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**SYNCHRONY-CITY: Sarajevo in 5 acts and few intervals**

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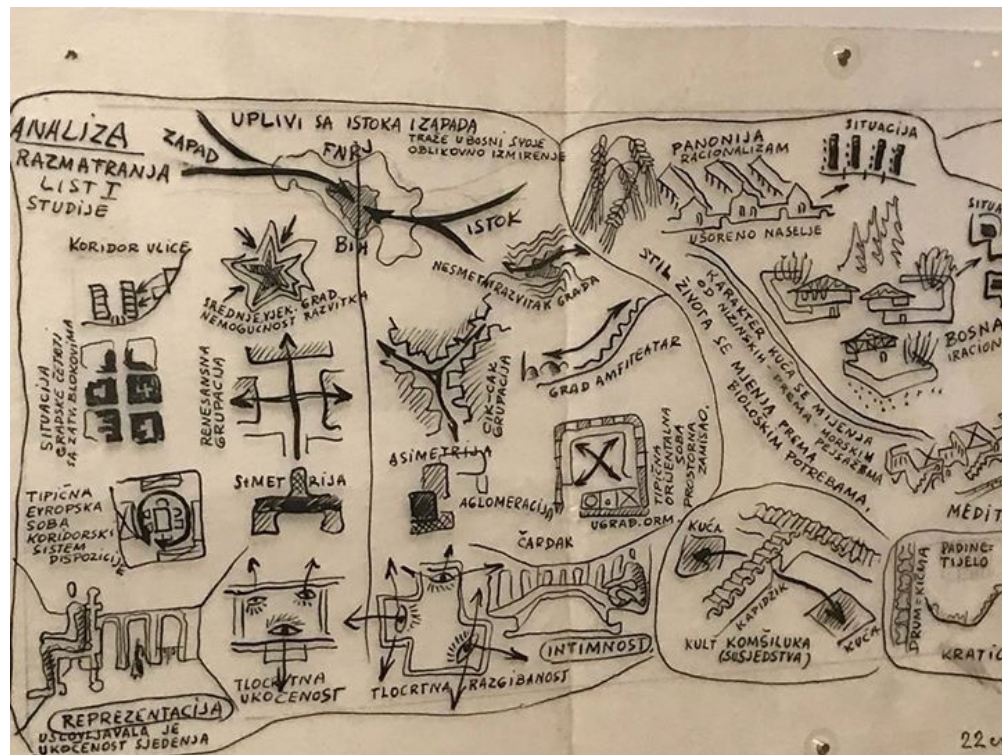


Fig.1. Photographic record of Neidhardt's sketch "Urban-architectonic analysis", exhibited at MoMA New York, 2018 (Photo credits: Vildana Kurtović/Zlata Filipović).

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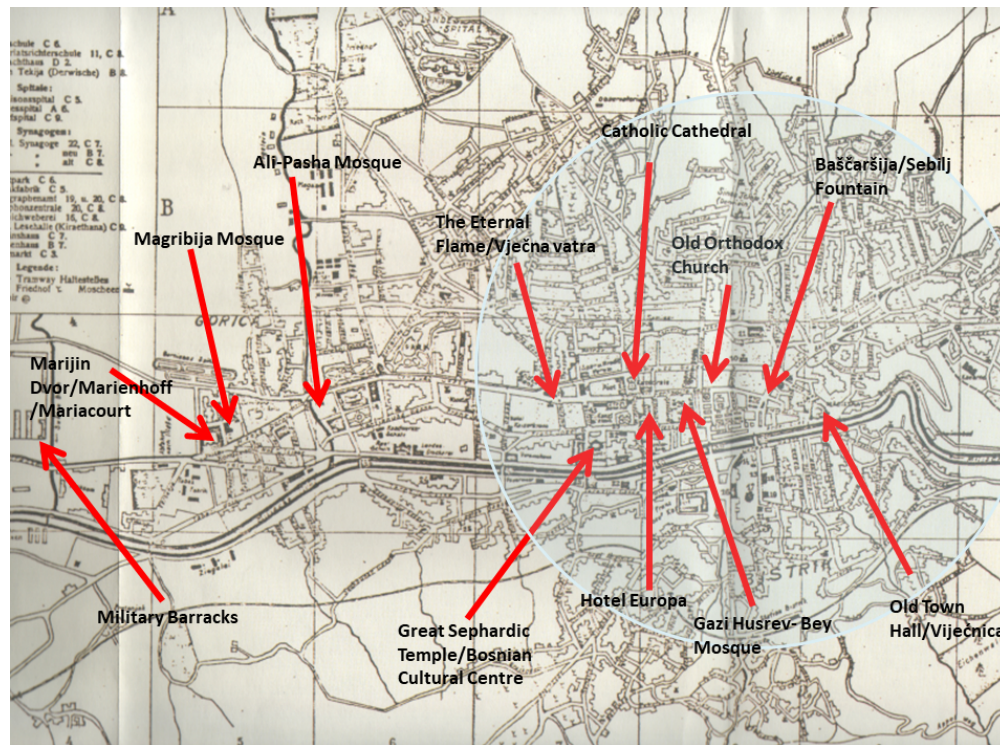


Fig.2. The western expansion of the Oriental City, annotated by Lead Author on the "Historijska karta/ "Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung" (part), Sarajevo: Verlag der Buchhandlung B. Buchwald & Comp., 1900 (Source: Program razvoja gradskog jezgra Sarajeva. Sarajevo: Zavod za Planiranje razvoja kantona Sarajevo, 2000, p. 33).

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Fig.3. Vakuf Hovadža Kemaludin-Neboder/Sarajevo's first skyscraper, designed by Reuf Kadić, constructed between 1940 and 1947 (Photo: Lead Author, 29.12.2013).

159x212mm (220 x 220 DPI)



Fig. 4. Bosnian Government buildings in Sarajevo (Photo: Lead Author, July 2017).

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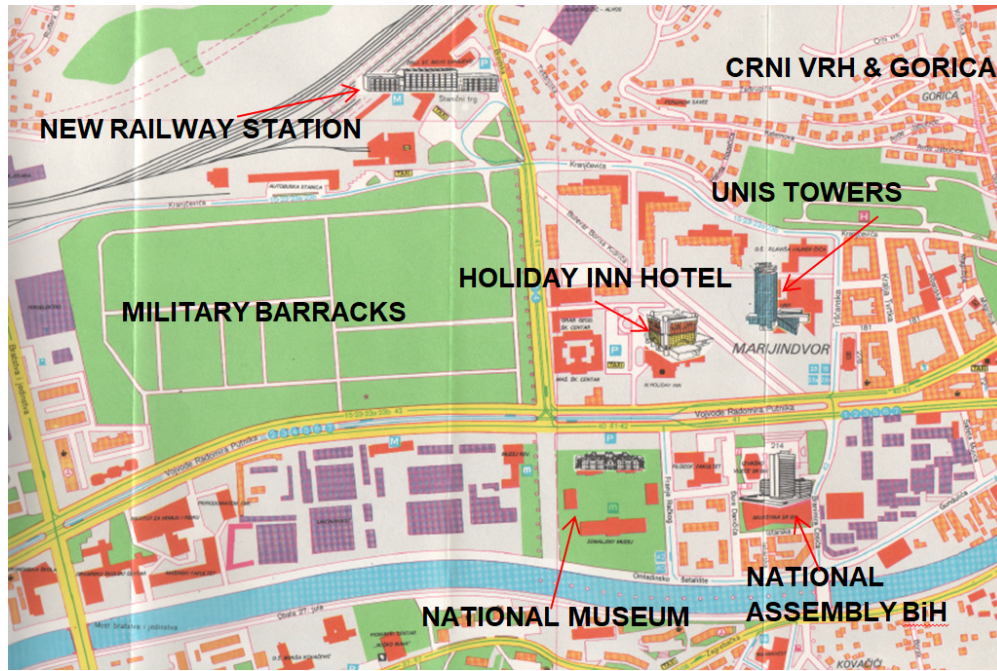


Fig.5. Sarajevo City map published by the UNIS Holding Company in 1990, showing the National Assembly building, based on Neidhardt's design; UNIS Twin towers and Holiday Inn Hotel, designed by Štraus's team in "Arhitekt" enterprise (Source: Lead Author's archive).

