drvorezbarstva u Bosnu i Hercegovinu isprva išao preko Vancaša.<sup>19</sup> S njegovim posredovanjem u početku, a onda i po preporukama ordinarijata Nadbiskupije, župnici su kasnije samostalno i po vlastitoj potrebi naručivali djela iz većih radionica u St. Ulrichu iz Doline Gröden.

Osnovni razlog dobavljanja drvenih oltara i kipova iz Tirola je bila činjenica da u Bosni i Hercegovini s kraja 19. stoljeća nije bilo ni kipara ni školovanih obrtnika koji

bi mogli zadovoljiti potrebe opreme novih crkava. Čak su i umjetnici iz susjedne Hrvatske rijetko bili angažirani budući da je za tek osnovanu Nadbiskupiju, u kojoj nije ni bilo materijalnih pretpostavki za gradnju raskošnih građevina s kamenom opremom, izrada cjelokupnih oltara u Tirolu bila povoljnija. Izuzev u nekoliko sarajevskih bogomolja, kao što su Katedrala, te crkve Presveto Trojstvo, Kraljice Svetе Krunice i sv. Ante,<sup>20</sup> kamenih oltara i kipova gotovo da i nije bilo. Premda je, zbog smanjenog fonda, uništenog tokom prošlog stoljeća, gotovo nemoguće utvrditi koliki je zapravo bio obim tiolskog drvorezbarstva u BiH, ipak se može reći da je sakralna oprema iz Tirola bila najzastupljenija, tj. najčešće je dobavljana kad god je postojala potreba za upotpunjavanjem unutrašnjosti crkava podignutih krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća. Tome u prilog govori i činjenica da su najveće i najreprezentativnije bosansko-hercegovačke crkve imale upravo tiolske oltare i kipove. Kako bi ih na ovom mjestu bilo teško sve nabrojati, u dalnjem tekstu će biti prikazani tiolski kipari, majstori, te radionice za koje se zna da su opremu isporučivale u „najjužnije pokrajine Monarhije“. Zajedno s njima će biti predočene i odlike njihovih sačuvanih djela, odnosno, pojasniće se njihova stilska i formalna obilježja.

Ubjedljivo najzastupljenija tiolska radionica iz koje su dopremani kipovi i oltari u Bosnu i Hercegovinu bila je radionica **Ferdinanda Stuflessera** (St. Ulrich, 1855-1926). Za razliku od većine drvorezbara u tadašnjem St. Ulrichu Stuflesser je bio obrazovan kipar koji se specijalizirao za sakralnu skulpturu kod čuvenog Josefa Knabla, na Akademiji u Münchenu. Njegov atelje, osnovan 1875. god. kao Institut für kirchliche Kunst, Altarbau und kirchl. Bildhauerei, godišnje je isporučivao do pedeset oltara, propovjedaonica i druge sakralne opreme, što unutar granica Monarhije, što izvan njih. Radovi sa Stuflesserovim potpisom, prisutni na području od Rusije do Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, u velikoj su mjeri zastupljeni i u susjednoj Hrvatskoj,<sup>21</sup> preko koje su, uostalom, dolazili i u naše krajeve.

Prema dosadašnjim saznanjima Stuflesser se u Bosni i Hercegovini prvi put pojavio 1894. godine, kada je na zamolbu ordinarijata Vrhbosanske nadbiskupije ponudio da prema Vancaševu nacrtu načini glavni žrtvenik za franjevačku samostansku crkvu sv. Duha u Fojnici.<sup>22</sup> Nakon što mu je posao povjeren, te je za istu crkvu 1895. godine izradio još dva pobočna oltara, Stuflesser je bivao sve češće angažiran kada je trebalo izraditi opremu za bogomolje na čijem je cjelovitom arhitektonskom oblikovanju radio Vancaš. Tako je napravio i isporučio oltare s kipovima (a negdje i križne puteve, te reljefima upotpunjene propovjedaonice) za sjemenišnu crkvu sv. Ćirila i Metoda u Sarajevu (1896-1900),<sup>23</sup> potom za franjevačke samostanske crkve sv. Fran-

je Asiškog u Gučoj Gori (1897), sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Kraljevoj Sutjesci (1909-1910), sv. Ante na Bistriku (1913), te školsku crkvu Kraljice sv. Krunice na Banskom Brijegu u Sarajevu (1911-1912).<sup>24</sup> Pored njih je Stuflesser izradio opremu i za čitav niz manjih župnih crkava koje je projektirao Vancaš, od kojih se na ovom mjestu mogu izdvojiti crkva Presvetog Trojstva u Sarajevu (1906), crkva sv. Ante u Busovači (1899), te sv. Ilije u Zenici (1910-1918).<sup>25</sup> Koliki je zapravo bio opseg Stuflessерovog djelovanja u Bosni i Hercegovini početkom 20. stoljeća može se vidjeti iz sačuvanih arhivskih knjiga njegove još uvijek aktivne radionice - samo je u Vrhbosanskoj nadbiskupiji od 1900. do 1918. godine čak 38 crkvenih ustanova od njega potraživalo oltare i kipove, križne puteve i raspela, te drugu sakralnu opremu.<sup>26</sup>

Prikazati sva ostvarenja Stuflesserove radionice u Bosni i Hercegovini bi zbog njihove brojnosti bilo gotovo nemoguće, a gore spomenute građevine su izdvojene budući da su u njima bili najreprezentativniji primjeri Stuflesserovih oltara i skulpture, odnosno, njihov nam je izgled ostao do danas poznat. Načelno govoreći, u pitanju su jednodijelni ili trodijelni oltari tipa „trijumfalnog luka”, kod kojih su u nišama retabla smješteni kipovi, a na razini predele i stipesa reljefi ili dekorativno oslikani paneli. Budući da ih je većina rađena u duhu kasnog historicizma, prevladavaju oltari tipa „oblog luka” (Rundbogenstil), kod kojega su otvori niša za kipove ili slikane pale polukružne forme, a upotpunjeni su dekorativnim i arhitektonskim oblicima preuzetim iz širokog repertoara renesansne i barokne umjetnosti. Glavni žrtvenici koje je Stuflesser prema Vančaševom nacrtu radio za Fojnicu i Kraljevu Sutjesku,<sup>27</sup> kao prepoznatljiv renesansni ornament imaju školjkasto zasvođene niše, a potom i tektoniku tzv. altdeutsch oltara, kod kojih su dekorativni elementi različitih volumena stupnjevito posloženi na kruništu. Žrtvenici u crkvi sv. Ćirila i Metoda u Sarajevu su pak „mješovitog stila”, budući da pored renesansnih imaju i poneki barokni element, od kojih je najprepoznatljiviji prelomljeni zabat na vrhu žrtvenika.<sup>28</sup> Eklektičnom i „nakićenom” izgledu spomenutih oltara u velikoj mjeri doprinosi bogata polikromija, te pozlata koja nije izostala ni na stilski „čistijim” varijantama. Kao takvi se mogu uzeti bočni oltari koje je, ponovno po Vančaševom modelu, Stuflesser izradio za crkvu Presvetog Trojstva u Novom Sarajevu,<sup>29</sup> a čiju neoromaničku arhitektoniku upotpunjuje i naglašava pozlata na smeđoj podlozi. Među oltare „zaobljenog luka” sa reduciranim polikromijom dali bi se još svrstati i neobarokni bočni oltari u sarajevskoj crkvi Kraljice Svetе Krunice na Banskom Brijegu, kod kojih zakriviljene plohe i delikatna pozlata imaju svježinu i izvjesnu lakoću neuobičajenu za tirolske oltare.

Pored oltara tipa „zaobljenog luka” Stuflesser je za BiH izrađivao i oltare tipa „prelomljenog luka” (Spitzbogenstil), odnosno opremu koja je bila neogotičke stilske konцепцијe. Među reprezentativnijim rješenjima za koja se zna kako su izgledala, bila je oprema koju je izradio za crkvu sv. Ante u Sarajevu, a koja je podrazumijevala bogate oltare i propovjedaonicu čijem su gotičkom izgledu doprinisile fijale, te naglašeni vertikalizam istih.<sup>30</sup> Jedini očuvani neogotički oltari koje je Stuflesser radio za BiH danas se nalaze u župnoj crkvi u Busovači, a riječ je o jednodijelnim retablima s kipovima kod kojega su niše sa infleksijskim otvorima. Za razliku od predhodno spomenutih, nacrte ovim oltarima je dao Marko Antonini, poznatiji kao umjetnik koji je oslikavao franjevačke samostanske crkve po Bosni.<sup>31</sup>

Neizostavan dio Stuflesserovih oltara činile su, naravno, i skulpture, odnosno figure svetaca koje su u daleko većem broju očuvane negoli sami oltari. Tipične nazarenske idealizacije, s kontemplativnim izrazima lica i reduciranoj gestikulacijom, ove skulpture odlikuje i harmonično proporcionaliranje, te izvanredna polikromacija koja se uspjela očuvati do danas. Najljepšim primjerima se mogu smatrati kipovi sv. Ane i Joakima na oltaru sv. Josipa u sjemenišnoj crkvi sv. Ćirila i Metoda u Sarajevu, čija vrhunska izrada navodi na pomisao da ih je sâm Stuflesser izradio. U nizu kipova koji najčešće prikazuju Srce Isusovo i Srce Marijino, sv. Antu ili sv. Franju, izradom, polikromacijom, te očuvanošću se ističu još i kipovi sv. Augustina, Ivana Nepomuka, Barbare i Notburge, smješteni na konzolama sarajevske crkve Kraljice Svetе Krunice. Vrijedilo bi još spomenuti i reljefe, među kojima se svojim dimenzijama i ikonografskom temom ističe onaj na retablu glavnog oltara župne crkve u Zenici, a koji je nastao 1910. god. prema zamislima tadašnjeg zeničkog župnika.<sup>32</sup>

Za razliku od Stuflesserovih radova, kojih je bilo izrazito mnogo, djela ostalih „Tiro-laca” se u Bosni i Hercegovini javljaju neuporedivo manje. Od poznatijih drvorezbara očuvano je svega nekoliko oltara i kipova, a arhivski podaci ne pružaju uvid u to da li ih je uopće i bilo više. Takav je, naime, slučaj s radovima koji nose signaturu **Franza Schmalzla**, kipara i drvorezbara, cijenjenog zbog „plasticiteta i kolorita statua koje je izrađivao”.<sup>33</sup> Iako dosta zastupljeni u crkvama Gornje Austrije, te sjeverozapadne Hrvatske, njegovi kipovi i oltari u Bosni i Hercegovini po brojnosti zauzimaju drugo mjesto, a vjerovatno su dobavljeni putem preporuka i reklama u katoličkim časopisima. Među najranijim poznatim djelima su mu kipovi sv. Franje i sv. Ivana Evandelistе, naručeni za oltar crkve Rođenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Brestovskom 1905. god., a godinu dana kasnije i kipovi sv. Ćirila i Metoda, te sv. Petra i sv. Pavla za već spominjanu crkvu Presvetog Trojstva u Sarajevu.<sup>34</sup> Potonje skulpture odlikuje vrsna izrada

i polikromacija draperije, koju upotpunjaju pozlaćene bordure, a kao distinktivan Schmalzlov element se javlja tamni inkarnat svetačkih likova. Sličnih odlika su i statue postavljene u tri Schmalzlova oltara u crkvi sv. Mihovila Arkandela u Varešu 1906. godine,<sup>35</sup> a koji su zbog neadekvatne restauracije uveliko izgubili od svog izvornog izgleda. Jedini sačuvani primjer koji ipak govori u prilog vrsnosti Schmalzla kao oltariste (Altarbauer) je žrtvenik kojega je izradio za župnu crkvu sv. Ante Padovanskog u Bugojnu – signirani oltar nastao početkom 20. stoljeća koji bi se stilski dao svrstat u neoromanički tip oltara, a po svojoj arhitektonici, te velikim reljefima koji ukrašavaju retabl jedan je od najspecifičnijih i vrijednih tirolskih radova u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Od djela iz radionice **Ferdinanda Prinotha**, potomka jedne od tirolskih porodica sdrvorezbarskom tradicijom, u BiH je očuvan samo jedan oltar, i to u crkvi sv. Petra i Pavla u Goricama kod Livna. Premda su Prinothi bili poznatiji po suradnji s porodicom Insam (radionica Insam & Prinoth),<sup>36</sup> oni od 1880. godine imaju i vlastiti atelje koji je isporučivao sakralnu opremu u južne krajeve Monarhije. Žrtvenik, kojega su 1908. godine izradili za gorički samostan,<sup>37</sup> izrazito je monumentalan, te bi se stilski dao svrstat u tip neobizantskih, odnosno, oltara zaobljenog luka. Pored reprezentativnih kipova sv. Petra i Pavla u središnjoj niši oltara, te sv. Ilike i sv. Juraja u bočnim nišama, ovaj oltar bogate polikromije i pozlate ukrašavaju još i reljefi s prizorima Melkisadekove i Abrahamove žrtve u razini predele, te Posljednje večere u razini stipesa. U goričkoj crkvi se na bočnim oltarima čuvaju još i Prinothovi kipovi Krista, sv. Ante, sv. Franje, sv. Josipa i sv. Stjepana, od kojih prvi, zbog načina obrade inkarnata i draperije bogatih nabora, predstavlja možda jedan od najboljih primjera ikonografske teme Srca Isusova kod nas.

Još jedan slučaj gdje se radovi neke tirolske radionice javljaju tek u jednoj crkvi je i manja župna crkva sv. Marka u Gradačcu, u koju je 1903. godine dopremljen oltar iz radionice Adolfa Vogla.<sup>38</sup> I ovdje je riječ o drvorezbaru koji je vodio ustanovu za crkvenu umjetnost (Kirchliche Kunstanstalt), s tim da je radionicu osnovao 1888. godine u Hallu kraj Innsbrucka, a ne u St. Ulrichu. Za gradačačku crkvu je Vogl zajedno s oltarom isporučio i kipove sv. Marka, te apostola sv. Petra i Pavla,<sup>39</sup> a od cijele oltarne grupe je očuvan samo prvi kip, dosta masivan i oštećen, ali ipak prepoznatljive nazarske impostacije i tiolske izrade.

Naposljetu bi vrijedilo spomenuti još i **Klarenza Hemmerlmayera** čije ime je značajno tek za kontekst Bosne i Hercegovine. Naime, fra Klarencije, kako su ga još zvali, bio je brat laik koji je neko vrijeme boravio među bosanskim franjevcima, te je u

razdoblju od 1905. do 1909. godine izradio nekoliko oltara za ondašnje samostanske i župne crkve. Premda se o njemu malo zna, tj. ne postoje podaci o tome gdje se obučavao i kako je došao u Bosnu, njegovi za sada poznati radovi daju zaključiti da se radilo o solidnom i produktivnom drvorezbaru tiolske provenijencije. Njegovi najraniji i sačuvani radovi su glavni oltari župne crkve sv. Ane u Banbrdu i Rođenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Breštovskom (1905), potom bočni oltar sv. Ante, te dva manja žrtvenika posvećena Majci Žalosnoj i fra Andelu Zvizdoviću u crkvi sv. Duha u Fojnici (1906), a onda i bočni oltari koje doraduje u crkvi sv. Petra i Pavla u Goricama kod Livna (1906).<sup>40</sup> Zna se da je Hemmerlmayer kasnije izradio i oltare za crkvu sv. Bonaventure u Visokom (1906), te crkve Uznesenja Marijina u Dolcu (1907) i Rami (1909), no izuzev glavnog žrtvenika dolačke crkve ni jedan od njih nije do danas sačuvan.<sup>41</sup> Na temelju postojećih se ipak može reći da ih je teško svrstat u jednu stilsku kategoriju, budući da su u potpunosti eklektični. Bilo da su jednodijelni ili trodijelni, gotovo po pravilu imaju polustubiće s volutama na kapitelima, koji flankiraju središnji dio retabla te nose preolmjene frizove na kojima počivaju dekorativne vase. Neizostavan element mu je i atika zabatnog završetka, kao i ornamentalne ploče na kojima su reljefno izrađeni anđeli raširenih krila. Treba još naglasiti da Hemmerlmayer nije izrađivao kipove za oltare, nego ih je naručivao iz Tirola, bilo od Stuflessera, Schmalzla ili nekog drugog majstora.<sup>42</sup>

Načelno govoreći, radovi „Tirolaca“ u Bosni i Hercegovini su međusobno dosta slični, no ipak nose specifična obilježja majstora koji su ih izrađivali. Većina kipova i oltara se može identificirati preko signatura radionica u kojima su nastali, no ima ih i dosta nepotpisanih, kao što su npr. skulpture koje su bile smještene u crkvi sv. Nikole u Visokom.<sup>43</sup> Atribucija takvih kipova ovisi o arhivskim podacima u samostanima i župama, koji su nažalost prorijedeni, kao uostalom i samo tiolsko ddrvorezbarstvo koje je tokom 20. stoljeća bilo žrtvom ratnih zbivanja, elementarnih nepogoda, a nekada i zanemarivanja struke.

### Dosadašnja valorizacija tirolskog kiparstva i oltaristike te njihovo trenutno stanje

Tiolsko ddrvorezbarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini, kao ni sakralno kiparstvo razdoblja historicizma, dosada nisu bili predmetom sistematičnog istraživanja i naučne valorizacije. Budući da su likovni fenomeni načelno procjenjivani prema vrijednosti i moderne umjetnosti, tokom prošlog stoljeća se uvriježilo mišljenje da tiolsko kiparstvo i oltaristica predstavljaju serijske proizvode, neoriginalna i neautentična

djela koja nemaju estetsku vrijednost, a samim tim ni značaj za struku. Kao ilustracija njihovog zapostavljanja u okvirima historijsko-umjetničkih pregleda u BiH može poslužiti primjer velikih izložaba održanih tokom sedamdesetih i osamdesetih godina u Sarajevu – na izložbi „Umjetnost u Bosni i Hercegovini 1892-1923.“ o tirolskom kiparstvu nije bilo ni spomena, dok je na izložbi „Blago franjevačkih samostana Bosne i Hercegovine“ bilo prikazano samo nekoliko kipova tiolske izrade s kraja 19. stoljeća, premda ih je od sakralne skulpture iz tog vremena još i najviše očuvano.<sup>44</sup> Negativno mišljenje o „Tirolcima“ dolazilo je tokom druge polovine 20. stoljeća i iz crkvenih krugova, te je po njemu tirolski obrt ocijenjen kao „austrougarski stilski import šablonske i „sladunjasto-kičerske forme“ koja ne pridonosi „estetskom i uopće duhovnom ugođaju“.<sup>45</sup>

Takav stav doprinio je zanemarivanju i propadanju izvjesnog broja tiolskih kipova i oltara širom BiH. Njihovom uklanjanju iz crkava su pogodovale i odluke Drugog vatikanskog koncila, po kojemu se nakon 60-tih godina mijenja liturgija, te forma i smještaj žrtvenika. Tako je u spomenutom vremenu došlo do „modernizacije“ čitavog niza crkava koje ostaju bez izvorne neostilske opreme, na čije mjesto dolaze radovi domaćih umjetnika. Eklatantan primjer predstavlja crkva franjevačkog samostana sv. Ante na Bistricu, iz koje je izbačen cjelokupan neogotički inventar StuflessEROve izrade kako bi ustupio mjesto umjetninama Ive Dulčića, Zdenka Grgića, Frane Kršinića i drugih.<sup>46</sup> Ne ulazeći u valorizaciju djela spomenutih umjetnika, treba ipak reći da je s ovakvom „obnovom“ nestala izvorna vrijednost interijera crkve sv. Ante, koju je arhitekt Josip Vančaš početkom stoljeća oblikovao po načelima Gesamtkunstwerka. Sličnih primjera ima dosta, a među obnavljanim crkvama bilo je, istina, i onih koje su stradale uslijed elementarnih nepogoda i ratnih zbivanja. Zemljotres koji je zadesio Banja Luku 1969. godine za istoimenu nadbiskupiju je značio devastaciju brojnih sakralnih objekata, a time i kompletног neostilskog inventara u njima. Tokom Drugog svjetskog rata također su stradavale bogomolje, pri čemu su samostanske crkve u Rami-Šćitu i Gučoj Gori nepovratno izgubile svoj izvorni izgled interijera, kao i tiolskih cjelina koje su ih oblikovale.<sup>47</sup> Daleko najveće devastacije desile su se ipak tokom rata 1992-1995. godine kada su brojni crkveni objekti bili metom granatiranja, ako ne i potpunog rušenja. Tiolski inventar u njima je uništan mećima i gelerima granata, skrnavljen je izravnom destrukcijom, paljenjem kipova i oltara, te otkidanjem njihovih pojedinih dijelova.<sup>48</sup>

Prema dosadašnjem istraživanju se može reći da je do danas najveći broj tiolskih kipova i oltara ostao očuvan u Vrhbosanskoj nadbiskupiji, tj. crkvama Sutješkog, Fojničkog i Gučogorskog arhiđakonata. Premda ih ima u dobrom stanju, te su tako vri-

jedni primjeri tiolskog drvorezbarstva kod nas, dosta ih je i degradirano nestručnim intervencijama i pokušajima restauracija. Kao primjer mogu poslužiti ranije spomenuti oltari Schmalzlove izrade u župnoj crkvi u Varešu koji su tokom 80-ih godina prefarbani, uslijed čega su izgubili svoju izvornu polikromaciju. Sličnu sudbinu dijele oltari u crkvi sv. Ilike u Zenici, kao i bočni oltari u crkvi sv. Ilike u Novom Šeheru. Kod potonjih se prilikom njihove „obnove“ nije u obzir uzimala izvorna polikromacija drvenih oltara, nego su isti u cijelosti i zajedno s kipovima sv. Josipa i sv. Juraja doslovno premazani bijelom bojom, vjerovatno zato da bi imitirali kamene oltare. Kao oštećene žrtvenike na ovom mjestu treba još navesti i dva bočna StuflessEROva oltara u crkvi Presvetog Trojstva u Novom Sarajevu – izvorno su uokvirivali oltarne pale, da bi nakon 1995. dobili improvizirana postolja za statue Blažene Djevice Marije i sv. Ane, koje svojom trodimenzionalnošću zapravo uopće ne odgovaraju plošnim retablima žrtvenika na kojima danas stoje. Pored oltara i sâmi kipovi su često predmet ruiniranja, budući da se kod pokušaja obnove povjeravaju nestručnim osobama koje ne poznaju tehnologiju izrade i polikromacije tiolskih umjetnina, a uz to ne poštuju ni izvorni izgled skulptura. Kao primjer takvog djelovanja najbolje može poslužiti StuflessEROv kip Presvetog Srca Isusova koji se čuva u župnoj crkvi sv. Juraja u Derventi, a koji je bez stvarne potrebe prefarban, uslijed čega je izgubio svoj blago nijansirani inkarnat, kontrastne boje i damast-ornamentaciju na draperiji.

Općenito se može reći da se u BiH prema oltarima i kipovima, kao i ostaloj crkvenoj opremi iz drvorezbarskih radionica u Tirolu, ne pristupa s dovoljnom stručnom pažnjom, niti su isti adekvatno zaštićeni. Osim što ne postoji svijest o vrijednosti starine, kakvu ima tiolski umjetnički obrt s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća, ne postoji ni učinkovit mehanizam koji bi onemogućio daljnje nestručno ophodenje prema ovom segmentu likovnog naslijeda u BiH. Važno je skrenuti pozornost na isti, upravo kako bi se sprječilo njegovo daljnje propadanje.

## Zaključak

Tiolsko kiparstvo i oltaristica kojima se počinju ukrašavati katoličke crkve u Bosni i Hercegovini u vrijeme austrougarske uprave, tipičan su primjer sakralne umjetnosti historicizma, te umjetničkog obrta s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća. Oblikovani po modelima nazarenskog slikarstva, te načelima stilske čistoće i jedinstva, kipovi i oltari tiolske izrade su bili jedan od ključnih nosilaca neostilskog oblikovanja sakralnih interijera,

te su doprinisili stvaranju tzv. Gesamtkunstwerka. U slučaju nekih od najreprezentativnijih crkava podignutih u spomenutom razdoblju, tirolski je crkveni inventar nastao prema zamislima samog Josipa pl. Vančaša, te je izrađivan u radionici Ferdinanda Stuflessera. Pored ovog kipara, čijih je djela u Bosni i Hercegovini bilo najviše, tirolski oltari i statue su naručivani i kod Franza Schmalzla, Ferdinanda Prinotha, Adolfa Vogla, te Klarena Hemmerlmayera. Njihovo dopremanje u novoosnovanu Vrhbosansku nadbiskupiju je poticao i sâm ordinarijat, kako zbog činjenice da u zemlji nije bilo domaćih kipara i obrtnika koji bi mogli zadovoljiti potrebe opreme crkava u nastajanju, tako i zbog povoljnijih ponuda u okviru kojih su „Tiroinci“ znali dosljedno realizirati cjelokupan sakralni inventar.

Premda je veliki broj tirolskih radova u drvetu propao tokom prošlog stoljeća, što zbog ratnih zbivanja i elementarnih nepogoda, što zbog zapostavljanja i nemarnog odnosa prema njima, sačuvana djela „Tirolaca“ u pojedinim slučajevima imaju neospornu historijsko-umjetničku vrijednost, te značaj za razumijevanje razdoblja historicizma u Bosni i Hercegovini. Samim tim što su prorijeđeni, tirolski oltari i kipovi zavrjeđuju pažnju struke, ali i adekvatnu zaštitu od dalnjeg ruiniranja, kao i nestručnog obnavljanja. Lako se za tirolsko drvorezbarstvo ne može reći da predstavlja vrhunac likovne umjetnosti na prijelomu stoljeća, njegova vrijednost leži u činjenici da ono stoji kao svjedočanstvo historijskih, društvenih i ekonomskih prilika, a jednako tako i umjetničkih kretanja koja su po dolasku austrougarske uprave zahvatila i Bosnu i Hercegovinu.

<sup>1</sup> Značajan doprinos poučavanju graditeljstva u BiH u doba austrougarske uprave dali su Ibrahim Krzović, Nedžad Kurto, Jela Božić, Branka Dimitrijević, Mehmed Hrasnica i dr., dok su se slikarstvom najvećim dijelom bavile Ljubica Mladenović i Azra Begić.

<sup>2</sup> Među najpoznatijima je bio čuveni slikar i kipar Michael Pacher. Vidi: Erich Egg, *Kunst in Tirol*, Bd. 1: Baukunst und Plastik. Innsbruck, Wien, München: Tyrolia Verlag, 1970, 262-318.

<sup>3</sup> Reinhard Rampold, Kirchenausstattungen vom Historismus bis zum Jugendstil, u: *Kunst in Tirol*, Bd. 2: Vom Barock bis in die Gegenwart, (ur.) Paul Naredi-Rainer, Lukas Madersbacher. Innsbruck-Wien: Tyrolia-Verlag, 2007, 503-504.

<sup>4</sup> Irena Kraševac, Tirolska sakralna skulptura i oltari na prijelazu 19. u 20. stoljeće u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj, u: Analitische Galerije A. Augustinčića, 26/2006, Klanjec, 2007, 3-10; Irena Kraševac, Neostilska sakralna skulptura i oltarna arhitektura u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj, doktorska disertacija, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> I. Kraševac (bilj. 4), 5

<sup>6</sup> R. Rampold (bilj. 3), 504.

<sup>7</sup> O arhitekturi historicizma u Beču i Monarhiji više kod: Renate Wagner-Rieger, Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert, Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970; Susanne Kronbichler-Schach, Architektur, u: Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs, 1. Teil, Katalog des NÖ Landesmuseum, Wien, 1984, 490-500.

<sup>8</sup> Gesamtkunstwerk je termin koji je prvi upotrijebio kompozitor Richard Wagner u eseju Umjetničko djelo budućnosti iz 1849. godine, kako bi označio cijelovito umjetničko djelo sačinjeno od različitih umjetničkih medija. Sam koncept javio se još i ranije, i to u doba baroka, kada su arhitektura, slikarstvo i skulptura kombinirani s dekorativnim umjetnostima. U vrijeme historicizma Gesamtkunstwerk je predstavljao umjetnički ideal. Vidi: Richard Wagner, *The Art-Work of the Future*, u: *Art in Theory, 1815-1900*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009, 471-578.

<sup>9</sup> Više o Schmidtu kod: Peter Haiko, Friedrich von Schmidt, Ein Gotischer Rationalist, Friedrich von Schmidt (1825-1891), Ein Gotischer Rationalist, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1991, 121-134.

<sup>10</sup> R. Rampold (bilj. 3), 515.

<sup>11</sup> O učenicima Friedricha Schmidta kod: József Sisa, Neogothic Architecture and Restoration of Historic Buildings in Central Europe; Friedrich Schmidt and His School, u: *Journal of the Society of the Architectural Historians*, 6/1, 2002, 170-187; Dragan Damjanović, Bečka akademija likovnih umjetnosti i hrvatska arhitektura historicizma. Hrvatski učenici Fridricha von Schmidta, katalog izložbe, HAZU, Zagreb, 2011; Dragan Damjanović, Radovi hrvatskih arhitekata u časopisu *Wiener Bauhütte*, u: Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, 30/2006, Zagreb, 229-240.

<sup>12</sup> O slikarstvu nazarenaca više u: Die Nazarener. Religion, Macht, Kunst, katalog izložbe održane u Schirn-Kunsthalle Frankfurt. Köln: König, 2005; Cordula Grawe, Historicism and the Symbolic Imagination in Nazarene Art, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 89, No. 1 (Mar., 2007), 82-107. Alexander Rauch, Neoclassicism and the Romantic Movement; The Nazarenes and the Catholic South, Neoclassicism and Romanticism. Ullmann & Könemann, 2007, 452-463.

<sup>13</sup> R. Rampold (bilj. 3), 503. Gasser i Erler su klesali kipove i reljefe za Altlerchenfeld i Votivnu crkvu u Beču, potom Katedralu u Linzu, te sudjelovali na obnovi crkve sv. Stjepana. Knabl se bavio drvorezbarstvom, a od 1863. god. Je vodio katedru crkvene skulpture na Likovnoj akademiji u Münchenu, te je za Frauenkirche u istome gradu izradio novi oltar. (Thieme/Becker: Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Vollmer: Allgemeinem Lexikon der bildenden Künstler des XX. Jahrhunderts, Leipzig 2008; The Catholic Encyclopedia, New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913.)

<sup>14</sup> Vidi: Titus Burkhardt, Sveta umjetnost na istoku i zapadu. Sarajevo: Tugra, 2007, 187-211.

<sup>15</sup> I. Kraševac (bilj. 4), 6; R. Rampold (bilj. 3), 504.

<sup>16</sup> Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2007, 114.

<sup>17</sup> O Vančašu više kod: Jela Božić, Arhitekt Josip pl. Vančaš, Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva u periodu austrougarske uprave (doktorska disertacija) Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Arhitektonski fakultet u Sarajevu, 1989.

<sup>18</sup> Andrea Baotić, Prvostolna crkva Srca Isusova - Sarajevska katedrala, Radovi Hrvatskog društva za znanost i umjetnost, Sarajevo: Hrvatsko društvo za znanost i umjetnost, 2010, 57-78.

<sup>19</sup> Olga Maruševski, O vrednovanju i čuvanju neostilske crkvene opreme - u povodu obnove u ratu oštećene župne crkve Sv. Križa u Sisku, Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, 20/1996, 154.

<sup>20</sup> Vidi: Snježana Mutapčić, Sarajevske crkve kroz povijest umjetnosti, Hrvatska misao, 11-12. Sarajevo: Matica hrvatska, 1999, 135-151; Andrea Baotić, Historicizam u arhitekturi na primjeru katoličkih sakralnih objekata u Sarajevu 1878-1918, u: Zbornik radova s međunarodne konferencije Bosna i Hercegovina u okviru Austro-Ugarske 1878-1918, Sarajevo: Filozofski fakultet, 2011, 537-559.

<sup>21</sup> Više kod: Irena Kraševac, Kipar Ferdinand Stuflesser. Doprinos tirolskom sakralnom kiparstvu druge polovine 19. stoljeća u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj, Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti, 27/1996, Zagreb, 231-239; I. Kraševac (bilj. 4), 11-13.

<sup>22</sup> Arhiv Vrhbosanske nadbiskupije (dalje: ANV), 335/1894.

<sup>23</sup> Vidi: Andrea Baotić, Neostilska sakralna oprema bogoslovne crkve sv. Ćirila i Metoda, u: Studia Vrhbosnensia 15, Katolički bogoslovni fakultet u Sarajevu, 2011, 193-206.

<sup>24</sup> O Stufleserovim djelima u spomenutim crkvama više kod: Andrea Baotić, Sakralna skulptura i oltaristica u Vrhbosanskoj nadbiskupiji na prijelomu 19. i 20. stoljeća, kvalificirajući rad na poslijediplomskom doktorskom studiju povijesti umjetnosti, Filozofski fakultet, Zagreb, 2012, 45-52.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Podaci o svim naručiteljima se nalaze u arhivskim knjigama Journal (4 knjige od 1900. do 1916. god) i Hauptbuch (6 knjiga od 1900 do 1920. god.) koje sam imala priliku konsultirati prilikom posjeta Stufleserovo radionici u St. Ulrichu tokom jula 2014. godine.

<sup>27</sup> Nacrti oltara se nalaze u arhivima spomenutih samostana. U bečkom časopisu Der Bautechniker je objavljen Vančašev nacrt za glavni oltar crkve sv. Duha u Fojnici (Hochaltar der Klosterkirche zu Fojnica in Bosnien; Beilage zum „Bautechniker, 1898/XVIII, br. 34, str. 703), a ranija verzija istog oltara je objavljena u časopisu Viesti društva inžinira i arhitekta u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji (Glavni žrvenik župne crkve u Fojnici, god. 1897, br. 2, str. 3).

<sup>28</sup> Nacrt glavnog oltara se nalazi u arhivu sjemeništa, a nacrt bočnog oltara sv. Josipa je objavljen u časopisu Der Bautechniker (Beilage zum „Bautechniker“, 1897/ XVII, br. 53).

<sup>29</sup> Bočni oltari imaju zapravo slične elemente kao i glavni oltar kojega je Anton Lušina radio po Vančaševom nacrtu, što će reći da su ili po njemu rađeni ili je i za njih Vančaš dao poseban nacrt.

<sup>30</sup> Fotografija interijera crkve sv. Ante se čuva u arhivu župe Novo Sarajevo, a par ih je objavljeno i u publikaciji: Franjo M. Blažević, Crkva sv. Ante Padovanskog u Sarajevu, Tiskara D. & A. Kajon, Nakladom odbora za gradnju crkve, Sarajevo, 1917.

<sup>31</sup> ANV 1225/1898. O Antoniniju kod: Ljubica Mladenović, Građansko slikarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1981, 54-70.

<sup>32</sup> A. Baotić (bilj. 24), 50.

<sup>33</sup> Kraševac (bilj. 4), 22.

<sup>34</sup> Više o navedenim Schmalzovim djelima u BiH kod: A. Baotić (bilj. 24), 52-54.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> I. Kraševac, (bilj. 4), 15.

<sup>37</sup> Ignacije Gavran, Samostanska crkva na Gorici kod Livna, Livanjski kraj u povijesti. Livno-Split, 1994, 199-213.

<sup>38</sup> ANV 1903/1014

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> O Hemmerlmayerovim radovima više kod: A. Baotić (bilj. 24), 54-57. O oltarima u Livnu: I. Gavran (bilj. 37), 209-210.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> Danas se kipovi sv. Bonaventure, sv. Franje, sv. Ante s Djetetom, BDM i Kristova tijela nalaze u samostanu u Visokom.

<sup>44</sup> Vidi: Umjetnost Bosne i Hercegovine 1894-1923, katalog izložbe. Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija BiH, 1978; Blago franjevačkih samostana Bosne i Hercegovine, katalog izložbe, Sarajevo: Zavod za zaštitu kulturno-istorijskog naslijeđa Bosne i Hercegovine, 1988.

<sup>45</sup> Zrinka Vilić, Marko Karamatić, Na izvorima autentičnog stvaralaštva (Umjetnička obnova crkve sv. Ante Padovanskog u Sarajevu), Jukić, br. 8, 1978, str. 129-137. Sličnih stavova bio je i fra Ignacije Gavran, vidi: I. Gavran (bilj. 37); Župna crkva u Varešu, Sarajevo: Svjetlo riječi, 1998; Vrata u život, Uz 100. obljetnicu postojanje zgrade Franjevačke klasične gimnazije u Visokom, Svjetlo riječi, Sarajevo, 2000.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> O obnovama samostanskih crkava u: Blago franjevačkih samostana Bosne i Hercegovine, (ur. dr. Marko Karamatić, dr. Andrija Nikić). Zagreb: Privredni vjesnik - Turistička propaganda, 1990.

<sup>48</sup> O historiji i današnjem stanju crkava u BiH nakon 1995. god. kod: Franjo Marić, Vrhbosanska nadbiskupija na početku trećeg tisućljeća. Sarajevo-Zagreb: Nadbiskupski ordinarijat vrhbosanski, 2004; Franjo Marić i Anto Orlovac, Banjolučka biskupija u riječi i slici od 1881. do 2006., Banja Luka: Biskupski ordinarijat, 2006. Ilija Živković, Raspeta crkva u Bosni i Hercegovini, uništavanje sakralnih objekata u Bosni i Hercegovini (1991.-1996.), Hrvatski informativni centar, Biskupska konferencija Bosne i Hercegovine, Zagreb, 1997.

Ivana Udovičić

## LIKOVNI ARHIV ČASOPISA NADA

Rad donosi osnovne podatke o časopisu *Nada*, s akcentom na ilustratorima koji s ovim časopisom surađuju. Njihov značaj je višesmjeran. S jedne strane časopis unosi duh secesije u ove krajeve, ali istovremeno odašilje sliku jednog novog i nepoznatog svijeta u Europu. Njegov značaj osobito je vidljiv u formiranju opusa prvih školovanih bosanskohercegovačkih slikara.

**Ključne riječi:** časopis *Nada*, braća Arndt, Maximilian Liebenwein, Ivana Kobilca, Ludevík Kuba, Sarajevski slikarski klub

Malo je koji časopis iz područja kulture u Bosni i Hercegovini izazvao toliko oprečnih stajališta, različitih tumačenja, kritika i hvalospjeva, kao sarajevska *Nada*. Ovaj pomno osmišljen projekat, sa jasno definiranim ciljevima od samog početka, nije oskudjevao ni u novcu, ni u ambicijama svojih osnivača. U njega se polagala stvarna nuda u uspjeh, ne samo na području promoviranja kulture, već i u uspjeh čitave politike koju je provodila Austro-Ugarska monarhija u novoj provinciji, a to je afirmacija i povjerenje različitim tradicijama, podvedenih pod zajednički imenitelj bosanstva. Unutar tog projekta vješto se manipuliralo sa nacionalnim i vjerskim osjećajima, čas ih povezujući, a čas potpirujući međusobne sukobe, ali uvijek u onoj i onolikoj mjeri koliko je odgovaralo samoj Monarhiji. Kratki vijek časopisa ukazuje na neuspjeh čitave ideje, ali značaj koji će *Nada* izvršiti na kulturološkom planu nitko joj ne može osporiti. Časopis *Nada* izlazio je u periodu od 1895. do 1903.g. i o njegovoј važnosti i utjecaju do sada je ukazivano više puta.<sup>1</sup>



Leo Arndt, *NASLOV ZA NADU*, tempera na kartonu, 48 x 10 cm,

Umjetnička galerija BiH inv.br. 2080

Izdavan je od strane Zemaljske vlade za BiH, što znači da je finansiran direktno iz Beča, preko Benjamina Kállaya, zajedničkog ministra finansija i upravitelja Bosne i Hercegovine. Glavni urednik i „ideolog“ časopisa bio je Kosta Hörmann (u to doba vladin savjetnik i direktor Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu), ali će vrlo brzo glavne poslove u redakciji preuzeti Silvije Strahimir Kranjčević. Za sve vrijeme svog izlaženja štampan je u Zemaljskoj štampariji u Sarajevu<sup>2</sup>. Sva trojica spomenutih aktera u značajnoj će mjeri utjecati na formiranje časopisa. Od smog početka zamišljeno je da časopis predstavlja informativno, zanimljivo i poučno štivo koje obiluje priložima iz regionala (Monarhije), ali koje donosi i značajne informacije o kulturnom životu drugih evropskih centara. Časopis je izlazio na lokalnom (zemaljskom) jeziku,<sup>3</sup> u dva istovjetna izdanja pisana na dva pisma (latinica i cirilica). Povod za pokretanje ovog časopisa sasvim sigurno je bila želja za kontroliranim formiranjem kulturne svijesti u novoprisvojenoj provinciji. On je logičan slijed kulturne politike koju je Monarhija sprovodila u BiH, pa je dakle, nakon osnivanja prvih gimnazija i muzeja<sup>4</sup>, kao preduvjjeta za kulturni razvoj po modelu drugih austrougarskih provincijskih središta, stvorena pogodna klima za pokretanje ilustriranih časopisa za „pouku, zabavu i umjetnost“. *Nada* je imala zadatak približiti svojim čitateljima ostale dijelove Monarhije, prezentirati ih kao njen sastavni dio, povezati međusobne različitosti naroda i kulture, te istovremeno otkriti samome Beču tu novu provinciju. Pripreme do izlaska prvog broja trajale su gotovo godinu dana,<sup>5</sup> a temeljile su se na intenzivnoj prepisci između

Sarajeva i Beča (Zemaljske vlade za BiH i Zajedničkog ministarstva finansija, odnosno između Hömranna i Kállaya)<sup>6</sup>. U prvom broju čitav projekat je predstavljen kao nastojanje da se u ovom časopisu „ujedine sve duševne sile kojima narod raspolaže“ te su autori poticani na slanje priloga. Ciljna skupina je trebala biti, pored BiH, Dalmacija, Srbija, Bugarska, Crna Gora, te drugi dijelovi Austro-Ugarske monarhije.<sup>7</sup>



Ewald Arndt Čeplin, PLAST, tuš na kartonu, 31 x 23 cm, dd: Ewald Arndt,  
Umjetnička galerija BiH inv.br. 2010

Časopis je imao obilatu finansijsku podršku Vlade, te se od samog početka moglo krenuti sa luksuznom štampom, što je uključivalo mnoštvo ilustracija, kao i značajne autorske honorare, čime se računalo privući što više suradnika.

Uprkos činjenici da je čitav projekat osmišljen vrlo temeljito i precizno, te postavljen i kasnije realiziran kao potreban, pa samim time i opravdan poticaj kulturnom razvoju, on je cijelo vrijeme svog izlaska, koje nije trajalo ni punu deceniju, ostao vezan za ličnost Benjamina Kállaya i njegovu politiku prema Bosni (gasi se samo par

mjeseci nakon njegove smrti). Nekoliko je razloga zbog kojih je došlo do gašenja ovog časopisa, ali presudan je svakako bio nedovoljan odaziv kako suradnika tako i čitalaca, što je ukazivalo i na generalno neprihvatanje politike koju je zastupala Austro-Ugarska u ovim krajevima.<sup>8</sup> Neuspjeh *Nade*, ako tako možemo nazvati njeno kratkotrajno izlaženje, sa ove se vremenske distance može tumačiti kao prvi neuspjeh Austro-Ugarske monarhije u BiH. Razloge nemogućnosti da ostvari postavljene ciljeve objavljene u prvom broju<sup>9</sup> treba tražiti na širem planu od onog kulturnog.

O književnim aspektima časopisa *Nada* postoje ozbiljnije analize i osvrti,<sup>10</sup> dok se o likovnim prilozima, koji se u literaturi često spominju, ističe kako je upravo arhiv ilustracija *Nade* inicirao početak i razvoj moderne među bosanskohercegovačkim slikarima.<sup>11</sup> Nažalost, ovaj likovni segment još uvijek nije sustavno obrađen i još uvjek čeka ozbiljniju analizu i interpretaciju, pa ovom prilikom iznosim samo osnovne informacije. Likovni arhiv *Nade* danas broji nekoliko stotina crteža i slika, djelatnost autora od kojih su najvažniji braća Ewald<sup>12</sup> i Leo Arndt i Maximilian Liebenwein. Oni će, zajedno sa Ivanom Kobilcom, početkom dvadesetog stoljeća оформити Sarajevski slikarski klub te na likovnom planu sprovoditi različite aktivnosti.

Braća Arndt dolaze iz okoline Leipziga, ali su tamo ostali potpuno nepoznati. Glavni dio njihovog opusa vezan je za balkanske zemlje i najvećim dijelom dokumentiran na stranicama *Nade*. O Leovom životnom putu ne znamo gotovo ništa, osim da je u Sarajevu boravio od 1895. do 1903., što se poklapa sa njegovim angažmanom u *Nadi*. Također je zabilježeno da kraće vrijeme predaje u gimnaziji u Tuzli. Ewald Arndt, nakon studija u Njemačkoj, radi u gimnaziji u Sofiji, a u Sarajevu, kao i njegov brat, boravi od 1895. do 1903. O djelima Ewalda Arndta Čeplina zabilježeno je da imaju lirske dopadljive mekoću, dok su djela njegovog brata karakterizirana živim potezom i tehničkom dotjeranošću.

Maximilian Liebenwein rođen je 1869. u Beču. Studirao na Likovnoj akademiji u Beču, kod prof. Bergera. Nakon toga, od 1892. pohađao je specijalne studije historijskog slikarstva, prvo u Karlsruheu, kod tada veoma poznatog i cijenjenog prof. Heinricha von Zügela, a potom kod istog profesora u Münchenu. U Sarajevu boravi nekoliko puta u periodu od 1897. do 1904. Bio je aktivan član Secesije, jedno vrijeme čak i njen potpredsjednik. Umro je 1926. godine u Münchenu.

Za razliku od braće Arndt, Max Liebenwein posjeduje opori samosvojni potez, koji odudara od ostalih ilustratora. Njegov izraz je lako prepoznatljiv i najviše se približava duhu secesije.

Slovenačka slikevica Ivana Kobilca u Sarajevo dolazi po pozivu i kao već afirmirana umjetnica. Rođena je u Ljubljani 1861. Slikevstvo je studirala u Beču i Münchenu. U Sarajevo je pozvana da izradi portret nadbiskupa Štadlera. Zbog čega je njen boračak ovdje bio puno duži nego što je potrebno za izradu jednog portreta (od 1897. do 1905.), ostalo je nerazjašnjeno. Pored angažmana u *Nadi Kobilica* je u Sarajevu ostavila i nekoliko primjera fresco slikarstva, od kojih su do danas sačuvani oni u crkvi sv. Ćirila i Metoda. Njene slike objavljene u *Nadi* uglavnom prevazilaze formu ilustracija, opravdavajući tako epitete vrsnog realiste. Nažalost, njena djela reproducirana u ovom časopisu nisu ostala u Sarajevu.<sup>13</sup>

Po zastupljenosti ilustracija za „četvorkom“ nimalo ne zaostaje Ludvík Kuba (1863 - 1956), poznati češki slikar i muzikolog koji u Sarajevu boravi upravo u periodu izlaženja *Nade*. Gotovo da i nema broja bez njegovih ilustracija, uglavnom pejzaža i panorama, koje su nastajale prilikom njegovih čestih putovanja po balkanskim zemljama. Iako se njegov opus svrstava između impresionizma i secesije, u *Nadi* preovladavaju radovi koji pripadaju drugom od ovih stilova.

Među brojnim imenima ističe se i J. V. Mrkvička, jedan od prvih suradnika, ali koji u ovom časopisu, nažalost, neće dugo objavljivati. Autor je to koji svoje radove za *Nadu* šalje iz Bugarske, uglavnom prezentirajući folklorne motive. Ferdinand Velc također je poznat po motivima iz seoskog života, ali i po alegorijskim ilustracijama pjesama, a Jaro Chadima je po svom izrazu možda najbliži Liebenweinu, odnosno secesiji.



Leo Arndt, *ŽENSKA BANJA ILIDŽA*, lavirani tuš i tempera na kartonu, 44 x 28 cm, dlu: WLA, Umjetnička galerija BiH inv.br. 1806

Ilustracije uglavnom prate tematske priloge (putopise), kojima je *Nada* obilovala, prezentirajući krajolike te folklorne motive u vidu narodnih nošnji i običaja. Teritorijalno, oni se vežu za širi prostor balkanskog poluotoka, ali ne samo za njega.<sup>14</sup> Pored naručenih ilustracija *Nada* obiluje reprodukcijama u to doba više ili manje poznatih slikara i kipara, a koje su, treba to naglasiti, date u visokoj tiskarskoj kvaliteti.<sup>15</sup>

U želji da odgovori na vrlo različita interesovanja, časopis donosi različite vrste vijesti i informacija, koje su popraćene službenim portretima vladara i visokih dužnosnika, kao i drugih javnih ličnosti iz Monarhije i susjednih država,<sup>16</sup> te fotografijama sa važnih društvenih događanja.<sup>17</sup> Sve objavljene slike prate i kraći opisi na kraju izdanja.<sup>18</sup> Zanimljivo je pratiti kako se iz godine u godinu mijenjao repertoar ilustriranog dijela. Od naručivanih ilustracija, kojima su obilovali prvi brojevi, kasnije primat preuzima fotografija,<sup>19</sup> da bi u posljednjim brojevima ilustracije u značajnoj mjeri po-

tisnule reprodukcije umjetničkih djela velikih majstora (E. Delacroixa, P.P. Rubensa, G. Courbea, A. Muche, I. Rjepine, ...) U tom segmentu javljaju se i djela etabliranih umjetnika iz regiona (Celestina Medovića, Klementa Menci Crnčića, Paje Jovanovića, Ivane Kobilce - koja aktivno sudjeluje u likovnom životu Sarajeva, a u publicira ranije nastala djela.). U tematskom smislu dominiraju genre scene i pejzaži. Sasvim je sigurno da je ubrzani tehnološki napredak omogućio reproduciranje likovnih djela poznatih autora, koja su kod domaće publike nailazila na više pažnje i interesovanja nego naručivane ilustracije na temu folklora iz regiona, tako da se ove u posljednjim brojevima gotovo više nisu ni pojavljivale.

Likovni arhiv Nade čuvao se najprije u kolekciji Zemaljskog muzeja i kao takav postat će nukleus Galerije slika osnovane 1930. kao još jedan od departmana Muzeja, iz koje će nakon Drugog svjetskog rata nastati Umjetnička galerija Bosne i Hercegovine. Ovaj arhiv smatra se također važnim faktorom u nastanku bosanskohercegovačke moderne. Za neke slikare iz prve generacije slike objavljuvane na stranicama *Nade* predstavljat će sasvim sigurno prvi kontakt sa slikarstvom uopće. Pored ilustratora koji su, s jedne strane, prikazivali motive domaćeg pejzaža i folklora, a u iste te motive, s druge strane, uvodili duh secesije, Nada je donosila i brojne reprodukcije djelâ renomiranih europskih slikara. Nema dvojbe da se Gabrijel Jurkić upravo u *Nadi* prvi put susreo s Boeklinovim slikarstvom, i to upravo s onim reprodukcijama koje će i sam kopirati deceniju i pol nakon što je *Nada* prestala izlaziti.

Upravo zahvaljujući svojim ilustratorima *Nada* je imala dvosmjeran utjecaj. Liebenwein, Kobilca i braća Arndt osnivaju 1900. Sarajevski slikarski krug i izdaju grafičku mapu od <sup>24</sup> lista, inspiriranu prizorima iz bosanskog života. Cilj je bio prezentirati tu mapu izvan granica Bosne i Hercegovine<sup>20</sup>. Drugi primjer ilustracija Nade u kontekstu srednjoeuropskog slikarstva je objavljanje priloga M. Liebenweina u časopisu „Ver Sacrum“, zvaničnom glasniku bečke secesije.<sup>21</sup> Njegove zapise prate brojne ilustracije nastale prilikom boravka u Bosni. Nažalost, originali ovih ilustracija nisu ostali u sarajevskom arhivu *Nade*. Knjiga Heinricha Rennera: „Durch Bosnien und die Herzegowina kreuz und quer“ iz 1896. također je svojevrstan putopis po Bosni i Hercegovini, koji ističe njene „prirodne ljepote i silni kulturni i gospodarstveni napredak u novije doba“<sup>22</sup> I ovo je izdanje opremljeno ilustracijama braće Arndt, što sasvim sigurno doprinosi promociji ove najmlađe provincije u sastavu Monarhije. Na koncu imamo još i podatak da je članak o Bosni i Hercegovini publiciran i

u „Westermanns Monatshefte“, Braunschweig, 1907, zbog kojeg Leo Arndt moli Zemaljski muzej da mu ustupi radove iz arhiva Nade. Kako sâm slikar ističe, riječ je o „jednom uglednom žurnalu koji čita dobra publika“<sup>23</sup>



Maximilian Liebenwein, AUTOPICTURE, lavirani tuš i tempera na kartonu, 30 x 54 cm dlu: ML 1900, Umjetnička galerija BiH inv.br. 1929

O opravdanosti pokretanja ovakvog časopisa govori broj pretplatnika i tiraž koji je *Nada* imala na samom početku svoga izlaženja, a koji je u pozitivnom smislu iznenadio i same izdavače.<sup>24</sup> Ali, broj pretplatnika je tokom godina varirao, a pred gašenje časopisa značajno je opao. Ne može se osporiti činjenica da je *Nada* bila čitana, iako časopis nije u potpunosti bio prihvaćen. Za devet godina izlaženja *Nada* je oscilirala u svom karakteru, pa i u kvalitetu, te mijenjala kurs i u političkom i u tematskom smislu. Od časopisa kojeg je osnovala Austrougarska uprava u Bosni i Hercegovini, a koji je obuhvatao šire kulurološko područje, postao je časopis koji je pred kraj svog izlaženja ocjenjivan kao hrvatski uglavnom književni. Nedostaci za koje se vjerovalo da će s vremenom biti otklonjeni, poput bojkota od strane značajnijih srpskih autora,<sup>25</sup> ubrzo su se pokazali kao trajan problem koji se, doduše, pokušavao kompenzirati značajnim prilozima hrvatskih autora, što je s vremenom samo mijenjalo urednički kurs i profil čitalačke publike, ali nije uspjelo od *Nade* napraviti časopis kakvim su ga, barem u javnosti, na početku zamišljali.<sup>26</sup>



Ludvík Kuba, KONJI S TOVARIMA, lavirani tuš i bijela tempera, 48 x 23 cm, dlu: L. Kuba, Umjetnička galerija BiH inv.br.1898

<sup>1</sup> R. Besarović, Iz kulturnog života u Sarajevu pod austrougarskom upravom, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1974, 106. i dalje. R. Besarović, Kultura i umjetnost BiH pod austrougarskom upravom - grada, Arhiv BiH, Sarajevo, 1968. B. Čorić, *Nada* - književnohistorijska monografija, knjiga I i bibliografija knjiga II, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1978. Lj. Mladenović, Građansko slikarstvo u BiH u XIX vijeku, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1978. A. Begić, Umjetnost u BiH 1894-1923, Umjetnička galerija BiH, Sarajevo, 1978. H. Kreševljaković, Izabrana djela IV, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Slova su naručena iz carske i kraljevske dvorske ljevaonice Poppelbaum u Beču, a papir od Eduarda Musila, vlasnika fabrike papira u Zenici.

<sup>3</sup> U *Nadi* se nikada ne navodi jezička određenost, ali o tome se u Bosni i Hercegovini već ranije raspravljalo. Vidi B. Čorić, *Nada*: književnohistorijska monografija, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1978, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Prva gimnazija u Sarajevu osnovana je 1879, gimnazija u Mostaru 1893, a Zemaljski muzej 1888. godine.

<sup>5</sup> Od veljače 1894, kada Hörmann šalje u Beč izvješće u vezi pokretanja novog časopisa, do 1. siječnja 1895, kada izlazi prvi broj *Nade*.

<sup>6</sup> R. Besarović, Kultura i umjetnost u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom, Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, 1968.

<sup>7</sup> R. Besarović navodi Hörmannova predviđanja: „Prema Hermanovom predviđanju, broj pretplatnika novog časopisa iznosio bi u Bosni i Hercegovini 700 primjeraka (500 latiničkog i 200 ciriličkog), drugdje u Austro-Ugarskoj 200 (150 latiničkog i 50 ciriličkog). Za Srbiju, Bugarsku i Crnu Goru Herman je predviđao 100 pretplatnika isključivo ciriličkog izdanja, a u ostalim državama ukupno 70 pretplatnika, od čega 50 latiničkog, a 20 ciriličkog izdanja.“ Risto Besarović (bilj. 1, 1974), 112.

<sup>8</sup> „Cijenjeni čitatelju pošto broj naših pretplatnika nikako nije dostatan tim više, što se je na izmaku devetog godišta *Nade* utvrdilo, da se taj broj ni ne može povećati u takvoj mjeri, da bi bar donekle podoban vrsti ovakova izdanja, zaključilo je potpisano da se ovaj list obustavi koncem godine 1903.“ *Nada*, god IX, br. 24, 15.12. 1903, 325.

<sup>9</sup> „Našim čitaocima!“, *Nada*, 1, 1895, 1.

<sup>10</sup> B. Čorić (1978)

<sup>11</sup> A. Begić, Umjetnost Bosne i Hercegovine 1894-1923, 1978, poglavje: Slikarstvo, bez paginacije.

<sup>12</sup> Prvi ilustrator koji se odazvao pozivu K. Hörmanna i 1894. došao iz Sofije u Sarajevo.

<sup>13</sup> Lj. Mladenović, Građansko slikarstvo u BiH u 19. vijeku, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1982.

<sup>14</sup> *Nada* također donosi i ilustracije iz Češke, Poljske, Austrije, Njemačke...

<sup>15</sup> Zanimljiv je podatak da je otprilike u isto vrijeme pokrenuta i mostarska Zora, koja u svom obraćanju Zemaljskoj vladu najavljuje tek kao mogućnost objavlјivanje i „pokoje slike“. R. Besarović (1968, 134).

<sup>16</sup> F. Jozef, B. Kállay, V. Emanuel...

<sup>17</sup> Svjetske izložbe u Parizu, Budimpešti, "izložbe u Mlecima"...

<sup>18</sup> Iako se kratki opis tražio od samih autora, nerijetko ga je pisao sam Kranjčević. Opširnije vidi: B. Čorić (1978, 825).

<sup>19</sup> Tu se najčešće spominje ime fotografa A. Topića, čiji se negativi i danas čuvaju u kolekciji Zemaljskog muzeja BiH.

<sup>20</sup> A. Begić (1978), poglavje: Prilike, bez paginacije

<sup>21</sup> M. Liebenwein, Auszug aus drei Reisebriefen von meiner Reise nach Bosnien 1900, Ver Sacrum, V Jg, 1902, Seiten 124-136.

<sup>22</sup> F.C. Šegvić, Durch Bosnien und die Hercegovina kreuz und quer, *Nada*, Sarajevo, 1896, 218.

<sup>23</sup> Originalna prepiska L. Arndta i Ć. Truhelke, dokumentacija UGBiH.

<sup>24</sup> R. Besarović, (1974), 112.

<sup>25</sup> Zmajev odgovor Hörmannu vidi: Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Bosanska *Nada*, Zastava, 29, od 04.11.1894, Novi Sad, 3.

<sup>26</sup> U prvom obraćanju Uredništva između ostalog stoji: „... Pozivamo u to kolo i braću iz drugih slovijenskih krajeva i na sjeveru i jugu; otklen god dogju, bratska će ih prigrlići ruka. U dobru će se kolu ovdje naći, jer *Nada* nit hoće da prihvati, nit hoće da širi narodu drugo, nego ono što je istinito dobro i lijepo;...“ *Nada*, godište I, br. 1, 1895, 1.

**Haris Dervišević**

## SARAJEVSKI KALIGRAFIJSKI KRUŽOK IZMEĐU 1878. I 1918.

### Sažetak:

Nakon što je 1878. godine Austro-Ugarska monarhija dobila upravu nad Bosnom i Hercegovinom, mnogi oblici islamske kulture lagano su zamirali, što je razumljivo s obzirom na suprotne civilizacijske imperativne Beča u odnosu na Istanbul. U novom okruženju djeluju kaligrafi, koji su za sobom ostavili vrijedne kaligrafske radove, ali za koje se u literaturi malo zna. Najznačajniji kaligrafi Bosne i Hercegovine iz austrougarskog perioda okupljaju se u Sarajevu, premda ne organizovano. Oni su vremenom formirali svojevrsni sarajevski kaligrafski kružok i tako sačuvali tananu umjetnost islama prenoseći je na naredne generacije.

**Ključne riječi:** Islamska kaligrafija, Sarajevo, Austro-Ugarska monarhija.

### Kaligrafija u Sarajevu između 1878. i 1918.

Islamska kaligrafija Bosne i Hercegovine od 1878. do 1918. godine, to jest kaligrafija u razdoblju austrougarske vladavine Bosnom i Hercegovinom, nije sistematski razmatrana. U literaturi je moguće pronaći tek oskudne podatke o kaligrafima i njihovim djelatnostima, ali bez uvida u historijsko umjetnički i kulturološki okvir. Pronalaženje razloga za nedostatak istraživanja posvećenih ovoj temi zahtjeva veći prostor od ponuđenog u ovom radu, pa će se stoga krenuti in medias res.

Bosanskohercegovačka kaligrafska scena austrougarskog perioda bila je živa, čemu svjedoče tri grada na koja su bili usmjereni umjetnici, a to su Fojnica, Travnik i Sarajevo.<sup>1</sup> Ne zanemarujući pojedince iz Fojnice i Travnika koji su posredno ili neposredno utjecali na razvoj kaligrafije, ipak su najveći doprinos na očuvanje ove tradicionalne islamske umjetnosti imale porodice Hadžimejlić, Sikirić i Korkut. Pored toga što su iznjedrile vrsne kaligrafe, one su imale i vlastite škole kaligrafije. Bez negiranja uloge i značaja prethodna dva grada, Sarajevo je okupilo najveći broj kaligrafa. Kvantitet nije jedini razlog zbog kojeg bi se Sarajevo moglo smatrati najznačajnijim centrom kaligrafije na prijelazu stoljeća, već je ovaj grad, kako po broju

tako i po ozbiljnosti i vrsnoći kaligrafskih radova, najzaslužniji za očuvanje islamske kaligrafije Bosne i Hercegovine. „Sarajevski kaligrafski kružok“ ne postoji kao pojam u literaturi, a ni sami umjetnici nisu bili svjesni svoga specifikuma. Kroz ovaj kratki rad biće predstavljeni kaligrafi i njihovi radovi, s ciljem ukazivanja na postojanje islamske kaligrafije austrougarskog razdoblja u Sarajevu, te će se time opravdati uvođenje termina „Sarajevski kaligrafski kružok“.

Unutar sarajevskih muslimanskih krugova kaligrafija se njegovala kao dragocjena umjetnost, koja se mogla učiti kod umjetnika kaligrafa, a nakon što bi sazreli kao umjetnici, učenici su dobijali kaligrafsku diplomu. Radove sarajevskih kaligrafa danas je moguće naći u rukopisima, na javnim objektima i levhama (kaligrafskim kompozicijama). Važan je podatak da je kaligrafija bila institucionalizirana uvođenjem u zvanični nastavni plan i program 1892.<sup>2</sup> godine te je tako, pod nazivom „arapska kaligrafija“, bila obavezan predmet u svakom godištu po 2 sata sedmično u Šerijatskoj sudačkoj školi u Sarajevu. Kao honorarni predavač na ovom predmetu od 1892. do 1912. godine radio je Behaudin Sikirić.<sup>3</sup> Predmet je ukinut 1912. godine.

### Ali Šerif Faginović (u. 1921)

Sarajevska porodica Faginović vodi porijeklo iz iranske provincije Horasan, a najznačajnije ime ove porodice za historiju kaligrafije Bosne i Hercegovine je Ali Šerif.<sup>4</sup> Biografski podaci o njemu vrlo su šturi. Zna se da je njegovo osnovno zanimanje bilo mjesto pisara u državnoj pisarnici. Bio je načitan i učen, a pisao je na arapskom, turskom i perzijskom. Kako je dobro poznavao astronomiju, imenovan je za muvekkita Careve (Sultan Fatihove) džamije u Sarajevu, a tu je dužnost obavljao od 1854. do 1921. godine, odnosno do svoje smrti. Nužno je dodati da je Ali Š. Faginović prvi poznati muvekkit u Bosni i Hercegovini.<sup>5</sup>

Pored svega navedenog izuzetna je uloga Ali Š. Faginovića kao kaligrafa. Iako se ne zna ko je bio njegov učitelj kaligrafije, sačuvani radovi pokazuju da je bio vrstan kaligraf sulus, nesh i taliq pisma. Iza sebe je ostavio nemali broj radova, a sa sigurnošću mu se može pripisati kaligrafski ciklus iz 1311/1893.<sup>6</sup> godine (Gazi Husrev-begovo turbe, Sarajevo, slika 1), osam levhi iz 1317/1889. godine (turbe Hasan-babe Hadžimejlića, nakšibendijska tekija u Živčićima), osam levhi iz 1319/1901. godine (semahana nakšibendijske tekije u Živčićima), te još drugih devet levhi,<sup>7</sup> koje su nastajale u rasponu od 1901. do 1914. godine. Faginović je također prepisao i dva rukopisa, odnosno djelo Riznica duhovnih svojstava iz 1334/1915. godine (Bošnjački institut, Sarajevo), te rukopisnu Zbirku iz nepoznate godine, koja pored kaligrafije sadrži crteže turbana osnivača derviških tarikata (R-3219, Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka, Sarajevo). Ovdje nije nabrojan cjelokupan kaligrafski opus Alia Š. Faginovića, jer

je pojedine kaligrafske kompozicije, koje nalikuju na njegov rad, teško atribuirati.



Slika 1. Ali-efendija Faginović, Dio ciklusa iz Gazi Husrev-begovog turbeta, Sarajevo (1893/1894)<sup>8</sup>

Uzimajući u obzir da je dio radova ovog umjetnika u nepovrat izgubljen i uništen, sve upućuje na Faginovića kao plodnog kaligrafa. Premda je nemoguće govoriti o njegovim stilskim odlikama, moglo bi se kazati da je imao jednu vrstu ličnog kaligrafskog pečata. Čini se da je svoje omiljene kaligrafske kompozicije pisao zlatnom tintom na crnoj podlozi, poput onih osam levhi u s emahani nakšibendijske tekije u Živčićima. Sličan pristup slijedio je u realizaciji levhi Gazi Husrev-begovog turbeta gdje je tekst ispisao pozlaćenim slovima na bijelom zidu. Zanimljive su četiri levhe iz privatne zbirke porodice Tahmiščija na kojima se kaligraf „poigrao“ tehnikom kolaža. Umjetnik je tekstove prvo ispisao na bijeloj foliji, a potom ih izrezao i nalijepio na tamnu podlogu. Nužno je dodati da je Faginović pratilo savremene tokove islamske kaligrafije, čemu svjedoči njegova kompozicija po uzoru na kaligrafiju Kadiasker Mustafu Izzet Effendiu (1801- 1876), poznatog kao autora osam velikih levhi Hagia Sophie.

### Škola kaligrafije Ali Š. Faginovića

Pojedini autori smatraju da je „posljednji veliki učitelj kaligrafije“<sup>9</sup> upravo Ali Faginović, čime se možda najbolje uviđa njegov veliki značaj za historiju kaligrafije Bosne i Hercegovine. Ovaj podatak zaokružuje cjelinu o djelatnosti Faginovića kao požrtvovanog umjetnika koji je radio na očuvanju kaligrafske tradicije. Ne zna se na koji način je Faginović oformio školu kaligrafije, ali je zato poznato da je svoje učenike podučavao kaligrafiji i iluminaciji, a kao dokaz uspješnog završetka škole kaligrafije svaki je svršenik dobijao diplomu. Dosadašnja istraživanja otkrila su pet njegovih učenika, a to su: njegov sin Salim Nijazi Faginović, Husein-efendija Rizvić, Derviš Muniba Korkut, Mahmud i Salih Žiga.<sup>10</sup>

Salim Nijazi Faginović (1885.-?) naslijedio je oca na mjestu muvekkita Careve džamije, a krenuo je i očevim kaligrafskim stopama. Prvi rad koji se može atribuirati ovom umjetniku nastao je 1321/1903. godine i sadrži tekst: „O Allahov poslaniče zauzmi se!“ (Bošnjački institut, Sarajevo), u kojem se već prepoznaće kaligraf sigurne ruke. Osam godina mlađa levha sa sadržajem islamskog kreda: „On, nema boga osim Njega“, iz 1348/1929. godine (zaostavština Seida Strika, Sarajevo), dokazuje već zrelog kaligrafa. Obje spomenute kompozicije ispisane su vrsnim sulus pismom. Postoje izvjesne naznake da je Salim Faginović boravio u Carigradu na usavršavanju kaligrafije.<sup>11</sup> Pored nesha i sulusa, kaligrafski meškovi (vježbanice) dokazuju da je bio izuzetan kaligraf taliq pisma. U opusu Salima Faginovića nalazi se nekoliko levhi vjerskog sadržaja, odnosno citata iz Kur'ana, hadisa, izreka velikana islama, što je razumljivo s obzirom da je ova porodica generacijama bila pripadnik dervišog tarikata kadirija.

Jedan od petorice poznatih učenika škole kaligrafije Ali Faginovića je i Husein-efendija Rizvić (1882-1952). Iako je rođen nedaleko od Livna, u Podhumu, u Sarajevu je završio Gazi Husrev-begovu medresu i Učiteljsku školu. Predavao je na nekoliko škola u Mostaru i Sarajevu. Iz njegove biografije izdvaja se podatak da je predavao kaligrafiju u jednoj od mostarskih srednjih škola, te u ženskoj Gazi Husrev-begovoj medresi u Sarajevu. U privatnoj zbirci porodice Rizvić sačuvale su se dvije kaligrafije Husein-efendije, koje svojim odlikama otkrivaju prisutnost njegovog učitelja Ali Š. Faginovića. Levhe su ispisane kombinacijom sulus, nesh i taliq pisma, zlatnim slovima na crnoj podlozi. Te dvije kompozicije otkrivaju umjetnika naročitih kvaliteta. Prema predaji porodice Rizvić, čuveni bosanskohercegovački kaligraf 20. stoljeća Ešref-efendija Kovačević (1924-1996), bio je učenik Husein-efendije Rizvića. Ovaj podatak dobija na istinskom značaju jer se iz njega zaključuje da su učenici Ali Š. Faginovića imali svoje škole kaligrafije i time produžili kaligrafski lanac.

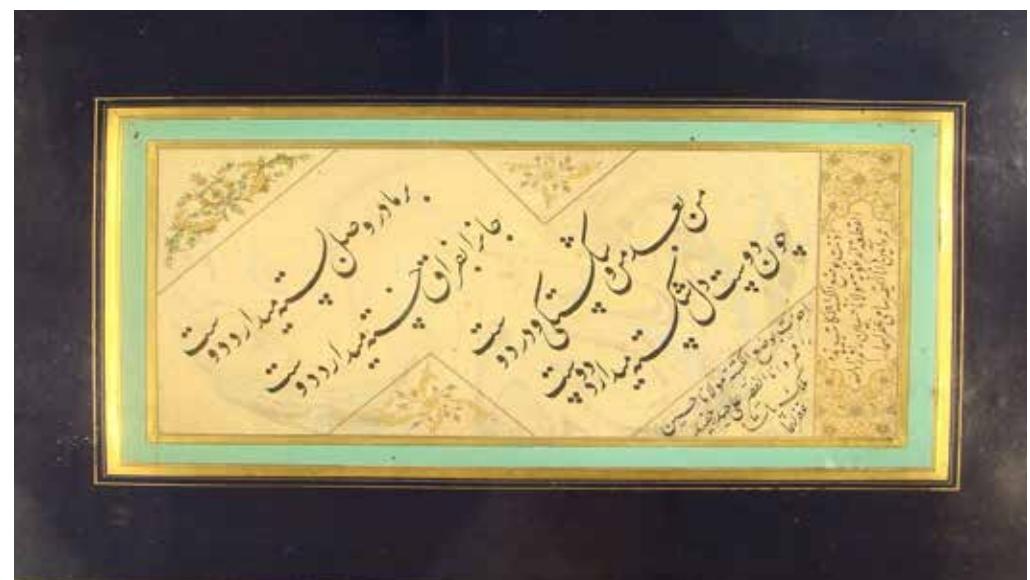
Čuvena travnička porodica Korkut iznjedrila je nekoliko vrsnih kaligrafa, a jedan od njih je, pored toga što je časove kaligrafije započeo u porodici, također bio i učenik kaligrafije Ali Š. Faginovića. Njegovo ime je Derviš Korkut (1888-1969), ali je svom imenu nerijetko dodavao i očevo te se potpisivao kao Derviš Muniba Korkut. Školovanje je započeo u rodnom kraju, a nastavio ga u gimnaziji u Sarajevu. Diplomirao je na Teološkom fakultetu u Carigradu 1914. godine.<sup>12</sup> Tokom života je obavljao niz značajnih poslova i bavio se različitim zanimanjima pa je tako radio kao vojni imam, vjeroučitelj, profesor, načelnik Muslimanskog odjeljenja u Ministarstvu vjera u Beogradu, bio je generalni sekretar Jugoslavenske muslimanske narodne

organizacije, kustos Zemaljskog muzeja i bibliotekar Balkanskog instituta u Sarajevu, muftija Travničke oblasti, kustos muzeja u Cetinju, te uposlenik Vrhovnog starješinstva Islamske vjerske zajednice u Beogradu. Odlikovan je kraljevskim ordenom, a The Jewish Foundation for the righteous proglašila ga je „Pravednikom među narodima“ jer je od nacista spasio Hagadu, jevrejski rukopis iz 14. stoljeća, a bio je zaslužan i za spašavanje jevrejske djevojčice od sigurne smrti. Nažalost, nije poznato gdje se nalaze kaligrafski radovi Derviša Muniba Korkuta, ali se ipak pouzdano zna da je bio jedan od učenika Ali Šerif Faginovića, jer je sam Derviš Korkut to prenio Đoki Mazaliću.<sup>13</sup>

U svom Leksikonu umjetnika Đoko Mazalić navodi još jedan vrijedan podatak, a taj je da su braća Mahmud i Salih Žiga bili učenici kaligrafije Ali Faginovića. Prema Leksikonu Salih Žiga je posjedovao levhu koju je ispisao upravo u školi kaligrafije Ali Šerif Faginovića.

### **Hadži hafiz Husejin Rakim-efendija Islamović (1839-1895)**

Bolji poznavaoči historije islamske kaligrafije Bosne i Hercegovine smatraju da je Hadži hafiz Husejin Rakim-efendija Islamović najveći bosanskohercegovački kaligraf druge polovine 19. stoljeća, a tome bi se moglo dodati da je on možda i najbolji kaligraf austrougarskog perioda uopće.<sup>14</sup> U rodnom Sarajevu započinje s opštom naobrazbom, ali i s prvim časovima kaligrafije kod poznatog sarajevskog kaligrafa Abdulah Ajni-efendije Hasagića (?-1872). Privrženost kaligrafiji odvela je Husejina R. Islamovića u Carigrad, gdje je dobio četiri kaligrafske diplome od osam velikana kaligrafije, a to su (slika 2): Al-Sayyid Muhammad Hulūsī, Al-Sayyid Muhammad Šawqī, Al-Sayyid Muhammad Tawfiq, Yahyā Hilmi, Haqī Zaki-dede, Muhammad 'Ārif, Sāmī, 'Alī Haydar i Hafīd Malak-pāša.<sup>15</sup> Diplome su datirane u 1867. godinu, a danas se čuvaju u Gazi Husrev-begovoј biblioteci u Sarajevu. One su svjedok i dokaz da je Rakim-efendija Islamović vrsni kaligraf nesh, sulus i taliq pisma.



Slika 2.- H. h. Husejin Rakim-efendija Islamović, Kaligrafska diploma za taliq pismo, Istanbul (1864)<sup>16</sup>

Malo je poznato da se najstariji poznati kaligrafski radovi hadži hafiza Islamovića nalaze u Mišćinoj (Kebkebir hadži Ahmedovoј) džamiji u Sarajevu. Kaligrafski ciklus od osam levhi u ovoj džamiji datiramo u 1290/1873. godinu. Osam kaligrafskih kompozicija su uobičajen sadržaj bosanskih džamija i čine ih ime Allaha dž.š., Muhameda a.s., imena četvorice pravovjernih halifa i imena dvojice unuka Muhameda a.s. Svi ispisi urađeni su sulus pismom, zlatnim slovima na crnoj podlozi. Ispod imena Poslanikovog unuka Husejina r.a. nalazi se potpis Islamovića i godina nastanka ciklusa, odnosno ispisano je: „Napisao Rakim 1290“.

Kaligrafi su često bili angažovani na izradi tariha i epitafa, što je vjerovatno bio slučaj i sa Islamovićem. Ipak, danas mu se sa sigurnošću može atribuirati samo jedan natpis, i to na nišanu Mustafe-bega Dženetića iz 1291/1874. godine. Nišan se prvo nalazio u haremu Hadži Kemaludinove (Ćemaluša) džamije u ulici Ferhadija, ali je nakon rušenja džamije prenesen u harem Ali-pašine džamije u Sarajevu, gdje se i danas nalazi.

Zasigurno najveći poznati kaligrafski ciklus hadži hafiza Islamovića jeste četrdeset osam levhi u Gazi Husrev-begovoј džamiju u Sarajevu,<sup>17</sup> koje su bile smještene na centralnoj kupoli, kupolama obje tetime, pandatifima centralne kupole, pandatifima

obje tetime, zidovima centralnog prostora, iznad nadvratnika triju vrata, unutar i iznad mihraba centralnog molitvenog prostora, na zidu mahfila, na vanjskim mihrabima i iznad jedanaest prozora enterijera džamije. Kompozicije su nastale tokom 1303/1885. godine, a za taj je poduhvat Islamović načinio dvije skice na kojima je tačno napisao gdje koju kompoziciju namjerava realizirati. Skice su se nalazile u arhivu Vakufske uprave za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, ali je nepoznat njihov današnji smještaj. Sve levhe u Gazi Husrev-begovoj džamiji bile su ispisane sulus pismom, s izuzetkom samo jedine, koja je bila na zidu mahfila, a koju je Islamović ispisao taliqom. Od ovog velikog, a moglo bi se slobodno kazati kolosalnog ciklusa urađenog rukom kaligrafa prvoga reda, sačuvale su se samo dvije kompozicije na portalu džamije.

Pored levhi Ali-efendije Faginovića, koji se potpisao u Gazi Husrev-begovom turbetu 1311/1893. godine, postoji velika vjerovatnoća da se središnji kaligrafski ciklus od osam levhi, odnosno levhe u kružnom okviru, pripisu hadži hafizu Islamoviću. Razlog za ovu tvrdnju jeste da levhe svojom kompozicijom i koloritom nalikuju trima levhama iznad triju vrata koje je Islamović uradio u enterijeru Begove džamije 1885. godine.

### **Škola kaligrafije Hadži Hafiza Husejina Rakim-efendije Islamovića**

Podaci do kojih je moguće doći ukazuju da je zasigurno pet bosanskih uglednika učilo kaligrafiju od Rakim-efendije, a to su: Behaudin-efendija Sikirić, Akif-efendija Hadžihusejinović-Muvekit, hafiz Sulejman-efendija Čučak, hadži hafiz Mustafa-efendija Čadordžija i hafiz Abdulah Ajni-efendija Bušatlić. Nažalost, ne zna se da li je Islamović svojim učenicima darovao idžazetname, ali se na osnovu sačuvanih kaligrafskih radova spomenute petorice može govoriti o zavidnim kaligrafskim kvalitetama. Ukoliko se islamska kaligrafija razumije kao „zahir“, to jeste pojarni dio estetike islama, onda je u potpunosti shvatljivo zašto su muslimanski mislioci pridavali značaja ovoj umjetnosti; nakon ovoga razumijemo zašto su i učenici Rakim-efendije Islamovića bili istaknuti velikani svoga vremena.

Šejh Muhamed Behaudin-efendija Sikirić (1869-1934), jedan od Islamovićevih učenika kaligrafije, rođen je na Oglavku kod Fojnice. Školovao se u Sarajevu, gdje je završio medresu i preparandiju. Radio je kao vjeroučitelj u mektebu, kao predavač na Šerijatskoj sudačkoj školi, bio je tumač na Okružnom sudu, Kotarskom sudu, te pri Zemaljskoj vladi.<sup>18</sup> Sikirić se također pamti kao utemeljitelj tekije Mlini u Sarajevu. U sačuvanim dokumentima potpisivao se na nekoliko načina, nekada kao Behai, a

nekada kao Izzi. Iako se zna da je bio vrstan kaligraf i da je bio učenik hafiz Husejina Islamovića, malo je poznato da je 1911. godine dobio kaligrafsku idžazetnamu u Istanbulu. Treba naglasiti da je Muhamed B. Sikirić predavao kaligrafiju u Sarajevu, i to na Šerijatskoj sudačkoj školi, Okružnoj medresi i ruždiji. Od kaligrafskih radova u Gazi Husrev-begovoj biblioteci čuvaju se tri diplome koje je on kaligrafski ukrasio (R-10314; R-10315; R-2862, 1b-6a). Sve tri diplome datiramo u 1886. godinu. U semahani nakšibendijske tekije u Živčićima nalazi se osam levhi, koje čine osam ajeta prve Kur'anske sure – Fatihe.

Nažalost, skoro da nema nikakvih podataka o životu Akif-efendije Hadžihusejinović Muvekita (?-1937). Čini se da je ostao u sjeni svoga oca Saliha Sidkia Hadžihusejnovića Muvekkita, poznatog historičara i muvekkita Gazi Husrev-begove džamije. Kao da je jedina značajka iz njegove biografije, koja je do nas doprla, ta da je poput oca bio muvekkit Gazi Husrev-begove džamije od 1899. do 1937. godine.<sup>19</sup> U fondu rukopisa Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke čuva se njegova Zbirka (R-3194) iz 1892. godine, različitog sadržaja. Analizom rukopisa zaključuje se da je autor imao kaligrafske potencijale, ali da oni još uvijek nisu bili razvijeni. Njegov kaligrafski ciklus u Murat-begovom turbetu u Sarajevu datiran u 1894. godinu je bolji i afirmiše Akifa kao dobrog umjetnika. Očigledno da su mu kao uzor poslužile kružne levhe učitelja Rakim-efendije Islamovića.

Među učenicima hafiza Rakima Islamovića spominje se hafiz Sulejman-efendija Čučak (1870-1938).<sup>20</sup> Drvenja medresu završio je u rodnom Sarajevu. Radio je kao imam u Davud Čelebijinoj (Nateguš) džamiji u Sarajevu, a također je poznato da je jedno vrijeme bio vekil Gazi Husrev-begove džamije. Premda se zna da se bavio kaligrafijom, njegovi kaligrafski radovi, nažalost, nisu poznati.

Iako skroman po prirodi, hadži hafiz Mustafa-efendija Čadordžija (1866-1933)<sup>21</sup> bio je sarajevski alim čuven širom Bosne. Rođen je u Sarajevu, gdje je završio Hadži Ismail Misrijinu medresu. Vršio je dužnost imama i hatiba u sarajevskim džamijama preko 40 godina, a u narodu je bio poznat kao imam koji je četiri decenije teraviju klanjao hatmom. Odlično je poznavao arapski, perzijski i turski. Hamdija Kreševljaković, koji ga je poznavao, prenosi da je hafiz Čadordžija vladao s nekoliko stilova islamske kaligrafije. Kreševljaković također navodi da mu je Čadordžija sam tvrdio da je bio učenik hadži hafiza Islamovića. Svaki dan je ispisivao arapsku poeziju, te tako vježbao kaligrafiju. Imao je običaj, kada bi ispisivao veći broj kaligrafskih listova, da ih na kraju spali. Kaligrafske kompozicije koje je ispisivao darivao je prijateljima,

međutim, za sada je poznat samo jedan sačuvani rukopis iz Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke (GHbb: R-8947).

Za najboljeg šerijatskog sudiju na prijelazu stoljeća smatra se hafiz Abdulah Ajnifendija Bušatlić (1871-1946).<sup>22</sup> Rođen je u Vlasenici, ali je došao na školovanje u Sarajevo, gdje je završio Gazi Husrev-begovu medresu i Šerijatsku sudačku školu. Radio je kao vrhovni šerijatski sudija, kao profesor na Šerijatskoj sudačkoj školi, a pored svega bio je aktivan borac u reformi muslimanskog društva. U vremenu kada se uloga Abdulaha Bušatlića u bosanskohercegovačkoj zbilji ponovo uviđa i nanovo valorizira, njegov umjetnički talenat skoro da se ne spominje. Čini se da je Bušatlić, koji pripada grupi od petorice učenika škole kaligrafije Rakima Islamovića, svoje umjetničke potencijale stavio po strani kako bi se više posvetio borbi za prava muslimana. Ipak tri rukopisa u Gazi Husrev-begovoj biblioteci (R-2187; R-2675; R-7578) dokazuju da je posjedovao istinski umjetnički talenat.

### **Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak (1839-1902)**

Iako se smatra prvim sakupljačem narodnih izreka i umotvorina, te dobriom pjesnikom, Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak poznatiji je kao gradonačelnik Sarajeva. Školovanje je započeo u rodnom Ljubuškom, a potom nastavio u Mostaru. Tokom života obavljao je nekoliko značajnih administrativnih poslova, kao što je posao kotarskog poglavara, načelnika opštine, zastupnika u osmanskom parlamentu, a napisljeku, od 1893. do 1899. godine, i prvog čovjeka Sarajeva. Za vrijeme njegove uprave u Sarajevu je izgrađena Vijećnica, Zemaljska bolница, električna centrala, gradska tržnica, etc. Premda je bio aktivni kulturni radnik, malo je poznato da je Mehmed-beg bio dobar kaligraf. Djelo njegovih ruku je levha velikih dimenzija koja se danas nalazi u Gazi Husrev-begovoj džamiji u Sarajevu. Uzor za tu kaligrafsku kompoziciju Mehmed-beg Ljubušak imao je u levhi poznatog osmanskog kaligrafe Sami Efendi (1837-1912). Treba dodati da je jedan od prvih učitelja nesh i sulus pisma ovog istanbulskog umjetnika bio Bošnak Osman Efendi.<sup>23</sup> Nacrt za tu levhu Mehmed-beg je poslao u Beč, gdje je kaligrafska kompozicija prenesena zlatnim slovima na staklo, a potom uokvirena.<sup>24</sup> Na levhi se nalazi potpis koji glasi: „Napisao Mehmed. Godina 1313.“ Preračunavanjem hidžretske u gregorijansku godinu značilo bi da je Ljubušak kaligrafsku kompoziciju završio 1895. ili 1896. Osim nje Mehmed-beg je uradio još dvije identične kaligrafije, ali nešto manjih dimenzija. Jedna se nalazi u dershani stare Gazi Husrev-begove medrese i nastala je 1884. godine, a druga, iz 1889. godine, u Muzeju Gazi Husrev-

begove biblioteke. Prema predaji jednu od dvije posljednje levhe Ljubušak je posvetio svom ličnom ljekaru dr. Karl Bayeru.

### **Ibrahim-beg Redžepašić-Bašagić (1843-1902)**

Generacijski blizak Mehmed-begu Ljubušaku bio je Ibrahim-beg Redžepašić Bašagić, otac dobro poznatog Safvet-bega Bašagića.<sup>25</sup> Ibrahim-beg započinje obrazovanje u rodnom Nevesinju, a nastavlja ga u Elči Ibrahim-pašinoj medresi u Travniku. Iako je dobro poznavao šerijatsko pravo, nije se okrenuo vjerskoj službi, već političkom životu, te je tako obavljao niz službi, od namještenja za kajmekama, poslanika u Carigradu, predstojnika u Stocu i Konjicu, do mufetiša zemaljske vakufske komisije i drugih. Bio je plodan pisac i pjesnik koji se potpisivao pseuodnimom Edhem. Ibrahim-beg je odlično poznavao turski, vrlo dobro arapski i perzijski jezik. Upravo iz tog razloga ne čudi što je iza njega ostalo dosta pjesama i hronograma na turskom. Za vrijeme školovanja u Travniku bio je učenik Derviš Muhameda Korkuta koji mu je uz obavezno obrazovanje prenio i ljubav prema islamskoj kaligrafiji.<sup>26</sup> Nije sačuvan veći broj Ibrahim-begovih radova, ali se zna da je on autor hronograma iznad ulaza u današnji Fakultet islamskih nauka u Sarajevu. Pretpostavka je da su i ostali kaligrafski radovi unutar ovog fakulteta djelo njegovih ruku.

### **Zaključak**

Ne ulazeći u razloge pomanjkanja istraživanja o islamskoj kaligrafiji i kaligrafima u Sarajevu za vrijeme austrougarske vladavine, ovaj rad ukazuje na postojanje dvanaest aktivnih kaligrafa u periodu od 1878. do 1918. godine, a navedeni broj ne treba uzeti kao konačan. Važnost i specifičnost ovog perioda mogao bi se razumjeti kroz tri segmenta: škole islamske kaligrafije, institucionalizacija islamske kaligrafije, te suvremenosti s osmanskom kaligrafijom.

Naučiti tradicionalnu islamsku kaligrafiju moguće je samo u školi kaligrafije, kod zvaničnih umjetnika kaligrafa. Učitelj kaligraf ne samo da učenika podučava kaligrafiji, nego učenik nakon završene poduke postaje i dijelom višestoljetnog lanca prenošenja znanja s učitelja na učenika, čiji korijeni sežu u 7. stoljeće. Upravo ovdje se vidi istinski značaj nastavka ove tradicije u austrougarskom Sarajevu, gdje su prema dosadašnjem saznanju postojale dvije škole kaligrafije, a to su Ali Š. Faginovića i hadži hafiz Husejin Rakima-efendije Islamovića.

