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**Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina  
During the War 1992-1996 and Its Post-war Recovery**

Master thesis

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*This research is dedicated first of all to each and every victim of war in Sarajevo, Bosnia and former Yugoslavia.*

*I dedicate this research to my professor dr Marek Perůtka who kindly accepted to support and follow the research and writing of thesis: to his expertise, patience, practical help and suggestions.*

*I also dedicate this research to my loving mother Slavica, the person who always believe in good in people, and to my friend Dina Taso that helped me a lot during my studies.*

*Hoping that humanity will manage to live in peace and understanding.*

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## Introduction

This research aims to present the contemporary history of the cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The emphasis has been put on the dramatic events in the period 1992-96<sup>1</sup>: the mass destruction during the military conflict in former Yugoslavia that resulted with a large number of almost or completely destroyed monuments of culture; the post-conflict organization of the recovery is also going to be analysed, as well as the phenomenon of the further post-conflict destruction.

The destruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the conflict had the enormous proportions. This research endeavours to present its main components, in the way that approves the fact that during the mass destruction of cultural heritage directly were affected the history and future (i.e. the existence) of the entire world's civilization. People/peoples<sup>2</sup> of Bosnia and Herzegovina are taking part of the human civilization, therefore, the events in Bosnia and Herzegovina affects directly world's civilisation, and the conclusions made on the Bosnian case study can be applied elsewhere in the world.

By its means the work suggests the possible changes in the valid international declarations and conventions for the treatment of cultural heritage in the conflict and post-conflict zones, as well as issues they are directly related to: human rights, protection of heritage, international intervention in conflict zones, post-conflict management of the recovery, restoration of cultural record etc.

War in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the biggest conflict in Europe after the Second World War, therefore it is a practical case study and occasion to rethink current attitudes towards heritage in the conflict zones and its post-conflict recovery. Suggestions proposed

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<sup>1</sup> The most of the military conflict took place in 1992-95. There were some minor destructions in 1996, however this research will focus on the entire period.

<sup>2</sup> Unlike the most of World's countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina is composed of three constitutive peoples: Croats, Serbs and Bosniaks (i.e. Bosnian Muslims).

are based on the conclusion made on the various experiences and events during and after the war.

The treatment of the cultural monuments of importance in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the war is the challenge not only for the local experts but also for the entire international community (including UNESCO and other significant institutions) and this work will examine most important cases of the recovery (that also includes the usage of the method of reconstruction) of monuments that have been thoroughly followed and that have challenged the international community.

Special attention is going to be consecrated to the analysis of methods in recovery, their success estimated according to obtained results. Naturally, there will be examination and justification of use of reconstruction method in recovery analysed on the case study of Old Town of Mostar (as it is most often case in heritage protection, there is practically an endless discussion over reconstruction in recovery).

There are three main parts of the research:

- the introduction to the Bosnian and Herzegovinian civilization, history and culture, political and historical background (the research will examine the condition of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the pre-conflict period);
- the destruction of the cultural heritage during the conflict 1992-95;
- the recovery of the cultural heritage after the conflict, management in cultural heritage and following phenomenon related to recovery.

Important aspect of the post-conflict treatment of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina also includes the continuing of the destruction due to the improper treatment, efficiency, specific cultural and social circumstances that directly affects its state.

The goal of the author of this research is to clearly present all mentioned aspects as well as to illustrate them with appropriate examples; considerable effort has been made in

order to try to answer the question why certain circumstances have affected the Bosnian cultural heritage.

The research also consecrates attention to the observation, analysis and efficiency of the legal regulations of the cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina before and after the war.

Author of the research, that is a main part of the final MA thesis, puts an emphasis on the political correctness of the conclusions made in this research; the biggest effort has been made in order to find the sources that contains no ethnic, religious or political chauvinisms.

# 1 Historical, political and cultural background of Bosnia and Herzegovina (pre-war, during the war and post-war)

## 1.1 Introduction

Having in mind the complexity of Bosnian and Herzegovinian society and the different cultural influences that have been encountering during the centuries in this region it is of crucial importance to present the major historical facts (there will be no in-depth historical analyses of every event in the history of the country, even though political situation and cultural circumstances have been often radically changing).