## SYNCHRONY-CITY: Sarajevo in 5 acts and few intervals

### Abstract

**Purpose:** This paper focuses on Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, giving a general overview of its urban context through five historical periods, as part of a research study on its modernist architectural heritage. **Design/Methodology:** Designed to mimic the theatrical process which unfolds through acts and intervals, the paper combines literary, architectural, journalistic and historical sources, to sketch the key periods which characterise the city's urban morphology. **Findings:** The sequence of acts and intervals points to the dramatic historic inter-change of continuities and ruptures, in which the ruptures have often been less studied and understood. This explains the frequent conceptualising of Sarajevo through East-West binary, which synthesises it either as a provincial capital from Ottoman and later Habsburg rule, a regional centre within two Yugoslav states and a capital city of a young state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This highlights the need to study the ruptures as clues to the flow of continuities, in which the care and after-care for built environment provide a field of evidence and possibilities for diverse perspectives of examination. **Research limitations:** Corroborated by secondary sources, the paper examines the accounts of urban heritage destruction in the 1990s war, as recorded by a writer, an architect and a journalist, and outlines a pattern of unbroken inter-relations between urban and architectural space (tangible) and sense and identity of place (intangible). **Practical implications:** This discourse is relevant to the current situation where the city of Sarajevo expands again, in the complexity of a post-conflict society. **Social implications:** Challenged by the political divisions and the *laissez - faire* economy, the public mood and interest is under-represented and has many conflicting voices. **Originality/value:** Inspired by Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities* and the accounts from the siege of Sarajevo in the 1990s, this conceptual paper contributes to the formulation of a cross-disciplinary discursive prism through which the fragments of the city and its periods come together or apart, adding, subtracting and changing layers of meaning of the physical space.

**Key words:** Sarajevo, modernist heritage, East-West binary, urban heritage destruction, post-conflict society, cross-disciplinary discourse, meaning of physical space



## INTRODUCTION

“Arriving at each new city, the traveller finds again a past of his that he did not know he had: the *foreignness* of what you no longer are or no longer possess lies in wait for you in foreign, unpossessed places” (Calvino 1972, p. 29).

In the *Invisible Cities* (1972(1974)), the Cuban-Italian writer Italo Calvino (1923 - 1985) depicts the imaginary encounter between the aged Kublai Khan, the emperor of the Tartars and the young Marco Polo, a Venetian traveller. In the vein of ancient tales, the stories account of cities and memory, cities and desire, cities and the dead and hidden cities, but in reality, they are all about the same place. Sensing the end of his world, the old Khan is entertained by the young traveller and his stories of the far places he has travelled to across the empire. The mood of this imaginary encounter can be read as a fine metaphor of an eternal dance between East and West, Old and New, hedonism and efficiency, nostalgia and imagination, or as a clash of concepts of public comfort and urban living deeply rooted in the Orient, confronted with technologically driven ways of the Occident. The close encounters of Marco Polo's Venice with Mongols, Byzantium and Ottomans, through wars and trade, meant that many facets of this unique city have emulated Orient, and were left flickering in the reflection of an Observer and an Other, as in a Venetian mirror. Calvino's stories unfold in the mind's eye as if the traveller is tossing, turning, and squinting into a kaleidoscope trying to recall, recapture and return to his home city.

Departing from this parable, this paper observes Sarajevo, a different city on a shifting East-West fault line, as part of a research study on its modernist architectural heritage (Harrington et al. 2017). Metaphorically staged through five acts and three intervals, each part reflects on the spatial development and the urban morphology of Sarajevo, in the Turkish/Ottoman, the Austro-Hungary/Habsburg, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Socialist/Yugoslav and present post-war periods. They are often symbolically encapsulated in the tropes: where East-meets-West, the Trigger of World War I, the Olympic City and the Besieged City. The scene for each act here is a snap shot of a period in the urban fabric of Sarajevo, narrated by architects, writers, cultural historians and historians, some of whom switch in and out of period in the same act, and reappear in another. Each interval is not a pause, but loud, dynamic process of undoing a scene in full view. The last interval is a *crescendo*, where three narrators, a writer, an architect and a journalist, give voice to the facets of the city exposed to erasure. While they grapple to hold on to the shattered fragments of Sarajevo's reality, the city explodes and disappears in front of their eyes, leaving an eerie silence evocative of the vanishing footsteps from Calvino's *lost* and *hidden* cities. The scene for the fifth act, a Fluid City, is a quilted canvas, with some firmly

connected patches and some missing parts, where many blank areas suggest that work is in progress and invite to engage.

### Act One: A Spectre of an Oriental City lingers

Sarajevo was developed following the Ottomans' conquest of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1463-1878) who then ruled over it for some four hundred years (Malcolm, 1994). It grew from a small settlement around its commercial heart, *Baščaršija*, from which its residential quarters, *mahalas*, had spread amphitheatrically onto the surrounding hills, it reached its golden age during the twenty-year rule of Gazi Husrev Bey in the beginning of the 16th century, after which it ceased to be the capital (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957, p.42-55). Its westernmost boundary probably ran along the Koševski Potok/ Creek and Ali Pasha Mosque, and remained unchanged until the Austria-Hungary occupation in 1878.

Sarajevo craftsmen of all four confessions<sup>1</sup>, made and sold their goods, as still evident in the street names in *Baščaršija*, divided not by religion, but according to trade (Čelić 1991, p. 48-50).<sup>2</sup> "Sarajevo's history is a history of tolerance, wrote architect Džemal Čelić (1991, p.49).

Conceived around the 1990s siege, the book *Sarajevo: Exodus of a City*<sup>3</sup> by writer Dževad Karahasan, recreates an idealized description of a neatly organized old Sarajevo:

"like rays spread around their focal point [...] looking from the city centre [Charshiya], on [each] side [are] four mahalas: Muslim Vratnik, Catholic Latinluk, Eastern Orthodox Tašlihan and Jewish Byelave] [...] each of them determined [...] by one faith, one language, one system of customs.

[...]

[A]t Charshiya, people from the *mahalas* [...] meet each other, communicate, cooperate and live side by side.

[...]

At Charshiya, all of them are just people and Sarajevans, merchants and artisans, notwithstanding all the differences that exist among them. That is why Charshiya, the city center, is at once the most interior and the most open place" (Karahasan 2012, p.17-18).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, Orthodox.

<sup>2</sup> Street names: Bravadžiluk (Coppersmiths'); Kovači (Blacksmiths'); Sarači (Leathercraftsmen'); Čizmedžiluk (Footwear crafts'); Kazandžiluk (Tinsmiths') (Čelić 1991, p. 48).

<sup>3</sup> The original title in Bosnian: *Sarajevo, dnevnik selidbe*.

<sup>4</sup> According to Grabrijan and Neidhardt (1957, 48) who freely cite the 17th c. Turkish traveller, Evlia Chelebiya (1908), who visited the city twice, "Sarajevo has 104 mahalas. Ten of them are inhabited by Serbs, Bulgarians and Romanies, two are Jewish. There are no Greek, Armenian or Franks' [Catholic] mahalas, as they just come and go."