Pored u navedenim, kaligrafija se predavala i učila i u državnim školama. Primjer za to je Šerijatska sudačka škola u Sarajevu, gdje je „arapska kaligrafija“ bila obavezan predmet od 1892. do 1912. godine. To znači da je islamska kaligrafija bila ravnopravna drugim obaveznim predmetima, čime se otvorila mogućnost da se veći broj učenika upozna s ovom umjetnošću.

Sarajevski kaligrafi nisu djelovali kao izolovana zajednica, već su pratili dešavanja u centru islamske kaligrafije, odnosno u Istanbulu. Dokaz za to su kaligrafije Ali Š. Faginovića, koji ispisuje levhe po uzoru na Mustafu Izzet Kadiaskera, te monumentalna levha Mehmed-beg Kapetanovića Ljubašaka u Gazi Husrev-begovoj džamiji, koja je nastala pod utjecajem Sami Efendije.

Na kraju bi se, nakon uvida u sve predočeno, moglo kazati da je uistinu postojao „sarajevski kaligrafski kružok“, u kojem su umjetnici stvarali i međusobno sarađivali. Možda je za nadati da će ovaj rad biti podstrek za dalja i detaljnija istraživanja, kojima bi se ukazalo na značaj austrougarskog perioda islamske kaligrafije ne samo Sarajeva, nego Bosne i Hercegovine uopšte.

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<sup>2</sup> Spomenica Šeriatske sudačke škole u Sarajevu, izdana prilikom pedesetgodišnjice ovoga zavoda (1887-1937), 30, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 68.

<sup>4</sup> Halimić, E. et al. Iz mape Faginovića, Sarajevo, Bošnjački institut - Fondacija Adila Zulfikarpašića, 2010, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Mulaomerović, J. Muvekkithane, Muvekkiti i mjerjenje vremena, Analji Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke, vol. XV-XVI, Sarajevo, 1990, 272.

<sup>6</sup> Prva je hidžretska, druga gregorijanska godina.

<sup>7</sup> Levha s tekstrom: „Rekao je Allahov vjerovjesnik neka je spas na njega [...]“ iz 1319/1901. godine (Bošnjački institut, Sarajevo), levha s tekstrom: „O Sveprisutni Allahu Svevišnji“ iz 1319/1901. godine (Bošnjački institut, Sarajevo), četiri levhe iz nepoznate godine (Zaostavština Melihe Tahmiščija), levha s tekstrom: „Ko ima zdrav razum slijedit će Odabranog“ iz 1333/1914. godine (džamija Muslihadina Čekrekčije, Sarajevo), levha s tekstrom: „Dogada se što Allah hoće; moć pripada samo Allahu“ iz nepoznate godine (džamija Muslihadina Čekrekčije, Sarajevo), levha s tekstrom: „Znaj da nema Boga osim Allaha, a Muhammed je

Njegov poslanik“ iz nepoznate godine, koja je radena po uzoru na levhu istanbulskog kaligrafe Mustafe Izzet Kadiaskera (Bošnjački institut, Sarajevo).

<sup>8</sup> Photo by Harisa Derviševića.

<sup>9</sup> Halimić, Ibid, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Mazalić, Đ. Leksikon umjetnika : slikara, vajara, graditelja, zlatara, kaligrafa i drugih koji su radili u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo, 1967, 47.

<sup>11</sup> Halimić, Ibid, 30.

<sup>12</sup> Gafić, M. Kazivanja o Travniku - Derviš M. Korkut, Travnik, Borac, 1998.

<sup>13</sup> Mazalić, Đ. Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Dervišević, H. Islamska kaligrafska baština u Bosni i Hercegovini : Hadži Hafiz Husejin Rakim-efendija Islamović (1839-1895), u: Identitet Bosne i Hercegovine kroz historiju - zbornik radova, Sarajevo, Institut za istoriju, 2011, 239-248.

<sup>15</sup> Mujezinović, M. Diplome kaligrafa Islamovića u Gazi Husrev-begovoj biblioteci u Sarajevu, Analji Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke, vol. I, Sarajevo, 1972, 91-94.

<sup>16</sup> Fotografija ustupljena ljubaznošću Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke.

<sup>17</sup> Dervišević, H. Kaligrafija Gazi Husrev-begove džamije u Sarajevu (1885-2002), Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu (XVI/2), historija, historija umjetnosti, arheologija), Sarajevo, Filozofski fakultet, 2012, 269-284.

<sup>18</sup> Gačanović, E. Šejh Sirri baba - oblikom kaplja, sadržinom okean, [s. l.], Nepoznata Bosna, 2014, 106-111.

<sup>19</sup> Mulaomerović, J. Muvekkithane, Muvekkiti i mjerjenje vremena, Analji Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke, vol. XV-XVI, Sarajevo, 1990, 274.

<sup>20</sup> Fazlić, F. Hafizi u Bosni i Hercegovini u posljednjih 150 godina, Sarajevo, Fakultet islamskih nauka : El-Kalem, 2006, 45.

<sup>21</sup> Kreševljaković, Hadži Hafiz Mustafa efendija Čadordžij, Novi Behar, br. 1-2, god. VII, 1933-34, Sarajevo, 15. juli 1933, 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> Kasumović, A. Hafiz Abdullah Ajni ef. Bušatlić, Analji Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke, vol. XVII/XVIII, Sarajevo, 1996, 326.

<sup>23</sup> Derman, U. Masterpieces of Ottoman calligraphy from the Sakip Sabancı Museum, Istanbul, Sabancı Üniversitesi, 174.

<sup>24</sup> Mulabdić, E. Mehmed Kapetanović-Ljubašak, Školski vjesnik IX, br. 7-9, 1902, 597.

<sup>25</sup> Džanko, M. Dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić-Redžepašić - (Mirza Safvet - vitez pera i mejdana): intelektualna povijest i ideologička upotreba djela, Sarajevo, Sarajevo-Publishing, 2006, 70-71.

<sup>26</sup> Muftić, T. Arapsko pismo: razvoj, karakteristike, problematika, Sarajevo, Orijentalni institut, 1982, 145.

Љиљана Шево

## ОСВРТ НА АРХИТЕКТУРУ ПРАВОСЛАВНИХ ЦРКАВА У БОСНИ И ХЕРЦЕГОВИНИ ОД 1878. ДО 1918. ГОДИНЕ

### Резиме:

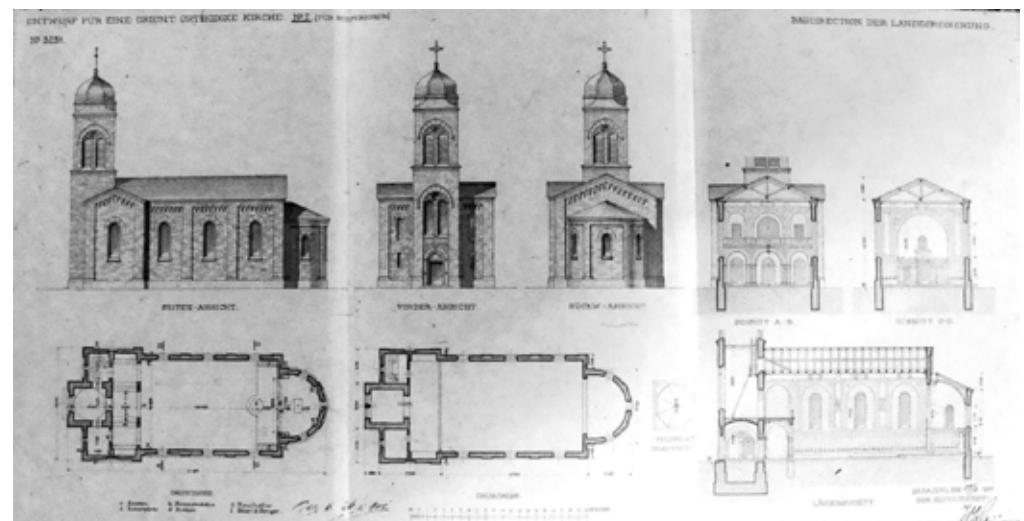
Између 1878. и 1918. године подигнут је или обновљен велики број православних цркава у Босни и Херцеговини. Најчешће анонимни, градитељи су се опредељивали мањом за једнобродне грађевине са полуобличастим сводом, звоником над западним прочељем, скромном фасадном декорацијом. За разлику од градитељства у Србији тог времена, у којој се инсистирало на његовању српско-византијског стила који је потврђивао националну свијест, решења која ту традицију слиједе у Босни и Херцеговини 1878-1918. су ријетка. Крстообразна здања (Пале, Биљешево, Маглај, Рудице, Горње Забрђе) су малобројна, а још су рђе куполне цркве (Блажуј, Јања, Зеница, Вишеград). Истрајност једнобродног модела, чија је градња захтијевала знатно мања средства, свједочи о скромним економским могућностима и политичким условима у којима се нашао православни српски народ у Босни и Херцеговини, без могућности да национални програм демонстрира у оквиру аустроугарске администрације.

**Кључне ријечи:** Православна црква, аустроугарска власт, Босна и Херцеговина, сакрална архитектура, национална идеја

Између 1878. и 1918. године подигнут је или обновљен веома велики број православних цркава у Босни и Херцеговини. За потребе овог рада анализирано је, на основу теренског увида или доступне фото и техничке документације, више од 100 здања православних храмова из периода аустро-угарске власти. То није потпуни преглед, будући да информације о једном броју грађевина нису биле доступне, као и због чињенице да је велики број цркава тог раздобља страдао у Drugom svjetskom ratu.<sup>1</sup>

Упркос чињеници да својом бројношћу и градитељским карактеристикама православне цркве у Босни и Херцеговини из аустроугарског периода представљају

значајну историјску и историјско-умјетничку појаву, научно и истраживачко интересовање за њих је готово сасвим изостало. Изузетак чини текст Јелене Божић о православним црквама у Сарајеву.<sup>2</sup>



Слика. 1 Типски пројекат православне цркве за 600 вјерника

Аустро-угарска администрација пласирала је у Босни и Херцеговини два типска пројекта православних цркава – за ону која може да прими 400, и за већу, чији је капацитет 600 вјерника (Слика. 1).<sup>3</sup> У оба случаја ради се о једнобродном плану, са звоником ослоњеним на тетрапилон над нартексом и полуокружном апсидом. Код пројекта за већу цркву нартекс благо излази из равни подужних зидова, чиме на фасади ствара утисак бочних правоугаоних простора. Вањска декорација је сведена на лезене између прозора и вијенце слијепих аркадица. Година настанка ових типских решења је 1901, а потпис њиховог аутора је нечитак. У којој мјери су типски пројекти само верификовали већ постојећу и широко прихваћену праксу свједоче бројне православне цркве које су настале прије датума забиљеженог на пројектима – 1901. – а које имају готово идентично конструктивно решење и фасадни украс: у Приједору из 1891. (Слика. 2), Грапској код Добоја 1892, Жепчу 1894, Пожарници код Тузле из 1896. године.<sup>4</sup>



**Слика. 2** Црква Свете Троице, Приједор, 1891.

Међу православним црквама овог раздобља, чија је просторна композиција решена на базиликалној, лонгитудиналној схеми, издвајају се двије, чијој репрезентативности доприносе два звоника на западном прочељу. То су тробродна здања цркве у Бродцу код Бијељине (Слика. 3) из 1884. и Козарцу код Приједора из 1887. године.



**Слика. 3** Црква Светог арханђела Михаила, Брадац код Бијељине, 1884.

За разлику од ослобођене Србије, у којој се византијска кубична замисао сакралног здања са крстообразним простором надвишеним једном или системом од пет купола, у другој половини 19. вијека наметала као образац националног стила,<sup>5</sup> у Босни се у овом раздобљу<sup>6</sup> цркве са куполом граде веома ријетко – у Прибоју код Лопара 1883, Зеници 1883, Вишеграду 1884-1886, Јањи 1885-1887. (Слика. 4), Блажују 1897, Бихаћу 1894-1898, цркви Светог Георгија на Трновцу у Тузли 1899-1900, Маглајанима 1901, Горњем Драгаљевцу 1908-1909. Наглашена

крстообразност примијењена је само у Блажују, Јањи и Трновцу у Тузли. У Зеници је крстообразни простор обухваћен у кубус, са све четири стране фланкиран низом торњевима (Слика. 5). Вишеградски храм понавља обрасце рашке традиције, грађевине са правоугаоним бочним пијевницама уз поткуполни простор (Слика. 6). У Прибоју код Лопара купола малих димензија неусаглашена је са лонгитудиналним корпусом здања и изгледа као да је накнадно приодodata једнобродној цркви, чиме подсећа на десетак година старију бијељинску цркву Светог Георгија.



**Слика 4** Црква Светог Илије, Јања, 1885-1887.

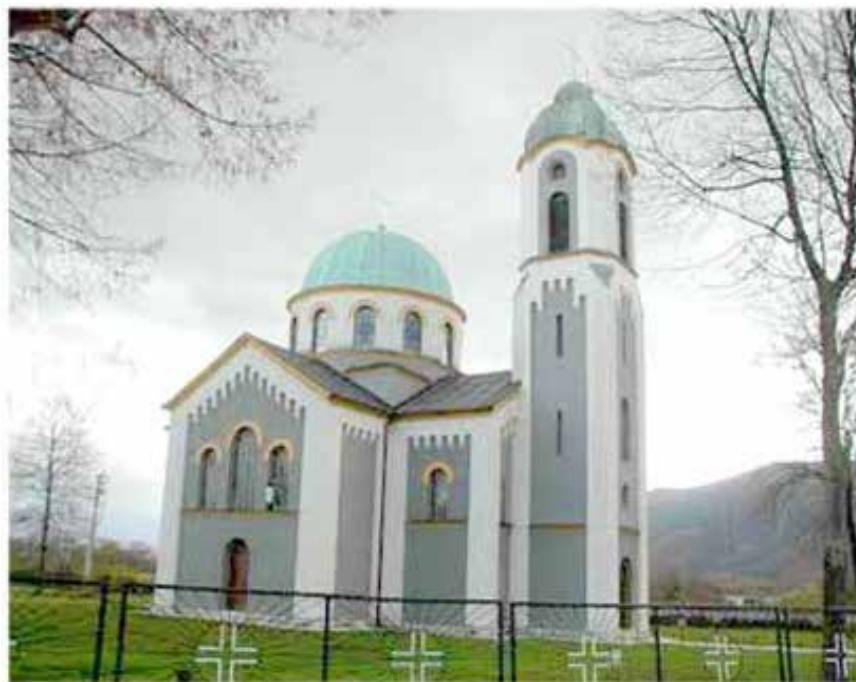


**Слика 5** Црква Рођења Богородице, Зеница, 1883.



**Слика 6** Црква Рођења Богородице, Вишеград, 1884-1886.

Нажалост ријетки, сачувани подаци о утрошеним средствима јасно свједоче о разлици у цијени градње између једнобродних и куполних цркава. Градња цркве Светог Саве у Блажују (Слика. 7), према пројекту Августа Буча (August Butsch), коштала је 1897. године 24.967,15 форинти,<sup>7</sup> а 1880. за цркву у Рогатици утрошено је свега 2000 форинти.<sup>8</sup> Богата и утицајна сарајевска црквена општина могла је да обезбиједи безмало ддвадесет пет хиљада форинти да би саградила монументално здање које својим стилским облицима исказује националну идеју. Забиљежено је да је црква у Блажују подигнута као реакција на изградњу католичке цркве на Ступу (1891), настојањем блажујског свештеника Стјепе Трифковића, који "схвати да је православље у опасности и одлучи да ради на томе да се, као одговор на тај рад, поред католичке цркве подигне православна црква".<sup>9</sup> Митрополит Ђорђе Николајевић за градњу блажујске цркве оставио је легат у износу од 4000 форинти.<sup>10</sup> Сарајевски Срби су за изградњу цркве у Блажују сакупљали и прилоге из Русије, Србије и Црне Горе, што Аустроугарска није дозвољавала, па је одлучила да градњу помогне Земаљска влада са 5000 форинти.



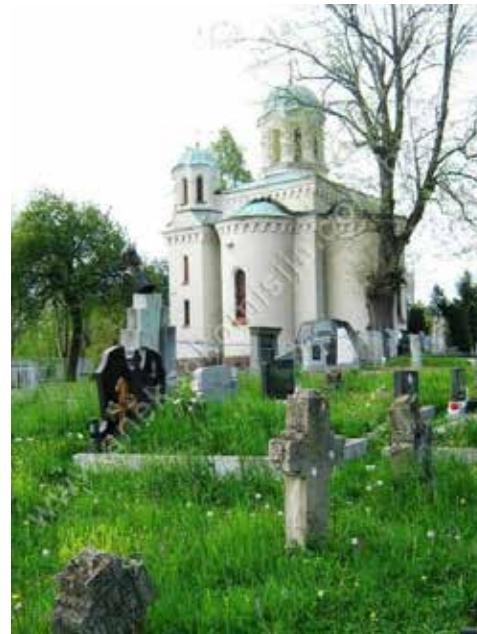
Слика 7 Црква Светог Саве, Блажуј, 1897.

Готово осмоструко већом сумом од оне коју је издвојила за цркву у Блажују, Земаљска влада помогла је градњу цркве Свете Тројице у Бихаћу 1894-1898. године (Слика. 8). Укупно улагање владе овдје је износило чак – 39000 круна. Бихаћка православна црквена општина подигла је, како наводи прота Коста Ковачевић: "...нову цркву, која својом величином не опсеже много, али својом љепотом и солидности своје грађе мало јој је равних ... са једним прекрасним кубетом и два звоника." Будући да су бихаћку православну цркву 1941. године до темеља срушиле усташе, драгоценји су противни подаци о њеним димензијама и изгледу. Неколико сачуваних фотографија показује да је црква у Бихаћу имала једну већу куполу на октогоналном тамбуру и двије мање над западним прочељем. У средини прочеља је розета, а на јужном зиду се види бифора. Прота Ковачевић наводи да је "... градња повјерена Србину Босанцу, младому инжиниру г. С. Мирковићу, који је много што-шта у плану особито у унутрашњости цркве измијенио и по православном типу дотјерао; јер ваља знати, да је план ове цркве правио иноверац и ако добар стручњак, опет не онај, који се у градњу православне цркве потпуно разумије".<sup>11</sup> Оскудне информације које пружају двије сачуване фотографије бихаћке цркве говоре у прилог утицаја са Приморја – концепт западног прочеља са забатом између два звоника је романичко-готички; централна купола надвишена је лантерном, по ренесансном моделу.



Слика 8 Црква Свете Тројице, Бихаћ, 1894-1898.

Међу куполним рјешењима у архитектури православних цркава аустроугарског периода у БиХ посебно мјесто припада цркви Светог Георгија на Трновцу у Тузли (Слика. 9). Њен крстообразни план, са прислоњеним полуокружним пијевницама на сјеверној и јужној страни, високе куполе над наосом и припратом, елегантни фасадни украс у виду вијенца слијепих аркадица, свједоче о великом знању и, вјероватно, формалном образовању њеног пројектанта, чије име данас, нажалост, не знамо. Стилске одлике, склад, елементи просторног концепта и архитектонског украса свједоче да су ктитори овог храма, браћа Јово, Pero и Лазо Јовановић, од градитеља захтијевали да се у форми њихове задужбине, у њеном неоморавском триконхалном пројекту, јасно огледа национална идеологија. Браћа Јовановићи били су угледни чланови тузланске српске православне црквене општине, а истакли су се и у припозима за градњу Саборне цркве у Тузли.<sup>12</sup> Својом задужбинарском дјелатношћу они се сврставају међу ријетке појединце који су у Босни тог времена, по угледу на имућне савременике у Србији, градили цркве-гробнице или надгробне капеле, примјењујући образац крстообразног здања са куполом и тако пратећи "највиши архитектонски и ликовни израз у црквеној архитектури и сликарству".<sup>13</sup>



Слика 9 Црква Светог Георгија, Трновац, Тузла, 1899-1900.

У архитектури православних цркава аустроугарског доба у Босни и Херцеговини јављају се, поред куполних, и други облици који асоцијацијом на српску средњовјековну баштину истичу национални карактер. Цркве у Маглају из 1906-1908. (Слика. 10), на Палама из 1909. (Слика. 11) и у Горњем Забрђу код Угљевика из 1912. године имају наос који је проширен бочним пијевничким просторима. На фасадама су пијевнице наглашene забатима, а у унутрашњости се издвајају попречно постављеним сводовима, док је наос надвишен подужно постављеним сводом. На Палама, чију цркву је пројектовао Лазар Дрљача, на мјесту "укрштања" подужног и попречних формира се крстasti свод.<sup>14</sup> Заједничка одлика ових здања је крстообразност просторног рјешења. Међусобна сличност ових грађевина и у конструктивном склопу и у формама које се појављују на фасадама је толика да се може помишљати на примјену истог пројекта.



Слика 10 Црква Светог Илије, Маглај, 1906-1908.



Слика 11 Црква Успења Богородице, Пале, 1909.

Забатне форме аплициране на подужне зидове цркава у Биљешеву код Какња из 1908. (Слика. 12)<sup>15</sup> и Рудицама код Новог Града из 1902. године дају овим здањима крстообразност спољњег изгледа, која није спроведена на елевацији у унутрашњости. Стога се ове грађевине могу сматрати псеудокрстообразним.



Слика 12 Црква Рођења светог Јована Претече, Биљешево код Какња, 1908.

Изразиту сличност са здањима у Маглају, на Палама и у Горњем Побрђу показује црква Покрова Богородице у Горњем Драгаљевцу код Бијељине (Слика. 13), коју је 1908. године пројектовао Милош Миладиновић из Сарајева. Истовјетна је петострана силуeta забата на бочним просторима, као и распоред два издужена прозора, мањег лучно завршеног отвора над вратима и окулуса/розете у врху забата. Храм у Драгаљевцу разликује се од крстообразних цркава у Маглају и на Палама куполом која се издиже на сјецишту кракова грађевине. У којој мјери се Милош Миладиновић приликом пројектовања драгаљевачке цркве послужио нацртима Лазара Дрљаче за цркву на Палама и да ли су обојица имали неки заједнички узор, питања су којима предстоји детаљно истраживање.



Слика. 13 Црква Покрова Богородице, Горњи Драгаљевац код Бијељине, 1908.

Разлози за изразито мали број православних цркава из периода од 1878. до 1918. чији архитектонски склоп куполом или крстообразношћу подсећа на византијско градитељство, а тиме подстиче национално осјећање повезаности са великом српском средњовјековном визуелном културом, вишеструки су. Прије свега, једнобродне засведене базилике задовољавају литургијске потребе и могу да приме сразмјерно велики број вјерника, а све то без великих издатака. Такве грађевине могли су да подижу обични зидари, вјеште занатлије, те се црквена општина није морала излагати трошку плаћања пројеката школованих архитеката.<sup>16</sup>

Постоји и мишљење да су на превагу једнобродних засведених здања, такозваног "војвођанског барока", међу босанско-херцеговачким црквама овог периода могли да утичу и српски учитељи који су од педесетих година 19. вијека долазили из Војводине и који су постали "носитељи културе у вјерским школама српскоправославних опћина у БиХ".<sup>17</sup>

Изразита превага једнобродних над крстообразним и куполним црквама овог раздобља може да се тумачи и политичким околностима у којима су се нашли босанско-херцеговачки Срби након 1878. године. За разлику од ослобођене Србије, која је у то вријеме имала своју аутокефалну црквену организацију, избор црквених великодостојника Православне цркве у Босни и Херцеговини је у надлежности аустријске круне.<sup>18</sup> На тај начин нова управа у Босни и Херцеговини је онемогућила влади Кнежевине (потом Краљевине) Србије да обнављањем Пећке патријаршије обнови и јурисдикцију над православними у Босни и Херцеговини.<sup>19</sup> Будући да држава "на основу законских аката, поседује контролни механизам и често делује као патрон у обликовању јавног визуелног идентитета"<sup>20</sup> сакрална ликовна култура православних у Босни и Херцеговини није могла бити, као у Србији, одређена нити идејом црквене организације, нити идејом државе. За разлику од Србије, у којој у том периоду на изглед православних цркава директно утичу Министарство просвете и црквених послова и Министарство грађевина, у Босни и Херцеговини у истом раздобљу такав уплив власти, када је у питању православно црквено градитељство, изостаје. Национална идеја се у православном градитељству у Србији тражи у средњовјековној умјетничкој пракси, па се већ 1862. године у Закон о црквеним властима уноси одредба "да се одобрене нове цркве зидају у архитектонском одношењу по византијском стилу". Облик који се препоручује је "квадратни храм без припрате, који на источној страни има пространу апсиду, уз коју се са југа и севера још две прислањају. Над целом црквом подиже се витка купола са осмостраним тамбуром".

Једнобродне цркве са звоником Андра Стефановић чак проглашава непримјереним и туђинским. Износећи 1890. године своју визију националног програма у архитектури, он истиче: "... какво чудо у нашим очима мора изгледати наша београдска Саборна црква, католичко-језуитског барок стила, која на пакост ево већ пола века служи за образац, готово свима црквеним грађевинама, које су се за то време у нашој отаџбини подигле", сматрајући да градитељство засновано на обнови византијских форми треба да буде ... јак бедем туђинској поплави, туђинској култури, која тежи да наш народ доведе до пропasti, да га потчини ...".<sup>21</sup> Сличних теоријских приступа и њихових практичних консеквенција у Босни и Херцеговини под аустроугарском влашћу, јасно, није могло бити.

Међутим, отпор примјени типских "српсковизантијских" пројеката, мотивисан практичним, прије свега економским разлогима, постојао је и у Србији

тог времена. Многи наручоци планова за сеоске црквене општине захтијевали су тип цркве "са звоником" по угледу на црквене грађевине које су се подизале у претходним деценијама, што Министарство грађевина није допуштало. Када је дошло до сукоба између једне црквене општине и Министарства, будући да народ није хтио "ни да чује за цркве у византијском стилу", референт Министарства просвете објашњавао је да: "Противљење против византијског стила не стоји усамљено ... пирг – звоник стоји у византијском стилу одвојено, он кошта исто колико и сама црква ... Зато траже цркве са звонарама ма у ком стилу биле."

Премда је архитектури православних цркава саграђених између 1878. и 1918. године у Босни и Херцеговини до сада посвећено изненађујуће мало истраживачке пажње, ипак се назиру контуре механизма који су у њеном формирању одиграли пресудну улогу. Богатије црквене општине (какве су оне у Блажују, Вишеграду, Јањи) и имућни и угледни појединци (попут браће Јовановића из Тузле) могли су да граде монументалнија здања и подижу на њима куполе, призывајући тиме сјећање на српско средњовјековно градитељство и исказујући на тај начин националну идеју. Већина црквених општина у настојању да коначно добије цркву у властитом селу или вароши, ангажује јефтине самоуке мајсторе и подиже скромне једнобродне цркве, на западном прочељу акцентоване звоником. Поред економских, приоритетних, на свеукупну градитељску активност у окриљу Православне цркве у Босни и Херцеговини знатно су утицале и политичке околности. Непостојање националне државне организације чија би идеологија, проведена настојањем надлежних министарстава и законодавством, усмјеравала визуелну културу ка српсковизантијским облицима, проузроковало је изостанак јасног дефинисања овог дијела историјистичке архитектуре. Грађење у византијском стилу у Босни и Херцеговини између 1878. и 1918. стога није могло да добије институционални облик.

До сада је највећи број босанско-херцеговачких православних цркава подигнутих за вријеме аустроугарске управе сматран скромном и неамбициозном архитектуром, без специфичних умјетничких намјера и значајних ликовних дometa. Њихова бројност и разноликост, као и комплексност друштвено-историјског контекста у којем су настале, те питања њихове хронологије, узора и градитеља, представљају широко поље и велики изазов за будућа истраживања.

<sup>1</sup> Само на подручју Бањалучке епархије тада је срушено преко стотину православних цркава, М. Марић, *Страдање Српске православне цркве и њених вјерника на подручју Бањалучке епархије у XX вијеку*, Српска православна епархија бањалучка 1900-2000, Шематизам, Бањалука 2000, 85.

<sup>2</sup> Ј. Божић, *Српске православне цркве у Сарајеву, у књизи Сеједоци историје*, Бањалука 2001, 96-105.

<sup>4</sup> О овој грађевини видјети више у: *Одлука о проглашењу природно-градитељске целине православна црква Вазнесења Господњег у Ложарници, са старим храстом, националним спомеником Босне и Херцеговине*, Комисија за очување националних споменика у Босни и Херцеговини (аутор Емир Софтић) 2009, [http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id\\_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3229](http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3229)

<sup>5</sup> А. Кадијевић, *Један век тражења националног стила у српској архитектури*, Београд 1997, 62-115.

<sup>6</sup> Ако се не узму у обзир храмови чија је градња започета пре 1878. – Обудовац 1864-1882, Тузла 1874-1882 Соколац 1876-1882.

<sup>7</sup> Документација Архива БиХ, Нацрти, Техничко одјељење, архивске јединице 18 и 64, цитирано према: *Одлука о проглашењу Градитељске целине – православне цркве Св. Саве у Блажују националним спомеником Босне и Херцеговине*, Комисија за очување националних споменика у Босни и Херцеговини (аутор текста Емир Софтић), 2005, [http://kons.gov.ba/main.php?id\\_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2557](http://kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2557).

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.bosanskehistorije.com/bosna-1878-1918/682-austrougarska-okupacija-rogatice-> (16. 08. 2014)

<sup>9</sup> А. Вар, *Bosna i Hercegovina. Austrijska uprava od 1878 do 1903*, Beograd 1906, 41; цитирано према: Ј. Божић, *Српске православне цркве у Сарајеву*, 103.

<sup>10</sup> Подаци преузети из: *Одлука о проглашењу Градитељске целине – православне цркве Св. Саве у Блажују националним спомеником Босне и Херцеговине*.

<sup>11</sup> Коста Ковачевић, прота, *Српска црква и школа у Бихаћу послије окупације*, Први шематизам православне српске митрополије Бањалучко-Бихаћке. Сто година послије, Бања Лука, 2001, 284-289.

<sup>12</sup> Јовановићи су у Тузли основали и финансирали и друге установе – пјевачко друштво, добровољно ватрогасно друштво – а били су и власници биоскопа; подаци цитирани према *Одлуци о проглашењу Градитељске целине – православне цркве светог великомученика Георгија са гробљем на Трновцу у Тузли*, Комисија за очување националних споменика у Босни и Херцеговини (аутор Емир Софтић) 2009, [http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id\\_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3229](http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3229).

<sup>13</sup> Н. Макуљевић, *Црквена уметност у Краљевини Србији (1882-1914)*, Београд 2007, 110-111, сл. 33, 34.

<sup>14</sup> Приликом писања овог рада аутору нису били доступни подаци о елевацији цркве у Горњем Забрђу. Црква Светог Илије у Маглају страдала је током рата 1992-1995. године, њена горња конструкција је обновљена 2003-2007. године. Видјети: *Одлука о проглашењу историјске грађевине – Цркве светог пророка Илије у Маглају националним спомеником БиХ*, Комисија за очување националних споменика БиХ (аутор Алиса Марјановић), [http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id\\_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3711](http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3711)

<sup>15</sup> Више података о цркви у Биљешеву видјети у: *Одлука о проглашењу историјског подручја Главица у Биљешеву националним спомеником Босне и Херцеговине*, Комисија за очување националних споменика у Босни и Херцеговини (аутор Алиса Марјановић), 2011. [http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id\\_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3347](http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3347)

<sup>16</sup> А. Кадијевић, *Један век тражења националног стила у српској архитектури*, 57.

<sup>17</sup> С. Ђаја, *Bosna i Hercegovina u austrougarskoj epohi (1878-1918). Inteligencija između tradicije i ideologije*, Zagreb, 2002, 31-35. Исто образложение наводи и Ј. Божић, *Српске православне цркве у Сарајеву*, 98.

<sup>18</sup> Конвенцијом о привременом регулисању односа Православне цркве у Босни и Херцеговини, коју је Аустро-угарска 1880. године закључила са Цариградском патријаршијом, право постављања и смјењивања епископа припало је аустроугарском цару, уз формалну сагласност цариградског патријарха, а митрополити су добијали плату од Земаљске владе. Цариградској патријаршији загарантовано је 58000 гроша годишње као накнада за дотадашње приходе од Православне цркве у Босни и Херцеговини, Ј. Божић, *Српске православне цркве у Сарајеву*, 96.

<sup>19</sup> З. Куделић, *Srpska pravoslavna crkva u Bosni i Hercegovini tijekom austrougarske vladavine u novijoj domaćoj i inozemnoj historiografiji*, Croatica Christiana Periodica (0350-7823) XXXII (2008), 29-62.

<sup>20</sup> Н. Макуљевић, *Црквена уметност у Краљевини Србији (1882-1914)*, Београд 2007, 9.

<sup>21</sup> Исто, 220, 222, 227, 229, 233.

## Miroslav Malinović

# ODLIKE ARHITEKTURE FRANJEVAČKIH SAMOSTANA I CRKVI U PROVINCIJI BOSNA SREBRENA ZA VRIJEME AUSTROUGARSKE VLASTI U BIH OD 1878. DO 1918.

## Sažetak

Period boravka austrougarske administracije na teritoriji današnje Bosne i Hercegovine označava perioda jednog od najsnažnijih procvata države, pogotovo što se tiče razvoja kulture, arhitekture, umjetnosti, ali i jačanja društvenih sloboda i podizanja kvaliteta života uopšte. Jedno od polja kojima se carska administracija posebno posvetila bilo je i uspostavljanje uređenja u Katoličkoj Crkvi na teritoriji Bosne i Hercegovine, što je podrazumijevalo obrazovanje nadbiskupije i biskupija, sa jedne, i obnovu mreže franjevačkih samostana i župa, desetkovanih kroz vijekove osmanlijskog prisustva na Balkanu, sa druge strane.

Franjevačka provincija Bosna Srebrena, odnosno Bosanski vikariat u ranijem periodu, predstavlja jednu od najstarijih sakralnih organizacija, koja bez prestanka od svog osnivanja 1340. godine djeluje na teritoriji BiH i šire. I pored toga što je uvek predstavljala uzor cijelom društvu na svim poljima svog djelovanja: obrazovanje, književnost, umjetnost, arhitektura itd, period obnove od 1878. do 1918. predstavlja izvanrednu dionicu u razvoju Provincije. Akcenat je svakako bio na graditeljskim poduhvatima izvođenim u duhu istoricizama, na brojnim samostanima i pripadajućim crkvama, čiji su razvoj, osobine i arhitektonske vrijednosti tema ovog rada. Štaviše, carski arhitekti i umjetnici, kao i brojne bečke radionice koje su angažovane na projektima samostana poput onih u Fojnici, Kraljevoj Sutjesci, Kreševu ili Bistriku, bile su vodeći u toj sferi rada, te su izveli neke od najznačajnijih sakralnih objekata u istoriji BiH uopšte – u duhu obnove istorijskih stilova.

Pored izuzetnog značaja samog postojanja ovih cjelina, od posebne važnosti za formiranje arhitektonske slike BiH novijeg doba jednako je značajan i njihov uticaj na kasniji razvitak Provincije kao pokretača umjetničkih i arhitektonskih ostvarenja u svim dijelovima države i šire.

Rad prvo daje kratak istorijski pregled Bosne Srebrenе, od osnivanja do austrougarskog perioda, i sažima najvažnija dešavanja, koja su direktno uticala na stvaranje prostorne slike Provincije, s ciljem predstavljanja osnove na koju se nastavio austrougarski režim. Nadalje, ispituju se opšte karakteristike arhitekture, kako samostana tako i samostanskih crkvi, kao uvod za diskusiju o njihovoj arhitekturi, objektivnim vrijednostima i savremenim percepcijama.

**Ključne riječi:** Austro-Ugarska monarhija, Bosna Srebrena, istoricizmi u arhitekturi

## Uvod

### Prvi franjevci u Bosni

Dolazak prvog fratra u Bosnu zabilježen je još 1248. godine kada je provincial Provincije Slavonije - Provinciae Sclavoniae, sa sjedištem u Splitu - posjetio bosanskog bana Ninoslava zbog svađe sa nadbiskupom kalockim - iz današnje Kaločko-kečkemetske nadbiskupije. Kasniji dolasci franjevaca su vezani većinom za pohode u sklopu iskorjenjivanja jeresi i rješavanja otvorenih pitanja sa tzv. Crkvom bosanskom. Konačno, 1291. godine, uslijedio je trajni dolazak dvojice franjevaca u cilju rješavanja tih problema, što se i uzima za godinu početka stalne prisutnosti franjevaca u Bosni. Kasnije je dogovoren miran način rješavanja sukoba među podijeljenim stanovništvom, vlastelom i krunom, a kojim su trebali rukovoditi franjevci - što je polako vodilo osnivanju Bosanskog vikarijata, institucije čijim bi se postojanjem legalizovao trajan boravak katoličkog klera u državi.

Vikariat je osnovan 1340. godine i ubrzo je sa početne dvije kustodije sa 12 samostana narastao na sedam kustodija i 35 samostana, od čega samo u Bosni 30. Prostor koji je pokrivaо prostirao se, pored Bosne, na Slavoniju, Srbiju, te dijelove Hrvatske, Dalmacije, Južne Ugarske i Vlaške. Prvi samostan je osnovan u selu Mile, nedaleko od Visokog, a bio je posvećen svetom Nikoli. Do sredine XV vijeka Vikariat se znatno proširio, što je dovelo do postupnog odvajanja teritorija: mađarske, 1444. godine, italijanske, 1446, dalmatinske...

## Položaj franjevaca u Osmanlijskom carstvu

Položaj kompletног nemuslimanskog stanovništva se uveliko pogoršao dolaskom osmanlijskog režima na teritoriju Bosne. Brojni samostani i crkve su oštećivani čak i prije 1463., kada je egzekucijom posljednjeg bosanskog kralja Stjepana Tomaševića Bosna izgubila suverenitet u korist Otomanske imperije. Naime, prije 1463. zabilježeni su brojni upadi na bosansku teritoriju, čime je započeta vjekovna borba za očuvanje franjevačkog nasljeđa u Bosni.

Pri povratku sultana Mehmeda II Osvajača iz Jajca, maja 1463. godine, jedan od najuglednijih bosanskih fratara svog vremena, fra Andeo Zvizdović je iskoristio priliku da susretne vođu nove vlasti i pokuša isposlovati što bolji položaj za franjevce u novonastaloj situaciji. U tome je djelomično i uspio, dobivši zagarantovanu slobodu isповједanja katoličke vjere u Bosni, zaštitu samostana i crkvi te slobodu kretanja franjevcima, što je tom prilikom i zapisano u Ah-dnami - ahidnâme, u mjestu Milodraž. Istina, period do 1514. jeste bio najmirniji period za katolike u Bosni za vrijeme trajanja osmanlijske vlasti.

Nažalost, kasnije se pokazalo da se Ah-dnama, čiji se originalni prepis čuva u samostanu Svetog Duha u Fojnici, ne poštuje u praksi i da se i onako desetkovano stanovništvo protjeruje, zgrade i crkve skrnavljuju i spaljuju, a imovina pljačka i uništava. Situacija se s vremena na vrijeme mahom poboljšavala, mada realan oporavak nije bio ni na vidiku. Vikariat je u međuvremenu, 1517. godine, podignut na nivo provincije - što je najviši nivo organizacije u okviru Reda. Pored ostalih, nove nedaće su uslijedile za vrijeme dvaju opsada Beča, 1529. i 1683., kada je ogroman broj katoličkog stanovništva izbjegao u branjene krajeve na sjeveru.

Sve vrijeme arhitektura i graditeljske aktivnosti u provinciji Bosna Srebrena - Bosna Argentina - nisu bile u prvom planu, za razliku od savremenih dešavanja širom Evrope. Štaviše, čista egzistencija i pastoralna briga za stanovništvo je vijekovima bila jedina tačka dnevnog reda. Stoga se teško može pričati o konkretnim stilskim osobinama i arhitektonskim karakteristikama franjevačkih crkvi i samostana uopšte.

Kako se od XVIII vijeka počelo osjećati slabljenje Osmanlijskog carstva, to su bile jasnije pretenzije okolnih država na strateški važnu bosansku teritoriju. U prvom redu tu se misli na austrijsko carstvo, čija je kruna nakon približavanja granica počela polagati pravo na uređenje u okviru Provincije, započinjući tiki sukob sa papom. Tu se vjerovatno prvi put jasno video nedostatak postojanja diocezanske strukture u Bosni, budući da su sve praktično nosili franjevci. Usljedilo je osnivanje Apostolskog

vikarijata, institucije čiji su poglavari bili bosanski biskupi, direktno odgovorni papi. Za vrijeme postojanja Vikarijata, sve do 1881. godine, za biskupe su birani redom bivši gvardijani samostana ili provincijali, dakle članovi Bosne Srebrenе.

XVIII vijek je obilježen proevropskim reformama unutar samog Osmanlijskog carstva, izazvanim sveopštim pritiskom nakon Francuske revolucije. Najvažniji dokument je Hatišerif od Gulhane - Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerif-î - iz 1839. godine, koji je donio sultan Abdul Medžid I. Garantovao je veće slobode za sve hrišćane u Carstvu. Bilo je potrebno znatno vrijeme da on da rezultate, ali je konačno došlo do perioda oporavka katoličkog stanovništva i klera u Bosni.

Za vrijeme progona i uništavanja samo su tri samostana opstala u kontinuitetu: samostan Svetog Duha u Fojnici, svetog Ivana Krstitelja u Kraljevoj Sutjesci i svete Katarine u Kreševu. Oni su bili jezgro i posljednje utočište kroz vijekove, ali i ishodište u periodu oporavka. Sredinom XIX vijeka grade se novi samostani u Gorici kraj Livna, Gučoj Gori kraj Travnika, Plehanu kraj Dervente, Tolisi kraj Orašja i Šćitu kraj Rame. Gradnju svakog od samostana snažno su podržavale zapadne sile, među kojima je prednjačila Austro-Ugarska, nagovještavajući događaje koji dolaze. Podrška se u to vrijeme prvo odnosila na finansijska sredstva, a kasnije i na umjetnine, elemente unutrašnjeg uređenja, crkveno ruho, namještaj itd.

## Položaj franjevaca nakon dolaska Austro-Ugarske monarhije

Iako je uvriježeno mišljenje da su austrougarske vlasti svojim dolaskom po definiciji počele podržavati sav katolički kler, to nije u potpunosti tačno. Istina, društvene slobode i ukupna atmosfera se poboljšala i podigla na nezamisliv nivo u odnosu na raniji period. Međutim, političke strategije novih vladara Bosne su bile usmjerene ka gušenju nacionalne svijesti i duha koji je ugnjetavane narode Bosne držao kroz vijekove osmanlijske vlasti. Crkva je, naravno, u tom vremenu bila jedina i apsolutna veza sa narodom, između ostalih, Srba sa Pravoslavnom i Hrvata sa Katoličkom crkvom, odnosno franjevcima. Ukratko, nove vlasti su od početka svog mandata počele promovisati bosanski identitet, na štetu navedenih nacionalnih grupa - a sve u korist stvaranja jasne slike o podjeli uloga vlasti i pokorenog stanovništva.

Za katolike je to značilo da franjevci, koji su bili istinski pastiri Hrvata u Bosni, počinju da gube zvaničnu podršku od Zemaljske vlade, koja svoje napore usmjerava ka osnivanju redovnog diocezanskog ustrojstva: Vrhbosanske nadbiskupije, te Banjalučke,

Mostarko-duvanske i Trebinjsko-mrkanske biskupije, potiskujući organizaciju Bosne Srebrenе u Bosni. Kako se da tumačiti iz aktivnosti prvog vrhbosanskog nadbiskupa dr. Josipa Stadlera, njegova dva glavna cilja su bila da preuzme franjevačke župe i da provede tzv. sekularizaciju fratara u diocezanske sveštenike. To je naročito bilo jasno na području koje je bilo pod direktnom upravom dr. Josipa Stadlera. U Banjoj Luci, na primjer, gdje je za biskupa biran fratar, situacija je bila potpuno drugačija.

Uz sve te poteškoće, uprava Provincije je uspješno vodila samostane kroz novo vrijeme. Iako su direktnе investicije dolazile prvo Nadbiskupiji. I Provincija je, istina, uspjevala dobijati dio sredstava, čime su pokrenute znatne graditeljske aktivnosti širom Bosne. Isto se dešavalo i sa obrazovnim i kulturnim institucijama Provincije. Pored obnovljenih i dograđenih, nove samostanske zgrade su izgrađene u Kraljevoj Sutjesci, Kreševu, Bistriku, Jajcu, Petrićevcu i Visokom, a samostanske crkve u Fojnici, Kraljevoj Sutjesci, Kreševu, Gučoj Gori, Jajcu, Petrićevcu, Plehanu, Bistriku i Visokom. Pored tih, izgrađene su još 54 župne crkve i 33 župna doma. Najveći prilozi, najčešće u naturi - nematerijalne prirode, su bili od samog naroda, dok je finansijska podrška, uz onu zvaničnu, dolazila i kroz direktne donacije Bečkog dvora.

### **Franjevačka arhitektura u Bosni Srebrenoј u periodu od 1878. do 1918.**

#### **Opštе karakteristike**

Kada se valorizuje sakralna arhitektura jednog područja, u okviru odgovarajućeg vremenskog perioda, najčešće se mogu ustanoviti i prihvati generalne stilske karakteristike, strukturalne osobine, ali i primjenjeni načini uređenja sakralnog prostora te odnosa mjesta i objekta. Tako se najkraće i definije većina tekovina zapadne kulture, kontekstualizovana u odnosu na istorijska zbivanja, političku situaciju, demografsko stanje i opšte odlike pojedinog doba. U analizi arhitektonске slike u Bosni i Hercegovini, a pogotovo one koja se tiče sakralne arhitekture neislamskih vjerskih objekata, teško je ne uočiti praznine i apsolutno nejasne pojave u primjeni stilova, materijala i uopšte shvatanja odnosa arhitekture, duha i mjesta. Svakako da je najveća praznina prouzrokovana gušenjem nacionalnog duha od strane Osmanlijske imperije, te je zaista nemoguće reći kako bi se kretao razvoj srednjovjekovne Bosne da tih dešavanja nije bilo. Istina, Bosna nije ni prije obilovala izvanrednim primjerima arhitektonskih ostvarenja niti je bilo šta od njih sačuvano, osim npr. romaničkog zvonika svetog Luke crkve svete Marije u Jajcu, jedinog predturskog katoličkog sakralnog objekta, djelimično sačuvanog i danas, ali je sigurno da bi, da nije bilo turske vladavine, slika Bosne bila drugačija.

Ovako, nakon vijekova odumrlosti i potpunog isključenja od tokova zapadnih civilizacija, Bosna je ugledala svjetlo dana tek sredinom XVIII vijeka. Iako još pod turskom upravom, koja je zapravo nominalno ostala u Bosni sve do 1908. godine i aneksije od strane Austro-Ugarske, stvari su počele da se pomjeraju s mrtve tačke. Kako su najznačajnije investicije i uopšte fokus djelovanja Bosne Srebrenе bili usmjereni ka samostanima, to su oni i najreprezentativnije lokacije kada se govori o arhitektonskim ostvarenjima tog doba. Kako je navedeno, za vrijeme austrougarske uprave radilo se i na župnim crkvama i domovima, mada od tih projekata tek nevelik broj zaslzuje pažnju: npr. crkva svetog Ante u Bugojnu, crkva svetog Mihovila u Varešu ili svetog Ive u Podmilaču kod Jajca.

Dakle, u odsustvu svakog korijena na koji bi se arhitekte trebale logično nastaviti u svojim projektima, u Bosni je bio slučaj uvođenja potpuno novog arhitektonskog rječnika, do tada praktično neviđenog kod nas. Potrebno je naglasiti da je bespredmetno analizirati arhitekturu bilo koje tipologije ili vremenskog okvira, a da se detaljno ne da uvid u ostale društvene, političke, ekonomski, vjerske i druge prilike, koje neumitno modeluju stanje na objektima: zbog čega oni, na kraju krajeva, i ostaju spomenici svog doba. Naravno, ovdje će u prikazu iz praktičnih razloga izostati takva opsežna analiza, što ne umanjuje vrijednost ostvarenjâ.

Kad se govori o samostanskim zgradama treba reći da se u njihovoј gradnji mahom uglédalo na aktuelne zapadne uzore, ali samo u mjeri uticaja na formiranje samostanskih krila i položaja u odnosu na samostansku crkvu. I dalje su to bili prilično zaostali projekti, s obzirom na tada savremene materijale i konstruktivne sklopove. Dakle, riječ je o krajnje siromašnim objektima, stilski blijedim i međusobno veoma sličnim. Konačno, samo je gučogorski samostan dobio, na primjer, oblik klaustra, sa potpuno formiranim krilima, zatvorenim sa crvenim traktom sa četvrte strane, dok je samostan na Bistriku potpuno i izdašno tretiran u odnosu na crkvu i okruženje.

Situacija je u sveobuhvatnosti projekata bila drugačija kada su u pitanju samostanske crkve. Vjerovatno uviđajući sveopštu važnost kvalitetne prezentacije same crkve, kako u enterijeru tako i u eksterijeru, i konačno došavši u poziciju da izvedu prominentne projekte, franjevcii uspjejavaju za svoje projekte angažovati sam krem novopridošlog arhitektonskog društva. Ovim je svakako počela još jedna stranica u istoriji franjevačkih poduhvata, koji su i do danas ostali izvanredni primjeri savremenih sakralnih ostvarenja. Disperzija primijenjenih elemenata oblikovanja i stilskih karakteristika je

najočiglednija na crkvama, kako na potpuno novim, kao što je slučaj u Fojnici, tako i na onima koje su dograđene ili prepravljene u vrijeme od 1878. do 1918., kao npr. na Gorici ili u Tolisi. Samostanske crkve su u tom smislu ipak jedan korak ispred velike većine župnih, u monumentalnosti, primjeni strukturalnih elemenata, sklopova materijala, dekorativne plastike i opštег utiska integracije u pejzaž.

## Arhitekte

Uticaj austrougarskih arhitekata, odnosno mladih inženjera školovanih u Beču je stavljen u prvi plan kad se ticalo oblikovanja novog uređenja u Bosni. Iako su fratri često angažovali i domaće snage, kao na primjer graditelje iz porodice Holz ili cijenjenog arhitektu sa pozamašnim opusom u Slavoniji i Beogradu, Blaža Misitu-Katušića, apsolutni mainstream su bili stranci. Glavno ime je bio Josip plementi Vančaš, predvodnik bečke škole u Bosni i talentovani arhitekt koji je spretno iskoristio okruženje da praktikuje prvo lične modifikacije u duhu obnove klasičnih stilova, mahom čak i gotike i romanike, a kasnije i da uvede secesiju, te konačno pokrene i danas podložno diskusijama pitanje bosanskog sloga u arhitekturi. Najznačajnija ostvarenja su mu svakako profanog karaktera, ponajviše u Sarajevu, dok je sakralne projekte izvodio za više konfesija. Pored Vančaša, zvučno ime je bio i Karel Pařík, prvo Vančašev saradnik, a kasnije samostalan arhitekt. Njegov značajan opus za Nadbiskupiju i Provinciju datira iz perioda nakon odlaska bečke administracije. Pored njih, tu je još cijeli niz više ili manje poznatih arhitekata koji su na svoj način dali doprinos stvaranju arhitektonske slike Provincije.

## Arhitektura samostana

Kako je rečeno, samostani su izvedeni kao sklopovi jednog, dva, rjeđe tri samostanska krila. U pojedinim slučajevima fratri su zadržavali cijele zgrade ili dijelove samostana izgrađenih prije 1878., kakav je, na primjer, bio slučaj u Fojnici, te je vršena nadogradnja ili dogradnja kompleksa, dok su češće pribjegavali uklanjanju starih objekata i izgradnji novih, koji su većinom i danas u upotrebi. Opšte odlike su, kako je naprijed rečeno, daleko od originalnih ostvarenja, i tu se zaista ne može govoriti o rješenjima karakterističnim samo za Bosnu Srebrenu, iako svako od rješenja ima poseban duh i odnos sa mjestom i crkvom, i okolnim tkivom, ako ga ima. Organizaciono, rješenja su karakteristična za objekte stanovanja u okviru katoličkih vjerskih grupa, te svaki

od samostana ima zajedničke prostore za molitvu, dnevni boravak i objedovanje, privatne za stanovanje i servisne prostorije. Stilski, nove samostanske zgrade variraju od jednostavnih monotraktova nepoznatog autora na Petrićevcu i Johanna Holza u Kreševu, preko razvijenih dvotratkovskih sistema istog autora u Kraljevoj Sutjesci, do smjelih poduhvata u duhu obnove klasicizma arhitekte Karla Paneka na Bistriku i Blaža Misite-Katušića u Visokom. Vjerovatno od svih projekata onaj u Jajcu ima najviše sa lokalnom, mjestu prikladnom arhitekturom, nauštrb većine već viđenih klasičnih rješenja i sklopova. Rješenje Karela Paříka ima poseban senzibilitet prema okolini, duhu mesta i skladu sa okruženjem, što se pokazalo i kasnije, na primjeru samostana na Plehanu. I ovdje je teško govoriti o nekim ustaljenim kategorijama pripadnosti stilu, primijenjenim na tekovine zapadne kulture.

## Arhitektura samostanskih crkvi

Jedna od osnovnih karakteristika svih franjevačkih samostanskih rezidencija jeste apsolutno dominantan položaj u odnosu na okolinu i vrijednost vizuelne veze sa pejzažem, koja je otvarala potpuno nove mogućnosti arhitektama. Gotovo sve izvedbe su uspješno tretirale taj segment arhitekture, dodajući nove vrijednosti projektima. Izuzev projekta nepoznatog autora na Petrićevcu, sve nove crkve, kao što su: Vančaševe u Fojnici, Kraljevoj Sutjesci i Gučoj Gori, Paříkova u Kreševu, te rad Johanna Holza na Plehanu, pored ugradene crkve u samostansku zgradu prema projektu Misite-Katušića u Visokom, kao i crkva u Jajcu, predstavljaju ugledne modele za većinu crkvi koje su se po narudžbi Provincije izvele do kraja austrougarskog perioda u Bosni. Oblikovno, većina crkvi pripada klasičnoj trobrodnoj izvedbi, mahom sa transeptom i sa dvostrukim zvonikom na glavnoj fasadi, te polukružnoj apsidi, gdje je smješteno svetište. Projekat crkve u Kreševu, koja je zbog konstruktivnih razloga uklonjena, ističe se od ostalih u tretmanu materijala, odnosa masa i funkcionalne dispozicije. Isto važi i za Vančaševe crkve u Fojnici i Bistriku, koje možda predstavljaju i sam vrh ostvarenja u duhu obnove klasične arhitekture. Od ovih se ne razlikuju puno ni ostale samostanske crkve, koje su samo modifikovane u ovom dobu: tako na primjer crkve na Gorici kod Livna ili u Tolisi nisu Vančašu predstavljale poseban autorski izazov, pa podsjećaju na rješenja u Gučoj Gori ili pak Kraljevoj Sutjesci, što je i očekivano s obzirom na budžete i rokove koji su arhitektama davani.

## Arhitektura i vrijeme

Nesporan je uticaj austrougarske politike u stvaranju nove slike društva u Bosni na prelazu između vijekova. Tih 40 godina boravka strane administracije je donijelo novine koje su uslovile presudne promjene u percepciji društvenih pojava, politici, kulturi... Arhitektura je, kao posljedica svega toga, ostala da svjedoči o tom vremenu, ali i odnosu prema njemu u kasnijim epohama. Poređenje arhitekture sakralnih ostvarenja u drugim dijelovima Monarhije, a najposlijе i u Beču, s onima u Bosni je van domena poznatih metoda - budući da sve treba biti posmatrano kroz višeslojnu prizmu čitavog niza pratećih dešavanja. Stoga ni ne nalazimo vrhunska ostvarenja secesije ili čak početke moderne u vrijeme kada su se oni već dešavali na Zapadu, nego više istoricizme, koji su prvo popunili jaz između naprasno prekinutog srednjovjekovnog razvoja i početka XX vijeka. U tom kontekstu, zapravo je fantastičan doprinos franjevačkih arhitektonskih ostvarenja, koja su za, istorijski gledano, kratko vrijeme uspjela makar formalno nadomjestiti velike praznine, mada sigurno nisu tako planirana.

Naslijede ove ere, iako u nekim slučajevima oštećeno, srušeno ili oskrnavljeno, predstavlja jedan ogroman korpus objekata, koji su zasnovali bazu geneze razvoja katoličke sakralne arhitekture u kasnjem periodu. Iako je to bilo manje vidljivo u postratnoj Bosni, sakralna arhitektura je sa ove tačke gledišta doživjela potpuni obrt. Ne može se reći da su njene tekovine svjesno zaboravljene, nego su jednakom snagom odbačene kako su i prihvaćene ili nametnute. Opet se kao glavni faktor nalaže političko uređenje, a da paradoks bude veći, društveni faktor koji je nominalno najudaljeniji od religije, pokazuje se kao najuticajniji na oblikovanje arhitektonskog proizvoda. Stručno posmatrano, tek kroz zadnje decenije franjevački kompleksi samostana i pojedinih župnih crkvi dobijaju pravo uvažavanje na formalnom nivou kroz kategorizaciju nacionalnih spomenika, čime se još doprinosi promociji ne samo arhitekture, nego i onoga što je unutra: brojni arhivski dokumenti, rijetke knjige, izvanredni muzejski artefakti, crkveno ruho, umjetnička djela itd.

Sigurno je da je arhitektonska slika Provincije formirana upravo na prelazu između XIX i XX vijeka, te se u tom svjetlu može govoriti i o važnosti bečkog režima za Bosnu Srebrenu. Konsekventno, Bosna Srebrena predstavlja srž Katoličke Crkve u Bosni, te i njena arhitektura za nju znači isto. Sigurno je da se mogu povući paralele u projektima koji su angažovane arhitekte paralelno radile za profane projekte, ali je diskusija o međusobnom uticaju tema nekog drugog rada. Interesantno bi bilo vidjeti u kojem pravcu bi se razvoj kretao da je podloga bila drugačija: sigurno bi se u arhitektonskom izrazu više osjetila stilska pripadnost tradicionalnoj arhitekturi

dinarskog područja, da je ona njegovana više u ranijem periodu. Odnosno, kakav bi tretman ovog nasljeđa bio da se političko uređenje nije tako dijametralno mijenjalo kroz decenije koje su dolazile?

## Zaključak

Ovaj kratak pregled nije zamišljen da prezentuje valorizacije pojedinačnih objekta, kako je to uobičajeno kada se tiče istorijskih diskursa u arhitekturi, iako to svaki od njih svakako zaslужuje. Štaviše, tako obiman rad zaslужuje daleko više vremena i prostora te bi svaka predstava arhitekture franjevaca, iz bilo kojeg razvojnog perioda, koja nije enciklopedijski predstavljena, bila svojevrsno vrijedanje tog nasljeđa.

Nasuprot tome, ovim radom se samo grebe po površini konteksta nastanka arhitektonskih ostvarenja manje ili veće vrijednosti, u periodu prisustva austrougarske administracije u Bosni, i on se posmatra ne kao skup pojedinih rješenja, već kao masovan projekat čiji su rezultati iznikli širom Bosne na prelazu između vijekova. Djelovanje više arhitekata, na različitim lokacijama, u lokalnim uslovima, često uz već postojeće slojeve iz ranijih perioda, rezultiralo je širokim opusom arhitektonskih rješenja, čija se konačna originalnost i čista primjena stilskih obrazaca opet može dovesti u pitanje. Neumitan je temelj koji je ovo nasljeđe postavilo kasnjim projektima i brojnim arhitektonskim realizacijama, iako one kasnije nisu predstavljale dio geneze razvoja, već opet „iščašenu“ sliku jednog društva. Vrijeme opet pokazuje da je potrebna daleko veća distanca da bi se neko nasljeđe adekvatno vrednovalo i valorizovalo, i konačno adekvatno prepoznalo u svim sferama društva i države. Maliciozno bi bilo reći da je franjevačka arhitektura austrougarskog perioda u Bosni jedan izvanredan opus na evropskom nivou, ali je svakako jedinstvena i kao takva je obilježila prekretnicu razvoja katoličke sakralne arhitekture u Bosni.

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**Nedžad Mulaomerović**

## SARAJEVSKA VIJEĆNICA UNUTRAŠNJE OBRADE I FUNKCIONALNO KORIŠTENJE

### Apstrakt

Sarajevska vijećnica predstavlja jedan od najreprezentativnijih objekata iz perioda Austro-Ugarske monarhije u Sarajevu. Sagrađena je u pseudomaurskom stilu, 1896. godine, po nalogu ministra Benjamina Kalaja, tadašnjeg upravljača Bosnom i Hercegovinom. Arhitekt Aleksandar Vitek započeo je projekat i gradnju Vijećnice 1892. godine, ali nakon što je duševno obolio i preminuo 1893, radove na projektu i izgradnji finalizirao je arhitekt Ćiril Metod Ivezović.

Izvorna funkcija Vijećnice bila je sjedište gradskog poglavarstva, a pedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća udomila je Nacionalnu i univerzitetsku biblioteku Bosne i Hercegovine, Akademiju nauka i umjetnosti BiH te Muzej grada Sarajeva. Od njenog nastanka pa do danas Vijećnica je svjedočila mnogim važnim historijskim događajima vezanim za Sarajevo i Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Pored svih kontroverzi oko primijenjenog stila, mjesto izgradnje, gabarita i ostalog, Vijećnica je postala prepoznatljiv simbol grada, neizostavan element svih panoramskih prikaza Sarajeva. Nažalost, nakon brutalnog spaljivanja u noći između 25. i 26. augusta 1992. godine, stekla je i status svojevrsne metafore kulturocida i urbicida. Uz knjige i drugo blago biblioteke izgorio je mobilijar, uništene su sve drvene konstrukcije i sva unutarnja i vanjska drvenarija, teško je oštećena i deformirana čelična kupola iznad centralnog prostora aule. Decenijama stvaran glavni katalog progutala je vatra. Sila kojoj nisu odoljeli ni kamen ni čelik u potpunosti je razorila brojne i veoma razgranate elemente plastičnog i slikanog dekorata, kako u unutrašnjosti objekta tako i na fasadi.

Kako god mi vrednovali arhitekturu Vijećnice, riječ je o nenadoknadivom graditeljskom nasljeđu. Ova građevina je unikatni dokument, svjedočanstvo duha i ukusa vremena, tehnološke razine, graditeljske vještine i prioriteta društva. Nesaglediva šteta nije bila samo posljedica strašnih ratnih razaranja. Četiri sarajevske ratne zime značajno su doprinijele devestaciji objekta.

Obnova sarajevske Vijećnice bila je zadaća golemlih razmjera; koliko dugotrajna i komplikirana, toliko osjetljiva i rafinirana, koliko skupa i mučna, toliko i uzbudljiva i užvišena. Ona predstavlja jedan od najvećih i najznačajnijih projekata obnove znamenite kulturne baštine u BiH nakon rata.

**Ključne riječi:** Vijećnica.

### UNUTRAŠNJE OBRADE

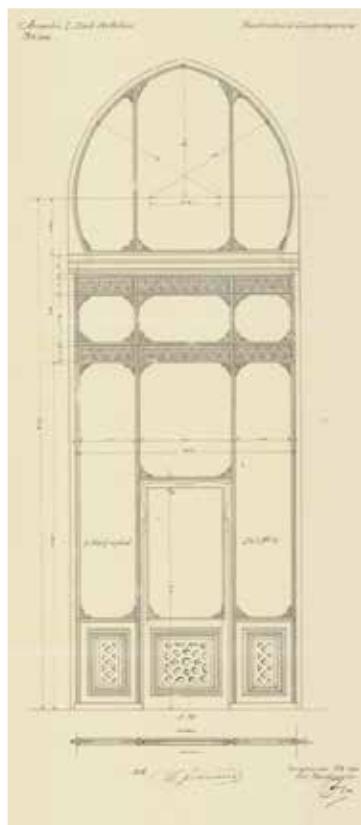
Stilski uzori za Vijećnicu vode nas do najzapadnijih krajeva islamskog svijeta, do sjeverne Afrike (Magreba), do južnih dijelova Iberijskog poluotoka, do Kaira i Granade – Alhambra. Arhitektura historicizma u Sarajevu i Bosni i Hercegovini dala je osebujan „orientalni“, „egipatski“ ili „maurski“ slog, usmjeren ka eklektici orientalne umjetnosti, u vrijeme nastojanja evropskih arhitekata da stvore nacionalni stil, o čemu svjedoče sakralne, a još češće profane građevine tog doba u Bosni i Hercegovini. Za razliku od većine objekata izvedenih u neomaurskom stilu, koji karakterizira dekorativnu fasadu, sarajevska Vijećnica emanira svoj stil u dekorativnom, prostornom i konstruktivnom rješenju. Sve ovo skupa svrstava ovo djelo među spomenike visoke kategorije jednog vrlo važnog razdoblja u historiji Bosne i Hercegovine i grada Sarajeva.



**Slika 1.-** Unutrašnji izgled Vijećnice.

Bogatstvo arhitektonske plastike u kamenu i gipsu vidljivo je u prostorima ulazne aule, monumentalnog stepeništa, kao i svečanih sala na prвome katu. Ovi su prostori riješeni u bogatoj gipsanoj dekoraciji, kako na zidovima tako i na stropovima. Kancelarije, kao i ostali pomoćni prostori, tretirani su skromnije, bez ukrasa i štukature. Završnica ovog koncepta dana je na bogatoj fasadi, obrađenoj u dvobojoj teranovi, malternoj štukaturi i dekorativnim elementima od fajansa. Projektom obnove, kao polazna osnova prihvaćen je izvorni koncept i njegova materijalizacija.

Sva unutrašnja i vanjska stolarija predstavljala je izuzetan rad u hrastovini i činila značajan segment ukupnog oblikovnog doživljaja objekta Vijećnice. U eksterijeru su jasno vidljivi nizovi dvokrilnih prozora (jednostrukih ili dvostrukih) među kojima se posebno ističu prozori na svečanim salama, upotpunjeni floralnim dekorativnim duborezom. Na vanjskim su vratima također prisutni geometrijski duborezi. Unutrašnja vrata izvedena su kao jednokrilna s futer oblogom ili dvokrilna polustaklena, s nadsvjetlom.



**Slika 2.-** Prozor iz izvornog projekta

Podovi u auli, ulaznom vestibilu i malim vestibilima prizemlja, kao i na galeriji prvoga kata i lođi, obnovljeni su prema izvornom stanju i izvedeni od lijevanog teraca u više boja.



**Slika 3.-** Projekat obnove teraco-poda u prizmlju - aula

Podovi u svečanim salama na prvom katu obnovljeni su u mozaik izvedbi od hrastovog parketa, položenog u formi kasete, s dužicom i profiliranom sokl lajsnom uz zidove. Podovi u radnim prostorima izvedeni su od hrastovog parketa položenog na riblju kost.

Kamenorezački radovi na objektu Vijećnice postavljeni su posebne zahtjeve u smislu nabavke, odabira, obrade i ugradnje pozicija od kamenja. U tom smislu, Institut za materijale i konstrukcije Građevinskog fakulteta u Sarajevu proveo je ispitivanje postojećeg kamena prema specifičnim pozicijama ugradnje.

U prethodnim fazama obnove objekta ulazna aula je rekonstruirana poštujući izvorne tipove kamena i njegov karakter kao materijala, koji nije apliciran isključivo kao konstruktivni već i važan likovni element, znalački odabran u procesu realizacije.



Prema dostupnim historijskim podacima, glavno monumentalno stepenište koje povezuje prizemlje i prvi sprat, bilo je izvedeno od mramora iz Mađarske. Projektom je predviđena obnova prema izvornoj dokumentaciji, materijalnim ostacima na objektu i detaljima danim u projektu. Ponovno izrađeni stepenici od kamenih masivnih blokova (bijeli krečnjački mramor) polagani su na ranije izvedenu armiranobetonsku ploču i to tako da je svaki treći red ankerovan za ploču. Izvedba kamenih ograda i ugaonih stupova na stepeništu predviđena je od kamaena tenelije, s brušenom finalnom obradom.

#### AK

Slika 4.- Monumentalno stepenište

Pomoćna stepeništa, locirana desno i lijevo od glavnog monumentalnog, obnavljana su, također prema izvornoj dokumentaciji, lijevanim željeznim dekorativnim ogradama. Izvedena su kao masivna, s pojedinačnim gazištima položenim preko postojećih čeličnih nosača, s jedne strane, i ukopanim u zid, s druge strane. Projekt je nalagao postavljanje karbonskih traka s donje strane svakog gazišta, s ciljem preuzimanja sile zatezanja, te sloj maltera preko karbonskih traka. Površina gazišta je brušenjem obrađena.

Originalno stepenište na ulazu u suteren restorana, kao i glavno ulazno stepenište, bilo je izvedeno od lokalnog kamaena hreše, te je uslijed više intervencija i pomjeranja određenih elemenata izgubilo svoju geometriju. Projektom je predviđena pažljiva demontaža, izrada novog stepeništa prema nacrtima, te ugradnja starih elemenata koji su projektom specificirani. Gazišta stepeništa su brušena i štokovana.

Navedeni tipovi kamena na stepeništima dani su prema karakterističnim podacima za kamen, izrađenim od strane Instituta za materijale i konstrukcije Građevinskog fakulteta u Sarajevu i Zavoda za geotehniku i fundiranje Građevinskog fakulteta u Sarajevu.

Oblici, materijali, obrade površina i izrade ugrađene i mobilne opreme u enterijeru koncipirani su u skladu s osnovnom idejom projekta obnove Vijećnice. Stoga je veliki dio opreme i obloga, posebno na prvom katu, obnovljen prema izvornim nacrtima i fotodokumentaciji, te je izrađen u materijalima koji su predviđeni projektom i opisima.

U projektu obnove enterijersko rješenje u sali Gradskega vijeća slijedilo je originalnu postavku redova vijećničkih klupa u blagom amfiteatru na prethodno izvedenom hrastovom podiju. Sala Gradskega vijeća posjeduje 60 mesta za vijećnike, 8 mesta za novinare, stol predsjedavajućeg i govornicu. Stolice vijećnika izvedene su na drvenoj konstrukciji s mehanizmom za preklapanje i dodatnim tehničkim poboljšanjima za potrebe modernog korištenja, te je prednji radni pult opremljen jakom i slabom strujom, sistemom za elektronsko glasanje, kao i ozvučenjem.



Slika 5.- Svečana sala

Stol predsjedavajućeg i govornica su prema detaljnim nacrtima izvedeni kao ručni rad u hrastovini, s profilacijama i aplikacijama koje su preuzete iz izvorne dokumentacije.

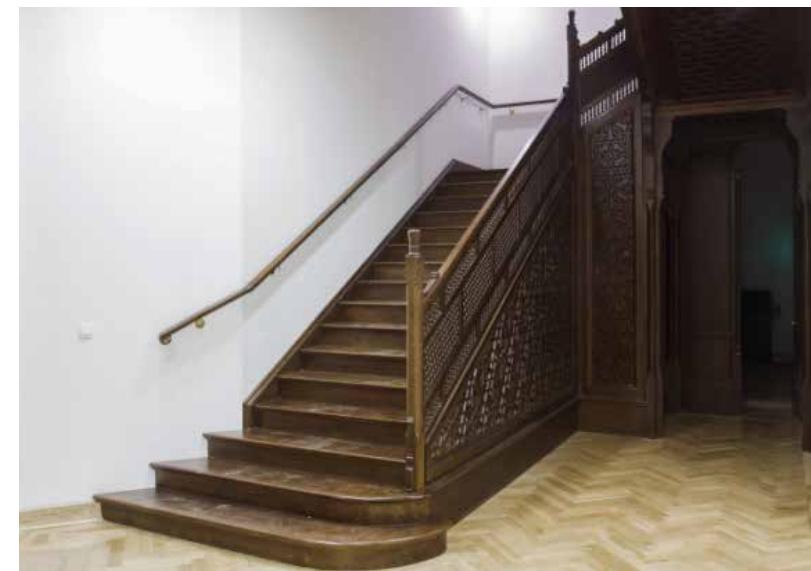


Slika 6.- Svečana sala

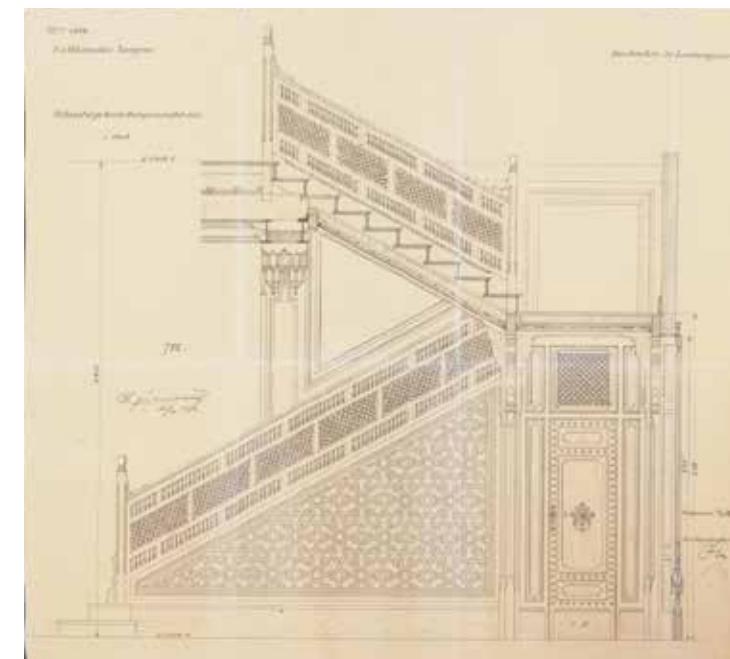
Zidovi su obloženi masivnom hrastovom, dekorativnom oblogom čije su aplikacije i detalji također preuzeti iz originalne dokumentacije.

Svečana sala za prijeme, nekada sala Bosanskog sabora, kao i male sale gradonačelnika i predsjedavajućega Gradskog vijeća opremljene su masivnim, projektiranim namještajem, koji odgovara ukupnom zahtjevu ovog reprezentativnog prostora.

Drveno stepenište, koje povezuje prvi i drugi kat u istočnom dijelu objekta, prvo bitno izvedeno u hrastovini s bogatom orijentalnom ornamentikom i dekoracijama, također je rekonstruirano prema originalnim nacrtima. Enterijer muzejskog prostora organiziran je na način da centralni muzejski prostor zaprema postavka za video-projekcije namjenski izrađene animacije s tematikom Vijećnice. Radikalna pokretna slika s pratećim zvučnim efektima projektira se s centralne tačke zasvođenog stropa na pod muzeja, u radijusu od 3,5 m, te je za tu namjenu centralni muzejski prostor spušten za 50 cm u odnosu na razinu poda u ostalim dijelovima suterena.



Slika 7.- Drveno stepenište



Slika 8.- Originalni projekat drvenog stepeništa

Predviđeno je da obodni zid muzejskog prostora bude opremljen fiksnim panoima za izlaganje slika u formi filmske trake koja bi kontinuirano tekla kružno, u smjeru kretanja posjetilaca. Na zid se montira preko drvene potkonstrukcije koja ujedno služi i za montažu indirektne rasvjete izložbenog prostora.

Postojeći svodovi muzeja izvedeni u opeci ostali su u natur izvedbi sa dersovanjem upuštenih spojnica.



Slika 9.- Muzejski prostor

## FUNKCIONALNO KORIŠTENJE VIJEĆNICE

Organizacija prostora Vijećnice, određena funkcijama i potrebama korisnika (Gradska uprava i Nacionalna biblioteka), s pratećim javnim sadržajima definiranim u idejnom projektu, uvjetovala je da se u glavnom projektu respektira osnovna, ranije zasnovana prostorno-dispoziciona konцепција.

U dispozicionom smislu objekt Gradska vijećnica sadrži tri osnovne funkcionalne cjeline:

line: prostore Gradske uprave, prostore Nacionalne biblioteke i prostore zajedničkih javnih sadržaja (centralni hol - aula, Muzej Vijećnice, ugostiteljski i energetski blok).

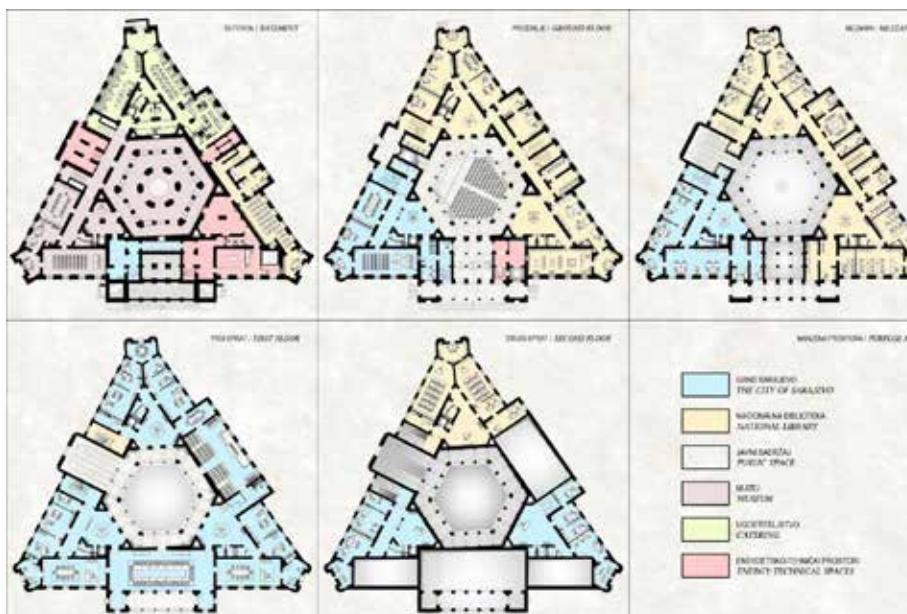
Navedene cjeline predstavljaju zasebne funkcionalno-organizacione i tehničke grupacije koje su međusobno povezane i uklopljene u jedinstven organizam, pri čemu zajednički javni prostori imaju ulogu veznih struktura.

U periodu kada je izgrađen, objekt je imao samo jednu funkciju - Gradske vijećnice, a u periodu od 1947. do 1992. i drugu - Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke.



Slika 10.- Muzejski prostor

Uz poštivanje postojeće konstrukcije i dispozicije objekta (istostranični trokut s tri kule i šestokutnom aulom u sredini), te uzimajući u obzir sve okolnosti koje nalaže kulturno-historijski značaj objekta, projektom je omogućeno autonomno i komforntno funkcioniranje više zasebnih sadržaja u objektu. Imajući u vidu sve zadatosti i prostorne mogućnosti objekta, programske funkcije više korisnika smještene su po etažama, vodeći računa o međusobnoj povezanosti prostora za svakog korisnika, uz mogućnost jednostavnog pristupa centralnim sadržajima koji su smješteni u parteru oko aule Vijećnice.



Slika 11.- Namjena prostora

Postojeći ulazi u objekt Vijećnice omogućavaju odvojen ulaz za zaposlenike Gradske uprave i Nacionalne biblioteke iz ulice Brodac, od onog za posjetioce iz ulice Kulina bana, koji je i glavni ulaz, dok su postojeća vrata prema ulici Telali predviđena kao alternativni izlaz, te za povremeno snabdijevanje objekta. Poseban ulaz u suterenski prostor iz ulica Telali i Brodac služi kao eksterni ulaz za goste kafe-restorana. Uz postojeća odvojena stepeništa za Nacionalni biblioteku i Gradsku upravu, uz rekonstruirane sanitарне čvorove po etažama, projektirani su novi liftovi za oba korisnika.

Glavni energetska blok za potrebe grijanja i hlađenja, s ostalom energetskom opremom, smješten je u dijelu suterena. S obzirom na različite režime ventilacije pojedinih prostora i sala u objektu, te postojeća arhitektonska ograničenja u pogledu razvođenja kanala, predložen je separatni sistem s više manjih klima-komora, koje su montirane na etaži tavana, a za potrebe ventilacije muzeja i restorana u suterenu.

Uređenje i opremanje objekta Vijećnice bio je specifičan zadatak iz razloga što je u objektu od kulturno-historijskog značaja bilo neophodno zadovoljiti zahtjeve suvremenog korištenja prostora za više grupa korisnika.

### Prostori Gradske uprave

Pripadajući dio prizemlja namijenjen je za gradski info-centar u funkciji prezentaci-

je razvojnih projekata grada, prezentacije kulturno-historijske i turističke ponude u gradu te informiranja o dnevnim kulturnim događanjima u gradu. Reprezentativni prostor prvoga kata zauzimaju ured gradonačelnika s Gradskim vijećem te sala za protokolarni prijem i sala Gradskog vijeća. Na mezaninu i drugom katu smještene su prateće stručne službe kabineta gradonačelnika i zamjenika gradonačelnika te stručne službe Gradskog vijeća grada Sarajeva.

### Prostori Nacionalne biblioteke

Prostor Gradske vijećnice koji koristi Nacionalna biblioteka nalazi se na zapadnoj strani objekta, uz zasebno stubište s liftom i proteže se kroz etaže. U suterenu je predviđen depo knjiga za potrebe smještaja knjiga i priručnog materijala u funkciji restauratorske radionice i knjigoveznice, koje se nalaze u prizemlju. Planirano je da se restauratorske radionice i knjigoveznice opremaju laboratorijskom opremom koju je Nacionalnoj biblioteci donirala španjolska vlada. Osim toga, u prizemlju su još smještene knjižara, antikvarnica i direkcija biblioteke. Mezanin je rezerviran za smještaj odjela specijalnih zbirki, centra za razvoj, dok su na drugom katu predviđene dvije sale za edukaciju nastavnika, s pratećim prostorima.

### Prostori zajedničkih i javnih sadržaja

Centralni hol-aula namijenjena je posjetiocima i njihovom svakodnevnom korištenju javnih sadržaja Gradske uprave, Nacionalne biblioteke i Muzeja, te za povremeno korištenje u posebnim prilikama, kao što su promocije, izložbe, koncerti i dr.

Muzejski prostor s pratećim sadržajima u suterenu zauzima centralni potkupolni prostor ispod aule te služi za smještaj stalne postavke eksponata i video materijala, dok je prostor prema zapadnoj strani objekta predviđen za povremene tematske izložbe i predavanja, s pripadajućim ofisom za kustosa.

Pored ugostiteljskih punktova (kafe-kuhinja) na etažama glavnih korisnika objekta i u suterenu je predviđen ugostiteljski sadržaj – restoran s kafe-slasičarnom kapaciteta 60-70 mesta, za koji je planirano da, osim usluga za potrebe objekta Vijećnice, putem zasebnog ulaza opslužuje i eksterne goste.

### Bilješke

[1] Autorski tekst iz Projekta obnove Sarajevske vijećnice; 2008. godine.

### Fotografije

**DŽD** - Dženat Drečović

**AK** - Anida Krečo

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## PERCEPCIJA INDUSTRIJSKOG NASLJEĐA IZ PERIODA AUSTROUGARSKE UPRAVE KAO NEODVOJIVOG DIJELA KULTURNE BAŠTINE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

U školskim čitankama o istoriji arhitekture na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine nakon uspostave austrougarske vlasti piše kako je to bio period u kojem dolazi do velikih promjena u načinu života, rada i građenja. Navodi se kao period intenzivne gradnje i razvoja arhitekture u evropskom pravcu kada na scenu dolaze arhitektonski stilovi do tada nepoznati na ovim prostorima. Studije, nastale unazad par decenija, koje su obrađivale značaj i vrijednost arhitektonskog stvaralaštva tokom tog perioda, uveliko su pomogle konzervatorima pri prepoznavanju, valorizaciji i konačnoj zaštiti spomenika koji su neizostavni dio kulturnog naslijeđa BiH.

Međutim, industrijski objekti građeni krajem 19. i početkom 20. vijeka, koji se smatra najintenzivnjim periodom industrijalizacije, čiji ostaci predstavljaju značajne historijske, tehnološke, društvene i konačno arhitektonske vrijednosti, nikada nisu istraženi ni popularizirani u BiH, na što ukazuje i broj zaštićenih industrijskih spomenika.

Cilj ovog rada je predstaviti početak industrijskog razvoja BiH, koji određuje njegov dalji tok, u svrhu detektiranja potencijalnog industrijskog naslijeđa.

**Ključne riječi:** austrogarski period, industrija, industrijsko naslijeđe, TICCIH.

### 1.0 Uvod

Kulturna baština BiH, rezultat burne historije i jedinstvenog geografskog položaja zemlje, odlikuje se bogatstvom u pogledu raznolikosti i slojevitosti arhitektonskog naslijeđa. Stravičnim ratnim razaranjima iz 90-tih godina prošlog vijeka počinjena je enormna devastacija njenog fundusa. Tako posljednje dvije decenije rad službi zaštite ostaje uglavnom fokusiran na rehabilitaciju oštećenog i ratom uništenog kulturnog naslijeđa. Aktuelno zaštitarsko djelovanje dovodi do zanemarivanja novijih kategorija kulturne baštine (poput vernekularnog, industrijskog i graditeljskog

naslijeđa moderne), čija je valorizacija, s kraja prošlog vijeka, bila jedna od temeljnih preokupacija u savremenoj zaštiti spomenika Evrope.

Kako u BiH ne postoji jedinstveni Registrar graditeljskog i arheološkog naslijeđa, što svakako dovodi do njegove nesistematske obrade (a samim tim i nedjelotvornosti postojećeg sistema zaštite), nemoguće je prikazati konačni broj popisanih spomenika industrijske kulture.

Složenost unutrašnjeg uređenja zemlje sa sobom povlači i složenost sistema zaštite, te će se razmatranje postojanja spomenika industrijskog naslijeđa u BiH u ovom izlaganju ograničiti samo na rad Komisije<sup>1</sup>, kao jedine institucije, na državnom nivo, nadležne za zaštitu kulturno-historijskog naslijeđa. Prema odlukama Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika, Bosna i Hercegovina posjeduje samo tri spomenika industrijskog naslijeđa i to: industrijsko naslijeđe – Proizvodnja soli u Tuzli, koje čine tri cjeline, proglašeno nacionalnim spomenikom u novembru 2007; industrijska graditeljska cjelina – Električna centrala na Hridu u Sarajevu, proglašena nacionalnim spomenikom u decembru 2009; te industrijska graditeljska cjelina – Hidroelektrana na Jarku, proglašena nacionalnim spomenikom u martu 2011. godine.

Nameću se pitanja, na koji način je došlo do odabira baš ovih industrijskih cjelina? I da li je moguće vrednovati industrijsko naslijeđe u BiH bez razvijenih specifičnih kriterija koji odgovaraju njegovim posebnim karakteristikama, što se predlaže svim značajnim međunarodnim dokumentima koji usmjeravaju zaštitu u ovom polju?

Šta je to industrijsko naslijeđe definirano je sljedećim dokumentima:

*Recommendation No. R (90) 20*<sup>2</sup> – preporukama, donesenim od strane Odbora ministara Vijeća Evrope u septembru 1990. god., za zaštitu i konzervaciju tehničkog, industrijskog i inžinjerskog naslijeđa (koje promoviraju njegov značaj i podsjećaju da ono čini sastavni dio historijskog naslijeđa Evrope kao važnog segmenta razvoja ljudske civilizacije); *Nizhny Tagil Charter*<sup>3</sup>, - poveljom za industrijsko naslijeđe, najznačajnijim dokumentom koji definira zaštitu u ovom polju, a usvojen je 2003 (od strane TICCIH<sup>4</sup>); i *Draft Joint ICOMOS - TICCIH Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage Sites, Structures, Areas and Landscapes*<sup>5</sup>, usvojenim od strane ICOMOS-a 2011. godine u Parizu.

Iz usvojene definicije industrijskog naslijeđa<sup>6</sup> uočava se njegova kompleksnost koja prvenstveno upućuje na potrebu za sistematskim istraživanjem ove kulturne kategorije, čiji je prvi i osnovni korak inventarizacija ostataka industrijske kulture kako bi se identificirao, a zatim očuvao i poštovao značaj vrijednosti tog naslijeđa. U prilog

ovoj tvrdnji, odnosno nužnosti razvoja naučnog pristupa vrednovanju industrijskog naslijeđa, u posljednjem ICOMOS-ovom dokumentu stoji: „*Detaljno poznavanje industrijske i društveno-ekonomske prošlosti jednog područja ili zemlje, ili njihove veze sa drugim dijelom svijeta je neophodno kako bi se objasnio značaj lokacija i struktura industrijskog naslijeđa. Tipološka, regionalna i istraživanja o kontekstu pojedinačne industrije sa komparativnom komponentom, koja za cilj imaju glavne industrijske sektore ili tehnologije su veoma korisna u prepoznavanju vrijednosti naslijeđa svojstvenog zasebnim strukturama, lokacijama, područjima i krajolicima*“.<sup>7</sup>

Koje su to vrijednosti industrijskog naslijeđa uopšte? TICCIH-ovom poveljom<sup>8</sup> su definisane kao univerzalne vrijednosti dokazā koji ilustriraju značajne aspekte naše prošlosti, a mogu biti društvene (te kao takve pružaju važan osjećaj identiteta), tehnološke ili naučne vrijednosti (u historiji proizvodnje), a isto tako mogu imati i značajne estetske vrijednosti, izražene kroz specifičnost njihovog planiranja, arhitekture i dizajna.

Potreba razvoja metodoloških smjernica za naučnu valorizaciju (kojima bi se trebali definisati specifični kriteriji prilagođeni i usaglašeni sa bosanskohercegovačkim ekonomskim, kulturnim i konzervatorskim kontekstom) svoje uporište nalazi i u Burra povelji, kojom se kulturna vrijednost arhitektonске baštine definira kao skup svih prepoznatih vrijednosti sa estetskog, historijskog, naučnog i društvenog aspekta, te se predlaže razvijanje preciznijih kriterija vrednovanja kako se razumijevanje kulturnog dobra povećava.