## 1.2 Pre-war Bosnia and Herzegovina (until 1992)

Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>3</sup> is a country situated on the Balkan peninsula in South-Eastern Europe. Its name comes from two regions: Bosnia (on the north) and Herzegovina (on the south). Bosnia has long stood at the crossroads of European civilization: different cultural influences from both East and West have intensively interacted creating an unique local traditions during the centuries. (Figure 1.1)

In the Middle Ages Bosnia was an independent state, under control of local *bans*, and eventually it became a kingdom. It ceased to exist in 1463 when it became a part of Ottoman empire, when Bosnian society (politically, culturally, religiously, administratively) was completely transformed. During the Middle Ages in Bosnia there were three churches: Catholic, Orthodox and local Bosnian church.<sup>4</sup> The state officially didn't foster any of these, and they coexisted side by side. (Figure 1.2)

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<sup>3</sup> In everyday use the name of the country is often shortened: Bosnia or BiH.

<sup>4</sup> The religion in Bosnia in the Middle Ages, concretely the Bosnian church is a very present topic in the contemporary Bosnia: there is lot of discussion on these issues, and generally academics are divided about it. However, it is sure that Bosnian church was a part of big controversies with Roman Catholic church in the Middle Ages due to its possible connection with Bogomilism (considered as the heresy by Roman Catholic Church).



Bosnian culture was strongly shaped and influenced by all these circumstances, it is of importance to say that most of Bosnians have integrated in the particular way with the Ottoman empire (which actually wasn't the case with other Balkan nations conquered by Ottomans, they have certainly expressed a strongly demonstrated resistance, the antagonism towards Turks is present even today). Much of Ottoman culture became the integral part of Bosnian culture (in architecture, folklore, art, customs etc).

Often it is said that there is a long history of coexistence between different denominations in Bosnia and Herzegovina: living together and tolerance became one of the key features of Bosnian society in different epochs. Generally, the structure of Bosnian town is the unique composition of several influences coming from different epochs of its history: the Middle Age base, the Ottoman period, Austro-Hungarian reign and the development during the Yugoslav period.

The Ottoman influence on Bosnian culture was very strong, which is perfectly understandable having in mind the 415 years long period of Ottoman rule introduced the capital changes and transformations in Bosnian society: Bosnian church disappeared, majority of population adopted Islam as a religion<sup>5</sup>, many features of the town were shaped in the Ottoman manner etc. (Figure 1.3)

Austro-Hungarian reign strongly influenced Bosnian culture becoming one of its main aspects. That period lasted only around 40 years but the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina was very intensive.

In Yugoslavia, the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a federal unit that has been developed in accordance within social-communist frames.

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<sup>5</sup> Many people converted to Islam for the economic and political reasons: being a Muslim in Ottoman empire carried significant advantages. The fact that people have 'easily' accepted Islam might also indicate the vague power of the Bosnian church and its importance in the society in the Middle Ages. In other provinces of Ottoman empire in Balkans (Serbia, Greece etc) the situation was fairly different: the local churches indisputably had central importance for the medieval state.

It was practically not possible for many centuries to imagine the Bosnian town without the mosque, churches (both Orthodox and Roman Catholic), synagogue and with some other characteristic features (such as the clock-tower and hammam). There were parts of the town with major Muslim, Jewish, Catholic, Orthodox population.<sup>6</sup> (Figure 1.4)

The city of Sarajevo is known for a long time as the *European Jerusalem* due to the fact that it bears in its historical centre the heritage of all these changes that generally excluded intolerance: juxtaposing of different religious institutions and buildings of different kind was a principle that was typical for the development of towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Sarajevo, on the area of less than a half a square kilometre can be found: a principal Sarajevo mosque (a Gazi Husrev-beg's Mosque), built in 1531, then the Old Orthodox Church, built in 1539, the Old Jewish Temple dating from 1580, and Sarajevo's Roman Catholic Cathedral as well as the Protestant church (both erected later). This is the paradigm that was often repeated in other towns all over Bosnia as well (Čajniče, Bosanska Krupa, Bosanski Šamac etc).