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3 This could be read as an intellectual exercise to evoke the imaginary balance of  
4 equal parts converging towards the common centre, against the backdrop of an already  
5 collapsed reality, written at the time when the topography of the city in fact facilitated the  
6 radical nationalists' divergence, as they took onto the surrounding hills. Deploying the  
7 relentless artillery (Burns, 1992), they were only too eager to pursue their leaders' ambitions  
8 to carve the city in two parts. Based on Silber and Little's (1995) records, the plan was as  
9 follows:  
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16 "The extreme east of the city, the narrow winding streets of the  
17 Turkish old town, together with the broad boulevards of the neighbouring  
18 nineteenth-century Habsburg quarters, were for the Muslims and Croats.  
19 Everything to the west of Marijindvor – including most of the city's twentieth-  
20 century industrial and commercial infrastructure, and most of its residential  
21 capacity – was to be inhabited exclusively by the Serbs" (1995, p. 256-257).  
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26 The oldest core, The Old Town/*Stari grad*, one of Sarajevo's municipalities, has an  
27 apparent Oriental outlook, embedded in its scale, built forms, materials and human activity.  
28 Therefore, each vision of it, either Karahasan's, or "divisionists", or Silber and Little's  
29 description, has some orientalist undertones and illustrates the shifting dynamism of West-  
30 East binary, its position and meaning, as elucidated in Edward Said's influential book  
31 *Orientalism* (1978). Although Said examined the rationale in which West symbolised the  
32 "modern" and East the "ancient traditional" ([1978]1985, p. 269), exposing Western cultural  
33 bias towards the Arab Orient, his concept is a useful starting point to situate the cultural  
34 analysis and discourse on Sarajevo's urban genesis.  
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40 Such approach was taken by Omer Hadžiselimović (2002, p. 27) in the study of  
41 foreign writing on Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he asserted that the "picturesqueness,  
42 Orientalism, and romance would dominate the American travellers' vision of Bosnia and  
43 Herzegovina and their writings about it [since 1897], during the following four and a half  
44 decades". He argues that "in trying to capture the old, curious, and quaint, the writers also  
45 promote ingredients of a culture that for them was very strange and appealingly distant", and  
46 in doing so, some of them made it "even more novel and still further away" (2002, p. 36).  
47 According to Ruthner (2018, p. 8), contemporary investigations in "othering the Other",  
48 demonstrate that this attitude also informed the policies and practices of Austria-Hungary  
49 officials, in which "Bosnians were (re)presented and formatted as Other" (Feichtinger et al.  
50 2003).  
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57 Gazing at the region's Ottoman legacy, Maria Todorova's study *Imagining Balkans*,  
58 added another lens to orientalising, arguing that "the historical and geographic concreteness  
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of the Balkans” stomped on “the intangible nature of the Orient” (Todorova 2009, p.12). Todorova correctly pointed to the instability of the spatial location of Orient/East, for which the example of urban fabric of the Old Town, and the legible evidence of a steady contraction of its *east-ness*, is a prime example.

The professional architects, who came to work and live in Sarajevo at the beginning of the modern era, had equally been fascinated with The Old Town and intrigued by its urban form and the contact newer developments. Despite its deteriorating condition, many of them became vocal in promoting the value and quality of the built heritage from the Bosnian Ottoman period, contributing in various ways to its survival, during subsequent periods.

One of them, a Slovene architect, Dušan Grabrijan (1899-1952), argued strongly in favour of the perceived balance of the Oriental<sup>5</sup> city, attracted by the same “quaintness” as earlier authors, when he wrote in 1940 (cf. Čelić 1970, p.51):

“If we look to Sarajevo from Trebević Mountain, we see two cities, one beside another: Eastern City and Western City. Eastern City is made of low, quaint, tame houses, amidst gardens, and this monotony is only randomly interrupted by the domes and minarets, thus forming a formation akin to a dry wall structure. Everything here is beautiful, kept homogenously together, as an expression of a sedate culture.

Right next to it, there is another, western part of the city, which is chaotic, fragmented, without order and proportion, with exception perhaps of the quay and barracks, as traces of a beginning civilization!” (Grabrijan 1940).<sup>6</sup>

During his stay in Sarajevo between 1936 and 1942 (Čelić 1970, p.7), Grabrijan devoted a considerable energy to study and promote the value of the vernacular architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina, articulated in his several published volumes in Slovene, Serbo-Croat and English languages (Grabrijan 1973; Grabrijan 1984, p. 6). His review of the early Le Corbusier’s publications and sketches (Čelić 1970, p. 29-36) unpacks the historic cross-

<sup>5</sup> The term Oriental as used to describe the older vernacular traditional house in Bosnia and Herzegovina developed during the Ottoman period, is unstable and is used in a similar way as the period, cultural phenomena, and people, were described, for various cultural reasons, as *Muslim* or Mohammedan (Grabrijan, 1937; cf. Čelić, 1970, p. 42), Bosnian-Oriental (Grabrijan, 1973, p.79), Moslem (Grabrijan, 1984, p. 97). In the *Ancient House*, a study of the rural vernacular house in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Muhamed Kadić (1967, p.9-13), provides a historical critique and explains a methodical rationale for analysis of the house typologies, which include the social community interchanges. He argues for the analysis based on the architectural criteria: spatial layout, vertical distribution and 3-D concept, external and internal design, system of construction and materialisation, and social influences on house developments. In concluding remarks, he discusses economic and social impact, cooperative and family impact, migration and foreign influence on house typology, with distinction of the *Turkish–Islamic influences* on “our Muslim house” (Kadić, 1967, p. 135).

<sup>6</sup> Lead Author’s translation from the original in Serbo-Croat.

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3 references and influence of the Balkans Oriental house on his concepts of modern  
4 architecture. Grabrijan highlights the parallels between modern and Oriental architecture. He  
5 finds these in the use of materials, the principles of structural timber construction, the  
6 distribution of space and elevation of habitable rooms from the ground, in the use of  
7 orientation and natural daylight, in urban setting and landscaping, in the façade plastics, in  
8 furniture design and layout. For him, these capture the “soul of structure”, expressed as the  
9 “Bosnian architectural plastics” (Grabrijan 1936; Cf. Čelić 1970, p.36), the same elements  
10 that inspired Le Corbusier during his voyages to the Oriental Balkans in the 1920s (Zaknić  
11 1997).

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18 However, elsewhere, Grabrijan (1940) concludes that Bašćaršija, “as the [business]  
19 city, is dead”, defeated by the unstoppable industrial development and the unhygienic  
20 condition, but he argues for the rescue of its small scale craft economy, by modernizing it  
21 holistically and by intervening selectively in its space (Čelić 1970, 129-130).

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24 The book *Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno/Architecture of Bosnia and the way to*  
25 *modernity* (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957) was a synthesis of Grabrijan’s thinking, articulated  
26 through collaboration and friendship with architect Juraj Neidhardt (1901-1979), crediting  
27 also historian Hamdija Kreševljaković. The book conceptualized the genesis of the  
28 vernacular architecture and culture of urban living in Bosnia and Herzegovina, through the  
29 extensive research informed by the East-West binary. Neidhardt’s sketch from 1953 with a  
30 caption: “The influences from East and West seek in Bosnia their design conciliation/ *Upliv*  
31 *sa Istoka i Zapada traže u Bosni svoje oblikovno izmirenje*”, shown at the Museum of  
32 Modern Art (MoMA) (2018) exhibition in New York (**Fig.1.**), mind-maps the concept of their  
33 “urban – architectonic study” (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957, p. 322). The sketch  
34 conceptualised the in-between-ness of Bosnia, by underlining the perceived (and  
35 controversial) differences between the Western symmetry and Eastern asymmetry in a built  
36 form, the contrast between grid-and-corridor versus organic forms of spatial organisation,  
37 and when building on flat as opposed to mountainous topographies. From the analysis of the  
38 urban setting and spatial articulation of the traditional house (Kapetanović 1988, p.160), the  
39 authors developed elaborated guidelines for the “architecture renaissance in Bosnia and  
40 Herzegovina” based on the modernist architecture principles (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957,  
41 p. 322-475).

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52 More recent scrutiny of their work, asserts that Grabrijan and Neidhardt’s “search for  
53 a greater recognition of this heritage was, in some ways, compromised in [...] [their] first  
54 urban proposals for Sarajevo, presented in “Sarajevo and its Satellites/Sarajevo i njegovi  
55 trabanti” (Grabrijan 1942), as it proposed a selective and radical interventions within that  
56 very heritage (Alić 2010, p. 256).

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3 The selective and radical interventions were poignantly actualised in the 1990s,  
4 conceived by a different kind of “spatial planners”. When Karahasan (2012) from the siege  
5 reminisces on the city and its dramatic past, he is pondering on the transience of its identity,  
6 but also really hinting at its resilience and longevity:  
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11 “The most pronounced trait of a dramatically constructed cultural  
12 system is an exciting interplay of dialogue and opposition between the open  
13 and the closed, the external and internal. [...]The interplay of that which is  
14 open and that which is closed, of the external and internal - which mutually  
15 comment upon, confront and reflect each other – is made perfectly clear in  
16 the organization of the city. (Karahasan 2012, p.17-18)  
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## 20 21 **Act Two: The European City**