S obzirom na karakter i temu simpozija, kao i prostorni okvir samog članka, narednim pregledom predstavit će se početak industrijskog razvoja zemlje, koji determinira njegov dalji tok<sup>9</sup>, te se ujedno smatra iznimno važnim za razumijevanje njene industrijske i društveno-ekonomske prošlosti. S ciljem detektiranja potencijalnog industrijskog naslijeđa, koje čini neodvojivi dio kulturne baštine BiH iz perioda austrougarske uprave, predstavit će se i pregled ranijih autorovih istraživanja rađenih na jedinstvenom radioničkom kompleksu „Vaso Miskin Crni“ u Sarajevu<sup>10</sup> i prvoj bosanskohercegovačkoj željezari u Varešu<sup>11</sup>.

## 2.0 Kratki pregled „prve industrijalizacije“ Bosne i Hercegovine

Bosna i Hercegovina je sve do uspostave austrougarske vladavine na ovim prostorima, kada započinje svoj industrijski razvoj, živjela u letargiji osmanskog društvenog sistema. Glavna privredna djelatnost Bosne i Hercegovine za vrijeme osmanskog perioda je

bila poljoprivreda, a feudalna potčinjenost kmeta je imala presudan uticaj na njen privredni, politički i kulturni razvoj. „Gotovo hermetički zatvorena od uticaja Evrope, s nazadnim kroz stoljeća petrificiranim, feudalnim odnosima – teškom kmetskom potčinjeničtvu i spahiskom svemoći – Bosna i Hercegovina došle su na prag XX stoljeća s bremenom srednjovjekovlja“.<sup>12</sup>

Osnovna koncepcija austrougarske ekonomske politike u okupiranoj BiH, kako navodi Hrelja, bila je potpuno u skladu sa principima kolonijalne politike uopšte. Kapitalistički društveni odnosi u BiH razvijali su se u uslovima naglašene uloge države, kao prvorazrednog političkog i ekonomskog faktora u podizanju saobraćaja, industrije i drugih privrednih grana izvan agrara. Država je raspolagala najvećim djelom šuma i ukupnim rudnim bogatstvom pokrajine, te je putem državnog ili angažovanjem stranog privatnog kapitala osnivala, a pravnim i ekonomskim beneficijama favorizirala one industrije koje će davati sirovine za industriju matice zemlje, dok se carinskom politikom osiguralo novo široko potrošačko područje<sup>13</sup>.

Tehnička i industrijska revolucija u većini evropskih zemalja provodila se u svojoj postepenošći, prelazom iz manufakture i kućnog rada na krupnu industriju. Međutim, kako Hrelja navodi, u Bosnu i Hercegovinu novoizgrađenom željeznicom, koja je podignuta prvim prikupljenim kapitalom<sup>14</sup>, importovana je iz Austro-Ugarske gotova industrija.

Smatra se da je cijelokupna bosanskohercegovačka industrija podignuta uglavnom u razdoblju od 1890. do 1910. te da je veoma složen splet faktora uticao na njen razvoj. To su prije svega prirodna bogatstva<sup>15</sup>, saobraćaj<sup>16</sup> (koji sa industrijom stoji u recipročnom odnosu), kapital<sup>17</sup>, radna snaga<sup>18</sup>, unutrašnje i vanjsko tržiste, ekonomska politika itd.<sup>19</sup>

Kako bi se što vjernije predstavio pregled prve industrijalizacije BiH, ovim radom će biti prikazana klasifikacija (prema predmetu rada) koju je Hrelja koristio u svojoj studiji<sup>20</sup>. Naime, u djelu „Industrija BiH do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata“, Kemal Hrelja prikazuje 121 industrijsko preduzeće,<sup>21</sup> što uzima kao približno tačan broj u tom periodu. Kako bi savladao poteškoće oko jasnog definiranja industrijskog preduzeća prerađivačke industrije (koje tadašnja statistika ne diferencira od zanatskog), autor u obzir uzima: broj uposlenih radnika, količinu i kvalitet instaliranih pogonskih postrojenja, investirani kapital i svakako opis pojedinih preduzeća.

Već na prvi pogled (tabela br.1) može se uočiti da je osnova bosanskohercegovačke industrije ekstraktivnog karaktera (28 preduzeća ili 34%), što određuje dalji tok industrijalizacije zemlje i u kasnijim istorijskim periodima. Oslanjajući se na bogatu

sirovinsku bazu u kratkom roku su podignuta preduzeća prerađivačke industrije, koja će za vrlo kratko vrijeme davati visoke profite. Tako se izdvajaju određene grane industrije: drvna, metalurška, duhanska i hemijska, kao najznačajnije za prvi period industrijalizacije zemlje.

Industrijske grane	Br. ind.	Najznačajnija preduzeća
<b>I Ekstraktivna industrija</b>		
1. Ugljenokopi	19	Zenica, Kakanj, Kreka, Breza
2. Rudnici željezne rude	2	Vareš, Ljubija
3. Ostali metalni rudnici	5	Semizovac, Duboštica, Sinjakovo,
4. Solane	2	Bakovići, Žepče Tuzla
<b>II Prerađivačka industrija</b>		
1. Crna metalurgija	2	Vareš, Zenica
2. Drvna industrija	20	Dobrljin („Otto Steinbeis“), Zavidovići „Eisler i Ortlieb“)
3. Hemijska industrija	10	Lukavac, B. Brod, Teslić, Jajce,
4. Prehrambena industrija	11	Travnik
5. Tekstilna industrija	7	Sarajevo (pivara, paromlin), Usora (šećerana)
6. Industrija duhana	4	Sarajevo (tkaonica čilima i tkaonica bez i vezionica...)
7. Industrija papira	2	Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, Travnik
8. Grafička industrija	16	Zenica, Sarajevo
9. Građevinska industrija	11	Sarajevo, Mostar
10. Industrija kože	1	Sarajevo (ciglane), Bosanski Novi (kamenolom)
11. Električne centrale – gradske	8	Sarajevo (Ašer Alkalaj)
12. Gradska plinara	1	Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Travnik, Brčko, Bihać, Bijeljina, Bileća, Mostar Sarajevo

**Tabela 1.** Granska podjela industrije sa ukupnim brojem preduzeća prema K. Hrelji

Geografski razmještaj industrije u ovom periodu bio je rezultat principa koncentracije industrijske proizvodnje na ekonomski najpovoljnijim mjestima, te se tako može zapaziti da je formirano industrijsko jezgro u sarajevsko-zeničkom bazenu, sa gotovo polovinom od ukupnog broja industrijskih objekata u BiH.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.0 Potencijalni spomenici industrijske kulture u BiH

U ovom dijelu izlaganja ukratko će biti predstavljena dva industrijska kompleksa podignuta za vrijeme austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini, čiji ostaci danas čine velike tzv. braunfild zone, koje javnost i službene politike smatraju preprekom gradskom razvoju.

Oba kompleksa zauzimaju značajno mjesto u razvoju industrije BiH; radionički kompleks „VMC“ kao jedina radionica ove vrste u zemlji, a Željezara i Rudnik u Varešu kao prvi, a čini se i najznačajniji (s obzirom na tadašnje procjene rezervi rude kao najvećih ne samo u zemlji nego i na Balkanu), industrijski pogon u razvoju crne metalurgije zemlje<sup>23</sup>

Kratkim prikazom njihove geneze razvoja (a oba kompleksa su bila aktivna do početka 90-tih godina, odnosno do početka rata na ovim prostorima), dokazat će se da baštine značajne historijske vrijednosti kao svjedoci najintenzivnijeg perioda industrijalizacije čiji su ostaci i do danas sačuvani.

Kod Željezare Vareš bilo je nemoguće prikazati konstruktivne i oblikovne elemente arhitektonskih objekata, zbog nedostatka dokumentacione građe<sup>24</sup>, (pristup kompleksu je nedopušten, odnosno strogo ograničen), dok je analiza Radioničkog kompleksa VMC (također u nedostatku izvorne projektne dokumentacije), sačinjena na osnovu istorijskih karata i planova, kao i istorijske foto dokumentacije, te fotografija postojećeg stanja napravljenih od strane autora.

#### 3.1 Radionički kompleks „Vaso Miskin Crni“, Sarajevo

Izgradnja željezničkih linija, kao što je već navedeno, bila je jedan od prioriteta austrougarske uprave, kako iz strateških razloga, tako i zbog eksploatacije prirodnih sirovina. Na ovaj podatak ukazuju i činjenice da je krajem 1910. g. postojalo više od 2.000 km šumsko-industrijskih pruga koje su gradile privatne firme, a dužina pruga koje su bile pod upravom Direkcije bosanskohercegovačkih državnih željeznica 1914.g. iznosila 1.002 km. Kako bi se obezbjedilo funkcionisanje voznog parka u svim većim mjestima kroz koja su prolazile pruge, gradene su željezničke radionice. Ti objekti su uglavnom bili kombinacija ložionica i radionica za manje opravke, dok su radi većih opravki lokomotive i vagoni morali biti prebačeni u radionice Zagreba ili Budimpešte. Veliki troškovi i transportne poteškoće su bili dovoljan razlog da se 1890. g. doneše odluka o izgradnji Željezničke radionice u Sarajevu. Odabir Sarajeva za smještaj Radionice je uvjetovan njegovom veličinom, koja je ujedno omogućila najveći izbor radne snage, kao i njegovim geografskim položajem,

zbog kojeg pri izgradnji željezničkih mreža postaje glavni željeznički čvor BiH.

U vrijeme kada je formirana Radionica je planski zaposjela rubno područje grada, a od objekata je imala: zgradu za opravku lokomotiva, kotlaru, zgradu za opravku putničkih i teretnih kola, malu livnicu, strugaru i stolarsku radionicu. Do kraja 1918. g. izgrađene su još i putnička kolnica, stolarija, tendernica, armatura, a produžene su zgrade za opravku lokomotiva i kotlare. Pogoni ove Radionice su bili opremljeni oskudnim instalacijama sa starijim tipovima mašina koje su bile pokretane transmisionim pogonom, tako da je ljudski rad u njima bio dominantan.<sup>25</sup>

Analizom konstruktivnih i oblikovnih karakteristika radioničkih hala može se utvrditi da one, uprkos zaostajanju u samoj industrijalizaciji, pružaju primjer tehničke arhitekture sa kraja 19. vijeka. Tada se zbog primjene novih materijala, željeza, čelika i stakla stvarala nova koncepcija prostora, koja svojom čitljivošću konstrukcije, materijala i funkcije izražava u potpunosti utilitarnu industrijsku gradnju. Tlocrtni gabariti radionica formiraju relativno velike otvorene prostore, čija je gradnja završena za izuzetno kratko vrijeme, zahvaljujući primjeni industrijskih elemenata, proizvedenih u velikim serijama – lijevanih željeznih stupova i drvene rešetkaste konstrukcije, a kasnije i čeličnih rešetkastih okvira. U prvoj fazi gradnje krovna konstrukcija je slagana u formi shad-krovova, čime je omogućeno potrebno osvjetljenje unutrašnjeg prostora. Željezni stupovi pojavljuju se kao konstruktivni – nosivi elementi, ali i kao dekorativni materijal – za oblikovanje kapitela.

Bitno je napomenuti da se vanjski zidovi industrijskih objekata sa kraja 19. vijeka rade kao nosivi zidovi od opeke, dok unutrašnji raspon dijele već pomenuti prefabrikovani stupovi (zbog nezapaljivosti željezne i čelične konstrukcije su prikladne za primjenu u industrijskoj arhitekturi, a vidljive su i prisutne samo u unutrašnjem prostoru). Funkcija objekata je čisto riješena, a oblikovni izraz je krajnje reducirani. Velike površine radioničkih pročelja ritmizirane su decentnom arhitektonskom dekorativnom plastikom: plitkim lezenama ili polustupovima koji odvajaju pojedina prozorska polja, te na pojedinim objektima i okvirima prozora i vrata, izvedenim u obliku zasvođenja fasadnom opekom sa istaknutim tjemenim motivom.

U skladu sa promjenama političkih i ekonomskih prilika u zemlji Radionica više puta mijenja svoju proizvodnu djelatnost, unutrašnju organizaciju i sam naziv. Od „Centralne radionice“ (Central Werkstätte), osnovane 1890. godine, do ulaska u sastav „Energoinvesta“ 1972. godine, građevinski sklop radioničkog kompleksa je doživio niz intervencija u vidu izgradnje novih volumena ili dogradnji uz postojeće radionice.

Danas se tamo zatoči poluzapušten prostor, sa djelimično razrušenim i uništenim halama. Gradski planeri su svjesni nužnosti uključivanja u život grada, te preoblikovanja i uređenja ovog relativno velikog industrijskog područja (cca 10ha), koje u skladu sa interesima novih vlasnika, Regulacionim planom „Centar Novo Sarajevo“ definišu kao zonu privrede i male privrede. U ovoj zoni predviđa se zamjena građevinskog fonda, te je omogućena i izgradnja objekata spratnosti do 18 etaža, odnosno prosječna spratnost na lokalitetu iznosiće P+6, a njihova namjena i prateći sadržaji trebaju biti komplementarni sa centralnim sadržajima sekundarnog gradskog centra Novo Sarajevo.<sup>25</sup>

### 3.2 Prva željezara u BiH, Vareš

Intenzivna geološka istraživanja vareškog željeznog rudišta u cilju industrijske proizvodnje i prerade željezne rude počela su 1886. g. U naredne dvije godine detaljnim istraživanjima Vareškog područja obuhvaćena su sva rudna ležišta, te su utvrđena najbolja i najbogatija ležišta koje državna uprava prisvaja u svoje vlasništvo. Uz istražne radove na rudnicima uporedo se vrše i ostale pripreme za izgradnju prve talionice u Bosni i Hercegovini, koja je počela 1890. Izvršena su hidrosnimanja na rijeci Stavnji, da se vidi da li će količina vode dostajati za potrebne pogone, izgrađuje se cesta duž same rijeke, trasira se i željeznička pruga koja će spajati rudnike sa talionicom, a talionicu sa Podlugovima, a u Kralupima se planira teren za izgradnju talionice. Iste godine sagrađena je direkcija te „šegrtska škola“ za potrebe Rudnika i počinje izgradnja Vareš Majdana kao naselja. Godina 1890. zabilježena je kao godina izgradnje, kako bi 16. VIII 1891. u pogon bila puštena talionica i livnica u Varešu.

Vareš tada već poprima odlike industrijskog grada, obuhvatajući: rudnike u Droškovcu, Pržićima i Breziku; transportnu infrastrukturu u vidu spuštaljki i pruge od rudnika do talionice; zatim četiri peći za prženje rude; visoku peć; ljevaonicu sa jednom kupolnom peću; razna spremišta za rudu, ugalj, alat i drugo; vodovod za pitku, rashladnu i rezervnu vodu; radionice za kovače, stolare, modelare; majdanska ognjišta na vodenim pogonima u Dabravinama; upravnu zgradu, laboratorije i kancelarije, te stanove za državne radnike i službenike.

Međutim, ova „džepna željezara“ i za tadašnje evropske normative bila je veoma nerentabilna. Visoka peć nije nikako mogla zadovoljiti proizvodne potrebe, te je stalno prepravljana i povećavana. Godine 1895. osnovano je akcionarsko društvo „Vareška industrijska željezara“, sa zadatkom da u Varešu izgradi novu topionicu valjanog željeza sa modernom ljevaonicom, zatim preuredi i modernizuje proizvodnju

starih rudnika željezne rude, te da izgradi željezničku prugu Podlugovi – Vareš. Odmah zatim, 1896. godine, pristupilo se izgradnji nove visoke peći, izgrađena je i kalorična električna centrala, te željeznička pruga do Podlugova, kako bi se dobio spoj na glavnu željeznicu Metković – Brod, u dužini od 28 km. Također su povećane i dvije kupolne peći koje su izrađivale uglavnom cijevi, željezne peći i kotlove.

Godine 1898. porušena je prva peć i sagrađena nova, te je u pogonu bilo ukupno sedam peći za prženje rude, koje su proizvodile 160 tona željeza. Godišnja potrošnja drvenog uglja u željezari Vareš bilježila je znatan rast, što je zahtijevalo sjeću ogromne šumske drvene mase, koja je u pojedinim krajevima Bosne dovodila do ogoljavanja cijelih šumskih kompleksa. Kako ugalj iz suhe destilacije iz Teslića nije u potpunosti odgovarao tehnološkom procesu visokih peći u Varešu, 1904. godine se postepeno prelazi na stanoviti dio dodatka koksa, koji se iz godine u godinu povećavao, sve dok se 1917-te nije u proizvodnji željeza u potpunosti prešlo na koks. Tako je i bosanskohercegovačka željezna industrija, mada sa zakašnjenjem u pogledu na evropsku proizvodnju, prešla na moderni način taljenja željeza.

Sve do početka rata u BiH Željezara u Varešu, jedan od značajnijih industrijskih centara zemlje, je prolazila kroz intenzivnu i kontinuiranu izgradnju i razvoj proizvodnih kapaciteta, kao i prateću izgradnju stambenih, komunalnih i drugih objekata njene infrastrukture.

Nakon uvida u plansku i stratešku dokumentaciju opštine Vareš lako je konstatirati da je sa raspadom velikih ekonomskih sistema, u okviru kojih je većinom djelovala privreda ove opštine, u potpunosti prestala i eksploatacija rude i proizvodnja željeza. Napušteni industrijski kompleks danas pruža haotičan i zastrašujući prizor. Iz razgovora sa stanovnicima Vareša saznaje se da je kompleks na meti „berača željeza“ koji demontiraju postojeće strukture i postrojenja, te ista tope i prodaju Željezari Zenica.

Prostorni plan opštine Vareš (2000) predviđa: „uklanjanje većine objekata rudnika i željezare“ kojim se želi stvoriti dovoljno velika „radna zona“ za razvoj gospodarstva opštinskog centra.<sup>26</sup>

#### 4.0 Zaključak

Globalni proces industrijalizacije, koji je obilježio prethodna dva vijeka, predstavlja značajan period ljudske prošlosti, a njegovo naslijede izvor znanja neophodnog za moderni svijet.<sup>27</sup>

Specifičnost svojstava industrijske arhitekture uslovljene okolnostima u kojima se razvijala, a koje su bile neupitno različite od onih koje određuju stvaranje starijih kategorija graditeljskog naslijeda, dovele su do toga da ih postojeći sistem zaštite nije jednako cijenio.

Danas se slobodno može reći da vrijednosti industrijskog naslijeda u Bosni i Hercegovini ni javnost, ni službene politike i konzervatorske organizacije još uvijek ne prepoznaju kao dio svoje tradicije, na što ukazuje i broj zaštićenih nacionalnih industrijskih spomenika.

Cilj ovog izlaganja je bio da ukaže na nužnost razvoja metodoloških smjernica<sup>28</sup> za potpunu naučnu valorizaciju (i društvenu verifikaciju) ove graditeljske kategorije naslijeda, te detaljno preciziranje kriterija koji odgovaraju njegovim specifičnim karakteristikama.

Radom je predstavljen kratki prikaz „prve industrijalizacije“ Bosne i Hercegovine, čija je osnova bila ekstraktivnog karaktera, što će oderediti njen razvoj i u kasnijim istorijskim periodima. Kao najznačajnije grane prerađivačke industrije u austrougarskom periodu izdvajaju se: drvna, metalurška, duhanska i hemijska, te se prema preporukama Vijeća Evrope smatra kako na nacionalnoj osnovi treba zaštiti po jedan reprezentativni primjer svake od njih.

Razvojem značajnih industrijskih objekata: Željezničke radionice „VMC“ i prve željezare u BiH (Vareš), prikazano je da iste baštině neupitne istorijske vrijednosti, te da njihovi ostaci svjedoče o najintenzivnijem periodu industrijalizacije zemlje. Tome je potrebno dodati i to da oba kompleksa baštině vrijednost autentičnosti, shvaćene kao isprepletenost istorijskih slojeva u harmoničnom odnosu sa izvornom matricom (s obzirom da su oba kompleksa korištена više od jednog vijeka).

U vrijeme kada su formirani, planski su zauzimali velika rubna područja gradova, a danas dokumentiraju jedno značajno urbanističko razdoblje njihovog razvoja, čineći važne elemente identiteta grada. Radioničke zgrade, barem u slučaju radioničkog kompleksa „VMC“-a, građene su u skladu s tendencijama u arhitekturi sa kraja 19. i početka 20. vijeka, kada se postavlja zahtjev za „izvornošću arhitekture“, odnosno za čitljivošću materijala, konstrukcije i funkcije. To znači da ujedno posjeduju i istorijsko-arhitektonske vrijednosti koje dokumentuju ovaj važan period industrijalizacije. Ako se tome doda još i činjenica da su predstavljena industrijska

preduzeća smatrana začetnicima privrednog života i da su bila najveći radni kolektivi gradova u kojima se nalaze, potvrđuje se i njihova društvena vrijednost koja pruža važan osjećaj identiteta njihovih građana.

<sup>1</sup> Komisija / Povjerenstvo za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika. <http://kons.gov.ba/>

<sup>2</sup> The Council Of Europe, Recommendation No. R (90) 20 On the protection and conservation of the industrial, technical and civil engineering heritage in Europe, 1990.

<sup>3</sup> TICCIH, The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage, 2003.

<sup>4</sup> The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage - brine se za promoviranje industrijskog naslijeđa te razmjenu ideja i iskustava na području zaštite. Osnovan je 1978. godine od strane 30 zemalja iz Europe, Amerike i Azije i poseban je savjetnik ICOMOS-a o industrijskom naslijeđu.

<sup>5</sup> ICOMOS, Joint ICOMOS - TICCIH Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage Sites, Structures, Areas and Landscapes, Paris, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Definicija (prijevod autora): "Industrijsko naslijeđe se sastoji od lokacija, struktura, kompleksa, područja i okruženja, kao i mašinerije, objekata i dokumenata koji su povezani s tim, a služe kao dokaz o prošlim ili trenutnim industrijskim procesima ili proizvodnji, iskopavanju sirovog materijala, njihovoj transformaciji u robu, i energetskoj i prijevoznoj infrastrukturi. Industrijsko naslijeđe odražava duboku povezanost između kulturne i prirodne okoline, pošto industrijski procesi, antički ili moderni, zavise od prirodnih izvora sirovina, energetske i prijevozne mreže kako bi proizveli i distribuirali proizvode na šire tržište. Industrijsko naslijeđe uključuje materijalnu imovinu, pokretnu i nepokretnu, i neopipljive dimenzije poput tehničkog znanja, raspodjele rada i radnika, i složene društvene i kulturne zaostavštine, koja je oblikovala zajednice i dovela do velikih organizacijskih promjena u cijelom društvima i u općenito u svijetu." ICOMOS - TICCIH Principles :str.2

<sup>7</sup> ICOMOS - TICCIH Principles: I/5

<sup>8</sup> TICCIH, 2003

<sup>9</sup> Prema industrijskim geografima Bosna i Hercegovina prolazi kroz dvije značajne faze industrijskog razvoja: kapitalističku fazu (austrohungarski period i period između dva sv. rata), koja se definira kao prva industrijalizacija i socijalističku fazu (poslije Drugog svjetskog rata) - drugu industrijalizaciju zemlje. Đ. Marić, Industrijalizacija Bosne i Hercegovine - geografska studija savremenog razvoja, Sarajevo: Geografsko društvo Bosne i Hercegovine,1991.

<sup>10</sup> M. Pličanić, The Importance of the "Vaso Miskin Crni" Workshop Complex as a unique industrial heritage of the city of Sarajevo, Proc. III Int. Symp. "PhiDAC 2011", Novi Sad, 2011, pp.255-263.

<sup>11</sup> M. Pličanić, N. Pozder, Prepoznavanje autentičnosti "ugljenog grada" u BiH kao potencijalnog industrijskog naslijeđa u kontekstu njegove regeneracije - studija slučaja: grad Vareš, Zbornik V međunarodne konferencije o industrijskoj baštini - Rijeka i industrijsko graditeljsko naslijeđe, Protorpedo, Rijeka, 2014, pp.831-844.

<sup>12</sup> K.Hrelja, Industrija Bosne i Hercegovine do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata, Beograd,1961.:str. 4

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Prvi prikupljeni kapital, koji je namican na austrijskom i evropskom novčanom tržištu, država koristi za podizanje željezničkog i dramskog saobraćaja, koji omogućava iskorištavanje šuma i ruda, odnosno onih prirodnih resursa na čijoj bazi su podignuti prvi industrijski kapaciteti. I. Hadžibegović, Bosanskohercegovački gradovi na razmeđu 19. i 20. stoljeća, Sarajevo, Institut za istoriju, 2004.

<sup>15</sup> Ruda - njihova raznolikost, a najznačajnije su ugalj, željezo i so, zatim šume - kojima je prekrivena polovina od ukupne površine zemlje i „bijeli ugalj“ - snaga vodenih tokova , čiji potencijal nije iskorišten zbog izobilja jeftinog uglja, dok je izgradnja hidroelektrana iziskivala velike investicije.

<sup>16</sup> Omogućuje podizanje i razvoj industrije, a u isto vrijeme je djelo industrije.

<sup>17</sup> Dodatne teškoće činilo je nepostojanje domaćeg privatnog kapitala, a strani se zbog nepostojanja infrastrukture, nerješenog državnopravnog položaja okupiranog područja i nedostatka odgovarajuće radne snage sporo angažirao. „Nema gotovo primjera da bi se bh. aga pretvorio u industrijalca“, (F. Hauptmann u I. Hadžibegović : str.18). Zbog toga je mjesto prepustio stranom poduzetniku koji svojom firmom upravlja iz Trsta, Beča, Minhenia i sl.

<sup>18</sup> U prvo vrijeme domaća radna snaga korištena je u neznatnom obimu i to za najprostije manuelne poslove, kao što je sjeća šuma, a u zemlju je uglavnom, uporedo sa razvojem industrije, useljavano strano stručno radništvo (koje je u nesrazmjerno velikom odnosu prema ukupnom broju radnika). K. Hrelja, 1961.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Prema Mariću najčešća podjela industrije je prema vrsti proizvoda (laka i teška) i prema predmetu rada (ekstraktivna i prerađivačka). Klasifikacija industrije u našoj zemlji se više puta mijenjala prema ekonomsko -tehnološkom kriteriju (kao što se mijenjala i sama definicija industrije), pa je uporedivo statističkih podataka o njenom razvoju otežana. Od 1953. god. industrijska statistika bogata je kako po sakupljenim informacijama i po učestalosti promatranja, dok je 1977. napravljena nova klasifikacija industrije koju je moguće svesti na onu prethodnu radi uporedivosti podataka. Industrijska statistika u periodu Kraljevine SHS, navodi Marić, veoma je siromašna i nudi samo dva značajna dokumenta. Đ.Marić, 1991.

<sup>21</sup> Statistika Kraljevine Jugoslavije u ovom periodu bilježi 138, a razliku od broja 121, smatra Hrelja, čine industrijska preduzeća, radionice za opravku željezničkog vozog parka, kao i za državne šumske radove, koji nisu obuhvaćeni pomenutom studijom. K.Hrelja, 1961.

<sup>22</sup> Đ . Marić, 1991.

<sup>23</sup> U preporukama za zaštitu i konzervaciju tehničkog, industrijskog i inžinjerskog naslijeđa stoji da se: „na nacionalnoj razini trebaju zaštititi reprezentativni primjeri svake značajne industrijske grane“. The Council Of Europe, 1990.

<sup>24</sup>Jedan dio dokumentacije je moguće naći u arhivu BiH (za čiju sistematizaciju bi se uveliko prekoracio vremenski okvir predviđen za ovu vrstu autorovih istraživanja).

<sup>25</sup> M. Pličanić, 2011.

<sup>26</sup> M. Pličanić, N. Pozder, 2014.

<sup>27</sup> ICOMOS - TICCIH, 2011.

<sup>28</sup> Usaglašen sa bosanskohercegovačkim ekonomskim kulturnim i konzervatorskim kontekstom

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**Selma Rizvić**

## VIRTUELNI MUZEJ SARAJEVSKOG ATENTATA - 3D PROZOR U AUSTROUGARSKI PERIOD U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

**Sažetak:** Danas je moguće putovanje u prošlost. Primjena informaciono-komunikacionih tehnologija omogućava kreiranje interaktivnih virtuelnih okruženja u kojima su predstavljeni objekti koji danas potpuno drukčije izgledaju ili čak više ne postoje. Možemo ih virtuelno posjetiti i upoznati se sa dogadajima koji su se u njima desili putem digitalnih priča. U radu je predstavljen projekat Virtuelnog muzeja sarajevskog atentata, koji nas vraća u Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske vladavine, da svjedočimo priču o turbulentnim dogadajima koji su promijenili tok historije.

### 1. Uvod

Bosna i Hercegovina je riznica kulturnog naslijeđa. Od 11. stoljeća na ovom prostoru ostavljaju tragove različite kulture i religije. Spomenici kulture su godinama izloženi ne samo zubu vremena, nego i destrukciji u ratovima i nebrizi u miru. Jedan od načina da se očuva kulturno naslijeđe je i očuvanje kolektivnog pamćenja. Objekti koji više ne postoje ili su od njih ostale samo ruševine teško se mogu zamisliti u njihovom originalnom obliku. Tehnike kompjuterske grafike i 3D tehnologije mogu značajno doprinijeti očuvanju i promociji kulturnog naslijeđa.

Sarajevo Graphics Group (SGG) osnovana je na Elektrotehničkom fakultetu u Sarajevu 2005. godine. Prvi projekat pod nazivom „Virtuelna rekonstrukcija kulturnog naslijeđa u Bosni i Hercegovini“ pokazao je našim arheolozima, arhitektima, muzeolozima i historičarima kako se stećak iz Donje Zgošće može digitalizirati i njegov virtuelni model pomoću softvera rekonstruisati u svoj originalni oblik [1]. Nakon ovog projekta, koji je podržao UNESCO, SGG je svoj rad fokusirala u dva pravca: virtuelne prezentacije objekata kulturnog naslijeđa koji više ne postoje ili su teško oštećeni i virtuelni muzeji.

Rad na virtuelnim muzejima rezultirao je pozivom za pridruživanje konzorcijumu Evropske transnacionalne mreže virtuelnih muzeja V-MusT.net [2], u okviru kojeg je omogućena razmjena znanja i trening za naše muzeologe i arheologe u vrhunskim evropskim institucijama za zaštitu i promociju kulturnog naslijeđa. Virtuelni muzeji su

nov i atraktivan način predstavljanja prošlosti. Oni omogućavaju pregled eksponata bez fizičke posjete muzeju. Iskustva su pokazala da virtualna posjeta privlači posjetioca u stvarne muzeje, u kojima su eksponati sada predstavljeni i dodatnim digitalnim sadržajem, koji posjetiocu omogućava da čuje priče o dogadajima i ličnostima koje su vezane za pojedine eksponate. Kombinacija fizičke izložbe i digitalnog sadržaja kreira novi trend u muzeologiji i koristi potencijal kompjuterske grafike i 3D tehnologija da ponudi svim generacijama posjetilaca nešto što im je atraktivno i zanimljivo.

Jedan od virtuelnih muzeja koje smo uradili biće predstavljen u ovom radu. To je Virtuelni muzej sarajevskog atentata. Ovaj projekat je djelimično finansiralo Federalno ministarstvo obrazovanja i nauke i on predstavlja Internet prezentaciju događaja atentata i objekata koji su za njega vezani, kao i nekih objekata koji su karakteristični za Bosnu i Hercegovinu u austrougarskom periodu.

### 2.0 Kratki pregled „prve industrijalizacije“ Bosne i Hercegovine

Transnacionalna mreža virtuelnih muzeja V-MusT.net definije virtuelni muzej kao „personalizirano, interaktivno iskustvo u kojem se korisnik može uživjeti i bolje razumijeti svijet u kome se nalazi“. Cilj je da se za posjetioce kreira doživljaj kao da putuju kroz vrijeme i da su vraćeni u prošlost u doba kada je neki spomenik kulture bio u svom punom sjaju. Pored toga, oni objedinjuju modele fizičkih eksponata sa svim vrstama multimedijalnog sadržaja (slika, tekst, naracija, muzika, film) koji korisnika upoznaje sa onim informacijama koje ne može saznati razgledajući fizičku postavku i čitajući kratke tekstove na panoima pored eksponata. Na kraju, virtuelni muzeji su nezavisni od fizičke lokacije korisnika, tako da posjetioci iz cijelog svijeta mogu upoznati kulturno naslijeđe pojedinih zemalja i bez fizičkog dolaska u te zemlje. To značajno doprinosi razvoju kulturnog turizma, jer ljudi organizuju svoja putovanja motivisani virtuelnim kolekcijama muzeja koje su vidjeli na Internetu, želeći da više nauče o tim kulturama i civilizacijama.

U radu navedenom u fusnoti [3] autori tvrde da je komunikacija glavni fokus virtuelnog muzeja. Zbog toga način komunikacije treba da bude nadgradnja onog u stvarnom muzeju, kako bi posjetioci još bolje razumjeli kulturno naslijeđe. U odnosu na stvarni muzej, virtualni muzej ima dodatne aspekte, kao što su edukacija, promocija i istraživanje, poboljšanje iskustva korisnika, zabava.

Tehnička implementacija virtuelnih muzeja je još uvijek veoma popularna oblast naučnog

istraživanja. Zavisno od sadržaja koji se želi predstaviti u ovoj formi, ona se kreće od običnih web galerija fotografija eksponata sa pridruženim metapodacima (naziv eksponata, dimenzije, vremenski period itd.) do interaktivnih virtuelnih okruženja u kojima korisnici putuju kroz vrijeme i pregledaju virtuelne rekonstrukcije kulturnih spomenika, te slušaju priповijedanja o važnim ličnostima i događajima koji su za njih vezani. Pri tome se vrlo često koriste displeji montirani na glavu korisnika, ekrani sa dodirom, projekcije virtuelnih svjetova sa kojima korisnik komunicira pomoću gesti i druge vrste sučelja popularnih u kompjuterskim igrama.

### 3. Virtuelni muzej sarajevskog atentata

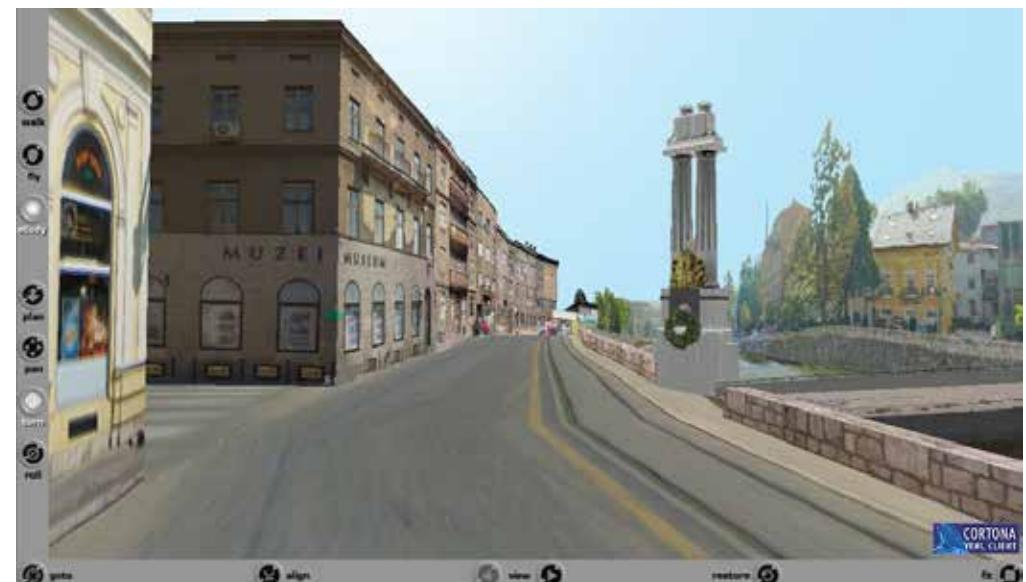
Virtuelni muzej sarajevskog atentata je prvi korak u digitalizaciji Muzeja Sarajevo 1878–1918. Ovaj muzej sadrži stalnu postavku eksponata vezanih za period austrougarske vladavine u Bosni i Hercegovini, sa posebnim akcentom na 28. juli 1914. godine, kada su nadvojvoda Franc Ferdinand i njegova supruga Sofija bili ubijeni u Sarajevu. Virtuelni muzej za sada sadrži uglavnom eksponate vezane za događaj atentata. Naslovna stranica web implementacije je prikazana na Slici 1.



Slika 1. Naslovna web stranica Virtuelnog muzeja sarajevskog atentata

### 3.1. Vanjsko interaktivno virtuelno okruženje

Nakon izbora opcije Virtuelni muzej na naslovnoj stranici, otvara se vanjsko interaktivno virtuelno okruženje (Slika 2). To je 3D model zgrade muzeja i njene okoline, urađen kombinacijom 3D geometrije i mapiranih fotografija. Razlika između stvarnog izgleda ovog mesta i virtuelnog okruženja je u tome što je u virtuelno okruženje ubačen 3D model spomenika Ferdinandu i Sofiji, koji se do 1919. godine nalazio na uglu Latinske i Široke ulice. Detaljniji opis ovog objekta i njegovog konteksta biće dat u poglavljju 3.4.



Slika 2. Vanjsko virtuelno okruženje Virtuelnog muzeja Sarajevskog atentata

Okruženje je nakon modeliranja izvezeno u VRML format, koji omogućava korisniku da se kreće kroz 3D model, kao u kompjuterskoj igri. Da bi se ovaj format mogao učitati, potrebno je na računaru posjetioca virtuelnog muzeja instalirati određeni dodatni program.

### 3.2. Unutrašnje interaktivno virtuelno okruženje

Klikom na vrata Muzeja u vanjskom interaktivnom virtuelnom okruženju otvara se model unutrašnjosti Muzeja. Unutrašnjost je urađena kao 360o panoramska fotografija (slika 3) na koju su dodati tzv. hot spotovi. To su tačke koje omogućavaju da se nakon korisnikovog klika

na njih otvori neki drugi sadržaj. U našem slučaju imamo linkove na galerijski prikaz događaja sarajevskog atentata, 3d statue Franca Ferdinanda i Sofije Kotek, 3D model spomenika, 3D model automobila, film o atentatu i slide show fotografija Sarajeva od 1878. do 1918. godine.



**Slika 3.** Unutrašnje virtuelno okruženje Virtuelnog muzeja sarajevskog atentata

Ovo okruženje je napravljeno pomoću Spheron panoramske kamere (slika 4), koja nam je ustupljena sa Univerziteta u Warwicku, Velika Britanija. Ova kamera kreira 360O panoramsku fotografiju u high dynamic range opsegu boja. Fotografija se bilježi na priključeni laptop računar i eksportuje u potrebnii format za dalju obradu. Nakon eksporta, na ovu fotografiju smo dodali linkove na podsadržaje virtuelnog muzeja koji se nalaze na mjestima gdje su odgovarajući eksponati. Npr. klik na vitrinu sa predmetima vezanim za događaj atentata otvara web galeriju tog događaja.



**Slika 4.** Upotreba Spheron kamere za kreiranje unutrašnjeg virtuelnog okruženja Virtuelnog muzeja sarajevskog atentata

### 3.3. Galerijski prikaz događaja sarajevskog atentata

Galerijski prikaz sarajevskog atentata ima za cilj da predstavi činjenice i fotografije vezane za atentat tako da posjetilac muzeja ima utisak da se nalazi u virtuelnoj galeriji (slika 5). Korisnik se pomoću miša ili strelice kreće po virtuelnom okruženju i klikom na pojedine sadržaje dobiva dodatne informacije o njima.



Slika 5. Web galerija sarajevskog atentata

### 3.4. 3D modeli

U okviru virtualnog muzeja sarajevskog atentata izvršili smo digitalizaciju nekoliko objekata značajnih za ovaj historijski period. Jedan od njih su statue Ferdinanda i Sofije koje se nalaze u muzeju (slika 6a). Kreirali smo interaktivne 3D modele tih statua koje korisnik može okretati pomoću odgovarajućeg softvera i tako ih osmotriti sa svih strana, što nije moguće kada se radi o fotografiji. Interaktivnost modela poboljšava uživljavanje posjetioca u virtualni muzej [4]. Također je kreiran i 3D model automobila u kome su se vozili Ferdinand i Sofija na dan atentata (slika 6b), kao i 3D model spomenika koji je stajao na početku Latinske čuprije do 1919. godine (slika 6c).



Slika 6. Interaktivni 3D modeli: a) statue Sofije i Ferdinanda, b) automobil, c) spomenik

Interaktivni 3D model spomenika je posebno interesantan jer je kreiran kombinacijom laserskog skeniranja i 3D modeliranja. Naime, ostaci spomenika (srednji bronzani dio sa likovima Ferdinanda i Sofije i krune na vrhu) još uvijek postoje i čuvaju se u depou Umjetničke galerije BiH. Izvršili smo lasersko skeniranje tih objekata (slika 7) i na osnovu tako dobijene geometrije kreirali 3D model. Dijelove koji nisu očuvani smo kreirali klasičnim metodama 3D modeliranja i dodali prilagođenom skenu. Postupak kreiranja ovog modela je detaljno opisan u radu navedenom u fusnoti [5].



Slika 7. Lasersko skeniranje ostataka spomenika Ferdinandu i Sofiji

### 4. Zaključak

U radu smo pokazali da se virtualna prezentacija kulturnog naslijeđa opravdano može smatrati njegovom savremenom percepcijom. Ona omogućava posjetu kulturno-historijskim spomenicima iz svog doma, virtualno putovanje kroz objekte koji više ne postoje u realnosti ili je njihov izgled značajno promijenjen, te sticanje znanja o ličnostima i događajima koji su vezani za spomenike kulturnog naslijeđa. Odziv javnosti na pojavu ovakvih projekata je veoma pozitivan. Ljudi imaju utisak da im je kulturno naslijeđe postalo bliže i pristupačnije. Virtuelne prezentacije kulturnog naslijeđa značajno doprinose i razvoju kulturnog turizma, jer korisnici Interneta organizuju svoja putovanja oko posjeta mjestima koja su vidjeli virtuelno. Također, ovaj način percepcije i prezentacije kulturnog naslijeđa nudi veliki potencijal u procesu obrazovanja, jer su ove tehnologije pristupačne i bliske mladim ljudima. Na taj način se kulturno naslijeđe vraća u kolektivno pamćenje.

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Nermina Mujezinović

## OD KONZERVACIJE DO *INTERPRETACIJE*: O METODAMA ZAŠTITE GRADITELJSKE BAŠTINE AUSTRO-UGARSKE U SARAJEVU

### ABSTRAKT

Diverzitet i bogatstvo baštine austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu izravno implicira neophodnost primjene različitih pristupa i metoda u njenoj zaštiti – osobito u svjetlu novijih tumačenja autentičnosti i integriteta, te širih razmatranja koja uključuju različite konotacije pojmova mjesto i prostor u suvremenom arhitektonsko – urbanističkom vokabularu.

Polazeći od pretpostavke da autentičnost i integritet baštine moraju biti podržani različitim zaštitnim metodama i različitim razinama intervencija u prostoru – od onih koje podrazumijevaju izravno djelovanje na gradu, do onih čiji je opseg ograničen na okruženje spomenika, rad se osvrće i na konkretne primjere, razmatrajući efekte i potencijal mogućih "slojeva" zaštitnog djelovanja. U konačnici potvrđuje da vrijednosna više značnost i povjesno-kulturološka specifičnost moraju biti "uvažene" i "priznate" kroz rasvjetljavanje iz više uglova i interveniranje na više razina. Bazirajući se na relevantnim istraživanjima, te analizi konkretnih problema i iskustava iz dugogodišnje stručne prakse, autor daje i neka opća polazišta za donošenje odluka o potrebnim metodama i stupnju zaštitnih intervencija.

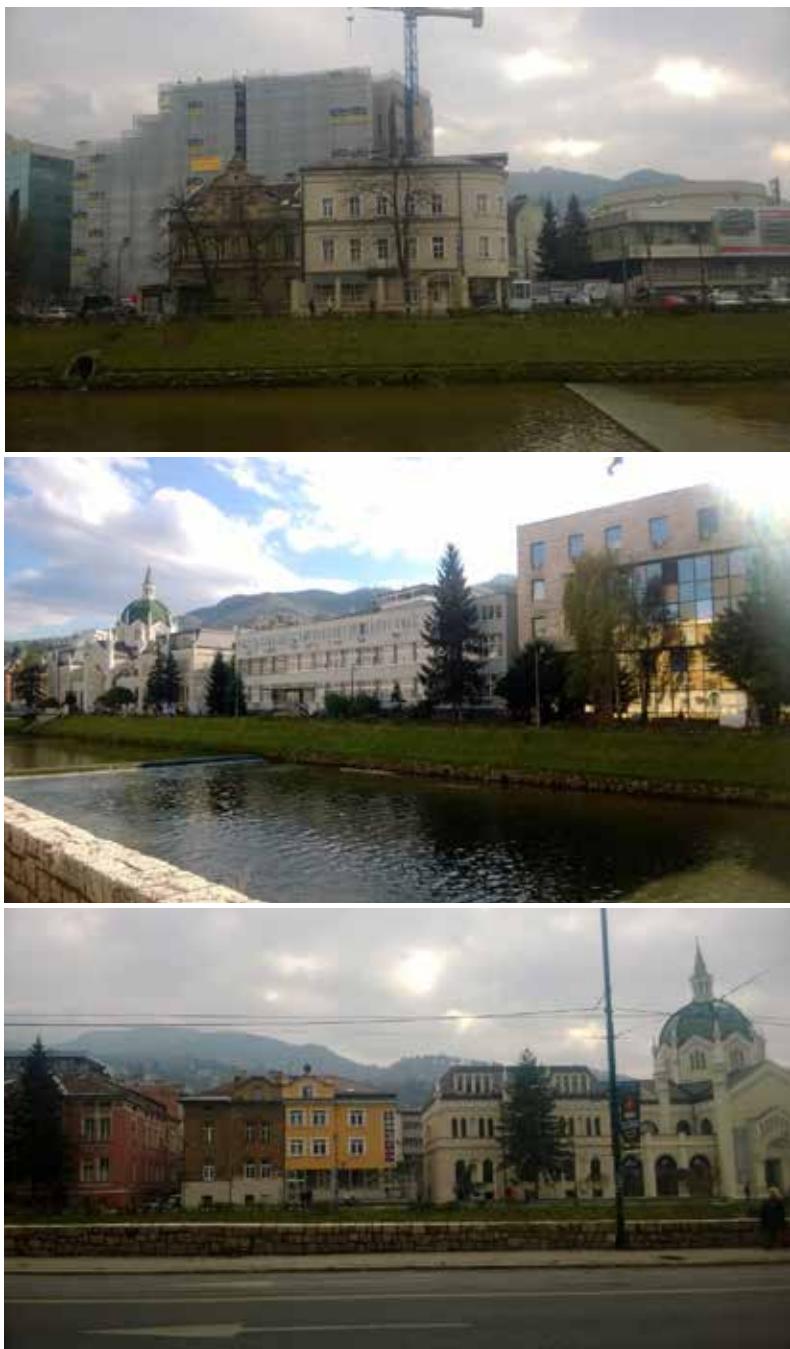
**Ključne riječi:** konzervacija, restauracija, interpolacija, kontekst, povjesna cjelina, ambijent, projektovanje u povjesnom kontekstu.

### 1. Austrougarska graditeljska baština u Sarajevu danas – problemski kontekst

„A place is a space which has a distinctive character.“ [1,5]

Period austrougarske uprave ostavio je brojne tragove na urbanom tkivu Sarajeva. Kroz mnoge vidove djelovanja – od podizanja novih gradnji u različitim stilovima do dogradjivanja ili izvođenja drugih intervencija na postojećoj gradi, nekad uvažavajući zatečene principe, nekad od njih odstupajući, Austro-Ugarska monarhija dodala je jedan prepoznatljiv sloj već formuliranoj fizičkoj strukturi i sedimentiranom kulturološkom miljeu.

Nakon što je preživjela dva rata i mnoge konfuzije recentnih (do)gradnji, spustivši se u stratigrafском stupu ispod arhitekture modernizma, te savremenih graditeljskih zamaha, baština austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu danas egzistira unutar upadljivo nehomogenog okruženja. Čini se, stoga, neophodnim vratiti se ponovo na njene suštinske vrijednosti i pokušati ih re-affirmirati, baš zbog toga što je kontekst u kojem postoji znatno izmijenjen i svakim danom biva sve drugačiji. Istraživanja vršena s takvim ciljem, ne treba shvatiti samo kao izučavanje i analizu graditeljske baštine ovog perioda ili vrednovanje rezultata tadašnjih intervencija. U kontekstu našeg istraživačkog rada i specijalnosti, „savremena percepcija“ odnosila bi se na današnje stanje graditeljske baštine Austro-Ugarske u Sarajevu, odnosno, na pitanje kako tu baštinu danas vidimo. Naime, percepcija bilo kojeg arhitektonskog ostvarenja, ovisi i o njegovoj cijelovitosti i o kontekstu u koji je smješten, te odgovor na ovo pitanje podrazumijeva bavljenje problematikom zaštite s različitim aspekata. Posebno je značajno rasvjetliti kakve se intervencije, i zbog čega, smatraju potrebnim, mogućim, uspješnim ili neprihvatljivim, te istaknuti šta je to, što uvijek moramo očuvati i prezentirati kroz zaštitni zahvat.



Ilustracija 1. Obala, Sarajevo, sekvene

Izmijenjenost konteksta u najširem smislu riječi ne može biti argument za preispitivanje već utvrđene vrijednosti objekta graditeljske baštine, njegovo posljedično transformiranje u cilju "prilagođavanja" novim uvjetima, niti djelomično ili potpuno uklanjanje. Međutim, takvi slučajevi se ponekad dešavaju i to, čini se, po mehanizmima s obrnutim smjerom kretanja od onog po kojem bi se ono trebalo odvijati: umjesto da se nova struktura, kroz proces projektovanja, evaluira u prostoru u odnosu na utvrđenu vrijednosti sedimentiranog konteksta - i u fizičkom i u svakom drugom aspektu, ona nerijetko biva osmišljena kao izoliran element koji dominira, što uskoro izaziva "lančanu reakciju" u vidu novih intervencija, tj., dalje izgradnje čija artikulacija sada prati recentne, nove "repere".

Izgradnja nove saobraćajnice, benzinske pumpe ili gigantskog objekta unutar povjesne jezgre, u neposrednom okruženju šarmantne grupacije secesijskih objekata - iako kroz vrijeme, ovisno o namjeni, može postati i indirektnim uzročnikom fizičke degradacije, ne podrazumijeva direktni kontakt s povjesnom strukturom. Taj je fakt, nažalost, ponekad proizvoljno istumačen, pa i "zloupotrijebljen" kao argument u korist neprimjerene izgradnje, uz predlaganje određenih "zaštitnih mjera" po potrebi. Pri tome biva prenebregnuto nekoliko mogućih ishoda. Provođenje planiranog graditeljskog poduhvata, najvjerojatnije će potpuno izmijeniti percepciju i doživljaj ansambla uslijed vizualnog zagađenja. Ono može u cijelosti transformirati prostor koji će dobiti novi fizički identitet, te stvoriti preuvjetne za poremećaj socijalnih, behavioralnih, kulturoloških i drugih obrazaca - često sastavnih dijelova vrijednosti povjesne cjeline. Na kraju, takav će zahvat sigurno značajno izmijeniti karakter mjesta, kao totaliteta opipljivog i neopipljivog, u prostoru čija je *identifikacija* najvećim dijelom bazirana na njegovoj arhitekturi.

Još jedno od mnogih "lica" problema očuvanja graditeljske baštine Austro-Ugarske u uvjetima rasta i transformacija grada je i fakt da se često predlažu, a ponekad i realiziraju "slobodne" intervencije na stambeno-poslovnim objektima. Kritike ili odbijanje službi zaštite u takvim slučajevima, ponekad se smatraju neutemeljenim i tumače kao rigidnost i formalizam u pristupu „profesionalno deformiranih“ konzervatora. Mišljenja smo, međutim, da je evaluiranje takvih prijedloga, i interveniranja na vrijednom povjesnom tkivu općenito, vanredno kompleksan i

suptilan zadatak. Ono mora uzeti u obzir sve aspekte problema – one koji su vezani za međusobne odnose, tj., vizualnu interakciju arhitektonskih elemenata i cjeline, ali i one koji uključuju dijalog objekta i okoliša, te ulogu koju on ima unutar urbanog tkiva. Dogradnja kata, uz izmjenu forme krova koja će neminovno uslijediti; zamjena izvorne stolarije plastificiranom aluminijskom bravarijom; zazidivanje originalnih balkona, probijanje novih ili mijenjanje dimenzija postojećih otvora, ne znaće samo kršenje normi i propisa vezanih za zaštitu baštine. Nekritičko prihvatanje takvih intervencija može nositi suštinske opasnosti u kontekstu razumijevanja i vrednovanja arhitektonskog kvaliteta općenito. Naime, neki od rezultata ovakvih preinaka mogu biti: poremećaj u percepciji proporcija, ritma i reda kao bazičnih elemenata estetike arhitektonskog djela prema većini teorija; slanje poruke o slabom razumijevanju značaja izvorne materijalizacije kao neopozivog povjesnog i dokumentarnog, pa i kulturnoškog fakta, te konačno, odustajanje od očuvanja značenja i čitljivosti elemenata koji funkcioniraju kao mediji za prenos informacije o arhitektonskoj ili kulturnoj ideologiji određenog perioda.

## 2. Autentična građa spomenika i konzervatorsko - restauratorski zahvat

„The consideration of authenticity cannot only be limited to the verification of the historical truth of material remains.“ [2,102,3]<sup>1</sup>

Iznesene tvrdnje o problemima s kojim se zaštita nerijetko sreće na većem broju objekata austrougarske baštine ilustrovat ćemo jednim primjerom iz profesionalne prakse – segmentima analize stanja uličnih fasada niza objekata, urađene 2005/6. g. u okviru projekata konzervacije i restauracije [8]. Neskloni generalizacijama temeljenim na malom broju uzoraka, navode možemo podržati i mnogim drugim analizama vršenim u sklopu rada na sličnim projektima, kao i ostalim iskustvima dugogodišnjeg aktivnog djelovanja u službi zaštite.

U sklopu nekoliko „kampanja“ zaštite fasada na objektima austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu, izvršeni su zahvati na velikom broju građevina različitih stilova, nastalih u različitim vremenskim intervalima. Unutar grupe projekata koje smo u sklopu ovog višegodišnjeg programa osobno uradili, u ovom kontekstu možda je najilustrativniji projekt konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova za ulične fasade niza objekata u ulici Maršala Tita - od broja 18 do uglovnice na raskršću Titove ulice s ulicom Branislava Đurđeva.

Metodološki, rad je obuhvatio: istraživanje dokumentacione osnove uz komparaciju sa sličnim objektima; analizu autentičnosti; analizu stanja fizičke građe; definiranje konzervatorsko-restauratorskih zahvata i prijedlog daljeg razvoja projekta.

Generalna klasifikacija konstatovanih tipova degradacije, pri vršenju analize na sva četiri objekta, uspostavljena je na operativno-tehničkoj razini, inicijalnom podjelom na tipove čiji je tretman obuhvaćen projektnom dokumentacijom – ili u nju nije uključen – u skladu s projektnim zadatkom i unaprijed definiranim obimom zaštitnog zahvata. Uzroke degradacije u prvoj grupi pronašli smo i u okolišnim i u antropogenim faktorima, tj., u sinergijskom dejstvu prirodnih agensa i čovjekovih aktivnosti. Neki od njih su: ratna dejstva, prirodno propadanje materijala, neredovito održavanje i neadekvatne sanacione intervencije. Druga grupa „oštećenja“, čiji tretman nije bio obuhvaćen projektnom dokumentacijom, odnosila se isključivo na devastacije građe uslijed djelovanja čovjeka.

Subklasifikacije su dalje razvijane u kontekstu rješavanja identificiranih problema, tj, planiranja intervencija. U tom smislu ponuđena metodologija i način mapiranja mogli su se smatrati određenim doprinosom, utoliko što su povezali određene tipove oštećenja sa tehnikama konzervatorsko-restauratorskih zahvata koje je potrebno primijeniti, prateći materijalizaciju, te istovremeno slijedeći logiku izvođenja. Tipični vidovi degradacije građe uočeni na sva četiri objekta, grupirani su u različite subkategorije, od kojih su neke ukratko opisane u daljem tekstu.



**Ilustracija 2.** Ulični niz u Titovoj ulici, stanje prije početka izrade projekta konzervacije i restauracije

„Fizička i hemijska oštećenja elemenata sistema odvodnje na objektu“ (kategorija „1“ klasifikacije) manifestirala su se u deformisanju, slabljenjima spojeva, koroziji, hemijskom raspadanju, te su, konsekventno, izazvala i oštećenja malternih površina (kat. 2) uslijed povećanog dejstva vlage. To je bilo jasno prepoznatljivo u ljuštenju i odvajanju bojenog, te osipanju površinskog malternog sloja, pojavi pukotina, razvoju gljivica i pljesni, itd. Često su registrovana i oštećenja malternih površina nastala kao rezultat fizičko-dinamičkih dejstava – pogodaka i udara, ali i dotrajalosti – trošenja materijala (kat. 3), te su se mogli uočiti i obijeni komadi, nedostatak fragmenata plastike, osipanje materijala, itd.

U okviru posebne potkategorije, nazvane „Oštećenja koja su rezultat ranijih neadekvatnih intervencija“ (kat. 4), razmatrani su tragovi prethodnih sanacija (kat. 4.1.) na ravnim površinama, vučenim profilima, istacima i dekorativnoj plastici. Vjerojatno, preuzimani kao pokušaj urgentne zaštite, ovi improvizirani zahvati, rezultirali su prisustvom grubih plombi ili većih neravnih površina, kako na plohamu, tako i na linijskim elementima. Pri izradi jednog od projekata, u okviru posebne grupe analizirana su fizička ostećenja nastala kao rezultat izmjene portala (kat. 4.2.), uočljiva u špaletama zidarskih otvora i na soklu. U tim zonama provedene su „sanacione“ intervencije, urađene tehnički loše, a vizuelno, grubo. Loša izvedba spojeva pri ugradnji okvira portala dovela je kasnije i do oštećenja maltera uslijed prodiranja vlage, te su ponovno uslijedile „popravke“, što je u klasifikaciji bilo obrađeno unutar posebne subkategorije (kat. 4.3.), jednako kao i oblaganje ulaznog podesta keramičkim pločicama i tankim kamenim pločama, izvedeno prilikom adaptacije prizemlja (kat. 4.4.). [8]



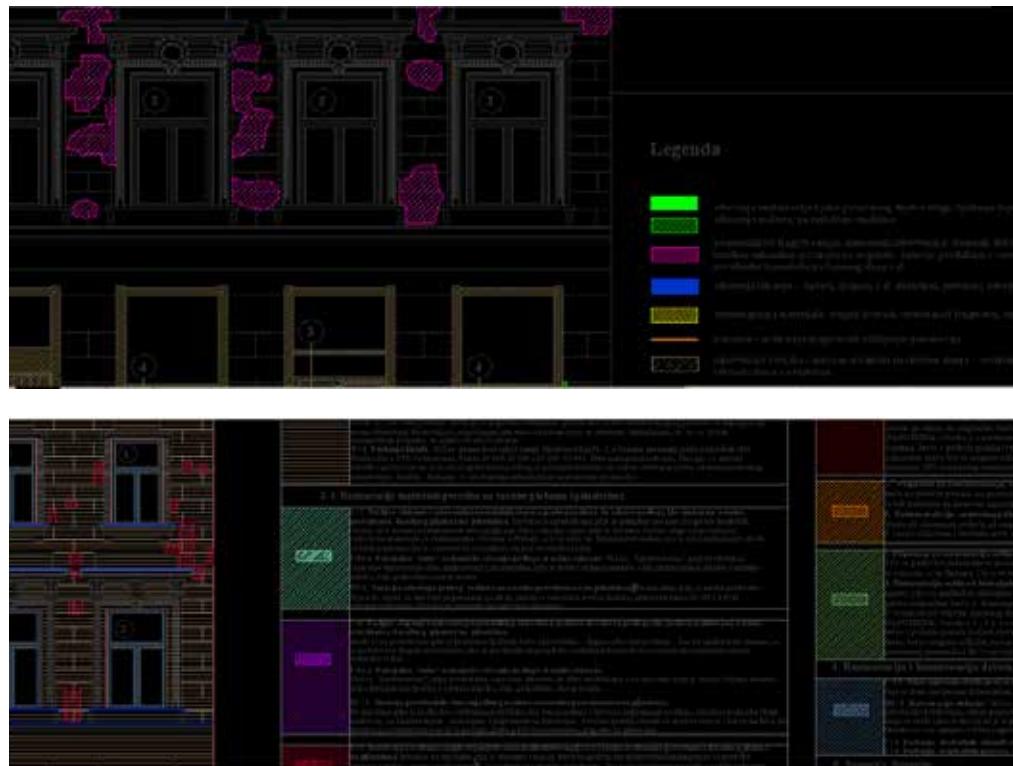
**Ilustracija 3.** Fasada jednog od objekata u Titovoј ulici. Stanje prije početka izrade projekta konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova. Oštećenja bojenog sloja i malternih površina nastala uslijed povećanog dejstva vlage i oštećenja dekorativne plastike.



**Ilustracija 4.** Fasada objekta u Titovoј ulici. Stanje prije početka izrade projekta konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova. Fizička ostećenja nastala kao rezultat izmjene portala.

Kao intervencije koje podrazumijevaju izravno djelovanje na građu spomenika, konzervacija i restauracija, u kontekstu našeg izlaganja razmatrane su u okviru jednog poglavlja, jer se, kao primarne zaštitne intervencije preduzimaju s ciljem osiguranja elementarnog integriteta i autentičnosti. Po definiciji, konzervacija podrazumijeva zahvat usmjeren na spasavanje fizičke građe, pri čemu se ona vizuelno neće izmjeniti, dok restauracija implicira ponovno uspostavljanje ili otkrivanje određenog aspekta spomenika. [2,20]<sup>2</sup>

Na temelju prethodno izrađenih, detaljnih analiza u kojim su oštećenja fasada na objekatima niza u Titovoј ulici bila mapirana i klasificirana na opisani način, razrađeni su i planovi intervencija, predstavljeni grafički kroz odgovarajuće nacrte, a opisno i kvantitativno, kroz tehnički opis i predmjer radova.



**Istruzija 5.** Metod mapiranja oštećenja klasificiranih prema utvrđenim kriterijima (gore), te grafički prikaz potrebnih intervencija (dole).

Pri planiranju intervencija, na originalnim dijelovima fasade izričito se insistiralo na minimalnom odstranjivanju izvornog materijala, a izrada novih elemenata predviđana je samo u slučajevima gdje je to bilo zaista neophodno. Planirani konzervatorsko - restauratorski zahvati osigurali su zaštitu autentične fizičke gradje, očuvane u manjoj ili većoj mjeri, ovisno o objektu i poziciji, od daljeg propadanja, ali je i ponovno uspostavljen njen osnovni vizualni integritet. Ipak, pošto autentičnost ne podrazumijeva samo i isključivo razmatranje "povijesne istinitosti" materijalnih ostataka, dali smo preporuke i za nastavak projekta koji bi i na druge načine podržao izvornost objekta. O tome će biti više riječi u narednom poglavlju.

### 3. Autentična građa spomenika, karakter mjesta i integitet

„Architecture is an interpretive, critical act...A building is interpreted when its rhetorical mechanism and principles are revealed.“ [4,45]

Iako u biti posve različite te u nekom drugom kontekstu nespojive pod zajednički nazivnik, adaptacija, rehabilitacija i interpolacija, a donekle i rekonstrukcija, intervencije su na povijesnom tkivu, tj., unutar njega, koje imaju jedan zajednički element, osobito značajan za naše razmatranje: svi ti postupci stoje u tjesnoj vezi s pojmovima konteksta i mesta, na čije bi se istinsko razumijevanje morali snažno oslanjati. Sigurno je da možemo navesti veliki broj primjera iz različitih krajeva svijeta koji ilustruju suprotno. U našim uvjetima, potpuno zanemarivanje vrijednosti konteksta, osobito je prisutno kad govorimo o intervencijama u okruženju i na objektima baštine austrougarskog perioda skromnije vrijednosti, čiji je kvalitet prije svega prepoznat u njihovoj ulozi unutar cjeline kojoj pripadaju.

“Intervencijom” možemo nazvati bilo kakav zahvat na spomeniku ili unutar spomeničke cjeline, neovisno o primjenjenoj metodi ili strategiji; vrsti konteksta, te tipu, odnosno, razini samog zahvata. Međutim, rehabilitacija, rekonstrukcija i interpolacija izravno impliciraju uspostavljanje odnosa “starog” i “novog”, odnosno, izvornog i dograđenog (izgrađenog). U tom smislu bi intervencija, kao estetska “operacija”, trebala podrazumijevati ne samo prepoznavanje (i priznavanje) značajki objekata baštine u čijem kontaktu djelujemo, nego i njihovo korištenje u koncipiranju novih objekata [4,10]<sup>3</sup>, bez obzira na to da li će dijalog biti ostvaren diferentnim izrazom, “referencama” ili uspostavljanjem kontrasta. [4,5]<sup>4</sup>. Ono što se u ovim okvirima čini posebno bitnim je uvažavanje, odnosno uzimanje u obzir pojmove: mjesto, identitet i interpretacija. [4]<sup>5</sup>

Dok pod pojmom konteksta podrazumijevamo uglavnom postojeću realnost, ono što je dato, naslijedeno, zatečeno, pojam mjesta ima i fenomenološke konotacije.

Mjesto je sveukupnost konkretnih stvari [1,7]<sup>6</sup>; ono ima identitet formuliran različitim faktorima. Morfologija terena i pejzažne značajke, klima, struktura i organizacija urbanog (ili drugog izgrađenog) tkiva u horizontalnoj matrici ili silueti, proporcije i mjerilo objekata, artikulacija masa, arhitektonska morfologija i materijalizacija, regulacione linije, vizure i sekvene, hronološka i stilska pripadnost objekata, neki su od elemenata koji oblikuju fizički identitet. Mjesto, međutim, može biti snažno karakterizirano i svojim ekonomskim, socijalnim ili kulturnim identitetom, dok je povijesni identitet vezan za kolektivnu memoriju stanovnika, materijaliziranu ili na drugi način očuvanu, u spomenicima, sjećanjima na određene događaje, priповijestima, legendama, itd.

Stoga se čini prilično očiglednim da, pored studiranja formalnog jezika karakterističnog za povijesno tkivo i promišljanja upotrebe novog, drugačijeg i suvremenog kroz različito, referentno ili kontrastno, treba uzeti u obzir i mjesto, shvaćeno na način kako ga razmatra Schulz i tumači Demiri, te integritet i autentičnost, onako kako ih definiraju međunarodne konvencije [2, 102,6]<sup>7</sup>. Kad se, međutim, osvrnemo na današnje stanje i okruženje mnogih cjelina i objekata graditeljske baštine austrougarskog perioda, izneseno se više ne čini tako očiglednim.

Na primjeru objekata iz Titove ulice, koji je predstavljen i u prethodnom poglavljju, ovaj smo problem tokom rada mogli djelomično sagledati kroz karakter niza, ne beznačajno izmijenjen tadašnjim namjenama i načinom korištenja prostora prizemlja, te svim daljim intervencijama izvedenim radi "prilagođavanja" i vizualnog komuniciranja sadržaja, tj. kreiranja novog identiteta. Svi objekti su, s ovog aspekta, bili u najmanjoj mjeri diskutabilni, a neki od ilustrativnih primjera prikazani su na donjim fotografijama. [7,55]<sup>8</sup>





Ilustracija 6. Način korištenja prostora u prizemljima.

Ako su u nekim periodima povjesti i definirani "kodovi" za čitanje određenih prostornih ili estetskih iskaza, gdje se funkcije ili društveni status mogu povezati sa stilskom artikulacijom ili primjenjenim obrascem prostornog grupiranja određenih sadržaja, čini se da su, u današnjem kontekstu, takvi prostorno - socijalni i kulturološki kodovi ponekad lišeni značenja; oni su jednostavno precrtni ili zamagljeni. Ne postoji, naime, sistem "čitanja" onoga što u konačnici biva vizualno komunicirano nakon izvođenja niza stihiskih preinaka različitog karaktera - ni na prezentiranim, ni na drugim objektima koji su takvim preinakama bili izloženi. Takve preinake i ne mogu biti predmet evaluacije; njihovi tragovi ostaju van konteksta "dobrog" i "lošeg", u vakuumu koji ih izolira od postojeće građe .

U okruženju kompleksa zgrada Zemaljske vlade čiji identitet dijelom proizilazi i iz gore opisanog načina "čitanja" formalnog jezika, i koji je „olakšan“ tipično urbanim, mahom secesijskim, stambeno-poslovnim objektima slobodnije artikulacije - u jednoj takvoj, izričito gradskoj, centralnoj, zoni ovakve se intervencije ne bi trebale

dešavati. Ipak, one su se desile, i još uvijek se dešavaju, te se čini neophodnim na njih ukazati i na ovaj način.

U okviru planiranja konzervatorsko-restauratorskih zahvata na objektima uličnog niza 18-24 [8], pozabavili smo se - stoga i onim što nije bilo predmet projektnog zadatka - intervencijama izvedenim na portalima, kroz davanje preporuka za dalje djelovanje: izradu studije i posebnog projekta. U tom kontekstu, želimo još jednom podcretati potrebu cjelovitog tretmana javnih prostora u prizemljima, koji ne podrazumijeva samo re-design portala ili postavljanje neagresivnih reklamnih obilježja likovno kompatibilnih logici fasade. Neupitno je da konzervacija izvorne grade predstavlja prvi korak i najznačajniju stavku u lancu intervencija koje treba poduzeti. Međutim, da bi integritet i autentičnost bili istinski reafirmirani kroz zaštitni zahvat, nužno je uzeti u obzir i namjene, i tretman svih fasadnih površina, i preinake u enterijeru i sve druge elemente koji, imaju određenu ulogu u ponovnom uspostavljanju integriteta, tvoreći cjelovitu sliku i formirajući karakter mjesta.



Ilustracija 7. Objekti u toku izvođenja konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova.

Pojam i značaj interpretacije, u kontekstu ovog rada, objasnit ćemo na jednom drugačijem primjeru.

Eventualna slojevitost objekta, ansambla ili povjesne cjeline, izmjene koje je trpio u toku povjesti, te dokumentarna, povjesna, tradicionalna, emotivna ili druga podloga - sve ono opipljivo i neopipljivo što ga čini jedinstvenim - elementi su koji doprinose formiranju osobenog karaktera stvarajući, između ostalog, prepoznatljiv duh i atmosferu.

Logično je da svaka fizička intervencija ostavlja tragove: i na objektu i u okolnom prostoru, dodajući nove slojeve tom "totalitetu konkretnih elemenata": svjetlu površina, masa, tekstura, boja, rastera... Ona, međutim, ne bi smjela prekinuti fizički, vizualni niti kulturološki kontinuitet, niti bi smjela poništiti karakter mjesta u čijem su značenju prepoznate određene vrijednosti. Intervencija na povjesnoj građi bi se, u tom smislu, trebala temeljiti na interpretaciji mjesta i uvažavanju njegovog totaliteta, što bi u normativnom okviru bilo ekvivalent tumačenju sveukupne vrijednosti - bilo da se radi o ansamblu, uličnom nizu ili objektu koji dogradujemo ili adaptiramo.

Sam čin interpretiranja je, generalno, čin otkrivanja, odnosno, objašnjavanja i oslobađanja onog što je nejasno, neprimjetno na prvi pogled, tj., onoga što je ispod površine. „Colomina Beatriz kaže da je arhitektura kritički, interpretativni akt, smatrajući da je objekat interpretiran kada su otkriveni njegovi retorički mehanizmi i principi.“ [4,45]<sup>9</sup> Na koji ćemo način interpretirati povjesni kontekst u kojem radimo, ovisi koliko o našoj sposobnosti da uočimo i shvatimo njegov kvalitet i suštinu, toliko i od sposobnosti da taj kvalitet apstrahiramo ili kodiramo, te konačno, ispisani kod transponujemo u suvremenim, odnosno, drugačiji jezik. Stoga je jedan dio odgovornosti arhitekata - koja ponekad izostaje kad se radi o povjesnim cjelinama, grupacijama, pa i pojedinačnim objektima baštine austrougarskog perioda - vezan upravo za razumijevanje interaktivnog odnosa novoprojektovane strukture i okolnog prostora. Način na koji nova građa "osvjetljava" okolno urbano tkivo ili izvorni objekat baštine morao bi biti jedan od osnovnih kriterijeva za njeno čitanje i procjenu kvaliteta. Evaluacija zasnovana na takvim kriterijima, međutim, očigledno nije uvijek jedna od iteracija u procesu projektovanja, a detaljne studije koje bi morale biti sastavni dio njegovih ranih faza, nisu napravljene ili nisu korištene kao polazište.

Kao primjer pristupa koji nastoji uzeti u obzir značajke mjesta i njegove višesmjerne konotacije, ovdje donosimo jedan način interpretacije povjesnog kontinuiteta i

"sedimentacije", kroz korištenje karakteristične obrade partera - često značajnog elementa identiteta nekog prostora.

Na primjeru restauratorsko-konzervatorskih radova na Latinskoj ćupriji [9], višesvodnom mostu iz XVII stoljeća u Sarajevu, koje smo vodili 2004/2005. g., primijenjene su gotovo sve vrste zaštitnih zahvata. Na temelju sveobuhvatne analize i dijagnostičke procjene razine i vrste degradacije na svakoj konkretnoj poziciji primjenjivane su odgovarajuće metode - od konzervacije do parcijalne rekonstrukcije. Fokusirat ćemo se, međutim, na jedan aspekt koji ovdje može poslužiti za dodatno rasvjetljavanje pojma interpretacije mesta, shvaćene upravo kao čin otkrivanja onog što je neprimjetno na prvi pogled, tj., onoga što je "ispod površine" - u ovom slučaju, slojevitosti i različitih faza u povijesti objekta.

Intervencije na Latinskoj ćupriji izvedene u austrougarskom periodu imale su različite posljedice po izvornu građu - od degradacije do dodavanja „novog sloja“ u stratigrafiji.

Kako termin konzervacija, u najširem poimanju, može biti primijenjen na svaki zahvat usmjeren na spašavanje izvorne građe koji je neće fizički izmjeniti, uklanjanje naknadno dodatih željeznih traverzi - nosača konzolnih pješačkih proširenja, bilo je jednim dijelom i konzervatorski zahvat jer je njihova ugradnja uzrokovala oštećenja kamenih struktura svodova od porozne, lake sedre, a posljedice korozije su počele ugrozavati i površine čeonih zidova i kameni vijenac. Sasvim je drugačijeg karaktera bila restauracija dodatih elemenata "klupe" i proširenja na lijevoj obali; njeno provođenje značilo je "priznavanje" dograđenih dijelova kao integralnih, autentičnih elemenata spomenika, dok je djelomično vraćanje zatečene granitne kocke na pristupe Mostu s desne strane predstavljalo rezultat interpretacije mesta, kroz vizualizaciju fakata o njegovoj povijesti. Austrougarski period tako je prisutan i u apstrahiranom kodu izraženom kroz jednostavan crtež na hodnoj površini mosta, u vidu tankih linija od granitne kocke, koje se pružaju od obale prema centru, te postepeno gube u krečnjačkoj kaldrmi.

Još jedan primjer sličnog pristupa je obrada partera koju smo primijenili pri koncipiranju rješenja poda prizemlja kule Ploča, gdje smo zatekli popločanje od austrijske granitne "kocke" (tačnije, netipičnih kvadera), u Kuli i čitavoj široj zoni. Kombiniranjem izvorno korištenog krečnjačkog kamena prepoznatljivog na arhivskim fotografijama s granitom, kojim je krečnjak kasnije zamijenjen, te uspostavljanjem sistema znakova i linija, ostvarena je veza između unutarnjeg i vanjskog prostora, te

spona između različitih perioda: vremena u kojem je objekat izgrađen, vremena u kojem je trajao i mijenjao se i vremena u kojem je restauriran.

## Zaključak

Fakt da objekti austrougarske baštine danas bivaju visokokvalitetno obnovljeni, ali nerijetko i degradirani naknadnim intervencijama ili gradnjama u neposrednom okolišu, sâm po sebi formulira problemski kontekst koji traži odgovor i na koji je potrebno odgovoriti u različitim aspektima. Potvrđujući neophodnost kontinuirane brige za ove spomenike kroz odgovarajuće aktivnosti u svim domenama zaštite (ta je neophodnost svakako neupitna), prisutni problemi ukazuju i na nužnost intenzivnijeg, sinhronizovanog djelovanja u znatno širem, sveobuhvatnijem opsegu. To djelovanje moralo bi uključiti različite subjekte i različite oblike administrativne, preventivne i aktivne zaštite, te istraživačkog rada, posredno ili neposredno vezanog i za planiranje i za projektovanje.

Između ostalog, uočeni problemi ukazuju i na potrebu ozbiljne analize, pa i re-evaluacije suvremenog konteksta, kao živog i promjenjivog organizma unutar kojeg austrougarska baština danas jeste, i s kojim objekti ili ansambli izgrađeni između 1878. i 1918. godine stoje u neprekidnoj interakciji. Shodno tome, iznalaženje načina za re-affirmiranje njihovog utvrđenog kvaliteta i podržavanje autentičnosti i integriteta kroz široku paletu metoda i mehanizama zaštite, te, osmišljavanje intervencija u prostoru oslonjenih na sistemske analize značenja i značaja austrougarske baštine u današnjoj slici i životu grada, čine se jednim rješenjima za dugoročno očuvanje njihove vrijednosti.

- [1] C. Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci, Towards a phenomenology of architecture*, Academy Editions, 1980.
- [2] M. Petzet, *International Principles of Preservation*, ICOMOS, 2009.
- [3] The Nara Document on Authenticity, *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention, Nara, Japan*, 1993.
- [4] K. Demiri, *New Architecture as Infill in Historical Context*, *Architecture and Urban Planning*, doi: 10.7250/aup.2013.005, 2013 / 7, pp. 44-49., 2013.
- [5] V. Sanković - Simčić, *Revitalizacija graditeljske baštine: integracija staro - novo*, NNP Naša riječ, 2000.
- [6] *Information document by the World Heritage Centre on the development of a revised Unesco recommendation on the conservation of historic urban landscapes*, 2008.
- [7] B. Dimitrijević, Arhitekt Karlo Paržik, *Prepis disertacije*, 2010.
- [8] N. Mujezinović, *Projektna dokumentacija konzervacije i restauracije fasada objekata uličnog niza na adresama Maršala Tita 18-22 i Branislava Đurđeva*, Kantonalni zavod za zaštitu kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeda Sarajevo, 2006.
- [9] N. Mujezinović, *Projektna dokumentacija konzervacije, restauracije, konstruktivne sanacije i djelomične rekonstrukcije Latinske čuprije u Sarajevu*, Kantonalni zavod za zaštitu kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeda Sarajevo, 2005.
- [10] N. Mujezinović, *Kamen - materijal kontinuiteta i izražajnih mogućnosti*, Federalno ministarstvo obrazovanja i nauke, 2009.

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<sup>1</sup>"The consideration of authenticity cannot only be limited to the verification of the historical truth of material remains (...) in the case of traditional communities and areas with a continuity of traditional functions, retaining the social-cultural authenticity is of fundamental importance and should be clearly understood and integrated into the management system and plans." Petzet, 2009. Vidjeti i: "The Nara Document on Authenticity", 1993.

<sup>2</sup> "Whereas conservation of the existing fabric of a monument only attempts, as far as is necessary, to stabilize individual areas technically and to eliminate sources of danger that directly threaten the fabric, restoration is concerned with the overall appearance of the monument as historical and artistic evidence ".Petzet, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Solà Morales Rubió, I. de. From Contrast to Analogy. Developments in the Concept of Architectural Intervention. Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965-1995 (K. Nesbitt, ed.). Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, p. 228-238., prema: Demiri, 2013. Vidjeti i: Mujezinović, 2009: "(..) Vizualni identitet novog segmenta mora biti i oblikovno povezan s izvornim

po nekom osnovu, što ne podrazumijeva istovjetnost, isključuje oponašanje, i dozvoljava kontrast. Povezivanje pretpostavlja da su novi i stari elementi (...) zajednički tvore cjelinu, a ne skup neovisnih samostalnih fragmenata.", str. 201.

<sup>4</sup> Strategije date prema: Demiri, 2013. Vidjeti i: V. Sankovic - Simčić, 2000.

<sup>5</sup> Tumačenja navedenih pojmove u daljem tekstu, prema: Demiri, 2013.

<sup>6</sup> "A place is therefore a qualitative, 'total' phenomenon, which we can not reduce to any of its properties, such as spatial relationships, without losing its concrete nature out of sight". Norberg-Schulz, 1980.

<sup>7</sup> Vidjeti: "Information document by the World Heritage Centre on the development of a revised Unesco recommendation on the conservation of historic urban landscapes, 2008. Prema: Petzet, 2009.

<sup>8</sup> "Ovakva 'čitanja' određenih značenja u izboru stila prisutna su u istoričističkoj arhitekturi XIX stoljeća. Začetak mogućnosti ovakvih tumačenja nalazi se u simboličnoj ideji koja je pripisivana pojedinim istorijskim stilovima u periodu istoricizma, kada je izbor stila za pojedine gradevine bio rezultat usklađivanja simboličnog značenja stila i namjene objekta (npr. neorenesansa kao simbol prosvjete i humanizma na školskim zgradama, neogotika na evropskim vijećnicama kao simbol tradicija evropskog gradanskog društva, neoklasicizma na parlamentima kao simbol grčke demokratije, itd.)." Dimitrijević, Prepis, 2010.

<sup>9</sup> "As Colomina Beatriz states: 'Architecture is an interpretive, critical act...A building is interpreted when its rhetorical mechanism and principles are revealed'". Demiri, 2013.

Adnan Pašić

## PRIMJERI SAVREMENIH ARHITEKTONSKIH INTERVENCIJA U SKLOPU URBANIH I ARHITEKTONSKIH CJELINA AUSTROUGARSKOG PERIODA U SARAJEVU

### UVOD

Period austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini u suštinskom smislu reafirmira dominaciju zapadnoevropskih civilizacijskih i kulturoloških obrazaca prekinutih u XV stoljeću padom srednjovjekovne Bosanske države. Tokom četiri stoljeća osmanske uprave urbanizam i arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine razvijali su se u skladu sa kulturološkim i civilizacijskim kontekstom i tokovima unutar Osmanske imperije, a periferni položaj ovih prostora tokom dugotrajnog perioda ove vladavine uvodi u dominantne arhitektonske tokove u određenoj mjeri autentične vrijednosti proistekle iz tradicijskih i ambijentalnih posebnosti.



Slika 1.- Ilustracija Sarajeva, vojne izvidnice Eugena Savojskog, 1697.

Značajan broj postojećih gradova Bosne i Hercegovine svoje savremene urbane konture dobiva tokom osmanske uprave. Šire područje grada Sarajeva kontinuirano je nastanjeno još od perioda neolita. Neolitska naselja u Butmiru i Zlatištu, rimska

kolonija i terme na području današnje Ilidže, srednjevjekovna utvrđenja i naselja Vrhbosna i Hodidjed, ubicirani su na rubnim područjima sarajevske kotline. Sa početkom osmanske uprave grad započinje razvoj u dolini rijeke Miljacke, formirajući urbanu jezgru grada koja se u kontinuitetu do danas razvija. Ovaj kontinuitet ustanovljen je i samim nazivom grada Sarajeva, etimološki izvedenim iz turskog izraza za dvor, saray.

### Urbanizam i arhitektura austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu

Početak austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. godine obilježavaju intenzivni infrastrukturni projekti gradnje cesta, željeznica i fortifikacija sa jedne, i paralelni proces izgradnje urbanih centara, sa planskim razvojem industrijskih i arhitektonskih projekata, sa druge strane. Osnovna karakteristika svih građevinskih i arhitektonskih projekata jeste njihova zasnovanost na savremenim evropskim institucionalnim, društvenim i tehnološkim principima i dostignućima. Bez obzira na proevropske reforme Osmanske imperije u doba Tanzimata tokom XIX stoljeća, austrougarska uprava uvodi značajne izmjene u svim sferama života, značajno različite u odnosu na zatečeni kontekst osmanskog naslijeda Bosne i Hercegovine.

Urbani model zasnovan na kolskim saobraćajnicama i sistemu urbanih blokova zamjenjuje ili se nadovezuje na postojeće urbane jezgre prethodnog perioda. Arhitektura evropske klasične tradicije, eklekticizma, bečke secesije, ali i etabliranja pseudomaurskog stila kao odlike usklajivanja sa lokalnim tradicijskim kontekstom, osnovne su značajke savremenih gradova i arhitekture ovog perioda. Četrdeset godina austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini na poseban način obilježavaju period savremene historije ovih prostora, u čemu poseban značaj kako u materijalnom, tako i u duhovnom smislu predstavljaju obrasci i kvalitet uveden putem urbanizma i arhitekture.



Slika 2.- Fotografija Sarajeva, 1911.

## STUDIJE SLUČAJA SAVREMENIH ARHITEKTONSKIH INTERVENCIJA

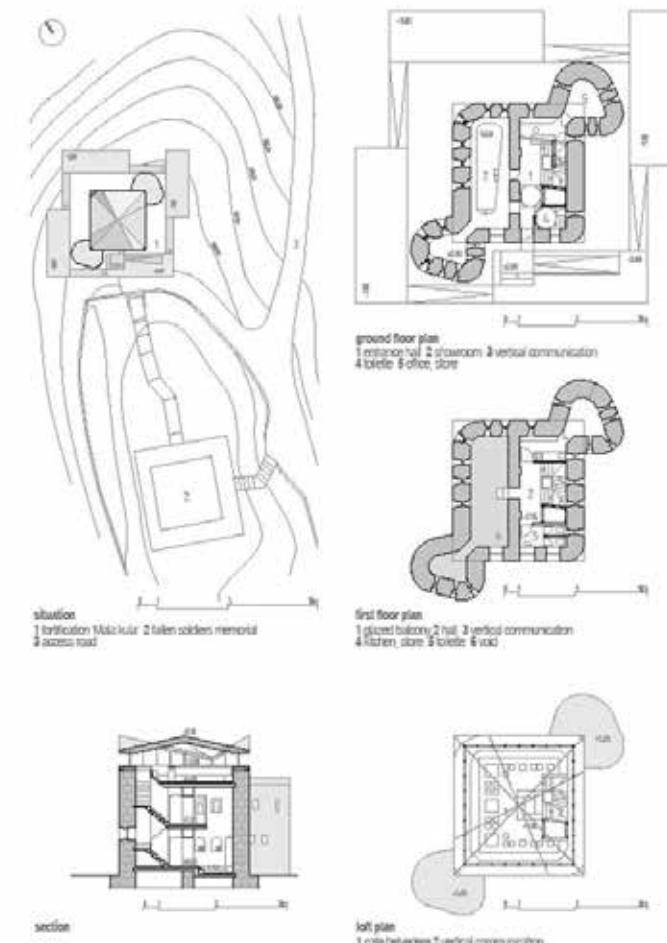
Sanacija, adaptacija i revitalizacija fortifikacije MALA KULA

Autor: Adnan Pašić, realizacija

Austrougarsku fortifikaciju "Mala kula", nakon istaknute uloge koju je imala u odbrani opkoljenog Sarajeva, tokom koje je pretrpila znatna oštećenja, udruženje ratnih veterana željelo je adaptirati u memorijalni centar. Originalni objekat se sastoji od prizemlja, kata i prohodne terase koji su povezani unutarnjim trokrakim stepeništem, dok je na horizontalnom planu komponirana iz kvadratnog korpusa  $9 \times 9$  m i dvije periferne kule radiusa 5 m. Vanjski i unutarnji zidovi su zidani od kamena, a međuspratna konstrukcija su spregnute ploče.