This pluralism presents the concept of long-lasting tolerance and the will to live side-by-side: if people were not able to stand each other and to share everyday life, they wouldn't plan and build their houses, sacred monument and other infrastructure next to each other. The fact that created Bosnian culture is that the people of different religions in Bosnia and Herzegovina managed to live together and to cooperate for many centuries.

Generally speaking, in the Ottoman empire everything that was in accordance with *Urf* (العرف)<sup>7</sup> was acceptable: therefore other people, nations, cultures that were in accordance with the customs of Muslim society from that period (based on the religious law) were

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<sup>6</sup> It is of big importance to emphasise that these parts of the towns were not ghettos.

<sup>7</sup> *Urf* for Muslims is a custom, a 'knowledge', of the society that is in accordance with Sharia law.

welcomed and the autonomy for them was granted. That is how the Ottoman empire was one of the rare states to welcome and host Jewry after the Alhambra Decree.<sup>8</sup>

In modern times this society that once was tolerant and willing to live together has completely transformed into the intolerant society that led to the brutal destruction and death of hundreds of thousands of people. The intolerance and modern-era hatred in Bosnia have found its maximum in the war 1992-96 where the coexistence was violently discontinued; there were even the political attempts to prove that coexistence actually never existed in that region. Bosnia and Herzegovina often was and still is the case of *par excellence* political chauvinism.

Till the 1992 Sarajevo practically was one of the greatest examples of multiculturalism of Europe and the World.

In 1660 Sarajevo had around 80.000 habitants, which was more than Zagreb and Belgrade (other major centres in the region). The city has developed and became the important market and political centre (that in the Ottoman empire was the most important centre in the Balkans after Istanbul). Unfortunately, Bosnia in its entire history has been the place of (often very intense) warfare. There were always the constant conflicts and battles (for example, one of them was during the Great Turkish War in 1697, when Sarajevo was conquered and entirely destroyed by Prince Eugene of Savoy).

Similar destiny had many other towns in Bosnia, and that is the biggest reason why country lacks monuments from earlier periods (compared with countries from the region).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> After the expulsion from Spain and Portugal Jews were welcomed (by Sultan Bayezid II) to Ottoman empire (first Jews arrived in Bosnia from 1492-1497), and from that period on (the biggest number of Jews arrived in Bosnia in 16<sup>th</sup> century) they became the integral part of Bosnian culture. They had their institutions (markets, synagogues, schools). Jewish representative together with others participated in administrative (juridical) issues. It's a true fact that in other parts of Europe, for example later in Austro-Hungary, Jewish family haven't been permitted to have more than one child. That wasn't a case in Bosnia... Jews in Sarajevo and Bosnia have very well prospered.

<sup>9</sup> Equally important reason for the destruction of monuments, aside of the wars, is the lack of knowledge in its conservation.

From the Ottoman period onwards, the Bosnian population was consisted most of the time of four categories distinguished by religion affiliation. Those were: Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholic Christians and Jews<sup>10</sup>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina became a part of Austro-Hungarian empire in 1878 (after the decisions on the Congress in Berlin). After four centuries in Ottoman empire, the cultural and political conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina started to change again. Much of today's heritage of Bosnia was built during the Austro-Hungarian reign: it held the reorganization of the towns, much of great new buildings (some of them are master-pieces of architecture) have been built.

Generally speaking, Sarajevo had very dramatic and sad history in the entire 20<sup>th</sup> century. From the beginning of the century, in 1914 the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand has held in Sarajevo (due to the huge political tensions): that was a cause of the First World War.

In following decades Bosnia and Herzegovina was a part of, first of all, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia where it balanced between Croatian regionalism and Serbian centralism.

Bosnia and Herzegovina was the place of huge military actions during World War the Second. It was ceded to the Independent State of Croatia.<sup>11</sup> The war was very intense during these years on the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Ustaša<sup>12</sup> regime recognized only the Roman Catholicism and Islam as the official religions, the Orthodox Christians and of course Jews were considered enemies and there were huge prosecutions against these peoples leading indefinite number of people into death.