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24 The detailed survey maps after the 1878 Austro- Hungarian Occupation and subsequent  
25 Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, show the Oriental urban fabric of Sarajevo already  
26 in decline. The 40-year period of Habsburg rule brought about the “Europeanisation” of the  
27 whole country. According to Bosnian historian Kruševac (1960, p. 449), the city had  
28 undergone “a transformation from a feudal society dominated by old guilds, to a modern  
29 bourgeois society”. The new rule imposed a political and economic system which brought  
30 about significant changes in land management and use, spatial organization and the scale of  
31 development. Such process would be further accelerated in the subsequent periods.  
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36 Following the great fire (possibly a result of arson) in 1879, and damage to  
37 Baščaršija, “which practically swallowed parts of old city from *Gazi Husrev-Bey’s Bezistan*<sup>7</sup>  
38 westwards” (Čelić 1991, p. 49), the new authorities firstly affirmed the validity of the older  
39 Ottoman building and roadworks regulations from 1863. Then they were replaced the  
40 following year with new Building Regulations /Bauordnung (Kruševac 1960, p. 36-37). New  
41 regulations asserted control by the Provincial government over the urban development and  
42 defined the rules, procedures and necessary conditions for issuing building permits for newly  
43 built structures and the adaptation of existing ones (Kruševac 1960, 37). Sarajevo got  
44 several modern infrastructure systems such as water supply, sewerage and the electrical  
45 power supply network. Other improvements included the fire protection service, the  
46 regulation of river Miljacka, and the introduction of public transport, initially horse-drawn  
47 trams (1885) and then in 1895, an electric- powered (Kruševac 1960, p. 10-119).  
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58 <sup>7</sup> A covered stone bazar , built by Gazi Husrev Bey’s endowment in 1555, in the vicinity of Hotel  
59 Evropa and the remains of the *tašlihan* (stone structure used as a caravan-saraya, a historic travellers’  
60 accommodation), which was severely damaged in the fire , which are both today national monuments  
(vakuf.ba 2019).

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3 A new territorial division of the city made the old system with some 106 *mahalas*  
4 redundant, replacing them with seven new larger units, *kotars* (Kruševac 1960, p.10). The  
5 first *kotar*, Čaršija, encompassed the central area on both sides of the river Miljacka, from  
6 the *Bentbaša* Bridge (near the *Vijećnica*/ Town Hall) on the eastern flank, to the bridge near  
7 Ali-pasha Mosque, on the western side (Kruševac 1960, p. 10). The westward expansion of  
8 the city included the new rental residential block Marijin Dvor/Mariacourt building and the  
9 Military Barracks complex at the outskirts (**Fig. 2.**).

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11 Among other, new administrative and public buildings included the foundation of the  
12 National Archives, the Club House (adapted for the National Theatre in 1920s) (Dimitrijević  
13 1991, p. 77-78), the City Hall/*Vijećnica* and the first regional museum, Landesmuseum/  
14 *Zemaljski muzej*. The Austro-Hungarian administrators “saw themselves as missionaries of a  
15 cultural revival [...] [designed to] [...] end the backwardness and particularism [...] that  
16 bedevilled Bosnia’s peoples” (Donia 2007) and they exercised their authority at first with  
17 arrogance and bias, which changed with the appointment of the new governor Von Kallay,  
18 with no less control. Despite the patronising attitude of Habsburg officials, the impact of this  
19 period with mixture of the Central European cultural references was significant (Donia 2007;  
20 Harrington at al. 2018, p. 143-158).

21  
22 The influences from the imperial metropolis, as Donia observes (2006, p.114), often  
23 mutated into unique Sarajevo variations evident in the conceptualisations of the so-called  
24 “Bosnian Style” in architecture (Hrasnica 2003; Kurto 1998; Krzović 1987) in which architects  
25 strived to achieve a *genius loci* by incorporating a vernacular vocabulary in the design of  
26 buildings. Anecdotally, a visiting Dutch minister once commented to architect Vancaš, as  
27 follows:

28  
29 “[I]n Bosnia, there is too much foreign style in buildings and too little  
30 appreciation and use of the vernacular Bosnian style. If you, architects  
31 continue to ignore the local craft and to favour foreign codes, it will be boring  
32 travelling the world, as each city will look the same.” (Cf. Krzović 1987, p.  
33 225)

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35 Krzović’s research illustrates the evolution of thinking by Vancaš, who was also  
36 influenced by the sensitivity displayed by German architect Gurlitt, who promoted  
37 “architecture born out of the soul of the people” rather than from the imported far-away  
38 foreign customs (Krzović 1987, p.225). Vancaš was instrumental in initiating a resolution  
39 through the Sabor/Bosnian Council in 1911, which called to document and survey older  
40 public and private buildings and monuments, to put them under the state protection.  
41 Crucially, the resolution included a call for legislation which would incentivise new building in  
42 the Bosnian Style (Krzović 1987, p. 226). The initiative was successful with the *Zemaljska*  
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3 Vlada/Government, but as no funding was allocated, practically only architect Josip Pospišil  
4 continued the survey of old buildings in Herzegovina.

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6 Josip Vancaš, Josip Pospišil, Rudolf Tönnies, Hans Berger and others, built a  
7 number of mostly residential buildings in Sarajevo, attempting to formulate the Bosnian  
8 Style, which according to Ugljen Ademović and Turkušić (2012, p. 233) resulted in a  
9 "Bosnian fusion". Guided by principle to avoid folkloristic elements, many of these buildings  
10 are distinguished by a composite articulation of traditional space distribution and blend of  
11 façade elements: steep pitched roofs, Alpine roof details, cantilevered bay - windows, corner  
12 turrets.  
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15 Recent research on the Habsburg period of architecture in Sarajevo revives the  
16 orientalist discourse from the post-colonial perspective on the Empire, observed in a  
17 comparative European colonial context. Hartmuth (2015, p.155) addresses the perceived  
18 "mainstream" views: (1) that Habsburg architects deliberately destroyed old (Ottoman)  
19 Sarajevo for their vision of a European city (Bublin 1999, 93); (2) that historicism, especially  
20 the *Pseudo-Moorish* style (i.e. Vijećnica/former City Hall, Šerijatska gimnazija/former Islamic  
21 Law School) was specifically designed for Bosnia; (3) that the churches were mushrooming  
22 while Muslim architecture came to a standstill. Calling these "recurring myths", Hartmuth  
23 (2015, p.157) suggests that the Austro-Hungarian administration might have preferred  
24 Arabic styles of building for Bosnia, as the Ottoman architecture from the classical period  
25 (16th c.) "aimed at *perfection of mass and proportion rather than ornament*"<sup>8</sup>, which "must  
26 have appeared quite incompatible for recycling by a late 19th century mainstream that was  
27 more interested in applying ornament ("façade architecture")".  
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30 If this plausible suggestion is followed, given that most of the (remaining) prominent  
31 Ottoman public architecture (including mosques) in Sarajevo belongs to that classical period,  
32 by analogy, it matches the qualities and principles of the modernist period which was  
33 beginning to emerge in the Habsburg metropolis, at the time when historicism was assigned  
34 to Bosnia. The affinity between the restrained volumetric purity of Bosnian Ottoman  
35 architecture and early modernist architecture, might explain why the next generation of  
36 architects, from Kingdom of Yugoslavia, who were trained in Prague, Vienna, Bauhaus and  
37 other centres, would be both comfortable and enthusiastic in adoption of modernism.  
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40 As this debate continues, the revisions of Sarajevo's Habsburg architectural heritage  
41 is a welcome distraction from otherwise stereotypical associations with the Archduke Franz-  
42 Ferdinand assassination by Gavrilo Princip and Mlada Bosna group, the start of World War I  
43 and the end of Empire. The site and narrative of the Assassination in 1914, is actualised  
44 each decade as a place of memory (Nora 2001). A source of continued fascination,  
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<sup>8</sup> My italics



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3 academic curiosity and travellogues (West [1942] 2006; Dedijer 1966; Fabijančić 2010;  
4 Butcher 2014), it is a subject of various often opposed international and regional  
5 interpretations which play to the local political memory agendas (Harrington 2015;  
6 Harrington 2016).  
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### 10 11 **Interval One-World War 1 (1914-1918)** 12