Arhitektonskom intervencijom nastojala se uspostaviti ravnoteža između planiranog spomeničkog i funkcionalnog aspekta planirane namjene. Unutarnji usitnjeni sklop soba sa malim otvorima puškarnica, svojim karakterom su bili primjereni za sadržaje spomen sobe i pratećih funkcija, dok je terasa sa neprekinutim pogledom po cijelom obimu objekta natkrivena i pretvorena u prostor cafea vidikovca. Forma krova u vidu izlomljenih bijelih ploha kosih krovnih ravni funkcionalno i simbolički natkriljuje

kamenu bazu originalne arhitektonske strukture utjelovljujući joj apstraktni simbolički i spomenički karakter. Projekat je rađen u saradnji sa kolegama iz Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika Kantona Sarajevo. Investitor je nakon realizacije predmetnog projekta izvršio radove suprotno projektu i time dodatno doprinio uništavanju kulturno-historijskog naslijeđa Bosne i Hercegovine.<sup>1</sup>



Slika 3.- Mala kula, Grdonj, situacija, tlocrti i presjek



**Slika 4.-** Mala kula, Grdonj, fotomontaža eksterijera

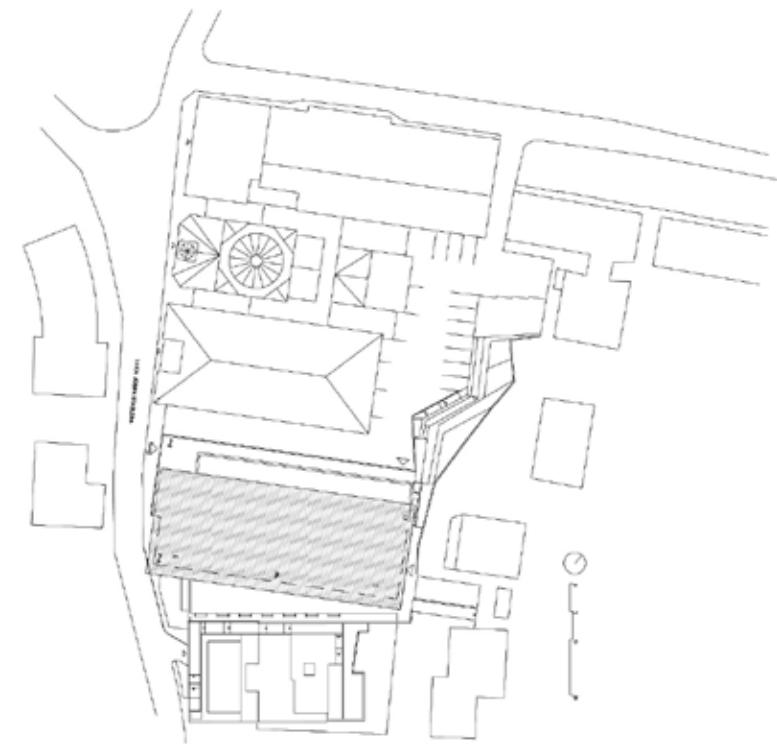
#### Svećenički dom Vrhbosanske nadbiskupije

**Autor projekta: Nikola Maslej, Autor redizajna i enterijera kapele: Adnan Pašić, realizacija**

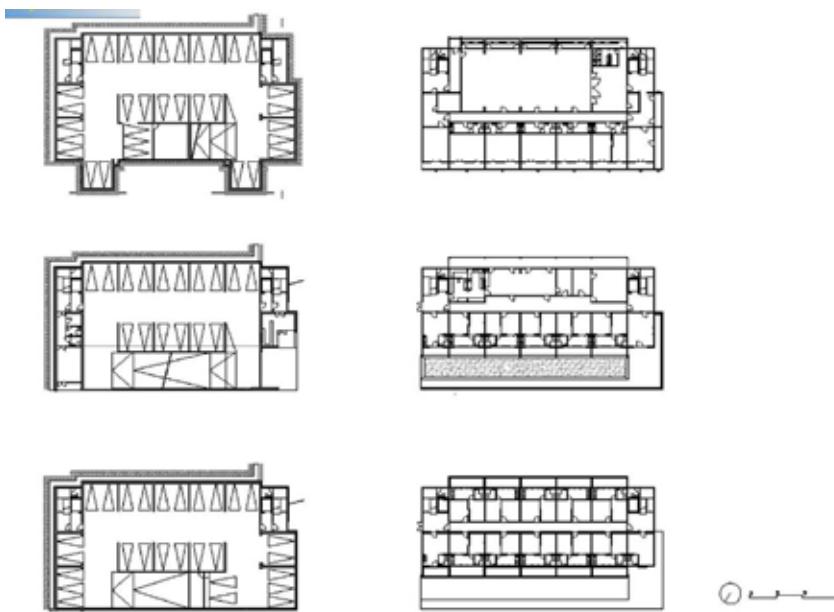
Originalni projekt djelo je arhitekte Nikole Masleja (1946-2008), dok je konačni izgled, redizajn originalne verzije nastao tokom procesa izgradnje od 2008. do 2012. godine. Svećenički dom se nalazi u ulici Josipa Štadlera u Sarajevu, u urbanoj matrici iz perioda austrougarske vladavine. Sa zapadne strane Svećeničkog doma nalazi se zgrada Katoličke bogoslovije, a sa istočne slobodnostojeća urbana vila, obe djelo arhitekte Josipa Vančaša. Investitor se tokom početne faze izvođenja odlučio za izmjenu dijela funkcionalnih i programskih elemenata originalnog projektnog rješenja, na osnovu čega je uslijedio i redizajn elemenata oblikovanja i materijalizacije.

U sklopu Svećeničkog doma nalazi se i kapela kvadratnog tlocrta dimenzija 6,40x6,40x3,00 m. Kapela je originalno osvijetljena preko izduženog prozora na istočnom

zidu. Sjeverni, stražnji zid povezuje kapelu sa sakristijom i ulaznim vratima, koja je povezuju sa centralnim hodnikom drugog kata. Kapela je komponirana iz oltara orientiranog na južni zid, sa obimnom klupom oko ambona i menze, tri klupe orientisane prema oltaru, 14 translucentnih panela sa prikazom Križnog puta na istočnom zidu i stropnih i zidnih niša simbolički iluminiranih različitim bojama. Sav namještaj i oprema izrađeni su od masiva javora u prirodnoj boji. Zidovi i strop su bijelo bojeni, dok je pod izrađen u kombinaciji poda od epoksidne smole sive boje i dužica masiva javora u prirodnoj boji. Svaka pojedina interijerska cjelina osvijetljena je putem različitog indirektnog izvora svjetla, putem indirektne vještačke iluminacije i refleksije obojenih površina kvadratnih i pravougaonih niša na zidovima i stropu kapele. Svaka niša je pozicionirana, dimenzionirana i obojena na osnovu funkcionalnih analiza. Ambijentalni efekt dobiven putem odsjaja različitih kvaliteta i intenziteta obojenog svjetla na bijelim plohamama zidova i svjetlim plohamama namještaja kapele u oku posmatrača transcendira u kontemplativno i spiritualno iskustvo.<sup>2</sup>



**Slika 5.-** Svećenički dom Vrhbosanske nadbiskupije, Sarajevo, situacija



Slika 6.- Svećenički dom Vrhbosanske nadbiskupije, Sarajevo, Tlocrti



Slika 7.- Svećenički dom Vrhbosanske nadbiskupije,Eksterijer

### Butik hotel INSIDER

Autori: Adnan Pašić, Amela Hadžić, Idejno arhitektonsko rješenje

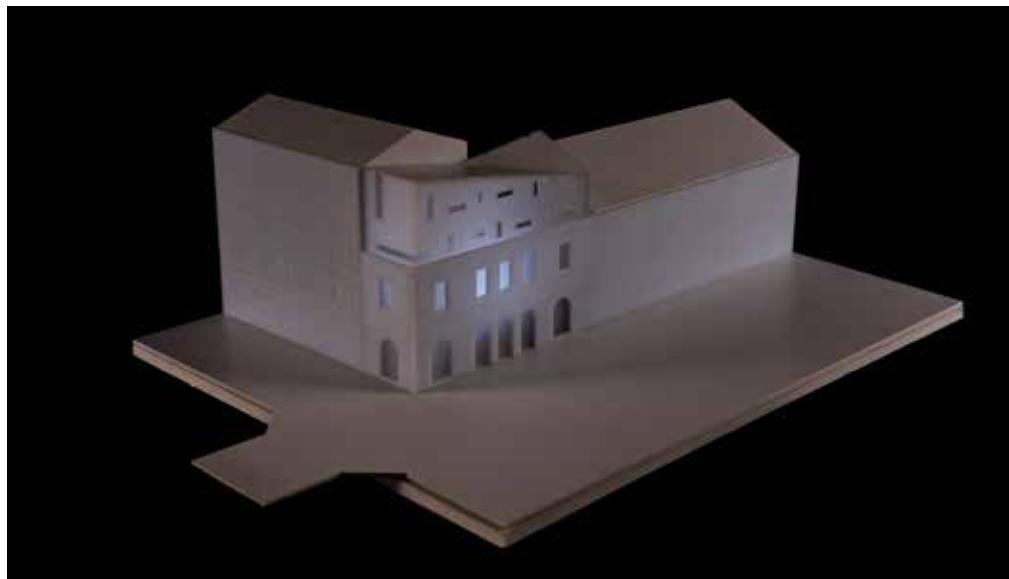
Postojeća austrougarska zgrada locirana je na uglu ulice Zelenih beretki i ulice Obala Kulina Bana, uz samu historijsku lokaciju atentata na Franca Ferdinanda. Zgrada se sastoji od podruma, prizemlja, prvog kata i tavana, i izvedena je od opečnih zidova sa drvenom međuspratnom konstrukcijom. Podrum i tavan se trenutno ne koriste, dok su prizemlje i kat u funkciji turističke agencije. Programom je tražena transformacija postojećeg objekta u mali butik hotel. Idejno arhitektonsko rješenje postojeću strukturu proširuje sa dvije mansardne etaže, koje svojom oblikovnošću nastoje biti sastavni dio cjeline austrougarskog urbanog bloka kojem zgrada pripada. Idejnim rješenjem u objektu su projektovani sljedeći sadržaji: recepcija u prizemlju, čajna kuhinja sa trpezarijom i lounge-barom u podrumu, te šest dvokrevetnih i tri trokrevetne sobe na višim etažama. Arhitektonsko rješenje mansarde proizašlo je iz analize okolnih arhitektonskih struktura i nastojanja da se poštuju osnovni formalni principi oblikovanja urbanog bloka, a materijalizacijom i oblikovanjem istakne savremena intervencija u skladu sa vremenom u kojem je nastala. Planirano je da se dograđena struktura izvede od drveta, čime će nova supstanca biti logičan nastavak originalne strukture i materijalizacije postojeće austrougarske zgrade.



Slika 8.- Butik hotel INSIDER, Sarajevo, situacija



**Slika 9.**- Butik hotel INSIDER, Sarajevo, fotografija modela



**Slika 10.** - Butik hotel INSIDER, Sarajevo, fotografija modela

## Zaključak

Arhitektonski pristup primijenjen u prezentovanim studijama slučaja zasniva se na uvođenju savremenih arhitektonskih kvaliteta u postojeće historijske ambijentalne i arhitektonske cjeline. Metodologija projektiranja je zasnovana na istraživanju ambijentalnih i arhitektonskih kvaliteta važnih za reprezentaciju originalne građevine i konteksta, nakon čega se nastoji osmisli arhitektonski prijedlog koji će uskladiti posebnu vrijednost originalne materijalne supstance sa novom, savremenom arhitektonskom intervencijom zasnovanom na savremenim potrebama i uvođenju novih sadržaja u postojeći ambijentalni i arhitektonski kontekst. Ovaj arhitektonski projektni princip blizak je metodi nove autentičnosti, kako je definira italijanski arhitekt Andrea Bruno. Budući da prezentovane studije slučaja predstavljaju samo jedan od savremenih metoda koji se primjenjuju u slučajevima intervencija na ambijentalnim i arhitektonskim cjelinama austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu i BiH, smatram da bi kao primjerenz zaključak prethodne elaboracije mogli citirati Hansa Ibelingsa, koji je osvrnu na savremenu bosanskohercegovačku arhitekturu napisao: "Naravno, i ovdje ima dobrih i loših imitatora međunarodne mode, ali čini se da većina arhitekata, usprkos svim dominantnim trendovima, izražava vlastiti stav, artikulira svoj vlastiti svijet. Zbog toga je moguće naći građevine i projekte u Bosni i Hercegovini koje su sasvim drugačije od onog što se drugdje može vidjeti, a u doba globalizacije i rastuće homogenizacije to nije nebitna vrijednost."<sup>3</sup>

## Bilješke

<sup>1</sup>A. Pašić, 'Revitalisation of Austro-Hungarian Military Fortress and Its Conversion Into Memorial Building - Case Study "Small Tower" – Sarajevo, 3rd Hazards & modern Heritage International Conference, Leros, Greece, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> E. Turkušić, "Chapel interior, Sarajevo", A10, #39, May/Jun 2011, str. 40.

<sup>3</sup> H. Ibelings, "RESTART – Arhitektura u Bosni i Hercegovini 1995-2010", Baybook, Sarajevo, 2010, str. 13.



Milijana Okilj

## VIJEĆNICA U NOVOM GRADU - ISTORIJAT, ARHITEKTURA, OBNOVA

### Sažetak

Vijećnica je sagrađena 1888. godine na obali rijeke Une, blizu mosta koji danas povezuje Bosnu i Hercegovinu sa Hrvatskom. Zgrada je oštećena zemljotresima 1969. i 1981. godine, a znatna oštećenja pretrpjela je i u posljednjem ratu. Veliki značaj zgrade Vijećnice u Novom Gradu leži u njenim izrazitim arhitektonsko-stilskim odlikama i posebnom skladu građevine, kao i u istorijskom smislu, budući da je zgrada karakterističan primjerak svoje epohe; perioda austrougarske okupacije ovog područja. Zgrada je najznačajniji javni objekat u Novom Gradu, koji je do Drugog svjetskog rata bio Vijećnica, a nakon toga Zavičajni muzej. Od 90-tih godina XX vijeka zgrada se nije koristila.

Ovaj rad će razmatrati istorijat, arhitektonske karakteristike i nastajanje projekta obnove zgrade Vijećnice, čija se suštinska vrijednost ogleda u očuvanju graditeljskog nasljeđa. Politike koje se odnose na zaštitu i obnovu graditeljskog nasljeđa razvijale su se u skladu sa društvenim razvojem i danas se zaštita smatra jednim od bitnih dijelova odgovornosti modernog društva.

**Ključne riječi:** Vijećnica, Novi Grad, kulturno-istorijsko nasljeđe, obnova

### Istorijat i opis

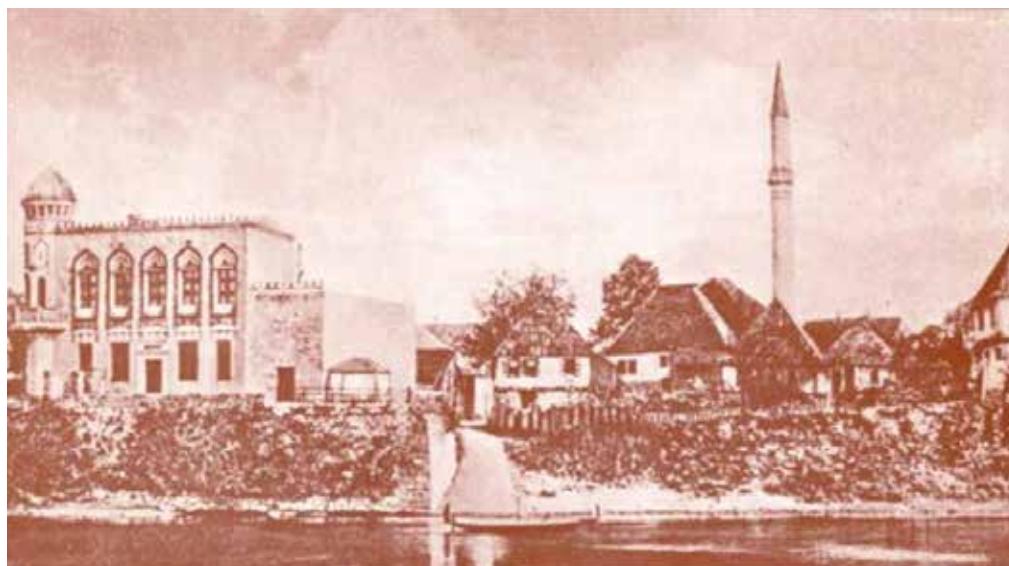


Sl. 1 Vijećnica, razglednica iz austrougarskog perioda

Novi Grad se nalazi na ušću rijeke Sane u Unu, a pominje se 1280. godine kao Novum Castrum u vlasništvu kneževa Babonića blagajskih.<sup>1</sup> Početkom XVI vijeka grad je bio u posjedu Nikole Zrinskog, a 1557. godine, poslije pada tvrđave Kostajnica, pao je pod tursku vlast.<sup>2</sup> U vijekovima koji slijede smijenjivali su se vlastodržci. Ferhadbeg Sokolović je 1557. godine sagradio drveni most preko Une, da bi omogućio prelazak vojske u Hrvatsku. Novi Grad su opisali Evlija Čelebija u svom putopisu i 1697. godine povjerenici bečkog cara.<sup>3</sup> Nakon molbe bosanskih kapetana i zapovjednika, naročitim je fermanom 1726. godine dozvoljeno da se na mjestu grada sagrađenog od drveta i zemlje, sagradi novi od kamena. Prema odluci Berlinskog kongresa 1878. godine, Novi je zajedno sa ostatkom Bosne i Hercegovine pripao Austro-Ugarskoj. Okupacione vlasti su 1894. godine do temelja porušile novsku tvrđavu, a njen materijal ugrađen je u razne javne i privatne objekte. Željeznička pruga Dobrljin – Banjaluka, koja je prolazila kroz Novi, sagrađena je 1873. godine, u suton turske vladavine. Nova, austrougarska vlast je uvidjela potencijal tog putnog pravca i već ga 1892. godine spojila sa Siskom. Tokom austrougarske okupacije, koja je trajala 40

godina, u orijentalne oblike grada uklapljeno je nekoliko reprezentativnijih objekata građenih u eklektičnom maniru: zgrada vijećnice, današnja zgrada suda i potez stambeno-poslovnih jednospratnica u jezgru grada. Objekti izgrađeni u tom periodu zadovoljavali su nove tehničke standarde, ali su često svojim gabaritima i položajem u prostoru zanemarivali zatečene ambijentalne vrijednosti. Ambicije nove vlasti najviše se vide na polju gradnje javnih objekata, prvenstveno upravnih zgrada, a najviše ih je izgrađenih 90-tih godina XIX vijeka. Uz upravne izdvajaju se i sudske zgrade, što je bio slučaj i u Novom Gradu.

Objekat u Novom Gradu je sagrađen na obali rijeke Une 1888. godine, kao zgrada opštinske Vijećnice.<sup>4</sup> Istovremeno je u neposrednoj blizini sagrađen most, koji je porušen tokom Drugog svjetskog rata. U zgradi je bilo sjedište opštinske uprave do sredine XX vijeka, potom se koristila za potrebe Socijalističkog saveza, radio stanice i vatrogasnog društva, a sredinom 70-tih godina adaptirana je u Zavičajni muzej (sprat), prostorije kulturno-umjetničkog društva i restoran (prizemlje). Tada je dograđen prizemni dio na jugoistočnoj, dvorišnoj strani objekta, a u njemu su bile smještene pomoćne prostorije restorana. Na osnovu postojeće fotodokumentacije utvrđeno je da je na istom mjestu objekat imao aneks, od koga je do danas sačuvan samo zid orijentisan prema rijeci. Od 90-tih godina XX vijeka objekat se nije koristio.



Sl. 2 Pogled na zgradu Vijećnice sa lijeve obale rijeke Une, 1931. godina

Osnova je u obliku slova L sa istakom na sjevernom uglu, na mjestu gdje se u elevaciji nalazi toret. Dužina objekta na uličnoj sjeveroistočnoj strani je 17,78 m, na sjeverozapadnoj 20,68 m, a na jugoistočnoj 10,65 m. Zgrada je izgrađena kao sistem masivne konstrukcije od opeke, spratne visine P+1. Krov je jednovodni blagog nagniba, a krov torete ima formu poluelipsoidne kupole. Krovna konstrukcija je drvena, a krovne plohe su bile pokrivene pocićanim limom. Zidovi su zidani opekom austrijskog formata. Spoljna strana svih fasadnih zidova, izuzev dvorišnog, jugozapadnog, je obložena, odnosno zidana pravilnim, obradenim kamenim kvaderima. Kao vezivo sredstvo upotrebljavan je produžni malter. Međuspratna konstrukcija je drvena, a u zoni međuspratne konstrukcije u nosive zidove su postavljene čelične grede I profila radi ojačanja. U osovinama drvenih greda sa gornje strane postavljene su letve na koje je pokovan daščani „slijepi“ pod, a sa donje strane je daščani pokov, trstika i malter. Završna podna obloga u kancelarijama i svečanoj sali sprata je parket, a u prostoru hola je zadržan autentični pod; pločice od terakote. U nivou prizemlja, u prostorijama u kojima je očuvan autentični izgled, daščani pod je oslonjen na gredice koje su položene direktno na zemljani nasip. Izuzetnu vrijednost ovog objekta predstavlja fasadna dekoracija. Svi otvori su pravougaoni, izuzev otvora torete koji su lučno završeni. Na uličnoj i na fasadi orijentisanoj prema rijeci Uni otvori su postavljeni u pet osovina. Spratni prozorski otvori su smješteni u edikulama, sa dekorativnim okvirima završenim prelomljenim lukom, izvedenim od keramičkih elemenata. Dekorativni motiv, floralna ornamentika je izvedena u plitkom reljefu. Posebno su bogato ukrašeni ugaona toreta sa balkonom, okviri prozora i portal. Zidne plohe torete između završnog vijenca i otvora prozora i vrata su ukrašene plitkorelejefnim štukaturnim dekoracijama, a završetak zida je naglašen nizom slijepih arkadnih niša ispod konzolno istaknutog profilisanog vijenca. Parapet balkonske ograde je ukrašen stilizovanom geometrijskom ornamentikom sa varijacijama prepletenih formi osmougaonika i osmougaonih zvijezda izvedenih u plitkom reljefu.

Glavni ulaz, naglašen portalom, se nalazi na uličnoj sjeveroistočnoj strani objekta. Osim glavnog objekat je imao još tri ulaza; na sjevernom uglu, na jugozapadnoj i na sjeverozapadnoj strani objekta. U unutrašnjosti prizemlja se preko vjetrobranskog prostora pristupa holu u kome je smješteno trokrako stepenište, ograđeno ogradom od kovanog gvožđa. Iz holia na spratu se pristupa kancelarijama i sali za sastanke ili svečanoj sali, smještenoj u zapadnom traktu objekta. Namjena prostora je uticala na poseban pristup ukrašavanju, odnosno oslikavanju stropne površine. Dimenzije svečane sale su 8,92x5,39 metara. Prvobitno su bili oslikani cijeli strop i završne

zone zidova, ali je dio toga prekrećen. Danas je ukupna površina oslikanog dijela 45 m<sup>2</sup>, a spoljna ivica je od zidova udaljena 0,30 m. Dominiraju svjetlo i tamno plava, zelena, crvena i oker boja, a motivi su geometrijski i floralni (cvijetovi, listovi, lozice). Tavanica je koncipirana na način da je centralno smještena kvadratna površina, a sa strana dvije manje pravougaone površine međusobno odvojene i po obodu objedinjene bordurama. Unutrašnjost centralnog kvadrata je ispunjena crvenim petokrakim i osmokrakim zvjezdama i plavim medaljonima, a horizontalnim, vertikalnim i diagonalnim trakama podijeljena na manje kvadratne, odnosno romboidne površine. Manje pravougaone površine su ukrašene floralnim motivima. Centralno je postavljena trolisno završena izdužena forma, a sa strana četverolatični cvijetovi. Uske trake bordura oko kvadrata i pravougaonika ukrašene su prepletenim trakama, a obodne stilizovanim cvjetovima.



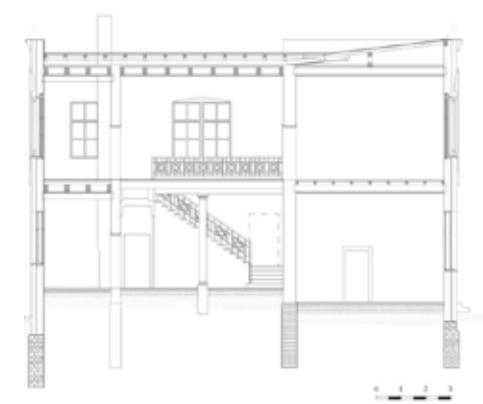
Crtež 1. Plafon svećane sale

Veliki značaj zgrade Vijećnice u Novom Gradu leži u njenim izrazitim arhitektonsko-stilskim karakteristikama i posebnom skladu građevine što je, bez obzira na relativno male gabarite, ubraja u red najskladnijih objekata u Republici Srpskoj. Karakterističan je primjerak svoje epoha; perioda austrougarske okupacije ovog područja. Predstavlja izuzetno vrijedno djelo u pogledu dispozicije, potpunog sklada proporcija, i dobro pronađene mjere arhitektonskog ukrasa. U isto vrijeme na prostoru

Bosanske Krajine sagrađena je zgrada Magistrata u Kostajnici (1885-87), koja ima istu dispoziciju, približne gabarite, ali je znatno skromnijih arhitektonskih vrijednosti. Nešto ranije, 1879. godine, podignuta je zgrada Vijećnice u Gradišći, koja je dograđena početkom XX vijeka.<sup>5</sup> Oba objekta građena su u pseudomavarskom stilu. Zgrada stare Vijećnice (Zavičajni muzej) u Novom Gradu je 1985. godine registrovana kao spomenik kulture, a 2006. godine je proglašena nacionalnim spomenikom Bosne i Hercegovine.<sup>6</sup>



Crtež 2. Osnova prizemlja, novo stanje



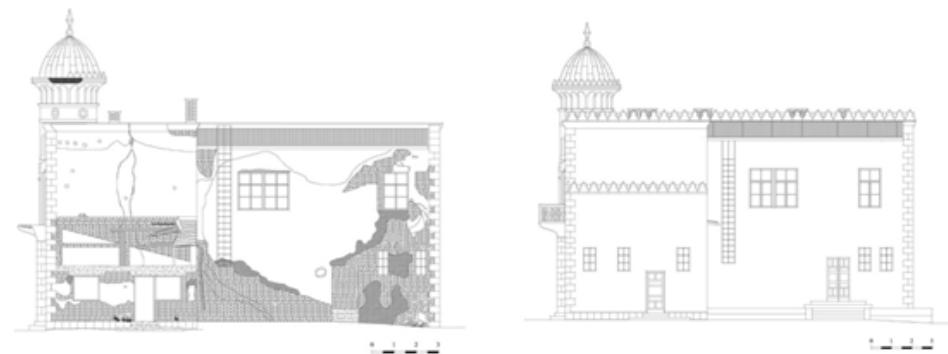
Crtež 3. Presjek, novo stanje

### Zatečeno stanje objekta

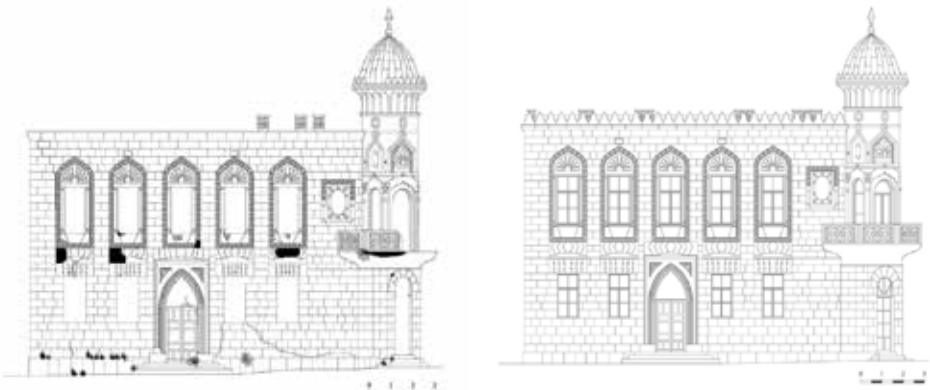
O stanju i obnovama zgrade u prvih sedam decenija njegog postojanja nema raspoloživih podataka. Znata oštećenja, prvenstveno veliki broj pukotina u zidovima, registrovana su početkom 70-tih godina prošlog vijeka kada je kao uzrok naveden zemljotres 1969. godine i neravnomjerno slijeganje temelja. Krajem 70-tih objekat je obnovljen.<sup>7</sup> Tom prilikom je uklonjen aneks na njegovoj jugoistočnoj strani. Sudeći prema opisu, izvorni prizemni dio objekta je u ranijim intervencijama, vjerovatno nakon Drugog svjetskog rada, djelimično srušen i zamijenjen novim. Zgrada je oštećena i u zemljotresu 1981. godine. U septembru 1995. godine zgrada Vijećnice je granatirana. Tada se srušio jedan unutrašnji zid, a na ostalim zidovima su nastale pukotine različitog promjera i deformacije. Usljed djelovanja različitih negativnih faktora, prirodnih i antropogenih, objekat je u velikoj mjeri bio devastiran, sa velikom mogućnošću propagacije oštećenja, koja su mogla prouzrokovati gubitak stabilnosti dijela konstrukcije objekta. U okviru istraživačkih radova urađeni su vizuelna observacija objekta, geodetska snimanja,

geomehanička istraživanja i ispitivanja ugrađenih materijala. Utvrđene su:

- pukotine u trakastim temeljima prouzrokovane neravnomjernim slijeganjima i pomjeranjima tačaka objekta,
- prsline i pukotine na svim fasadnim zidovima, koje imaju izrazito vertikalni karakter; izuzetak su dijagonalne prsline i pukotine u zonama iznad natprozornika, na fasadom zidu orijentisanom prema rijeci Uni,
- na dvorišnom fasadnom zidu prsline i značajno ispiranje vezivnog sredstva iz spojnica,
- nedostatak dijelova fasadne plastike; ukrasa oko prozora i vrata, akroterije, ukrasa niše na uličnoj fasadi, dijelova ograde balkona, prouzrokovanih mehaničkim putem, delovanjem atmosferilija i neadekvatnim održavanjem,
- u unutrašnjosti oštećenja međuspratne konstrukcije u vidu napuknuća i natrulosti greda, oštećenja podnih obloga, nedostatak pojedinih dijelova pregradnih zidova, pomjeranje stuba hola iz ležišta, odvajanje maltera od zidnih površina isl.



**Crtež 4** Dvorišna fasada, zatečeno i projektovano stanje



**Crtež 5** Ulična fasada, zatečeno i projektovano stanje

Ostaci slikanih dekoracija pronađeni su na zidovima i plafonu hola, te na zidovima pojedinih prostorija sprata.

Devedesetih godina prošlog vijeka u neposrednoj blizini zgrade izgrađen je granični prelaz čiji izgled nepovoljno utiče na vizure i opšti doživljaj prostora samog objekta i njegove neposredne okoline.

## Obnova zgrade Vijećnice

Zadatak koji se postavlja pred službu zaštite nije samo konstruktivna sanacija objekta, nego i najbolje moguće izražavanje njegovih vrijednosti i njegovo osposobljavanje za aktuelne potrebe, a da se pritom ne naruši njegova spomenička vrijednost. Izradi projekta prethodili su istraživački radovi. Praćena je istorija spomenika od njegovog nastanka do danas, te je posebna pažnja usmjerena na najznačajnije faze izgradnje. Godinama je služba zaštite pokušavala da pronađe adekvatno rješenje, projektno i finansijsko, za obnovu objekta i uključivanje u savremene tokove. U okviru Ljubljanskog procesa I8 zgrada Vijećnice je uvrštena na Prioritetnu listu intervencija. Projektna dokumentacija za konstruktivnu sanaciju, restauraciju i adaptaciju urađena je 2009. godine kao zajednički projekat Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu kulturno-istorijskog i prirodnog nasljeđa Republike Srpske i AD "Građenje" iz Istočnog Sarajeva.



Sl.3 Zgrada Vijećnice prije obnove



Sl.4 Zgrada Vijećnice nakon obnove



Sl.5 Plafon velike sale prije restauratorskih radova



Sl.6. Plafon velike sale poslije restauratorskih radova

Definisani su sljedeći razlozi za konzervaciju i restauraciju Vijećnice:

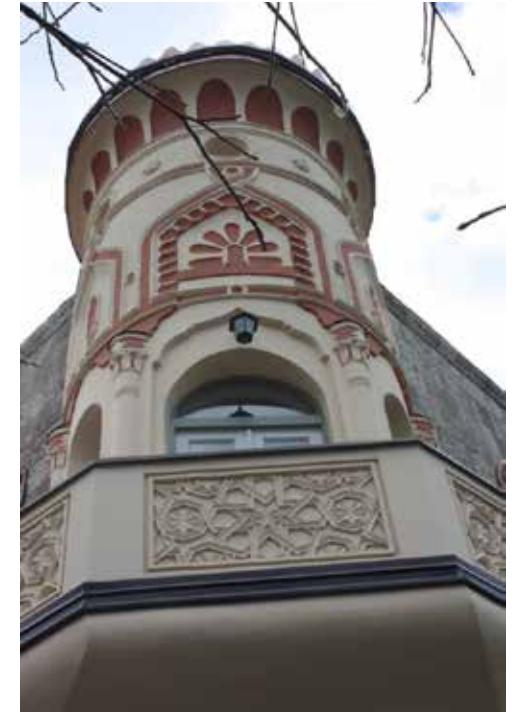
- zaustavljanje dalje devastacije koja može dovesti do rušenja objekta ili njegovog dijela;
- podizanje nivoa svijesti građana o važnosti kulturnog nasljeđa i identitetu;
- buduća upotreba objekta u kulturne svrhe radi unapređenja kulturnog i turističkog života grada

Osnovna primjenjena konzervatorska filozofija je minimum intervencija koje narušavaju autentičnost objekta, što znači najveće moguće zadržavanje autentičnih materijala i tehnologija građenja. Vraćanje prvobitne namjene i korišćenje glavnog ulaza nije bilo moguće jer se objekat nalazi u zoni međudržavnog graničnog prelaza. Kako je dug period korišćen u kulturne svrhe, projektnim rješenjem je predviđen višenamjenski kulturni, ugostiteljski i turistički sadržaj (Zavičajni muzej, galerijski prostor, restoran, turist-biro ...),

a na dvorišnoj fasadi je otvoren novi ulaz, na mjestu gdje je izvorno postojao.



Sl.7 Toreta prije konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova



Sl.8 Toreta poslije konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova

Nakon razmatranja više opcija konstruktivne sanacije zaključeno je da je objekat potrebno ili u potpunosti razidati ili uraditi radikalnije konstruktivne zahvate. Odlučeno je da se maksimalno moguće zadrži konstrukcija objekta, a da se unutrašnji zidovi sa najvećim pukotinama torkretuju. Ostali razmatrani postupci (postavljanje zatega u zoni međuspratne i tavanske konstrukcije sa metalnim kotvama na fasadama, ugradnja AB horizontalnih i vertikalnih serklaža, razidivanje zidova i ponovno zidanje...) bi više narušili autentičnu konstrukciju objekta nego izvedena ojačanja. Radi povećanja konstruktivne stabilnosti temelji su injektirani.

Finansijska sredstva za obnovu Vijećnice u Novom Gradu su obezbijeđena iz IPA fondova. Radovi na obnovi objekta su trajali od aprila 2012. do aprila 2013. godine. Osim građevinsko-zanatskih radova izvedeni su radovi na uređenju enterijera, restauraciji oslikanog plafona velike sale i djelimičnom uređenju okolnog prostora. Objektu je danas vraćena namjena koju je imao nakon Drugog svjetskog rata; Za-

vičajni muzej, uz dodatak drugih sadržaja, poput restorana, kroz čiji se zakup omogućava samodržavanje objekta. Dosadašnje efikasno funkcionisanje objekta pokazalo je jasnu svijest lokalne zajednice o značaju obnove i iskorišćena je mogućnost integracije kulturnog dobra u planove razvoja.



Sl. 9 Muzejska postavka

## Porijeklo priloga

Sl. 1 <http://www.blogger.ba/galerije/post/1219792/30726>, 29. oktobar 2014.

Sl. 2 <http://www.blogger.ba/galerije/post/1219792/30725>, 29. oktobar 2014.

Sl. 3, 5, 6, 7 i 8 M. Okilj

Sl. 4 <http://www.nezavisne.com/novosti/drustvo/Novi-Grad-Vijećnica-u-novom-ruhu-193521.html>

Sl 7 V.Pandurević

Crtež 1 Dokumentacija Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu kulturno-istorijskog i prirodnog naseljelja RS, Auto Cad crtež R. Turjačanin

Crteži 2, 3, 4 izvodi iz projektne dokumentacije „Projekat obnove zgrade Vijećnice u Novom Gradu“, 2009. godina

<sup>1</sup>Čelebi, E, *Putopis, odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama, Svjetlost*, Sarajevo, 1967. Komentar H. Šabanovića, napomena 22, str. 219.

<sup>2</sup>Kreševljaković, H. *Stari bosanski gradovi, Naše starine I*, Sarajevo. 1953. 36.

<sup>3</sup>isto

<sup>4</sup> Milinović, A., *Problematika osnivanja i razvoja Zavičajnog muzeja u Bosanskom Novom*, magistarski rad, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Centar za studije bibliotekarstva, dokumentacije i informacionih znanosti, Zagreb, 1984.

<sup>5</sup> Bulović C., *Prošlost Gradiške, Gradiška*, 2005, 83.

<sup>6</sup> Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika, na sjednici održanoj od 19. do 23. januara 2006. godine je donijela Odluku kojom se Istorija građevina - Vijećnica u Bosanskom Novom / Novom Gradu proglašava nacionalnim spomenikom Bosne i Hercegovine ("Službeni glasnik BiH", broj 104/06.). Prilikom izrade Odluke korišćen je tekst iz: PTA Elaborat, Preliminarna tehnička procjena; Vijećnica u Novom Gradu, Projekat Regional Programme for Cultural and Natural Heritage in South East Europe 2003-2005, autora: LJ. Ševo, R. Beleslin, M. Okilj, Banja Luka, 2005.

<sup>7</sup>Obnova objekta rađena je prema projektnoj dokumentaciji: *Vijećnica u Bosanskom Novom - Projekat sanacije i adaptacije za Zavičajni muzej i društvene prostorije KUD-a Mićo Šurlan*, koji je uradio S. Milenković, ing. arh. iz Beograda, 1977. godine

<sup>8</sup>Novi i prelazni okvir kojim upravlja Regionalni savjet za saradnju (The Regional Cooperation Council-RCC, 2008.) kroz radnu grupu za kulturu, uz tehničku i finansijsku podršku Savjeta Evrope i Evropske komisije.

## Vjekoslava Sanković Simčić

### DEGRADACIJA AUSTROUGARSKOG GRADITELJSTVA U SARAJEVU

#### Sažetak

Austrougarsko graditeljstvo u BiH slijedilo je zapadnoevropske arhitektonске и urbane obrasce i dalo značajan doprinos u razvoju povijesne cjeline Sarajeva. Ono svjedoči o prošlosti, izražava evoluciju društva i njegovog kulturnog identiteta, pa mu atribuiramo veliki kulturni značaj: nesporno je, također, da stanovnici Sarajeva svoj identitet, određenje, potvrdu i smisao nalaze u ovoj slojevitoj i integralnoj kulturno-povijesnoj baštini.

U praksi, međutim, još uvijek nemamo primjereno odnos prema njegovom očuvanju i zaštiti: degradacija i destrukcija urbanih sklopova namijenjenih stanovanju je zabrinjavajuća. Aktualne intervencije u blizini kulturno-povijesnog mosta Skenderija svjedoče da, suprotno načelima struke, o suvremenim intervencijama i gradogradnji u povijesnim dijelovima grada odlučuju isključivo investitori i aktualna politika. Dužnost nam je založiti se da se upravljanje povijesnim gradovima i cjelinama provodi učinkovitim sredstvima politike i prakse očuvanja i zaštite njihove autentičnosti (istinitosti, izvornosti) i integriteta.

**Ključne riječi:** austrougarsko graditeljstvo, degradacija, devastacija, pristup zaštiti i očuvanju graditeljstva

Uspostavom svoje vlasti u Sarajevu austrougarska uprava uvodi planiranje i građevinski red, slijedeći zapadnoevropske urbane i arhitektonске obrasce.<sup>1</sup> Grad se intenzivno izgrađuje na temelju definirane urbane mreže s parcelacijom izgrađenih i zelenih površina, u gabaritima, visinama, materijalizaciji i arhitektonskom izričaju (stilovima) u rasponu vrijednosti od reprezentativnih do skromnih javnih i stambenih objekata: u novom gradskom centru, koji se razvija prema zapadu dominiraju

reprezentativni javni objekti i stambeni blokovi, a u rezidencijalnim zonama obiteljske kuće i najamne zgrade u nizu. Na padinskim dijelovima grada - mahalama - nova se arhitektura nastoji prilagoditi postojećem okruženju: grade se manji slobodnostojeći evropeizirani stambeni objekti, a pokatkad i s detaljima islamske arhitekture.

Poslije velikog požara 1879. godine na Baščaršiji, orijentalnom zanatsko-trgovinskom centru, nije uslijedila obnova objekata, nego su na njihovom mjestu izgrađeni novi, potpuno drugačiji, koji su u odnosu na postojeće rezultirali prostornim, funkcionalnim i oblikovnim neskladom. Unatoč nastalom neskladu između starih i novih arhitektonskih struktura postojeća planska osnova Baščaršije nije bila narušena.

Iako se na međunarodnom planu antologiski (biološki) pristup, odnosno poštivanje svih faza u nastajanju jednog vrijednog dijela ili cjeline, javlja krajem 19. stoljeća, stvarna sustavna zaštita historijskih cjelina postat će aktualna i nezaobilazna tek šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća. I pored toga antologiski pristup neće biti primijenjen prigodom izrade Regulacionog plana Baščaršije 1975. godine. Autori Regulacionog plana, uvaženi pregaoci za očuvanje i zaštitu baštine, zagovorili su purifikaciju, odnosno, vraćanje izgleda Baščaršije u njeno stanje s kraja 19. stoljeća. To je podrazumijevalo da se na prostoru Baščaršije trebaju porušiti objekti građeni u austrougarskom razdoblju, jer su njihovi gabariti, visine i arhitektonski izričaj prouzročili nesklad u prostoru otomanskih stilskih karakteristika. S obzirom na to da planirano do danas nije realizirano, Baščaršiju, još uvijek, odlikuje strukturalna, stilска i kulturna slojevitost.<sup>2</sup>

Sve do osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća austrougarska arhitektura u Bosni i Hercegovini se podcjenjivala i označavala "stranim tijelom" u strukturi bosanskohercegovačke arhitektonске baštine, i to posebice ona koja je bila u neposrednom kontaktu sa strukturama iz osmanskog razdoblja. Jedino su reprezentativni objekti javne uprave, institucije kulture i sakralni objekti imali pozitivnu recepciju, što im je osiguravalo odgovarajuću zaštitu i održavanje.

#### Novi izazovi i obaveze

Sve te promjene, zahtjevi i izazovi s kojima se danas suočavamo - klimatske promjene, nagla urbanizacija, narastajući promet - utječu na ubrzani razvoj teorije i prakse zaštite, odnosno, na proširenje njene percepcije i obuhvata na baštinu različitih stilskih i tipoloških odlika i fizičkih dimenzija. Stoga je i razumljivo da mnoge zahtjeve za promjenama u prostoru povijesnih gradova, cjelina i kulturnih krajolika nije moguće realizirati, jer oni posjeduju određene vrijednosti i specifičnosti, a često

i veoma ograničene mogućnosti. Moramo biti svjesni da bi: "Gomilanje promjena moglo imati negativan učinak na povijesni grad i njegove vrijednosti... Promjene koje su svojstvene urbanom rastu moraju se kontrolirati i pažljivo tretirati kako bi se minimizirali fizički i vizualni učinci na gradski krajolik i arhitektonsko tkivo."<sup>3</sup>

Od usvajanja Venecijanske povelje (1964) pa do danas doneseno je niz izuzetno značajnih međunarodnih dokumenata koji odražavaju nove zahtjeve struke, prouzročene višestrukim promjenama i zahtjevima suvremenog doba. Razvojem teorije i prakse zaštite i očuvanja materijalne, nematerijalne i prirodne baštine utvrđuju se smjernice i principi koji joj osiguravaju očuvanje u svim njenim pojavnim oblicima.

Obavezujući se na općeprihvaćeno stajalište da je očuvanje temeljnih vrijednosti i značenja kulturno-povijesne baštine prioritet, dužnost nam je osigurati da u vrijednim prostorima svakoj intervenciji prethodi ozbiljan i odgovoran pristup definiranja mogućnosti promjena. Samo se stručnim i odgovorno usmjeravanim promjenama mogu osigurati pozitivni učinci, kako za prostor tako i za njegove korisnike.

Prema međunarodnim dokumentima, graditeljsku baštinu iz otomanskog i austrougarskog razdoblja trebamo atribuirati značajnim doprinosom u razvoju povijesne cjeline Sarajeva: ona je svjedočanstvo prošlosti i izražava evoluciju društva i njegovog kulturnog identiteta.

Uvažavanje i valoriziranje kulturne raznolikosti postalo je imperativ<sup>4</sup> te stoga svakoj intervenciji, odnosno novoj izgradnji u baštinjeno urbano tkivo, treba prethoditi analiziranje urbanog konteksta, kako bi se definirao njegov opći karakter i dale smjernice za buduće djelovanje. Osobenosti i vrijednosti postojećeg ne mogu biti analizirane i vrednovane izdvojeno, već u kontekstu okruženja u kojem se nalaze, kako bi se na primjeren način očuvala slojevitost struktura i kontinuitet života, i to u okviru grada kao integralnog prostora.

To je jasno naglašeno u čl. 3 UNESCO-ove Preporuke o očuvanju i suvremenoj ulozi historijskih područja iz 1976. godine, koji glasi:

"Svaki historijski prostor i njegovu okolinu treba razmatrati u svojoj ukupnosti, kao koherentnu cjelinu čija ravnoteža i specifična priroda zavise od spajanja dijelova od kojih je sastavljena i koja obuhvaća i ljudske aktivnosti koliko i zgrade, prostornu organizaciju i okruženje. Svi validni elementi, uključujući ljudske aktivnosti, koliko god skromni, tako dobijaju značaj u odnosu na cjelinu koja se ne smije zanemariti."

Nažalost, svi međunarodni dokumenti, pa tako i ovaj, nisu potaknuli naše stručne i znanstvene institucije, a ni pojedince koji u njima rade, da primjereno brinu o očuvanju kulturno-povijesne baštine i njenoj integraciji u suvremene gospodarske i društvene tokove. To najbolje potvrđuje aktualna politika i praksa zaštite – odluke nadležnih institucija i intervencije koje degradiraju i devastiraju baštinske vrijednosti.

### Recentne degradacije povijesnog okruženja

Iako je Bosna i Hercegovina, kao članica svjetskih i evropskih organizacija, obavezna poštivati međunarodne konvencije, deklaracije, preporuke i povelje, ona to ne čini. Neprimjeren odnos prema austrougarskim graditeljskim strukturama nastavlja se i u 21. stoljeću. One se sustavno ruše, degradiraju, transformiraju i reduciraju neprimjerenim i nestručnim intervencijama. Tome najbolje svjedoči "Evropa", prvi sarajevski hotel izgrađen u zapadnoevropskom stilu. Nakon recentnog rata (1992-1995) na objektu je provedena obimna intervencija. Ona ilustrira temeljitu razgradnju, kako povijesnog hotela tako i njegovog okruženja, koji s jedne strane datira iz otomanskog, a s druge iz austrougarskog perioda. Tom je intervencijom vrijedna građevina reducirana na skromne ostatke zidnog plića (samo dvije fasade), znatnije su joj povećani gabarit i visina, te ugrađen novi armiranobetonski konstruktivni sklop. Uz to, građevina vidno degradira nacionalni spomenik – Ferhadija džamiju.



**Slika 1.** Neprimjerenom nadogradnjom hotela Evropa u Sarajevu i vizualno i prostorno je degradirana vrijedna Ferhadija džamija. Posebice neprihvatljivim nalazimo izvedeni pristup u novu podzemnu garažu hotela, tik uz začelje sakralnog objekta.



**Slika 2.** Pogled na Ferhadiju sa zadnjeg kata hotela Evropa



**Slika 3.** Temeljita razgradnja Evangelističke crkve provedena je u njenom transformacijom u Likovnu akademiju

S obzirom na činjenicu da se devastiraju vrijedni kulturno-povijesni objekti od značaja za grad, onda ne začuđuje apsolutna nebriga o ambijentalnim cjelinama iz istog perioda. Već godinama svjedočimo razgradnji ambijentalne cjeline na prostoru lijeve obale Miljacke, od mosta Čobanija (1886) do mosta Skenderija (1893), na kojoj je u austrougarskom periodu formirana stambena zona s reprezentativnijim - nižim i slobodnostojećim - objektima uz obalu rijeke, a iza njih znatno višim najamnim zgradama građenim u nizu. Nizove su tvorili objekti s više stambenih jedinica i prostora za zajedničko korištenje. Ulična pročelja nizova rasčlanjivana su spratnim vijencima i ukrašavana više ili manje reprezentativnom dekorativnom plastikom, dok su njihova začelja, orientirana na dvorišta, bila skromna i bez dekorativnih elemenata. Tako formirani stambeni sklopoli odražavali su aktualne promjene u društvenim, gospodarskim i kulturnim odnosima importiranim sa Zapada. Iako su tijekom 20. stoljeća mjestimice ugrađivani novi objekti u postojeće nizove, temeljnu odliku prostora Skenderije još uvijek čini austrougarsko graditeljstvo.



**Slika 4.** Nizvodno prema mostu Skenderija godinama svjedočimo zanemarivanju jedne od rijetkih oslikanih fasada Sarajeva. Degradaciju objekta i cijelog okruženja prouzročuje nova neprimjerena izgradnja (foto 2014).

Evangelistička crkva (Karlo Parik, 1899), reprezentativan slobodnostojeći sakralni objekt sagrađen na lijevoj obali Miljacke, preinakom u Likovnu akademiju osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća doživljava svoju temeljitu razgradnju i gubitak atributa vrijednog ostvarenja arhitekture iz vremena austrougarske uprave. U isto vrijeme, ali na drugi način, degradira se i pseudomaurska vila (Hans Niemeczek, 1893.) izgradnjom zgrade DPO-a (danasa sjedište Gradske uprave).

Ovom intervencijom degradacija okruženja vrijedne vile nije bila okončana. Ona se i danas nastavlja rušenjem postojećih i izgradnjom novih objekata neprihvatljivih gabarita i visina, koje znatno nadvisuju austrougarski stambeni sklop, rezultirajući tako neskladom u prostoru. Sve intervencije zorno ilustriraju nedostatak znanja, kriterija i osjećaja za djelovanje u definiranom okruženju. Smatramo da je odgovornost na planerima, projektantima, investitorima, a osobito nadležnim institucijama koje, čini se, čine sve da taj dio relativno dobro očuvane austrougarske cjeline u potpunosti razgrade, što je vidljivo kako u ulici Hamdije Kreševljakovića, tako i u ulici Skenderija.



**Slika 5.** Degradacija vrijedne vile u pseudomaurskom izričaju, započeta izgradnjom DPO-a osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća, nastavlja se i danas (foto 2013)

Rušenjem austrougarskog objekata na samom početku ulice Hamdije Kreševljakovića u mjesecu augustu 2006. godine ukazala se mogućnost ispravljanja, po kolni promet neugodne krvine na jednosmjernoj longitudinalni kojom prolazi gradski trolejbus. Bilo je opravdano i logično očekivati da će uslijediti rekonstrukcija prometnice kako bi se olakšalo odvijanje prometa. Nažalost, nadležne stručne službe nisu zaštitile javni gradski interes te je rekonstrukcija dijela prometnice izostala. Propuštena prilika nepovratno je izgubljena. Na oslobođenoj lokaciji izgrađena je agresivna i prekomjerno visoka armiranobetonska struktura, dijelom ustakljena, koja degradira okruženje i narušava odnose u prostoru. Tom intervencijom degradacija prostora nije okončana, jer se na susjednoj parceli počela graditi još agresivnija uglovnica.



**Slika 6.** Nova agresivna uglovnica (ulice Hamdije Kreševljakovića i Skenderija) zorno ilustrira propuste nadležnih institucija (foto 2014)

Aktualne intervencije u ulici Skenderija još upečatljivije svjedoče o neprofesionalnom odnosu struke i nadležnih institucija prema društvu i prostoru, a posebice prema pojedincu. Recentna degradacija dijela desnog austrougarskog stambenog niza u toj ulici započima izdavanjem dozvole za izgradnju zgrade Akademije scenskih umjetnosti (S+P+4; 5.000 m<sup>2</sup> korisne površine), koja svojom visinom znatno nadvisuje postojeće okruženje i u cijelosti ga negira. Odabir lokacije za novo zdanje Akademije neprimjerjen je kako za samu Akademiju tako i za cijelo susjedstvo.



**Slike 7 i 8.** Za izraziti prostorni i vizualni nesklad u ulici Skenderija odgovorne su nadležne institucije i struka (foto 2014)

U istom stambenom nizu ulice Skenderija nastavlja se degradacija privatnim zahtjevom za dogradnju stambenog objekta na broju 4, za još dva kata, bez obzira što se s njegove lijeve strane nalazi privatni stambeni objekt (P+1) građen 1937. Po načinu gradnje i svom izričaju taj objekt ne pripada austrougarskom nizu (uvučen je u odnosu na građevinsku liniju i ispred objekta posjeduje formiran vrt), ali svjedoči o narednoj graditeljskoj stilskoj fazi. Ishodjenom dozvolom za transformaciju i nadogradnju austrougarskog objekta Skenderija br. 4 (od Pod+P+1) za još dva kata, kao i još agresivnjom provedbom, ostvaren je očigledan profesionalni neuspjeh svih sudionika u toj realizaciji.



**Slika 9.** Agresivno proširenje i nadogradnja austrougarskog objekta u ulici Skenderija br. 4 provedeno je na očiglednu štetu susjeda, i to uz suglasnost nadležnih institucija (foto 2014)

Postavlja se pitanje na koji su način akteri ove izuzetno loše intervencije promišljali prostor i njegov budući izgled. Zar je moguće dati dozvolu za nadogradnju koja će ugroziti temeljne uvjete stanovanja u susjednom objektu i građanska prava njegovog vlasnika? Očito je da investitor, projektant i nadležne gradske službe nisu razmišljali ni o prostoru, a ni o potrebama i pravima građanina-susjeda. Ugrožena je: njegova sigurnost, udobnost, njegovi elementarni uvjeti za kvalitetan život.



**Slika 10.** Izdavanjem dozvole za nadogradnju austrougarskog objekta u postojećem nizu nadležne institucije i struka su izgubile svaki kredibilitet (foto 2014)

Nerazumijevanje značenja gradske kulture dovodi do protourbanih pogleda i ponašanja koja nanose štetu ne samo pojedincu već i cijeloj zajednici. Odsustvo društvene discipliniranosti prouzročuje trajne posljedice na strukturu i sveukupni oblikovni izraz.

Predstavljeni primjeri potvrđuju da povjesni i ambijentalni značaj austrougarskog stambenog sklopa na području Skenderije nije u cijelosti temeljito i stručno analiziran i vrednovan. Rušenje postojećih i izgradnja novih struktura nije sagledavana

u odnosu na značenja i specifičnosti ambijentalnog sklopa i svih bitnih segmenata koji ga tvore.

U ovom slučaju zanemarene su:

"Perspektive, pogledi, žarišne točke i vizualni koridori i sastavni dijelovi percepcije povijesnih prostora."<sup>5</sup>

Ukoliko se pozovemo na stajalište Jukke Jokilehtoa, možemo tvrditi da su intervencijama u ulicama H. Kreševljakovića i Skenderija narušeni:

"Socijalno-funkcionalni integritet mjesta, što se odnosi na identifikaciju elemenata i pitanja koja predstavljaju funkcije i procese na kojima su zasnovani uspostavljanje i razvoj mjesta... historijsko-strukturalni integritet mjesta, što se može odnositi na identificiranje sadašnje situacije, kontinuitet izgradnje struktura koje daju smisao prostorno-ambijentalnom integritetu prostora... vizuelni integritet mjesta, što nije samo pitanje estetike, već definiranje ukupnog vizuelnog rezultata razvoja, koji se odnosi na posebnu funkciju i historijsko ponašanje koje daje karakter mjestu." (Jukka Jokilehto, 2013, 16)

Uvijek i s razlogom je za očekivati da opravdano rušenje starog i građenje novog rezultira poboljšanjem, odnosno napretkom, kako u funkcionalnom tako i u prostorno-oblikovnom smislu. Međutim, s obzirom na to da se u većini slučajeva kompetencija i znanje struke ne uvažavaju, ovakva očekivanja su uglavnom uzaludna. Očito je da danas o suvremenim intervencijama u povijesnim dijelovima grada Sarajeva odlučuju jedino investitori i aktualna politika, što je suprotno načelima struke, koja zagovara nužnost uključivanja svih "stakeholdera" u procese donošenja odluka.

Iz tog razloga građani, urbanisti, arhitekti i stručnjaci za zaštitu i očuvanje kulturno-povijesne baštine žele otvorenu, objektivnu, profesionalnu i civiliziranu raspravu, ne samo o pristupu očuvanja naslijedenih vrijednosti, nego i o primjerenoj izgradnji i razvoju grada.

## Zaključak

Kulturno-povijesne cjeline i vrijedni krajolici izloženi su, posebice nakon rata (1992-1995), velikim pritiscima i zahtjevima za promjenama i novom izgradnjom. Zahtjevi nisu temeljeni na znanstvenim, stručnim, planerskim, urbanističkim, zaštitarskim, okolišnim, gospodarskim i društvenim istraživanjima. Tako nedostatak učinkovitih instrumenata – planskih dokumenata usuglašenih s potrebama i mjerama zaštite, definiranih granica kulturno-povijesnih cjelina i krajolika, detaljnih režima i mjera njihove zaštite – omogućuje proizvoljnosti i pritiske. Tome pridonosi nestručnost odgovornih i neučinkovitost službe nadzora. Prostором upravljaju politički i ekonomski interesi, ponajviše inicirani od pojedinaca koji nemaju izgrađen odnos prema javnom, već isključivo prema osobnom interesu. Za njih kulturno-povijesne odlike i značenja prostora i okruženja nisu relevantni činbenici za unapređenje naše životne sredine.

Dužnost nam je slijediti načela moderne doktrine zaštite i konzervacije koja se intenzivno bavi problemom povijesnih gradova. Referentni standardi definirani su u međunarodnim dokumentima, poveljama, preporukama i deklaracijama ICOMOS-a, UNESCO-a i Vijeća Evrope.

Dosegnuta, zavidna razina stručnog znanja u svijetu obavezuje nas da se založimo da se upravljanje povijesnim gradovima i cjelinama provodi učinkovitim sredstvima politike i prakse očuvanja i zaštite njihove autentičnosti (istinitosti, izvornosti) i integriteta, jer identitet ljudi ovoga grada nalazi svoje određenje, potvrdu i smisao u kulturno-povjesnoj baštini.

**Autor fotografija:** Vjekoslava Sanković Simčić

<sup>1</sup> Osmanski *Zakon o građenju i drumovima*, (1863) zamjenit će 1880. godine poseban gradevinski red *Bauordnung*, ali samo za centralno područje. Ustvari, to je bio više plan proširenja zatečenih saobraćajnica. Godine 1893. bit će objavljen novi *Gradevinski red* koji će konačno obuhvatiti cijelo gradsko područje (B. Spasojević. *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu, Svetlost*, Sarajevo, 1988. str.15 i 16)

Gradevinska djelatnost uvedi stil po volumenu i fizionomiji potpuno drugačiji od zatečenog (pretežito eklekticizam i bečku secesiju).

<sup>2</sup> U *Generalnom urbanističkom planu* iz 1963. godine izведен je pogrešan zaključak o historijskom tkivu grada Sarajeva. Plan atribuira samo područje Baščaršije kao historijsko tkivo pa sukladno tome predlaže snažnu transverzalu upravo u kontaktnoj zoni s austrougarskim historijskim tkivom. Nesporno je da bi takavim pristupom bio izgubljen historijski kontinuitet.

<sup>3</sup> *Vallettska načela za očuvanje i upravljanje povijesnim gradovima, naseljima i urbanim područjima*, ICOMOS, Pariz 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Na 33. sjednici Generalne konferencije UNESCO-a 2005. godine usvojena je *Konvencija o zaštiti i unapređenju raznolikosti kulturnih izraza*. U uvodnom dijelu Konvencije navedeno je:

- da je kulturna raznolikost karakteristika koja definira čovječanstvo,
- da kulturna raznolikost oblikuje zajedničko nasleđe čovječanstva i treba ga njegovati i čuvati za dobrobit svih.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

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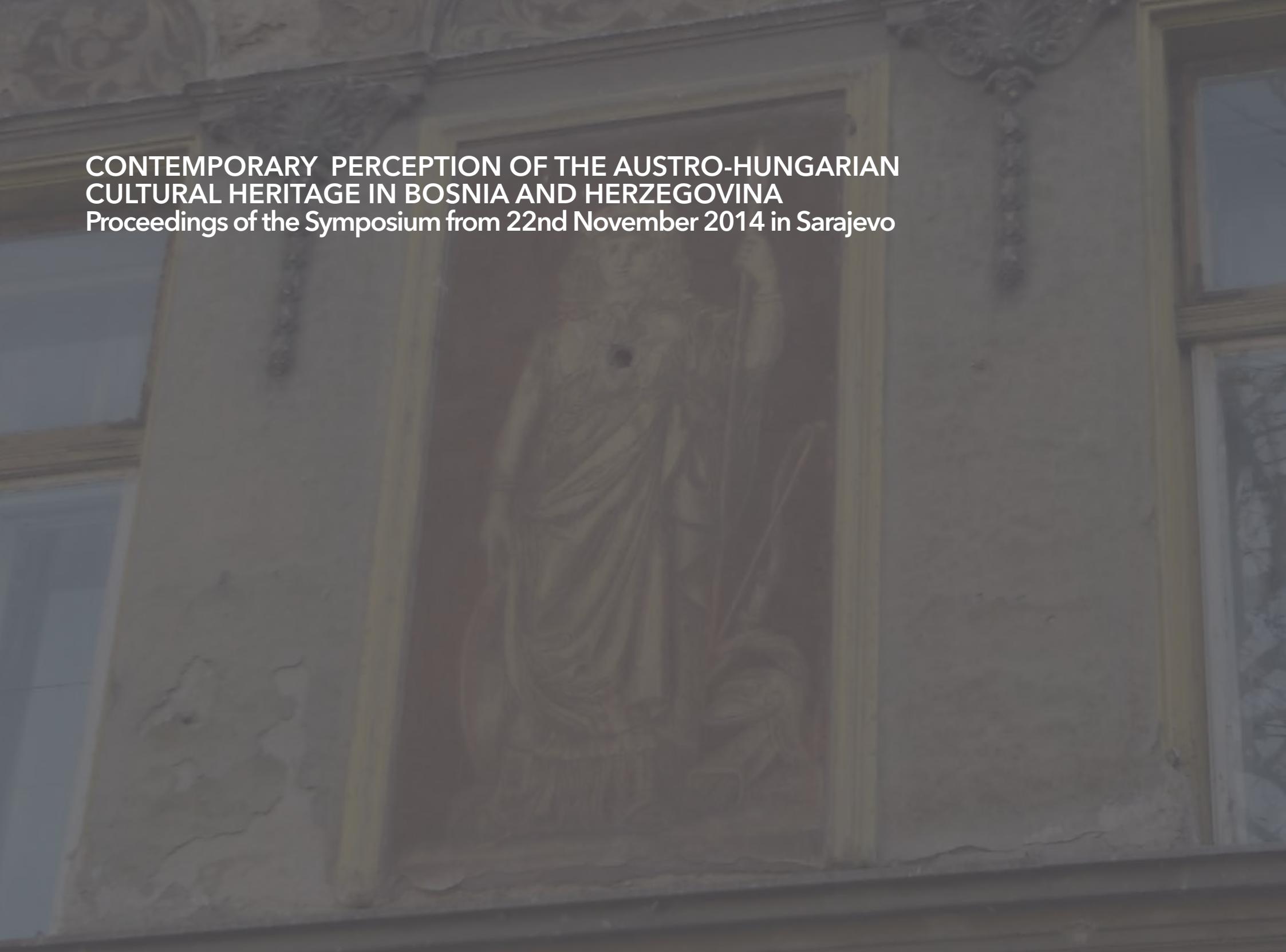
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**CONTEMPORARY PERCEPTION OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN  
CULTURAL HERITAGE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**  
Proceedings of the Symposium from 22nd November 2014 in Sarajevo

Ivan Lovrenović

## MYTH ABOUT THE HAPPY ERA

Meanings and contents regarding the notion of "Austria" which were amassed in the history of Bosnia and the memory of Bosnians and Herzegovinians are so complex, that it is impossible to encompass and define them with an unequivocal political approach. Each such attempt is always resisted by an enormous world of facts of both spiritual and material culture, new dynamics and civilizational processes which were initiated in the Austro-Hungarian epoch. Their detailed numbering, description and valorizing should be made by one accurate and objective, until now not written cultural and politic history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Instead, it is possible to wonder about one paradox which is very well-known to all: in the collective memory of Bosnians (indeed, regardless of ethnoconfessional differences) the notion of "Austria" has remained until today a mythical image of the happy era. And collective memory is always in good part based on nostalgia for the so-called better time, but also somewhat based on real facts of the everyday life.

\*

The end of the long epoch of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina was marked by the massive uprising of 1875-78. The uprising broke out in Herzegovina, spread rapidly to Bosanska Krajina and the entire Bosnia and Herzegovina; it caused commotion and engaged politically all the South Slavic public, was a signal for a series of uprisings and rebellions in the Turkish areas of the Balkans, involved Serbia and Montenegro in the war with Turkey (them as active supporters of the uprising and partners in the planned division of Bosnia and Herzegovina), then Russia which won victory and drew political map of the Balkans, according to its interests at the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, interests which were opposite to the interests of the remaining great powers. At the Congress of Berlin and at that same year, they revised the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano and redrew the map of the Balkans according to a new plan, in which the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was allowed to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the name of civilizational mission.

Austria-Hungary had special, precisely vital reasons to get hold in Bosnia. Bosnia

gave significant economic and market possibilities to the Monarchy. By dominating in this South Slavic land, Austria-Hungary established efficient counter-balance to the Russian influence in the Balkans, it could watch Serbia much better, and simultaneously, it was getting closer to the realization of the great plan - thrust towards the East. Finally, being directly present in Bosnia, Austria-Hungary sought a remedy to its great political phobia, a danger of one larger Yugoslav governmental and political structure arising, which would ultimately jeopardize its political *raison d'être*. These reasons and interests determined all the Austro-Hungarian politics in Bosnia, both in general and in detail. It was not difficult to the new administration to achieve comparatively fast the effects of progress and modernization in many arenas of life in conservative, feudal, universally underdeveloped Bosnia, and all of that by no means colliding with its political and economic goals.

During the 40 years of being a part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, first as an occupied country under the formal sovereignty of the Turkish sultan, and since 1908 and the Annexation, as a part of the Monarchy, Bosnia and Herzegovina experienced, at the doorstep of its modern history, a phase of deep inner transformation. Inherited burdens and differences emerged to the surface like never before, but at the same time, positive historical processes were accelerated as well, as a consequence of the society's modernization and europeanization.

The most visible changes occurred in everyday life, the urban one in particular, in which the European, to be more precise - middle-European eating habits, ways of dressing, dwelling, behaviour entered. The carriers of these new ways are numerous civil servants, mostly from the Slavic lands of Austria-Hungary, of whom the new administration was building the administration structure. Apart from them and various kinds of experts, the occupational government settled a considerable number of peasants from some of its European lands to some areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time, the emigration of Bosniacs-Muslims reached a massive scale.

Socio-economic physionomy of Bosnia under Austria-Hungary was profiled as a bizarre conglomerate, unique in Europe of that time. Along with the ancient and backward bey-serf feudal, agrarian relations, left untouched by Austria-Hungary (although solving the agrarian question was one of the most vocal incentives for the occupation), the beginnings of the modern industry were developing, the wood one in the first place, then mining and metallurgic which was followed by the construction of roads and railway lines. An inevitable consequence of these ventures was

a diversification of the society's social image, where the class of industrial working men appeared for the first time.

The position of peasantry remained the most burning question. Statistics speak about it: in 1910 in Bosnia, a ratio between the rural and urban population was 1,606.862 to 264.754. Indeed, the government declared gradual voluntary redemption of serfs, but with high money compensations which had to be paid by the serf, both for the land and for the redemption, with even more unfavourable interests in banks that were giving loans, so that the provision only made peasants' position more difficult. By this system, the demise of serfdom in Bosnia - one Viennese expert calculated - would happen as late as 2025.

One big novelty that was brought to Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary was organized healthcare and the first forms of the massive health protection of the population, which was, due to general underdevelopment and a state of neglect, exposed to various endemic illnesses (syphilis, typhus, osteomalacia) epidemics, infections..... The institutions that were then created and doctors brought by the government to work in them, are a large and important chapter of the modern history of Bosnia and Herzegovina which has not been systematically researched and written until today, because, like many other aspects of social history and the history of everyday life, they remained in the shadow of political and ideological historiography that we have been slaves to, during the entire 20th century until today.

Since the very beginning, the new occupational government devoted a great deal of attention to religious communities, trying to place it under the Imperial authority and will. Results became visible soon and Bosnia and Herzegovina got all the three largest religious communities established; their governing bodies were bound to the government and the emperor by many organizational and status threads and also with considerably lavish funding. The intensive negotiations between the Austro-Hungarian diplomacy and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople resulted in the Convention of 1880, by virtue of which Vienna obtained much greater opportunities to influence the position and the organization of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Phanariote (Greek) metropolitan of Sarajevo Antim was deposed in 1881 and a local Bosnian - Savo Kosanović was enthroned. The regular hierarchy of the Catholic Church was introduced in 1881, Josip Stadler having been appointed the Vrhbosna archbishop. By the Supreme Decision of Emperor Francis Joseph in 1882, the first Grand Mufti ("reis-ul-ulema") Hilmi ef. Omerović was

installed in Ulama Council ("medžlis-ul-ulema") (later "Rijaset" of the Islamic Community - the highest religious and administrative body of the Islamic Community).

Experiencing their historic drama, the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina - with a lot of negative experience, still at the low level of national and political maturity - found themselves to be occupied once again, again "not their own". Experts for these situations - the Austro-Hungarian politicians knew from the very beginning and very precisely the main condition for the stability of the Monarchy's positions in such a land: not to allow national and political ripening. Those intentions substantially marked all the policies used by the government, when it was solving the national question in Bosnia in individual phases. The highest expression of that politics, and the most meaningful in its framework, was the formula of national Bosnianhood of Benjamin Kallay who governed Bosnia for 20 years (1882-1902). That politics was perfect for the authority he represented. It left only religions and religious institutions as a specific difference, but they were sufficient to be further active as factors of mutual disagreement and isolation, while it cut off Bosnia from integration processes in the broader south Slavic area. In the first period, Kallay's formula did manage to find supporters. But that ambitious political planner still overlooked one thing, sufficiently large, so that his attempt would be without permanent perspective. General socio-political relations and the relations during the 19th century made the formation of common political identity of the population in Bosnia nad Herzegovina impossible and speeded up the processes of separate ethno-national self-identifications. Those processes had already begun before the arrival of Austria-Hungary and it was not possible to stop them or to bring them back.

Historically founded on territorial, political, and religious unity - all expressed in the institution and politics of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the national idea was particularly increasing since the Serbian Uprising at the beginning of the century. It was being reinforced by systematic propaganda activity by the Serbian government via its commissioners, after the political programme called Načertanije by Ilija Gaštanin had determined long-term governmental and national strategy in the mid 1850s. Agents of the Russian government participated in that activity and in their own way, desiring to increase the share of the Orthodox element in the structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina in every way, because that was one of the important criteria, while determining internationally the right to protectorate. That motive of consciousness and aspiration for pan-national integrity reinforced itself even more in Serbs through the events in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Uprising of 1875/78. In

the Austro-Hungarian period, that was manifested in the movement for religious-educational autonomy in 1893/1903. It was based on the tradition from the Ottoman millet-system in which church authorities represented their people politically as well. Serbian ecclesiastic-school parishes aspired to retain that authorization in new conditions and to develop them in direction of a more complete political autonomy. Some prominent members of the movement were Gligorije Jeftanović, Vojislav Šola, Kosta Kujundžić, Vladimir Radović. The movement was being prepared for a long time and well-organized; therefore, it had very important national-political implications. It was brought to an end only half-successful which was a result of sophisticated moves by the Austro-Hungarian diplomacy and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, as well as due to opportunism of Serbian street-level circles.

The genesis of the national consciousness in Bosnian Croats had begun also before the arrival of Austria-Hungary, although it was progressing more intermittently and in a more roundabout way. There was a deep-rooted tradition and memory of the Franciscans and Catholics as a native and ancient Bosnian people standing on the way of that ideology, while on the other hand, echos of Illyrian ideas remained for a long time. The example of Grga Martić is characteristic in that respect; he passed through all phases in his long life - from traditional Franciscan Bosnianhood, then Illyrian ideas, to Croatianhood. However, in the time when on the Bosnian political scene and at the beginning of the 20th century, two political parties irreconcilably fought against each other (the clerical Croatian Catholic Association of Vrhbosna archbishop Josip Stadler and the liberal Croatian People's Union), it was completely clear that the Croatian national identity was in terms of politics a fait accompli.

When, according to the decision taken at the green table of the Congress of Berlin, Turkey had to cede Bosnia to Austria-Hungary, that meant for the Bosnian Muslims the beginning of a new historic epoch, full of dramatic temptations. The feeling of affiliation with the Islam, the Ottoman Empire and Bosnia was the same for centuries, that is to a concrete regional-linguistic identity, political statehood of the large cosmopolitan empire and a universal religious-civilizational system. Now suddenly, the synonymity of these three elements came into question. An image of until-yesterday stable and harmonious world fell apart. When the first shock subsided, one needed to determine their position in this new world, both regarding the authorities and administration and regarding the already declared national identity of local Serbs and Croats and their assimilationist aspirations towards the Muslims. That main, immanent option had been already articulated by then. Mehmedbeg Kapetanović

Ljubušak wrote in 1891: "We shall never deny that we belong to the South Slavic family, but we shall remain Bosniacs, like our ancestors and nothing else." How and when a whole century had to pass so that Bosnian Muslims were in a position to declare themselves nationally by this name (in 1993 in the middle of yet another war) - that is a topic for a separate study.

Radical changes in the cultural life of Bosnia and Herzegovina are related to the period of the Austro-Hungarian rule. More dynamic cultural milieus in Sarajevo, Mostar and Banja Luka and local secular intelligentsia (which had not existed until then) were created in far more direct contacts with the West-European spiritual trends, through studying in Pest, Vienna and other university towns of the Monarchy, through more lively and more universal circulation of cultural achievements, in the conditions when the new middle-class was getting stronger and the culture was being secularized. As a rule, its activity is a cultural and political in character with all the implications of the chaotic political life of one occupied multiracial and multinational community, until yesterday an underdeveloped Turkish province and now - an Austro-Hungarian colonial possession. As a phenomenon that by definition belongs to the modernity and secular social context, the emergence of Bosnian multiculturalism (about which, one speaks often completely mistakenly as a "centuries-old tradition") has been possible only since the Austro-Hungarian period. It is also important to add that the creation of multicultural ambience and forms of life was a process limited to towns; a huge majority of the rural population will remain solidly framed in the folklore-mythical and religious framework and conceptions for a long time and in the old patterns of three-confession life of being ones next to others. The new world picture and modern perceptiveness marked by broader European horizons began to penetrate via the literary activity in particular. Culture clubs are an interesting part of the cultural mosaic, founded on national-religious platforms, which was supported by Austria-Hungary. The emergence and comparatively strong development of dramatic and musical theatrical life (until then unknown in Bosnia) is linked to this activity. One of the most important novelties that came with Austria-Hungary is the introduction of state-run secular schools with modern curricula. Indeed, the Turkish authorities did start to open state schools, the so-called "ruždije" in the decade before the Austro-Hungarian occupation, but there were few of them and they met with little response from the public.

A considerable number of cultural workers, men of letters and polygraphs appeared in the first generation of the European-educated intellectuals from all three peoples.

Literary magazines hold a prominent position among many papers and periodical publications and according to the general influence on the cultural, even national-political life; for example, these are Behar, Nada and Bosanska vila from Sarajevo and Zora from Mostar. That is the context that enables appearance of the first literary attempts in accordance with the contemporary modern European trends; among others, that occurred in the works of poets and writers: Edhem Mulabdić, Musa Ćazim Ćatić, Safet-bey Bašagić, Aleksa Šantić, Petar Kočić, Svetozar Čorović. Ivo Andrić appears as well with his early, formally audacious style. With Musa Ćazim Ćatić (1878-1915), a talented poet of modern sensitivity, translator, bohemian and ill-fated personality, the Bosniac-Muslim literature emerges on the horizons of the European, poetic preoccupations and creative techniques.

A stay of Croatian poet Silvije Strahimir Kranjčević in Sarajevo was important for the cultural and literary climate in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the turn of the 19th century, that is his editorial activity in Nada magazine. Kranjčević managed to realize the co-operation of the greatest South Slavic literary names of that period on the pages of the aforementioned magazine, publishing also texts from the contemporary European literature with refined criteria, and in that way he contributed considerably to the expansion of the milieu's literary and cultural horizons. It is less known that somewhat later, great Italian dramatist Luigi Pirandello obtained the first translation of his text into some foreign language on the pages of Kranjčević's Nada.

The beginnings of the modern painting in Bosnia and Herzegovina also fall in this period. Many painters came to Bosnia and travelled across the country in search of exotic genre-motifs and some of them opened courses in panting. The first generation of local painters soon appeared; they were educated at academies in large centres of the Monarchy in the spirit of the European painting tradition: Gabrijel Jurkić, Risto Vukanović, Petar Tiješić, Karlo Mijić, Roman Petrović, Đoko Mazalić, Todor Švrakić, Jovan Bijelić, Jelena Ber, Lujza Kuzmić, Špiro Bocarić, Vilko Šeferov, Lazar Drljača, Petar Šain. A year before the end of WWI, a large representative exhibition of the artists from Bosnia and Herzegovina was held in Sarajevo in which one could see all the relevant visual art tendencies from the period present.

It was precisely the visual art that was the field of cultural creativity in which, at the turn of the century and with laicization and secularization of the culture, education and public life in general, a powerful neutralization and breakthrough of ethnic and religious limits emerged in Bosnia. The aforementioned first European-educated

painters are ethnically speaking Croats or Serbs (or something else), but in the way in which they are painters, that identification is irrelevant. Those things that they all do as artists, as much as someone of them was individual in their creation, belong to the same, common cultural pattern and context and make one visually completely homologous world, so it is necessary and possible to compare them one to another within the same expression codes and value standards. When their compatriots Muslims (Rizah Štetić, Muhamed Kulenović, Hakija Kulenović, Omer Mujadžić, solitary and incomparable Behaudin Selmanović, Ismet Mujezinović etc.) joined to that pleiad somewhat later (due to completely explicable socio-cultural reasons), they would be also an integral part of that same cultural and artistic world.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of the Austro-Hungarian period is evident in the building trade which introduced new forms of architecture and town-planning into the Oriental physionomy of the Bosnia and Herzegovina towns, creating picturesque contrasts and unexpected relations in that interesting meeting of the two worlds. Many public function buildings, schools, station buildings, administration structures, were built in the so-called "Moorish style", being urged by the government as a superficially and wrongly understood expression of continuity of the Oriental architecture in Bosnia. The most representative structure of this style is the Town-Hall building in Sarajevo. Besides, the elements of other contemporary Middle-European styles became prominent in the building trade of this period - neo-Romanesque, neo-Gothic, neo-Renaissance and somewhat later Vienna Art Nouveau. Some very talented architects of the era were builders in Sarajevo and Bosnia. Ćiril Iveković built, apart from the Town-Hall, some office structures and the Museum of the Town of Travnik, Karl Panek built the Franciscan church and St Anthony's Monastery at Bistrik and the Railway Management Building (today the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina); while the valuable achievements were also accomplished by Dionis Sunko (the Napredak Building) Josip Pospišil, Franjo Blažek and Jan Kotera. Still, the most prominent architects who have left their until today recognizable mark on Sarajevo were Karl Pařík and Josip Vančaš. The first built the University Building (and the Faculty of Law), the Zemaljski Museum, and the Museum of the Town of Sarajevo, and the second one built the Sarajevo Cathedral, the Provincial Government Building (the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Building), the Central Post Office Building and the Central Hotel.

The most valuable cultural and scientific heritage that was left by Austria-Hungary in Bosnia is beyond any doubt the Zemaljski (Provincial) Museum in Sarajevo and the

scientific activity that was developing within this institution through researches and scientific periodicals, enabling at the same time local scientific experts to be formed. On the basis of intensive work, especially in the field of archaeology, ethnography and natural science disciplines, the Zemaljski Museum already established its reputation in the first decades after it had been founded, as a scientific and museum institution, important in the European proportions. The Zemaljski Museum and the generations of its scientific workers gave an exceptionally outstanding contribution to clarifying and museum presentation of the cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This refers primarily to the pre-historic, antiquity and medieval problematics, in which researches carried out within the projects of the Museum, were that basis for recognitions and syntheses important for the entire South Slavic and Balkans area.

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By declaring war on Serbia on the 28th June 1914, Austria-Hungary started a war conflagration that would reach world proportions. By a combination of circumstances, the beginning of this international disaster, the biggest in up-to-then history remained, both in historiography and general conceptions, linked to Bosnia, that is to the assassination carried out by Princip and to Sarajevo in which archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophia perished.

In the autumn of 1918, Austria-Hungary disappeared – it dissolved due to the weight of anachronism of its own governmental and political structure. Victorious powers got down to the dismemberment of the tired Middle-European cosmopolitan empire, each of them according to their own interests, but without specially far-seeing political inspiration. Thus, on the basis of the Treaty of Versailles, new states came into being out of the former Austro-Hungarian lands still with old social relations. It will turn out later that Bosnia and Herzegovina, until the newest bloody events at the end of the 20th century, remained a hostage and victim of such solutions. But when we started a long journey to become an integral part of Europe, the myth of the happy era of one civilized and ordered state has remained both politically and psychologically alive and active until today.

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<sup>1</sup>Due to lack of the complete picture and instead of that same picture, we find precious data and names of deserving doctors in the memoir literature, like for example in the extraordinary book by Bronisława Prašek-Całczyńska, Memoari jedne liječnice, Zagreb 1997.



Ibrahim Krzović

## HERALDS OF THE BOSNIAN STYLE - ACCEPTING THE UNACCEPTABLE PROBLEMS OF PERCEIVING THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN PERIOD IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

In the text, one points at the examples of the stylistic characteristics of traditional Bosnian town architecture intertwining with the new forms that the Austro-Hungarian authorities brought and at the resistance of the Muslim population towards that foreign architecture. The author specifies examples of early applications of the constructive-building elements of European provenance to the traditional Muslim town houses. These early examples have not been noticed so far as unplanned advance signs of a phenomenon that appeared in the last decade of the Austro-Hungarian architecture period, already known as the Bosnian style.

**Keywords:** Bosnian style, adaptations, Building Order for Sarajevo, early phase of the Austro-Hungarian period building

An intensive building both in civil infrastructure engineering and building engineering began only a year or so after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. While there was almost no resistance in the field of civil infrastructure engineering: roads, railway lines, neither of religious, national nor political nature, resistance was mounted towards constructions started by the Austro-Hungarian authorities in the field of building engineering: building of residential, business or public structures. The largest one came from the Muslim population which was the largest landowner in towns, especially in Sarajevo. Although the antagonism towards the new authorities was pronounced precisely in Sarajevo, this city became the seat of the new administration, Head of Government and the Provincial Government with centres of all kinds of authority: administrative, judicial, financial. And soon, the seats of the Catholic and Orthodox churches were transferred there. They were all accommodated in temporary and adapted structures: the Head of Government in the residence of the Turkish governor of the province ("valija's konak"), the army in the old Kršlo barracks at Bistrik, the hospital also in the old hospital built in the 1860s. Tensions between the

needs and closeness of the majority Muslim population rose and there were no perspectives for a co-operation and new authorities' plans realization. The solution was brought by the so-called force majeure – the great fire which broke out in Latinluk in 1879 and which soon expanded and swept through a wide area on the right bank of the Miljacka, between Ćumurija and Careva čuprija bridges, towards Ferhadija, "across Kundurdžiluk, Mali and Veliki Čurčiluk, near the Bey's mosque and across Đulagina street to Hrgića street and from here via Čemerline, Strossmayerova and Zrinjskog streets up to Ćumurija bridge"<sup>1</sup>. The fire broke out "in the house of Sima Sokolović in Latinluk quarter (an area on the right bank of the Miljacka river and Latin bridge), in which some merchant Schwarz resided.....He worked with spirit around 5 o' clock in the afternoon and approached a candle to a barrel, the alcohol caught fire, flames spread to the house and to the neighbouring buildings".<sup>2</sup> The fact that Schwarz, in the period of broiling summer heat and drought in August at 5 o'clock in the afternoon "operated with spirit and candle", arose suspicion that it was not an accident and people thought that the fire was caused on purpose. "The Sarajevans", Kreševljaković says, "began to hate the Austrians even more, blaming them for setting fire to the town on purpose."<sup>3</sup>

In the next year of 1880, a Building Order for Sarajevo and other towns was declared, by which new standards in regulations and new constructions, building materials and structures were introduced, accepted mostly by the Sarajevo and immigrant Jews, Catholics and the Orthodox of Sarajevo, among whom there were Greeks and Aromaniacs as well. That is shown by the ownership structure over buildings in 2 directions, then-Čemaluša and Ferhadija streets, between the present-day Slatko čoše and the Cathedral. Although Sarajevo merchants and Muslim guild members had their houses and shops earlier in these parts of the town, after the fire building plots were mostly bought by Jews; some were owned and retained by the Despić, Besarović, Jeftanović, Ceković families. New office-residential buildings - one-storey buildings at first were built here by Giusepe Vita Salom, (a merchant from Trieste, a brother or a close kin of Daniel Salom), Kabiljo, Finci, Israel, Schlesinger, and only one Muslim Omer-aga Kramarović, at the corner of Ferhadija and Strossmayerova steets, almost 20 years after the fire.

The problem of accepting the new building standards was not stressed in all the aspects of building engineering. One sees influences and measures the new authorities brought with them on the houses built by Muslims in "mahalas" (quarters). On the outskirts of the town, adobe for building was used further on, but also bricks were applied as well, instead of half-round tiles and boards; a roof was covered in

tile; instead of a window "na čefenak" (a kind of a door of an old shop), new wood-work was built into it. Even now, there are houses in Sarajevo mahalas which were built in the form of the old corbelled one-storey buildings, a closed terrace ("čardak"), a spacious corridor on the first floor ("divanhana"), with half-cobblestoned court up to a street encircled with a tall wall ("avlja").

In this state of repugnance towards new buildings with which the Austro-Hungarian authorities tried to present advantages of the new towards the old and the traditional Bosnian way of building, stressing both by rules and practical building solutions the values of better building materials, stronger constructions, greater durability, better economy and fire prevention, there were cases that some members of other religions built new residential structures which had formal characteristics of the traditional Bosnian and Herzegovinian residential architecture. One of the most respected Jews, Daniel Salom, built his house (in Abdage Šahinagića street) as a one-storey building with a bay window as a "divanhana", with a court behind and a garden in front of the house.

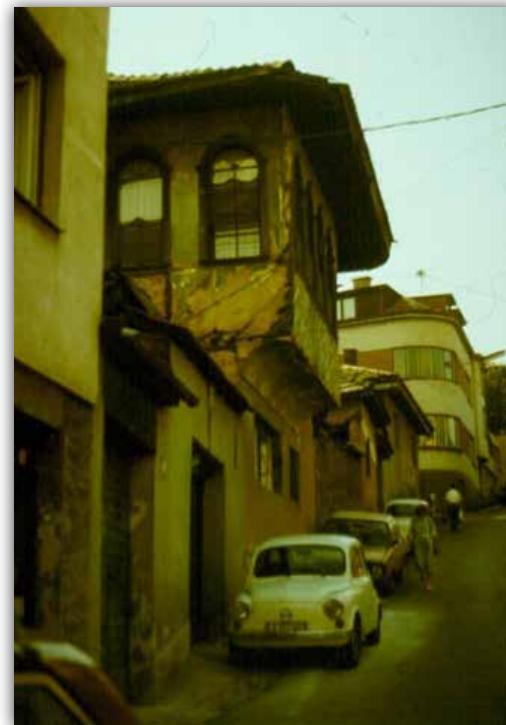


Villa of Daniel Salom, Sarajevo, Abdage Šahinagića street

This early phase of building, roughly the first decade of the Austro-Hungarian period of building, was not equally considered and valorized in its entirety. Monumental and sacral buildings like the Provincial Government Building, Cathedral, Sharia Law School, Evropa Hotel stand out in technical literature, but numerous other buildings of that era in Sarajevo mahalas, built combining old and new are omitted.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, numerosness of these structures of mixed, transitional characteristics imposes question of their stylistic identity and a possible anticipation of the Bosnian style in them – a style from the last decade of the Austro-Hungarian rule. While the Bosnian style decade has been considered up to now as a specific phenomenon, both the phenomenon and the product of modernism, academicism and the old Bosnian housing tradition that were made sensitive by Art Nouveau, one layer or a phase of independent distinctiveness so to speak, this building and these stylistic forms could be now taken (if buildings from the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian period are better considered) as a parable which serves to connect the initial and the final decade of the Austro-Hungarian period of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Bosnian style was created on working desks of one part of academically educated architects, even at the time after Sarajevo architects had been criticized by colleagues - architects who were coming to Sarajevo from the European centres around 1900, mostly from the centres in the Monarchy (secret counsellor Cornelius Gurlitt, architect and professor from the High Technical School in Dresden, professor Thöry from Budapest, professor Mayredar from Vienna, professor architect Pilar from Zagreb), while those buildings from the first decade are the works of better masters, both carpenters and masons ("dunderi") and maybe even some sketch of a certain technician at the time when it was domestic architecture and building tradition that were criticized and not the new Austro-Hungarian one.