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<sup>10</sup> In the contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina those peoples (except Jews) are identified by the constitution as the 'constitutive peoples' (Croats, Serbs and Bosniaks).

<sup>11</sup> Independent State of Croatia (most often shortly *NDH*) was a newly created country that was a puppet state of Nazi Germany.

<sup>12</sup> Ustaša were Croatian fascist movement, they ruled in Independent State of Croatia, they are responsible for the death of indefinite number of Serbs, Jews, Roma etc.

Many Serbs have taken part of Četnici movement, that was another radical paramilitary fraction, consisted only of Serbs. The third main army in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Second World War were the resistance anti-fascists movement – Partizani. They took the victory in the war. During the Second World War in Bosnia and Herzegovina (and Yugoslavia) the socialist revolution has happened.

Many important heroic battles during World War the Second have had place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Josip Broz Tito, the Yugoslav president and communist leader, was very dedicated to this republic. The Socialistic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was created in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1943 in the town of Jajce.

One of four Bosnian constitutive peoples, Jews, were almost completely exterminated during World War the Second: the Holocaust was extremely efficient here, more than 90% of Jewish population has been killed, their heritage destroyed, few of them that survived the war mostly left the country after World War the Second or later during the Bosnian war in the nineteen's.

Shoah in Bosnia presents the end for one of Bosnian key components: Jewish culture ceased to exist leaving behind the incredibly rich heritage of its several centuries long existence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. How to preserve it, and, in fact, is it possible at all to preserve the Jewish heritage is one of the biggest challenges for the community. Unfortunately for a long time the question of Jewish cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina remains unanswered.<sup>13</sup>

Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of the six socialistic republics after the Second World War that Yugoslavia was composed of. It was situated in the heart of Yugoslavia, bearing its complex pre-war heritage and its historical significance during the war with its

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<sup>13</sup> Read more in: *Jewish Heritage Sites in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, prepared by Gruber, S. D. (Washington: United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, 2011).

different peoples it practically became a symbol of new ‘brotherhood and unity’.<sup>14</sup> Bosnia and Herzegovina started to industrialize and has developed quickly. New architectural complexes were designed mostly in practical functionalist manner.<sup>15</sup>

Of big importance to mention is the construction of monuments glorifying and dedicated to the Socialist Revolution, heroic battles during the Second World War, Socialist society, victims of the war (memorials) and so on. Some of those were directly commissioned by president Josip Broz Tito, and they attracted millions of visitors. They were monumentally performed in style characteristic for the Socialist era, some of them are masterpieces of its kind.<sup>16</sup>

### **1.3 Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war (1992-96)**

Crises and signs of possible collapse of the country have appeared after the death of Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito in 1980. The government of Yugoslavia from 1980 to 1990 can be compared with the one of the European Union today – composed of rotating presidency. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia fell apart in January 1990 leading to the founding of the parties in each republic.<sup>17</sup> This event was preceded by certain ideological transformations in every republic. In late nineteen eighties Slobodan Milošević raised to power and became the head of the Serbian Communist Party. It is most often stated that he is the most responsible personalities for the dissolution and military conflict in former Yugoslavia.

Slobodan Milošević aggressively introduced the nationalist discourse in Serbia that lead to the appearance of ethnic tensions and national chauvinisms in entire Yugoslavia; his

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<sup>14</sup> *Bratstvo i jedinstvo* was one of the main concepts in communist Yugoslavia.

<sup>15</sup> Certain aspects of architecture in several cities in Bosnia (mainly Sarajevo) are very praised, but they have never been academically processed nor valued.

<sup>16</sup> Most of them are in the very poor condition today, some have even been destroyed during or after the war. Better protection and promotion could potentially assure great development of the cultural tourism. Such tourism would actively involve the monuments, and at the same time that would practically mean their better protection and preservation, as well as their active involvement in the economy of these, mainly rural areas.