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14 In 1914 a simple stone memorial plaque was placed above the corner shop window opposite  
15 of the Latinska Ćuprija/Latin/former Princip Bridge, to mark the spot where the Archduke and  
16 his wife were assassinated. The plans to build a memorial church, designed by the  
17 Hungarian sculptor Eugen Bory in a Pseudo-Gothic/Alpine style (Krzović 1987, p. 229), on  
18 an unidentified location in Sarajevo, never materialised. Instead, on the third anniversary of  
19 the assassination, 28 June 1917, the *Spomenik Umorstvu*/Monument of Murder (Krzović  
20 1987, p.242) was officially unveiled, followed by a Catholic consecration. Also designed by  
21 Bory, this monumental composition consisted of the 12-meter high twin-pillar structure,  
22 which towered over its humble surroundings. Designed in the late Secession style, the  
23 monument incorporated two medallions with busts of Archduke and Duchess and a black  
24 granite sculpture of Pieta, crowned with royal insignia (Krzović 1987, p.242). After the  
25 establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Dujmović 2005, p. 53), the  
26 monument was orderly dismantled in 1919.  
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34 The Empire defended its borders mainly outside the Bosnian territory, and its citizens  
35 of all denominations fought on both sides (Malcolm 1994, p.157-159). Austro-Hungarian  
36 administrators, property owners, bankers and industrialists began to withdraw from Bosnia,  
37 while the architectural activity at first slowed down and then ceased (Krzović 1987, 228). The  
38 population of Sarajevo and other towns suffered from food shortages and other deprivation  
39 (Kruševac 1960, p. 383; Šehić 2005). The war priorities limited the building activity to  
40 provision of refuge centres, orphanages and residences for invalids, described by Krzović  
41 (1987, 229), as "modest buildings, with no architectural merit, signifying only a difficult and  
42 unfortunate period of our history and the end of Austria-Hungary rule in Bosnia and  
43 Herzegovina".  
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### 51 52 **Act Three: Interwar in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918-1941)** 53

54 The end of the war in 1918 resulted with a significant redrawing of the political map of  
55 Europe. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sarajevo became part of the newly formed Kingdom  
56 of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, in Donia's view, as "the orphans of the collapsed Empire"  
57 (2006, p.155). Donia (2006) paints a bleak picture of this twenty-three year period in which  
58 Sarajevo was effectively downgraded as a regional centre of the new monarchy, led by the  
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3 Karadžević dynasty, which was chiefly preoccupied with strengthening its own power and  
4 prestige.  
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6 The new Kingdom favoured the development of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, as  
7 urban centres and refused to ratify Sarajevo's City Council (Donia 2006, p.157), by  
8 delaying the elections for it (Brkljača 2004, p.233-251), thereby stifling the city's ability to  
9 manage its own affairs. The Council acted for two years as an interim body (1919-1920),  
10 but the work of the Councillors, mainly from the Democratic Party, proved to be resourceful  
11 and pragmatic. This raised hopes for a more secular and more unified city than before, while  
12 the voting practice, representative of the Orthodox, Muslim, Catholic and Jewish  
13 communities, continued successfully since the Habsburg period (Donia 2006, p.167). Some  
14 historic studies of this period (Wachtel 1998, p.76; Banac 1984, p.404; Bigelow 1974, p.157-  
15 172) deal with the perceived overlaps between the autocratic centralism of the Kingdom and  
16 the Greater-Serbian ambitions. Both equally went against the interests of Sarajevo, causing  
17 the gradual erosion of initial enthusiasm shown towards the new state. As Sarajevo became  
18 a "forgotten city", with little investment in its infrastructure, Donia (2006, p. 175) cites the  
19 party speech delivered in Sarajevo in 1927, by Mehmed Spaho (1883-1939), the President  
20 of Yugoslav Muslim Organization, who complained that for seven to eight years there were  
21 no new railways, nor roads, nor a single large building built in the city:  
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33 "The state spends almost nothing here, and yet it takes full taxes, perhaps  
34 more than in other parts. Against such injustice, which affected especially Bosnia and  
35 Herzegovina, we raise our voice and demand it be reversed." (Donia 2006, p. 175;  
36 Spaho 1927, p. 1).  
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40 The Kingdom continued the practices of spatial distribution and use of land  
41 established in the Austro-Hungarian period. Among a few new buildings in Sarajevo, Donia  
42 (2006, p. 190) singles out three: the Great Sephardic Temple (former Workers' University  
43 Đuro Đaković, today Bosnian Cultural Centre) in Branilaca Sarajeva Street, the Vakuf  
44 Skyscraper in Ferhadija Street and Credit Banque (today Central Bank BiH) in Titova Street.  
45 He also notes that the city's boundaries hardly changed since the Habsburg period, and that  
46 several residential complexes were built close to the Marijin Dvor area, in a modernist  
47 design manner (Donia 2006, p. 190; Ugljen Ademović and Turkušić 2012, p. 235).  
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53 However, an extensive survey of architecture in the interwar period, *Arhitektura u*  
54 *Kraljevini Jugoslaviji (Sarajevo 1918-1941)/Architecture in Kingdom of Yugoslavia*, by  
55 Predrag Milošević (1997), albeit peppered with occasional politicised argument and claim,  
56 stands to reaffirm the architectural significance of this period. Focused on the contribution  
57 of the architects of Sarajevo, Milošević (1997, p. 105) provides more detail for the  
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assessment of this period, and asserts that they pioneered the modern movement in Bosnia's capital and created works on equal footing with their colleagues in other Yugoslav centres.

Operating at the times of political instability leading to World War II, in 1939 a group of Sarajevo artists and architects formed a progressive multi-disciplinary association "Collegium Artisticum", influenced by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) and inspired by the concept of the "synthetic theatre" of avant-garde art groups from Prague and elsewhere. The association focused on the socially engaged performative events, three of which were held in Sarajevo, until the organization was banned in 1940 (Anon 1984).

Milošević's (1991, p. 34-35) research and contacts with architect Mate Baylon, "one of the founders most prolific modernists in Sarajevo", uncovered a controversy from the early 1970s, which somewhat explains the largely negative or paternalistic views about this period during socialism. It was provoked by the review "Architecture of Yugoslavia in 20th Century" written by Belgrade architect Mihajlo Mitrović for the Larousse Encyclopaedia, causing considerable reaction from the original protagonists of Sarajevo's modern movement. Baylon deemed that the review "expressed a complete bias or ignorance about the 'Sarajevo Modern' and Bosnia and Herzegovina respectively" and provided records on supporting reactions by architects in Zagreb's magazine "Čovjek i prostor" and Sarajevo's "ARH", including Branko Bunić, Dušan Smiljanić and Mate Baylon (Milošević 1991, p. 35).

Working in private practice or in public sector, Sarajevo's modernists engaged in a variety of briefs with innovation and sensitivity to the local context. Milošević (1997) examines the typology and scope of the realised projects, documenting and scrutinising numerous works by Baldasar, Smiljanić, Baylon, Reiss, Lavrenčić, Grabrijan, Bunić, Pavlin, Dimitrijević, Kadić brothers, Neidhardt, Finci, Kabiljo, Šamanek, Moravec. Sarajevo did not have a school of architecture until 1949 (Božović 1991, 109)<sup>9</sup>, and the first Bosnian architects went to study in Prague, Vienna and other centres, at the source of new socially-engaged ideas about the role and methods of modern architecture. For example, the inter-generational lineage to the "Prague school", at the time "emerging as one of the leading centres of European modern architecture" (Kadić 2010, p. 15), could be traced in the work of architect Reuf Kadić (1908-1974), who initially trained at Sarajevo's High Technical School, before continuing to obtain a degree. Influenced by teachings of his professor Dušan Smiljanić, Kadić combined these with the ideas of Bauhaus (Ugljen 2010, 6). In the interwar period, during seven years when Reuf Kadić worked for the Vakuf Directorate<sup>10</sup> in Sarajevo, he designed and oversaw construction of some fifty buildings, from residential, office and

<sup>9</sup> Until that time, the related education was provided by the Srednja Tehnička škola/ Technical High School in Sarajevo, which was founded in 1889 (Kebeljić 1991, 101-108).

<sup>10</sup> Vakuf is an institution of Islamic community set up as a charity endowment and community trust.

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3 institutional structures (orphanage, schools and student accommodation), to mosques and  
4 religious schools (Kadić 2010, 15). With brother Muhamed, he co-authored and realised in  
5 1947 “an exceptional architectural and new land-use undertaking, a residential  
6 development/’colony’ called Džidžikovac, another Moderna project of anthological value”  
7 (Kadić 2010, 38). Štraus (2010, 31) saw in this *ensemble* a direct application of their Prague  
8 modernist training, exemplified in “ascetic pure cubic forms, laid down in three rows along  
9 the slope, interconnected with generous terraces, with partly freed up ground level  
10 supported by columns” and a “continued flow of green planting through and along the  
11 residential pavilions”.