The antagonism towards the new did not emerge only because that new was different, but because novelties were coming from the authorities whose army occupied the country, the authorities against whom the local population organized resistance with many victims; maybe the main reason for the resistance being the fact that the occupying power was a Christian one. For whom the new authorities and the agenda they wanted to establish and implement were acceptable is shown by statistical data on the number of inhabitants per religious affiliation during several decades of those authorities being in power. There were 15 224 Muslim inhabitants or 72.23 %, 3.575 Orthodox or 16 %, 230 Roman Catholics or 1,14 %, 1.714 Jews or 8,12 % in 1851 in Sarajevo. A year after the occupation, in Sarajevo in 1879, 14.848 Muslims or 69,45 % were registered, 3.747 Orthodox or 17,52 %, 678 Roman Catholics or 3,26%, 2.077 Jews or 9,74 %. Since 1885, the number of Muslims in the town had

been increasing and was somewhat greater than in the middle of the 19th century (increased to 15.787), but the percentage in relation to the inhabitants of other faiths had been declining from year to year. In 1885, it amounted to 60,09 %, in 1895, ten years later, to 45,06 %, in 1910 it amounted to 35, 57 %.<sup>5</sup> While the Orthodox population remained approximately at the same percentage between 16 and 17 %, the Catholic population rapidly increased, so in 1879 it amounted to 3,26 % and in 1910 it accounted for 34,51%. At first enmity, then antagonism, then gradual acceptance and finally co-operation referred not only to their new architecture, but to the education as well and some other social manifestations and Muslims' participation in them. A good example of the evolution in relations between the Muslims and the new authorities was pronounced in the military domain. During the occupation, Muslims and the occupying forces waged fierce battles, from the border on the Sava river to street fighting in Sarajevo. Muslims accepted with difficulty the introduction of military service, but they were the best fighters in Austro-Hungarian troops at the Italian front on the Soča river during the WWI. There, from being at first the enemy, they became defenders and then victims of military interests of the Monarchy all of that in just 30 years.



House of the Hadžibaščaušević family, Sarajevo, Sagrdžije street

There are another examples of the Muslim population expressing repugnance towards the occupier and one colourful example was drawn by an Austrian officer and painter named Eduard Loidolt in his sketching block in 1882/1883, where he drew and painted in the watercolour technique a drawing in which he shows how some Muslim women turned to the wall when meeting an Austrian officer who was passing in the street so as not to see him and him not to see her<sup>6</sup>. That was registered in the beginning of the occupation. But even later, during a visit of a group of Belgrade-based journalists to Sarajevo in 1912, taking tours around the old parts of Sarajevo, curving streets in the "mahalas" and gathering information about the state in which the authorities and the population were and a way of living of people they encountered, one of the journalists wrote that in these old houses and "mahalas" and well-known Sarajevo families, there are still people who, after the occupation, did not go to the central market-place so as not to meet the hated enemy.



House in Veliki Alifakovac street



**Detail of the front door with a window barrier -"ašik-mušebak"** (house in Veliki Alifakovac street)

The resistance towards the novelties that were brought by time and the new authorities can be spotted in some respectable Orthodox Sarajevans. One of the most distinguished ones was hadji Makso Despić whose house (today an annex of the Museum of the City of Sarajevo at the river's bank) looked like a building in the European tradition with elements of the Renaissance and the Baroque, but even after WWI and in later years of Despić's life, it was equipped and arranged to a great extent in accordance with the old way of life which this respected Sarajevo merchant tried to preserve. Born in the 1830s in Sarajevo, grown beside a father in the Sarajevo market-place milieu, hadji Makso used to travel on business as far as Vienna even in the Ottoman period, so in that way he had an opportunity to see and to accept manners of Vienna and other merchants even when young, but he still opposed some novelties in his house he considered only to be newfangled and bad in relation to the old habits, upbringing and morality. He was neither exclusivist nor conservative, but a stubborn old fellow and a head of the respected patriarchal Sarajevo Orthodox family. Theatrical performances took place in his house, both the old and young folks

gathered there, foreign and local ones. Still, when his daughters suggested that one should enter the house with the shoes on, he decisively refused that with the explanation that in this way one can take in filth ("nedžaset") with the shoes on (dirt, animal excrements etc). Upon hearing such opposition, his daughter told him: " Dad, you are a true Muslim", alluding to the custom of entering Muslim houses in shoes.<sup>7</sup>

If in the first decade the Muslim Sarajevans did not accept anything from the foreign authorities that was not mandatory, let's say dress code, family customs, religious views and needless to say that the participation in the military was unimaginable, after the introduction of the mandatory military service towards the end of the Austro-Hungarian rule, in fact during the war of 1914-18, Muslim soldiers and Muslim units showed great decisiveness and courage, while defending positions their units held in some very difficult front lines (Piave).



**House door in Mejlijina street** (earlier Kulina bana street)

Since the beginning of residential, residential-office, public and other structures' construction in the Austro-Hungarian period until today, there have been several different views on the stylistic values of that architecture. While local and immigrant Jews and Christians, as an organ of district and municipal authority both in Sarajevo and in other centres, were exponents of intensive building, some business and more respected Muslim people who appeared around 1900 and in later years built industrial and residential-office buildings in some more modest variants of the neo-Renaissance and neo-Moorish styles (the Šahinagićs, the Hadžišabanovićs, the Husedžinovićs, Zildžić, the Azabagićs, the Sulejmanpašićs, Rasema Svrzo née Čomara from 1897, then Nurihanuma Fadilpašić on the occasion of the wedding of her sons in Sarajevo and Travnik in 1902, Esma-hanuma Spaho née Krzović in 1902, a wife of mufti Spaho, Mujezinović with Tadić and Kanazarević in Tuzla, Mehmed, Mustafa, Hasan and Ahmet Butum in Mostar in 1892, a villa of Mujaga Komadina in Mostar, the Kučukalićs in Brčko). Not only that participants in the building in styles brought by Austria-Hungary were the most distinguished Muslim families, but there were also Muslim women who were building such structures and which belong today to the more representative architectural structures of Sarajevo.

The acceptance and equalization tendencies, not in number but in terms of level and style, can be spotted in schooling, studying and the business domain. As far as painting is concerned, painter Salko Šarić was on record as having participated at the World Exposition in Paris in 1900; his Stolac panorama was exposed in the Bosnian pavilion at the Expo. The tradition of the arabesque and calligraphic painting needed more time; only in the 1920s and 1930s did painters Hakija Kulenović, Rizah Štetić, Ismet Mujezinović appear in the painting of the European stylistic forms, while among people affiliated with other religions, painters had already emerged at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries (Anastas and Špiro Bocarić, Petar Šain, Đorđe Mihajlović, Pero Popović, Todor Švrakić, Gabriel Jurkić, Karlo Mijić and others).

Building trade was almost totally interrupted during WWI and it renewed itself slowly afterwards. Some of the architects of the Austro-Hungarian period remained in Sarajevo. Neither did they advocate styles or building standards from the Austro-Hungarian period, nor did the new Yugoslav authorities between the two wars offer something new which would be a confrontation to the old. A departure from the shaping ways of the Austro-Hungarians began as late as the 1930s with the Modern Movement coming to this land, brought by the Prague architecture students and also with the arrival of Dušan Grabrijan from Slovenia and Juraj Neidhardt from

Croatia. In the first decades after WWII until the 1980s, both professionals and the public referred to the Austro-Hungarian architecture either in negative or neutral terms. When speaking about the reception of the architecture from that period that professionals had, one needs to say that the presence of this architecture was noticed only by then-architects and town-planners, but not by historians and art theoreticians. Then-art historians followed and studied painting, sculpture and graphic art, while the architecture that interested them was from the older stylistic periods only, rarely from the 19th century. Those generations of art historians did not have an opportunity to inform themselves about art in Bosnia and Herzegovina during their art history studies in either Zagreb or Belgrade, particularly not about its new and contemporary architecture. Since they did not have the knowledge, they did not establish criteria to valorize it, so they ignored it easily, like a kind of the material heritage of conservatism.



House of the Hadžihasanović family, Džinina street (demolished)

Neither were architects of the older generation between two WW sensitive to this part of the architectural heritage. Immediately after WWII, the Technical Faculty was founded in Sarajevo from which the Faculty of Architecture later separated; leading positions were there occupied by professors who completed their studies at the Technical Faculty in Prague - a line of the Wagner school which gave his adherents in Prague, Zagreb, Ljubljana as well, them being followers of the Modern Movement. In Sarajevo,

they met those who were arriving from the Western side, again followers of Behrens or Le Corbusier. They initiated their activity as early as 1930s and created a number of works in the spirit of the Modern Movement; those works stand out even today due to such values and are prominent in the architectural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They continued such activity in the early period of development in the 1950s and 1960s, working at the same time on forming new generations of architects at the Faculty of Architecture in Sarajevo. Therefore, in their written works and projects as well as in those of their students, links to the architectural heritage of the Austro-Hungarian period do not exist. Moreover, since they lived in the setting, ambience and houses of the Austro-Hungarian period, they retained understanding about that layer of architecture and town-planning as a heritage, all values of which are refuted, as a heritage of obsolete understandings and unwanted remains of ill-fated Bosnia and Herzegovina and the world circumstances. This layer of architecture which could be by no means avoided, when the texts for the Visual Art Encyclopaedias of then-Yugoslav Lexicographic Institute were written, was simply valorized as eclecticism which rated it as a non-creative phenomenon in otherwise less valuable Historicist architecture of the 19th century.<sup>8</sup>

Such treatment of ignoring the architectural heritage of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the professional domain was also prevalent in the system of governing bodies and cultural policies. Therefore, a decision to deal with, to research and to valorize this layer of the architectural heritage was a personal choice which first of all resulted in a big exhibition and a catalogue at the Artistic Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1987 and later in other presentation aspects. Since then, an attitude of professionals and the public has changed considerably, because it turned out that this period has thematic diversity and completeness which corresponded to the concept of authority and the needs of life, that – although it is only a period of 40 years of building - this heritage has its inner layers, relatively numerous stylistic-formal diversity, creative phases and works and the recognizability of the individual architects' oeuvre, while it shows even today the important role of the authorial activity in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## CONCLUSION

In a relatively short period of the building trade in the period of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the characteristic stylistic changes were noticed, as well as a different building intensity. In the earlier technical literature, the entire 40 year-period was rated as the architecture of eclecticism and having architectural achievements of the Historicism in the Monarchy as a model. In the researches in the 1980s, three main periods and styles were determined: in the first decades, Historicism is prevalent; the Neo-Moorish style, Neo-Romanesque style, Neo-Gothic, Neo-Renaissance, Neo-Baroque, Neo-Classicism and Romanticism. In the second phase around 1900, buildings in the style of Vienna Art Nouveau were created, as then-contemporary phenomena in the European art. In the third phase, the Bosnian style emerges, being advocated mostly by architects of the previous stylistic understandings, after they realized what the value of the local stylistic building tradition was. Officially, it is considered that this style appeared in the last decade of the Austro-Hungarian administration, but in this paper one tries to present examples of joining the local building tradition and the imported forms of Historicism at the very beginning of the new rule, that being first of all in the building of private residential structures of the Muslim population, in whom an exceptionally strong resistance emerged towards the new building styles of the new authorities, that being in accordance with the resistance to the occupation itself.

<sup>1</sup> Hamdija Kreševljaković, Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske uprave (1878–1918), Sarajevo, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> Hamdija Kreševljaković, Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske uprave (1878–1918), Sarajevo, 1969, 24–25

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>4</sup> Edmund Stix, Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina von Beginn der Occupation durch die österr.-ung. Monarchie bis in das Jahr 1887, Wien, 1887.

<sup>5</sup> Hamdija Kreševljaković, aforementioned work, 38.

<sup>6</sup> Ibrahim Krzović, Eduard Loydolt, Bošnjački institut Adil Zulfikarpašić, Zürich/Sarajevo, 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Stevo Dimitrijević, Šta priča Hadži Makso Despić – Babo?, Večernje novosti, Sarajevo, II, 1923, No. 196–306, from 4th August to 15th December.

<sup>8</sup> Dušan Smiljanić, Arhitektura u razdoblju 1878–1918. Bosna i Hercegovina, ELU I, LZ JAZU, Zagreb 1959, pages 460–462.

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## VISUAL ART CIRCUMSTANCES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN PERIOD AND THE QUESTION OF VISUAL ART MODERNITY: THE ROLE AND IMPORTANCE OF NADA MAGAZINE

### Introductory commentaries

The period of reforms in the later years of the Ottoman Empire left trace in the field of culture and art as well. In the period of the so-called Tanzimat (1839- 1876), certain western models in the economy and administration were adopted, while the meeting of the two cultural and civilizational circles - *a la turca* and *a la franga* - in the field of art developed gradually even before the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian administration itself, already in the years of the reformist administration of decisive Omer paša Latas. Let's mention among others painter of the "Illyrian movement", young and tragically deceased Vjekoslav Karas (1821-1858) and French etcher and lithographer Théodor Valério (1819-1879), who, in the Historicist-Romanticist manner and for the first time in the wider European audience (especially through Valério's graphics, drawings and watercolours exhibited at the World Exposition in Paris (1855) and the Paris Exhibitions in 1857 and 1859), presented all the wide variety of Bosnian towns, villages, people, folk costumes and customs.<sup>1</sup> The number of archaeologists, explorers, map drawers, travel writers, even academically educated painters increased in years directly before and in the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian administration, like the Evans brothers or Ferdo Quiquerez, a painter of large historical scenes and epic compositions characteristic of the students of Munich Academy, under Karl von Piloty (1826-1886). Although the arrival of the aforementioned painters and illustrators in this country was primarily motivated by the efforts to precisely record physionomies of the inhabitants and events in a documentary-veristic and ethnographic manner, as was the case in somewhat later arrival of Austrian and Hungarian officers- drawers in order to document military actions, these painting compositions, watercolours, drawings, sketches and oleographies are as a rule factographically unreliable.<sup>2</sup>

In the last quarter of the 19th century, drawings and watercolours of foreign painters dominated<sup>3</sup> with the exception of a few local names in this field.<sup>4</sup> They varied in terms

of style, from meticulous Verism and academic Realism to rare plein-air openings, while on the content-symbolic plane they were the beginning of the orientalized vision of Bosnia. The topic of "Balkanism" within the Austrian culture, through the example of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period of 1878-1918, that is the orientalist discourse about the Balkans how Marija Todorova defined the notion of Balkanism<sup>5</sup> was until now primarily thematized in the literary historiography and in recent times with issue-related expansion of this topic to the examining images about one's own self and the other and the construction of the national identity in the Bosnia and Herzegovina literature in the subject-related era<sup>6</sup>. Detailed monographic, bibliographic and issue-related studies about the Bosnia and Herzegovina literature and the press of the Austro-Hungarian period of national authors preceded this in earlier years.<sup>7</sup>



### Nada magazine: historical and cultural context

In this context, *Nada* magazine was a subject of numerous researches and monographic studies, as "the only literary magazine initiated and published by the Provincial Government in Bosnia and Herzegovina, initiated with unhidden ambitions to gather numerous collaborators, writers, translators and visual artists and to reach great heights in the European relations through the quality of literary and visual arts contributions and technical equipment like an illustrated belletristic magazine and in that way to represent Sarajevo - the capital in the occupied country as a powerful

cultural centre to the world public.”<sup>8</sup> In the published studies so far<sup>9</sup>, most authors agree about the role of *Nada* magazine as a media of promoting a pro-Bosnian political concept and programme of Finance Minister Benjamin Kállay (1839-1903); only those recent ones tried to open a question of the importance of this magazine in cultural life greater from “just being an instrument of the Austro-Hungarian imperial politics whose goals were finally not accomplished”.<sup>10</sup> The thing that has not been considered in detail yet is the influence of *Nada* magazine on forming the visual art modernity in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the conceptual and formal-executive level, in the light of the central question which marked the polemics in cultural life at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and which concerned the relationship of the “people’s” and the “cosmopolitan” that is, in a broader sense, the relationship between the tradition and the modernity which was the topic also debated in those years on the pages of *Nada*. One should bear in mind here also that the relationship between the so-called centre and periphery<sup>11</sup> that is the centre and milieus distant from the centres of visual art modernity<sup>12</sup> and as one of the most central issues in analyses of art history of the South Slavic countries at the turn of the century, in which, because of the special historic circumstances in various “marginal milieus” of the Empire, the concepts of “visual art modernity” are accepted, developed and co-ordinated with the local conditions in specific ways, the same ones being co-ordinated with the dominant political that is national ideologies.



The activity of *Nada* magazine (1895-1903) coincided with the forming of Vienna Art Nouveau (1897)<sup>13</sup>, founding of the Venice Biennale (since 1895), activity of the “Croatian Exhibition” in Zagreb (since 1898), heated debates about Klimt’s cycle for the assembly hall of Vienna University and Rodin’s *Balzac*. These are the years when Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962) studied in Vienna, under professor Edmund Hellmer (1850-1935) one of the founders of Vienna Art Nouveau, (Meštrović himself being the greatest name of the modern sculpture from South Slavic countries); he was later himself an active participant of Art Nouveau exhibitions.<sup>14</sup> At the same time

in Vienna, a renowned Bosnia and Herzegovina Oriental philologist and a frequent collaborator of *Nada* - Safvet bey Bašagić (1870-1934) worked on his doctoral thesis at Vienna University while paradigmatically incarnating a happy and fruitful meeting of the two cultural and civilizational circles through a comprehensive knowledge of Oriental languages and German sources.<sup>15</sup> To what extent Bašagić was ready for a restless spirit of young Vienna art, reveal the final verses from his poem “Impressions from Art Nouveau”,<sup>16</sup> written immediately after having visited the first Art Nouveau exhibition in that city and instigated, I presume, by Klimt’s work the Fish blood with floating elongated female nudes with long untied hair. Bašagić explained along with the title of his poem: “When, in Vienna in 1898, some artists moved from the painting academy to a new building, they called the Art Nouveau, I went there as a layman to see that new acquisition. From this small poem that I wrote on the same day, one can see the impression it left on me” (we bring here some final verses of the poem):

“Žena duga ko stožina/Pod njom noge dvije štakе/Žuta kosa sto aršina/Srši negdje u oblake.

Iz lica joj bidea bije/Iz očiju teku suze/S usana se zloba smije/Eto slike nove Muze.

Ako je to svjetu liepo/Onda zbogom umjetnosti!/Za te mi je oko sliepo/A pojmovi preveć prosti.”

His, somewhat earlier poem “From the big city” belongs to the similar spirit, published for the first time in “Vienac” from 1896 and which, like the largest part of his early poetry filled with patriotic and Romanticist charge<sup>17</sup>, shows still an unresolved and contradictory relationship between the inherited values and the modernity spirit (“Vila moja u toj buci driema...”), where the motifs of the “maple guzla” and the “light people’s spirit” are co-ordinated with the vignette design in the first issue of *Nada* by Hörmann’s art editor E.Arndt. That divisiveness between new and old, but primarily as a need to reflect critically upon both of them, is thematized by Bašagić in the condemnation of the colonial discourse of Austrian anthropologists, travel writers and painters, for whom he says “they painted us as we are American Indians”.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, this Viennese student and collaborator of *Nada* also condemns the exaggerated conservativeness of his people, so he states at the beginning of the 20th century: “Whole world has changed and we stayed the same we used to be several centuries ago: conservatives from top to toe.”<sup>19</sup>

## Selection of topics and collaborators of *Nada*: role of Kosta Hörmann

In an exhaustive report of Government's advisor Kosta Hörmann about the launching of illustrated *Nada* magazine, submitted to Common Finance Minister B.Kállay<sup>20</sup> with detailed specification of planned contents and thematic sections, one specifies a planned illustration content as well, in which the following dominate: pictures of towns, large industrial facilities, selected landscape views, people's motifs and scenes (wedding scenes, market images, celebrations and popular games, hunting scenes and the like), images from the life of military troops, folk costume illustrations<sup>21</sup>, historical images and portraits of notables<sup>22</sup>. The selection of illustration themes was obviously in harmony with the planning intention of the magazine which would, as it was specified in Kallay's letter to the Provincial Government both in "illustration and written form" and "in strictly objective and dignified form" and also in "Bosnian language", offer "on the one hand (to domestic reading circles), appropriate reading for them from all the fields of knowledge" and on the other hand which would get people familiar with the "rapid cultural development of Bosnia and Herzegovina."<sup>23</sup> Academically educated painters and graphic artists were needed for this task, executing both good and sure drawings and refined colouristic sensitivity which would complete selected landscape views and genre scenes with the Historicist and Romanticist pathos. Quality illustrative contributions and picture reproductions of art editor Ewald Arndt Tscheplin bear witness to that (Dvor Begove džamije<sup>24</sup>, U ašikluku<sup>25</sup>, Kahvedžija<sup>26</sup>...), also of his brother Leo Arndt (Ženska i muška lica iz Svilaja,<sup>27</sup> Pazarni dan u sarajevskoj Čaršiji<sup>28</sup>...), of Maximilan Liebenwein (Španjolski jevreji u sarajevskoj Čaršiji<sup>29</sup>...), L. Kuba, Ivana Kobilca, K.Liebscher, Ferdinand Velc; those contributions and reproductions were co-ordinated with the thematic concept of the magazine - between the idyllic vision of the exotic country and rapid progress of the modern age to which the new administration contributed (photos of electric railway in Sarajevo, operation halls of the Provincial Hospital, visits of Czech tourists, industrialization of the Tuzla region).<sup>30</sup>

What influence Hörmann had on all the aspects of conceiving the magazine, is shown by the information from a letter from 1895, sent to a collaborator of *Nada* and Croatian painter Leo Anderle, about the need to "additionally engage" his composition with an image of strolling around the Bosna river spring in which should certain "ethnographic corrections" (in the spirit of Orientalism) be introduced and should complete the image with several Bosniac men and women and at least one Turkish man; Hörmann sent him a typology of adequate folk costumes for that matter in the letter.<sup>31</sup>

Sarajevo, 10. jula 1895.

NADA.

Broj 14. Strana 275.

\* *Slikarski umjetnici u Sarajevu.* Radosno bilježio svakako važnu pojavu, da našu domovinu sve više radi studija posjećuju slikari umjetnici. Ne-mo boraviše kroz dulje vremena u našem gradu an od najglasovitijih akvarelista na svijetu g. *Pasti* i poznati majstor g. *Ruben*. Od dulje vremena le kod nas česki slikarski umjetnici gg. *Adolf Liebscher*, *Ludevit Kuba* i *Ferdinand Velc* a ne-mo je stigao iz Berlina i slikar umjetnik g. *Leo Arndt*, brat našeg stalnog umjetnika *E. Arndt-Čepline*, ježimo s opravdanjem zadovoljstvom, da će „*Nada*“ ikora moći donijeti koji umjetnički prilog pomebitih umjetnika iz bogate zbirke njihovih uspomena svoga putovanja kroz krasne krajeve naše lijepe regeg-Bosne.

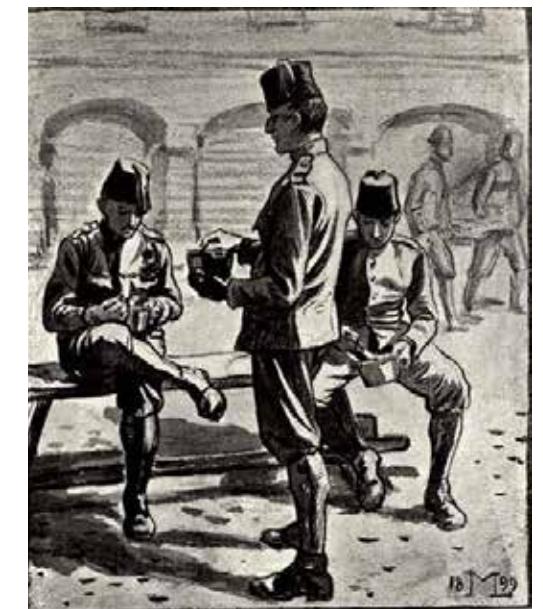


Iz zemaljske bolnice: Dvorana za operaciju.



The architecture of Bosnian pavilions which were as special structures tendentiously presented at then-large world expositions, reveals to a great extent the approach of Orientalism<sup>32</sup>. Even Hörmann's collaborator, versatile curator and editor of *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, dr Ćiro Truhelka (1865-1942) could not resist the elements of the Neo-Moorish style which dominated in the Bosnian pavilions' architecture during the decoration of a part of the Community Hall's hall (Social Club) in 1903.<sup>33</sup> And while one was promptly writing about then-contemporary visual art exhibitions and names in *Nada* (about the Venice Biennale, Paris Exhibitions and Rodin's Balzac, posters of Alphonse Mucha, Klimt's Medicine... )<sup>34</sup>, in architecture, a special attention was dedicated to the Bosnian pavilions at World Expositions (1896-1900). There is also one noticeable echo of unresolved tension between the local tradition and the new styles in the condemnation by sculptor Robert Jean about the incompatibility of the "Bosnian idyll" and "the buildings in the Wagner style" in a text from 1911 in a Sarajevo daily newspaper.<sup>35</sup> At least in architecture, this question will be happily resolved while defining the so-called Bosnian style, when precisely the studies of Wagner's students had also important roles.

Nada br.5, 1.3.1899., str.76



Nada br.8, 15.4.1899., str.117



Nada br.3, 1.2.1901., str.41.

If one takes into account the attention dedicated to the financial means in order to launch the magazine, its format and the quality of its printing and paper<sup>36</sup>, as well as a number of trips Hörmann undertook in order to attract quality collaborators and respecting his knowledgeability and contacts he had as the director of *Zemaljski Muzejum* (Provincial Museum) and the Government's advisor, one cannot easily accept the fact that he "did not know or couldn't be acquainted with what was going on in the contemporary trends of the European painting or at least the newest art movements in Berlin and Vienna, where he went in order to find his chief illustrators", as underlines Ljubica Mlađenović in her study on the 19th century painting in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>37</sup> Although via buying off copyrights, *Nada* helped the work of artists from South Slavic area (Bukovac, Crnčić, Čikoš-Sesija, Frangeš, Ivezović, Medović, Vidović,...)<sup>38</sup>, the question remains open whether and to what extent the influence of this magazine on the domestic visual art production (which will come of age as late as the end of the Austro-Hungarian administration) would have been greater, if Hörmann had succeeded in winning over Vlaho Bukovac for the art editor, with whom he held talks and who had already been in Vienna since 1898. It was precisely Bukovac, after having returned from Paris Academy, who led a group of artists in 1897 which stepped out of the official occupational association, the Association for Art; with the first exhibition of the Croatian Exhibition from 1888 in the Art Pavillion, it announced a conflict

between the "new ones" and the "old ones" and disagreement with the established tradition of academism<sup>39</sup>, about which respected lawyer, historian and publicist Ivo Pilar (1874-1933) also wrote on the pages of *Nada*, one of the main ideologists of the Modern Art in the circle of Kranjčević's *Nada*. In the review of the 2nd exhibition of Croatian Association of Visual Artists in Zagreb, where works of Slovenian painters and those of Crnčić and Mucha were exhibited, Pilar emphasizes a happy encounter of the "people's individuality", "self-confidence of the little people" and the "common movement towards progress which moves today the whole mankind."<sup>40</sup>

Felician (von) Myrbach (1853-1940), resided in Vienna at the same time as Bukovac; then, he was the central personality and one of the founders of Vienna Art Nouveau, professor and later director of the School for Applied Arts (1889), founder of the Vienna workshops, artist from the "Klimt's group"; he was considered to be "one of the best illustrators in Vienna"<sup>41</sup> by Ludwig Hevesi (1843-1910), who was in turn a good connoisseur of Art Nouveau. Although F.von Myrbach resided earlier in Sarajevo as an officer at the headquarters of supreme commander Filipović in 1878, he soon gained fame precisely as a Sunday painter with large compositions showing military themes which made him later (through diligent military schooling, study visits and his doubtless talent) such an important personality in the Vienna Modern Art at the turn of the century.<sup>42</sup> In the same year of 1895, Myrbach resided in Sarajevo and together with a group of Austrian painters opened an watercolour exhibition in the Officers' Club. The question whether Hörmann held talks with this author, as a potential art editor of the *Nada*, remains open.

#### ***Nada* and the South Slavic visual art area: from visual art contributions to visual art criticism**

The progressive names of art criticism of that era and who published contributions from then-contemporary art exhibitions like Milutin Nehajev, Dušan Plavšić, Vladimir Jelovšek and the aforementioned Ivo Pilar understood and interpreted correctly the possibilities of harmonious synthesis of the "local themes and motifs" with free visual expression and formal research in which motifs linked to the tradition were no more a part of mandatory programme and painting serving some "higher goal"; thus the peculiarity of the "local motif or theme" became a trigger while searching for freedom of visual expression and for the building of special style. In the review of the Art Nouveau Exhibition in Vienna in 1902, Croatian man of letters and journalist Milutin Nehajev (1880-1931) specifies in his text in *Nada*, as a positive example of such active and creative relationship towards the traditional motifs, an example of Slovak painter Joža Uprka (1861-1940). Uprka explored a phenomenon of light and pure colour in painting through folklore motifs and exuberant folk costumes of his native Moravia, in

the spirit of the French painting he became acquainted with, during his stay in Paris in the beginning of the 1890s. In the aforementioned review, Nehajev specifies: "Uprka does not draw his Slovaks because they are Slovaks – but because he can express best his temperament with these colours, because these colours respond to his painting view with their unilateral strength."<sup>43</sup>

No domestic painter, until the last issue of *Nada*, of those who by conventional wisdom opened the doors of the Bosnia and Herzegovina painting of the 20th century – from the oldest - Đorđe Mihajlović from Tuzla (born in 1875) to the youngest - Roman Petrović from Donji Vakuf (born in 1896)<sup>44</sup>, neither did begin nor complete education at the academies in Vienna, Munich, Budapest, Prague or Krakow. In only a couple of years - hardly 2 decades, the Bosnia and Herzegovina painting had, as Azra Begić wrote it, in a certain way "lived through its 19th century and fulfilled itself in it, entering the modern art of the Yugoslav peoples with the first paintings of Đorđe Mihajlović".<sup>45</sup> Here, great historical or Historicist painting did not succeed in developing, that was a characteristic of the Middle European academies' tradition at the end of the 19th century, where Bosnia and Herzegovina painters were educated and whose outstanding examples were the so-called Golden and Pompei Halls of the former Institute for Religious Affairs and Education of the Provincial Government, today the seat of the Croatian History Institute in Zagreb. In the rich iconographic cycle, themes from classical and national history intertwine: from Medović's compositions *The Arrival of Croats* (*Dolazak Hrvata*) and the *Engagement of King Zvonimir* (*Zaruke kralja Zvornimira*) up to the sculptures of Plato and Aristotle by Rudolf Valdec in the Enlightenment-Historicist spirit. The following artists, among others, participated in the realization of this decorative programme: Bela Čikoš Sesija, Oton Iveković, Ferdo Kovačević, Celestin Medović, Vlaho Bukovac, Robert Frangeš Mihanović and Rudolf Valdec, and whose works were familiar to our young future painters precisely via reproductions in *Nada*.<sup>46</sup> Here, one must bear in mind that because of the complexity of political circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina even defining the lowest common denominator of the themes from national history was more complex than in the neighbouring South Slavic milieus under the Austro-Hungarian administration and dominantly defined by an attempt to install a "pro-Bosnian" concept, as opposed to the empowerment of the national programmes.

An excellent drawing of the powerful Verism of the chief illustrator of *Nada* named Leo Arndt together with the Art Nouveau expressivity of Liebenwein were a good preparation for encountering the programme of the Middle European academies, founded on the "verified values". Years of their studies are the years of already

mature Expressionism, Cubism and opening to Abstraction. During the studies, the Bosnia and Herzegovina painters mostly copied old masters in the Louvre (as expected), delayed and in disbelief towards the dynamic changes in then-avantgarde Prague or Krakow milieu. This is not surprising, taking into account the general climate of that time and the role models and the inclination towards Symbolism, as we already recognize in the early Viennese works of G.Jurkić and Đ.Mazalić in Budapest. And in 1910, Symbolism in Mazalić's work was present in the paintings with biblical themes and in the same year Jurkić worked on his great composition "The Fairy of my People" ("Vila naroda moga"). It is the year of the important exhibition named "To the unheroic time nevertheless" in Zagreb, so Grgo Gamulin, in his study about the beginnings of the modern painting, opened a question whether did the topic of the national myth and heroism of the South Slavic peoples and Symbolism of late Art Nouveau make impossible or at least postpone the appearance of Expressionism in the Croatian painting?<sup>47</sup> Here, Gamulin bore in mind the activity of the Medulić association from 1908; the works of its members (Meštrović, Rački, Krizman, Vidović), as well as the reviews of their exhibitions were also thematized in *Nada*. Maybe that's why some of the time coincidences do not surprise: the mature examples of Expressionism in the Bosnia and Herzegovina painting like Mijić's painting "Brother and Sister" ("Brat i sestra") correspond to the year of the Zagreb Exhibition via which a radical u-turn towards Expressionism was announced, while Bjelić and Petrović getting closer to the Abstraction took place in the very beginning of 1920.

Opening to the modernity in Bosnia and Herzegovina painters was a complex way of coming together and maturing, of initial experiences and circumstances in the environments in which they were educated, even though they did not take part in them directly, in which process the timeliness should not be a pledge of quality and talent, especially if we bear in mind the fact that certain exceptional works of the Bosnia and Herzegovina painting Modern Art have not got full ratings and a deserved place in the one-time reviews of the Yugoslav art. It is possible to answer to what extent the articles published in *Nada* were also an incentive in this process only through detailed analyses of individual oeuvres. Illustrative contributions were, in terms of their quality, more a good preparation for the academic activity than a window to the new world. In some examples, the achievements of the pioneer texts of visual art criticism primarily with reviews of recent exhibitions of then-subversive art were beyond doubt encouraging.

<sup>1</sup>More detailed in: Ljubica Mladenović, *Građansko slikarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini u XIX veku*, V.Masleša, Sarajevo, 1982, pp. 9-14.

<sup>2</sup>As a rare exception to this rule let's mention here for example the watercolours by Austrian painter Theodor Breidwiser kept today in the holdings of the Museum of the City of Sarajevo and which accurately document (among other things) the execution of the resistance leaders in Sarajevo, the conquest of Sarajevo and the battle near Žepče. See more detailed in : Lj. Mladenović, pp. 30-32.

<sup>3</sup> The first wave of foreign painters were mainly officers, educated for the military service where one must bear in mind that the classes in free drawing, as a mandatory subject at military schools and academies in Austria-Hungary, were led by well-known artists like was the case in Bosnia, even during the Ottoman rule when Mustafa Faginović taught free drawing at the military school, called Idadija.

<sup>4</sup>More detailed about the art conditions in the first years of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina in: Azra Begić, Prilike, in: *Umjetnost BiH 1894-1923*, UGBiH, Sarajevo, 1978., b.p.

<sup>5</sup>Maria Todorova, *Imaging the Balkans*, New York, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.

<sup>6</sup>More detailed in: Stijn Vervaet, *Centar i periferija u Austro-Ugarskoj. Dinamika izgradnje nacionalnih identiteta u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918. godine na primjeru književnih tekstova*, Synopsis, Zagreb-Sarajevo, 2013. In the introductory considerations, the author of the study specifies the importance of 2 projects for the realization of his book and which refer to the specified topic and especially to the habilitation work of one of the researchers - Clemens Ruthner under the name of „Kakaniens kleiner Orient. Konstruktionen des 'balkanischen' Fremden in kulturellen Texten Österreichs: Bosnien-Herzegowina 1878-1918“ (2006).

<sup>7</sup>List of subject-related publications in: Risto Besarović, *Iz kulturne prošlosti Bosne i Hercegovine (1878-1918)*, V.Masleša, Sarajevo, 1987. (chapter: *Pisana riječ u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878-1918.*, pp. 5-29). On the press more detailed in: Đorđe Pejanović, *Bibliografija štampe Bosne i Hercegovine 1850-1941*, V.Masleša, Sarajevo, 1961 Todor Kruševac, *Bosanskohercegovački listovi u XIX veku*, V.Masleša, Sarajevo, 1978. Monographs about magazines in the Austro-Hungarian period : Ljubica Tomić-Kovač, Zora: *književnohistorijska monografija*, Svetlost, Sarajevo, 1971; Muhsin Rizvić, Behar: *književnohistorijska monografija*, Svetlost, Sarajevo, 1971; Dejan Đuričković, *Bosanska vila: književnohistorijska studija*, Svetlost, Sarajevo, 1975; Boris Čorić, Nada: *književnohistorijska monografija 1895-1903*, Zora: *književnohistorijska monografija*, Svetlost, Sarajevo, 1978.

<sup>8</sup>Risto Besarović, *Iz kulturne prošlosti Bosne i Hercegovine*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>9</sup> Surveys of Lj.Mladenović agree with this, pp. 73-74; also surveys of B.Čorić, pp. 8-21 where Čorić, in a review of the political circumstances in which the magazine was launched, specifies that (page 9) "one occupation was replaced by another one, truth to be said a more civilized and well-intentioned one but still an occupation." /italics AAH.

<sup>10</sup>Stijn Vervaet, *Centar i periferija u Austro-Ugarskoj*, p. 90.

<sup>11</sup> On this see also in: Emil Brix, "The Structure of the Artistic Dialogue Between Vienna and Other Urban Centres in the Habsburg Monarchy Around 1900", u: *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe*, Cracow: International Cultural Centre, 1999: 11.

<sup>12</sup> About this question in the broader problem context, a study of Ljubo Karaman is still inevitable, *O djelovanju domaće sredine na umjetnost hrvatskih krajeva - Problemi periferijske umjetnosti*, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 1963. (and: Ljubo Karaman, *Problemi periferijske umjetnosti*. Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2001., 2nd edition).

<sup>13</sup> On the socio-political circumstances in Vienna in the years when Art Nouveau appeared and on the international and liberal character of Vienna Art Nouveau see in: Karl Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle, Vienna: politics and culture*. NY, Vintage Books, 1981.

<sup>14</sup> Ivan Meštrović exhibited for the first time at the Art Nouveau exhibition in Vienna at the 17th Spring Art Nouveau Exhibition in 1903 and which was dedicated exclusively to the Austrian artists. Since Austrian art was not a national art at the time, but referred to all artists within the historic frame of the Monarchy, Meštrović actively participated in the exhibitions of Vienna Art Nouveau and Hagenbund, an association of progressive artists founded in 1900 and which, after Klimt's group left Art Nouveau in 1905, embodied in a certain way the real spirit and idea of Art Nouveau. In 1910, his one-man exhibition was staged in the art pavilion of Art Nouveau in Vienna. On the connections between Meštrović and Art Nouveau more detailed in: Irena Kraševac, *Ivan Meštrović i secesija: Beč-München-Prag 1900-1910*, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Fondacija Ivan Meštrović, Zagreb, 2002.

<sup>15</sup> Doctoral thesis of Safvet-bey Bašagić was self-published in Sarajevo in 1912

<sup>16</sup> Safvet-bey Bašagić, *Dojmovi iz Secesije*, in: *Misli i Čuvstva (Nove pjesme)*, self-publication, Sarajevo, 1905, pp. 19-21.

<sup>17</sup> About Safet Bašagić more detailed in: Muhsin Rizvić, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost u doba Preporoda 1887-1918*, 2nd edition, Sarajevo, 1990., pp. 282-283.

<sup>18</sup> Behar 1900-1901, 20:322, quoted according to: Stijn Vervaet, p. 273. (chapter Odgovor na austrougarski, hrvatski i srpski orijentalizam)

<sup>19</sup> Behar 1900-1901, 20:322, quoted according to: Stijn Vervaet, p. 274.

<sup>20</sup> Original text of the Report by C.Hörmann (Bericht:ad.2037/B.H.), dated from 4th Feb. 1894, see in: Risto Besarović, *Kultura i umjetnost u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom*, Grada - Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Vol IV, Sarajevo, 1968., pp. 74-91.

<sup>21</sup>About the importance of *Nada* magazine as a reference source for studying culture of dressing at the turn of the century, see in: Aida Abadžić Hodžić, *Kultura odijevanja u Bosni i Hercegovini na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće- uloga i značaj ilustracija i priloga u časopisu Nada (1895.-1903.)*, Zbornik radova naučnog skupa „Odjeća kao simbol identiteta”, Tehnički univerzitet, Bihać, 2011., pp. 13-29.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, pp. 79-80.

<sup>23</sup> Copy of the letter of Common Finance Minister Kallay to the Provincial Government in relation to the launching of *Nada* magazine (Abschrift, Z:2037/B.H. ex 1894), Besarović, Građa, Arhiv BiH, p. 91.

<sup>24</sup>*Nada*, No.1, 1st Jan.1895, p.8.

<sup>25</sup>*Nada*, No.6, 15th Mar.1895, p.105.

<sup>26</sup>*Nada*, No. 8, 15th Apr.1895, p. 148.

<sup>27</sup>*Nada*, No.1, 1st Jan. 1901, pp. 8, 9.

<sup>28</sup> "Nada No.6, 15th Mar.1895, p. 119.

<sup>29</sup>"Nada" No. 19, 1st Oct. 1902, p. 260.

<sup>30</sup>Reproductions of the aforementioned motifs, see in : *Nada* No.12, 15th June 1895 (front page); *Nada*, No. 21, 1st Nov.1895, p. 407; "", No. 11, 1st June 1897, p. 218; *Nada* No.4, 15th Feb.1896, p.77;

<sup>31</sup>According to: B.Čorić, p. 761, footnote 127.

<sup>32</sup> Diana Reynolds, Kavaliere, Kostüme, Kunstgewerbe: Die Vorstellung Bosniens in Wien 1878-1900, u: U. Prutsch, J. Feichtinger, M. Csáky (ur.), Habsburg postcolonial. Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis. Innsbruck et al.:Studien Verlag, str. 246-248. U svojoj studiji Reynolds se oslanja na seminalni tekst Tonyja Bennetta The Exhibitionary Complex (new formations, a journal of culture, theory and politics, No 4, spring 1988, London, pp.73-102).

<sup>33</sup>This decoration was executed on the occasion of the 20 years anniversary of the charitable society, the so-called Ladies' Society in Sarajevo under the auspices of Willma pl. Kallay. See *Nada*, No. 9, 1st May 1903, p.117. This representation of Bosnia will continue via the architecture of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

pavillion between 2 WW. On this, see an exceptionally instructive text by Aleksandar Ignjatović, the title of which is *Periferna imperija i unutrašnja kolonizacija: jedan istorijski primjer, „Vizura”*, Sarajevo, 2/2008, pp. 149-163. The text thematizes examples of the official Yugoslav pavillions by Stjepan Hribar and Josip Seissel at the world expositions in Paris and supplements of "Bosanski kiosk" from 1925 and „Bosanska kuća“ from 1937 as the examples of the imperialistic intervention

<sup>34</sup>See: *Nada* No.22, 15th Nov.1898, pp.346-347. (Josip Marković, *Osvrt na pariski Salon*); *Nada* No.3, 1st Feb.1901, pp.39-41 (V arajevoer Tagblatt", 24th Dec.1911, pp. 16-17. Specified according to: Ibrahim Krzović, *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo Publishing, Sarajevo, 2004, p.8.

<sup>35</sup>R.Jean, Die Baukunst, "Sarajevoer Tagblatt", 24.XII 1911, str. 16-17. Nav.prema: Ibrahim Krzović, *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo Publishing, Sarajevo, 2004, str.8.

<sup>36</sup>Besarović, pp. 80-83.

<sup>37</sup>Lj.Mladenović, p. 87.

<sup>38</sup>B.Čorić, p. 647.

<sup>39</sup>On these events more detailed in: Petar Prelog, „Artikulacije moderniteta. Institucije, secesije, publika“, in: *Moderna umjetnost u Hrvatskoj 1898.-1975.*, IPU, Zagreb, 2012. (ed.Lj.Kolešnik, P.Prelog), pp.10-40.

<sup>40</sup>P.i P. (I.Pilar), *II izložba Društva hrvatskih umjetnika: Slovenci, Menci Cl. Crnčić, Alfons Mucha, Nada* No.3, 1st Feb.1901 pp.44. (section: Naša pisma).

<sup>41</sup>Ludwig Hevesi, „Die Wiener Secession und ihr 'Ver Sacrum'“, *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 8, 1899, p. 146. (<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kunstgewerbeblatt1899/0153>, site visited on 1st Sept. 2014)

<sup>42</sup>On schooling and cycles of von Myrbach, more detailed in: Lj.Mladenović, pp.27-29.

<sup>43</sup>M.Nehajev, Umjetničke izložbe: „Secesija“-„Hagenbund“-“Künstlerhaus”, *Nada* No.1, 1st Jan.1903, p.11 (section: Naša pisma)

<sup>44</sup>We shall only mention here that Milivoj Uzelac belonged to that generation as well (born in Mostar in 1897), but who, after schooling in the Banja Luka grammar school and the first painting lessons received from Pero Popović, left Bosnia and Herzegovina permanently (he went with V.Gecan to Zagreb in 1912) and was principally linked with his activity to the Croatian and French visual art scene. Due to importance of his works, exhibited at the Spring Exhibitions in Zagreb (especially the one in 1919) Uzelac has a particularly important place in the Croatian modern painting.

<sup>45</sup>More detailed in: Azra Begić, *Slikarstvo - Umjetnost Bosne i Hercegovine 1894-1923: Slikarstvo* (chapt. Podsticaji i opredjeljenja), UGBiH, Sarajevo, 1978.

<sup>46</sup>"On her pages, the reproductions of works by Vlaho Bukovac, Clement Crnčić, Bela Čikoš, Robert Frangeš, Oton Iveković, Pavle Jovanović, Ivana Kobilca, Celestin Medović, Menegello-Dlničić, Franjo Pavačić, Ivan Rendić, Ivan Tišov, Emanuel Vidović were published." B.Čović, *Nada*..., p. 647.

<sup>47</sup>Grgo Gamulin, Hrvatsko slikarstvo 20. stoljeća, vol.1, Naprijed, Zagreb, 1997, pp. 11-12.

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Andrea Baotić

## TYROLEAN SCULPTURE AND ALTAR-MAKING IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA REVALORIZATION OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN HERITAGE OF SACRAL ART AND ITS CURRENT CONDITION

### Summary

When the Vrhbosna Archdiocese was founded in 1881, the Catholic Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina received an impetus that resulted in an extensive construction of sacral structures in the Historicist styles. Their obligatory part was the interior, shaped according to the Gesamtkunstwerk principles, that is church inventory in the form of altars and sculptures which were brought from Tyrolean woodcarving ateliers to newly-built churches. In fact, it was a question of sacral equipment manufacturers which reached their peak and bloomed in the second half of the 19th century distributing their products all over the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The change in the artistic paradigm, under the influence of the Modern Movement and the conclusions of the 2nd Vatican Council, contributed somewhat later on to the creation of the negative attitude towards this segment of the Austro-Hungarian artistic heritage; it was, thanks to this fact but also to the war devastations in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), that they declined in number, were degraded and in some cases destroyed. A historical-artistic revalorization of the Tyrolean sculpture and altar-making in the churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina is being carried out in this paper; the paper also gives a survey of the present-day condition. The intention of the paper is to point at those aspects of the Tyrolean artistic craft which are neglected while restoring churches and which actually bear witness to the inclusion of Bosnia and Herzegovina into then-current trends of sacral art within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

**Keywords:** Historicism, Gesamtkunstwerk, woodcarving, sculpture, altar-making

### Introduction

When we speak about cultural and artistic attainments in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Austro-Hungarian administration, the elements that are most often stressed are those by which the approach of the "then-deeply orientalized provinces" to the West-European circle is recognized. The processes of modernization and affirmation of the civil spiritual and material values, which were initiated in these lands by "the cultural mission" of the Habsburg Monarchy, were a starting point from which the art history professionals observed the art of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the 2nd half of the 20th century, extensive studies from the construction and painting field were compiled with an emphasis on the aspects of modern and civic art<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the sacral art in which Historicism as an antipode to Modernism lingered on longest, still has not received its scientific valorization. There were negative opinions presented about the Tyrolean woodcarving, which is most represented in the sacral Catholic art at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries; the opinions were that these are serial, non-original and non-authentic products without aesthetic value. These attitudes and also the decisions of the 2nd Vatican Council, as were war devastations of 1992-1995, led ultimately to declining in number, degradation and destruction of the Tyrolean heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both this one and the fact that Historicist art gained revalorization recently in the region and even further, give a basis in order to re-examine the past understanding of artistic values of the Tyrolean woodcarving and to protect this heritage from further devastation. Therefore in this paper, the basic characteristics of Tyrolean sculptures and altars which were obligatory part of church interiors will be pointed at; also, the most important ateliers from which they were delivered to Bosnia and Herzegovina will be specified and the present condition will be shown. A description of different aspects of the devastation and inadequate interventions on Tyrolean woodcarving pieces is intended in order to show those aspects of the Tyrolean artistic craft which are being neglected during the restorations of church buildings and which should be taken into account because of their protection.

### Tyrolean woodcarving – determining the notion and the characteristics in the context of the sacral art in the 2nd half of the 19th century

The Tyrolean woodcarving is generally understood to be an artistic craft and sculpture arisen in the central Alps of central Europe. Once a historic-geographic entity united under the Habsburgs (1363) and after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian

Monarchy (1918), separated into the northern Austrian and southern Italian part, it became recognized as a centre of the sacral art in the 19th century together with its woodcarving workshops. The tradition of making church equipment in this province dates back to the Middle Ages, that is to the period of the late Gothic, when individual Tyrolean woodcarvers excelled in making wing altars, ensuring themselves an important place in 15th century German art.<sup>2</sup> Although the skill of making sculpture and altars was cultivated in the period to come, the Tyrolean woodcarving reached its peak between 1890 and 1914, when workshops were founded and operated in the Gröden valley (in Italian: Val Gardena).<sup>3</sup>

The increased need for the equipment which would complete interiors of Historicist churches erected at the end of the 19th century, led in the aforementioned period to the opening of a large number of ateliers and so-called institutes for "the Christian art" in St. Ulrich and St. Christina (Gröden valley). These were actually manufactures led by woodcarvers and sculptors, where a large number of workers were employed (drawers, joiners, woodcarvers, polychromists, gilders, etc.) and collaborators in the so-called "cottage industry". Their final artefacts, i.e. sculptures, altars, pulpits, the Ways of the Cross etc., were signed by the workshop owner and chief master, that is an educated (perhaps even academically educated) sculptor. Although they were concentrated in a hard accessible area of the Alps, these workshops succeeded in distributing their goods (thanks to the railway and the increasing popularity of the Tyrolean woodcarving) even outside the Monarchy's borders until WWI (from Russia to the USA).<sup>4</sup>

Because the sacral equipment from the Tyrolean workshops has a technical perfection as a distinctive feature, its publicity through catalogues and relatively fast production and delivery of altars and sculptures, an attitude took hold that these were serial and non-original products without artistic value. Although it is a fact that Tyrolean workshops were under the influence of the industrialization and that, because of the large competition and fall of prices, the quality of woodcarving works at the beginning of the 20th century began to decrease, one should stress that there was a difference between massive production works (made by machines of the woodcarver (Schnitzer), and those made by hand by sculptors (Bildhauer)).<sup>5</sup> The latter ones did lead the largest workshops and their works reached an extraordinary quality among the Historicist period sacral sculpture. Among the most important and the most fruitful, one can specify Ludwig Moroder, Insam & Prinoth, Franz Shmalzl, and Ferdinand Stuflesser<sup>6</sup>, some of whom made equipment for the churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The thing that contributed to the popularity of the Tyrolean woodcarving in the material sense was certainly a larger accessibility of wooden sculptures and altars than the stone ones, which were not only more expensive, but required more time to be produced. From the artistic point of view however, far more important role was played by the capability of a sculptor and a woodcarver to meet requirements of the sacral art which leaned on the Historicist restoration of medieval forms that were completed with visual forms of the classical idealization and academism. Namely, in a period of Europe marked by the secularization and liberalization processes on the social, political and economic levels, the Church sought a visual expression in order to express its historical continuum, sacerdotalism and authority. That is why, renewal of the Gothic and Romanesque styles as "Christian styles" firstly appeared in church building trade, and later on also the Renaissance, the Baroque in which, during the 2nd half of the 19th century, national elements were also recognized.<sup>7</sup> A special attention was given in the period of Historicism to the shaping of altars, as central places in the liturgy, so academically educated architects were most often shaping altars in accordance with the basic stylistic conception of the building itself and the principle of Gesamtkunstwerk.<sup>8</sup>

In other words, altars had to contribute to the stylistic unity with the sacral space. Their production was often entrusted to the Tyrolean masters, precisely because of their skill to convey consistently the architects' plans into work. It is known that Friedrich von Schmidt himself (1825-1891), who was a builder, restorer and the highest authority on the sacral building at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna<sup>9</sup>, while working at the project for St. Nicholas Church in Innsbruck, gave a draft for the main altar which was subsequently made by Tyrolean Josef Andergassen; in that way, he made a role-model piece of work and "paradigmatic example of the Tyrolean Neo-Gothic altar with in-built predella and tabernacle".<sup>10</sup> His students of his architectural school at Viennese Academy worked similarly to Schmidt; they spread then-current academical and architectural thought across the Monarchy by designing sacral structures and their interiors<sup>11</sup>. This was also a case with Josip pl. Vancaš who would project numerous church structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to whom Tyrolean woodcarvers would contribute in the realization of the "sacral space unity" principle with their altars, pulpits and other church equipment.

Unlike the altars which, depending on a stylistic choice of the architect, could have had a strict Gothic and Romanesque architectonics, as well as "the mixed style" of the Renaissance and the Baroque, the Tyrolean sculpture which completed them,

was as a rule shaped according the medieval role-models, bearing in mind that it retained classical Renaissance idealizations. In fact, the Tyrolean sculpture was based on the Nazarene painting models<sup>12</sup> which were favoured in the Catholic art during the 19th century, due to its archaic, linear and easily legible forms which met the needs of the cult function. Besides being bequeathed at the academies in Vienna, Munich and Rome where Tyrolean sculptors were taking it over (being educated there), the Nazarene painting was conveyed via patterns (the so-called Müsterbücher), which were used in woodcarving workshops. Together with the patterns of recognized sacral art builders like were Josef Gasser, Franz Erler and Josef Knabl<sup>13</sup>, these models were the reason why Tyrolean sculpture got characteristics of an "anti-individualized typicalness" - any kind of emotion and expression which might indicate the author's special quality are absent on polychromatic reliefs and statues of rigid frontality and closed contours with restrained gestures and contemplative face expressions of saints; precisely that kind of art, where subjective visions and aspirations of the artist were "absorbed in the collective style" and which lack completely individuality and originality as premises of the modern civic art, were in compliance with the principles of the Church at the end of the 19th century.<sup>14</sup>

Therefore, one can say that the Tyrolean woodcarving at the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries was conditioned by the needs and principles of the sacral art, while its taking shape was contributed to by the academic thought, both at the architectural shaping of neo-stylistic altars and at the making of pertaining sculptures. Although academic education was not available to all Tyrolean woodcarvers, it was still transmitted and bequeathed by the work of the School for Drawing in St. Ulrich (Zeichnungsschule zu St. Ulrich, founded in 1825) and the School for Woodcarver's Training (Lehrwerkstatte, founded in 1872), where academically educated sculptors and painters taught.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, it was the institutional frame that enabled perfectioning of the artistic craft in Tyrol and which could have a large impact on the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy precisely thanks to that fact.

### "Tyroleans" in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The penetration of the Tyrolean woodcarving was felt in Bosnia and Herzegovina shortly after the Vrhbosna Archdiocese was founded, the head of which was dr. Josip Stadler (1843-1918), installed in 1882. Since he wanted to show a new status that the Catholic Church got under the Austro-Hungarian administration, Stadler did, among

other things, encourage the building of sacral structures, so it is specified that a number of Catholic churches in the first 15 years alone (from the introduction of the regular ecclesiastic hierarchy in Bosnia and Herzegovina) rose from 35 to 188.<sup>16</sup> As a rule, architect Josip pl. Vancaš (1859-1932)<sup>17</sup> was hired in order to give shape to the new ones, but also to work on the churches that needed to be restored; he received fame by the construction of the Sarajevo Cathedral (1884-1889).<sup>18</sup> Besides from having given basic architectural drafts, Vancaš shaped interior of more important churches holding onto the principle he adopted, while being a student of Schmidt's architectural school in Vienna. Since Tyrolean masters were hired for the creation of the entire church equipment according to his drafts, that is to be more precise, Ferdinand Stuflesser as the most prominent sculptor in Tyrol at the end of the 19th century, one could say that the impact of the Tyrolean woodcarving in Bosnia and Herzegovina came through Vancaš at first.<sup>19</sup> Through his mediation in the beginning and later on recommendations of the Archdiocese Ordinariate, parish priests later ordered independently and for their own needs works from larger workshops in St. Ulrich from the Gröden valley.

The main reason of procuring wooden altars and sculptures from Tyrol was the fact that there were neither sculptors, nor educated artists in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 19th century, artists who could meet equipment needs of the new churches. Even the artists from neighbouring Croatia were rarely hired, because the price of making entire altars in Tyrol was fairer for the newly-founded Archdiocese which had no material conditions for building exuberant structures with stone equipment. Except for a couple of churches in Sarajevo like the Cathedral, the Holy Trinity Church, the Queen of the Holy Rosary Church and St. Anthony's Church<sup>20</sup>, there were almost no stone altars and sculptures. Although it is difficult to determine precisely the extent of the Tyrolean woodcarving in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to the fact that objects in question are rather scarce and affected during the last century, one can still say that the sacral equipment from Tyrol was the most prevalent, i.e. it was procured most often whenever there was need to complete interiors of the churches erected at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. This is corroborated by the fact that the most representative and largest churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina had precisely Tyrolean altars and sculptures. Since it would be too difficult to number them at this point, one shall in the further text describe Tyrolean sculptors, masters and workshops for whom it is known that they delivered equipment to "the southernmost provinces of the Monarchy". Together with them, one shall present the characteristics of their preserved works, that is, one shall clarify their stylistic and formal characteristics.

The most represented Tyrolean workshop by far, from which sculptures and altars were delivered to Bosnia and Herzegovina, was the workshop of **Ferdinand Stuflesser** (St. Ulrich, Gröden, December 19th 1855 – October 9th 1926). Unlike most wood-carvers in then-St. Ulrich, Stuflesser was an educated sculptor who specialized in the sacral sculpture under renowned Josef Knabl at the Academy in Munich. His atelier, founded in 1875 as the *Institut für kirchliche Kunst, Altarbau und kirchl. Bildhauerei*, delivered annually up to 50 altars, pulpits and other sacral equipment, both within the Monarchy borders and beyond. Works with Stuflesser's signatures are present on the territory from Russia to the USA; they are present to a great extent in neighbouring Croatia<sup>21</sup>, via which they were coming to our country.

According to the information we obtained so far, Stuflesser appeared in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the first time in 1894, when, at the requests of the Vrbosna Archdiocese Ordinariate, he was offered to make the main altar for the Franciscan Church of the Holy Ghost in Fojnica<sup>22</sup>, according to Vančaš's draft. After the work was entrusted to him and after he made two more side altars for the same church in 1895, he was more and more hired when it was necessary to build an equipment for a church on whose entire architectural shaping Vančaš was working on. Thus, he made and delivered altars with sculptures (somewhere also the Ways of the Cross and pulpits completed with reliefs) for the Seminary Church of St. Methodius and St. Cyril in Sarajevo (1896-1900)<sup>23</sup>, then the Franciscan monastery Churches of St. Francis of Assisi in Guča Gora (1897), of St. John the Baptist in Kraljeva Sutjeska, of St. Anthony at Bistrik in Sarajevo, and the school Church of the Queen of the Holy Rosary at Banski Brijeg in Sarajevo (1911-1912)<sup>24</sup>. Apart from them, Stuflesser worked on the equipment for a number of small parish churches, designed by Vančaš; such as the Holy Trinity Church in Sarajevo (1906), the Church of St. Anthony in Busovača (1899) and the Church of St. Elias in Zenica (1910-1918)<sup>25</sup>. In order to see what was the real extent of Stuflesser's activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the turn of the century, one can point to the preserved archive books of his still active workshops - in the Vrbbosna Archdiocese alone from 1900 to 1918, as much as 38 church institutions ordered altars, statues, crucifixes and other sacral equipment from him.<sup>26</sup>

It would be almost impossible to present all the works of Stuflesser's workshop in Bosnia and Herzegovina because of their large number, while the aforementioned buildings were selected since they contain the most representative works of Stuflesser's altars and sculpture, that is, their appearance is even today known to us. When speaking in principle, these were three-fold or one-fold altars of the "arc de

triomphe" type with which sculptures were located in the altarpiece's niches, while reliefs or decoratively painted panels are located on the level of the predella and stipes. Since most of them were made in the spirit of late Historicism, the altars of the so-called "round arch" prevail (Rundbogen Style) and where openings of the niches for statues or painted altarpieces are semi-circular and were completed with decorative and architectural forms taken from the large repertoire of the Renaissance and Baroque art. The main altars that Stuflesser made according to Vančaš's draft for the churches in Fojnica and Kraljeva Sutjeska<sup>27</sup> have shell-shaped niches as a recognizable Renaissance element and also a tectonics of the so-called "altdeutsch" altar, where decorative elements of various volumes are gradually placed at the crown.

The altars of the Church of St. Methodius and St. Cyril in Sarajevo are of the "mixed style", since that, apart from the Renaissance ones, they have some Baroque elements, out of which the most recognizable is the fragmented gable at the top of the altar<sup>28</sup>. Rich polychromy contributes to the eclectic and "exuberant" appearance of the aforementioned altars to a great extent, as does the gilding which is not absent even on stylistically "purer" variants. The side altars that Stuflesser made for the Church of the Most Holy Trinity in Novo Sarajevo (again on Vančaš's model)<sup>29</sup> may be considered as such and whose Neo-Romanesque architectonics is completed and emphasized by the gilding on a brown background. Among "the round arch" altars with reduced polychromy are also Neo-Baroque side altars in the Church of the Queen of the Holy Rosary at Banski Brijeg in Sarajevo, where bent surfaces and a delicate gilding have a freshness and a certain lightness unusual for the Tyrolean altars.

Apart from "the round arch" altars, Stuflesser made altars of the lancet arch type (Spitzbogen Style) for Bosnia and Herzegovina as well, that is, the equipment for the Neo-Gothic stylistic conception. Among the more representative solutions (for which we know what they looked like) was the equipment he made for the St Anthony's Church in Sarajevo which included rich altars and a pulpit; pinnacles and their emphasized verticalism contributed to their Gothic appearance<sup>30</sup>. The only preserved Neo-Gothic altars Stuflesser made for Bosnia and Herzegovina are located in the parish church in Busovača; these are one-fold altarpieces with sculptures, where niches are with curving openings. Unlike the aforementioned ones, the drafts for these altars were given by Marco Antonini, more known as the artist who painted Franciscan monastery churches in Bosnia.<sup>31</sup>

Of course, the obligatory part of Stuflesser's altars consisted of the sculptures that are figures of saints and they are in far larger number preserved than the altars themselves. Being the typical Nazarene idealizations with contemplative face expressions and reduced gesticulation, these sculptures are characterized by harmonious proportioning and exceptional polychromy that managed to be preserved until today. Their most beautiful examples are considered to be the statues of St. Ann and Joachim at St Joseph's altar in the Seminary Church of St Cyril and St Methodius in Sarajevo, whose top-quality workmanship leads us to a thought that it was Stuflesser himself who made them. Besides a number of sculptures representing the Hearts of Jesus and Mary, St. Anthony or St. Francis, one can single out sculptures of St. Augustine, St John of Nepomuk, St. Barbara and St. Notburga located on the consoles of the Queen of the Holy Rosary's Church in Sarajevo due to their workmanship, polychromy and state of preservation. It would be worth mentioning reliefs, out of which the one on the altarpiece on the main altar in the parish church in Zenica stands out due to its dimensions and iconographic theme; it was made in 1910, according to the plans of then parish priest of Zenica.<sup>32</sup>

Unlike Stuflesser's works which were great in number, the works of the remaining "Tyroleans" far more rarely appear in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only a couple of altars and sculptures of more renowned woodcarvers are preserved; archive data do not offer information if there were more of them at all. This is a case with the works bearing the signature of **Franz Schmalzl**, a woodcarver and sculptor, appreciated for "the plasticity and colouring of the statues that he made"<sup>33</sup>. Although substantially represented in the churches of Upper Austria and northwest Croatia, his sculptures and altars in Bosnia and Herzegovina are second in place regarding their number and were probably procured via recommendations and advertisements in Catholic magazines. The statues of St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist ordered for the altar of the Nativity of Virgin Mary Church in Brestovsko in 1905 are among the earliest known works of his; a year later, these are the sculptures of SS Cyril and Methodius, and SS Peter and Paul for the previously mentioned the Most Holy Trinity Church in Sarajevo.<sup>34</sup>

Subsequent sculptures are characterized by their top-quality workmanship and drapery polychromy completed with gilded trimmings; There is a dark carnation of saints' figures as a distinctive element of Schmalzl. The statues that have similar characteristics are located in the three of Schmalzl's altars in the Church of St. Michael the Archangel in Vareš 1906<sup>35</sup> and which largely lost their original appearance due to inadequate restoration. The only preserved example which still supports that

Schmalzl was an excellent altarmaker (Altarbauer) is the altar he made for the St. Anthony of Padua Church in Bugojno - a signed altar made at the beginning of the 20th century that could be assigned to a category of the Neo-Romanesque type in terms of style and according to its architectonics and tall reliefs decorating the altarpiece, it is one of the most specific and valuable Tyrolean works in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Only one altar in Bosnia and Herzegovina is preserved from the works of **Ferdinand Prinoth**, a descendant of one of the Tyrolean families known for the woodcarving tradition; it is located in the Church of Peter and Paul in Gorice near Livno. Although the Prinoths were more famous for their co-operation with the Insam family (Insam & Prinoth workshop),<sup>36</sup> they had their own atelier since 1880 delivering sacral equipment to the southern parts of the Monarchy. The altar they made for the Gorica Monastery<sup>37</sup> in 1908 is markedly monumental, belonging to the Neo-Byzantine type, i.e. to the type of the round arch altars. Apart from the representative statues of SS Paul and Peter in the central niche of the altar and St. Elias and St. George in the side niches, this altar, rich in polychromy and gildings, is decorated with reliefs with scenes of Melchisedech's and Abraham's sacrifice on the level of predella and the Last Supper on the level of stipes. In the Gorica Church, Prinoth's statues of Christ, St. Anthony, St. Francis, St. Joseph and St. Stephen are preserved in the side altars; the first one may represent one of the best examples of the Sacred Heart iconographical theme in our country due to the way the carnation was executed and the drapery with rich trimmings.

The case when the works of a certain Tyrolean workshop appear in one and only church refers also to a small parish church of St. Mark in Gradačac in which there was an altar from the workshop of Adolf Vogl brought in 1903<sup>38</sup>. He was also a woodcarver who led the "Institute for the Church Art" (Kirchliche Kunstanstalt), his workshop having been founded in Hall near Innsbruck in 1888, and not in St. Ulrich. Vogl delivered the altar with the sculpture of St. Mark to the Gradačac church and also those of apostles SS Peter and Paul<sup>39</sup>, while only the first sculpture was preserved out of the entire altar group; it is largely massive and damaged, but still having more recognizable Nazarene impostation and Tyrolean workmanship.

One should finally mention **Klarenz Hemmerlmayer** whose name is only significant for the Bosnia and Herzegovina context. Namely friar Klarencije (as he was called as well) was a friar layman, having spent some time among the Bosnian Franciscans and made several altars for then-monastery and parish churches in the period of 1905 to 1909. Although very little is known of him, that is, there are

no data where he was educated and how he came to Bosnia, his works known so far lead to conclusion that he was a solid and productive woodcarver of the Tyrolean provenance. The earliest and preserved works are the main altars he made for the parish Churches of St. Ann in Banbrdo and the Nativity of Virgin Mary in Brestovsko (1905), then the side altar of St. Anthony, and two small altars, dedicated to Mater Dolorosa and friar Andeo Zvizdović in the Church of the Holy Ghost in Fojnica (1906) and then the side altars which he finished in the Church of SS Peter and Paul in Gorice near Livno (1906).<sup>40</sup> It is known that Hemmerlmayer built later on the altars for the Church of St. Bonaventure in Visoko (1906) and Churches of Mary's Assumption in Dolac (1907) and Rama (1909), but except for the main altar of the Dolac church, none has been preserved until today.<sup>41</sup> On the basis of the existing ones, one can still say that it is difficult to assign them to one stylistic category, since they are completely eclectic. Whether they are one-fold or three-fold, they have, as a rule, semi-columns with volutes on capitals which flank the central part of the altarpiece and carry fragmented friezes on which decorative vases stand. The obligatory part is the attic of the gable end, as well as the ornamental slabs on which angels with open wings are made as a relief. One should also stress that Hemmerlmayer did not make statues for altars, but was ordering them from Tyrol, either from Stuflesser, Schmalzl or some other master.<sup>42</sup>

When speaking in principle, the works of the Tyroleans in Bosnia and Herzegovina are mutually quite similar, but they still bear specific characteristics of the masters who were making them. Most of sculptures and altars can be identified via workshops' signatures (where they were made), but there are a lot of them that were not signed, like the sculptures that were located in the Church of St Nicholas in Visoko.<sup>43</sup> The attribution of such sculptures depends on the archive data in parishes and monasteries which are unfortunately rather rare like the Tyrolean woodcarving as well, having been, during the 20th century, a victim of war devastations, natural disasters and sometimes professional neglect.

### **Valorization of the Tyrolean sculpture and altarmaking so far and their current condition**

Neither the Tyrolean woodcarving in Bosnia and Herzegovina, nor the sacral sculpture of the Historicist period have been a subject of a systematic research and scientific valorization so far. Since the visual phenomena were, in principle, evaluated according to the values of the modern art, an opinion took hold during the last cen-

tury, that the Tyrolean sculpture and altarmaking represent serial products, non-original and unauthentic works which do not have aesthetic values and by means of this do not have meaning for the profession. As an illustration of them being neglected within the frames of the art history surveys in Bosnia and Herzegovina, an example of the large exhibitions (held during the 1970s and the 1980s) may serve – at the exhibition "The Art in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1892 to 1923", the Tyrolean sculpture was not mentioned, while at the exhibition called "The Treasure of the Franciscan Monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina", only a couple of Tyrol-made sculptures at the end of the 19th century were shown, although they claim the largest share out of the preserved sacral sculpture of that period.<sup>44</sup> A negative opinion about the "Tyroleans" came from the church circles as well (during the second half of the 20th century); according to it, the Tyrolean craft was evaluated as an "Austro-Hungarian stylistic import" of cliché and "cloying-kitschy" form which does not contribute to "the aesthetic and generally speaking spiritual atmosphere."<sup>45</sup>

Such an attitude contributed to the neglect, decay of a certain number of Tyrolean sculptures and altars across Bosnia and Herzegovina. Decisions made at the 2nd Vatican Council facilitated their removal from churches; the Council urged the liturgy, the form and the position of the altar to be changed after the 1960s. In the aforementioned time, "modernization" of a great number of churches took place; churches lose their original neo-stylistic equipment, their place being taken by the works of local artists. One striking example is the church of St. Anthony's Monastery at Bistrik, from which the entire Neo-Gothic inventory (made by Stuflesser) was thrown out in order to give way to the artworks of Ivo Dulčić, Zdenko Grgić, Frano Kršinić and others.<sup>46</sup> Not entering into the valorization of the works of the aforementioned artists, one should still say that by this "renewal" the original value of the interior of St. Anthony's Church disappeared (that was shaped by architect Josip Vančaš according to the Gesamtkunstwerk principles at the beginning of the 20th century). There is a considerable number of these examples, although among these renewed churches, there are those that suffered due to natural disasters and war devastations. The earthquake that struck Banja Luka in 1969, brought devastation to numerous sacral structures of the local diocese, and by this, the entire neo-stylistic inventory found in them. During WWII, places of worship also suffered; the monastery churches at Rama-Šćit and Guča Gora irretrievably lost their original appearance of the interior, as well as the Tyrolean ensembles that shaped them<sup>47</sup>. Far the greatest devastations took place in the last war (1992/95), when numerous church structures were subjected to shelling, if not completely reduced to rubble. Tyrolean inventory

in them was being destroyed by bullets and shrapnels, also desecrated by direct destruction by burning sculptures and altars and by cutting off individual parts.<sup>48</sup>

According to the researches so far, one can say that the largest number of the Tyrolean sculptures and altars have been preserved until today in the Vrhbosna Archdiocese, i.e. in the churches of Sutjeska, Fojnica and Guča Gora Archdiaconate. Although there are some that are good in condition and are valuable examples of the Tyrolean woodcarving in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a lot of them are degraded by non-expert interventions and attempts to restore them. As examples, one can specify the aforementioned altars of Schmalzl's production in the parish church in Vareš (they were painted over during the 1980s due to which they lost their original polychromy); the altars in St. Elias Church in Zenica and the side altars in the Church of St. Elias in Novi Šeher suffered similar fate. In the latter ones, the original polychromy of the wooden altars was not taken into account during the "restoration"; they were painted over completely in white paint together with the statues of St. Joseph and St. George, probably so that they could imitate stone altars.

Among the damaged altars, one should specify here two Stuflesser's side altars in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Novo Sarajevo - originally they were framing altarpieces, only to get an improvised pedestal for the statues of SS Ann and Virgin Mary after 1995; by their three-dimensional quality, they do not correspond at all to the one-dimensional altarpieces of the altars on which they currently stand. Apart from the altar, the statues themselves are subject to being ruined, since they are entrusted for the restoration attempts to non-expert individuals (individuals are not familiar with the workmanship technology and polychromy of the Tyrolean works of art and do not respect the original appearance of the sculptures). One good example of such activity is Stuflesser's sculpture of the Sacred Heart in the Church of St George in Derventa; it was painted over without real need, thus losing its mildly nuanced carnation, contrastive colours and damask ornamentation in the drapery.

Generally, one can say that the approach towards altars and sculptures and other church equipment in Bosnia and Herzegovina stemming from the Tyrolean woodcarving workshops is neither substantially and professionally grounded, nor are they adequately protected. Apart from non-existent awareness of the value of the works of art the Tyrolean artistic craft at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries has, there is not a single efficient mechanism which would render this non-expert attitude towards this segment of the visual heritage in

Bosnia and Herzegovina impossible. It is important to draw attention to it in order to prevent its further decay.

## Conclusion

The Tyrolean sculpture and altarmaking which began to decorate the Catholic churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Austro-Hungarian administration are a typical example of the Historicist sacral art as well as the artistic craft at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Shaped according to the models of the Nazarene painting and the principles of stylistic purity and unity, the altars and sculptures of Tyrolean production were one of the key representatives of neostylistic shaping of sacral interiors and contributed to the creation of the so-called Gesamtkunstwerk. In the case of some of the most representative churches, built in the aforementioned epoch, the Tyrolean church inventory was created according to the ideas of Josip pl. Vancaš himself, and was manufactured in the workshop of Ferdinand Stuflesser. Apart from this sculptor whose works claim the largest share in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Tyrolean altars and sculptures were also ordered from Franz Schmalzl, Ferdinand Prinoth, Adolf Vogl, and Klarenz Hemmerlmayer. Their delivery to the newly-founded Vrhbosna Archdiocese was encouraged by the Ordinariate itself, both due to the fact that there were no native sculptors and craftsmen in the country who might have satisfied the needs of the churches in the process of construction, and due to the more favourable offers within which the "Tyroleans" knew how to make the entire sacral inventory.

Although a great number of Tyrolean works decayed during the last century due to war devastations, natural disasters and due to a lack of care and neglecting policies, preserved works of the "Tyroleans" in individual cases have indisputable historical and artistic value and importance for understanding the Historicism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Because of the mere fact of being rare, the Tyrolean altars and sculptures deserve attention from experts, but also adequate protection from further decay and non-expert "restoration". Although one cannot say that the Tyrolean woodcarving represents a peak of the visual art at the turn of the century, its significance is in the fact that it stands as a witness to historical, social and economic circumstances and also artistic trends which included Bosnia and Herzegovina after the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian administration.

<sup>1</sup> Important contributions for studying the building trade in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian rule were made by Ibrahim Krzović, Nedžad Kurto, Jela Božić, Branka Dimitrijević, Mehmed Hrasnica and others, while painting was mostly dealt with by Ljubica Mladenović and Azra Begić.

<sup>2</sup> Among the most important ones was famous painter and sculptor Michael Pacher. See: Erich Egg, *Kunst in Tirol*, Bd. 1: Baukunst und Plastik. Innsbruck, Wien, München: Tyrolia Verlag, 1970, 262-318.

<sup>3</sup> Reinhard Rampold, „Kirchenausstattungen vom Historismus bis zum Jugendstil“, in: *Kunst in Tirol*, Bd. 2: *Vom Barock bis in die Gegenwart*, (ed.) Paul Naredi-Rainer, Lukas Madersbacher. Innsbruck-Wien: Tyrolia-Verlag, 2007, 503-504.

<sup>4</sup> Irena Kraševac, „Tirolska sakralna skulptura i oltari na prijelazu 19. u 20. stoljeće u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj“, in: *Analji Galerije A. Augustinčića*, 26/2006, Klanjec, 2007, 3-10; Irena Kraševac, *Neostilska sakralna skulptura i oltarna arhitektura u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj*, doctoral dissertation, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> I. Kraševac (note 4), 5

<sup>6</sup> R. Rampold (note 3), 504.

<sup>7</sup> See more on the Historicist architecture in Vienna and the Monarchy in: Renata Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19 Jahrhundert*, Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970; Susanne Kronbichler-Skacha, „Architektur“, in: *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs*, 1. Teil, Katalog des NÖ Landesmuseum, Wien, 1984, 490-500.

<sup>8</sup> Gesamtkunstwerk is a term used for the first time by composer Richard Wagner in his essay "Art work of the future" from 1849 in order to denote the entire art work made of various art media. The concept itself appeared even earlier, in the period of Baroque to be more precise, when architecture, painting and sculpture were combined with decorative arts. In the period of Historicism, the Gesamtkunstwerk represented the artistic ideal. See: Richard Wagner, "The Art-Work of the Future", in: *Art in Theory*, 1815-1900. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009, 471-578.

<sup>9</sup> More on Schmidt in: Peter Haiko, „Friedrich von Schmidt, Ein Gotischer Rationalist“, *Friedrich von Schmidt (1825-1891), Ein Gotischer Rationalist*, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1991, 121-134.

<sup>10</sup> R. Rampold (note 3), 515.

<sup>11</sup> On the students of Friedrich Schmidt in: József Sisa, "Neogothic Architecture and Restoration of Historic Buildings in Central Europe; Friedrich Schmidt and His School", in: *Journal of the Society of the Architectural Historians*, 61/2, 2002, 170-187; Dragan Damjanović, Bečka akademija likovnih umjetnosti i hrvatska arhitektura historicizma. Hrvatski učenici Fridricha von Schmidta, exhibition catalogue, HAZU, Zagreb,

2011; Dragan Damjanović, „Radovi hrvatskih arhitekata u časopisu Wiener Baühutte“, in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 30/2006, Zagreb, 229-240

<sup>12</sup> On the painting of the Nazarenes more in: Die Nazarener. Religion, Macht, Kunst, catalogue of the exhibition held in Schirn-Kunsthalle Frankfurt. Köln: König, 2005; Cordula Grewe, "Historicism and the Symbolic Imagination in Nazarene Art", *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 89, No. 1 (March 2007), 82-107. Alexander Rauch, "Neoclassicism and the Romantic Movement; The Nazarenes and the Catholic South", *Neoclassicism and Romanticism*. Ullmann&Könemann, 2007, 452-463.

<sup>13</sup> R. Rampold (note 3), 503. Gasser and Erler carved sculptures and reliefs for the Altlerchenfeld and the Votive Church in Vienna, then for the Cathedral in Linz and participated in the restoration of the St. Stephen Church. Knabl occupied himself with woodcarving, and led the Chair of the Church Sculpture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich since 1863 and made a new altar for the Frauenkirche in the same city. (Thieme/Becker: Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Vollmer: Allgemeinem Lexikon der bildenden Künstler des XX. Jahrhunderts, Leipzig 2008; The Catholic Encyclopedia, New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913)

<sup>14</sup> See: Titus Burkhardt, *Sveta umjetnost na istoku i zapadu*. Sarajevo: Tugra, 2007, 187-211.

<sup>15</sup> I. Kraševac (note 4), 6; R. Rampold (note 3), 504.

<sup>16</sup> Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2007, 114.

<sup>17</sup> On Vancaš more in: Jela Božić, Arhitekt Josip pl. Vancaš, Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva u periodu austro-ugarske uprave (doctoral dissertation) Sarajevo: University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Architecture in Sarajevo, 1989.

<sup>18</sup> Andrea Baotić, "Prvostolna crkva Srca Isusova - Sarajevska katedrala", *Radovi Hrvatskog društva za znanost i umjetnost*, Sarajevo: Croatian Association of Arts and Sciences, 2010, 57-78.

<sup>19</sup> Olga Maruševski, „O vrednovanju i čuvanju neostilske crkvene opreme - u povodu obnove u ratu oštećene župne crkve S. Križa u Sisku“, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 20/1996, 154.

<sup>20</sup> See: Snježana Mutapčić, „Sarajevske crkve kroz povijest umjetnosti“, *Hrvatska misao*, 11-12. Sarajevo: Matica hrvatska, 1999, 135-151.; Andrea Baotić, „Historicism in architecture in the period of Catholic sacral objects in Sarajevo 1878-1918“, in: *Zbornik radova s međunarodne konferencije „Bosna i Hercegovina u okviru Austro-Ugarske 1878-1918“*. Sarajevo: Faculty of Philosophy, 2011, 537-559.

<sup>21</sup> More in: Irena Kraševac, „Kipar Ferdinand Stuflesser. Doprinos tirolskom sakralnom kiparstvu druge polovine 19. stoljeća u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj“, *Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 27/1996, Zagreb, 231-239; I. Kraševac (note 4), 11-13.

<sup>22</sup> Archives of the Vrhbosna Archdiocese (further: ANV), 335/1894.

<sup>23</sup> See: Andrea Baotić, „Neostilska sakralna oprema bogoslovne crkve sv. Ćirila i Metoda“, in: *Studia Vrhbosnensia* 15, Catholic Theological Faculty in Sarajevo, 2011, 193-206.

<sup>24</sup> On Stuflessner's works in the aforementioned churches more in: Andrea Baotić, *Sakralna skulptura i oltaristika u Vrhbosanskoj nadbiskupiji na prijelomu 19. i 20. stoljeća*, qualification work in the Postgraduation Doctoral Studies of Art History, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb, 2012, 45-52.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Data on all the orderers are located in the archive books Journal (4 books from 1900 to 1916) and Hauptbuch (6 books from 1900 to 1920) that I had the opportunity to consult, during a visit to Stuflessner's workshop in St. Ulrich in July 2014.

<sup>27</sup> The altar drafts are located in the archives of the aforementioned monasteries. In Vienna magazine *Der Bautechniker*, Vančaš's draft for the main altar of the Holy Ghost Church in Fojnica was published (*Hochaltar der Klosterkirche zu Fojnica in Bosnien; Beilage zum „Bautechniker, 1898/XVIII, No. 34*, page 703), while the earlier version of the same altar was published in magazine *Vesti društva inžinira i arhitekta u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji* (*Glavni žrtvenik župne crkve u Fojnici*, in 1897, No. 2, page 3).

<sup>28</sup> The draft for the main altar is located in the Seminary's archive, while the draft for the side altar of St Joseph as published in magazine *Der Bautechniker* (*Beilage zum „Bautechniker“*, 1897/ XVII, No. 53).

<sup>29</sup> Actually, the side altars have similar elements like the main one that was made by Anton Lušina according to Vančaš's draft, meaning that they were either made according to it or Vančaš gave a special draft for them.

<sup>30</sup> Photo of the St. Anne's Church interior is kept in the archive of the Novo Sarajevo parish, while a couple of them were published in the publication: Franjo M. Blažević, *Crkva sv. Ante Padovanskog u Sarajevu*, D. & A. Kajon Printing Shop, Nakladom odbora za gradnju crkve, Sarajevo, 1917.

<sup>31</sup> ANV 1225/1898. On Antonini in: Ljubica Mladenović, *Gradsansko slikarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1981, 54-70.

<sup>32</sup> A. Baotić (note 24), 50.

<sup>33</sup> I. Kraševac (note 4), 22.

<sup>34</sup> More on the aforementioned Schmalz's works in Bosnia and Herzegovina in: A. Baotić (note 24), 52-54.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> I. Kraševac, (note 4), 15.

<sup>37</sup> Ignacije Gavran, „Samostanska crkva na Gorici kod Livna“, *Livanjski kraj u povijesti. Livno-Split*, 1994, 199-213.

<sup>38</sup> ANV 1903/1014

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> More on Hemmerlmayer's works in: A. Baotić (note 24), 54-57. On altars in Livno: I. Gavran (note 37), 209-210.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Today, the sculptures of St. Bonaventure, St. Francis, St. Anthony with the Child, Virgin Mary and the Body of Christ are located in the Monastery in Visoko.

<sup>44</sup> See: *Umjetnost Bosne i Hercegovine 1894-1923*, exhibition catalogue. Sarajevo: Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1978; *Blago franjevačkih samostana Bosne i Hercegovine*, exhibition catalogue, Sarajevo: Institute for Protection of Cultural-Historic Heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1988.

<sup>45</sup> Zrinka Vilić, Marko Karamatić, „Na izvorima autentičnog stvaralaštva (Umjetnička obnova crkve sv. Ante Padovanskog u Sarajevu)“, Jukić, No. 8, 1978, pages 129-137. Friar Ignacije Gavran also had similar views, see: I. Gavran (note 37); *Župna crkva u Varešu*, Sarajevo: Svetlo riječi, 1998; „Vrata u život, Uz 100. obljetnicu postojanja zgrade Franjevačke klasične gimnazije u Visokom“, Svetlo riječi, Sarajevo, 2000.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> On the restoration of the monastery churches in: *Blago franjevačkih samostana Bosne i Hercegovine*, (ed. dr. Marko Karamatić, dr. Andrija Nikić). Zagreb: Privredni vjesnik - Turistička propaganda, 1990.

<sup>48</sup> On the history and the present-day condition of the churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina after 1995 in: Franjo Marić: *Vrhbosanska Nadbiskupija na početku trećeg tisućljeća*. Sarajevo-Zagreb: Nadbiskupski ordinarijat vrhbosanski, 2004; Franjo Marić and Anto Orlovac: *Banjolučka biskupija u riječi i slici od 1881. do 2006.*, Banja Luka: Biskupski ordinarijat, 2006. Ilija Živković: *Raspeta crkva u Bosni i Hercegovini, destruction of the sacral structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991.-1996.)*, Hrvatski informativni centar, Biskupska konferencija Bosne i Hercegovine, Zagreb, 1997.



Ivana Udovičić

## VISUAL ART ARCHIVE OF NADA MAGAZINE

The paper brings basic information about *Nada* magazine with emphasis on the illustrators who collaborated with this magazine. Their importance is multidirectional. On the one hand, the magazine introduces the spirit of Art Nouveau in these countries, but at the same time it sends an image of a new and unknown world to Europe. Its importance is particularly visible in the formation of oeuvres of the first educated painters of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Keywords:** *Nada* magazine, the Arndt brothers, Maximilian Liebenwein, Ivana Kočilca, Ludvík Kuba, Sarajevo Painting Club

In the cultural field in Bosnia and Herzegovina, hardly any magazine provoked so many contrary opinions, different interpretations, pieces of criticism and eulogies like Sarajevo *Nada* did. The founders of this carefully conceived project with a clearly defined goal from the very beginning lacked neither money nor ambitions. One pinned their real hope for success on the project, not only in the field of culture promotion, but for the success of all the policies pursued by Austria-Hungary in the new province and that being the establishment of reputation and interconnecting of different traditions which were subsumed under the common name of Bosnianhood. One skilfully manipulated religious and national feelings within that project, at one moment connecting them and at the other fomenting intercommunal conflicts, but always to the extent that it was convenient for the Monarchy itself. A short time of the magazine's publication indicates the failure of the whole idea, but the importance that *Nada* had on the culturological level cannot be contested by anyone. *Nada* magazine was published in the period from 1895 to 1903, its importance and influence being indicated on several occasions.<sup>1</sup>



Leo Arndt, **TITLE FOR THE HOPE**, Tempera on cardboard, The Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inv.no 2080

It was published by the Provincial Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina, meaning that it was financed directly from Vienna via Benjamin Kállay, the Common Minister of Finance and Administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the same time. The editor-in-chief and "ideologist" of the magazine was Kosta Hörmann (at that time he was an advisor to the Government and Director of the Zemaljski Museum - Provincial Museum in Sarajevo), but very soon the main tasks in the Editorial Board will be taken over by Silvije Strahimir Kranjčević. During the entire time of its publication, it was printed in the Provincial Printing Shop in Sarajevo<sup>2</sup>. All the three aforementioned protagonists will influence the magazine's formation to a significant extent. Since the very beginning, the magazine was conceived to present informative, interesting and instructive texts, being abundant in contributions from the region (the Monarchy), but also to bring important information about the cultural life from other European centres. The magazine was published in the local (provincial) language<sup>3</sup>, in two identical editions, written in two scripts (Latin and Cyrillic). An occasion to launch the new magazine was certainly a desire to control the formation of cultural consciousness in the newly acquired province. It was a logical consequence of culture policies the Monarchy was pursuing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so after the first museums and grammar schools had been founded<sup>4</sup> (as a precondition for the cultural development on the model of other Austro-Hungarian provincial centres), a favourable climate was created for launching illustrated magazines for "education, entertainment

and art". *Nada* had a task to bring other parts of the Monarchy closer to its readers, present them as integral parts of it, to connect mutual differences of the peoples and cultures and at the same time to discover that new province to Vienna itself. Preparations lasted for almost a year<sup>5</sup> until the publication of the first issue and were based on an intensive correspondence between Vienna and Sarajevo (the Provincial Government in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Common Ministry of Finance, that is between Hörmann and Kállay)<sup>6</sup>. In the first issue, the entire project was presented as an attempt "to unite (in this magazine) all the spiritual forces that the people have at their disposal", while authors were encouraged to send contributions. The target group should be, apart from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, as well as other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy<sup>7</sup>.