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17 Reuf Kadić’s design in 1939 for Vakuf Hovadža Kemaludin–*Neboder*/Skyscraper in  
18 Ferhadija Street, on a site of a former mosque, was the first of its kind and the tallest  
19 building in Sarajevo at the time. The building completes the urban block demarcated by a  
20 previously finished Vakuf Hovadža Kemaludin–*Mekteb* (1939), as a six-storey commercial  
21 and residential structure, with generous glazed corner loggias on floors above street level.  
22 This ambitious undertaking for the investor, Vakuf, was envisaged as a five-storey high  
23 elongated office wing, with a fifteen-storey high corner residential tower, in total some 60  
24 metres high, and it could have possibly been the pinnacle of the architect’s work (**Fig. 3.**).  
25 The professional opinions were not unilateral, and Grabrijan argued against the skyscraper  
26 on this location, which he saw as “a forced effect, of American origin, with nothing in  
27 common with our ambiance” (Grabrijan 1940; Cf. Čelić 1970, 126). The construction of  
28 *Neboder* commenced in 1940, but was delayed due to World War II and restarted in 1947,  
29 but the original designs were altered. Kadić was excluded from decision making and another  
30 architect was appointed to oversee the completion, which might somewhat explain his  
31 decision to quit practice at the age of 42, when he had already accomplished an enviable  
32 portfolio, as his son later pondered:

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“It is quite possible that Reuf Kadić also had had enough of the  
‘battles with windmills’ and chicanery of some of those who at that time, in  
spite of their mediocrity, were deciding peoples’ destinies, including my  
father’s” (Kadić 2010, 41).

Another significant joint project by Kadić brothers was a large residential block at the  
corner of Maršala Tita Ulica and Hamza Humo Ulica in Sarajevo (Štraus 2006), designed for  
the Retirement Foundation and built between 1941 and 1942, which was declared a National  
Monument in 2008 (Kadić 2010). Similar to collaboration of Juraj Neidhardt and Dušan  
Grabrijan, their work spans across first and second phase of architectural modernism in  
Bosnia and Herzegovina. As graduates from two distinct architecture schools, Prague

(brothers Kadić) and Vienna (Neidhardt, Baylon), they all exemplified unique skills and sensitivity when intervening at points of contact between modern with inherited.

### **Interval Two-World War II (1941-1945)**

In the period preceding World War II, the political instability of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia culminated with the King's suspension of the constitution in January 1929, which imposed a drastic unitary system and a new territorial division of the country into nine *banovine*, arranged to "to cut across the old borders of the constitutive elements of the Yugoslav state" (Malcolm 1994, p. 168-169). As a result, Bosnia and Hercegovina was divided between four: Vrbaska, Drinska, Zetska and Primorska, each of which incorporated parts Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Dalmatia respectively, thus erasing its geographical identity "for the first time in more than four hundred years"(Malcolm 1994, 169). Under the shadow of the rising toxic threat from German and Italian fascism, this arrangement, was further modified in 1939 by the so-called historic compromise between Serbs and Croats, which absorbed more Bosnian territory.

The acute and prolonged economic crisis left Sarajevo unprepared for the continued conflict and ensuing occupation in 1941, during which whole Bosnia and Herzegovina was incorporated in a new "Independent State of Croatia" (NDH). In the first two days of arrival in Sarajevo, the new authorities removed the memorial plaque to Gavrilo Princip, and sent it to Hitler (Kamberović 2005, 14; Savich 2013; Harrington 2013). The new Sephardic Synagogue, constructed in 1929, was broken into and its books and treasures burnt (Malcolm 1994, 175). Both acts were orchestrated as symbolic and chilling messages to Bosnian Serbs and Jews. Among other, local historians Levntal (1952), Balić ([1968]1992), Dedijer et al. (1974), Redžić (1997) and Redžić (2005) have studied this difficult and complex war period, which Malcolm (1994, p. 174) defines as "the story of many wars piled one on top of another".

The picture of the urban development during the war period is sketchy at present, but by all accounts, there was little construction activity. The exception were new low-density residential suburbs on the western part of the city, modelled on the similar housing schemes typical of the plains of Slavonia, Banat and Bačka, the northern regions in Croatia and Serbia respectively. They were constructed to house the refugees from Eastern Bosnia (Đelilović 2015, 92), who had fled the extreme nationalist *Chetnik* forces, formed after the collapse of the Kingdom and the defeat of the Royal Yugoslav army.

#### Act Four: Socialism and the Olympic City

Sarajevo was liberated on 6 April 1945 by the Partisans, who took control of the whole Bosnia within a few weeks (Malcolm 1994, p. 191) The end of World War II marked the start of the fourth, socialist period, which ushered Sarajevo as a capital of one of the six Yugoslav federal republics. The new socialist government enjoyed wide popular support and enthusiasm for rebuilding the country, ravaged by the war. Initially mobilising voluntary youth work brigades under the slogan "brotherhood and unity", the country entered an era of reconstruction and industrialisation. Free education, public healthcare, new housing, employment and commerce, made the city grow and further expand westwards. The modernist orientation, and a quick distancing from short - imposed period of socialist-realism (Štraus 2010, 34-35), coupled with the need and opportunity to design and build, positioned Bosnian architects as a respectable and expertly force of progress.

In view of the renewed identity discourse on modernist period, the articulation of Bosnian Oriental architecture by Grabrijan and Neidhardt, as the early phase of conceptualising the new social(ist) space, now offers a new reading. Dijana Alić (2010, p. 257), believes that the book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity* (1957), shows the authors' awareness of the nationalist debates and resentment of the Islamic past by political circles particular to 1950s' Bosnia. Hence, they chose to focus on the unique inherited "qualities of the local people and culture" and "their role in developing an inclusive Bosnian culture", departing from "the stereotypical views that connected Muslims to the greater world of Islam rather than to a specific place in time". Alić (2010, p. 256) asserts that "[t]he authors argued that despite its 'Oriental' lineage traditional 'Islamic' built heritage was a shared heritage that transcended ethnic and national boundaries."<sup>11</sup> By challenging the nationalist views in this way, the architectural expression of Bosnian Oriental was presented in the book as "capable of overcoming ethnic and national divisions" (Alić 2010, p. 257-258).

On the other hand, from the case of Reuf Kadić and his early retirement from the active practice, it is possible to speculate that, despite his leftist progressive orientation, his professional pedigree established during the work for the Vakuf/Islamic Community Trust, could have caused a resentment strong enough to remove him from completing one of his major projects, Neboder, in 1947. In the same year, Juraj Neidhardt had endured a similar professional mistreatment and a demotion from a managerial position at the Urban Section of the Ministry of Civil Affairs. The insinuations about his work in the public sector during the

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<sup>11</sup> This author's earlier research into the Bosnian Oriental urban house in Sarajevo showed a strong inter-confessional interchange, in spatial organization, residential culture and interior fit-out and only marginally differed in decoration. There were icons and family photographs in Orthodox household, as opposed to Muslim household, for which only a non-figurative decoration inscriptions were acceptable (Arnautović 1984, 25-27).

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3 Nazi regime of Croatian Independent State (NDH), led to his arrest and release after forty-  
4 two days without charge, with a terrible impact on his health, which he only overcame in time  
5 by plunging into creative work, and often without pay (Kapetanović 1988, 279-285).  
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8 In the meantime, the large portion of land on the western boundaries of the Habsburg  
9 Sarajevo, between Marijin Dvor building and the Army barracks, had been earmarked for the  
10 new administrative city centre. To test the ideas and urban visions for the new centre, a  
11 number of open architectural competitions were organized, and in 1955, Juraj Neidhardt's  
12 team convincingly won the first award for the outline urban design and conceptual designs  
13 for the new National Assembly building (Kapetanović 1988, p. 358). The winners were  
14 particularly commended for the sensitivity of designs when connecting structures like the  
15 National Museum /*Zemaljski muzej* and High Technical School, from the Austro-Hungarian  
16 period with the exemplary New Railway Station/*Nova željeznička stanica*, designed by  
17 Czech architects in the post-war period.  
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24 The National Assembly building was conceived in two parts, a lower one with curved  
25 massing for meeting halls and a taller one as a high-rise office block, both incorporating the  
26 symbolic design claiming to be inspired by the "urbanism with human scale" and the Bosnian  
27 vernacular. Despite the first award for the project, the realisation had been slow in practice,  
28 undergoing numerous alterations with an impact on the overall urban design, completed  
29 after much delay. The project seemed to have been caught between economic restrictions,  
30 delayed approval of the general urban plan and other political and professional interference  
31 (Kapetanović, 1988, p. 367).  
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36 Other strong visions for this location were proposed by a team led by Ivan Štraus  
37 (1928-2018), who objected to Neidhardt's earlier awarded urban design. Štraus criticised its  
38 focus on pedestrian traffic, the generosity of open space and an envisaged Central-  
39 European feel. He argued for a different approach which would undermine the importance of  
40 Neidhardt's "diagonal" directed towards the new railway station, and favoured the  
41 longitudinal East-West traffic, with emphasis on the functional modernist architecture, in line  
42 with the international trends of late modernism and post-modernism (Kapetanović 1988, p.  
43 374). As a result, only some of Neidhardt's visions were materialised, including the  
44 posthumous later completion of Government buildings. (Fig. 4.)  
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51 When the new program for Marijin Dvor was endorsed by the City Urban Council in  
52 1977 (Kapetanović 1988, p. 368), it paved the way for the construction of new buildings  
53 designed by Štraus's team. They included the twin towers of the UNIS company<sup>13</sup>, a former  
54 headquarters of a socialist economic giant, equal in stature and directly opposite the  
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59 <sup>13</sup> The lead author worked in this building as a Senior Project Manager in the UNIS Design Company,  
60 from 1984 to 1991.