Ewald Arndt Čeplin, HAYCOCK, India ink on cardboard, 31 x 23 cm, dd: Ewald Arndt, The Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inv.no. 2010

The magazine had a generous financial support from the Government, so one could start with luxurious press from the very beginning; it included a plenty of illustrations, as well as significant author's royalties aiming to attract as many collaborators as possible.

Despite the fact that the whole project was conceived very carefully and precisely, set up and later carried out as a necessary one and by means of this also a justified incentive to the cultural development, it remained tied to the personality of Benjamin Kállay and his policies towards Bosnia during the entire time of its publication which did not last even for a whole decade (it ceased publication only several months after he died). There are several reasons for which this magazine ceased publication, but the decisive one was surely an insufficient response of both readers and collaborators which indicated general non-acceptance of the policies that Austria-Hungary pursued in these lands<sup>8</sup>. The failure of *Nada* (if this is how we can call its short time of publication) can be interpreted from this distanced point of view as the first failure of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One should seek reasons for the impossibility to realize the set objectives announced in the first issue<sup>9</sup>, in the broader plan than the cultural one.

There are more serious analyses and reviews<sup>10</sup> of the literary aspects of *Nada* magazine, while one emphasizes that it was precisely the illustration archive of *Nada* that initiated the beginning and development of the Modern Art among Bosnia and Herzegovina painters, when it comes to visual art contributions that are often mentioned in technical literature.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, this visual art segment has still not been systematically dealt with and still awaits a more serious analysis and interpretation, so I disclose only basic information on this occasion. The visual art archive of *Nada* today numbers several hundreds drawings and paintings, works by ten or so authors, among which the most important are brothers Ewald<sup>12</sup> and Leo Arndt and Maximilian Liebenwein. Together with Ivana Kobilca, they will form the Sarajevo Painting Club at the beginning of the 20th century, undertaking various activities in the sphere of visual art.

The Arndt brothers come from the environs of Leipzig, but they remained completely unknown there. The main part of their oeuvre is linked to the Balkan lands and documented for the most part on the pages of *Nada*. We know almost nothing about Leo's life, except that he resided in Sarajevo from 1895 to 1903 which corresponds with his engagement in *Nada*. Also, he is on record as having taught for a short time in a grammar school in Tuzla. Ewald Arndt, after completed studies in Germany, worked in a grammar school in Sofia and resided like his brother in Sarajevo from 1895 to 1903. His works go on record as having had a lyrically pleasing softness, while his brother's works are characterized by a vivid stroke and technical polish.

Maximilian Liebenwein was born in Vienna in 1869. He studied at the Academy of

Fine Arts in Vienna, under professor Berger. Afterwards, he attended special studies of historical painting, first in Karlsruhe under then-very famous and respected professor Heinrich von Zügel and later under the same professor in Munich. He resided several times in Sarajevo in the period from 1897 to 1904. He was an active member of Art Nouveau, even its vice-president for a while. He died in Munich in 1926.

Unlike the Arndt brothers, Max Liebenwein possesses a distinct acrid stroke which stands out from other illustrators. Its expression is easily recognizable and approached the Art Nouveau spirit most.

Slovenian painter Ivana Kobilca came to Sarajevo at an invitation and as already well-established artist. She was born in Ljubljana in 1861. She studied painting in Vienna and Munich, being invited to Sarajevo in order to paint a portrait of archbishop Stadler. It remains unexplained why her stay in Sarajevo was far longer than needed to paint a portrait (from 1897 to 1905). After having been engaged in *Nada*, Kobilca left several examples of fresco painting in Sarajevo, the ones preserved today are those in the church of St Cyril and St Methodius. Her paintings printed in *Nada* mostly exceed the form of illustrations, thus justifying the epithets of an excellent realist painter. Unfortunately, her works printed in this magazine have not remained in Sarajevo<sup>13</sup>.

Ludvík Kuba (1863 – 1956) is by no means inferior to "the four", taking into consideration the number of his illustrations that are present in *Nada*. He was a famous Czech painter and musicologist who resided in Sarajevo precisely when *Nada* was being published. There is barely an issue without his illustrations, mostly landscapes and panoramas coming into being during his frequent travels across the Balkan countries. Although his oeuvre is assigned to a category between Impressionism and Art Nouveau, works that prevail in *Nada* belong to the latter style.

The name of J. V. Mrkvička stands out among numerous ones; he was one of the first collaborators, but unfortunately, he did not send contributions for long to this magazine. This is an author who sends his works to *Nada* from Bulgaria, mostly presenting folklore motifs. Ferdinand Velc is also known for his motifs from the countryside life, but also for his allegorical illustrations of poems, while Jaro Chadima is, regarding his expression, maybe the closest to Liebenwein, that is to Art Nouveau.

Illustrations mostly follow thematic contributions (travelogues) that were abundant in *Nada*, presenting landscapes and folklore motifs in the form of folk costumes and customs. In terms of territory, they are related to the wider area of the Balkan peninsula, but not only to it<sup>14</sup>. Apart from ordered illustrations, *Nada* abounds in prints of

painters' and sculptors' works more or less known at that time and which were, one should stress, given in high press quality<sup>15</sup>.



Leo Arndt, WOMEN'S BATH ILIDŽA, India ink and tempera on cardboard, 44 x 28 cm, dlu: WLA, The Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inv.no. 1806

Wishing to respond to very diverse interests, the magazine brings various kinds of news and information being accompanied by official portraits of rulers and high officials, as well as other public figures from the Monarchy and the neighbouring states<sup>16</sup> and by photos of important social events<sup>17</sup>. All published pictures are accompanied by short descriptions at the end of an issue.<sup>18</sup> It is interesting to follow how the repertoire of the illustrated part changed from year to year. Later, the photograph<sup>19</sup> takes the lead over the ordered illustrations which were abundant in the first issues; in the last ones, reproductions of art works by great masters were to a considerable extent superseded by illustrations (E. Delacroix, P.P. Rubens, G. Courbet, A. Mucha, I. Rjepin, ...). In that segment, works of the established artists from the region appear as well (Celestin Medović, Klement Menci Crnčić, Paja Jovanović, Ivana Kobilca - who actively participates in the visual art life of Sarajevo and publishes in *Nada* her earlier created works). In the thematic sense, genre scenes and landscapes dominate. It is totally certain that the accelerated technological progress enabled reproducing

visual art works of famous authors, which attracted attention and interest of local audience more than ordered illustrations that had the region's folklore for a topic, so these did not appear anymore in the last issues.

The visual art archive of *Nada* was kept at first in the collection of the Zemaljski Museum becoming as such the nucleus of the Gallery of Paintings, founded in 1930 as one of the Museum's departments from which the Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina would emerge after WWII. This archive is also considered an important factor in the emergence of Bosnia and Herzegovina Modern Art. For some painters of the first generation, paintings published in *Nada* will represent most certainly the first contact with painting in general. Besides illustrators who, on the one hand, showed motifs of the local landscape and folklore and on the other hand introduced the Art Nouveau spirit to those very motifs, *Nada* also brought numerous reproductions of works by renowned European painters. There is no doubt that it was precisely in *Nada* that Gabrijel Jurkić first encountered Boecklin's painting, precisely with those reproductions he shall copy himself a decade and a half after *Nada* had ceased publication.

It was precisely thanks to its illustrators that *Nada* had two-direction influence. Liebenwein, Kobilca and the Arndt brothers founded the Sarajevo Painting Circle in 1900 and published a graphical map containing<sup>24</sup> leaves inspired by scenes from the Bosnian life. The goal was to present that map outside the Bosnia and Herzegovina borders<sup>20</sup>. One another example of *Nada*'s illustrations in the context of the Middle European painting is a publication of contributions by M. Liebenwein in *Ver Sacrum* magazine, the official gazette of Vienna Art Nouveau<sup>21</sup>. Its notes are accompanied by numerous illustrations created during his stay in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, the originals of these illustrations have not remained in the Sarajevo archive of *Nada*. The book by Heinrich Renner, called "Durch Bosnien und die Herzegowina kreuz und quer" from 1896 is also a sort of travelogue across Bosnia which stresses its "natural beauties and huge cultural and economical progress in the modern era"<sup>22</sup>. This issue was also provided with the illustrations of the Arndt brothers which certainly contributes to the promotion of the youngest province within the Monarchy. Finally, there is also a piece of information that an article about Bosnia and Herzegovina was also published in "Westermanns Monatshefte", Braunschweig, 1907, because of which Leo Arndt asks the Zemaljski Museum to give him the works from the *Nada* archive. As the painter himself makes the point: "this a renowned magazine, read by good audience".<sup>23</sup>



Maximilian Liebenwein, SELF-PORTRAIT, India ink and tempera on cardboard, 30 x 54 cm dlu: ML 1900, The Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inv.no. 1929

The number of subscribers and the circulation which *Nada* had at the very beginning of its publication, justifies the launching of this kind of magazine: it surprised positively the publishers themselves.<sup>24</sup> But the number of subscribers varied with the passage of years, having declined considerably just before it ceased publication. One cannot contest the fact that *Nada* was read, although the magazine was not entirely accepted. During the nine years of its publication, *Nada* oscillated in its character and in quality as well, and changed the course both politically and themat-

ically. From the magazine that was founded by the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, encompassing wider culturological domain, it became a magazine that was rated as Croatian and mostly literary one towards the end of its publication. The disadvantages for which one believed would be removed in time, like a boycott by more important Serbian authors<sup>25</sup>, soon revealed to be a permanent problem which, to be fair, one attempted to compensate by some significant contributions by Croatian authors; this only changed the editor's course and reading audience profile over time, but it did not succeed to make *Nada* a magazine which was, at least by the public, initially envisaged.<sup>26</sup>



Ludvík Kuba, *Horses with Load*, india ink and white tempera, 48 x 23 cm, dlu: L. Kuba, The Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, nv.br.1898

<sup>1</sup> R. Besarović, Iz kulturnog života u Sarajevu pod austrougarskom upravom, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1974, 106. and further. R. Besarović, Kultura i umjetnost BiH pod austrougarskom upravom - grada, Arhiv BiH, Sarajevo, 1968.B. Čorić, Nada - književnohistorijska monografija, knjiga I i bibliografija knjiga II, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1978.Lj. Mladenović, Gradsansko slikarstvo u BiH u XIX vijeku, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1978. A. Begić, Umjetnost u BiH 1894-1923, Umjetnička galerija BiH, Sarajevo, 1978.H. Kreševljaković, Izabrana djela IV, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Letters were ordered from the Poppelbaum Imperial and Royal Court Foundry in Vienna and paper from Eduard Musil, the owner of the paper works in Zenica.

<sup>3</sup> In *Nada*, language determination was never specified, but one had debated this in Bosnia and Herzegovina even before. See B. Čorić, *Nada: književnohistorijska monografija*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1978, 16.

<sup>4</sup> The First Grammar School in Sarajevo was founded in 1879, the Grammar School in Mostar in 1893 and the Zemaljski Museum in 1888

<sup>5</sup> Since February 1894, when Hörmann sends a report to Vienna in relation to the launching of the new magazine, until 1st January 1895, when the first issue of *Nada* was published

<sup>6</sup> R. Besarović, Kultura i umjetnost u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom, Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, 1968.

<sup>7</sup> R. Besarović specifies Hörmann's predictions: "According to Hörmann's predictions, a number of subscribers of the new magazine amounted to 700 copies (500 in the Latin script and 200 in the Cyrillic script), elsewhere in Austria-Hungary it amounted to 200 (150 in the Latin script and 50 in the Cyrillic script). For Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro, Hörmann predicted 100 subscribers of exclusively Cyrillic issue and in the remaining states a total of 70 subscribers (out of which 50 in the Latin and 20 in the Cyrillic script)." Risto Besarović (note 1, 1974), 112.

<sup>8</sup> "Dear reader, since the number of our subscribers is by no means sufficient, all the more so it was determined that, at the end of the 9th year of *Nada*'s publication, that number cannot even increase in such measure to be, at least to some extent, suitable to the kind this publication is; therefore the signed personnel concluded to cease publication by the end of the year 1903." *Nada*, year IX, No. 24, 15th December 1903, 325.

<sup>9</sup> "To our readers!", *Nada*, 1, 1895, 1.

<sup>10</sup> B. Čorić (1978)

<sup>11</sup> A. Begić, Umjetnost Bosne i Hercegovine 1894-1923, 1978, chapter: Slikarstvo, without pagination.

<sup>12</sup> The first illustrator who accepted the invitation by K. Hörmann and came from Sofia to Sarajevo in 1894.

<sup>13</sup> Lj. Mladenović, Gradsansko slikarstvo u BiH u 19. vijeku, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1982.

<sup>14</sup> Nada also brings illustrations from Bohemia, Poland ,Austria, Germany...

<sup>15</sup> There is an interesting information that Zora from the town of Mostar was launched approximately at the same time and which, in its address to the Provincial Government, announces the publication of "few pictures", only as a possibility. R. Besarović (1968, 134).

<sup>16</sup> F. Jozef, B. Kállay, V. Emanuel...

<sup>17</sup> World expositions in Paris, Budapest, "exhibitions in Venice"...

<sup>18</sup> Although authors themselves were required to submit a short description, Kranjčević himself often wrote it. See more extensively in: B. Čorić (1978, 825).

<sup>19</sup> Here, the name of photographer A. Topić is most often mentioned, whose negatives are even today kept in the collection of the Zemaljski Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

<sup>20</sup> A. Begić (1978), chapter: Prilike, without pagination

<sup>21</sup> M. Liebenwein, Auszug aus drei Reisebriefen von meiner Reise nach Bosnien 1900, Ver Sacrum, V Jg, 1902, pp. 124-136.

<sup>22</sup> F.C. Šegvić, Durch Bosnien und die Hercegovina kreuz und quer, Sarajevo, 1896, 218.

<sup>23</sup> Original correspondence of L.Arndt and Ć.Truhelka, documentation of Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

<sup>24</sup> R. Besarović, (1974), 112.

<sup>25</sup>Zmaj's response to Hörmann see in: Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Bosanska Nada, Zastava, 29, 4th November 1894, Novi Sad, 3.

<sup>26</sup> The first address of the Editorial Board contains among other things: "...We also invite brothers from other Slavic countries to this wheel dance, both in the north and the south; wherever they come from, a brotherly hand will embrace them. They will find themselves in a good wheel dance here, because Nada neither wants to accept nor wants to spread to the people other things than good, beautiful and true....." Nada, year I, No. 1, 1895, 1.

**Haris Dervišević**

## THE SARAJEVO CALLIGRAPHIC CIRCLE 1878-1918

### Summary:

After the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had gained control over Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, a lot of forms of Islamic culture died out slowly, which is quite understandable, bearing in mind the opposite civilizational imperatives of Vienna in relation to Istanbul. Calligraphers were active in the new environment, those who left behind valuable calligraphic works, but which are not well-known in technical literature. The most important calligraphers of Bosnia and Herzegovina of the Austro-Hungarian period gathered in Sarajevo, although not in an organized form. In the course of time, they became a Sarajevo Calligraphic Circle of its own kind, in this way saving the delicate Islamic art, by passing it on to the generations to come.

**Keywords:** Islamic calligraphy, Sarajevo, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

### Calligraphy in Sarajevo in the period of 1878-1918

The Islamic calligraphy in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1878 to 1918, that is the calligraphy in the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, has not been systematically studied. It is possible to find scarce data on calligraphers and their activities in technical literature, but without an insight into the historical and artistic frame. In order to find the cause for the lack of researches dedicated to this topic would demand a larger space than it is offered in this paper, so one will tackle the issue directly.

The Bosnia and Herzegovina calligraphic scene of the Austro-Hungarian period was alive and that is witnessed by three towns to which artists were orientated: Fojnica, Travnik and Sarajevo.<sup>1</sup> Not disregarding the individuals of Travnik and Fojnica who influenced the development of calligraphy either directly or indirectly, it is a fact that the Hadžimejlić, Sikirić and Korkut families did contribute most to the preservation

of this traditional Islamic art. Besides the fact that they gave excellent calligraphers, they had also their own calligraphic schools. Although I do not want to minimize the role and significance of the previous two towns, I must say that it was Sarajevo which gathered the largest number of calligraphers. The quantity was not the only reason for which Sarajevo could be considered the most important centre of the calligraphy at the turn of the century; this town, according to the number, seriousness and excellency of the calligraphic works is the most deserving for preserving the Islamic calligraphy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. "The Sarajevo Calligraphic Circle" neither exists in technical literature as a notion, nor were the artists themselves aware of their specific phenomenon. In this short paper, one shall present calligraphers and their works for the purpose of indicating the existence of the Islamic calligraphy of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo, and thus justify the introduction of the notion "The Sarajevo Calligraphic Circle".

Calligraphy was being cultivated as a precious art inside the Sarajevo Muslim circles; it could be learned from calligraphers-artists, while the students received calligraphic diplomas after they matured as artists. It is possible to find the works of Sarajevo calligraphers today in manuscripts, on public structures and levhas (calligraphic compositions). It is important to say that calligraphy was institutionalized by introducing it into the official teaching plan and program in 1892,<sup>2</sup> and was a mandatory subject in every class under the name of "Arabic calligraphy", two lessons per week in the Sharia Law School in Sarajevo. Behaudin Sikirić was employed as a honorary teacher of this subject from 1892 to 1912.<sup>3</sup> The subject was abolished in 1912.

### Ali Šerif Faginović (died in 1921)

The Sarajevo Faginović family stems from the Iranian province of Horasan, while the most important name for the history of the Bosnia and Herzegovina calligraphy from this family is Ali Šerif.<sup>4</sup> The biographical data about him are very scarce. It is known that his basic working post was that of a scribe in the state writing-office. He was well-read and educated and he wrote in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Since he was well-versed in astronomy, he was appointed a mukkevit of the Emperor's Mosque (Sultan Fatih's Mosque) in Sarajevo, the post he was active in from 1854 to 1921, that is, his death. It is necessary to add that Ali Š. Faginović was the first known mukkevit in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from the aforementioned, Faginović's role as a calligrapher was exceptional.

Although it is not known who was his calligraphy teacher, the preserved works indicate that he was an excellent calligrapher in sulus, nesh and taliq scripts. He left a great number of works; one can assign to him with certainty a calligraphic cycle from the year of 1311/ 1893<sup>6</sup> (Gazi Husrevbey's turbe in Sarajevo) (picture 1), eight levhas from 1317/1889 (Turbe of Hasan-baba Hadžimejlić, naqshbandi tekke in Živčići), 8 levhas from 1319/1901 (in the semahana of the naqshbandi tekke in Živčići), and another 9 lehvases,<sup>7</sup> which were generated in the period from 1901 to 1914. Faginović also copied 2 manuscripts, i.e. the work "The treasury of spiritual qualities" (Riznica duhovnih svojstava) from 1334/1915 (the Bosniac Institute in Sarajevo) and a manuscript Collection (Zbirka) the year of which is unknown; it contains, apart from the calligraphy, drawings of turbans of the founders of the dervish orders (R-3219, Gazi Husrevbey's Library, Sarajevo). Here, a complete calligraphic work of Ali Š. Faginović was not listed, because individual calligraphic compositions which resemble his work are difficult to be attributed to.



Picture 1. - Ali Efendi Faginović, Part of the cycle of Gazi Husrevbey's turbe, Sarajevo (1893/1894)<sup>8</sup>

Taking into consideration that a part of the works of this artist was irretrievably lost or destroyed, everything still points to Faginović as a prolific calligrapher. Although it is impossible to speak about stylistic characteristics of this artist, one might say that he had a sort of personal calligraphic imprint. It seems that he wrote his favourite calligraphic compositions in golden ink on a black background, like 8 levhas in the semahana of the naqshbandi tekke in Živčići. He followed a similar approach while working on the levhas of Gazi Husrevbey's turbe, where the text is written in golden letters on the white wall. Four other levhas that are interesting come from the private collection of the Tahmiščija family, in which the calligrapher "toyed" with the collage technique. The artist first wrote the text on a white foil, then cut them out and glued them to a dark background. It is necessary to add that Faginović followed

contemporary trends in the Islamic calligraphy; this is witnessed by his composition on the model of the calligraphy of Kadiasker Mustafa İzzet Effendi (1801 - 1876), known as the author of the eight big levhas of Hagia Sophia.

### Ali Š. Faginović's school of calligraphy

Some authors consider that "the last great teacher of calligraphy"<sup>9</sup> is Ali Faginović himself, which is a sign of perhaps the best insight into his great importance for the history of the calligraphy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This piece of information comes at the end concerning the activity of Faginović as a self-sacrificing artist, who worked to preserve the calligraphic tradition. It is not known in which way Faginović formed the calligraphic school, but it is known that he taught his students calligraphy and illumination; as a sign of successfully finished schooling, every student received a diploma at the end of it. Researches so far revealed five students of his, as follows: his son Salim Nijazi Faginović, Husein Efendi Rizvić, Derviš Muniba Korkut, Mahmud and Salih Žiga.<sup>10</sup>

At the post of the muvekkit of the Emperor's Mosque, Salim Nijazi Faginović (1885.-?) succeeded to his father, but also followed in his father's calligraphic footsteps. The first work which can be assigned to this artist was created in 1321/1903 and contains a text called "Oh, messenger of Allah intercede for us!" (the Bosniac Institute, Sarajevo), where can be clearly noticed that he is a calligrapher of sure hand. The levha that was created eight years later containing the Islamic creed "Him, there is no god but Him" from 1348/1929 (the Legacy of Seid Strik, Sarajevo), proves him to be a mature calligrapher. Both the aforementioned compositions are written in the excellent sulus script. There are certain indications that Salim Faginović resided in Istanbul, where he perfected calligraphy.<sup>11</sup> Aside from nesh and sulus, calligraphic meshks (worksbooks) prove him to be an excellent calligrapher in the taliq script. There are several levhas with religious content in his oeuvre, that is, quotes from the Quran, hadis, sayings of the great men of Islam, which is understandable, bearing in mind that this family had been a member of the dervish qadiri order through generations.

One of the five known students of Ali Faginović's school of calligraphy is Husein Efendi Rizvić (1882 - 1952). Although born not far from Livno, in Podhum, he graduated from the Gazi Husrev-bey's Madrasa and the Teacher-Training School in Sarajevo. He taught in several schools in Sarajevo and Mostar. What stands out from his biography is the information that he taught calligraphy in one Mostar high

school and in the Gazi Husrevbey's Madrasa for girls in Sarajevo. In the private collection of the Rizvić family, two calligraphies of Husein Efendi were preserved and their characteristics reveal the presence of his teacher Ali Š. Faginović. The levhas are written combining the sulus, nesh and taliq scripts, in golden letters on a black background. These two compositions reveal the artist of exceptional qualities. The tradition of the Rizvić family has it that a famous Bosnia and Herzegovina calligrapher from the 20th century Ešref Efendi Kovačević (1924 – 1996) was a student of Husein Efendi Rizvić. This piece of information is truly important, because one concludes that the students of Ali Š. Faginović had their own calligraphy schools and that they ensured by them the calligraphic continuity.

The famous Korkut family from Travnik gave several excellent calligraphers and one of them was also a calligraphy student of Ali Š. Faginović (apart from receiving the first calligraphy lessons in his own family). His name was Derviš Korkut (1888-1969), but he often added his father's name and signed himself as Derviš Muniba Korkut. He began his education in his home town and continued it in a grammar school in Sarajevo, then Korkut went to Istanbul and graduated in 1914 at the Theological Faculty.<sup>12</sup> He performed a series of significant jobs and occupations during his lifetime, so he worked as an army imam, a religion teacher, a professor, the head of the Muslim Department in the Ministry of Religions in Belgrade, as a general secretary of the Yugoslav Muslim People's Organization, a curator in the Zemaljski Museum in Sarajevo and a librarian of the Balkans Institute in Sarajevo, a mufti of the Travnik Region, a curator at a museum in Cetinje and an employee of the Supreme Seniority of the Islamic Religious Community in Belgrade. He was awarded the royal medal, he was awarded the title of the "Righteous among nations" by the Jewish Foundation for the Righteous for saving the Hagada from the Nazis (a 14th century Jewish manuscript) and for saving a Jewish girl from certain death. Unfortunately, it is not known where the works of Derviš Muniba Korkut are located. Still, it is known for a fact that he was one of the students of Ali Šerif Faginović, because Derviš Korkut himself said it to Đoko Mazalić.<sup>13</sup>

*In his Lexicon of Artists, Đoko Mazalić specifies another valuable information and that is that brothers Mahmud and Salih Žiga were calligraphy students of Ali Faginović. According to the Lexicon, Salih Žiga possessed a levha which he wrote precisely in the calligraphy school of Ali Šerif Faginović.*

### Hadjī hafiz Husejin Rakim Efendi Islamović (1839 - 1895)

Experts who are better connoisseurs of the history of the Islamic calligraphy in Bosnia and Herzegovina consider Hadji Hafiz Husejin Rakim Efendi Islamović to be the greatest Bosnian and Herzegovinian calligrapher of the 2nd half of the 19th century; one might add that he is maybe the best calligrapher of the Austro-Hungarian period in general.<sup>14</sup> He began general education in his native Sarajevo, but also with his first calligraphy lessons from the famous Sarajevo calligrapher Abdulah Ajni Efendi Hasagić (? – 1872). His attachment to calligraphy led him to Istanbul, where he obtained four calligraphy diplomas from eight great men of calligraphy, and these are (Picture 2): Al-Sayyid Muhammad Hulūsī, Al-Sayyid Muhammad Šawqī, Al-Sayyid Muhammad Tawfīq, Yahyā Hilmī, Haqī Zaki-dede, Muhammad 'Ārif, Sāmī, 'Alī Haydar and Hafid Malak-pāša.<sup>15</sup> The diplomas date back to the year of 1867 and are currently kept in the Gazi Husrevbey's Library in Sarajevo. They are the witness and evidence that Rakim Efendi Islamović is an excellent calligrapher in the nesh, sulus and taliq script.



Picture 2 - H. H. Husejin Rakim Efendi Islamović, Calligraphic diploma for the taliq script, Istanbul (1864)<sup>16</sup>

It is less known that the oldest known calligraphic works of Hadji Hafiz Islamović are located in Mišćina (Kebkebir hadji Ahmed's) Mosque in Sarajevo. The calligraphic cycle consisting of eight lehvases in this mosque date from 1290/1873. Eight calligraphic compositions are a usual feature in Bosnian mosques and are made in the name of Allah s.w.t., Mohammed a.s., the names of four rightly guided caliphs and the names of two Mohammed's grandsons. They are all written in the sulus script, golden letters and on a black background. Below the name of the Prophet's grandson Husein r.a., a signature of Islamović and a year of the cycle's creation are located, i.e. it is written: "Written by Rakim in 1290".

Calligraphers were often engaged to make tarih (epigraph) and epitaphs, which is probably the case with Islamović as well. Still, only one inscription can be attributed to him today, the one on the nišan (tombstone) of Mustafa-bey Dženetić from 1291/1874. The nišan was firstly in the harem of the Hadji Kemaludin's (Ćemaluša) Mosque in Ferhadija street and after it was demolished, it was transferred to the harem of Ali Pasha's Mosque in Sarajevo where it is still today.

Most certainly the largest known calligraphic cycle of Hadji Hafiz Islamović are 48 levhas in the Gazi Husrevbey's Mosque in Sarajevo;<sup>17</sup> they were located in the central cupola, in the cupolas of both side rooms, in the pendentives of the central cupola, in the pendentives of both siderooms, on the walls of the central space, above the door-posts of the three doors, inside and above the mihrab of the central space for prayer, on the wall of the mahfil, on the outside mihrabs and above the eleven windows of the mosque interior. The compositions were created during the year of 1303./1885 and Islamović made two sketches for this work, on which he clearly wrote where he intends to realize each composition. The sketches were kept in the archives of the Endowment Administration for Bosnia and Herzegovina, but their present-day location is unknown. All the levhas in the Gazi Husrevbey's Mosque were written in the sulus script, the exception being the levha on the mahfil wall, written in taliq. Out of this great, and one could freely say colossal cycle, written by the hand of the first-class calligrapher, only two compositions in the mosque portal were preserved.

Apart from the levhas of Ali Efendi Faginović who signed himself on the Gazi Husrevbey's turbe in 1311/1893, there is a great probability that the central calligraphic cycle containing 8 levhas, that is the levha in the circular frame, are to be attributed to Hadji Hafiz Islamović. The reason for these argument is that the levhas resemble, in terms of their composition and colour, to the three levhas above the three doors that Islamović made in the interior of the Bey's Mosque in 1885.

### **Hadji Hafiz Husejin Rakim Efendi Islamović's school of calligraphy**

Information that are possible to be obtained, point at the fact that at least five Bosnian notables learned calligraphy from Rakim Efendi, and these are: Behaudin Efendi Sikirić, Akif Efendi Hadžihusejinović-Muvekit, Hafiz Sulejman Efendi Čučak, Hadži Hafiz Mustafa Efendi Čadordžija and Hafiz Abdulah Ajni Efendi Bušatlić. Unfortunately, it is not known if Islamović presented his students with ijaza (diplomas), but on the basis

of the preserved calligraphic works of the five aforementioned men, one might speak about enviable calligraphic qualities. If we understand the Islamic calligraphy as "zahir", that is the manifestation part of Islamic aesthetics, then it is completely understandable why Muslim thinkers gave weight to this art; after this, we understand why the students of Rakim Efendi Islamović were great distinguished men of their time.

Šejh Muhamed Behaudin Efendi Sikirić (1869 - 1934) was one of Islamović's calligraphy students, born in Oglavak near Fojnica. Educated in Sarajevo, where he finished a madrasa and a normal school. He worked in a mekteb, as a religion teacher, lecturer at the Sharia Law School, interpreter at the District Court, County Court and with the Provincial Austro-Hungarian Government.<sup>18</sup> Sikirić is also remembered as a founder of the Mlini tekke in Sarajevo. He signed himself in several ways in the preserved documents, sometimes as Behai and sometimes as Izzi. Although known as an excellent calligrapher and a student of Hafiz Husejin Islamović, it is little known that he obtained a calligraphy diploma in Istanbul in 1911. One should emphasize that he taught calligraphy in Sarajevo in the Sharia Law School, a District Madrasa and rusdi (the first level of high school). Out of his calligraphic works, three diplomas are kept in the Gazi Husrevbey's Library (which he adorned with calligraphies (R-10314; R-10315; R-2862, 1b-6a)). All three diplomas date back to 1886. There are eight levhas in the semahana of the naqshbandi tekke in Živčići, consisted of eight ayah of the first Quranic surah - Fatiha.

Unfortunately, there are almost no data on the life of Akif Efendi Hadžihusejinović Muvekkit (? - 1937). It seems that he remained in the shadow of his father Salih Sidki Hadžihusejnović Muvekkit, a famous historian and muvekkit of the Gazi Husrevbey's Mosque. It seems that the only important information from his biography which survived to this day is that he was a muvekkit (like his father) of the Gazi Husrevbey's Mosque from 1899 to 1937.<sup>19</sup> In the manuscript holdings of the Gazi Husrevbey's Library, his Collection (R-3194) from 1892 (and being of various content) is kept. The analysis of the manuscript concludes that the author had calligraphic potentials, but which were still not developed. His calligraphic cycle in the Murat-bey's turbe in Sarajevo dates from 1894; it is better and establishes Akif as a better artist. It is obvious that the circular levhas of his teacher Rakim Efendi Islamović served him as a model.

Among the students of Hafiz Rakim Islamović, Hafiz Sulejman Efendi Čučak (1870 - 1938) is mentioned.<sup>20</sup> He finished the Drvenija Madrasa in his native Sarajevo. He worked as an imam in Davud Čelebija (Nateguša) Mosque in Sarajevo, and it is also

known that he was a vekil (a delegate) in the Gazi Husrevbey's Mosque for a certain time. Although it is known that he was engaged in calligraphy, his calligraphic works are unfortunately unknown.

Although modest by nature, Hadji Hafiz Mustafa Efendi Čadordžija (1866 - 1933)<sup>21</sup> was a Sarajevo alim (scholar) famous all over Bosnia. Born in Sarajevo, where he finished Hadji Ismail Misrija's Madrasa. He performed a duty of an imam and a hatib (preacher) in Sarajevo mosques for more than 40 years; he was known to the people as an imam who prayed the night ramadan prayer with hatma (a single reading of the entire Quran) for 4 decades. He was excellent in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Hamdija Kreševljaković, who knew him, said that Hafiz Čadordžija was versed in several styles of the Islamic calligraphy. Kreševljaković also specifies that Čadordžija himself claimed to be a student of Hadži Hafiz Islamović. He wrote Arabic poetry every day, thus practising calligraphy. After he wrote a large number of calligraphic sheets, he had a habit of burning them all. He used to give calligraphic compositions which he wrote to his friends; however, only one preserved manuscript has been known so far, from the Gazi Husrevbey's Library (GHbb: R-8947).

Hafiz Abdulah Ajni Efendi Bušatlić (1871 - 1946) is considered the best Sharia judge at the turn of the century.<sup>22</sup> Born in Vlasenica, he came to Sarajevo for schooling, where he finished the Gazi Husrevbey's Madrasa and the Sharia Law School. He worked as a supreme Sharia judge, a professor at the Sharia Law School, and besides all of this, he was an active champion of reforms in Muslim society. In the epoch when the role of Abdulah Bušatlić in Bosnia and Herzegovina's reality is being rediscovered and re-evaluated, his artistic talent is barely mentioned. Bušatlić, who belongs to the group of five students of the calligraphy school of Rakim Islamović, seems to have put aside his artistic potentials in order to dedicate himself more to the fight for the rights of Muslims. Still, three manuscripts in the Gazi Husrevbey's Library (R-2187; R-2675; R-7578) prove that he possessed a genuine artistic talent.

### **Mehmed-bey Kapetanović Ljubušak (1839-1902)**

Although he is considered the first collector of folk sayings and brain products, as well as a good poet, Mehmed-bey Kapetanović Ljubušak is more known as a mayor of Sarajevo. He began his schooling in his native Ljubuški which he continued in Mostar. During his lifetime, he performed several important administrative jobs, like the job of a district administrator, municipality council chairman, deputy in Ottoman Parliament, and finally, the mayor of Sarajevo from 1893 to 1899. During

his administration, the following buildings were built in Sarajevo: the Town-Hall, Provincial Hospital, the Electric Power Plant, the Town Market etc. Although he was an active cultural worker, it is less known that he was a good calligrapher as well. His work is a levha, of large dimensions, now at the Gazi Husrevbey's Mosque in Sarajevo. Mehmed-bey Ljubušak had a levha of the famous Ottoman calligrapher Sami Efendi (1837- 1912) as a model for this calligraphic composition; one should add that one of the first teachers in the nesh and sulus scripts of this Istanbul artist was Boşnak Osman Efendi.<sup>23</sup> Mehmed bey sent the sketch for this levha to Vienna, where the calligraphic composition was transferred in golden letters on glass and then put into frame.<sup>24</sup> There is a signature on the levha, as follows: "Written by Mehmed. The year of 1313". Conversion from the Hijra year to the Gregorian one would mean that Ljubušak finished this calligraphic composition in 1895 or 1896. Aside from this one, Mehmed bey created two more identical calligraphies, but somewhat smaller in dimensions. One is located in the dershana (classroom) of the old Gazi Husrevbey's Madrasa and was created in 1884, while the other one is in the Museum of the Gazi Husrevbey's Library and was made in 1889. Tradition has it that Ljubušak dedicated one of these two levhas to his personal doctor Karl Bayer.

### **Ibrahim-bey Redžepašić-Bašagić (1843-1902)**

Ibrahim-bey Redžepašić Bašagić was close to Mehmed bey Ljubušak, in terms of being of the same generation; he was the father of well-known Safvet bey Bašagić.<sup>25</sup> Ibrahim bey began his education in his native Nevesinje and continued it in Elçi Ibrahim-pasha's Madrasa in Travnik. Although well-versed in the Sharia law, he did not turn to religious service but to political life, so he performed a number of duties, from being a district head, an emissary to Constantinople, a district head in Stolac and Konjic, to mufetish (inspector) of the Provincial Endowment Commission etc. He was a prolific writer and a poet who signed himself with a pseudonym Edhem. He was excellently well-versed in Turkish, very good in Arabic and Persian. Precisely because of this, one should not be surprised that he left behind many poems and chronograms in the Turkish language. During his education in Travnik, he was a student of Derviš Muhamed Korkut who passed to him, apart from mandatory schooling, also a fondness for the Islamic calligraphy.<sup>26</sup> A great number of his works were not preserved, but it is known that he is the author of the chronogram above the entrance to the present-day Faculty of Islamic Sciences in Sarajevo. It is supposed that he authored the remaining calligraphic works within the premises of this faculty as well.

## Conclusion

Not getting into the reasons why there is a lack of research on the Islamic calligraphy and calligraphers in Sarajevo during the Austro-Hungarian rule, this paper points at the existence of twelve active calligraphers from 1878 to 1918 and one should not take the specified number as the final one. The importance and special quality of this period might be understood by means of three segments; the schools of the Islamic calligraphy, institutionalization of the Islamic calligraphy and contemporariness with the Ottoman calligraphy.

It is possible to learn the traditional Islamic calligraphy in a school of calligraphy only with official artists-calligraphers. The teacher-calligrapher not only teaches his student calligraphy, but after the completed teaching, he becomes a part of the centuries-long chain of the knowledge transmission from the teacher to the student, whose roots go back to the 7th century. Precisely here, we see the true importance of continuing this tradition in Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo where, according to the information so far, there were at least two calligraphy schools, that is the schools of Ali Š. Faginović and Hadji Hafiz Husejin Rakim Efendi Islamović.

Apart from these schools, calligraphy was taught and learned in state schools. The example was the Sharia Law School in Sarajevo, where the "Arabic calligraphy" was a mandatory subject from 1892 to 1912. This means that the Islamic calligraphy was on an equal footing with other mandatory subjects, which opened a possibility to allow a greater number of students getting to know this art.

The calligraphers of Sarajevo did not act as an isolated community, but followed events in the centre of the Islamic calligraphy, that is in Istanbul. The evidence for this are the calligraphies of Ali Faginović who wrote levhas on the model of Mustafa Izet Kadiasker and the monumental levha of Mehmed-bey Kapetanović Ljubušak in the Gazi Husrev-bey's Mosque, created under the influence of Sami Efendi.

Finally, one might say that after gaining insight into the aforementioned, there was really a "Sarajevo Calligraphic Circle" that existed, in which artists were creating and mutually collaborating. Hopefully, this paper will be an instigation for further and detailed researches, which may indicate the importance of the Austro-Hungarian period of the Islamic calligraphy, not only in Sarajevo but in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general.

<sup>1</sup> Dervišević, H. Paper on the subject: "Islamska umjetnost u Austro-Ugarskom Carstvu: sluaj islamske kaligrafije u Bosni i Hercegovini", ZINK kolokvij (Znanstveno-istraživački inkubator) (Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina), 9th May 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Spomenica šeriatske sudačke škole u Sarajevu : izdana prilikom pedesetgodišnjice ovoga zavoda (1887-1937), 30, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 68.

<sup>4</sup> Halimić, E. et al. Iz mape Faginovića, Sarajevo, Bošnjački institut - Fondacija Adila Zulfikarpašića, 2010, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Mulaomerović, J. "Muvekkithane, Muvekkiti i mjerjenje vremena", Anal Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke, vol. XV-XVI, Sarajevo, 1990, 272.

<sup>6</sup> The first date is Hijri and the second Gregorian.

<sup>7</sup> A levha with a text »It was said by Allah's Faith-Herald, let the salvation on him [...]« from 1319/1901 (Bosniac Institute, Sarajevo), a levha with a text »Oh, Omnipresent Allah the Almighty« from 1319/1901 (Bosniac Institute, Sarajevo), four levhas, the year of which is unknown (Legacy of Meliha Tahmiščija), a levha with a text »The one who has common sense will follow the Chosen One« from 1333/1914 (Musihudin Čekrekčija's Mosque, Sarajevo), a levha with a text »It happens what Allah wants; the power belongs Allah only«, year unknown (Musihudin Čekrekčija's Mosque, Sarajevo), a levha with a text »Keep in mind that there is no God but Allah and Mohammed is His Prophet«, year unknown, which was made on the model of the levha of Istanbul calligrapher Mustafa Izet Kadiasker (Bosniac Institute, Sarajevo).

<sup>8</sup> Photo by Haris Dervišević.

<sup>9</sup> Halimić, Ibid, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Mazalić, Đ. Leksikon umjetnika : slikara, vajara, graditelja, zlatara, kaligrafa i drugih koji su radili u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo, 1967, 47.

<sup>11</sup> Halimić, Ibid, 30.

<sup>12</sup> Gafić, M. Kazivanja o Travniku : Derviš M. Korkut, Travnik, Borac, 1998.

<sup>13</sup> Mazalić, Đ. Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Dervišević, H. "Islamska kaligrafska baština u Bosni i Hercegovini : Hadži Hafiz Husejin Rakim-efendija Islamović (1839. – 1895.)", in: Identitet Bosne i Hercegovine kroz historiju : zbornik radova, Sarajevo, Institut za istoriju, 2011, 239-248.

<sup>15</sup> Mujezinović, M. "Diplome kaligrafa Islamovića u Gazi Husrev-begovoj biblioteci u Sarajevu", Anal Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke, vol. I, Sarajevo, 1972, 91-94.

<sup>16</sup> Photo given by the courtesy of the Gazi Husrev-bey Library.

<sup>17</sup> Dervišević, H. "Kaligrafija Gazi Husrev-begove džamije u Sarajevu (1885-2002)", Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu (XVI/2), historija, historija umjetnosti, arheologija, Sarajevo, Filozofski fakultet, 2012, 269-284.

<sup>18</sup> Gačanović, E. Šejh Sirri baba : oblikom kaplja, sadržinom okean, [s. l.], Nepoznata Bosna, 2014, 106-111.

<sup>19</sup> Mulaomerović, J. "Muvekkithane, Muvekkiti i mjerjenje vremena", Anal Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke,

vol. XV-XVI, Sarajevo, 1990, 274.

<sup>20</sup> Fazlić, F. Hafizi u Bosni i Hercegovini u posljednjih 150 godina, Sarajevo, Fakultet islamskih nauka :

El-Kalem, 2006, 45.

<sup>21</sup> Kreševljaković, "Hadži Hafiz Mustafa efendija Čadordžija", Novi Behar, No. 1-2, year VII, 1933-34,

Sarajevo, 15th July 1933, 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> Kasumović, A. "Hafiz Abdullah Ajni ef. Bušatlić", Analı Gazi Husrev-begove bibliotekе, vol. XVII/XVIII,

Sarajevo, 1996, 326.

<sup>23</sup> Derman, U. Masterpieces of Ottoman calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Museum, Istanbul, Sabancı

Üniversitesi, 174.

<sup>24</sup> Mulabdić, E. "Mehmed Kapetanović-Ljubušak, Školski vjesnik IX, br. 7-9, 1902, 597.

<sup>25</sup> Džanko, M. Dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić-Redžepašić - (Mirza Safvet - vitez pera i mejdana) : intelektualna povijest i ideologička upotreba djela, Sarajevo, Sarajevo-Publishing, 2006, 70-71.

<sup>26</sup> Muftić, T. Arapsko pismo : (razvoj, karakteristike, problematika), Sarajevo, Orijentalni institut, 1982, 145.



Ljiljana Ševo

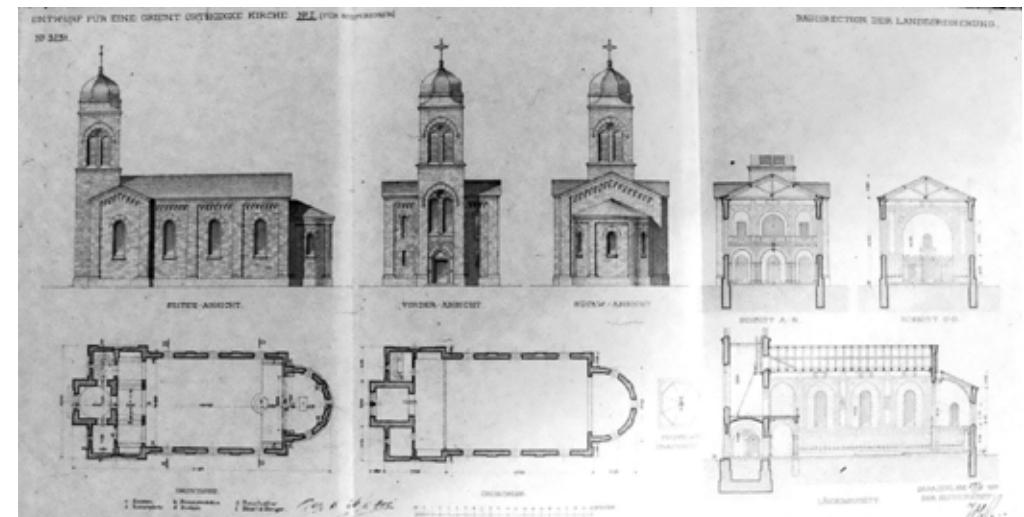
## SURVEY OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCHES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE PERIOD OF 1878-1918

**Summary:** Between 1878 and 1918, a great number of Orthodox churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina were either erected or restored. Being most often anonymous, the builders mainly opted for single-nave buildings with a barrel vault, a steeple above the western façade and modest façade decoration. Unlike the building trade in Serbia of that epoch, where one insisted on cultivating the Serbian-Byzantine style which asserted national awareness, the designs that adhere to that tradition in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1878 and 1918 are rare. Cruciform buildings (Pale, Bilješćevo, Maglaj, Rudice, Gornje Zabrdë) are less numerous, cupola churches being even rarer (Blažuj, Janja, Zenica, Višegrad). The perseverance of the single-nave model, whose building demanded considerably less funds, bears witness to the modest economic possibilities and political conditions in which the Serbian Orthodox population in Bosnia and Herzegovina was; being without possibility to demonstrate the national programme within the Austro-Hungarian administration.

**Key words:** Orthodox Church, Austro-Hungarian authorities, Bosnia and Herzegovina, sacral architecture, national idea

Between 1878 and 1918, a great number of Orthodox churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina were either erected or restored. For the needs of this paper, more than 100 Orthodox churches from the Austro-Hungarian period were analyzed, on the basis of the field examination or the available technical and photo documentation. This is not a complete survey, since the information about a certain number of structures were not available, as well as for the fact that a large number of churches of this period suffered in WWII.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the fact that, due to their numerosity and architectural characteristics, the Orthodox churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Austro-Hungarian period represent an important historic and artistic phenomenon, scientific and researching interest for them missed almost completely. An exception is the text by Jelena Božić on the Orthodox churches in Sarajevo.<sup>2</sup>



Picture 1 Type design of the Orthodox church for 600 worshippers

The Austro-Hungarian administration launched 2 typal designs for the Orthodox churches in Bosna and Herzegovina - the one that can receive 400 and the bigger one whose capacity is 600 worshippers (Picture 1).<sup>3</sup> In both cases, it is a single-nave plan that is in question with a steeple that leans on the tetrapylon over the narthex and a semi-circular apse. In the design for a larger church, the narthex mildly protrudes from the plane of the longitudinal walls, by which an impression of side rectangular spaces on the façade is created. The exterior decoration was reduced to the lesenes between the windows and cornices of the small blind arcades. The year when these type solutions were created is 1901, while the signature of their author is illegible. To what extent the type design just did verify the already existing and widely accepted practice, numerous Orthodox churches bear witness to, those churches which were created before the date, recorded in the designs - 1901 - and which have almost identical constructive solution and the façade decoration: in Prijedor from 1891 (Picture 2), Grapska near Doboj from 1894, Žepče from 1894, Požarnica near Tuzla from 1896.<sup>4</sup>



**Picture 2** Holy Trinity Church, Prijedor , 1891

Among the Orthodox churches of this period, whose spatial composition was solved on the basilica, longitudinal scheme, two churches stand out; their two steeples at the western façade contribute to their representative character. These are the three-nave structures of the churches in Brodac near Bijeljina (Picture 3) from 1884 and Kozarac near Prijedor from 1887.



**Picture 3** St. Archangel Michael Church, Brodac near Bijeljina , 1884

Unlike liberated Serbia, where the Byzantine cubic idea of the sacral structure with a cruciform space topped by one or a system of five cupolas, imposed itself as a pattern of the national style<sup>5</sup> in the 2nd half of the 19th century, churches with a cupola were very rarely built in this period in Bosnia – in Priboj near Lopar in 1883, in Zenica in 1883, in Višegrad in 1884-1886, in Janja in 1885-1887 (Picture 4), in Blažuj in 1897, in Bihać in 1894-1898, in the church of St. George in Trnovac in Tuzla in 1899-1900, in Maglajani in 1901, in Gornji Dragaljevac in 1908-1909. The emphasized cruciform shape was applied only in Blažuj, Janja and Trnovac in Tuzla. In Zenica, the cruciform space was included in the cubus with all the 4 sides flanked by lower towers (Picture 5). The church of Višegrad repeats patterns of the tradition of Raška, which is the building with rectangular side choirs next to the sub-cupola space (Picture 6). In Priboj near Lopar, the cupola whose dimensions are small was

not co-ordinated with a longitudinal body of the building and it looks like it has been subsequently added to the single-nave church; by this, it reminds of the 10 years older church from Bijeljina - the one named after St. George.



**Picture 4** St. Elias Church, Janja, 1885-1887



**Picture 5** Nativity of the Virgin Church, Zenica, 1883



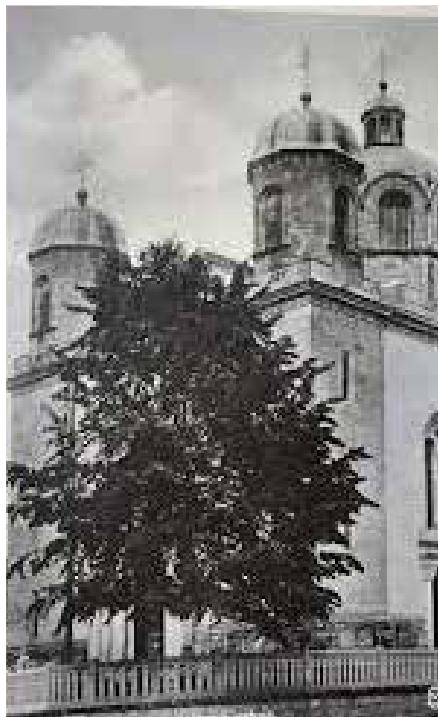
**Picture 6** Nativity of the Virgin Church, Višegrad , 1884-1886

Unfortunately, rare preserved data about the spent funds clearly bear witness to the difference in the construction cost of the single-nave and cupola churches. The building cost of the St. Sava Church in Blažuj (Picture 7) according to the design of August Butsch was 24.967,15 florins<sup>7</sup> in 1897, while in 1880, for the church in Rogatica, 2000 florins were spent.<sup>8</sup> The rich and influential church parish of Sarajevo could ensure nearly 25 000 florins in order to build a monumental structure which would express the national idea with its stylistic forms. It was registered that the church in Blažuj was erected as a reaction to the construction of the Catholic church in Stup in 1891, through the effort of Blažuj priest Stjepo Trifković who "understood that the Orthodoxy was in danger and who decided to work on the construction of an Orthodox church as a response to that fact"<sup>9</sup>, Metropolitan Đorđe Nikolajević bequeathed 40000 fr for the building of the Blažuj church.<sup>10</sup> The Serbs of Sarajevo received donations from Russia, Montenegro and Serbia for the building of that church which was not allowed by Austria-Hungary, so it decided to have the Provincial Government help the building with ca 50000 fr.



**Picture 7** St. Sava Church, Blažuj, 1897

With nearly 8-fold larger sum than that put aside for the building of the Blažuj church, the Provincial Government helped the Church of the Holy Trinity construction in Bihać in 1894-1898. (Picture 8). The entire investment of the Government amounted here to a sum of as much as 39 000 ft. The Orthodox church parish of Bihać erected, as priest Kosta Kovačević states: " .... a new church, which is not that big, but whose beauty and solidity surpasses many others... with one beautiful cupola and 2 steeples". Since the church of Bihać was torn down by the Ustašas in 1941, precious are the priest's data about its appearance and dimensions. Several preserved photos show that the Bihać church had one large cupola on an octagonal tambour and 2 small cupolas above the western façade. There is a rose window in the middle of the façade, while one can see a distyle on the southern wall. Priest Kovačević says that "the building was entrusted to a Serb from Bosnia - young engineer S. Mirković who altered many things in the plan, especially in the interior of the church and embellished it according to the Orthodox model; because one must know that the plan of this church was created by a non-Orthodox and although a good professional, he is not fully versed in the construction of Orthodox churches."<sup>11</sup>



Picture 8. Holy Trinity Church, Bihać, 1894-1898

The information which 2 photos of the Bihać church give are scarce; they show the influence from the Littoral – the concept of the western façade with a gable between two steeples is Romanesque-Gothic; the central cupola is topped with a lantern, according the Renaissance model.

Among cupola designs in the architecture of the Orthodox churches from the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a special place belongs to the church of St. George in Trnovac near Tuzla (Picture 9). Its cruciform plan, with leaned semi-circular choirs on the northern and southern sides, tall cupolas above the naos and the narthex, elegant façade decoration in the form of the cornice of the small blind arcades, bear witness to the vast knowledge and probably formal education of its designer, whose name is today unfortunately unknown. The stylistic characteristics, harmony, elements of spatial concept and architectural decoration bear witness to the fact that the ktetors of this church - brothers Jovo, Pero and Lazo Jovanović demanded from the builders that the national ideology clearly reflects in the shape of their pious endowment in its Neo-Moravic triconchal design. The Jovanović brothers were respectful members of the Orthodox church parish of Tuzla and they were prominent while giving donations for the construction of the Orthodox church in Tuzla.<sup>12</sup> Through their endowment activity, they belong to the rare individuals who built churches-tombs or sepulchral chapels in Bosnia at that time (on the model of rich contemporaries in Serbia), applying the pattern of the cruciform structure with a cupola, thus following the "highest architectural and visual expression in the church architecture and painting".<sup>13</sup>



Picture 9 St. George Church, Trnovac near Tuzla, 1899-1900

In the architecture of the Orthodox churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian period, other forms appear apart from the cupola ones - which points to the national character by association with the medieval heritage. The churches in Maglaj from 1906-1908 (Picture 10), in Pale from 1909 (Picture 11) and in Gornje Zabrdje near Ugljevik from 1912 all have a naos which is enlarged with side choir spaces. There are choirs stressed with gables on the façades, while they stand out in the interior by transversally built vaults and the naos being topped by a longitudinal vault. In Pale, whose church was designed by Lazar Drljača, a cross vault is formed on the spot of the "crossing" of the longitudinal vault and the transversal ones.<sup>14</sup> The common characteristic of these structures is a cruciform shape of the spatial design. The mutual similarity of these structures in both the constructive structure and in the forms which appear on the façades is such that one can think that the same design was applied.



Picture 10 St. Elias Church, Maglaj, 1906-1908



Picture 11 Church of the Virgin's Assumption, Pale, 1909

The gable shapes that were applied along the longitudinal walls of the churches in Bilješevac near Kakanj from 1908 (Picture 12)<sup>15</sup> and Rudice near Novi Grad from 1902 give to these structures a cruciform shape of the exterior appearance which was not executed on the elevation in the interior. Therefore, these structures can be considered as pseudocruciform.



**Picture 12** Church of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Bilješev near Kakanj , 1908

The Intercession of the Theotokos Church in Gornji Dragaljevac near Bijeljina (Picture 13), designed by Miloš Miladinović from Sarajevo in 1908, shows a great similarity with the churches in Maglaj, in Pale and in Gornje Pobrde. A five-side silhouette of the gable on the side spaces is identical, as well as the disposition of two elongated windows, a small-sized arched opening above the door and oculus (rose window at the top of the gable) are. The church in Dragaljevac differs from the cruciform churches in Maglaj and in Pale with a cupola that soars from the intersection point of the building's arms. To what extent Miloš Miladinović, during the designing of the church in Dragaljevac, used the designs of Lazar Drljača for the church in Pale and if both of them had some common role model, are questions for which further detailed research is yet to come.



**Picture 13** The Intercession of the Theotokos Church , Gornji Dragaljevac near Bijeljina, 1908

The reasons for pronouncedly small number of Orthodox churches from the 1878-1918 period whose architectural structure, through a cupola or cruciform shape, reminds of the Byzantine architecture and by this it encourages the national sentiment of connection with the great Serbian medieval visual culture, are numerous. First of all, single-nave vaulted basilicas satisfy liturgical needs and can receive proportionally large number of worshippers and all of this without great costs. Common stonemasons and skilful craftsmen could build such buildings, therefore the church parish did not have to incur expense of paying for designs of educated architects.<sup>16</sup>

There is an opinion that Serbian teachers may have influenced the prevalence of the single-nave vaulted structures, the so-called "Vojvodina Baroque" among the Bosnian and Herzegovinian churches of this period; they arrived from Vojvodina during the 1850s and became "the pillars of culture in religious schools of the Serbian Orthodox Church parishes in Bosnia and Herzegovina."<sup>17</sup>

The pronounced prevalence of the single-nave ones over the cruciform and cupola churches of this period can be explained by the political circumstances as well in which Bosnia and Herzegovina's Serbs found themselves after 1878. Unlike liberated Serbia which had its own autocephalous church organization at that time, the election of church ecclesiastics of the Orthodox church in Bosnia and Herzegovina was under the authority of the Austrian Crown.<sup>18</sup> In this way, the new administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina made impossible to the Government of the Principality and later the Kingdom of Serbia to restore jurisdiction over the Orthodox in Bosnia and Herzegovina by means of the Peć Patriarchate's restoration.<sup>19</sup> Since the state "on the basis of historic acts has a controlling mechanism and often acts as a patron in shaping public visual identity"<sup>20</sup>, sacral visual culture of the Orthodox in Bosnia and Herzegovina could be (like in Serbia) determined neither by the idea of the church organization, nor by the idea of the state. Unlike Serbia, in which the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs and the Ministry of Buildings directly influence the appearance of Orthodox churches at that time, this kind of interference of the authorities in the Orthodox Church's building trade was missing in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The national idea in the Orthodox building trade in Serbia is sought in medieval artistic practice, so as early as 1862 a provision was introduced in the Act on Church Authorities, "that approved new churches should be built in architectural relation to the Byzantine style". The form recommended is "a square church without a narthex which has a spacious apse on the eastern side together with 2 other apses being added from the north and the south. A slender cupola is to be erected with an eight-side tambour above the entire church."

Single-nave churches with a steeple were even declared inappropriate and foreign by Andra Stefanović. While expressing his vision of the national programme in architecture in 1890, he points out: "...what kind of miracle in our eyes our Belgrade Cathedral must have of Catholic-Jesuit Baroque style which has been serving for nearly half a century as a model for almost all the church buildings which have been erected in our homeland during that time." Considering that the building based on the revival of the Byzantine forms should be "... a strong bulwark to the foreign culture, foreign "flood" which aspires to get our people into submission in order to ruin it..."<sup>21</sup> Similar theoretical approaches and their practical consequences in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Austro-Hungarian rule could not exist of course.

However, resistance towards the application of typal "Serbian Byzantine" designs motivated by practical - first of all economic reasons existed in Serbia at that time. Many people who ordered plans for rural church parishes demanded a type of

church with a "bell-tower" on the model of the church buildings which had been erected in previous decades which was not allowed by the Ministry of Buildings. When a conflict broke out between one church parish and the Ministry, since the people did not want "...even to hear about churches in the Byzantine style", a Ministry of education clerk explained that : "the resistance againsts the Byzantine style is not isolated .... the bell-tower ("pirg") stands in the Byzantine style separated, it costs the same as the church itself.... That is why they ask for churches with bellfries whatever style they might be in".

Although surprisingly little researching attention has been paid until now to the architecture of the Orthodox churches built between 1878 and 1918 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, one can still perceive contours of mechanisms which played a decisive role in its shaping. Richer church parishes (like those in Janja, Blažuj, Višegrad) and rich and respectable individuals (like the Jovanović brothers in Tuzla) could build monumental structures and erect cupolas on them, evoking by this a reminiscence of the Serbian medieval building and thus expressing the national idea. The majority of church parishes, while making effort to finally get a church in their own villages, hired cheap autodidact stonemasons and erected modest single-nave churches, stressed with a steeple on the western façade. Apart from the economic circumstances which were a priority, those political ones considerably influenced the entire building activity under the auspices of the Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The lack of the national state organization, whose ideology would direct visual culture towards the Serbian Byzantine forms through the efforts of relevant ministries and legislation, caused a distinct lack of clear definition of this part of the Historicist architecture. Thus building in the Byzantine style in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878-1918 could not get its institutionalized form.

Until now, the largest number of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Orthodox churches erected during the Austro-Hungarian rule was considered a modest and unambitious architecture without specific artistic intentions and important visual achievements. Their numerosity and diversity, as well as the complexity of social-historic context in which they were created and the questions of their chronology, role-models and builders represent a wide scope and a great challenge for future research.

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<sup>2</sup>Ј. Божић, *Српске православне цркве у Сарајеву*, in the book *Саједоци историје*, Бањалука 2001, 96-105.

<sup>3</sup>I am deeply grateful to my colleague Emir Softić for the typal design drafts.

<sup>4</sup>See more about this building in: *Одлука о проглашењу природно-градитељске целине православна црква Вазнесења Господњег у Пожарници, са старим храстом, националним спомеником Босне и Херцеговине*, Commission for the Protection of National Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina (author Emir Softić) 2009, [http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id\\_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3229](http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3229)

<sup>5</sup>А. Кадијевић, *Један век тражења националног стила у српској архитектури*, Београд 1997, 62-115.

<sup>6</sup>If churches whose construction was started before 1878 are not taken into account - *Обудовац 1864-1882, Тузла 1874-1882 Соколац 1876-1882*.

<sup>7</sup>Documentation of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Archives, drafts, technical department, archive units 18 and 64, quoted according to: *Одлука о проглашењу Градитељске целине – православне цркве Св. Саве у Блајују националним спомеником Босне и Херцеговине*, Commission for the Protection of National Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina (author Emir Softić), 2005, [http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id\\_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2557](http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2557).

<sup>8</sup>[http://www.bosanskehistorije.com/bosna-1878-1918/682-austrouarska-okupacija-rogatice-\(16thAugust 2014\)](http://www.bosanskehistorije.com/bosna-1878-1918/682-austrouarska-okupacija-rogatice-(16thAugust 2014))

<sup>9</sup>А. Бар, Bosna i Hercegovina. Austrijska uprava od 1878 do 1903, Beograd 1906, 41; quoted according to: Ј. Божић, *Српске православне цркве у Сарајеву*, 103.

<sup>10</sup>Data taken from: *Одлука о проглашењу Градитељске целине – православне цркве Св. Саве у Блајују националним спомеником Босне и Херцеговине*.

<sup>11</sup>Коста Ковачевић, *Српска црква и школа у Бихаћу послије окупације, Први шематизам православне српске митрополије Бањалучко-Бихаћке. Сто година послије*, Бања Лука 2001, 284-289.

<sup>12</sup>The Jovanovićs founded and financed other institutions in Tuzla as well - a singing club, a volunteer fire department - and they were also owners of a cinema, data quoted according to *Одлука о проглашењу Градитељске целине – православне цркве светог великомученика Ђорђија са гробљем на Трновцу у Тузли*, Commission for the Protection of National Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina (author Emir Softić) 2009, [http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id\\_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3229](http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3229).

<sup>13</sup>Н. Макуљевић, *Црквена уметност у Краљевини Србији (1882-1914)*, Београд 2007, 110-111, Pic. 33, 34.

<sup>14</sup>During the writing of this paper, the author did not have access to data about the elevation of the

church in Gornje Zabrdje. The St Elias Church in Maglaj suffered in the war of 1992-1995, its upper construction having been restored in 2003-2007. See: *Одлука о проглашењу историјске грађевине – Цркве светог пророка Илије у Маглају националним спомеником БиХ*, Commission for the Protection of National Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina (author Alisa Marjanović) [http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id\\_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3711](http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3711)

<sup>15</sup>See more information about the church in Bilješevi in: *Одлука о проглашењу историјског подручја Главица у Биљешеву националним спомеником Босне и Херцеговине*, Commission for the Protection of National Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina (author Alisa Marjanović) 2011, [http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id\\_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3347](http://www.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=3347)

<sup>16</sup>А. Кадијевић, *Један век тражења националног стила у српској архитектури*, 57.

<sup>17</sup>S. Džaja, Bosna i Hercegovina u austro-ugarskoj epohi (1878-1918). Inteligencija između tradicije i ideologije, Zagreb, 2002, 31-35. The same explanation is specified by Jela Božić as well, *Српске православне цркве у Сарајеву*, 98.

<sup>18</sup>The right to enthronize and depose bishops was given to the Austrian Emperor (with the formal consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople) with the Convention on the Temporary Regulation of Relations with the Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which Austria-Hungary concluded with the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1880. Also, metropolitan bishops received salary from the Provincial Government. The Patriarchate of Constantinople was guaranteed to receive 58000 groschen annually as a compensation for the former income from the Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Ј. Божић, *Српске православне цркве у Сарајеву*, 96.

<sup>19</sup>Z. Kudelić, Srpska pravoslavna crkva u Bosni i Hercegovini tijekom austrougarske vladavine u novijoj domaćoj i inozemnoj historiografiji, Croatica Christiana Periodica (0350-7823) XXXII (2008), 29-62.

<sup>20</sup>Н. Макуљевић, *Црквена уметност у Краљевини Србији (1882-1914)*, Beograd 2007, 9.

<sup>21</sup>Same Ibidem, 220, 222, 227, 229, 233.

**Miroslav Malinović**

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE FRANCISCAN CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES IN BOSNA SREBRENA PROVINCE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN RULE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FROM 1878 TO 1918

### Summary

The period of the Austro-Hungarian administration on the territory of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina represents one of the periods when the state was flourishing most vigorously especially in terms of culture, architecture, art developments, but also the affirmation of social liberties and raising of life quality in general. One of the fields in which the imperial administration dedicated itself in particular is the establishment of the order system in the Catholic Church on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the establishment of the archbishopric and other dioceses on the one hand, but also the restoration of a network of Franciscan monasteries and parishes, decimated during centuries of the Ottoman presence in the Balkans on the other hand.

The Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena i.e. the Bosnian Vicary in the earlier period represents one of the oldest sacral organizations which has been functioning without interruption since its foundation in 1340 on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond. Except for the fact that it has always been a role model for the entire society in every domain of its activities: education, literature, art, architecture etc, the restoration period of 1878 to 1918 is an exceptional section in the development of the Province. The emphasis was certainly laid on the construction projects carried out in the spirit of Historicism, on numerous monasteries and their churches whose development, characteristics and architectural values are the topic of this paper. Moreover, imperial architects and artists, as well as numerous Viennese ateliers were hired for the monasteries projects like those in Fojnica, Kraljeva Sutjeska, Kreševo

or Bistrik and were leading in that working domain; they built some of the most important sacral structures in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina in general - in the spirit of the restoration in the historic styles.

Apart from the extraordinary importance of the very existence of these sites, their influence on the subsequent development of the province is of equal importance, the Province being the initiator of artistic and architectural creations in every part of the state and beyond.

The paper gives a short historical survey of Bosna Srebrena from its foundation until the Austro-Hungarian period and summarizes the most important events which have directly influenced the spatial picture of the Province, aiming to represent the basis of which the Austro-Hungarian regime was a continuation. Further, general architectural characteristics are being examined, both the monasteries and monastery churches alike, as an introduction to the discussion about their architecture, objective values and contemporary perception.

**Keywords:** Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bosna Srebrena, Historicisms in architecture

### Introduction

#### The first Franciscans in Bosnia

The arrival of the first friar in Bosnia was registered as early as 1248, when the Provincial of the Province of Slavonia -Provinciae Sclavoniae, headquartered in Split, visited Bosnian Ban Ninoslav (ban - viceroy) because of a fight with the Archbishop of Kalocsa (from the present-day Kalocsa-Kecskemet Archdiocese). Later arrivals of Franciscans are mostly linked to the campaigns in order to eradicate heresies and to solve open issues with the so-called the Church of Bosnia (Crkva bosanska). Finally, in 1291, two Franciscans arrived with a view of a permanent stay, aiming at the solution of these problems; this date is taken as a year when the permanent presence of the Franciscans in Bosnia began. Later, a peaceful settlement of problems between the divided population, nobility and the crown was agreed (Franciscans were supposed to preside during the process) - which slowly led to the foundation of the Bosnian Vicary, an institution whose existence would legalize the permanent residence of the catholic clergy in the country.

The Vicary was founded in 1340 and it soon passed from initial 2 custodies with 12 monasteries to 7 custodies with 35 monasteries, out of which 30 were in Bosnia alone. The territory it covered was stretching, apart from Bosnia, to Slavonia, Serbia, parts of Croatia, Dalmatia, southern Hungary and Vallachia. The first monastery was founded in the village of Mile, not far from Visoko, being dedicated to Saint Nicholas. Until the mid-15th century, the Vicary did considerably extend which led to a gradual separation of the territory: the Hungarian one in 1444, the Italian one in 1446, the Dalmatian one....

### **The position of Franciscans in the Ottoman Empire**

The position of the entire non-Muslim population considerably worsened with the arrival of the Ottoman authorities in Bosnia. Numerous monasteries and churches had been damaged even before 1463, the year when the last Bosnian King Stjepan Tomašević was executed and Bosnia lost its sovereignty to the Ottomans. Namely, numerous incursions into the Bosnian territory had been recorded before 1463, which had initiated a centuries-long struggle in order to preserve the Franciscan heritage in Bosnia.

When Mehmed II the Conqueror, the Ottoman Sultan was returning from Jajce in May 1463, one of the most respected Bosnian friars of his time Andeo Zvizdović used the opportunity and met with the ruler in order to negotiate a better position for the Franciscans as he could in the new situation. He succeeded in that mission partially, obtaining guaranteed freedom for professing Catholic faith in Bosnia, protection of monasteries and churches and freedom of movement for the Franciscans which was written on that occasion in Ah-dnama - ahidnâme in a place called Milodraž. And indeed, the period until 1514 was the most peaceful period for the Catholics in Bosnia during the Ottoman rule.

Unfortunately, it turned out later on that the Ah-dnama, whose original is kept in the monastery of the Holy Ghost in Fojnica, was not upheld in practice and that the already decimated population was being persecuted, buildings and churches desecrated and burned down and properties plundered and destroyed. The situation improved from time to time, although real recovery was not even in sight. In the meantime, the Vicary was raised to the level of the Province in 1517 - which is the highest organizational level in the Order. Inter alia, new hardships arose during the two sieges of Vienna in 1529 and 1683, when a huge number of the Catholic

population fled to the Austrian-held areas in the north.

During all that time, the architecture and construction activities in the Province of Bosna Srebrena - Bosna Argentina were not in the forefront, unlike those taking place in the same epoch across Europe. Moreover, mere existence and pastoral care for the population was the only item on the agenda during centuries. Therefore, there can be hardly any discussion of the concrete stylistic and architectural characteristics of Franciscan churches and monasteries in general.

Since one could feel that the Ottoman empire began to grow weaker from the 18th century on, more and more clear pretensions of the neighbouring countries to the strategically important Bosnian territory began to arise. This was primarily the case of the Austrian Empire, whose Crown, after it moved frontiers closer to Bosnia, claimed the right to arrange things in the province, thus starting a covert conflict with the Pope. It was probably the first time that it was clearly visible how an episcopal structure was missing in Bosnia, since all the work was carried out by the Franciscans. The foundation of the Apostolic Vicary ensued, an institution whose heads were Bosnian bishops, directly responsible to the Pope. During the time the Vicary lasted (until 1881), bishops were always chosen among former monastery guardians or provincials, that is, members of Bosna Srebrena.

There was a surge of pro-European reforms within the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century, instigated by the general pressure after the French Revolution. The most important document was Hatisherif of Gulhane - Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerif-î from 1839, given by sultan Abdul Mecid I. He guaranteed greater freedoms for all the Christians in the Empire. It took considerable time to take effect, but eventually, a recovering period for the Catholic population and clergy ensued.

During persecutions and destruction, only 3 monasteries survived in continuity: the monastery of the Holy Ghost in Fojnica, Saint John the Baptist in Kraljeva Sutjeska and Saint Catherine in Kreševo. They were the centre and final refuge during centuries, but a starting point as well in a period of renewal. In the mid-19th century, new monasteries were built in Gorica near Livno, Guča Gora near Travnik, Plehan near Derventa, Tolisa near Orašje and Šćit near Rama. Their construction was strongly supported by the western powers, Austria-Hungary in particular, heralding the events to come. The support primarily consisted of financial funds, and later also of works of art, elements of interior equipment, ecclesiastic vestments, furniture etc.

## Position of Franciscans after the arrival of Austria-Hungary

Although the conventional wisdom is that, as a rule, the Austro-Hungarian authorities (when arrived) began to support all the Catholic clergy, this is not quite true. To be honest, social freedoms and the entire atmosphere did improve and rose to unimaginable level when compared to the earlier periods. However, political strategies of the new rulers of Bosnia were directed at suppressing national consciousness and spirit which were present with the oppressed peoples during the centuries of the Ottoman rule. At that time, the Church was, of course, the only and absolute connection with the people, among others the Serbs with the Orthodox Church and Croats with the Catholic Church and the Franciscans respectively. In short, the Austro-Hungarians, starting from the beginning of their mandate, began to promote a new Bosnian identity to the detriment of the aforementioned national groups - all to the advantage of creating a clear picture of assigning the roles of the authorities and the subjugated population.

That meant that for the Catholics, the Franciscans (who were true shepherds of Croats in Bosnia) began to lose official support from the Provincial Government which directs its efforts to the establishment of the regular episcopal organization: the Vrhbosna Diocese, Banja Luka, Mostar-Duvno and Trebinje-Mrkan Dioceses, while at the same time displacing the organization of Bosna Srebrena in Bosnia. Judging from the activities of the first Vrhbosna Bishop dr Josip Stadler, his 2 main goals were to take over Franciscan parishes and to implement the so-called secularization of friars into diocesan priests. That was especially clear on the territory which was directly under his administration. In Banja Luka for example where a friar was chosen for the bishop, the situation was completely different.

Despite all these hardships, the administration of the Province led monasteries successfully during the new period. Although direct investments came firstly to the Archbishopsric, the Province too managed to obtain a part of funds which were used to start considerable construction activities all over Bosnia. The same was happening with educational and cultural institutions of the Province. Apart from the restored and extended monasteries, new ones were built in Kraljeva Sutjeska, Kreševac, Bistrik, Jajce, Petrićevac and Visoko, while monastery churches were constructed in Fojnica, Kraljeva Sutjeska, Kreševac, Guča Gora, Jajce, Petrićevac, Plehan, Bistrik and Visoko. Apart from these, 54 parish churches and 33 parish houses were built as well. The largest contributions, mostly paid in kind - non-material in character, were given by

the population itself, while financial support, together with the official one came through direct donations from the Viennese court.

## Franciscan architecture in Bosna Srebrena in the period of 1878-1918

### General characteristics

When the sacral architecture of an area is being valorized within the relevant time frame, one can most often determine and accept general stylistic and structural characteristics, but also the applied ways of designing sacral space and a relation of a place and a structure. In this way, most of the Western culture achievements are in short defined, contextualized in relation to historical events, political situation, demographic condition and general characteristics of a certain period. In the analysis of the architectural image of Bosnia and Herzegovina and particularly when the sacral architecture of non-Islamic religious structures is concerned, it is difficult not to perceive gaps and absolutely unclear appearances in the applying of styles, materials and generally understanding the relation between architecture, place and spirit. The largest gap was certainly caused by the suppression of the national spirit by the Ottomans and it is really impossible to say how medieval Bosnia would have developed if these conditions had been different. Indeed, Bosnia had not been rich in remarkable architectural achievements even before; almost nothing has been preserved, except for e.g. the Romanesque Bellfry of Saint Luke near the Church of Saint Mary in Jajce, the only pre-Turkish Catholic sacral structure, partially preserved even today. However, one thing is certain: the image of Bosnia would have been different.

In this way, after centuries of slow death and total exclusion from the Western civilizational trends, Bosnia saw the light as late as the mid-18th century. Although still under the Ottoman rule which nominally continued as late as 1908 and the annexation by Austria-Hungary, the situation started to break a deadlock. Since the most significant investments and the focus of general activities of Bosna Srebrena were directed at monasteries, they are the most representative locations when it comes to architectural creations of that epoch. As mentioned, at the time of the Austro-Hungarian administration, parish houses and churches were also realized, but only a small number of these structures deserve attention: for example the Church of St. Anthony in Bugojno, the Church of St Michael in Vareš and St. Ivo in Podmilačje near Jajce.

So, lacking any root from which architects would logically continue their designs, a completely new architectural vocabulary arose in Bosnia, up to that time unseen in our country. It is necessary to emphasize that it is irrelevant to analyze architecture of any typology and time context without giving a detailed insight into other social, political, economic, religious etc. contexts which inevitably model the structures' condition: after all, they remain by this the monuments of their epoch. Of course, this kind of extensive analysis will be omitted here in the survey due to practical reasons which will not diminish the value of the accomplishments.

Regarding the monastery buildings themselves, they were mostly modelled on the then-contemporary Western models, but only to a degree of influence on the formation of monastery wings and the position in relation to the monastery church. They remained to be rather anachronistic designs concerning then-contemporary materials and construction structures. Therefore, we are speaking here of extremely poor structures, poor in terms of style and very similar to each other. After all, the Monastery of Guča gora was the only one, for example, which got the shape of a cloister with completely formed wings, closed with church tract from the fourth side, while the Monastery at Bistrik was completely and abundantly executed in relation to the church and the surroundings.

The situation in the universality of designs was different when monastery churches were in question. Probably gaining insight into general importance of the presentation quality of the church itself, both of the exterior and the interior and finally getting into the position to realize prominent projects, the Franciscans succeeded in hiring the very best of newly-come architects for their projects. This most certainly turned one more page in the history of Franciscan undertakings which are even today outstanding examples of the contemporary sacral realizations. Dispersion of the applied shaping elements and stylistic characteristics is most evident in churches, both in completely new ones like in Fojnica and in those which were extended and remodelled in the period of 1878-1918 like for example in Gorica or in Tolisa. In that respect, monastery churches are one step ahead of the most part of the parish ones, in terms of being monumental, of the application of structural elements, material combination, decorative plastic art and the general impression of being integrated into the landscape.

## Architects

The influence of Austro-Hungarian architects, that is young engineers educated in Vienna, was brought to the fore when it comes to the shaping of new building undertakings in Bosnia. Although friars hired native experts, like for example the builders from the Holz family or highly-esteemed architect having a large oeuvre in Belgrade and Slavonia - Blaž Misita-Katušić, the absolute mainstream were however foreigners. The main personality was Josip pl.Vancaš, leader of the Viennese school in Bosnia and a talented architect who skilfully used the environment to practice, first of all personal modifications in the spirit of the Classical styles renewal, mostly even the Gothic and the Romanesque styles and later to introduce firstly Art Nouveau and to finally initiate a question of the Bosnian style in architecture which is even today heavily discussed. The most important structures are certainly those profane in character, mainly in Sarajevo, while he made the sacral ones for diverse religions. Apart from Vancaš, another imposing name was that of Karel Pařík, initially a collaborator of Vancaš and later on an independent architect. His important oeuvre for the Archbishopric and the Province dates from the period after the departure of the Viennese administration. Besides them, there is a series of more or less famous architects which made their contribution to the creation of Bosnia's architectural image in their own way.

## Monastery architecture

As previously said, monasteries were built as complexes of one, two or more rarely three monastery wings. In individual cases, friars retained a whole or parts of monastery buildings built before 1878 like, for example, was a case in Fojnica, while horizontal or vertical extension of the complex being carried out; however, they resorted more often to the removal of old structures and to the building of new ones which are mainly in use today. As previously said, general characteristics are far from being original and here one cannot really speak about solutions characteristic only of Bosna Srebrena, although each solution has a special spirit and a special relation to a church and place and the surrounding tissue, if there is any. In terms of organization, solutions are characteristic of housing structures within the frame of Catholic religious groups, each monastery having common spaces for prayer, living rooms and refectories, also private ones for residing and additional rooms (kitchen,

toilet etc). In terms of style, new monastery buildings vary from the simple monotonous by an unknown author at Petrićevac and by Johann Holz at Kreševo to the more developed bitract systems in Kraljeva Sutjeska by the same architect and to the bold undertakings in the spirit of the Classicism revival by architects Karl Panek at Bistrik and Blaž Misita-Katušić in Visoko. Among all designs, the one in Jajce probably bears most similarity with the local, for that place suitable architecture to the detriment of most classical solutions and combinations that have been already seen. A solution by Karel Pařík, which was shown later on the example of the monastery at Plehan, displays a special sensitivity toward the landscape, spirit of a place and harmony with the surroundings. It is also difficult to speak here about some received style-affiliation categories applicable to the achievements of the Western culture.

### Architecture of monastery churches

One of the basic characteristics of all the Franciscan monastery residences is absolutely a dominant position in relation to the surroundings and the value of visual connection with the landscape which opened completely new possibilities to architects. Almost all the realizations were successfully executed (in terms of this segment of architecture) adding new values to designs. Except for the design by an unknown author at Petrićevac, all the new churches - those by Vančaš in Fojnica, Kraljeva Sutjeska and Guča Gora, the one by Pařík in Kreševo and the work of Johann Holz at Plehan (also apart from the church that was built into the monastery building according to the design of Misita-Katušić in Visoko and the church in Jajce as well) represent respected models for the majority of churches which were built to the order of the Province until the end of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia. In terms of shaping, the majority of churches belong to the classical three-nave model, mostly with a transept and a double bell-tower on the main façade, as well as a semi-circular apse where the shrine is located. The design for the church in Kreševo, which was removed due to construction reasons, stands out from other ones regarding its use of materials, ratio of masses and functional disposition. The same applies to the churches by Vančaš in Fojnica and Bistrik, which may represent the peak of realization in the spirit of Classical Revival architecture. Other monastery churches do not differ a lot from these ones (they were only modified at that period); so, for example, the church at Gorica near Livno or in Tolisa did not pose a special creative challenge to Vančaš, so they remind of the solutions in Guča Gora or else Kraljeva Sutjeska which is expected, given the deadlines and budgets that the architects had.

### Architecture and time

The influence that the Austro-Hungarian politics had on the creation of new societal image in Bosnia at the turn of the century is irrefutable. Those 40 years of the foreign administration brought innovations which were conditions for the changes in the perception of social phenomena, politics, culture... The architecture remained as a consequence of all this to bear witness to that time, but also to the relation towards it in periods that were yet to come. Any comparison with the architecture of sacral creations in other parts of the Monarchy, primarily in Vienna with those in Bosnia is outside the domain of known methods - since everything has to be observed through a multi-layered prism of the entire series of following events. Therefore, there are no top-grade Art Nouveau creations or even beginnings of the Modern Movement at the time these were in full-swing in the West but, rather to say, there are pieces of Historicism which firstly fill the gap between the suddenly interrupted medieval development and the beginning of the 20th century. In that context, the contribution of the Franciscan architectural achievements is actually fantastic and it did succeed and although formally (from the historical point of view and for a short period of time) in compensating for the large gaps, although they were certainly not planned as such.

The heritage of this era, although damaged in some cases, torn down or desecrated, represents one huge body of structures which founded the base for development genesis of the Catholic sacral architecture in the later period. Although it is less visible in post-war Bosnia, the sacral architecture underwent a complete reversal from this point of view. One cannot say that its achievements are consciously forgotten, but are discarded with an equal force with which they were accepted and imposed. Again, the political system is being marked as the main factor; the paradox is that greater when the social factor which is nominally the furthest from religion turns out to be the most influential in shaping an architectural product. Observed from the professional point of view, it is only during the last decades that the Franciscan monastery complexes and individual parish churches have begun to be truly valued on the formal level through the categorization of national monuments which contributes to the promotion of not only architecture but the content as well: numerous archive documents, rare books, exceptional museum artefacts, church vestments, works of art etc.

It is certain that the architectural picture of the Province was formed exactly at the turn of the century, so in that respect one could speak about the importance of the

Viennese regime for Bosna Srebrena. Consequently, Bosna Srebrena represents the core of the Catholic Church in Bosnia, its architecture meaning the same. It is sure that parallels can be drawn regarding the designs which hired architects made at the same time for profane structures, but a discussion about mutual influence is a topic for some other paper. It would be interesting to see in which direction development would have gone, had the basis been different: one would have surely felt in the architectural expression a more stylistic affiliation with the traditional architecture of the Dinaric area, had it been fostered more in the earlier period. That is to say: what would have the treatment of this heritage been, if political system had not so diametrically changed during the decades to come?

## Conclusion

This short survey was not conceived to present valorizations of individual structures as it is usual when historical discourses in architecture are concerned, although each of them certainly deserves it. Moreover, such an extensive work deserves far more space and time, so each presentation of the Franciscan architecture from any development period which was not encyclopaedically presented would be a kind of offence to that heritage.

On the contrary, this piece of work has just only scratched the surface of the creation context of these architectural realizations being of more or less value in the period of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia, but also observes it not as a group of individual solutions, but as a massive project whose results appeared all over Bosnia at the turn of the century. Activities of several architects at various locations and in local conditions, often with the already existing layers from the earlier periods resulted in a large oeuvre of the architectural solutions whose final originality and pure application of stylistic patterns can be again challenged. The foundation that was provided by this heritage for subsequent projects and numerous architectural creations is irrefutable (although they did not represent a part of the development genesis later), but again a "sprained" picture of the society. Time shows again that a considerably greater distance is needed in order to value and valorize a certain heritage adequately and finally to be appropriately recognized in all the spheres of society and state. It would be malicious to say that the Franciscan architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia is a remarkable oeuvre on the European level, but is certainly unique and did mark as such a turning-point in the development of the Catholic sacral architecture in Bosnia.

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**Nedžad Mulaomerović**

## SARAJEVO TOWN-HALL INTERIOR WORKS AND FUNCTIONAL USE

### Abstract

The Sarajevo Town-Hall represents one of the most representative structures from the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo. It was built in the pseudo-Moorish style in 1896 on the order of minister Benjamin Kallay, then-administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Architect Aleksandar Vitek started the project and the construction of the Town-Hall in 1892 but, after he had got mentally ill and deceased in 1893, the works on the project and construction were finalized by Ćiril Metod Ivezović.

The original function of the Town-Hall was the headquarters of the town's government while, since the 1950s, it has been the seat of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Museum of the City of Sarajevo. Since its creation until today, the Town-Hall has born witness to many important historical events related to Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Apart from all the controversies about the applied style, its location in the city, dimensions and the like, the Town-Hall has become a recognizable symbol of the city, an obligatory element of all panoramic views of Sarajevo. Unfortunately, it has acquired a status of a certain metaphor of culturocide and urbicide, after it had been brutally burned down in the night of the 25th and 26th August 1992. Apart from the books and other treasure of the Library, movables and furniture burned as well, all wooden constructions and all the outside and inside woodwork were destroyed; a steel cupola above the central hall was heavily damaged and deformed. The main catalogue, that took decades to complete has gone up in flames. The force that steel and stone could not resist, destroyed completely numerous and very well-indented elements of the plastic and painted decoration, both on its interior and on the façade.

However we valorize the Town-Hall's architecture, it is an irreparable architectural heritage. This building is a unique document, a witness of spirit and taste of a period, technological level, building skill and society's priority. The incalculable damage was not only due to the terrible war devastation. Four winters of war in Sarajevo significantly contributed to the devastation of the structure.

The restoration of the Sarajevo Town-Hall was an enormous task with enormous proportions, as much long-lasting and complicated as sensitive and refined, as much expensive and arduous as exciting and elevated. It represents one of the largest and most important restoration structures of the famous Bosnia and Herzegovina's cultural heritage after the war.

**Key words:** Town-Hall

### INTERIOR WORKS

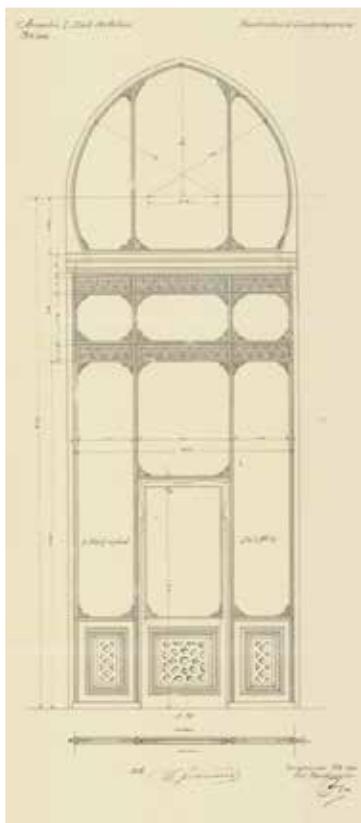
Stylistic models for the Town-Hall lead us to the westernmost countries of the Islamic world, from North Africa (Maghreb), to the southern parts of the Iberian peninsula, to Cairo and Granada - Alhambra. The Historicist architecture in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina gave a distinctive "Oriental", "Egyptian" or "Moorish" style directed to the Eclecticism of the Oriental art, in times when the European architects attempted to make a national style, witnesses of which are sacral and even more often profane buildings of that period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unlike the majority of structures built in the Neo-Moorish style, which are characterized by a decorative façade, the Sarajevo Town-hall emanates its style in its decorative, spatial and constructive solution. All of this together places this monument among high category monuments of a very important period of Bosnia and Herzegovina's and the City of Sarajevo's history.