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3 National Assembly, triangulated by the bulk of the Holiday Inn Hotel, which changed the  
4 spatial references of the area. (Fig. 5.)  
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6 The façade renovations of the Austria-Hungary heritage gave the city centre a face-  
7 lift, while a new maternity block was added to the university hospital complex. The  
8 organization of the Olympics, by all accounts a very successful event, was made possible by  
9 people of Sarajevo who took various roles in the hosting and smooth running of the games,  
10 many in a voluntary capacity<sup>14</sup>. This warm Olympic after-glow in the late 1980s, found  
11 Sarajevo unprepared for the harsh political changes and the collapse of federal Yugoslavia.  
12 The growing political decentralization and dissent in Yugoslavia and the Central Committee  
13 of the Communist party, fueled by alarming separatist tendencies, almost destroyed the  
14 economy and institutions of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its capital.  
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### 22 Interval Three- The Besieged City 23 24

25 The period 1992-1996 shaped the collective memory of Sarajevo as a place of the longest  
26 modern siege in Europe (FAMA Collection n.d.), which nearly destroyed its fine social and  
27 urban fabric, dismantled the achievements of the previous generations, leaving it scarred,  
28 polarised and traumatised. A number of authors of historical studies (Malcolm 1994),  
29 military memoirs (Doyle 2018), or first-hand journalistic accounts of war (Silber and Little  
30 1995), wrote about this difficult period of Bosnian history for an international readership. The  
31 war, which ended with the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995 (Anon 1995),  
32 had a profound impact on the whole country and its capital city.  
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38 "I come from a destroyed country", wrote Dževad Karahasan (2012, p. 87), a theatre  
39 director and writer. Journalist Hamza Bakšić (1939-2008) shared the macabre mood:  
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42 "We are no more. We are all dead. There is no more Sarajevo, a city that  
43 seems to have troubled the whole world, the one which was left at the mercy of  
44 grenades for forty months. If one day someone feels any shame for all that  
45 happened, it will be only because shame is a part of urban civility. That shame won't  
46 rebuild the destroyed towns and villages in Bosnia, it won't resurrect the dead, it  
47 won't give back the femininity to the raped women, nor will it make us, the survivors,  
48 less dead" (Bakšić 1997, p. 6).  
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54 From his apartment in Marijin Dvor in close vicinity to Government buildings,  
55 Karahasan found himself in the epicenter of the war. While he could see and remember the  
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59 <sup>14</sup> The Lead Author worked as a competition announcer for the Nordic disciplines on Veliko Polje,  
60 Igman during the Winter Olympic Games in February 1984.



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3 newer residential suburbs being constructed in the 1960s, the urbanity of Sarajevo for him  
4 ended right there:

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6 “[W]hat was built after Austria is not a city (as a place of identity), but  
7 a collection of buildings whose objective utility does not make them any less  
8 impersonal and nameless as a whole’ (Karahasan 2012, p. 113).  
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12 The East-West encounter in the city plays on his mind and he anchors the Hotel  
13 Europa as “the physical and semantic center of the city” epitomising “what Sarajevo actually  
14 is, [...] an amalgam of Turkish and Austro-Hungarian traits, in a specific balance of quality  
15 and quantity”, and continues:

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18 “In Hotel Europa two epochs and two faces of the city [...] touch and  
19 supplement each other. The Europa is their mutual borderline, a place that  
20 belongs at once to one and to the other, while remaining beyond  
21 both.”(Karahasan 2012, p. 114)  
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26 The hotel sits on the same demarcation line where Neidhardt, with Grabrijan,  
27 proposed to build a gate between Habsburg and Oriental Sarajevo, and other radical  
28 measures aimed to selectively preserve only the most valuable heritage of the Old City  
29 (Kapetanović 1988, p. 254-260)<sup>17</sup>. Karahasan (2012, p. 115), sets Hotel Europa as a pivot,  
30 “a prism that gathers within itself the diffuse rays of what Sarajevo truly is [...] where it can  
31 be smelled and sensed”. Both Karahasan and Grabrijan describe a fault - line, where there  
32 is a shift in action, a threshold, moving from Ottoman to Austro-Hungarian, back and forth.  
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37 Karahasan observes the “military aesthetics” with its own logic of fault-lines, which  
38 changes the city, not only with warfare but also with deprivation, hunger, thirst, “by  
39 withdrawal of the basic prerequisites for human existence” (Karahasan 2012, p. 63). He  
40 compares the actions of the former Yugoslav Army which morphed into the aggressor, with  
41 the persecution of Cathars in Languedoc as “the first crusade undertaken on European soil”  
42 by the French King (2012, p. 64). But he also observes how the physical scarring of the  
43 urban fabric begins to change the social fabric of the city, as Sarajevans grapple to continue  
44 with the normality of life and work under the siege.  
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48 Štraus gives the detail:  
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55 <sup>17</sup> Čelić (1991, p. 49-50) wrote: “The demolition [of Bašaršija] stopped in 1950; the program for its  
56 revitalisation was adopted in 1968, followed by the regulatory plan in 1976. Gradually, most of the  
57 significant monuments were repaired and we already started preparing the application to UNESCO for  
58 the inclusion of our old business centre on the World Heritage list. But, the proposal did not go further  
59 than Belgrade, and certain powers made sure to cut the connection of the city with Trebević  
60 Mountain, by building a monstrous, supposedly planned construction, at the very edge of the  
protected zone.”

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3 [The] mortar slaughter in always busy and lively Vase Miskina  
4 Street. [...] The street is red from blood. [...] Bosnia and Herzegovina is being  
5 destroyed; people are killed either with a knife or by mortar, mostly children.  
6 As a result of that madness, the hatred towards Serbs is becoming immense  
7 and impossible to dispel either with reason or persuasion, or appeal to civility,  
8 or pointing to the fact that Serbs are also being killed in Sarajevo by the same  
9 mountain savages, that they are also fighting in the Territorial Defence..."  
10 (1995, p. 95).  
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16 While Karahasan (2012, p. 16) struggles to explain the siege in reference to  
17 medieval warfare, and reflects consistently on the tension between Insiders/Outsiders,  
18 Local/Universal, insisting on the uniqueness and wholesomeness of own cultural home,  
19 Štraus (1995, p. 5) alludes to the local perception that the war was between urban and rural,  
20 mounted by the less educated segment of the nationalist Serb population, and continues his  
21 "register of barbaric destruction":  
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27 "[Y]esterday 'the liberators' destroyed or burned the headquarters of  
28 Water supply/*Vodoprivreda*, Electricity supply/*Elektroprivreda*, Social  
29 Insurance/*Socijalno osiguranje*, Emergency medicine/*Hitna pomoć*, and a  
30 whole section of craft centres, residential areas, followed by churches,  
31 mosques, schools, crèches, cultural centres, partially UNIS buildings and the  
32 Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The residential areas of Dobrinja,  
33 Mojnilo, Vojničko Polje, Sokolovića Kolonija, Hrasnica and others will not be  
34 recognizable from the destruction by the 'mountaineers liberating their  
35 people'" (1995, p. 83).  
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41 This went on, the Olympic Sports Hall Zetra was destroyed, then worse, the  
42 Maternity hospital was bombed, and then from his balcony he saw the UNIS twin towers  
43 burning, one of his key projects. In another apartment, stunned by the hollowed out shell of  
44 destroyed Vijećnica/Town Hall/former National library, Bakšić (1997, p. 301) ponders how  
45 quickly cultural references disintegrate in the war, as "people from Pale", who burnt it,  
46 already called it a "former *Vijećnica*". On 30 April 1995, he concludes:  
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52 "I am looking at the phone book, a notebook in which we wrote  
53 phone numbers before the war. These are mainly the numbers that no longer  
54 exist, there are not many people left with whom I used to talk." (Bakšić 1997,  
55 p. 301).  
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### Final Act: A Fluid City

Sarajevo has survived, but with deep scars. The magnitude of war damage has been coupled with a political straight-jacket in which the nationalist parties are entangled after the Dayton Peace Agreement (Anon 1995). The internal displacement of the population in each new territorial entity, Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) and Republika Srpska (RS), affected the whole country with visible consequences, due to the informal settlements for Bosniaks expelled during the war and the relocation by Bosnian Serb population towards the RS (Aquilué and Roca 2016, p. 155). The construction of East Sarajevo (Istočno Sarajevo), comprising Lukavica municipality with parts of Dobrinja and Ilidža and addition of Pale, Sokolac and Rogatica municipalities, significantly enlarged the municipal map of Sarajevo since 1990, which did not include the latter two (Donia 2006, p. 264). As a consequence of this territorial rearrangement, according to Badescu (2014, p. 17), Sarajevo is gradually becoming an almost mono-ethnic city, made up of 87% of Bosniaks and a Bosnian Croat minority, and the 13% of Bosnian Serbs and others. Aquilué and Roca (2016, p. 159) believe that this was matched by the process of symbolic homogenization in East Sarajevo. This is supplemented by new visual and cultural references, including street names and monuments (BLIC.RS 2014), which display the reframed versions of historiography from the previous period, designed, to varied degrees, to either unify, exclude or show defiance to "other", and demarcate the territory.

The new administrative boundaries recognize the reality of the division of Bosnia into two entities, and the Brčko District. As a result, Sarajevo and East Sarajevo act independently or jointly, with varying degrees of cooperation. One of the consequences of the administrative division is vulnerability to new speculative investment at the expense of urban master planning and adequate building control in both parts of the city, wedged together in a complicated tango.

Introducing the special supplement *Urbicid* (BH Dani 2003), Sarajevo was likened to "The Capital of Horror" (Karup-Druško and Imamović 2003, p. 4-6) alluding to the post-1990s war architecture and urbanism and calling on the Sarajevan architects and planners to rank "The worst buildings list". But while the *Hotel Saraj*, a post-war structure edged on the eastern outer end of the Old Town won their top-worst vote, the popular vote was quite the opposite and chose the urban infill building of the former Yugoslav Embassy (SRJ 1992-2002)<sup>18</sup>, built in a Pseudo-historicist style (BH Dani 2003, p. 10) adjacent to the Fine Arts Academy.

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<sup>18</sup> Federal Republic Yugoslavia/ Savezna Republika Jugoslavija (SRJ) comprising Republic Serbia and Republic Montenegro, from 1992 to 2002, when it was renamed as Serbia and Montenegro, until

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3 Sarajevo's architects speak about the erosion of design standards and practices,  
4 which hark back to the late socialist period. They highlight the lack of building control and  
5 adherence to the existing zoning and planning rules, "clientelism" and illegal building,  
6 problematic traffic solutions, lack of professional debate and standards, inadequate training  
7 of young architects and the lack of a professional chamber. On a positive note, with a hint of  
8 nostalgia, they single out some successful examples of heritage protection and  
9 reconstruction in the Old Town. The *Urbicid* does not analyse East Sarajevo.  
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### 16 Closing Notes

17 'The Bosnian cultural system—established in its purest  
18 possible form exactly in Sarajevo- could be quite precisely defined as  
19 "dramatic", as opposed to systems that could be described as  
20 "dialectical". That is, the fundamental principles of the Bosnian  
21 cultural system are akin to the principles that constitute drama, and  
22 can be understood in comparison to them. (Dževad Karahasan 2012,  
23 p. 16)  
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29 How would Calvino describe Sarajevo? The title *Synchrony-city* signifies an approach where  
30 the perceptions and interpretations of the same space vary with each observer, with time,  
31 and at the same time. The old core of Sarajevo evokes both imagined and exaggerated  
32 essence of Oriental City, an ambiguous sense of its wholeness and its loss by  
33 Europeanisation, underlining its closeness to other Central European cities. But that  
34 closeness is a dynamic category in the urban space where East–West encounter has  
35 inspired generations of foreign and local architects to articulate buildings and spaces, in  
36 which modern ideas merged with the lived local traditions, resulting in a diverse, colourful  
37 and at times disconnected urban fabric, which shows the contraction and revival of  
38 eastness, economically or politically driven and self-inflicted. The appeal of vernacular as  
39 source of architectural vocabulary appeared to be stronger among the architects who arrived  
40 to Bosnia from elsewhere, which might have either prompted the sensitivity or given the  
41 confidence to local architects about own heritage, while they pursued the international  
42 modernist doctrine.  
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50 The historic ruptures frequently threatened, but also gave impetus to city's survival, as  
51 if condemning it to repeatedly manifest the Nobel laureate Ivo Andrić's thought: "From  
52 whatever height a glance is cast upon Sarajevo, one inadvertently thinks the same: a city  
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57 the vote for the independence of Montenegro in 2006.  
58 [https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Savezna\\_Republika\\_Jugoslavija](https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Savezna_Republika_Jugoslavija), accessed 07.01.19  
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3 which is expiring and dying, while being reborn at the same time"<sup>19</sup> (Cf. Čelić 1991, p. 48).  
4 That which has been reborn could be partly attributed to few generations of architects, as  
5 leading regional modernists, who were captivated by the idea of an Ottoman town, and the  
6 lost quality of life between busy centre and intimate residential micro-rayons, *mahalas* (Čelić  
7 1991, p. 49). Among them, brothers Reuf and Muhamed Kadić, with Dušan Grabrijan and  
8 Juraj Neidhardt, stand out, if not in unison, then with confirmed sensitivity to older Bosnian  
9 heritage, demonstrated in projects which humanized the un-stopability of larger scale  
10 interventions.

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16 The insights in the evolution of architectural modernism over several generations of  
17 gifted and committed individuals, reveals the tensions and transitions between the  
18 vernacular-inspired urbanism and a local version of international functionalism, which were  
19 never linear, and which left a subtle trail in Sarajevo's urban fabric. The inter-generational  
20 differences were heightened during the city's expansion westwards, around Marijin Dvor  
21 zone, while in the meantime both Ottoman and Habsburg Sarajevo gradually transcended as  
22 old core, and as testimony of coexistence and compromise in the public sphere, mirroring  
23 the Bosnian multi-culturalism.

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28 The post-war recovery radically changed the approaches to the built environment,  
29 opening the potential for exploitation by different players in the current power-structure,  
30 within the *laissez-faire* climate. It is too early for conclusions on the future of the urban  
31 condition of Sarajevo. Once contained in its natural amphitheatre as the Old Town, the city  
32 has long since spilt westwards along the river Miljacka and continues to spread and rise  
33 high, oblivious to the older context of any period. The politicised administration is often seen  
34 to act for developers rather than in the public interest (Ćemalović 2018a). The lack of public  
35 consultations is contrasted with the citizens' initiatives for the sensitive rebuilding of  
36 demolished sites, as in the recent case of Hastahana/former Military Hospital (Ćemalović  
37 2018b). Other visions argue for a more comprehensive understanding of the quality of urban  
38 life, arguing for a nuanced and cohesive plurality (Garcia and Kotzen 2014, p. 7), the traces  
39 of which exist in abundance in Sarajevo's complicated and unique urban matrix.

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47 A prolonged post-trauma state after a *coup de grâce* to the socialist period and  
48 aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, brutally confirmed "the established  
49 importance of [...] the historic fabric to debates on Bosnian identity" (Alić 2010, p. 256).  
50 Squeezed between lived practice and discourse, to paraphrase Marx, the spectre of the  
51 Oriental City wonders and sometimes haunts, as in all good dramas.

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<sup>19</sup> Lead Author's translation form the original in Serbo-Croat.

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