Picture 1. - Interior of the Town-Hall

The richness of the architectural plastic art in stone and plaster of Paris is visible in the spaces of the entering hall, monumental staircase, as well as the state-rooms on the first floor. These are executed in rich plaster-of-Paris decoration both on walls and ceilings. Offices, as well as the remaining service rooms were executed more modestly, without decorations and the stucco-work. The final touch of this concept was given on the rich façade, executed in two-colour terra nova, mortar stucco-work and decorative faience elements. The original concept and its materialization were accepted as a starting point in the restoration project.

All of the interior and exterior joinery represented an exceptional work in oak wood and is a significant segment of the entire shaping experience of the Town-Hall. In the exterior, we can clearly see rows of two-casement windows (one-fold or two-fold), among which the windows in the state-rooms particularly stand out (completed with a floral decorative wood-engraving). On the outer doors, geometric wood-engravings are also present. The interior doors are made as a one-winged one with a lined stuffing of two-winged one (made half of glass) with a fanlight.



Picture 2. - Window from the original design

During the process of the restoration, the joinery was designed and made of oak material according to the original documentation. During the process of making specific positions of the joinery, workshop drafts and testing samples were made (they were tested by being in-built in the structure). In accordance with the contemporary thermic and noise protection demands, the exterior joinery was thermically improved.

The floors in the hall, the entering vestibule and the small vestibules of the ground-floor, as well as on the first floor gallery and loggia were renovated according to the original condition and made of the cast terrazzo in several colours.



Picture 3. - Restoration project of the terrazzo floor on the ground floor - the central hall

The floors in the state-rooms on the first floor were renovated in the mosaic technique, made of oak parquet and laid down in the forms of panels with a barrel stave and a profiled skirting board along the walls. The floors in working premises were executed in oak parquet laid down in the herring-bone pattern.

Stonecutting works on the Town-Hall set special demands in terms of procurement, selection, dressing and in-building stone positions. In this respect, the Institute for Materials and Constructions of the Faculty of Engineering in Sarajevo conducted an examination of the existing stone, according to specific in-building positions.

In the previous stages of the structure's restoration, the entering hall was reconstructed while taking into consideration the original stone types and stone character as a material which was not exclusively applied as a constructive, but also an important visual element, masterly selected in the process of realization.

According to the available historical data, the main monumental staircase which



connects the ground-floor and the first-floor was made of marble from Hungary. The design planned a restoration according to the original documentation with material remains on the structure and details given in the design. Steps that were made again of massive stone blocks (white limestone marble) were laid on an earlier made reinforced concrete slab, in the way that every third row was anchored to the slab. The execution of stone balustrades and corner columns on the staircase was planned of the "tenelija" stone with final ground dressing.

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**Picture 4.** - Monumental staircase

Service stairs, located to the right and left of the main monumental one, were restored also according to the original documentation with cast iron decorative railings. They were made to be a massive one with individual treads laid over the existing steel carriages on the one side and dug into the wall on the other side. The design demanded the laying of carbon strips on the lower part of every tread in order to take the tightening force and also with a mortar layer over the carbon strips. The surface of the treads was ground through dressing.

The original staircase at the entrance to the restaurant's basement as well as the main entering staircase were made of local "hreša" stone; it lost its geometry due to several interventions and the moving of certain elements. The design planned careful disassembling, a making of the new staircase according to the drafts and the in-building of old elements as specified by the design. The staircase's treads were ground and hammered in.

The aforementioned stone types on the staircases were given according to the characteristic data for the stone, compiled by the Institute for Materials and Constructions of the Faculty of Engineering in Sarajevo and the Institute for Geotechnics and Foundation Work of the Faculty of Engineering in Sarajevo.

Shapes, materials, working of surfaces and the production of in-built and mobile equipment in the interior were conceived in harmony with the basic idea of the Town-Hall's restoration design. Therefore, a large part of the equipment and lining, especially on the first-floor were restored according to the original drafts and photo-documentation and were made of materials which were planned by the design and descriptions.

In the restoration project, the interior solution in the City Council Hall followed the original layout of rows of councillors' benches in a mild amphitheatre on a previously made oak podium. The City Council Hall has 60 seats for councillors, 8 for journalists, the desk of the Chairman and a rostrum. Councillors' chairs were made on the wooden construction with a folding mechanism and additional improvements for the needs of modern use, while the front working desk was equipped with weak and power current, an electronic vote system and wiring for sound .



**Picture 5.** - State-room

The Chairman's desk and the rostrum were made (according to detailed drafts) in oak with profilations and applications taken from the original documentation.

The walls were lined with massive oak decorative lining whose applications and details were also taken from the original documentation.

The state-room for receptions, once the hall of Bosnian Parliament, as well as the small halls of the Mayor and the Chairman - Speaker of the City Council were equipped with massive designed furniture which meets the entire demand of this representative space.

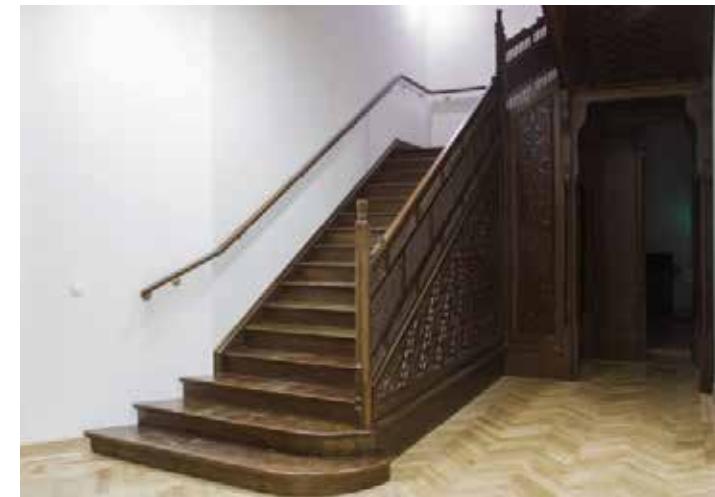


Picture 6. - State-room

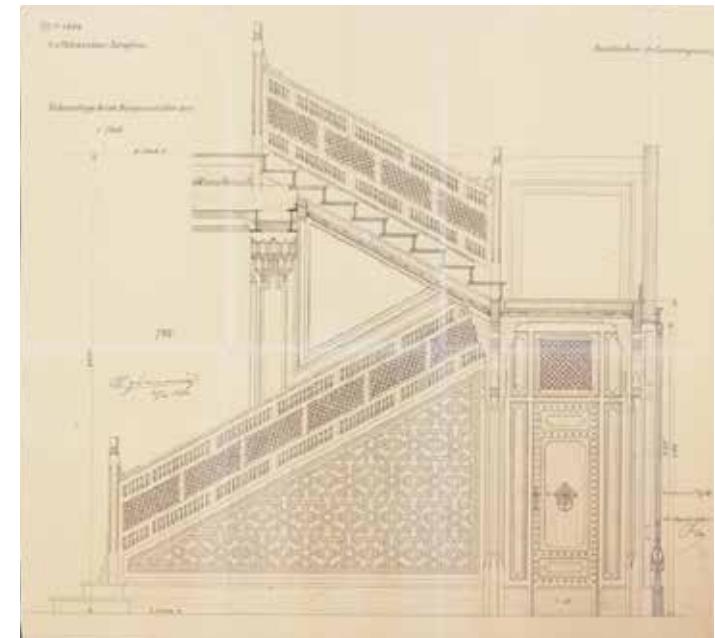
The wooden staircase which connects the first and the second floor in the eastern wing of the structure, previously made of oak with rich oriental ornaments and decorations, was also reconstructed according to the original drafts.

The interior of the museum premises was organized in the way that the central museum space is taken up by the installation of a video showing, purposefully made animation with the Town-Hall theme. The radial moving picture with the accompanying sound

effects is projected from the central spot of the vaulted ceiling to the museum's floor in a 3.5 m radius; for this purpose, the central museum space was lowered for 50cm in relation to the floor level in the remaining parts of the basement.



Picture 7. - Wooden staircase



Picture 8. - Original design of the wooden staircase

It was planned that the edge wall of the museum premises was to be equipped with fixed large boards in order to exhibit pictures in the form of a video tape which would continuously flow circularly in the direction of visitors' movement. It is mounted on the wall, over a wooden subconstruction which serves at the same time to mount indirect illumination of the exhibiting space. The existing museum vaults are made of bricks, the others were not rendered and have the pointing of recessed joints.



Picture 8. - Original design of the wooden staircase

technical groups which are interconnected and integrated into a single organism, where common public spaces have a role of being connecting structures.

In the period when it was built, the structure had one function only: that one of the Town-Hall, while in the period of 1947-92, it had the second one as well - the one of the National and University Library.



Picture 10. - Museum premises

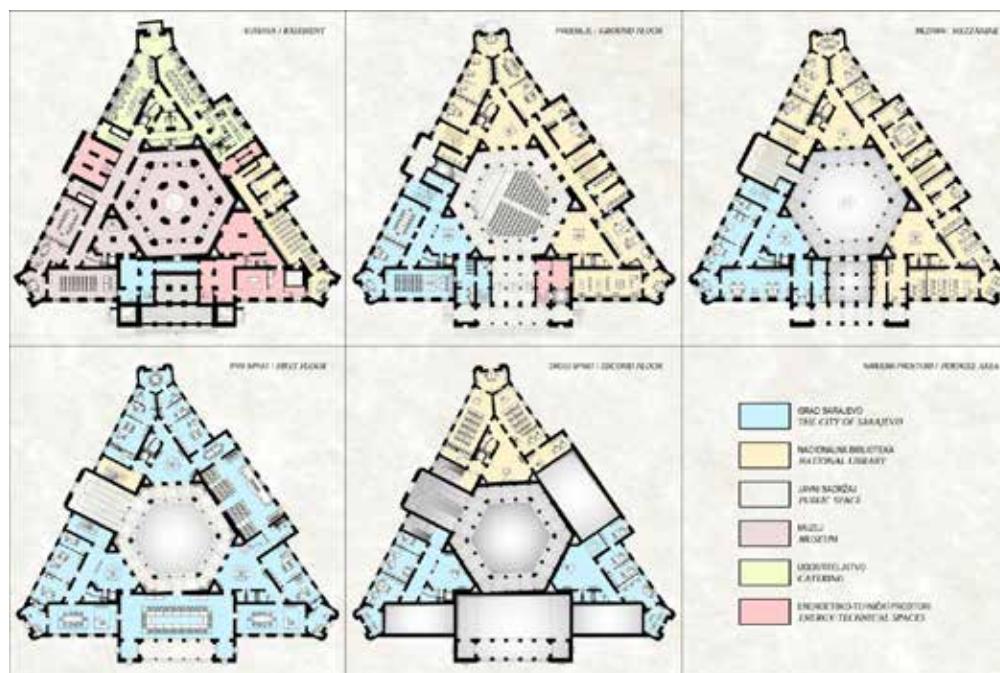
## FUNCTIONAL USE OF THE TOWN-HALL

The organization of the Town-Hall's premises, determined by the functions and needs of users (the City Administration and the National Library) with the accompanying public programmes as defined in the concept design, conditioned that, in the main design, the basic earlier based spatial-dispositional conception was to be respected.

In the dispositional sense, the structure of the Town-Hall contains three basic functional parts: premises of the City Administration, premises of the National Library and premises of the common public programmes (the central hall, the Town Hall's Museum, catering service and power supply block).

The aforementioned parts represent separate functional-organizational and

While respecting the existing constructions and dispositions of the structure (equilateral triangle with 3 towers and the hexagonal hall in the middle) and while taking into account all the circumstances which are commanded by the historic-cultural significance of the structure, the design enabled autonomous and comfortable functioning of the several separated programmes inside of it. Bearing in mind all the givens and spatial possibilities of the structure, the programme functions of several users are located across floors, taking account of premises for every user being interconnected with a possibility of simple access to the central attractions which are located in the parterre around the central hall of the Town-Hall.



Picture 11. - Purpose of the premises

The existing entrances to the Town-Hall's structure enable a separate entrance of the personnel of the City Administration and the National Library from Brodac Street and visitors via the main entrance from Kulina bana Street, while the existing door to Telali Street was planned as an alternative entrance, as well as for occasional supplying to the structure. A special entrance to the basement area from Telali and Brodac Streets serves as an exterior entrance for guests of the cafe-restaurant. Aside from the existing separate staircases from the National Library and the City Administration with reconstructed toilet facilities per each storey, new elevators for both users were designed as well.

The main energy block for the needs of heating and cooling with the remaining energy equipment is situated in one part of the basement. Regarding different ventilation systems of individual spaces and halls in the structure, as well as the existing architectural limitations for the raceway system, one suggested a separate system with more smaller air conditioning-chambers that are mounted in the attic for

the ventilation needs of both the museum and the restaurant in the basement.

The refurbishment and fitting out of the Town-Hall was a specific task, the reason for this being in the fact that it was necessary to meet demands of the contemporary space use for several user groups in this structure of cultural-historic importance.

### Premises of the City Administration

A part of the ground-floor was intended for the city's information centre, the function of which would be a presentation of the city's developing projects, a presentation of cultural-historic and tourist offer in the city and giving information about daily cultural events in the city.

The representative space of the first floor is taken by the Mayor's Office with the City Council, the protocol reception hall and the hall of the City Council. The accompanying professional services of the Mayor's and the Deputy Mayor's Cabinet, as well as the professional services of the Sarajevo City Council are located on the mezzanine and the second floor .

### The National Library premises

The premises of the Town-Hall that are used by the National Library are situated in the western wing of the structure with a separate staircase and a lift; it stretches across 3 floors.

A book storeroom was planned in the basement - for the needs of storing books and necessary material and functioning as a restoration workshop and a bookbinder's shop which are located on the ground-floor. It is planned that the restoration workshops and the bookbinder's shops are equipped with the laboratory equipment that was donated to the National Library by the Spanish Government. Besides, a bookshop, an antiquary shop and the Library's Directorate are also located on the ground floor. The mezzanine is reserved for the accommodation of the special collections' department and a development centre, while 2 halls for teachers' education with the accompanying spaces are planned on the second floor.

### Premises for common and public programmes

The central hall is destined to everyday use of visitors of the public programmes of the City Administration, the National Library and the Museum and for an occasional use on special occasions like promotions, exhibitions, concerts and the like.

The museum premises with the accompanying programmes in the basement take up the central sub-cupola space beneath the hall and serve for the accommodation of the permanent display of exhibits and video material, while the space towards the western wing of the structure is planned to be used for occasional thematic exhibitions and lectures with the accompanying office for the curator.

Apart from the catering points (coffee-shop - kitchen) on the floors of the main users of the structure, a catering attraction was planned in the basement- a restaurant with a coffee and pastry shop (the capacity of which is 60-70 chairs). This catering attraction was planned to serve (apart from serving the needs of the Town-Hall) outside guests via a separate entrance.

## Notes

[1] Author's text from the Restoration Design of the Sarajevo Town-Hall 2008

## Photos

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## PERCEPTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ADMINISTRATION PERIOD AS AN INSEPARABLE PART OF THE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA CULTURAL HERITAGE

The school readers about the history of architecture say that the period of the Austro-Hungarian administration on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a period that introduced great changes in the way of living, working and constructing. It is specified as a period of intensive building and development of architecture in the European direction when the architectural styles (which had been until then unknown in these countries) appeared. Studies that were made a few decades ago and which dealt with the significance and values of the architectural creation during that period helped conservators a great deal at recognizing, valorization and final protection of monuments which are an obligatory part of the cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

However, industrial structures built at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, a period considered to be the most intensive epoch of industrialization whose remains represent important historic, technological, social and finally architectural values, have never been researched or popularized in Bosnia and Herzegovina (which is also corroborated by a number of protected industrial monuments).

The goal of this paper is to present the beginning of the industrial development of Bosnia and Herzegovina which determines its further course with an aim to detect potential industrial heritage.

**Keywords:** Austro-Hungarian period, industry, industrial heritage, TICCIH

### 1.0 Introduction

The cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a result of colourful history and a unique geographical position of this country, is marked by richness in the view of diversity and stratification of the architectural heritage. Horrible war devastations from the 1990s inflicted huge damage on its heritage. Therefore during the last two decades, the work of protection services remains mainly focused on the rehabilitation of damaged cultural heritage, as well as that one destroyed by the war. Current protective activities lead to the neglect of newer categories of the cultural heritage (like vernacular, industrial and construction heritage of the Modern Movement) whose valorization, at the end of the last century, was one of the basic preoccupations in the contemporary protection of Europe's monuments.

Since there is no single Register of the Building and Archaeological Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina which certainly leads to the unsystematic treatment of the aforementioned heritage (implying inefficiency of the existing protection system as well), it is impossible to show a final number of the listed monuments of industrial culture.

The complexity of government of the state's inner system implies complexity of the protection systems as well, so considering the existence of the industrial heritage monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina in this paper will be limited only to the work of the Commission<sup>1</sup> as the only institution on the state level which was authorized for the protection of the cultural-historic heritage. According to the decisions of the Commission for the Safeguarding of National Monuments, Bosnia and Herzegovina possesses 3 monuments of industrial heritage only, as follows: the industrial heritage - the Salt Production in Tuzla, consisted of 3 sites, declared national monument in November 2007; the industrial construction site - the Electrical Power Plant at Hrid in Sarajevo, declared national monument in December 2009 and the industrial construction site - the Electrical Power Plant at Jarak, declared national monument in March 2011.

There are issues arising in which way exactly these sites came to be selected? And is it possible to valorize the industrial heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina without special developed criteria which correspond to its special characteristics which is suggested in all important international documents which direct protection in this field?

The question what industrial heritage is, is defined by the following documents: **Recommendation No. R (90) 20<sup>2</sup>**, recommendations produced by the Committee of the Council of Europe's ministers in September 1990, for the protection and conservation of technical, industrial and engineering heritage (which promote its significance and remind that it constitutes an integral part of the historic heritage in Europe as an

important development segment of the human civilization), then ***Nizhny Tagil Charter***<sup>3</sup>, by the charter for the industrial heritage, the most important document which defines protection in this field, adopted in 2003 (by TICCIH<sup>4</sup>), and finally ***Draft Joint ICOMOS - TICCIH Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage Sites, Structures, Areas and Landscapes***<sup>5</sup>, adopted by the ICOMOS in Paris in 2011.

One can perceive from the adopted definition of the **industrial heritage**<sup>6</sup> its complexity which primarily points to the need to systematically research this cultural category whose first and basic step is to make an inventory of industrial culture remains, in order to identify and then preserve and respect importance of this heritage's values. As a corroboration to this statement, that is, development necessity of the scientific approach to valorizing industrial heritage, it says in the last ICOMOS document: "*Detailed knowledge of the industrial and socio-economical past of an area or a country or their connection with another part of the world is necessary in order to explain the importance of locations and structures of industrial heritage. Typological, regional researches, as well as those on the context of individual industry with a comparative component which aim at the main industrial sectors or technologies, are very useful in recognizing heritage values, characteristic of separate structures, locations, areas and landscapes*"<sup>7</sup>.

What are the values of the industrial heritage in general? They are defined by the TICCIH's charter<sup>8</sup>, as the **universal values** of evidence which illustrate important aspects of our past and can be social (and as such, they give an important feeling of identity), technological or scientific values (in history of production) and they can also have important aesthetic values, expressed through a specific quality of their planning, architecture and design.

A need for the development of methodological guidelines for the scientific valorization (which should define specific criteria, adjusted and in accordance with Bosnia and Herzegovina's economical, cultural and conservation context), establishes a foothold also in the "*Burra charter*", which defines cultural value of the architectural heritage as a group of all recognized values from the aesthetic, historical, scientific and social aspects and suggests developing **precise valorization criteria** as understanding of cultural asset increases.

Concerning the character and topic of the symposium, as well as spatial frame of the article itself, the following survey will present the beginning of the industrial development of the country which determines its further course<sup>9</sup>, and is at the same

time considered to be extremely important for understanding its industrial and socio-economical past. Aiming at detecting potential industrial heritage which makes an inseparable part of the cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the period of Austro-Hungarian administration, one will present a survey of author's earlier researches, carried out on a unique workshop complex "Vaso Miskin Crni" in Sarajevo<sup>10</sup> and the first Bosnia and Herzegovina's ironworks in Vareš<sup>11</sup>.

## 2.0 Short survey of the "first industrialization" in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina had lived in the lethargic Ottoman social system until the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian rule, when its industrial development began. The agriculture was the main economical activity in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Ottoman period, while feudal submission of the serf had a decisive influence on its economical, political and cultural development. "Almost hermetically closed to the influences of Europe with backward feudal relations petrified during centuries - serf's difficult submission and landowner's ("spahija") almighty - Bosnia and Herzegovina stood on the threshold of the 20th century with a burden of the Middle Ages"<sup>12</sup>.

The basic conception of the Austro-Hungarian economical policies in occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina was, as Hrelja specifies, completely in accordance with the principles of the colonial policies in general. Capitalistic social relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina developed in the conditions of the emphasized state's role as a first-class political and economical factor in the construction of traffic, industry and other economical branches outside agriculture. The state had at its disposal the largest part of forests and the entire ore wealth of Bosnia and Herzegovina and it founded, through the state capital or hiring foreign private one (and favoured through lawful and economic benefits those industries which will give raw materials to the industry of the mother country, while customs policies ensured a new broad consumer's field<sup>13</sup>.

The technical and industrial revolution was implemented gradually in most European countries, with a transition from manufacture and cottage industry to the large-scale industry. However, as Hrelja specifies, industrial-made products were imported into Bosnia and Herzegovina from Austria-Hungary by the newly-built railway (that was constructed with the first collected capital)<sup>14</sup>.

It is considered that the entire Bosnia and Herzegovina's industry was built mainly in the period of 1890-1910 and that a very complex web of factors influenced its development. First of all, these are the natural resources<sup>15</sup>, traffic<sup>16</sup> (which stands with the industry in a relation of close mutual reciprocity), capital<sup>17</sup>, workforce<sup>18</sup>, domestic and foreign market, economical policies etc.<sup>19</sup>

In order to present in a manner as faithful as possible a survey of the first industrialization of Bosnia and Herzegovina, this paper will show the classification (according to the subject matter of the paper) which was used by Hrelja in his study<sup>20</sup>. Namely, in the work "Bosnia and Herzegovina's industry until the end of WWI", Kemal Hrelja shows 121 industrial enterprises<sup>21</sup> as an approximately correct number from that period. In order to overcome difficulties around a clear definition of the industrial enterprise, processing industry (which was not differentiated from crafts by then-statistics), the author takes into consideration: a number of employed workers, quantity and quality of installed plant facilities, invested capital and of course a description of individual enterprises.

Already at first sight (Chart No 1), one can perceive that the basis for Bosnia and Herzegovina's industry is extractive in character (28 enterprises or 34%) which determines further the course of industrialization of the country in later historical periods. Leaning on the rich raw material base and in a short period, the processing industry enterprises were erected which will give large profits very quickly. So, certain industry branches were separated: **wood, metallurgic, tobacco and chemical ones**, as the most important for the first industrialization period of the country.

Industrial branches	No. ind.	The most important enterprises
<b>I Extractive industry</b>	19	Zenica, Kakanj, Kreka, Breza
1. Collieries	2	Vareš, Ljubija
2. Iron ore mines	5	Semizovac, Duboštica, Sinjakovo,
3. Other metal mines	2	Bakovići, Žepče
4. Salt works		Tuzla
<b>II Processing industry</b>		
1. Ferrous metallurgy	2	Vareš, Zenica
2. Wood industry	20	Dobrljin ("Otto Steinbeis"), Zavidovići ("Eisler i Ortlieb")
3. Chemical industry	10	Lukavac, B. Brod, Teslić, Jajce, Travnik
4. Food industry	11	Sarajevo (brewery, steam-powered flour mill), Usora (sugar mill)
5. Textile industry	7	Sarajevo (carpet weaving mill, embroidery weaving mill and embroidery factory...)
6. Tobacco industry	4	Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, Travnik
7. Paper industry	2	Zenica, Sarajevo
8. Printing industry	16	Sarajevo, Mostar
9. Building industry	11	Sarajevo (brickyard), Bosanski Novi (quarry)
10. Leather industry	1	Sarajevo (Ašer Alkalaj)
11. Town electric power plants	8	Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Travnik, Brčko, Bihać, Bijeljina, Bileća, Mostar
12. Town gas plant	1	Sarajevo

Chart No 1. Branch division of the industry with a total number of enterprises according to K. Hrelja

The geographical distribution of the industry in this period was a result of the principle when the industrial production is concentrated on the economically most favourable places. Therefore, one can notice that an industrial core was formed in the Sarajevo-Zenica basin, where almost half of the industrial structures of their entire number in Bosnia and Herzegovina were located<sup>22</sup>.

### 3.0 Potential monuments of the industrial culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina

In this part of the presentation, two industrial complexes will be briefly presented, erected during the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina and whose remains today make the so-called large Brownfield zones that are considered as an impediment to the urban development by the public and official political factors. Both complexes have a significant place in the industry development in Bosnia and Herzegovina, "VMC" workshop complex as the only workshop of this kind in the country and the Ironworks and Mine in Vareš as the first and it seems the most important industrial facility for the development of black metallurgy of the country (having the largest ore deposits not only in Bosnia, but in the Balkans too according to then-assessments)<sup>23</sup>.

This short survey of their development genesis (both complexes were active until the 1990s, that is, until the beginning of the war in Bosnia) will prove that heritage is of an important historical value as a witness to the most intense industrialization period whose remains are preserved until today.

It was impossible to show constructive and shaping elements of the architectural structures in the Vareš Ironworks due to a lack of documentary material<sup>24</sup>, (access to the complex is not allowed, i.e. is strictly limited). While the analysis of the VMC Workshop Complex was made on the basis of historical maps and plans (also due to a lack of the original project documentation), as well as historical photo-documentation and photos of the existing condition taken by the author.

#### 3.1 "Vaso Miskin Crni" Workshop Complex, Sarajevo

As was previously said, the construction of the railway lines was one of the priorities of the Austro-Hungarian administration, both due to the strategic reasons and exploitation of natural raw materials. These data are confirmed by the facts that at the end of 1910, there were more than 2000 km of forest-industrial railway lines which were built by private firms, while the railway line length which was under the administration of the Direction of Bosnia and Herzegovina's State Railways in 1914 amounted to 1002 km. In order to ensure functioning of the rolling stock in all big towns through which railway lines ran, the railway workshops were built. These structures were mainly a combination of repair sheds and workshops for smaller repairs; in case of the bigger ones, locomotives and railway carriages had to be transferred to the workshops in Zagreb and Budapest. Big expenses and transport difficulties

were a sufficient reason to make a decision in 1890 to build a Railway Workshop in Sarajevo. Sarajevo was selected as a place for the Workshop because of its size which, at the same time, enabled widest selection of workforce and also because of its geographical position - it became a major railway hub in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to the construction of the railway network.

At the time of its formation, the Workshop planningly took up a marginal area of the town, while it had the following structures: a building for repairing locomotives, a boiler-room, a building for repairing goods' wagons and passenger cars, a small foundry, a saw-mill and a joiner's workshop. Until the end of 1918, a passenger carshed, woodwork, a room for tenders, stock anchor, while buildings for the repairment of locomotives and the boiler-room were extended. The facilities of this Workshop were equipped with scarce installations with older types of machines which were set in motion by a transmission plant, therefore human labour was dominant in them.

By analyzing constructive and shaping characteristics of the workshop halls, one can establish that despite falling behind in the industrialization itself, they give an example of the technical architecture at the end of the 19th century. A new conception of space was created then, due to the use of new materials – iron, steel and glass; a conception that completely expresses the utilitarian industrial construction by its legibility of the construction, material and function. Plan view dimensions of the workshops form relatively large open spaces whose construction was finished in an extraordinary short time, thanks to the application of the industrial elements, produced in large serial productions – cast-iron columns and wooden latticed structures and later on steel latticed frames. In the first phase of building, the roof construction was put together in the form of shad-roofs which provided necessary light to the interior space. The iron columns appear as constructive - load bearing elements, but also as a decorative material - for shaping of the capitals.

It is important to note that exterior walls of the industrial structures at the end of the 19th century were built of brick as load bearing walls, while the inner span is divided among the aforementioned prefabricated columns (because they are non-flammable, iron and steel constructions are adequate to be applied in the industrial architecture, being visible and present in the inner space only).

The function of the structures was not properly solved, while its shaping expression was extremely reduced. Large surfaces of the workshop halls' façades are rhythmicized by decent decorative architectural plastic art; shallow lesenes or semi-col-

umns which separate individual window fields and in the individual structures by window frames and doors, built in the shape of the vault with façade brick with a prominent crown motif.

In accordance with the political and economical changes in the country, the Workshop changed its producing activity, internal organization and the name on several occasions. From the "Central Workshop" (Central Werkstätte) founded in 1890 to being incorporated into "Energoinvest" in 1972, the building system of the workshop complex went through a number of interventions in the form of the construction of new volumes or extensions of the existing workshops.

Today, one finds there a semi-abandoned space with partially ruined and destroyed big sheds.

The city's planners are aware of the need to include it into the city's life and to reshape and reorganize this relatively large industrial area (ca 10 hectares) which is defined as a zone of economy and small industry by the "Centar Novo Sarajevo" Regulation Plan and in accordance with the interests of new owners. In this zone, a replacement of the construction structures was planned, while one enables up to 18-storey buildings' construction as well; therefore, the average number of storeys on the site will amount to P+6 (ground-floor + 6 floors), while their purpose and accompanying programmes should be complementary to the central programmes of the secondary city centre of Novo Sarajevo<sup>25</sup>.

### **3.2 The first ironworks in Bosnia and Herzegovina - Vareš**

Intensive geological researches of the Vareš iron deposits for the purpose of industrially producing and processing iron ore began in 1886. In the following two years, all the ore deposits of the Vareš area were included in detailed researches, the best and the richest ore deposits being determined; they were claimed as a property by the state administration. The preparations for the first foundry in Bosnia and Herzegovina (stated in 1890) were conducted concurrently with the research works on the mines. Hydrosurveys were carried out on the river Stavnja in order to see if water quantity will be sufficient for the necessary facilities; a road was built along the river itself, a railway line was designed to connect the mines with the foundry, and foundry with Podlugovi; in Kralupi, a terrain was planned for the construction of a foundry. In that same year, the direction was built as was the "apprentices' school" for the needs of the Mine; the construction of Vareš Majdan as a settlement was begun. The year of 1890 was noted as a year of construction in order to put

in operation both the foundry and the casting plant in Vareš on 16th August 1891.

Vareš began to acquire characteristics of the industrial town at that time and it encompassed: the mines in Droškovac, Pržići and Brezik; the transport infrastructure in the form of marshalling humps and the railway line from the mine to the foundry; then, 4 furnaces for burning ore; blast furnace; foundry with one dome furnace; various storages for ore, coal, tools and the like. Water supply line for drinking, cooling and reserve water, workshops for blacksmiths, joiners, modellers....; water-operated mine forges in Dabrawine; management building, laboratories, offices and flats for state workers and officials.

However, this "pocket ironworks" was very unprofitable even for then-European normatives. Blast furnace could not satisfy production needs, so it was constantly enlarged and altered. In 1895, a stock company called the "Vareš Industrial Ironworks" was founded with a task of building a new rolled iron foundry in Vareš, together with a modern casting plant, then to remodel and modernize the iron ore production in the old mines and to build a Podlugovi - Vareš railway line. Immediately afterwards in 1896, a new furnace was begun, a caloric electric plant was built, as well as railway line up to Podlugovi (its length being 28km) in order to get a connection to the main Metković - Brod railway line. Also, dome furnaces were enlarged producing mainly pipes, iron stoves and boilers.

In 1898, the first furnace was demolished and a new one was built; therefore, there were 7 furnaces for burning ore that were functioning which produced 160 tons of iron. Annual charcoal consumption in the Vareš ironworks was significantly rising which required felling of enormous forest wooden mass, leading to the deforestation of the whole forest complexes in some parts of Bosnia. As the coal from dry distillation in Teslić was not entirely meeting the needs of the technological process of the blast furnaces in Vareš, there was a transfer in 1904 to adding gradually certain amounts of coke (which increased from year to year) until 1917, when there was a complete transfer to coke in the iron production. In that way, Bosnia and Herzegovina's iron industry, although being late in respect to the European production, did adopt the modern way of iron smelting.

Until the beginning of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ironworks in Vareš - one of the most important industrial centres in the country had been going through an intensive and continuous construction and development of the productive capacities, as well as the accompanying building of residential, utility and other structures of its infrastructure.

After the insight into planning and strategic documentation of the Vareš municipality, it is easy to establish that, with a collapse of the great economical systems and within the frame of which the economy of this municipality was functioning, the ore exploitation and iron production ceased completely.

Today, the abandoned industrial complex is a chaotic and frightening sight. From the conversations with Vareš inhabitants, one finds out that "iron pickers" target the complex by dismantling the existing structures and facilities and smelt them and sell to the Zenica Ironworks.

The Physical Plan of the Vareš Municipality (2000) plans "to remove most of the structures of the mine and the ironworks", by which they want to create a substantially large "working zone" for the economic development of the municipality centre<sup>26</sup>.

#### 4.0 Conclusion

The global process of industrialization which marked the previous two centuries represents an important period of the human past and its heritage being a source of knowledge necessary for the modern world<sup>27</sup>.

A specific quality of the characteristics of the industrial architecture are conditioned by the circumstances in which it developed and which were unquestionably different from those which determine creation of the older categories of the constructive heritage; those characteristics lead to the fact that the existing protection system has not appreciated them equally.

Today, we may well say that the public, the official policies and the conservation organizations still do not recognize values of the industrial heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a part of their tradition which is being indicated by the number of the protected national industrial monuments.

The aim of this report was to point at the necessity of developing methodological guidelines<sup>28</sup> for a complete scientific valorization (and social verification) of this constructive category of the heritage and to pinpoint in detail the criteria which correspond to its specific characteristics.

This paper represents a short survey of the "first industrialization" of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose basis was extractive in character and which will determine its development in later historical periods. The most important branches of the processing

industry in the Austro-Hungarian period are: wood, metallurgic, tobacco and chemical industry, so on the grounds of the recommendations of the Council of Europe, one considers that one representative example of each of them should be protected on the national level.

It was shown by the development of the important industrial structures - the "VMC" Railway Workshop and the first ironworks in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Vareš) that the same heritage of unquestionable historical value and their remains bear witness to the most intensive industrialization period of the country. One should add to this that both complexes inherit the value of authenticity, understood as an intertwining of historical layers in a harmonious relation with the original pattern (bearing in mind that both complexes have been used for more than a century).

At the time of their formation, they planningly took up large marginal areas of the towns and today, they document one important town-planning period of their development, making important elements of the town's identity. The Workshop Buildings, at least in the case of the "VMC Workshop Complex", were built in accordance with the tendencies in the architecture at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, when there is a requirement for the "originality of architecture", that is, the legibility of its material, construction and function which means that they at the same time possess historical-architectural values which document this important period of the industrialization. If we bear in mind the fact that the presented industrial companies were considered to be the initiators of the economical life and the largest working collectives of towns in which they were situated, then their social value is confirmed giving an important identity feeling of their citizens.

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<sup>3</sup>TICCIH, The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage, 2003.

<sup>4</sup>"The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage" – cares for the promotion of the industrial heritage and exchange of ideas and experiences in the protection field. Founded in 1978 by 30 countries from Europe, America and Asia and is a special advisor of the ICOMOS on the industrial heritage

<sup>5</sup>ICOMOS, Joint ICOMOS – TICCIH Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage Sites, Structures, Areas and Landscapes, Paris, 2011.

<sup>6</sup>Definition (author's translation): **"The industrial heritage consists of locations, structures, complexes, areas and surroundings, as well as machinery, objects and documents which are related to it and serve**

**as a piece of evidence of past or momentary industrial processes or production, digging of raw material, their transformation into goods and energy and transportation infrastructure. The industrial heritage reflects deep connection between cultural and natural environments, since industrial processes, those of antiquity and modern ones, depend on natural raw material sources, energy and transportation network in order to produce and distribute products on the wider market. The industrial heritage includes material properties, both movable property and real estate and intangible dimensions like technical knowledge, division of labour and workers, complex social and cultural legacies which shaped communities and led to big organizational changes in the entire societies and in the world in general"** ([9]:2).

<sup>7</sup>ICOMOS – TICCIH Principles: I/5

<sup>8</sup>TICCIH, 2003

<sup>9</sup>Namely, according to industrial geographers, Bosnia and Herzegovina passed through two significant phases of the industrial development: - the capitalist phase (Austro-Hungarian period and the period between the two World Wars) which is defined as **the first industrialization** and the socialist phase (after WWII) – **the second industrialization** of the country. [4]

<sup>10</sup>M. Pličanić, *The Importance of the "Vaso Miskin Crni" Workshop Complex as a unique industrial heritage of the city of Sarajevo*, Proc. III Int. Symp. "PhiDAC 2011", Novi Sad, 2011, pp.255-263.

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<sup>12</sup>K.Hrelja, Industrija Bosne i Hercegovine do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata, Beograd, 1961.:str. 4

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>The first amassed capital, obtained at the Austrian and European money market, is used by the state to construct the railway and road traffic which enables forest and ore exploitation, that is, those natural resources on the basis of which the first industrial capacities were built [1].

<sup>15</sup>**Ore** – its diversity, the most important are coal, iron and salt, then forests (half of the country's surface is covered with it) and **"the white coal"** – the power of water courses, whose potential was not exploited, because of the abundance of the cheap coal, while the construction of hydro-electric power plants demanded large investments.

<sup>16</sup>Enables building and development of the industry and at the same time it is a work of industry.

<sup>17</sup>Additional difficulties were caused by non-existence of the domestic private capital, while the foreign capital, due to non-existence of the infrastructure, unsettled public-law position of the occupied area and a lack of adequate workforce, was slowly taking an active part in it.. [1] 'There is not a single example of an aga from Bosnia and Herzegovina who would turn himself into an industrialist' , (F. Hauptmann [1]:18) ...Because of that, he left his post to a foreign entrepreneur who manages his firm from Triest, Vienna, Munich and the like.

<sup>18</sup>At first, domestic workforce was used on a very small scale and for the simplest manual work like

tree felling and it was mostly foreign expert labour force that was imported to the country parallel with the industrial development (which was disproportionate to the entire number of workers).

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>According to Marić, the most frequent classification of the industry is according to the kind of product (light and heavy) and according to the object of work (extractive and processing). The classification of industry in our country was changed on several occasions according to the economic-technological criterion (like the very definition of industry was changed), so the comparison of the statistical data in its development is rendered more difficult. Since 1953, the industrial statistics have been rich, both in terms of the collected information and observation frequency, while in 1977 a new industry classification was made, which is possible to be reduced to the previous one due to the comparison of the data. Marić specifies that the industry statistics in the period of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes are very poor and offer two significant documents only [4]

<sup>21</sup>The statistics of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia register 138 in this period, while Hrelja thinks that the difference from the number 121 is made of the industrial firms of the workshop for the rolling stock repairing, as well as the state forest works which were not included in the aforementioned study.

<sup>22</sup>Đ . Marić, 1991.

<sup>23</sup>There is a quotation in the Recommendations for the Protection and Conservation of the Technical, Industrial and Engineering Heritage that: "The representative examples of every important industrial branch should be protected on the national level" [7].

<sup>24</sup>It is possible to find one part of the documentation in the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina (for whose systematization one would be behind schedule planned for this kind of the author's research).

<sup>25</sup>M. Pličanić, 2011.

<sup>26</sup> M. Pličanić, N. Pozder, 2014.

<sup>27</sup>ICOMOS - TICCIH, 2011.

<sup>28</sup>Co-ordinated with economic, cultural and conservation context in Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Selma Rizvić**

## VIRTUAL MUSEUM OF THE SARAJEVO ASSASSINATION - A 3D WINDOW INTO THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN PERIOD IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

**Summary:** It is possible today to travel to the past. The application of information and communicational technologies enables creation of interactive virtual surroundings in which structures that look completely different today or even no longer exist, are presented. We can visit them virtually and get acquainted with the events that took place in them via digital stories. In the paper, a project for the Virtual Museum of the Sarajevo Assassination is presented, the one that takes us back to the period of the Austro-Hungarian rule, so that we can bear witness to the turbulent events that changed the course of history.

### 1. Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a treasury of cultural heritage. Different religions and cultures have been leaving their traces in these lands since the 11th century. Cultural monuments have been ravaged for years not only by time, but have been also exposed to the destruction of wars and neglect in times of peace. One of the ways to preserve cultural heritage is a preservation of collective memory. One can hardly imagine what the structures that no longer exist or only in ruins must have originally looked like. Computer graphics techniques and 3D technologies can considerably contribute to the safeguarding and promotion of cultural heritage.

The Sarajevo Graphics Group (SGG) was founded at the Faculty of Electrical Engineering in Sarajevo in 2005. The first project, under the name of the "Virtual reconstruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina", showed to our archaeologists, architects, museologists and historians, how can a "stećak" (tombstone) from Donja Zgošća be digitalized and its virtual model reconstructed by means of software in its original shape [1]. After this project, supported by UNESCO, the SGG focused its work into two directions: the virtual presentations of the cultural heritage structures which no longer exist or have been heavily damaged and the virtual museums.

The work on the virtual museums resulted in an invitation to join the consortium of the

European Transnational Network of Virtual Museums V-MusT.net [2] within the frame of which an exchange of knowledge and training for our museologists and archaeologists were made possible in top European institutions for the protection and promotion of cultural heritage. The virtual museums are a new and attractive way of presenting the past. They enable a survey of exhibits without visiting them physically. Experiences have showed that a virtual visit attracts a visitor to the real museums in which exhibits are now presented by an additional digital content which enables a visitor to hear stories about events and personalities linked to individual exhibits. A combination of physical exhibition and a digital content creates a new trend in museology and uses potential of computer graphics and 3D technologies in order to offer something that is attractive and interesting to all the generations of visitors.

One of the virtual museums that we made will be presented in this work. That is the Virtual Museum of the Sarajevo Assassination. This project was partially financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science and it represents an internet presentation of the assassination event and the structures that are related to it, as well as some structures that are characteristic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Austro-Hungarian period.

### 2. Concept for the Virtual Museum

The Transnational Network of Virtual Museums V-MusT.net defines a virtual museum as a "personalized interactive experience in which a user can get into the spirit of and better understand the world in which he is". The goal is to create such experience for visitors so that they feel as if they travel through time and that they are taken back to the past to the period when a certain monument was in full splendor. Besides, they unite the models of physical exhibits with all kinds of multimedia content (picture, text, narration, music, film) which acquaint a user with those information which he cannot find out by seeing physical display and by reading short texts on boards next to the exhibits. In the end, virtual museums are independent of a user's physical location so that visitors from all over the world can find out about the cultural heritage of individual countries without physically coming to these countries. That contributes considerably to the development of cultural tourism, because people organize their travels and are motivated by virtual collections of the museums they have seen on the internet wishing to learn more about these cultures and civilisations.

In [3] the authors argue that communication is the main focus of a virtual museum. Because of that, the way of communicating should be an enrichment of the stuff in

a real museum so that visitors should even better understand the cultural heritage. In relation to a real museum, the virtual one has additional aspects like education, promotion and research, improvement experiences of users and entertainment.

The technical implementation of virtual museums is still a very popular domain of scientific research. Depending on the content which one wants to present in this form, it ranges from common web galleries of exhibits' photos with associated metadata (names of exhibits, dimensions, time period etc.) to interactive virtual settings in which users travel through time and examine virtual reconstructions of the cultural monuments and listen to stories about important personalities and events that are related to them. In the process, displays are very often used (being mounted on the user's head), touch screens, projections of virtual worlds with which the user communicates via gestures and other kind of interfaces that are popular in computer games.

### 3. Virtual Museum of the Sarajevo Assassination

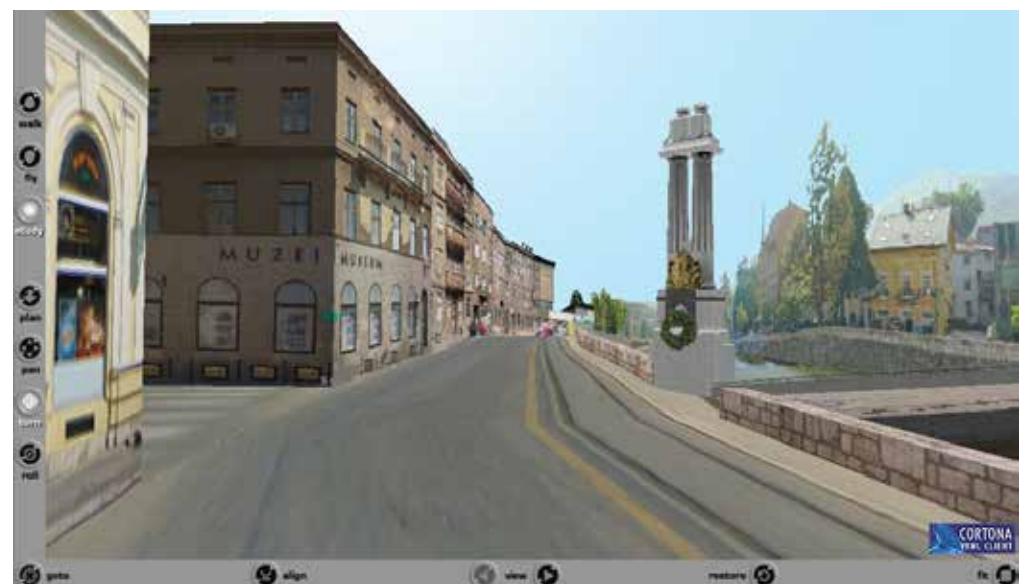
The Virtual Museum of the Sarajevo Assassination is the first step to digitalize the Museum of Sarajevo 1878-1918. This museum contains a permanent display of the exhibits related to the Austro-Hungarian administration period in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a special emphasis on the 28th June 1914, when Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his spouse Sophia were killed in Sarajevo. For the time being, the Virtual Museum mostly contains exhibits related to the very Assassination event. The title page of the web implementation is shown in Picture 1.



Picture 1. Front web page of the Virtual Museum of the Sarajevo Assassination

#### 3.1. Exterior interactive virtual setting

After selecting an option for the Virtual Museum on the front page, the exterior interactive virtual setting opens (Picture 2). That is a 3D model of the Museum's building and its surroundings, made combining 3D geometry and mapped photos. The difference between the real appearance of this place and the virtual setting is in the fact that a 3D model of the monument to Ferdinand and Sophia that was located at the corner of Latin bridge until 1919 was inserted in the virtual setting. A detailed description of this structure and its context will be given in chapter 3.4.



Picture 2. Exterior virtual setting of the Virtual Museum of the Sarajevo Assassination

After the modelling, the setting was imported into the VRML format which enables the user to move through the 3D model like in a computer game. In order to be able to read this format, it is necessary to install a certain additional programme on the computer of the Virtual Museum's visitor.

### 3.2. Interior interactive virtual setting

By clicking on the Museum's door in the exterior interactive virtual setting, an interior model of the Museum opens. The interior was created as a 360o panoramic photo (picture 3) on which the so-called hot-spots were added. These are the spots that enable some other content to open after clicking on them. In our case, we have the links to the gallery pictures of the Sarajevo Assassination event, 3D statues of Franz Ferdinand and Sophia Chotek, a 3D model of the monument, a 3D model of the car, a film about the assassination and a slide-show of the Sarajevo photos from 1878 to 1918.



**Picture 3.** Interior virtual setting of the Virtual Museum of the Sarajevo Assassination

This setting was created by means of the Spheron panoramic camera (picture 4), given to us by the University of Warwick in Great Britain. This camera creates a 360O panoramic photo in the high dynamic range of colours. The photo is being recorded on a connected laptop and exported into a needed format for further processing. After the exporting, we added links to this photo, the ones for subcontents of the Virtual Museum which are located in the places where the corresponding exhibits are. For example, a click on the display case with objects related to the Assassination event opens a web gallery of that very event.



**Picture 4.** Use of the Spheron camera in order to createThe interior virtual setting of the Virtual Museum of the Sarajevo Assassination

### 3.3. Gallery presentation of the Sarajevo Assassination event

The gallery pictures of the Sarajevo Assassination event is aiming to present the facts and photos related to the Assassination in the way that a visitor to the Museum has the impression that he is the virtual gallery (picture 5). The user moves across the virtual setting by means of a mouse or arrows and he gets additional information about them by clicking on individual contents.



Picture 5. Web gallery of the Sarajevo Assassination

### 3.4. 3D models

We carried out the digitalization of the several structures important for this historic period within the frame of the Virtual Museum of the Sarajevo Assassination. Some of them are the statues of Ferdinand and Sophia which are located in the Museum (picture 6a). We created interactive 3D models of these statues which a user can turn around by means of a relevant software and thus observe them from all the sides which is not possible when it is the case of a photo. The interactivity of the models improves user's getting into the spirit of the Virtual Museum [4]. Also, a 3D model of the car was created in which the royal couple was driven on the Assassination day (picture 6b), as well as a 3D model of the monument which was standing at the beginning of Latin bridge until 1919 (picture 6c).



Picture 6. Interactive 3D models:a) statues of Sophia nad Ferdinand, b) car, c) monument

The interactive 3D model of the monument is particularly interesting, because it was created by combining laser scanning and 3D modelling. Namely, the monument's remains (middle bronze part of Ferdinand and Sophia and the crown at the top) still exist and are being kept at the storeroom of the Artistic Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We carried out laser scanning of these objects (Picture 7) and on the basis of thus obtained geometry, we created the 3D model. The parts which were not preserved were created via the classical methods of 3D modelling and we added them to an adjusted scan. The creation procedure of this model was described in detail in [5].



Picture 7. Laser scanning of the remains of Ferdinand and Sophia monument

### 4. Conclusion

In this paper, we showed that a virtual presentation of cultural heritage can be justifiably considered as its contemporary perception. It enables a visit to cultural- historic monuments from your home, a virtual travel through structures that no longer exist in reality or their appearance being considerably altered, as well as acquiring knowledge about personalities and events that are related to the monuments of cultural heritage.

A response of the public to the appearance of such projects is very positive. People have the impression that the cultural heritage has become closer and more accessible. Virtual presentations of the cultural heritage considerably contribute to

the development of the cultural tourism, because internet users organize their travels centering around places that they had seen virtually. Also, this way of perception and presentation of the cultural heritage offers great potential in the education process, because these technologies are available and close to the young people. In that way, the cultural heritage returns to the collective memory.

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Nermina Mujezinović

## FROM CONSERVATION TO *INTERPRETATION*: ON THE PROTECTION METHODS OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IN SARAJEVO

### ABSTRACT

The diversity and richness of the Austro-Hungarian heritage in Sarajevo directly implies a necessity of applying various approaches and methods regarding its protection - especially in the light of the new interpretations of *authenticity and integrity*, as well as broader considerations which include various notion connotations: place and space in the contemporary architectural - town-planning vocabulary.

Starting from the assumption that authenticity and integrity of the heritage must be supported by different protection methods and levels of interventions in the space - from those which imply direct activity on the material to those whose scope is limited to the environment of monuments, this paper also reviews concrete examples considering effects and potential of possible "layers" of the protective activity. Finally, it confirms that value-related multiple meaning and historical-cultural specific quality must be "respected" and "acknowledged" through clarifying from several angles and intervening on several levels. Based on the relevant researches and the analysis of concrete problems and experiences from years-long professional practice, the author gives some general starting points for decision making on the needed methods and the level of protective interventions.

**Keywords:** conservation, restoration, interpolation, context, historic site, ambience, designing in historic context

### 1. Austro-Hungarian architectural heritage in Sarajevo, today – the problem-related context

"A place is a space which has a distinctive character." [1,5]

The period of the Austro-Hungarian administration has left numerous traces in the urban tissue of Sarajevo. Through many aspects of activity in its physical structure - from erecting new buildings in different styles to extinctions or making other alterations in the existing objects; sometimes respecting principles that existed before an intervention, sometimes departing from them, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy added one recognizable layer, to the already formulated physical structure and multi-layered culturological milieu.

After it had survived two wars and many confusions of recent constructions and addings, lowering itself stratigraphically below the architecture of Modernism as well as contemporary building efforts, the Austro-Hungarian heritage in Sarajevo exists today within strikingly non-homogenous setting. Therefore, it seems that it is necessary to return to its essential values and to try to reaffirm them - not in spite of that but precisely because of the fact that the context in which it exists, considerably altered and in the process of becoming more and more different with every day passed. One critical review created for that purpose would not refer (in the context of our paper) to possible future researches and evaluation of the architectural heritage structures of this period from the aspect of what their building initially contributed to the already defined space, creating new ambience quality or reducing the existing one. Numerous researchers dealt with this problem and will probably deal further on while making their valuable contributions. Such analyses are neither a subject-matter of our professional or academic activities, nor are they a topic of this paper. "Contemporary perceptions" (in the context of our activity scope) would be connected to the present-day condition of the architectural heritage in Sarajevo in the widest sense of the word and the problems of its protection and the clarification of necessary, possible, successful or unacceptable interventions.

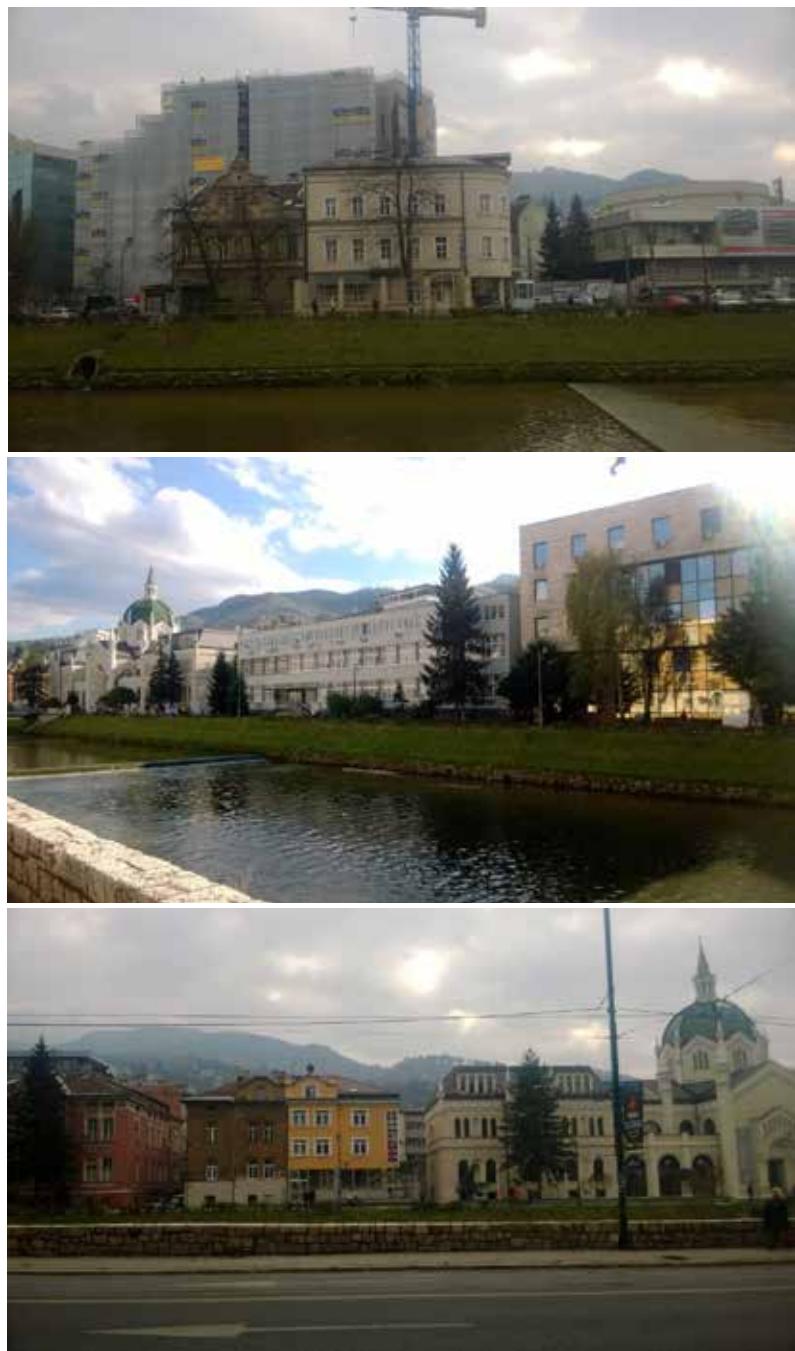


Illustration 1. River bank, Sarajevo, sequences

The context that has changed in the widest sense of the word cannot be an argument for re-examining the already determined value of an architectural structure, its consequential transformation in order "to adjust" to new conditions or a partial or complete removal. However, these cases occur sometimes- it seems, according to mechanisms and in a pattern that has reversed progress than the one that would have to take place: instead of a new structure (through a process of designing) to be evaluated in the space in relation to a determined value of a multi-layered context - and also in the physical and every other aspect, it is often conceived as an isolated element which dominates and which soon provokes "a chain reaction" in terms of new interventions, i.e. further construction whose articulation now follows new recent "bench marks".

The construction of a new road, gas station or a gigantic structure within the historic centre in the immediate surroundings of a charming group of Art Nouveau structures - although it can become over time and depending on a purpose an indirect cause of physical degradation, it does not imply a direct contact with the historic structure. Unfortunately, that fact is sometimes arbitrarily interpreted, even "misused" as an argument, in favour of the inadequate building activity with suggesting certain "protective measures" according to need. Here, the fact that is disregarded is that the implementation of a planned building undertaking will probably totally alter perception and experience of the ensemble due to physical pollution; that it can totally transform the space which will get a new physical identity and that it will create pre-conditions for disrupting social, behavioural, culturological and other patterns which are often components of the value of a historic site; and finally, that it will considerably alter the character of the place, as a totality of the tangible and the intangible - space which is identified by its architecture in a unique way.

There are other aspects (among many "faces" of the preservation problem of the Austro-Hungarian heritage in the conditions of growth and transformations of the city) - "free" interventions on residential-office structures (they are often suggested and sometimes realized) whose denying or rejecting can be an occasion to pin ungrounded and formal consistencies on the protection authorities. We are of the opinion that the assessment of such suggestions is an extraordinary complex and subtle task, because it has to take into account all the aspects of the problem - those which are linked to mutual relations, that is, visual interaction of architectural parts and elements of the structure and their relation to its entirety, but also those linked to the relation of a structure and the environment and a "role" it has within the urban tissue. Adding a floor with the alteration of a roof shape at the same time (the alteration will

ensue inevitably); replacing original woodwork with plastified aluminium ironwork; closing original balconies with bricks, opening new or changing dimensions of the existing openings do not mean only breaching norms and regulations in relation to the heritage protection. Uncritical acceptance of such interventions can carry essential dangers in the context of understanding and evaluating architectural quality in general. Namely, some of the results of such transformations can be: distortion in the perception of proportions, rhythm and order as the basic elements of aesthetics of an architectural work according to most theories; sending a message about a poor understanding of the importance that original materialization has (the importance as an irrevocable historical, documentary and even culturological fact) and finally renouncing preservation of the meaning and legibility of elements which function as media for transmitting information about the architectural or cultural ideology of a certain period.

## 2. Authentic material of the monument and conservation - restoration intervention

"The consideration of authenticity cannot only be limited to the verification of the historical truth of material remains."  
[2,102,3]1

The aforementioned arguments about the problems which the protection authorities are often faced with in many Austro-Hungarian heritage structures will be illustrated by one example from the professional practice - by segments of a condition analysis of the street façades of certain structures in a row (addresses being Marsala Tita Street numbers 18-24 and Branislava Djurdjeva Street), done in 2005/06 within the conservation and restoration design [8]. Since we are unwilling to make generalizations based on a small number of samples, we can support claims by many other analyses conducted within the paper on similar designs, as well as by other experiences of years-long active work in the protection service.

Within several "campaigns" in order to protect façades of the Austro-Hungarian period structures in Sarajevo, interventions on a large number of buildings of various styles were executed (that were built in different intervals of the Austro-Hungarian administration period). Aside from a large number of designs that we have done within the several years-long programme, we were personally hired to compile a conservation-restoration design for the street façades of the structures' row in

Maršala Tita Street - from the number 18 to a corner house at the crossroads of the Maršala Tito Street and Branislava Djurdjeva Street.  
Methodologically, the work included: researching a documentation basis along with a comparison with similar structures; authenticity analysis; condition analysis of the physical material, defining conservation-restoration interventions and a suggestion for the further development of the Design.

A general classification of the determined degradation types was, while conducting the analysis at all the 4 structures, established at the operational- technical level by an initial division on types whose treatment was included in the design documentation or was not included in it - in accordance with the design task and an already defined scope of the protective intervention. The causes of degradation in the 1<sup>st</sup> group were found also in anthropogenic and environmental factors, that is, in a synergetic activity of natural impact and human activities. Some of them are: war activities, natural decay of material, irregular maintenance and inadequate repairing interventions. The 2<sup>nd</sup> group - "devastations" whose treatment was not included in the design documentation, referred exclusively to a devastation of the structure by human activity.

Subclassifications were further developed in the context of solving identified problems, that is, planning interventions. In this respect, the offered methodology and a way of mapping could be considered as a certain contribution (in the sense that they connected certain types of devastation with techniques of conservation-restoration interventions which are needed to be applied to) while following materialization and following logics of carrying it out at the same time. Typical aspects of material degradation were sighted on all the four structures, being grouped in different subcategories, some of which were described in short in the further text.



**Illustration 2.** Street row in Titova Street,  
condition before the conservation and restoration design was compiled

"Physical and chemical devastation of the drainage system elements on the structure" (category "1" of the classification) were manifested in the deformation, weakening of joints, corrosion, chemical decay and are consequently provoking devastation of the mortar surfaces as well (2<sup>nd</sup> floor), because of the increased humidity impact. That was clearly visible in peeling and detaching of painted and coming loose of surface mortar layer, appearance of cracks, development of fungi, mildew etc. Devastations of mortar surfaces were often registered as well, created as a result of physical-dynamical activities - hits and blows, but also dilapidation - material abrasion / 3<sup>rd</sup> floor), so knocked off pieces could be noticed, a lack of plastic art fragments, material coming loose etc.

Within the frame of a special subcategory - called "Devastation which is a result of earlier inadequate interventions" (floor 4), traces of earlier repairs were considered (floor 4.1.) - on flat surfaces, drawn profiles, ancons and decorative plastic art. Probably undertaken as an attempt of urgent protection, these improvised interventions resulted in the presence of rough fillings or large uneven surfaces both on the façade wall and on the linear elements. While compiling the design for the structure, within the specified category (floor 4), the physical devastation was analyzed (that was created as a result of the portal alteration (floor 4.2)); they are noticed in the frames of masonry openings and the skirting board; in these zones, "repairing" interventions were carried out, performed technically in a bad way and visually in a

rough way. A bad execution of the joints (while building the portal's frame into the wall) led subsequently to mortar damage due to humidity penetration, so "repairs" ensued again which was treated within a special subcategory in the classification (floor 4.3), equally as it was lining of the entrance landing with ceramic tiles and thin stone slabs, which was carried out during the ground-floor adaptation (floor 4.4.) [8]



**Illustration 3.** Façade of the structure in Titova Street . Condition before the restoration and conservation design was compiled. Damage of the painted layer and mortar surfaces caused by increased humidity and decorative plastic art damage



**Illustration 4.** Façade of the structure in Titova Street  
Condition before the restoration and conservation design was compiled. Physical damage caused by the alteration of the portal

As the interventions which imply a direct impact on a monument's material, both the conservation and restoration were considered within one chapter in the context of our presentation, because they are (as the primary protective interventions) undertaken with the aim of ensuring elementary integrity and authenticity of physical material. As a definition, the conservation implies an intervention aimed at saving physical material during which it will not be altered physically, while the restoration implies re-establishment or uncovering of a certain aspect of a monument. [2,20]<sup>2</sup>

On the basis of the already compiled, detailed analyses in which the devastations of the structures's row in Titova Street were mapped and classified in the described way, intervention plans were also elaborated and presented graphically via adequate drafts, while in terms of description and quantity, through a technical description and a bill of quantities of the works.



**Illustration 5.** Mapping method of the damage classified according to the determined criteria (above) and the graphic picture of the necessary interventions (below)

While planning the interventions, one insisted explicitly to remove original material minimally on the original parts of the façade, that is, to plan making new elements only in cases where it was really necessary.

The planned interventions ensured protection of the authentic physical material, preserved more or less from further decay depending on a structure and position, but its basic visual integrity was re-established. Still, since authenticity does not imply only and exclusively a consideration of "historical truthfulness" of material remains, we gave recommendations for a continuation of the project which would support originality of the structure in other ways as well. We shall speak more about it in the next chapter.

### **3. Authentic material, character of the place and integrity**

"Architecture is an interpretive, critical act...A building is interpreted when its rhetorical mechanism and principles are revealed" [4,45]

Although essentially completely different and in some other context irreducible to the lowest common denominator, the adaptation, rehabilitation and interpolation and to some extent reconstruction as well are the interventions on the historic tissue, i.e. within the historic tissue and they have one common element particularly important for our consideration: all these procedures are narrowly connected with the notions of context and place on whose true understanding we should heavily rely. It is certain that we can specify a great number of examples from various parts of the world which illustrate the opposite thing. In our conditions, a complete neglect of the context value is especially present when we speak about the interventions in the vicinity and on the structures of the Austro-Hungarian period (which have a modest value) whose quality was first of all recognized in relation to the site they belong to.

Any kind of undertaking on a monument or within a site could be called an "intervention", independently of a method or strategy that were applied, a kind of context and a type, that is, a level of the activity itself. However, the rehabilitation, reconstruction and interpolation directly imply establishing a relation of the "new" and the "old", that is, the original and the added (built). In this respect, an intervention should (as an aesthetic "operation") imply not only recognition (and acknowledgement) of the characteristics of heritage structures in whose context

we act, but also their use as analogous characteristics of a new building activity [4,10]3, regardless of the fact of whether a dialogue will be realized via a different expression, via "references" or establishing contrasts [4,5] <sup>4</sup>. The thing that seems particularly important in these frames, is respect, that is, taking into account the notions of place, identity and interpretation, [4]<sup>5</sup>

While we understand the notion of context to be mostly an existing reality, the thing that is given, inherited and found, the notion of place has phenomenological connotations as well. The place is the entirety of concrete things [1,7] <sup>6</sup>; it has an identity formulated by different factors. The terrain morphology and landscape characteristics, climate, structure and organization of the urban (or another built one) tissue in the horizontal pattern or silhouette, the proportion and the scale of structures, articulation of masses, architectural morphology and materialization, regulation lines, views and sequences, chronological and stylistic affiliation of structures are some of the elements that formulate physical identity. The place can however be powerfully characterized by its economical, social and cultural identity, while the historical identity is linked to the collective memory of inhabitants, materialized or in some other way preserved in monuments, through memory of certain events, stories, legends etc.

Therefore, it seems rather obvious that, apart from studying a formal language applied to the historic tissue and a consideration of using a new, different and contemporary one through the different, referential or contrasting, the notion of place understood in the way that Schulz considers it and Demiri interprets it and also, the notions of integrity and authenticity in the way the international organizations define them [2, 102,6]<sup>7</sup> must be taken into account. However, when we look back to the present-day condition and the setting of many sites and structures of the Austro-Hungarian building heritage, the aforementioned claims do not seem totally evident.

On the example of the structures from Titova Street which was presented in the previous chapter, we could observe this problem partially (in the paper) through the character of the row, not insignificantly formulated by then-purposes and the way of using the ground-floor space, and which was in all further interventions realized in order to "adjust" and visually communicate the content, i.e. the new identity. From this aspect, all the structures were to the least extent debatable and one of the particularly illustrative examples is the ground-floor at the address of Maršala Tita Street No 20. [7,55]<sup>8</sup>





**Illustration 6.** Way of using the premises on the ground-floor

If in some periods of history some "codes" for reading certain spatial or aesthetic expressions were also defined, where functions or a social status can be connected to the stylistic articulation or an applied pattern of spatial grouping of certain contents, it seems that (in the present-day context) such spatial-social and culturological codes are sometimes deprived of meaning; they are simply struck out or blurred. There is no system of "reading" the thing that is finally being visually communicated after carrying out a number of unorganized transformations different in character – neither on the presented structures, nor on another ones which were subjected to such transformations. Such transformations cannot be an object of evaluation; their traces remain outside the context of "good" and "bad", in the vacuum which isolates them from the existing building. In the setting of the Provincial Government Buildings complex, whose identity partially stems from the above-described way of "reading" the formal language, "alleviated" by mostly Art Nouveau residential-office structures of more free articulation – thus, these interventions should not happen in one explicitly urban central zone as this one is. Still, they did happen and still happen, so it seems necessary to point at them in this manner as well.

Within the frame of planning of the conservation-restoration interventions on the structures of the street row 18-24 [8], we were therefore dealing also with the matter which was not the subject matter of the design task – the interventions carried out on the portals through giving the recommendations for further activity: compilation of a study and a special design. Here, we want to emphasize once more a need for a complete treatment of public premises on the ground-floors which does not imply only a redesign of the portal or an installation of non-aggressive advertisement signs which are visually compatible with the logic of the façade. It is beyond question that the conservation of the original material represents the first step which is the most important item in a series of interventions that are needed to be undertaken; however, in order to truly reassert integrity and authenticity through a protective intervention, it is necessary to take into account both the purposes and the treatment of all façade surfaces, as well as transformations in the exterior and all the other elements which have their role in re-establishment of integrity, thus making a complete picture and forming a character of the place.



**Illustration 7.** Structures during the conservation-restoration works

In the context of this paper, the notion and importance of interpretation will be explained using one different example.

A possible stratification of a structure, an ensemble or a historic site, transformations it underwent in the course of history and documented, historical, traditional, emotional or other basis – all that is tangible and intangible and what defines its uniqueness - are the elements which contribute to the formation of a personal character creating, among other things, a recognizable spirit and atmosphere. It is logical that every physical intervention leaves traces: on a structure and in the immediate space around it by adding new layers to that “totality of concrete elements”: a world of textures, surfaces, masses, colours and structural patterns... However, it must not interrupt physical, visual or culturological continuity, nor should it annul the character of a place in whose meaning one recognized a certain value. In this respect, an intervention on the historical material should be based on the interpretation of a place and the respect of its totality which would, in the normative frame, be equivalent to the interpretation of the entire value – whether it is about an ensemble, a street row or a structure which is being added or adapted.

The very act of interpreting is generally an act of discovering, i.e. explaining and liberating of that which is unclear, unnoticeable at first sight, i.e. of that which is under the surface. “Colomina Beatriz says that the architecture is a critical, interpretative act, considering that a structure is interpreted, when its rhetoric mechanisms and principles are discovered.” [4,45]<sup>9</sup> In which way we shall interpret a historical context in which we work depends (to the same extent) on our ability to notice and understand a quality and essence and to abstract and code that quality and finally, to transpose a written code into a new different formal language. Therefore, one part of architects’ responsibility – which is sometimes absent in this domain, when it comes to historic sites, groups and even individual structures of the Austro-Hungarian period heritage, is precisely in the interactive relation that a newly designed structure bears to the surrounding space. The way in which new material “illuminates” the surrounding urban tissue or the original heritage structure must be one of the basic criteria for reading it and for assessing quality. However, the evaluation based on such criteria is obviously not always one of the iterations in the process of designing and detailed studies (which should be a constituent part of its early stages) were either not copied or not used as a starting point.

As an example of the approach which aims to take into account characteristics of the place and its multidirectional connotations, we give here one way of interpreting

historical continuity and “stratification” through the use of characteristic working out of the parterre – often a significant identity element of some space.

On the example of the conservation-restoration works on Latinska čuprija (Latin Bridge) [9], a multi-vault bridge from the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Sarajevo which we carried out in 2004/05, almost all the kinds of protective interventions were applied; on the basis of the all-encompassing analysis and diagnostic assessment of a level and a kind of degradation at every concrete position, adequate methods were applied – from conservation to partial reconstruction. However, we shall focus on one aspect which may here serve to further clarify the notion of place interpretation, understood precisely as an act of uncovering what is unnoticeable at first sight, that is, what is “under the surface” – in this case, stratification and different phases in the history of the structure.

The interventions on Latinska čuprija (Latin Bridge) carried out in the Austro-Hungarian period had different consequences for the original material – from degradation to adding a “new layer” in stratigraphy. Since the technical term conservation (in the widest sense) can be applied to every intervention aimed at saving the original structure (which will not alter it physically), the removal of the subsequently added iron beams - support of cantilever pedestrian extensions was a conservation intervention as well, because their being built into the material caused damage of stone vault structures made of porous light tufa and corrosion consequences began to endanger the surfaces of frontal walls, as well and the stone cornice. The restoration of added elements of the “bench” and extensions on the left bank was of a completely different character; carrying it out meant an “acknowledgement” of the added parts as integral, authentic elements of the monument, while partial returning the already existing granite cube at the approaches to the Bridge from the right side represented a result of the place interpretation through a visualization of facts about its history. In that way, the Austro-Hungarian period is present in the abstracted code, expressed through a simple drawing on the walking surface of the bridge as well, in the form of thin lines from the granite cube that stretch from the bank to the centre and gradually disappear in the limestone cobble pavement.

We applied yet another example of a similar approach to the execution of the parterre, while conceiving solutions for the ground-floor of the Ploče Tower, where we found a paving in Austrian granite “cube” on the location (to be more precise untypical ashlers), having been used in the Tower and all the broader zone. By combining originally used limestone which is recognizable in archive pictures (with

granite with which the old paving was replaced in a certain period) and by using a system of signs and lines, a connection between the interior and exterior space was realized, as was a link between different periods: a period in which the structure was built, a period in which it lasted and changed and a period in which it was restored.

## Conclusion

The fact that the Austro-Hungarian heritage structures are today being renewed in the high quality way (but often also degraded by subsequent interventions or constructions in the immediate vicinity) formulates by itself a problem-related context which seeks for the answer and to which it is necessary to answer from various aspects. By confirming a necessity of the continuous care for these monuments through adequate activities in the domain of administrative, preventive and active protection (that kind of necessity is certainly beyond question), the problems that are present point however to the necessity of a more intensive activity in a considerably broader, more all-encompassing scope which would include various subjects and various aspects of administrative, professional and research activity directly or indirectly linked to both planning and designing. Among other things, the spotted problems point to the need of a more serious re-evaluation of the context as a living and changeable organism within which the Austro-Hungarian heritage today is, in which it will be tomorrow and with which the structures or ensembles built between 1878 and 1918 are in a continuous interaction. Finding a way to reassert their value, that is, to support their authenticity and integrity through a wide palette of protection methods and mechanisms and devising interventions in the space relying on the systematic analyses of the Austro-Hungarian heritage meaning in the present-day image and life of the city, seems to be the only way to preserve its value in the long term.

- [1] C. Norberg-Schulz, "Genius Loci, Towards a phenomenology of architecture", Academy Editions, 1980.
- [2] M. Petzet, „International Principles of Preservation”, ICOMOS, 2009.
- [3] The Nara Document on Authenticity, Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention, Nara, Japan, 1993.
- [4] K. Demiri, "New Architecture as Infill in Historical Context", Architecture and Urban Planning, doi: 10.7250/aup.2013.005, 2013 / 7, pp. 44-49., 2013.
- [5] V. Sanković – Simčić, "Revitalizacija graditeljske baštine: integracija staro – novo", NNP Naša riječ, 2000.
- [6] Information document by the World Heritage Centre on the development of a revised Unesco recommendation on the conservation of historic urban landscapes, 2008.
- [7] B. Dimitrijević, "Arhitekt Karlo Parzik", dissertation copy, 2010.
- [8] N. Mujezinović, projektna dokumentacija konzervacije i restauracije fasada objekata uličnog niza na adresama Maršala Tita 18-22 i Branislava Djurdjeva, Kantonalni zavod za zaštitu kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog nasljedja Sarajevo, 2006..
- [9] N. Mujezinović, projektna dokumentacija konzervacije, restauracije, konstruktivne sanacije i djelomične rekonstrukcije Latinske čuprije u Sarajevu, Kantonalni zavod za zaštitu kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog nasljedja Sarajevo, 2005.
- [10] N. Mujezinović, " Kamen – materijal kontinuiteta i izražajnih mogućnosti, Federalno ministarstvo obrazovanja i nauke, 2009.

<sup>1</sup> "The consideration of authenticity cannot only be limited to the verification of the historical truth of material remains (...) in the case of traditional communities and areas with a continuity of traditional functions, retaining of social-cultural authenticity is of fundamental importance and should be clearly understood and integrated into the management system and plans." Petzet, 2009. See in : "The Nara Document on Authenticity", 1993.

<sup>2</sup> "Whereas the conservation of an existing fabric of a monument only attempts, as far as it is necessary, to stabilize individual areas technically and to eliminate sources of danger that directly threaten a fabric, the restoration is concerned with the overall appearance of the monument as historical and artistic evidence ". Petzet, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Solà Morales Rubió, I. de. From Contrast to Analogy. Developments in the Concept of Architectural

Intervention. Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965-1995 (K. Nesbitt, ed.). Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, pp. 228-238., according to: Demiri, 2013. See in: Mujezinović, 2009: "(..) Visual identity of a new segment must be, in terms of shape, connected with the original one on some basis which does not imply identicalness, excludes imitation and allows contrast. Connecting presumes that new and old elements (...) jointly constitute an entirety, not a group of independent fragments.", p. 201.

<sup>4</sup>Strategies given according to: Demiri, 2013. See in: V. Sanković - Simčić, 2000.

<sup>5</sup>Interpretations of the specified notions in the further text, according to: Demiri, 2013.

<sup>6</sup>"A place is therefore a qualitative, 'total' phenomenon that we cannot reduce to any of its properties (such as spatial relationships) without losing its concrete nature out of sight". Norberg-Šchulz, 1980.

<sup>7</sup> See: "Information document by the World Heritage Centre on the development of the revised Unesco Recommendation on the Conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes, 2008. According to: Petzet, 2009.

<sup>8</sup> "This kind of 'reading' of certain meanings regarding the choice of a style are present in the Historicist architecture of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The beginning of the possibility of these interpretations is in the symbolic idea that was attributed to individual historical styles in the period of Historicism, when choosing a style for individual buildings was a result of co-ordinating the symbolical meaning of a style and a purpose of a building (for example, Neo-Renaissance as a symbol of education and humanism on school buildings, Neo-Gothic on the European town-halls as a symbol of traditions of the European civil society, Neo-Classicism on parliaments as a symbol of Greek democracy etc.)" Dimitrijević, Prepiš, 2010.

<sup>9</sup> "As Colomina Beatriz states: "Architecture is an interpretive, critical act...A building is interpreted when its rhetorical mechanism and principles are revealed". Demiri, 2013.

**Adnan Pašić**

## EXAMPLES OF CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL INTERVENTIONS WITHIN THE STRUCTURE OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN PERIOD URBAN AND ARCHITECTURAL SITES IN SARAJEVO

### INTRODUCTION

The period of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina essentially reasserts the dominance of the West-European civilizational and culturological patterns which ceased in the 15th century at the fall of the medieval Bosnian state. During the four centuries of the Ottoman administration, town-planning and architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina were developing in accordance with the culturological and civilizational context and trends within the Ottoman Empire, while the fact that these lands had a peripheral position during that long period explains why authentic values were introduced into dominant architectural trends to a certain extent (the values that stemmed from traditional and ambience particularities).



Picture 1. - Illustration of Sarajevo, reconnaissance parties of Eugene of Savoy in 1697

A significant number of the existing towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina acquired their contemporary contours during the Ottoman rule. The broader area of the town of Sarajevo has been continuously inhabited since the Neolithic period. The Neolithic settlements in Butmir and Zlatište, Roman colony and baths at the site of today's Ilidža, medieval forts and settlements of Vrhbosna and Hodidjed are located at the marginal areas of the Sarajevo valley. When the Ottomans arrived, the town began to develop in the Miljacka river valley forming the urban centre of the town that has been continuously developing until today. This continuity was also established by the very name of Sarajevo itself, etymologically derived from the Turkish word for the court – Saray.

### TOWN-PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN PERIOD IN SARAJEVO

The beginning of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 was marked by intensive infrastructural projects of roads, railway lines and fortification constructions on the one hand and the parallel process of constructing urban centres with planned development of industrial and architectural projects on the other. The basic characteristic of all building and architectural projects is that they were founded on the contemporary European institutional, social and technological principles and achievements. Regardless of the pro-European reforms of the Ottoman Empire in the period of the Tanzimat during the 19th century, the Austro-Hungarian administration introduces significant alterations in all the spheres of life which differed considerably in relation to the found context of the Ottoman legacy of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The urban model founded on traffic routes and the system of urban blocks was replaced or was a continuation of the existing urban centres of the former period. The architecture of the European classical tradition, Eclecticism, Vienna Art Nouveau, but also establishing the pseudo-Moorish style as a characteristic of harmonizing with the local traditional context, are basic characteristics of the contemporary towns and the architecture of this period. Those 40 years of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina mark in a special way a period of the contemporary history of these lands in which a special importance, both in the material and the spiritual sense, is represented by patterns and a quality introduced via town-planning and architecture.



Picture 2. - Photo of Sarajevo in 1911

## CASE STUDIES OF CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL INTERVENTIONS

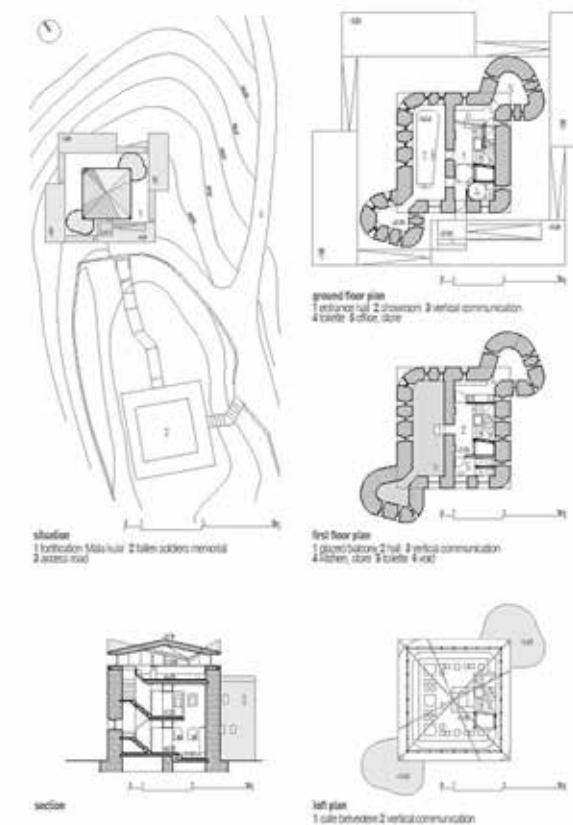
Repairing, adaptation and revitalization of the MALA KULA fortification

Author: Adnan Pašić, realization

The Association of War Veterans wanted to adapt the Austro-Hungarian fortification of Mala Kula into a memorial centre, after a prominent role it played in the defence of besieged Sarajevo during which it suffered considerable devastation. The original structure consists of a ground-floor, a floor and an accessible terrace connected via an inner double-return stair, while in the horizontal plan, it is composed of a square body  $9 \times 9$  m and two peripheral towers, radius of which is 5 m'. The exterior and interior walls are built of stone and the interfloor construction consists of composite slabs.

One tried to establish a balance between the planned monument and functional aspects of the planned purpose via the architectural intervention. The inner disposition contains rooms with small embrasure openings and with their character being appropriate for accommodating inventory of the memorial room and accompanying functions, while the terrace with an interrupted view across the entire

perimeter of the structure, was covered with roof and transformed into a space for a coffee-shop-belvedere. The roof shape in the form of broken white surfaces with oblique roof planes, both functionally and symbolically towering over the stone base of the original architectural structure, thus embodying and giving an abstract symbolic and monument character to it. The design was compiled in co-operation with professionals of the Institute for Monuments' Protection of the Sarajevo Canton. After the realization of that design, the investor carried out works that were contrary to the project and by this, it additionally contributed to the devastation of the cultural and historic heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>1</sup>



Picture 3. - Mala Kula, Grdonj, Situation, plans and section



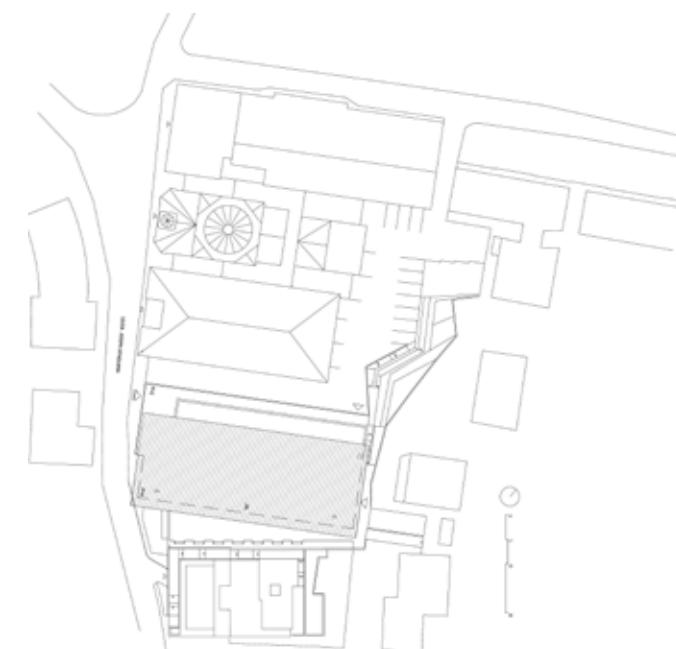
**Picture 4.** - Mala Kula, Grdonj, photomontage of the exterior

#### Priests' home of the Vrhbosna Archdiocese

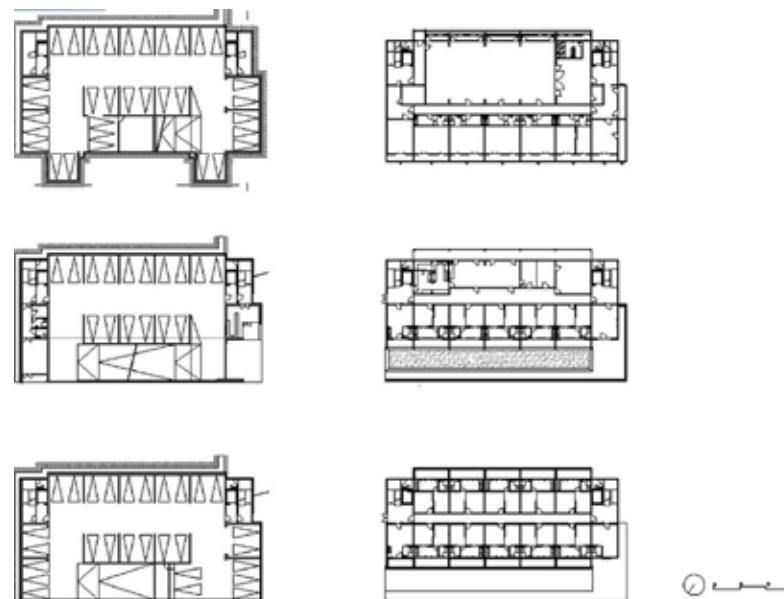
Author of the design: Nikola Maslej, Author of the redesign and the chapel's interior:  
Adnan Pašić, realization

The original design is a work of architect Nikola Maslej (1946-2008), while the final appearance is the redesign of the original version that came into being during the construction process from 2008 to 2012. The Priests' home is located in Josipa Stadlera street in Sarajevo, in the urban plan from the Austro-Hungarian period. There is a building of the Catholic theological faculty on the western side of it and there is a free-standing urban villa on the eastern side, both authored by architect Josip Vancaš. During the initial phase of the realization, the investor decided to alter a part of the functional and programme elements of the original design solution, on the basis of which a redesign of shaping and materialization elements ensued.

There is a chapel within the Priests' home whose plan view is square and has 6,40 x 6,40 x 3,00 m in dimensions. The chapel was originally illuminated through an elongated window in the eastern wall. The northern back wall of the chapel connects it with the sacristy and the entering door which, in turn, connect the chapel with the central corridor of the second floor. The chapel was composed of an altar oriented to the southern wall with a circular pew around the ambon and mensa, three pews are oriented towards the altar, 14 translucent panels with the pictures of the Way of the Cross on the eastern wall and ceiling and wall niches symbolically illuminated by different colours. All the furniture and equipment are made of solid maple wood in natural colour. The walls and the ceiling were painted white, while the floor was made combining the grey epoxy resin and barrel staves of solid maple wood in natural colour. Each individual interior ensemble is illuminated via a different indirect light source, via indirect artificial illumination and reflection of painted surfaces of square and rectangular niches in the walls and the ceiling of the chapel. Every niche is positioned, painted and dimensioned on the basis of the functional analyses. The ambience effect obtained via reflections of different qualities and intensities of coloured light on the white surfaces of the walls and the light surfaces of the chapel furniture transcends into a contemplative and spiritual experience in the eye of the observer.<sup>2</sup>



**Picture 5.** - Priests' home of the Vrhbosna Archdiocese, Sarajevo, situation



**Picture 6.** - Priests' home of the Vrhbosna Archdiocese, Sarajevo, plans



**Picture 7.** - Priests' home of the Vrhbosna Archdiocese, Sarajevo, exterior

## INSIDER Boutique Hotel

Authors: Adnan Pašić, Amela Hadžić, Conceptual architectural solution

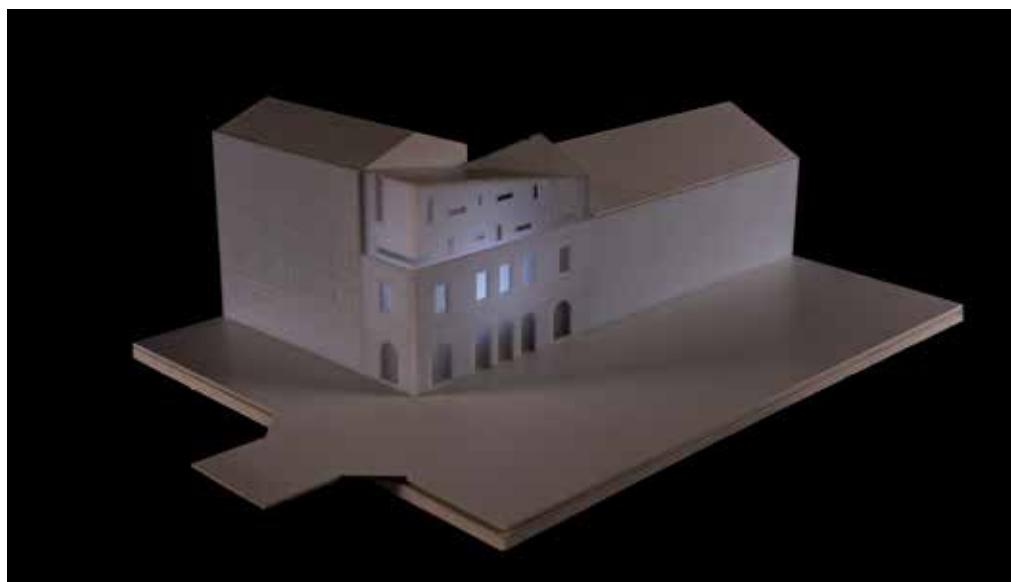
The existing Austro-Hungarian building is located at the corner of Zelenih beretki street and Obala Kulina Bana promenade, next to the very historical assassination spot of Franz Ferdinand. The building consists of a cellar, the ground-floor, one floor and an attic, being constructed of opposite walls with the wooden interfloor construction. The cellar and the attic are currently out of use, while the groundfloor and the first floor function as a travel agency. A transformation of the existing structure into a small boutique-hotel was sought in the programme. The conceptual architectural design enlarges the existing structure into 2 mansard storeys which, by their form-relevant character, try to be an integral part of the Austro-Hungarian urban block site to which the building belongs. The conceptual solution designed the reception in the ground floor, a kitchenette with a dining-room and a lounge-bar in the cellar, six 2-bed and three 3-bed rooms on higher storeys. The architectural solution of the mansard ensued from the analysis of the surrounding architectural structures and attempts to respect the basic formal principles of shaping the urban block, but also from an intention to stress a contemporary intervention by materialization and by shaping, that is in harmony with the period when it came into being. It was planned to build the added structure of wood, by which the new substance will be a logical continuation to the original structure and materialization of the Austro-Hungarian building.



**Picture 8.** - INSIDER Boutique- Hotel, Sarajevo, situation



Picture 9. - INSIDER Boutique- Hotel, Sarajevo, photo of the model



Picture 10. - INSIDER Boutique- Hotel, Sarajevo, photo of the model

## Conclusion

The architectural approach that was applied in the presented studies of the case is based on the introduction of contemporary architectural qualities into the existing historic ambience and architectural sites. Designing methodology was based on the researching of ambience and architectural qualities important for the representation of the original building and the context, after one tries to conceive an architectural suggestion that will co-ordinate special value of the original material substance and architectural value with the architectural intervention, a new contemporary architectural intervention based on the contemporary needs and the introduction of new attractions into the existing ambience and architectural context. This architectural designing principle is close to the new authenticity method, as defined by Italian architect Andrea Bruno. Since the presented studies of the case represent only one of the contemporary methods which are applied in the cases of interventions on ambience and architectural sites of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, I am of the opinion that, as an appropriate conclusion of the previous survey, we could quote Hans Ibelings who, in a review of contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina architecture wrote: "Of course, there are good and bad imitators of the international trends here as well, but it seems that the majority of architects, in spite of all the dominant trends, express their own attitude, articulate their own world and that's why it is possible to find buildings and projects in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which are completely different from what one can see elsewhere; in the era of globalization and growing homogenization, that is not an unimportant value."<sup>3</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> A.Pašić , "Revitalisation of Austro-Hungarian Military Fortress and Its Conversion Into Memorial Building – Case Study "Small Tower" – Sarajevo, 3rd Hazards & modern Heritage International Conference, Leros, Greece, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> E. Turkušić , "Chapel interior, Sarajevo", A10, #39, May/June 2011, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> H. Ibelings, "RESTART Arhitektura u Bosni i Hercegovini 1995-2010", Baybook, Sarajevo, 2010, p. 13.



**Milijana Okilj**

## TOWN-HALL IN NOVI GRAD - HISTORY, ARCHITECTURE, RESTORATION

### Summary

The Town-Hall was built in 1888 on the bank of the Una River, near a bridge that connects present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. The building was damaged by the earthquakes in 1969 and 1981 and it suffered a considerable devastation in the recent war. A great importance of the Town-Hall in Novi Grad lies in its pronounced architectural-stylistic characteristics and a special harmony of the building, but also in terms of history, since the building is a characteristic example of its epoch: the period of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of the area. It is the most important public structure in Novi Grad, being the town-hall until WWII and the County Museum afterwards. The building has been out of use since the 1990s.

This paper will consider the history, architectural characteristics and coming into being of the restoration project of the building, whose essential value reflects in the preservation of the building heritage. Policies related to the protection and restoration of the building heritage developed in accordance with the social development and the protection is today considered to be one of the important parts of the modern society's responsibility.

**Keywords:** Town-Hall, Novi Grad, cultural-historic heritage, restoration

### Historical survey and description

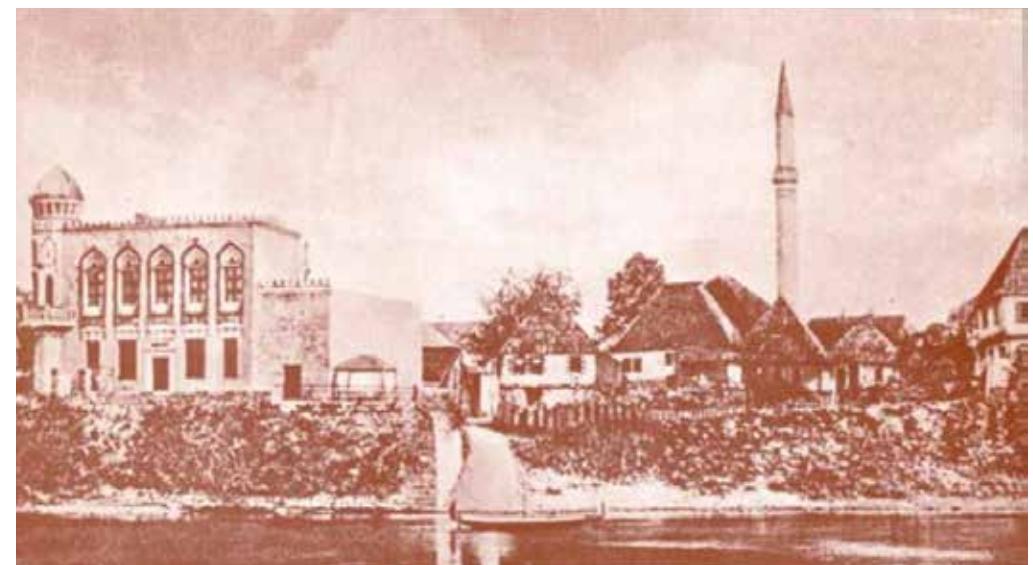


Pic. 1 Town-Hall, a postcard from the Austro-Hungarian period

Novi Grad is located at the mouth of the Sana River into the Una River and was mentioned as Novum Castrum in 1280, being a possession of dukes the Babonić of Blagaj<sup>1</sup>. In the beginning of the 16th century, the town was in possession of Nikola Zrinski and in 1557, after the Kostajnica fortress fell, it came under the Turkish rule.<sup>2</sup> Rulers followed one another in centuries to come. Ferhadbey Sokolović built a wooden bridge over the Una in 1557 to enable crossing for the army into Croatia. Novi Grad was described by Evlija Čelebija in his travelogue and also by the agents of the Austrian Emperor in 1697<sup>3</sup>. After a request from the Bosnian captains and commanders, a special decree by the Sultan ("ferman") from 1726 allowed to build a new town in stone on the spot where the old one was built in wood and earth. In compliance with a decision from the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Novi Grad and the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina were awarded to Austria-Hungary. The occupational authorities razed the fortress of Novi to the ground in 1894 and its material was built into various public and private structures. The Dobrljin-Banjalučka railway line which was passing through Novi was built in 1873 on the decline of the Turkish rule.

The new Austro-Hungarian one saw a potential of that transportation direction and connected it with Sisak as early as 1892. During the Austro-Hungarian occupation that lasted for 40 years, several more representative buildings that were built in the eclectic manner, like the town-hall, present-day court house and a row of office-residential one-storey houses in the centre of the town were interpolated into the oriental shapes of Novi Grad. The structures that were built in that period met new technical standards, but they often neglected the existing ambience values by their dimensions and spatial positions. Ambitions of the new authorities are most visible in the field of public structures' building, primarily the administrative ones, most of them being built in the 1890s. Also, apart from the administrative houses, court houses stand out as well, which was also a case in Novi Grad.

The structure was built on the Una River bank in 1888, as a building of the municipal Town-Hall.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, a bridge was constructed in the immediate vicinity, torn down during WWII. The municipal administration headquarters were located in the building until the mid-20th century, then it was used for the needs of the Socialist Alliance, a radio station and a fire brigade society; in the mid-1970s, it was adapted into the County Museum (on the first floor), the premises of the cultural club and a restaurant (groundfloor). At that time, the groundfloor part was added on the south-eastern, yard side of the building in order to accommodate additional premises serving the restaurant. On the basis of the existing photo-documentation, it was determined that the building used to have an annex at the same spot, out of which only a wall oriented towards the river was preserved. Since the 1990s the structures have been out of use.

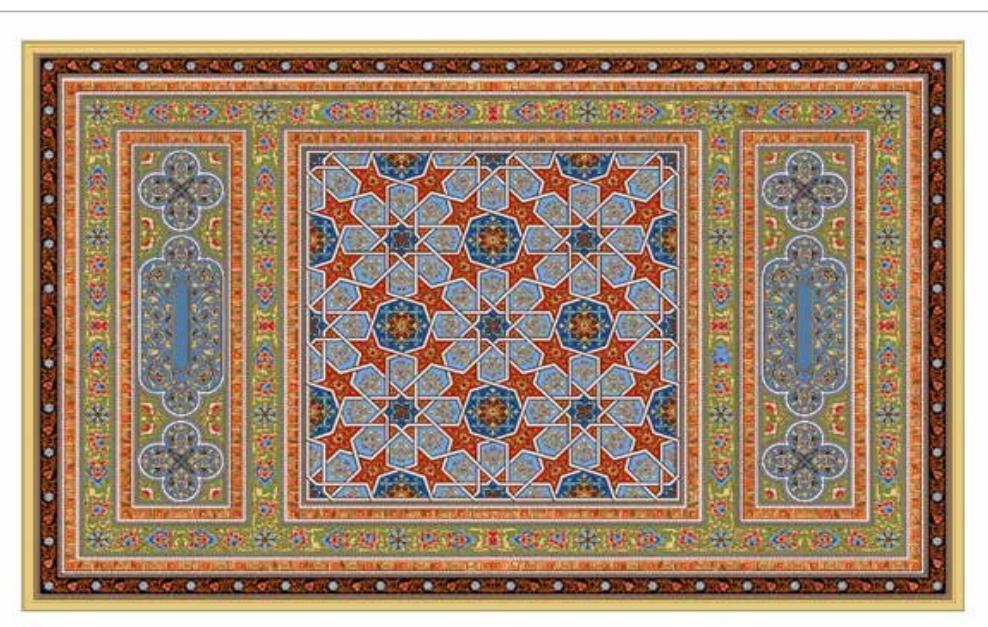


**Pic. 2** View of the Town-Hall from the River Una's left bank in 1931

The ground plan is the letter L-shaped with a risalite at the northern corner, on the spot where a turret is located. The structure's length on the street northeastern side is 17,78 m, on the northwestern one is 20,68 m and on the southeastern one is 10,65 m. The building was built as a system of massive brick construction, storey height of which is the groundfloor + the first floor (P+1). The roof is single pitched with a mild slope and the roof of the turret has a shape of half-ellipsoid cupola. The roof construction is wooden and the roof surfaces were covered in galvanized sheet. The walls were built of Austrian format bricks. The exterior side of all the façade walls (except for the yard southwestern one) is faced, that is, built of regular dressed stone ashlar. Lime-cement mortar was used as a binder. The inter-storey construction is a wooden one and next to it, steel beams of the 1st profile were built into the load bearing walls in order to reinforce it. Laths were placed in the shafts of the wooden beams on the upper side (a board "blind floor" was hammered down on them), while there is a board layer, reed and mortar on the lower side. The covering floor lining in the offices and the state-room of the first floor is a parquet, while the authentic floor was retained – the terracotta tiles in the space of the entrance-hall. In the rooms where the authentic appearance was preserved (at the groundfloor level), the board floor leans on the small beams which were lain directly on the dirt backfill. The façade decoration represents an exceptional value of this building.

All the openings are rectangular, except for the turret openings which arched ones. On the street façade and the façade oriented towards the Una River, the openings were positioned in 5 axles. The storey window openings are located in aedicules with decorative frames made as lancet arches, also made of ceramic elements. The decorative motif – the floral ornaments are made in bas relief. The corner turret with a balcony were particularly lavishly decorated, as well as the window frames and the portal. The wall surfaces of the turret between the roof cornice and the window and door openings, were decorated with bas relief parget decorations and the wall edge was emphasized with a row of blind arcade niches below the corbel-emphasized profiled cornice . The parapet of the balcony railing was decorated with stylized geometrical ornaments with variations of the intertwined shapes of octagons and octagonal stars made in bas relief.

The main entrance which is emphasized with a portal is located on the northeastern street side of the building. Apart from the main one, the building used to have three more entrances; at the northern corner, southwestern and northwestern sides of the structure. In the interior of the ground floor, one approaches the entrance-hall via wind screen space, the one in which a double-return staircase is located with a wrought-iron railing. From the hall on the first floor, one approaches offices and the meeting-hall or the state-room, located in the western tract of the building. The purpose of the space influenced a special approach to the decoration, that is, painting the ceiling surface. The state-room's dimensions are 8,92x5,39 m. Originally, the entire ceiling and the upper wall zones were painted, but a part was whitewashed. Today, the entire surface of the painted part is 45 m<sup>2</sup> and the outer edge is 0,30 m far away from the walls. The colours that dominate are light and dark blue, green, red and ochre and the motifs are geometrical and floral (flowers, leaves, vines). The roof-beam was conceived in the way that a square surface was centrally located, while on the sides, 2 smaller rectangular surfaces are mutually separated and joined by trims on the edge. The interior of the central square is filled with red 5-pointed and 8-pointed stars and blue medallions, while being divided into smaller squares, that is, rhomboid surfaces by horizontal, vertical and diagonal lines. Smaller rectangular surfaces are decorated with floral motifs. A trefoil-made elongated form was placed centrally and 4-petal flowers were placed on the sides. Narrow lines of the trims around the square and the rectangle are decorated with intertwined lines, while the edge lines with stylized flowers.

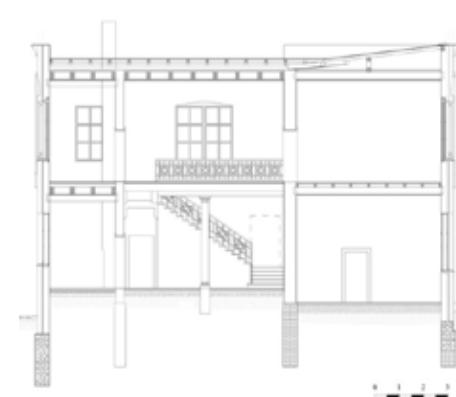


Drawing 1. Ceiling of the state-room

The great importance that the Town-Hall in Novi Grad has, lies in its pronounced architectural-stylistic characteristics and a special harmony of the building which, regardless of having comparatively small dimensions, belongs to the most harmonious structures in the Republic of Srpska. It is a characteristic example of its epoch; the period of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of these lands. It represents an exceptionally valuable work regarding its disposition, complete proportion harmony, and a well-found measure in the architectural decoration. On the territory of Bosanska Krajina, a Magistrate Building in Kostajnica (1885-87) was built at the same time; it has the same disposition, approximately the same dimensions and has considerably more modest architectural values. Somewhat earlier, in 1879, the Town-Hall in Gradiška was erected, extended in the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>5</sup> Both structures were built in the pseudo-Moorish style. The Old Town-Hall (the County Museum) in Novi Grad was registered as a cultural monument in 1985 and was declared a national monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2006.<sup>6</sup>



Drawing 2. Plan of the ground-floor, new condition



Drawing 3. Cross-section, new condition

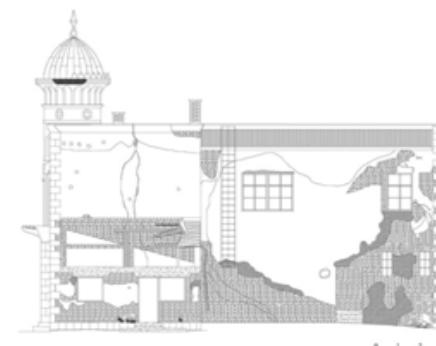
### Building's condition before the restoration

There are no available data on the condition and restorations of the building in the first 7 decades of its existence. Considerable damage, primarily a great number of fissures in the walls were registered in the beginning of the 1970s, when the earthquake of 1969 and the non-uniform foundation settlement were cited as the cause. The building was restored at the end of 1970s. <sup>7</sup> The annex on the southeastern side of the structure was removed on that occasion. Judging from the description, the original groundfloor part of the building was partially torn down and replaced with a new one in the earlier interventions, probably after WWII. The building was damaged in the earthquake of 1981 as well. In September of 1995, the Town-Hall was shelled. Then, one interior wall collapsed, while on the other walls, fissures various in diameter and deformations appeared. Due to the impact of various negative factors, both the natural and anthropogenic ones, the structure was devastated to a great extent with a great possibility of damage propagation which could have caused loss of stability of a part of its construction. Within the frame of the research works, a visual observation of the structure, topographical surveying, geomechanical researches and the examination of in-built materials were carried out. The following was determined:

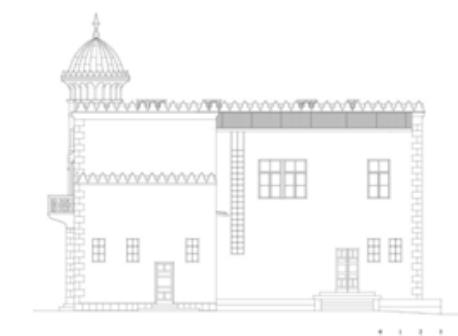
- there are fissures in the strip foundations, caused by the non-uniform foundation settlement and moving of the soil in places
- there are cracks and fissures on all the façade walls that are extremely vertical in

character; the diagonal cracks and fissures in the zones above the window lintel are an exception (on the façade wall oriented towards the Una River),

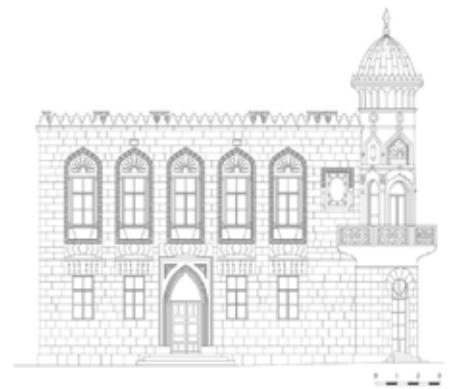
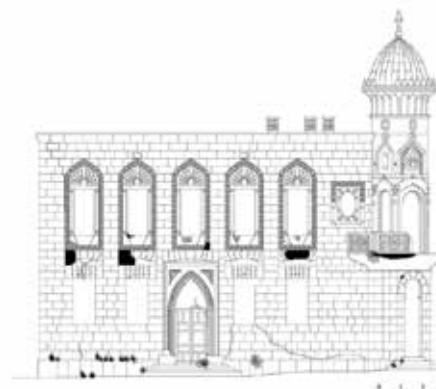
- There are cracks on the yard façade wall and a considerable outwash of the binder from the connection joints
- some parts of the façade plastics are missing; the decorations around windows and doors, acroteria, decorations of the niche on the street façade, parts of the balcony railing caused by a mechanical impact due the weathering factors and inappropriate maintenance,
- there is damage of the inter-storey construction in the intrerior in the form of cracks and rotten beams, damage of floor lining, lack of individual parts of the partition walls, dislocation of the entrance-hall steps from the abutment, stripping of mortar from wall surfaces etc.



Drawing 4 Yard façade, found and designed condition



Drawing 5 Street façade, found and designed condition



Remains of the painted decorations were found on the walls and the ceiling of the hall and on the walls of individual rooms on the first floor.

A border crossing was constructed in the immediate vicinity of the building in the 1990s; its appearance affects adversely the view and the general impression of the space of the structure itself and its immediate vicinity.

### Restoration of the Town-Hall building

The task faced by the protection authority is not only a constructive repairing of the structure, but also the best possible expression of the value and the rehabilitation for current needs not marring monument values. The research works preceded the design compilation. The monument's history was examined from its creation until today and a special attention was drawn to the most significant phases of its construction. The protection authority has been trying to find adequate solution, both the design and the financial ones for years, in order to restore and include the structure into contemporary trends. Within the frame of the Ljubljana Process<sup>8</sup>, the Town-Hall building was included in the Priority List of Interventions. The design documentation for constructive repairing, restoration and adaptation was compiled in 2009, as a joint project of the Republic Institute for the Protection of the Cultural-Historic and Natural Heritage of the Republic of Srpska and AD "Gradišće" firm from East Sarajevo.



**Pic.3** Town-Hall building before the restoration



**Pic.4** Town-Hall building after the restoration



**Pic.5** Ceiling of the state-room before the restoration works  
**Pic.6** Ceiling of the state-room after the restoration works

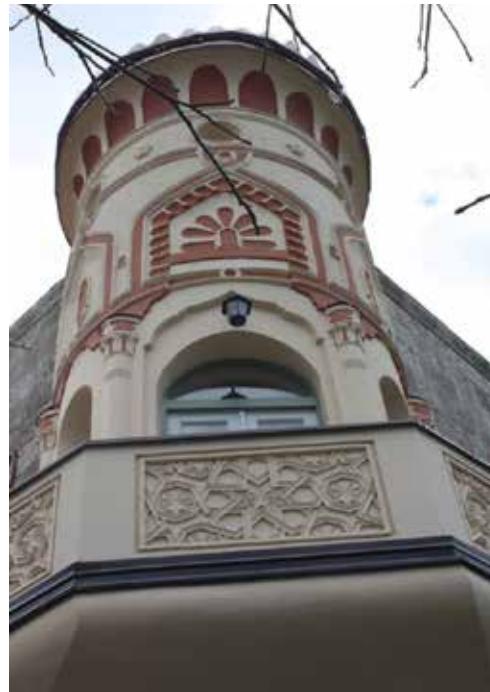
The following reasons for the restoration and conservation of the Town-Hall were defined:

- halting further devastation which may lead to the collapse of the building or one part of it
- raising awareness level in citizens about the importance of the cultural heritage and identity;
- future use of the structure for cultural purposes in order to improve cultural and tourist offer in the town;

The basic conservation approach that was applied is a minimum of interventions which do not mar the structure's authenticity, which means to retain as many as possible of authentic materials and building technologies. Giving back the original purpose and the use of the main entrance was not possible because the building is in the zone of the international border crossing. Since it had been used for cultural purposes for a long period of time, the project solution plans to give it a multipurpose cultural, catering and tourist programmes (the County Museum, a gallery space, a restaurant, tourist office....), while a new entrance was opened on the yard façade, on the spot where it originally was.



**Pic.7** Turret before the conservation-restoration works



**Pic.8** Turret after the conservation-restoration works

After considering several options of constructive repairing, it was concluded that it was necessary to either completely pull down or carry out more radical construction interventions. It was decided to retain maximally the construction of the structure and to shotcrete the interior walls in the largest cracks. Other considered options (installing tiebacks in the zone of the inter-storey and attic construction with metal rock bolts on the façades, in-building of the reinforced concrete horizontal and vertical tie beams, pulling down of walls and laying bricks anew....) would mar the authentic construction of the building more than the carried out reinforcements. The foundations were grouted in order to increase construction stability.

The funds for the restoration of the Town-Hall in Novi Grad were provided from the IPA funds. The works on the building's restoration lasted from April 2012 to April 2013. Apart from the building-crafting works, the works on the interior design, the painted ceiling's restoration (of the large hall) and a partial planning of the surrounding space were all carried out. Today, the building was given back its purpose which it had after WWII; the County Museum with the additional attractions like the restaurant (whose lease ensures self-sustainability of the Town-Hall building). Efficient func-

tioning of the structure so far showed that the local community has a clear awareness about the importance of the restoration, while the possibility of integrating the cultural asset into development plans was also used.



**Pic. 9** Museum display

## Source of pictures and drawings

Pic. 1 <http://www.blogger.ba/galerije/post/1219792/30726>, 29th Oct. 2014.

Pic. 2 <http://www.blogger.ba/galerije/post/1219792/30725>, 29th Oct. 2014.

Pic. 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8 M. Okilj

Pic.4 <http://www.nezavisne.com/novosti/drustvo/Novi-Grad-Vijeecnica-u-novom-ruhu-193521.html>

Pic. 7 V.Pandurević

Drawing 1 Documentation of the Republic Institute for the Protection of the Cultural-Historic and Natural Heritage of the Republic of Srpska, Auto Cad drawing of R. Turjačanin

Drawings 2, 3, 4 excerpts from the project documentation „Projekat obnove zgrade Vijećnice u Novom Gradu”, 2009.

<sup>1</sup>Čelebi, E, "Putopis, odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama", *Svetlost*, Sarajevo, 1967. Commentary of H. Šabanović, note 22, p. 219

<sup>2</sup>Kreševljaković, H. Stari bosanski gradovi, *Naše starine I*, Sarajevo. 1953. 36

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Milinović, A. "Problematika osnivanja i razvoja Zavičajnog muzeja u Bosanskom Novom", magisterski rad, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Centar za studije bibliotekarstva, dokumentacije i informacionih znanosti, Zagreb, 1984.

<sup>5</sup>Bulović C. "Prošlost Gradiške", Gradiška, 2005. 83<sup>6</sup>The Commission for the Safeguarding of National Monuments made a Decision at the meeting held from 19th to 23rd Jan. 2006 that declared the Historical Landmark - the Town-Hall in Bosanski Novi/Novi Grad a national monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina ("Službeni glasnik BiH", No 104/06.). During the compilation of the Decision, a text was used from the "PTA Elaborat Preliminarna tehnička procjena; Vijećnica u Novom Gradu, Projekat, Regional Programme for Cultural and Natural Heritage in South East Europe 2003-2005. authors: LJ. Ševo, R. Beleslin, M. Okilj, Banja Luka, 2005.

<sup>7</sup>The structure's restoration was carried out according to the project documentation „Vijećnica u Bosanskom Novom-Projekat sanacije i adaptacije za Zavičajni muzej i društvene prostorije KUD-a Mićo Šurlan“ compiled by S. Milenković, architect from Belgrade in 1977

<sup>8</sup>A new transitional framework governed by the Regional Cooperation Council-RCC, 2008 through a working group for technical and financial support of the Council of Europe and the European Commission



Vjekoslava Sanković Simčić

## DEGRADATION OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ARCHITECTURE IN SARAJEVO

### Summary

The Austro-Hungarian architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina followed West-European architectural and urban patterns and made a considerable contribution to the development of the Sarajevo historic site. It bears witness to the past, expresses societal evolution and its cultural identity, so we attribute a great cultural importance to it: it is also indisputable that the inhabitants of Sarajevo find their identity, determination, recognition and sense in this layered and integral cultural-historic heritage.

However in practice, we still do not have an appropriate attitude towards its safeguarding and protection: degradation and destruction of urban blocks intended for housing is just worrying. Current interventions in the vicinity of historic Skenderija Bridge bear witness (contrary to the professional principles) to the fact that investors and current politicians are exclusively the ones who decide about contemporary interventions and building in the historic parts of the city. It is our duty to stand for the principle that governing historic towns and sites is based on efficient policy means and practices of protecting and safeguarding their authenticity (truthfulness, originality) and integrity.

**Keywords:** the Austro-Hungarian architecture, degradation, devastation, approach to protection and preservation of the architectural heritage

By establishing its rule in Sarajevo, the Austro-Hungarian administration introduces planning and building order, following West-European architectural and town planning patterns.<sup>1</sup> The city was being intensively built on the basis of a defined urban network with a division of built and green surfaces into plots in dimensions, heights, materialization and architectural expression (styles) which spanned, in terms of value, from representative to more modest public and residential structures:

mostly representative public structures and residential blocks dominate in the new city centre which was developing towards the west, while in residential zones family houses and renting row houses are prevalent. On the slope part of the city - the "mahalas" - the new architecture tends to adjust to the existing setting: smaller free-standing European-style residential structures are being built, and sometimes with the forms of Islamic architecture.

After the great fire at Baščaršija in 1879 (it is the oriental craft and trade centre), the restoration of structures did not occur, but new completely different ones were built instead, the ones that in relation to the existing ones resulted in spatial, shape and functional disharmony. Despite that created disharmony between the old and new architectural structures, the existing plan view of Baščaršija was not disturbed.

Although the anthropological (biological) approach, that is respecting all the phases while creating a valuable work or a site appears as late as the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century on the international level, the real systematic protection of historic sites will become pressing and compelling only in the 1960s. Besides this fact the anthropological approach will not be applied at the compilation of the Regulation Plan for Baščaršija in 1975. The Regulation Plan's authors - respected activists for the protection and safeguarding of the heritage advocated for the purification, i.e. giving back to Baščaršija its appearance and condition that it used to have at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. That implied demolition of the Austro-Hungarian era-structures in the Baščaršija area, because their dimensions, heights and architectural expression caused disharmony in the space of the Ottoman stylistic characteristics. Bearing in mind that this plan has still not been realized as of today, Baščaršija is still characterized by its structural, stylistic and cultural stratification.<sup>2</sup>

As late as the 1980s, the Austro-Hungarian architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina was underestimated and designated as a "foreign body" in the structure of the Bosnia and Herzegovina architectural heritage, that one being especially the architecture that was in direct contact with structures from the Ottoman period. Only the representative structures of the public administration, cultural institutions and sacral buildings were well regarded which enabled them to get adequate protection and maintenance.

## New challenges and obligations

All these changes, demands and challenges which we face today - climatic changes, fast urbanization, growing traffic - have impact on the accelerated development of the protection theory and practice, that is the expansion of its perception and scope of the heritage of different stylistic and typological characteristics and physical dimensions. Therefore, it is even understandable that it is not possible to realize many demands for changes in the area of historic towns, sites and cultural landscapes, because they possess certain values and specific qualities and often very limited possibilities as well. We must be aware that: " Piling up changes may have a negative effect on a historic town and its values..... Changes that are inherent in the urban growth must be controlled and carefully dealt with in order to minimize physical and visual effects on the town's landscape and architectural tissue."<sup>3</sup>

Since the adoption of the Venice Charter (1964) until today, a number of exceptionally important international documents have been adopted which reflect new demands of the profession caused by multiple changes and demands of the contemporary era. By developing theory and practice of protection and safeguarding of tangible, intangible and natural heritage, the guidelines and principles which enable safeguarding of the heritage (in all of its manifestations) are determined.

By committing ourselves to the generally accepted viewpoint that the preservation of basic values and meanings of the cultural and historic heritage is a priority, it is our duty to ensure that (in valuable spaces) every intervention is preceded by a serious and responsible approach of defining change possibilities. Only with changes that are directed with expertise and responsibility, one can ensure positive effects, both for the space and for its users.

According to the international documents, we should attribute a quality of being a significant contribution to the building heritage from the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian period for the entire development of the Sarajevo historic site: it is a testimony of the past and expresses evolution of the society and its cultural identity.

Respecting and valorizing cultural diversity has become an imperative<sup>4</sup>. Therefore analyzing urban context should precede every intervention, that is new construction in the inherited urban tissue in order to define its general character and give guidelines for future action. Peculiarities and values of the existing structure cannot be analyzed and valorized separately, but in the context of setting in which it is located, in order to preserve structural stratification and life continuity in the appropriate way and all of that within the framework of the town as an integral space.

That is clearly emphasized in article 3 of the UNESCO *Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* from 1976 which states:

" Every historic area and its surroundings should be considered in its entirety, as a coherent site whose balance and specific nature depend on joining parts out of which it consists and which encompasses both the human activities and buildings, spatial organization and the surroundings. All the valid elements, human activities including (as much as being modest) by this way assume importance in relation to the entirety which must not be neglected."

Unfortunately, all the international documents and this one as well instigated neither our professional and scientific institutions nor individuals working on them to care appropriately about the safeguarding of the cultural and historic heritage and its integration into the contemporary economic and social trends. That is best confirmed by current protection policy and practice - decisions by relevant institutions and interventions that degrade and devastate inherited values.

## Recent degradations of the historic setting

Although Bosnia and Herzegovina as a member state of the world and European organizations is obliged to respect international conventions, declarations, recommendations and charters, it does not do so. Inadequate relation to the Austro-Hungarian building structures continues even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. They are systematically being demolished, degraded, transformed and reduced by inappropriate and inexpert interventions. The best example that bears witness to this is the Evropa Hotel, the first Sarajevo hotel built in the West-European style. An extensive intervention was carried out on it after the recent war of 1992-1995. It illustrates fundamental demolition of both the historic hotel and its setting which on one of its sides dates from the Ottoman and on the other from the Austro-Hungarian period. This intervention reduced the valuable building to modest remains of a wall façade (two façades only), dimensions and height were considerably enlarged and a new reinforced concrete constructive structure was built into it. Besides, the building visibly degrades another national monument - the Ferhadija Mosque.



**Picture 1.** By adding up on the Europa Hotel inadequately, the valuable Ferhadija Mosque was both spatially and visually degraded. It is particularly unacceptable that the entrance to a new underground garage was built right to the back of the sacral structure



**Picture 2.** View of the Ferhadija Mosque from the top floor of the Europa Hotel

Regarding the fact that valuable cultural and historic structures important for the city are being devastated, then one should not be surprised by the absolute lack of care for the ambience sites from the same period. We have been bearing witness for years to the devastation of the ambience site in the area on the left bank of the Miljacka River, from Čobanija Bridge (1886) to Skenderija Bridge (1893), on which a residential zone was formed in the Austro-Hungarian period with more representative - lower and free-standing structures along the river bank and considerably higher rent buildings built in a row behind them. The rows consisted of structures with more residential units and spaces for the common use. Street façades were divided into sections by floor cornices and decorated with more or less representative decorative plastic art figures, while their backs (oriented towards the backyards) were modest and without decorative elements. Residential structures formed in this way reflected then-current changes, economic and cultural relations imported from the West. Although new structures were built in places into the existing rows during the 20th century, the basic characteristic of the Skenderija area still consists of the Austro-Hungarian architecture.



**Picture 3.** Thorough disintegration of the Evangelical Church was carried out by its transformation into the Academy of Fine Arts

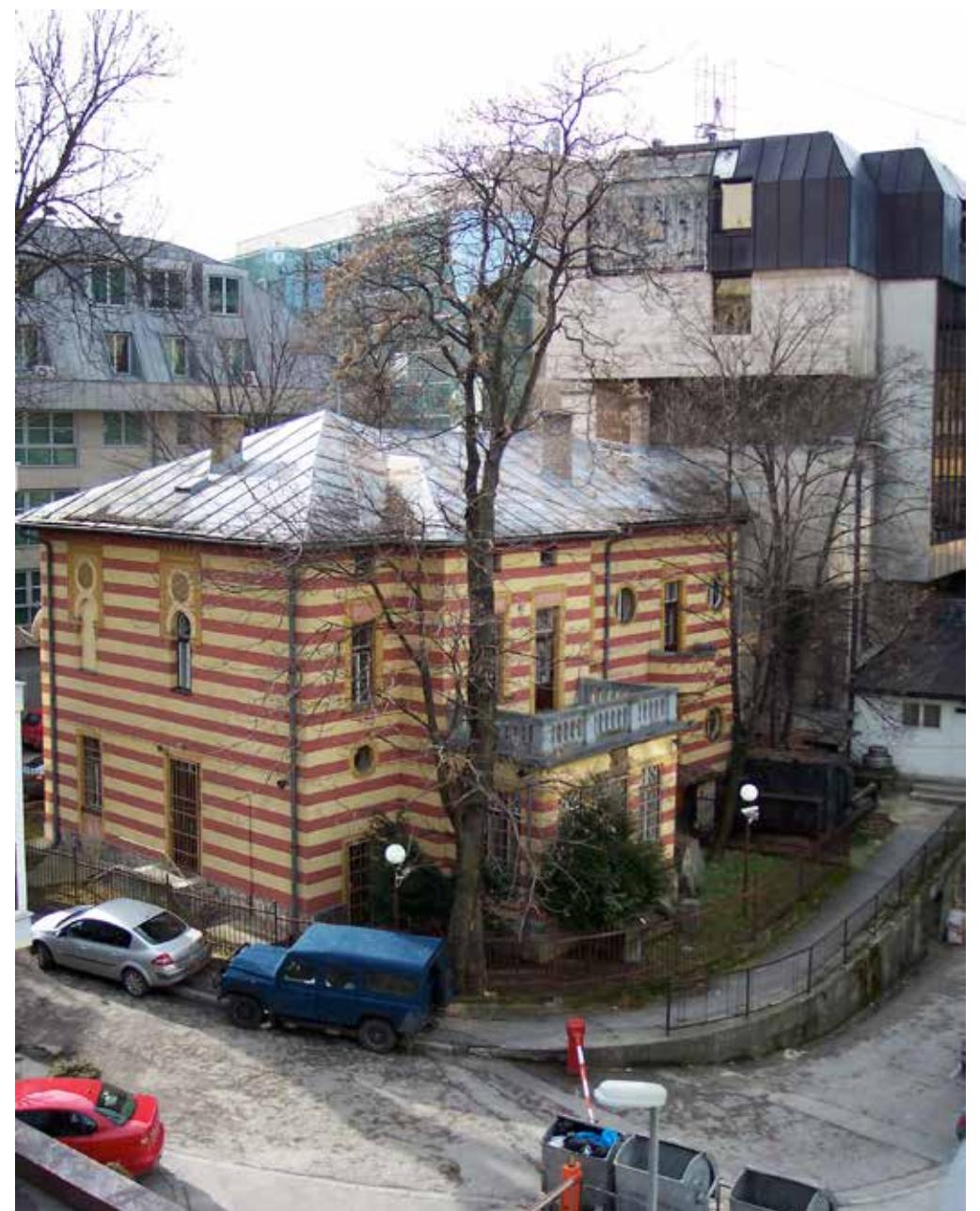
The Evangelical Church (Karlo Parzik, 1899) is a representative free-standing sacral structure, built on the left bank of the Miljacka River; it underwent a fundamental remodelling through its transformation into the Academy of Fine Arts in the 1980s, thus losing the attribute of being a valuable architectural achievement from the Austro-Hungarian period.

At the same time, a pseudo-Moorish villa (Hans Niemeczek, 1893.) was degraded (but in a different way) by the construction of the "DPO" building (today the headquarters of the City's Administration). This intervention did not complete degradation of the valuable villa's setting. It continues even today by demolishing the existing and the construction of new structures that have unacceptable dimensions and heights, considerably towering over the Austro-Hungarian residential block and thus resulting in spatial disharmony.

All the interventions vividly show lack of knowledge, criteria and sensibility for working in a defined setting. We are of the opinion that planners, designers, investors and especially relevant institutions are responsible for the matter; it seems that they do their best to demolish entirely that relatively well-preserved part of the Austro-Hungarian sites which is being visible both in Hamdija Kreševljakovića and Skenderija Streets.



**Picture 4.** In the area more downstream, towards Skenderija Bridge, we have been witnessing for years the neglect of one of the rare painted façades in Sarajevo. The structure's degradation and the entire surroundings' degradation are caused by a new inappropriate construction (photo in 2014)



**Picture 5.** Degradation of the valuable villa in the pseudo-Moorish expression, begun by the construction of "DPO" in the 1980s and continues even today (photo in 2013)



**Picture 6.** The new aggressive corner house (Hamdije Kreševljakovića and Skenderija Streets) vividly illustrates failures of the competent institutions (photo in 2014)

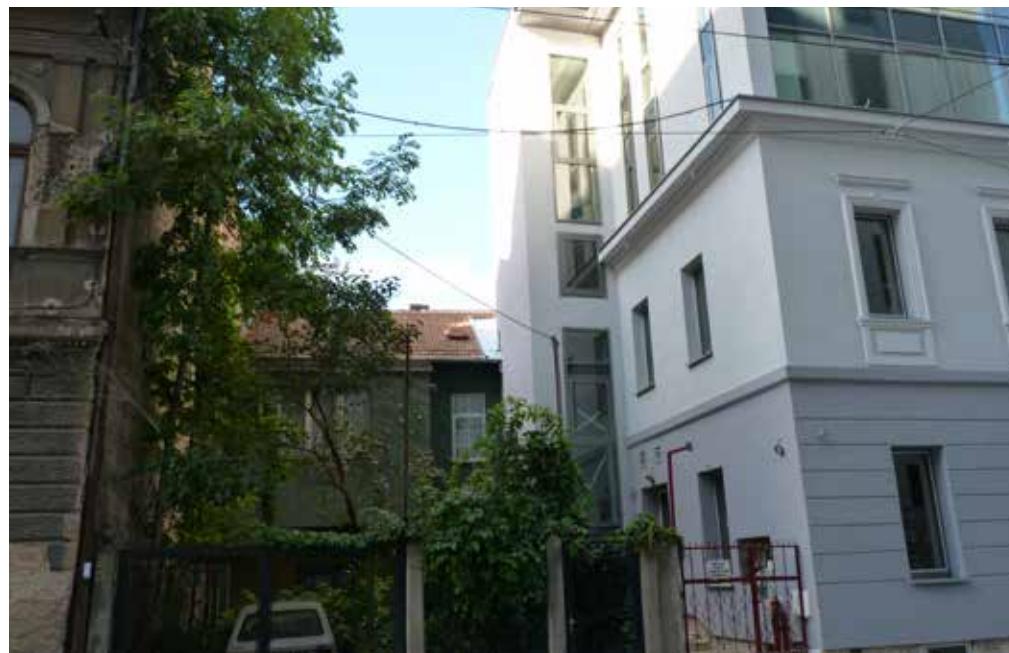
By demolishing an Austro-Hungarian structure at the very beginning of Hamdija Kreševljakovića Street in August 2006, a possibility of straightening (in favour of the road traffic) a nasty curve appeared (in a one-direction longitudinal street where city trolley-bus passes). It was justifiable and logical to expect that a reconstruction of the traffic road will ensue in order to improve traffic. Unfortunately, relevant expert institutions did not protect public city's interest, so the reconstruction of the traffic road's part failed to take place. The missed opportunity was irreversibly lost. An aggressive and oversized reinforced concrete structure (partially glazed) was built on that cleared location, which degrades the setting and disturbs proportions in the space. Degradation of the space was not completed with this intervention, because an even more aggressive corner house is being currently built on the neighbouring plot.



**Pictures 7 and 8.** Competent institutions and experts are responsible for the pronounced spatial and visual disharmony in Skenderija Street (photo in 2014)

Current interventions in Skenderija Street bear witness even more convincingly to the unprofessional attitude of experts and relevant institutions towards society and space and especially towards an individual. A recent degradation of a part of the right side Austro-Hungarian residential row of buildings in that street began by issuing a permit for the construction of the Academy of Dramatic Arts building (basement+groundfloor+4 floors; 5.000 m<sup>2</sup> of utile surface) which considerably towers over the existing setting and negates it entirely. The selection of the location for the new Academy building is inadequate both for the Academy itself and the whole of the neighbourhood.

In the same residential row in Skenderija Street, one continues degradations by a private demand to expand a residential structure at No 4 for two more floors, regardless of the fact that there is a private residential structure (groundfloor + first floor) on its left side, built in 1937. Judging from its expression and manner of building, that structure does not belong to the Austro-Hungarian row (it is pulled in regarding the building line and has a formed garden in front of it), but bears witness to the subsequent stylistic building phase.



**Picture 9.** Aggressive extension and adding up of the Austro-Hungarian structure in Skenderija Street No4 was carried out to the obvious detriment of the neighbour, with the consent of the competent institutions (photo in 2014)

By obtaining a permit in order to transform and extend the Austro-Hungarian structure in Skenderija Street No 4 (from basement + groundfloor + first floor) for two more floors and with even more aggressive implementation, it resulted in an evident professional failure of all the participants in that project. A question now arises, in what way did the protagonists of this exceptionally bad intervention think about the space and its future appearance? Is it possible to give an extension permit which will endanger basic housing conditions in the neighbouring structure and civil rights of its owner? It is clear that the investor, designer and relevant city services did neither think about the space nor about the rights and needs of the citizen-neighbour. His safety, comfort and elementary conditions for a quality life are all endangered.

Not understanding the significance of the urban culture leads to anti-urban viewpoints and behaviour which inflict damage not only to an individual, but to the entire community as well. The absence of societal discipline causes permanent consequences to the structure and entire shaping expression.



**Picture 10.** By issuing permit for adding up of the Austro-Hungarian structure in the existing row of buildings, the competent institutions and experts lost their credibility (photo in 2014)

Presented examples confirm that the historical and ambience significance of the Austro-Hungarian residential block in the Skenderija area has not been fundamentally and professionally analyzed and valorized in its entirety. The demolition of the existing and building of new structures were not considered in relation to significance and specific qualities of the ambience construction structure and all the important segments the construction structure is made of.

In this case, the following was disregarded:

"Perspectives, viewpoints, focal points and different views are integral parts of perceiving historic spaces."<sup>5</sup>

If we refer to the viewpoint of Jukka Jokilehto, we can determine that the interventions in H. Kreševljakovića and Skenderija Streets disturbed the following: "Social and functional integrity of the place which refers to the identification of elements and questions which represent functions and processes on which establishing and development of the place are founded.... historic and structural integrity of the place which can refer to the process of identifying the present situation, a construction continuity of structures which give sense to spatial and ambience integrity of the space....a visual integrity of the place which is not only a question of aesthetics, but defining the entire visual result of a development which refers to a special function and historic behaviour which in turn gives a character to the place." (Jukka Jokilehto, 2013, 16)

It is always and with good reason to be expected that the justifiable demolition of the old and building of the new result in improvement, that is progress both in the functional and spatial-shaping sense. However, bearing in mind the fact that in most cases, competence and professional knowledge are disregarded, this sort of expectations are mainly futile.

It is clear that today, only investors and current politics decide on contemporary interventions in the historic areas of Sarajevo, which is opposite to the professional principles which advocate for the inclusion necessity of all the "stakeholders" into decision making processes.

Because of this reason, citizens, town-planners, architects and experts for the protection and safeguarding of the cultural and historic heritage want an open, objective, professional and civilized debate, not only about the approach to the safeguarding of the inherited values, but about appropriate building and development of the city as well.

## Conclusion

Cultural and historic sites and valuable landscapes are exposed, especially after the war (1992-95), to huge pressures and demands for change and new construction. Demands are not based on scientific, professional, planning, town-planning, protection, environmental, economic or social researches. Thus, the lack of efficient instruments (planning documents that are in accordance with the protection needs and measures, defined borders of cultural and historic sites and landscapes, detailed rules and measures for their protection) enables arbitrariness and pressures. Inexpertness of the authorized individuals and inefficiency of the surveillance services contribute to that situation. Political and economic interests govern the space, mostly initiated by individuals who do not have a well-formed attitude towards the public interest, but exclusively have their own personal one. For them, cultural and historic characteristics and significance of the space and environment are not relevant factors in order to improve our living space.

It is our duty to adhere to the principles of the modern protection and conservation doctrine which deal intensively with the problems of historic towns. Referential standards are defined in the international documents, charters, recommendations and declarations of the ICOMOS, UNESCO and the Council of Europe.

The enviable level of the professional knowledge that has been reached in the world so far obliges us to make an effort toward the administering historic towns and sites that is based on efficient means of policy making, safeguarding practices and the protection of their authenticity (truthfulness, originality) and integrity, because the identity of the people of this town finds its determination, recognition and meaning in the cultural-historic heritage.

**Author of the photos:** Vjekoslava Sanković Simčić

<sup>1</sup> The Ottoman "Law on the Building and Roads" (1863) will be replaced by a special Building Order «Bauordnung» in 1880, but for the central area only. In fact, that was more a kind of an enlarging plan for the existing roads. A new Building Order will be published in 1893, which will finally encompass the entire town area (B.Spasojević. Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu, Svetlost, Sarajevo 1988, pages 15 and 16)

Building activity introduces a style that is completely different from the existing one in terms of volume and physionomy (mostly Eclecticism and Vienna Art Nouveau)

<sup>2</sup> In the General Urban Development Plan from 1963, a wrong conclusion was drawn about the historic tissue of Sarajevo Town. The plan attributes the quality of being the historic tissue only to the Baščaršija area, therefore in accordance with that, it suggests a strong transversal precisely in the contact zone with the Austro-Hungarian historic tissue. It is indisputable that by such approach, we would lose historical continuity.

<sup>3</sup> The Valletta Principles for the safeguarding and management of historic cities, towns and urban areas, ICOMOS, Paris 2011.

<sup>4</sup> On the 33rd session of the UNESCO General Conference in 2005, Convention for the Protection and Improvement of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions was adopted. In the introductory part of the Convention, it is specified:

That the cultural diversity is a characteristic which defines humanity,

That the cultural diversity shapes the common heritage of the humanity and that the heritage should be protected and safeguarded for the benefit of all people...

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

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Spasojević, Borislav. Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu, Svetlost, Sarajevo,1991.

Turkušić, Elša. Formiranje prostora za dnevni boravak kao elemenata Stambene arhitekture, studija slučaja: Područje Bosne i Hercegovine u periodu od XVI stoljeća do danas, Arhiv grada (unpublished master's thesis), AFS Sarajevo, 2010.



# CURRICULA VITAE

## Ivan Lovrenović,

Pisac, rođen u Zagrebu 1943, živi u Sarajevu. Diplomirao na filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu. Radio u Sarajevu kao urednik u izdavačkim kućama Veselin Masleša i Svetlost. Od 1993. do 1996. u egzilu (Zagreb, Berlin).

Objavio više knjiga književne proze, eseja, novinskih članaka. Knjiga o kulturnoj historiji Bosne i Hercegovine (Unutarnja zemlja) objavljena je u prijevodu na njemački, češki, mađarski i engleski jezik.

Sudjelovao u uređivanju izdanja biblioteke Kulturno nasljeđe Bosne i Hercegovine. Pokrenuo i uređuje biblioteku Iz Bosne Srebrene - izabrani spisi bosanskih franjevaca od 17. do 20. stoljeća u dvadeset svezaka.

Nagrada „Midhat Begić“ 2009. godine za esej Ivo Andrić, paradoks o šutnji. Nagrada „Meša Selimović“ 2014. za roman Nestali u stoljeću.

## Dr. Ibrahim Krzović,

Rođen je u Sarajevu 23.09.1935. Studij historije umjetnosti završio je na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu, gdje je 1965. godine diplomirao i 1987. doktorirao. Godine 1969. je kustos u Umjetničkoj galeriji Bosne i Hercegovine. Bavio se likovnom kritikom i esejestikom, galerijskom praksom, valorizacijom kulturnog nasljeđa, savremenom arhitekturom i likovnim straralaštвom. Najviše se bavio arhitekturom austrougarskog perioda u Bosni i Hercegovini. Zvanju docenta za predmet historija umjetnosti stekao je 1980. godine, a redovnog profesora 1990. godine. Akademske 2002/2003. osnovao je Katedru za historiju umjetnosti pri Odsjeku za historiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Profesor je emeritus.

Važnija djela:

- Ismet Mujezinović, (monografija), Tuzla, 1985.
- Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918., Sarajevo, 1986.
- Eduard Loidolt - Akvareli iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Aquarelles from Bosnia and Herzegovina 1880-1882. Zürich, 1999.
- Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo, 2004.
- Husein Dropić - arhitekt, (monografija), Tuzla, 2012.
- Kreševo, Razvoj varoši i arhitektonski objekti, Sarajevo / Kreševo, 2014.

## Dr. Aida Abadžić Hodžić

Vanredna je profesorica na Katedri za historiju umjetnosti, Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu. Diplomirala je i magistrirala na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, a (2008) doktorirala na Filozofskom fakultetu u Sarajevu. Stručna usavršavanja i gostujuća predavanja imala je na Univerzitetu u Dijonu (1991), na Karl Ruprechts univerzitetu u Heidelbergu (2009), Karl Franzäns univerzitetu u Grazu (2010) i na KHB-Weißensee u Berlinu (2011). Autorica je velikog broja izložaba moderne i savremene bosansko-hercegovačke umjetnosti u zemlji i inozemstvu. Autorica je pet knjiga i koautorica u pet monografija, uz veliki broj stručnih studija u referentnim časopisima. Knjiga Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus (Sarajevo, 2014) prevedena je na njemački jezik (Landesdenkmalamt, Berlin, 2015). Godine 2011, na 23. međunarodnom sajmu knjige i učila u Sarajevu, dodijeljena joj je Nagrada za poseban doprinos umjetnosti, za knjigu Bosanskohercegovačka grafika 20. stoljeća: šezdesete i sedamdesete godine 20. stoljeća u kontekstu evropskog moderniteta i postmoderniteta, (Sarajevo, 2011). Za istu knjigu 2013. godine dodijeljena joj je nagrada „Hasan Kaimija“ za najbolju knjigu iz oblasti društvenih i humanističkih nauka objavljenu u 2011/2012. godini. Organizirala je i sudjelovala u radu velikog broja međunarodnih simpozija i projekata. Voditeljica je projekta „Baunet“, u okviru EU programa Kultura (2011-2015) za BiH. Članica je AICA-e od 2010. godine.

## Andrea Baotić

Rođena 1983. u Sarajevu, i viša asistentica na Katedri za historiju umjetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu u Sarajevu. Na istoimenoj ustanovi je završila diplomske studije historije umjetnosti i francuskog jezika 2007. godine, dok je master studij završila 2013. Godine, s tezom „Mehanizmi institucionalne artikulacije moći: bosansko-hercegovački ‘izložbeni kompleks’“. Bavi se istraživanjem umjetnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća, s naglaskom na umjetnost historicizma, orijentalizma, te umjetnosti na javnom prostoru. Ima nekoliko objavljenih radova iz spomenutih oblasti. Trenutno na poslijediplomskom doktorskom studiju povijesti umjetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu radi na disertaciji s temom "Skulptura u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austro-Ugarskom upravom, 1878-1918".

## Ivana Udovičić

Rođena je u Sarajevu 1972. godine, a 1996. je diplomirala na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zadru (Hrvatska), odsjeci: Arheologija i Povijest umjetnosti. Od 1996. zaposlena u Umjetničkoj galeriji BiH. Danas radi u zvanju muzejskog savjetnika.

Autor je brojnih izložbi, među kojima su najznačajnije: "Skulptura i instalacija u Bosni i Hercegovini 1980-2000," Sarajevo, 2000; "Umjetnost iz kutije", Sarajevo, 2002; "F. Hodler iz kolekcije UGBiH", Ljubljana, Zagreb, 2004/05; "Prostor Oblik," Vaduz, Magdeburg, Innsbruck, Sarajevo, 2012-2015. Koautor je izložbi: "Halo Bing, kako brat," Sarajevo, 2005, Relations - Dialogues/Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hegenheim 2008."Objektivno" Sarajevo, Beograd, 2010; "Desire for Freedom - Dossier Bosnia and Herzegovina", Sarajevo, 2014, te dvije stalne postavke u Umjetničkoj galeriji BiH: "Jedan vijek moderne umjetnosti u BiH," 2002. i "Retrospectrum," 2008.

Suradivala je na više međunarodnih projekata poput: Extended Transformation - Trieste, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo, 2001; Biennial of Young Artist of Europe and Mediteran - Roma 1999, Sarajevo 2001; First Biennial of Contemporary art in Thessalonica, 2004; Continental Breakfast - Oktobarski salon, Kulturni centar Beograd, 2004; Desire for Freedom-Art in Europe since 1945, Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, 2014.

## Haris Dervišević

Viši asistent na Katedri za historiju umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Sarajevu, uključen u nastavne aktivnosti dodiplomskog (osam predmeta) i poslijediplomskog ciklusa (sedam kolegija). Četverogodišnji studij historije umjetnosti i trogodišnji studij arapskog jezika i književnosti završava (2007) na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Pohađao je jednomjesečni kurs Islamske i arapske kulture i civilizacije na Centru za arapsku civilizaciju Univerziteta u Kairu (2006). Završio je poslijediplomski magistarski studij historije umjetnost (2013), a na završetku je doktorskog studija historije umjetnosti na Odsjeku za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Dva puta je prisustvovao kongresu The Best in Heritage u Dubrovniku (2006, 2008). Bio je stipendista The Hamad bin Khalifa Travel Fellowship, te prisustvovao vodećem svjetskom simpoziju islamske umjetnosti i kulture The Hamad bin Khalifa Symposium on Islamic Art u Kordobi (2009). Bio je angažiran na projektima iz kulture, sudjelovao je na međunarodnim radionicama iz muzeologije, te također sudjelovao i organizirao međunarodne projekte i konferencije. Aktivni je član Nacio-

nalnog komiteta ICOMOS Bosne i Hercegovine. Objavio je nekoliko preglednih članka, te četiri izvorna znanstvena rada iz područja islamske umjetnosti.

## Dr Štefka Ševo

Diplomirala je 1985. godine na Filozofском факултету у Београду, Одјељење за историју уметности, где је и магистрирала 1995, а 2011. одбранила докторску тезу. Од 1988. до 2006. је запослена у Републичком заводу за заштиту културно-историјског наслеђа Републике Српске.

Од 1998. ангажована је на Академији умјетности Универзитета у Бањалуци, где и данас ради у звању редовног професора. Као корисник Fulbright стипендије у току 2004-2005. обављала је постдокторска истраживања на универзитету Princeton. Члан је Комисије за очување националних споменика у БиХ од 2001.2010. године добила је Повељу Министарства за културу и спорт Владе Федерације БиХ за допринос очувању културне баштине БиХ. Поред већег броја научних чланака објавила и више књига, међу којима и: Манастири и цркве брвнаре Бањолучке епархије, Бањалука, 1996; Манастир Ломница, Београд, 1999; Манастир Гомионица, Бања Лука, 2002; Културна баштина Републике Српске, Нови Сад, 2003; Српско зидно сликарство 18. вијека у византијској традицији, Бањалука, 2010; Јајце у народној предаји, Јајце, 2010; Црква Рођења светог Јована Претече у Стоном Београду, Бањалука, 2011.

## Miroslav Malinović

Rođen je 1988. godine u Banjoj Luci, Bosna i Hercegovina. Osnovne studije arhitekture pohađao je od 2007. do 2011. na Arhitektonsko-građevinskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci, gdje je i diplomirao kao student generacije. Potom je 2012. završio master studije na Fakultetu za arhitekturu i planiranje prostora Tehničkog Univerziteta u Beču. Njegov master rad „Arhitektura i urbanistički razvoj u Banjoj Luci za vrijeme austrougarske vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini između 1878. i 1918. godine“ je nagrađen kao najbolji teoretski master rad na archdiploma<sup>13</sup>, izložbi koja predstavlja izbor najboljih završnih radova studenata arhitekture i planiranja prostora u prethodne dvije godine na Tehničkom univerzitetu u Beču. Na istom fakultetu je 2013. godine počeo doktorske studije, sa disertacijom na temu arhitekture samostana i samostanskih crkvi u franjevačkoj provinciji Bosna Srebrena nakon XIX vijeka. Po odbrani master rada zaposlen je i radi u nastavi na Arhitektonsko-građevinskom fakultetu u Banjoj Luci.

## Nedžad Mulaomerović

Rodjen 04.06.1976. godine u Sarajevu. Diplomirao na Arhitektonskom fakultetu u Sarajevu 2004. godine. Stekao radno iskustvo na projektima individualnih i kolektivnih stambenih objekata, ugostiteljskih objekata, javnih objekata te projektima obnove kulturno-historijskih i nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine. Godine 2008. nagrađen od Asocijacija arhitekata u Bosni i Hercegovini za realizaciju zgrade Raiffeisen bank u Zenici (koautor projekta). Najznačajniji projekt u dosadašnjoj karijeri je projekt Arhitektonske obnove Sarajevske vijećnice.

## Maja Pličanić

Rođena je 1978. godine, a 2003. je završila Arhitektonski fakultet u Sarajevu na kojem trenutno pohađa III ciklus studija (doktorske studije), iz oblasti zaštite graditeljskog nasljeđa. Nakon radnog iskustva u Kantonalnom zavodu za zaštitu kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog nasljeđa i rada u Ministarstvu prostornog uređenja i zaštite okoliša Kantona Sarajevo, 2006. angažovana je na Pedagoškom fakultetu u Sarajevu kao saradnik u nastavi, asistent za tehničku grupu predmeta na Odsjeku kultura življjenja i tehnički odgoj. U martu 2014. stekla je zvanje višeg asistenta za naučnu oblast Kulturno nasljeđe Bosne i Hercegovine. Od 2010. godine stalni je član udruženja Nacionalnog komiteta ICOMOS u Bosni i Hercegovini. Autor je deset stručnih, naučnih radova, objavljenih uglavnom u zbornicima sa međunarodnih skupova.

## Dr Selma Rizvić

Rodjena u Sarajevu, gdje je završila osnovnu i srednju školu, Elektrotehnički fakultet, te odbranila magistarski i doktorski rad. Trenutno radi kao vanredni profesor na Elektrotehničkom fakultetu u Sarajevu i šef je Odsjeka za elektronski grafički dizajn BHRT-a. Bavi se naučnoistraživačkim radom iz oblasti kompjuterske grafike, sa posebnim akcentom na virtualno kulturno nasljeđe. Autor je dvije knjige i velikog broja naučnih radova. Kao dizajner TV programa na BHRT-u potpisuje vizualna rješenja najavnih špica, reklama i specijalnih efekata.

Utemeljitelj je istraživanja primjene 3D tehnologija u muzeologiji i prezentaciji kulturnog nasljeđa u Bosni i Hercegovini. Sa svojim saradnicima autor je nekoliko virtualnih muzeja, od kojih je najpoznatiji „Sarajevski ratni predmeti“, koji predstavlja predmete koje su

gradjani Sarajeva napravili u toku opsade grada 1992-95, kreiran na Internetu tehnikom digitalnog pripovijedanja u kombinaciji sa interaktivnim 3D modelima. Uključena je u međunarodne, regionalne i lokalne projekte iz virtuelnog kulturnog nasljeđa.

Godine 2014., u okviru evropske „Transnacionalne mreže virtualnih muzeja V-MusT.net“ sa svojim je timom sa Elektrotehničkog fakulteta organizovala međunarodnu multimedijalnu izložbu „Ključevi Rima“ u sarajevskoj Vijećnici. Ta izložba je istovremeno otvorena u Rimu, Aleksandriji, Amsterdamu i Sarajevu, sa ciljem da po prvi put predstavi kombinaciju fizičkih eksponata i digitalnih tehnologija, u okviru priče o Rimskoj imperiji u doba imperatora Augustusa, koja se tada protezala na sve četiri izložbene lokacije.

## Dr Nermina Mujezinović

Rođena je u Sarajevu, gdje je diplomirala na Arhitektonском fakultetu, s projektom revitalizacije historijske jezgre Blagaja. Magistarsku tezu "Kamen u obnovi historijskih struktura" odbranila je na Geološkom, a doktorsku, posvećenu kamenu u arhitekturi i arhitektonskoj konzervaciji, na Arhitektonском fakultetu.

Kao jedan od tri predstavnika Bosne i Hercegovine u Radnoj grupi Savjeta Evrope radila je na implementaciji Posebnog akcionog plana u oblasti baštine; u Federalnom i Kantonalnom zavodu za zaštitu kulturno-historijskog nasljeđa, kao arhitekt konzervator; na Internacionalnom Burch univerzitetu, kao nastavnik i šef Odsjeka za arhitekturu. U svojstvu vanjskog suradnika predavala je i na arhitektonskim fakultetima sarajevskog i travničkog univerziteta.

Kao jedan od rijetkih specijalista u regiji koji se, i naučno i profesionalno, aktivno bavi konzervacijom kamenih povijesnih građevina, izradila je veliki broj projekata konzervacije, restauracije i rehabilitacije za nacionalne spomenike, te vodila niz istraživanja i vršila ekspertni nadzor. Autor je projekata obnove Šišman - Ibrahimpašinog hamama; kapi-kula Širokac i Ploča; dijela kompleksa Bijele tabije; Latinske, Šeher-ćehajine i Kozije čuprije; fasade Centralne banke; Tašlihana; Starog grada Buzima; kapije Jevrejskog groblja u Sarajevu; Megalitskog zida na Osanicima, te mnogih drugih.

Izlagala je na velikom broju radionica, naučnih skupova i konferencija - u Sarajevu, Mostaru, Zenici, Višegradi, Šibeniku, Oksfordu, Firenci, Trstu, Kairu, Jerusalimu, itd.

Objavila je 17 naučnih i stručnih radova u različitim publikacijama, te knjigu "Kamen -materijal kontinuiteta i izražajnih mogućnosti". Član je Nacionalnog komiteta ICOMOS u BiH od njegovog osnivanja.

## **Dr Adnan Pašić**

Roden je u Zagrebu 1967. Arhitekt je koji rukovodi arhitektonskim projektnim studiom na Institutu za arhitekturu, urbanizam i prostorno planiranje i predaje arhitektonsko projektovanje na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Bosna i Hercegovina. Interes za fenomene generičkih i koncepcionalnih osnova savremenog arhitektonskog projektovanja i arhitekture rezultiralo je magistarskim radom (2003) i doktorskom disertacijom (2008), koja se odnosila na arhitektonsku konceptualizaciju prostora za potrebe kulture. Godine 1998, u sklopu stipendije AKPIA, bio je gostujući istraživač na Odsjeku za arhitekturu na MIT-u, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Istraživanja usmjereni na primjere integracije arhitektonske teorije i arhitektonskog projektovanja zasnovanog na istraživanju internacionalno su publicirana i prezentovana u različitim formatima naučnih i stručnih članaka i knjiga. Kao predavač je gostovao na Univerzitetima u SAD-u, Holandiji, Japanu, Turskoj, Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini. Profesionalnu karijeru započeo je u Atelieru akademika Zlatka Ugljena, a kao praktikujući arhitekt kombinuje praktični rad sa istraživanjima na različitim projektima urbanizma, stanovanja, poslovnih zgrada, zgrada za potrebe kulture, sakralnih prostora i interijera. Arhitektonске radove prezentuje na tri samostalne i petnaest grupnih izložbi u regionu i Evropi. Za svoje arhitektonске projekte nagraden je godišnjim nagradama Asocijacije arhitekara Bosne i Hercegovine Collegium Artisticum za najbolju ideju 2006. i 2009, a za najbolji realizirani enterijer 2012. godine.

## **Dr Milijana Okilj**

Diplomirala je na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sarajevu 1987. godine. Završila je postdiplomske studije i odbranila magistarski rad (2009) i doktorsku disertaciju (2013) na Arhitektonsko-građevinskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci. Od 1995. godine radi u Republičkom zavodu za zaštitu kulturno-istorijskog i prirodnog nasljeđa RS, trenutno na mjestu načelnika Odjeljenja za kulturno-istorijsko nasljeđe. Stručni je saradnik Arhitektonsko-građevinsko-geodetskog fakulteta i Prirodnno-matematičkog fakulteta Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci. Zvanje višeg asistenta stekla

je 2010, a docenta 2014. godine. Uža naučna oblast njenog djelovanja je istorija i teorija arhitekture i zaštita graditeljskog nasljeđa. Autor je pedeset projekata za konzervaciju, restauraciju i obnovu graditeljskog nasljeđa. Do sada je objavila dvije monografije i više naučnih i stručnih radova. Član je Državne komisije BiH za saradnju sa UNESCO-om, Nacionalnog komiteta ICOMOS u BiH i ICOM-a u BiH. Učestvovala je u radu više međunarodnih konferencija i seminara. Dobitnik je sljedećih nagrada i priznanja: Orden Svetog Save, dodijeljen od njegove Svetosti Patrijarha Pavla i Svetog arhijerejskog sinoda SPC, Povelja za zaštitu i očuvanje kulturno-istorijskog nasljeđa za 2005, Velika nagrada Salona arhitekture i urbanizma Republike Srpske, Priznanje za rad na očuvanju nepokretnog kulturnog nasljeđa i Zlatna plaketa Svetog Petra Sarajevskog.

## **Dr Vjekoslava Sanković Simčić**

Diplomirala je na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Pohađala je Cours de Specialisation pour la Conservation et la Restauration des Monuments et Sites Historiques - ICCROM u Rimu i 1971. godine završila magistarski studij na Facolta di Architettura Universita di Roma, Italija, (magistarski rad: "Revitalizacija starog grada Počitelja"). Doktorat tehničkih znanosti iz oblasti arhitekture i urbanizma polučila je na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Hrvatska (doktorska teza: "Metoda kontrasta u revitalizaciji graditeljske baštine"). Profesionalni rad započela je u Zavodu za zaštitu kulturnog nasljeđa S.R. Bosne i Hercegovine. Godine 1973. prelazi na Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Sarajevu, na Katedru za historiju arhitekture i zaštitu kulturnog nasljeđa, gdje radi u svojstvu asistenta. Godine 1979. stekla je zvanje docenta, 1989. zvanje vanrednog, a 2001. zvanje redovnog profesora. Također je predavala na više poslijediplomskih studija u Sarajevu, Splitu, MA Conservation Studies u Yorku, MA Architectural Studies u Njemačkoj i na doktorskom studiju u Sarajevu. Sudjelovala je na brojnim internacionalnim simpozijima i konferencijama o zaštiti, konzervaciji, restauraciji i revitalizaciji kulturnog nasljeđa i aktivno razmjenjivala znanje, iskustvo i ideje. Član je ekspernih tijela zaduženih za zaštitu, konzervaciju, restauraciju i revitalizaciju arhitektonskog i urbanog nasljeđa. Radi na projektima konzervacije i provodi konzultacije za revitalizaciju povjesnih centara, posebno za integraciju staro-novo. Dr. sc. Sanković Simčić je autor mnogih članaka o konzervaciji kulturnog nasljeđa, uključujući i knjigu *Revitalizacija graditeljske baštine - Integracija staro-novo*, NNP Naša riječ d.o.o., Sarajevo 2000.

## Priznanja

- Jubilarna Povelja za značajan doprinos zaštiti kulturnog nasljeđa u Bosni i Hercegovini u povodu tridesetogodišnjice zaštite spomenika kulture u SR BiH, Sarajevo, 1976.
- Medalja i Diploma za značajan doprinos na zaštiti našeg kulturnog nasljeđa, Savez Društva Konzervatora Jugoslavije u povodu četrdesetogodišnjice zaštite u SFRJ, Ohrid, 1985.
- Povelja za doprinos očuvanja kulturnog nasljeđa u BiH, 2004., Ministarstvo kulture i sporta Vlade Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine.
- Povelja za višegodišnji uspješan rad na razvoju nastave i unapređenju fakulteta, povodom pedesetpete obljetnice arhitektonskog fakulteta u Sarajevu, 2005.

## Ivan Lovrenović

Writer, was born in Zagreb in 1943; currently lives in Sarajevo. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. He worked as an editor in Veselin Masleša and Svetlost publishing houses. From 1993 to 1996 in exile (Zagreb, Berlin).

He published a number of books – literary prose, essays, newspaper articles. The book about the cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Unutarnja zemlja*), published and translated into German, Czech, Hungarian and English.

He participated in the editing of editions of the book collection *Kulturno nasljeđe Bosne i Hercegovine* (Cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina). He initiated and currently edits the book collection *Iz Bosne Srebrene – izabrani spisi bosanskih franjevaca od 17. do 20. stoljeća* (From Bosnia Srebrena – selected writings of the Bosnian Franciscans from the 17th to the 20th centuries) in twenty volumes.

The "Midhat Begić" Award received for his essay *Ivo Andrić, paradoks o šutnji* in 2009.

The "Meša Selimović" Award received for his novel *Nestali u stoljeću* in 2014.

## Ibrahim Krzović, PhD

Was born in Sarajevo on September 23rd 1935). Completed studies of art history at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade where he graduated in 1965 and took his doctor's degree in 1987. He was a curator at the Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1969. He engaged in visual arts criticism and the essay genre, gallery practice, valorization of the cultural heritage, contemporary architecture and visual art creativity. He occupied himself most with the architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Appointed Senior Lecturer for the subject of Art History in 1980, and Full Professor in 1990. He founded the Art History Department Section at the Department of History at the Faculty of Philosophy of Sarajevo University in the academic year of 2002/03. He is Emeritus Professor.

### Important works:

- Ismet Mujezinović, (monograph), Tuzla, 1985.
- Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878.-1918., Sarajevo, 1986.

- Eduard Loidolt - Akvareli iz Bosne i Hercegovine Aquarelles from Bosnia and Herzegovina 1880-1882. Zürich 1999.
- Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo, 2004.
- Husein Dropić - arhitekt, (monograph), Tuzla, 2012.
- Kreševo, razvoj varoši i arhitektonski objekti, Sarajevo / Kreševo, 2014.

## Aida Abadžić Hodžić, PhD

Associate Professor at the Chair of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo. She graduated and took her master's degree at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb and took her doctor's degree at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo in 2008. She had her professional training and was a visiting professor at the University of Dijon (1991), at Karl Ruprechts University in Heidelberg (2009), at Karl Franzäns University in Graz (2010) and at KHB-Weißensee in Berlin (2011). She is an author of a large number of exhibitions of Bosnia and Herzegovina's modern and contemporary art in the country and abroad. She authored books and co-authored monographs with a large number of expert studies in relevant magazines. The book *Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus* (Sarajevo, 2014) was translated into German (Landesdenkmalamt, Berlin, 2015). At the 23rd International Fair of Books and Means of Instruction in Sarajevo in 2011, she received the Award for a Special Contribution to the Arts for her book "Bosanskohercegovačka grafika 20. stoljeća: šezdesete i sedamdesete godine 20. stoljeća u kontekstu evropskog moderniteta i postmoderniteta" (Sarajevo, 2011) – (translated as "The graphic art in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 20th century: the 1960s and 1970s in the context of the European modernity and post-modernity"). She received "Hasan Kaimija" Award for the same book in 2013, i.e. for the best book from the domain of social studies and humanities published in 2011/2012. She organized and participated in a large number of international symposia and projects. She leads the "Baunet" Project within the frame of the EU programme Culture (2011-2015) for Bosnia and Herzegovina. She has been a member of AICA since 2010.

## **Andrea Baotić**

Was born in Sarajevo in 1983. She is Senior Assistant Lecturer at the Chair of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo. She graduated in art history and French language at that same faculty in 2007, while she completed her master degree studies in 2013 (the thesis being "the mechanisms of the institutional articulation of power: Bosnian and Herzegovinian 'exhibition complex' ". She preoccupies herself with the research into the art in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, with an emphasis on the art of Historicism, orientalism as well as art in the public space. She has published several works from the aforementioned fields. She is currently attending the Postgraduate Doctoral Studies of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb occupying herself with the dissertation, the topic of which is "The sculpture in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian rule 1878-1918".

## **Ivana Udovičić**

Was born in Sarajevo in 1972. Graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar (Croatia) in 1996, Departments of Archaeology and Art History. She has been working in the Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1996. Today works as a museum counsellor.

She authored many exhibitions, among which are the most important:

"Skulptura i instalacija u Bosni i Hercegovini 1980-2000," Sarajevo, 2000; "Umjetnost iz kutije", Sarajevo, 2002; "F. Hodler iz kolekcije UGBiH", Ljubljana, Zagreb, 2004/05; "Prostor Oblik," Vaduz, Magdeburg, Innsbruck, Sarajevo, 2012-2015. She co-authored the exhibitions: "Halo Bing, kako brat," Sarajevo, 2005, Relations - Dialogues / Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hegenheim 2008."Objektivno" Sarajevo, Beograd, 2010; "Desire for Freedom - Dossier Bosnia and Herzegovina", Sarajevo, 2014, and two permanent displays in the Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina: "Jedan vijek moderne umjetnosti u BiH," 2002. And "Retrospectrum," 2008.

She cooperated on several international projects, like: Extended Transformation - Trieste, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo, 2001; Biennial of Young Artist of Europe and Mediterranean - Roma 1999, Sarajevo 2001; First Biennial of Contemporary Art in Thessalonica, 2004; Continental Breakfast - Oktobarski salon, Kulturni centar

Beograd, 2004; Desire for Freedom - Art in Europe since 1945, Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, 2014.

## **Haris Dervišević**

Senior Assistant Lecturer at the Chair of Art History of the Faculty of Philosophy at Sarajevo University, involved in teaching activities of the undergraduate (8 subjects) and postgraduate cycles (7 courses). He completed his studies - 4 years of art history and 3 years study of Arabic language and literature in 2007 at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Sarajevo. He attended one month-long course in Islamic and Arabic culture and civilization at the Centre for the Arabic Civilization at Cairo University in 2006. He completed his postgraduate master's degree study of art history in 2013, while being at near-completion of the doctor's degree study of art history at the Department of Art History (Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb). He was present twice at the Congress The Best in Heritage in Dubrovnik (2006, 2008). He earned a scholarship from The Hamad bin Khalifa Travel Fellowship and was present at the leading world symposium on the Islamic art and culture The Hamad bin Khalifa Symposium on Islamic Art in Cordoba (2009). He was engaged in the projects from the cultural domain, participated in international museology workshops and also organized and participated in international projects and conferences. He is an active member of the ICOMOS National Committee of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He published several articles and four original scientific works from the Islamic art domain.

## **Ljiljana Ševo, PhD**

Was graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade in 1985, Department of Art History, where she earned her master's degree in 1995 and doctor's degree in 2011.

From 1988 to 2006, employed in the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural and Historic Heritage of the Republic of Srpska.

She has been hired at the Academy of Fine Arts of Banjaluka University since 1998, where she still works today, having a Full Professor tenure.

As a beneficiary of the Fullbright scholarship, she carried out post-doctoral

researches at Princeton University during 2004-05.

She has been a member of the Commission for the Preservation of National Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2001.

In 2010, she was awarded the Charter of the Ministry for Culture and Sports of the Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina for her contribution to the preservation of the cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Apart from a large number of scientific articles, she has also published books, among which are: Monasteries and log churches of the Banjaluka Eparchy, Banjaluka 1996, Lomnica Monastery, Belgrade 1999; Gomionica Monastery, Banjaluka 2002; Cultural heritage of the Republic of Srpska, Novi Sad 2003; Serbian wall painting of the 18th century in the Byzantine tradition, Banjaluka 2010; Jajce in the folk tradition, Jajce 2010; Church of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist in Székesfehérvár, Banjaluka, 2011.

## **Miroslav Malinović**

Was born in Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1988. He attended undergraduate architecture studies at the Faculty of Architecture and Civil Engineering, University of Banja Luka between 2007 and 2011, where he received the Bachelor's Degree in Architecture as the best student of the generation. Afterwards in 2012, he received his Master's Degree at the Faculty for Architecture and Planning, Vienna University of Technology. His master's thesis "Architecture and Urban Development in Banja Luka during the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1878 and 1918" is the prizewinner in the category of theoretical works at Archdiploma<sup>13</sup>, an exhibition which displays a selection of the last two years' Architecture and Planning diploma theses of Vienna University of Technology. In 2013, he started his PhD studies at Vienna University of Technology with a dissertation concerning the architecture of monasteries and monastery churches in the Franciscan Province OFM Bosna Argentina after the XIX century. After having defended his master's thesis, he has been engaged in the teaching process at the Faculty of Architecture and Civil Engineering, University of Banja Luka.

## **Nedžad Mulaomerović**

Was born in Sarajevo on 4th June 1976. He graduated from the Faculty of Architecture in Sarajevo in 2004 and gained working experience designing individual and collective residential structures, catering structures, public structures and in the restoration designs of the cultural-historic and national monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2008, he was awarded by the Association of Architects in Bosnia and Herzegovina for making the Raiffeisen Bank building in Zenica as a co-author of the project, while the most important design in his carrier so far has been the restoration design of the Sarajevo Town-Hall.

## **Maja Pličanić**

Was born in 1978. Completed her studies at the Faculty of Architecture in Sarajevo in 2003, where she currently attends the third cycle of the study (doctoral studies) in the field of building heritage protection. After having gained working experience in the Cantonal Institute for the Protection of Cultural-Historic and Natural Heritage and working in the Ministry of Physical Planning and Environmental Protection of the Sarajevo Canton, she was engaged at the Pedagogical Faculty in Sarajevo in 2006 as a Lecturer, an Assistant Lecturer for the technical group of subjects at the Department for Cultures of Life and Technical Education. In March 2014, she was appointed Senior Assistant for the scientific field - Cultural Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She has been a permanent member of the ICOMOS National Committee in Bosnia and Herzegovina association since 2010. She authored 10 scientific/professional works published mostly in the proceedings of international conferences.

## **Selma Rizvić, PhD**

Was born in Sarajevo, where she finished elementary and high school, Faculty of Electrical Engineering and defended her master's and doctor's theses. She currently works as Associate Professor at the Faculty of Electrical Engineering in Sarajevo and is a head of the Department of Electronic Graphic Design of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Radio and Television (BHRT). She preoccupies herself with scientific and research work in the computer graphic domain with a special emphasis on the virtual cultural heritage. She authored 2 books and a large number of scientific works. As a designer

of TV programmes at BHRT, she authored visual solutions of opening credits, commercials and special effects.

She founded the researches on the 3D technologies application in museology and presentation of the cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She created several virtual museums together with her collaborators, among which the most famous is "the Sarajevo war objects" which represents objects made by citizens of Sarajevo during the siege of 1992-95, created on the Internet via a technique of digital narration in combination with interactive 3D models. She is involved in international, regional and local projects from the virtual cultural heritage.

In 2014 and within the frame of the European "Transnational Network of Virtual Museums V-MusT.net", she organized an international multimedia exhibition "The keys of Rome" in the Sarajevo Town-Hall together with her team from the Faculty of Electrical Engineering. That exhibition was at the same time opened in Rome, Alexandria, Amsterdam and Sarajevo aiming to present (for the first time) a combination of physical exhibits and digital technologies within the frame of the story about the Roman Empire from the period of Emperor Augustus's reign, which was then extended on all four exhibition places.

## Nermina Mujezinović, PhD

Was born in Sarajevo, where she graduated at the Faculty of Architecture with the revitalization project of the Blagaj historic centre. She defended her master's thesis ("Stone in restoration of historic structures") at the Faculty of Geology and her doctor's thesis (the topic of which was stone in architecture and architectural conservation) at the Faculty of Architecture.

As one of the three representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Working Group of the Council of Europe, she worked on the implementation of the Special Action Plan in the heritage field; also worked in the Federal and Cantonal Institute for Protection of Cultural-Historic Heritage as an architect-conservator; at the International Burch University as a teacher and head of the Department of Architecture. As a subcontractor, she taught at Faculties of Architecture of Sarajevo and Travnik Universities.

As one of the rare specialists in the region who, both scientifically and professionally,

actively deals with the conservation of historic stone buildings, she made a large number of conservation, restoration and rehabilitation designs for national monuments and was also in charge of a number of researches and exercised professional supervision. She authored restoration designs of the Šišman - Ibrahim-pasha's Hammam; Širokac and Ploča Gate Towers; a part of the Bijela Tabija complex; of the Latinska, Šeher-ćehajina and Kozja čuprija Bridges; the Central Bank façade; of Tašlihan; Buzim Old Castle, the gate of the Jewish Cemetery in Sarajevo; of the Megalithic Wall at Osanici and many others.

She gave presentations in a large number of workshops, scientific symposia and conferences - in Sarajevo, Mostar, Zenica, Višegrad, Šibenik, Oxford, Florence, Trieste, Cairo, Jerusalem etc. She published 17 scientific and expert works in various publications, as well as a book "Stone - the material of continuity and expression possibilities" ("Kamen - materijal kontinuiteta i izražajnih mogućnosti"). She has been a member of the ICOMOS National Committee in Bosnia and Herzegovina since its foundation.

## Adnan Pašić, PhD

Was born in Zagreb, 1967. He is an architect who is the head of the architectural and research studio at the Institute of Design, Urban and Spatial Planning and a teacher of architectural design at Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. His interest in the phenomenon of generic and conceptual bases of the contemporary architectural design and architecture resulted in master's (2003) and PhD thesis (2008) that referred to the conceptualization of architectural space serving the needs of culture. In 1998, he was a visiting scholar within the AKPIA scholarship at the Department of Architecture at MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Researches directed at the integration of architectural theory and architectural design based on the research were published and presented internationally in various formats of the scientific and profession-related books and articles. He lectured at universities in the USA, the Netherlands, Japan, Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina. His began his professional career as an associate designer at the Atelier of Zlatko Ugljen. As a practicing architect, he combined practice with research on various projects in the urban planning, housing, office buildings, cultural facilities, sacral spaces and interiors. His architectural works were presented on three one-man and fifteen group exhibitions in the region and Europe. The Association of Architects

of Bosnia and Herzegovina presented him with the Collegium Artisticum Annual Awards for Best Idea in 2006 and 2009 and Best Realized Interior in 2012.

## Milijana Okilj, PhD

Graduated from the Faculty of Architecture at Sarajevo University in 1987. She completed her postgraduate studies and defended her master's thesis in 2009 and doctor's thesis in 2013 at the Faculty of Architecture and Civil Engineering of Banja Luka University. She has been working at the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural-Historic and Natural Heritage of the Republic of Srpska since 1995, currently as a head of the Department of Cultural-Historic Heritage. She is a Research Assistant at the Faculty of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy and the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences of Banja Luka University. She obtained Senior Assistant Lecturer's position in 2010, and Senior Lecturer's position in 2014. Her specialized scientific field of activity is the history and theory of architecture and the protection of building heritage. She has authored 50 designs for the conservation, restoration and renovation of the architectural heritage. She has published two monographs and several expert and scientific works so far. She is a member of the State Commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina for Co-operation with the UNESCO, also of the ICOMOS National Committee in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the ICOM in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She participated in the work of a number of international conferences and workshops. She received the following awards and recognitions: The order of Saint Sava, awarded by His Holiness Patriarch Pavle and the Holy Assembly of Bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Charter for the Protection and Preservation of the Cultural-Historic Heritage for the year of 2005, the Great Award of the Exposition of Architecture and Town Planning of the Republic of Srpska, the Recognition for Work in Order to Preserve the Immovable Cultural Heritage and the Golden Medallion of Saint Peter of Sarajevo.

## Vjekoslava Sanković Simčić, PhD

Graduated from the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Sarajevo. Attended Cours de Specialisation pour la Conservation et la Restauration des Monuments et Sites Historiques - ICCROM in Rome and completed her Master of Science Programme at Facolta di Architettura Universita di Roma, Italy in 1971 (the final thesis "La rivitalizzazione della vecchia citta di Pocitelj"). Completed a PhD Programme in the field of architecture and urban planning at the Faculty of Architecture at the University

of Zagreb, Croatia (thesis "Method of contrast in the revitalization of building heritage"). Worked at the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Soc. Rep. of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Joined the Faculty of Architecture - Department of the History of Architecture and Cultural Heritage Protection at the University of Sarajevo as a Teaching Assistant in 1973, appointed Assistant Professor in 1979, Associate Professor in 1989 and Full Professor in 2001. She also lectured at different Postgraduation Studies in Sarajevo and Split, MA Conservation Studies (in York, UK) and MA Architectural Studies (in Germany), as well as Doctoral Studies in Sarajevo. Attended numerous international symposia and conferences on the cultural heritage protection, conservation, restoration and revitalization and actively sought exchange of knowledge, experiences and ideas. She is a member of expert bodies dealing with the protection, conservation, restoration and revitalization of the architectural and urban heritage. She works on conservation projects and provides consultation on the revitalization of historic towns, especially on the integration old-new. Mrs. Sankovic Simcic authored many articles on the cultural heritage conservation, including the book *Revitalizacija graditeljske baštine, Integracija stara - novo*, NNP Naša riječ d.o.o., Sarajevo 2000.

## Acknowledgements

- Jubilee Charter for the Important Contribution to the Protection of the Cultural Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the cultural monuments' protection in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 1976.
- Medal and Diploma for the Important Contribution to the Protection of our Cultural Heritage, the Federation of Yugoslavia's Conservators' Associations on the occasion of the 40 years of protection in Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, Ohrid, 1985.
- Charter for the Contribution to the Safeguarding of the Cultural Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2004., Ministry for Culture and Sport of Government of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Charter for the Years-Long Successful Work in the Development Teaching and Improvement of the Faculty, on the occasion of 55th anniversary of the Faculty of Architecture in Sarajevo, 2005.



Simpozij Savremene percepcije kulturnog naslijeda Austro-Ugarske u Bosni i Hercegovini održan je 22. novembra 2014. godine u prostorijama Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Organizatori ovog naučnog skupa bili su NK ICOMOS u BiH i Filozofski fakultet. Svoju nesebičnu podršku u vrijeme održavanja simpozija dali su Muzej Sarajeva i Zona unaprijeđenog poslovanja Baščaršija.

The Symposium "Contemporary perceptions of the Austro-Hungarian cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina" took place on 22nd November 2014 on the premises of the Faculty of Philosophy (Sarajevo University). The organizers of this scientific meeting were: the ICOMOS National Committee in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Faculty of Philosophy. The Museum of Sarajevo and the Baščaršija Zone of Improved Business also gave their unselfish support when the symposium was taking place.