<sup>17</sup> Shortly after Communist parties in republics changed their names to Socialist or Social-Democratic parties, gradually leaving communist ideology, but remaining generally left-oriented.

tendencies to centralize the country<sup>18</sup> introduced the attempts of the hegemony to the other republics. This hegemony was radically rejected outside of Serbia. Republics Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia declared their independences in 1991, Bosnia and Herzegovina proclaimed the same in 1992, Montenegro in 2006 and Kosovo in 2008.<sup>19 20</sup>

First military conflict in Yugoslavia escalated on 26 June 1991 in Slovenia and it lasted ten days. The Croatian war for independence started in August 1991 (but there have already been ethnic conflicts in March and April 1991). A very destructive conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina started in March 1992.

Initially Yugoslav Federal People's Army<sup>21</sup> aimed to protect the unity of entire Yugoslavia, but, unfortunately, it turned out shortly after that the *JNA* became under the strict influence of the Serbian government. Serbian government was controlled by Slobodan Milošević. His major argument for the military action was the attempt to preserve the unity of Serbs in one country.<sup>22</sup> Very soon Federal Yugoslav People's Army (*JNA*) was consisted only of Serbian soldiers, due to the fact that other nations have already left it. Before the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the *JNA* was one of the strongest armies in Europe, therefore *JNA*, now Serbian army, inherited a very powerful weapon.

Generally speaking this war was extremely destructive for the cultural heritage of Yugoslavia. Catastrophes in Croatia, such as the towns of Vukovar and Dubrovnik, already demonstrated the absolute destructive attitude towards heritage. Historical buildings, monuments under protection were vandalized, some of them completely destroyed. The worst

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<sup>18</sup> For example, Vojvodina and Kosovo were completely deprived of their autonomy, these two autonomous provinces completely lost the elements of statehood.

<sup>19</sup> Kosovo's declaration of independence was one-sided and it is still disputed and not recognized by all countries.

<sup>20</sup> Each declaration of independence was preceded by the referendum for independence. In every republic (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia) more than 90% people voted in favour of independence. However, in Bosnia the turnout to the referendum was only 63,7% due to the fact that ethnic Serbs from Bosnia have boycott it.

<sup>21</sup> *JNA – Jugoslavenska Narodna Armija.*

<sup>22</sup> Read more in: *Final report of the United Nations Commission of Experts established pursuant to security council resolution 780 (1992), Annex IV – The policy of ethnic cleansing*, under Direction of Bassiouni, Ch. On December 28, 1994. (New York: United Nations, 1994).

imaginable scenario held in the town of Vukovar: after the conflicts and Serb military action the town was literally levelled to the ground.<sup>23</sup>

Heavily destructive was the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It started on 1 March 1992 and it was officially over on 14 December 1995. The conflict initially started between Serbs (organized in the Army of Republic of Srpska<sup>24</sup>) on one side, and the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>25</sup> that was largely composed of Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) and the Croatian forces (organized in the Croatian Defence Council<sup>26</sup>) on other side. Later the conflict also escalated between the Croatian forces (*HVO*) and Bosnian Army (*ARBiH*) as well, therefore it can be concluded that in the war there have been three sides involved (plus several paramilitary armies).

The conflict has been characterized by the atrocities, constant and random shelling of cities and towns, ethnic cleansing (in certain areas with genocide and systematic mass rape) and brutal devastations of infrastructure, property and cultural heritage.

Conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the most devastating conflict in Europe after the end of the Second World War: recent statistics suggest that more than 100.000 people were killed during the war, 20.000 women were raped, and over 2.2 million people were displaced.<sup>27</sup>

#### **1.4 Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina (1996 onwards)**

The Agreement of Dayton was a peace agreement drafted in November 1995 and signed on 14 December 1995 in Paris.<sup>28</sup> That was the end of the war and it was the most important event for most of peoples in former Yugoslav republics. It was signed by Slobodan

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<sup>23</sup> The destruction of Vukovar during the siege has been said to be the worst in Europe since 1945 (often compared with the destiny of Stalingrad during World War the Second).

<sup>24</sup> *VRS – Vojska Republike Srpske*

<sup>25</sup> *ARBiH – Armija Republike Bosne i Hercegovine*

<sup>26</sup> *HVO – Hrvatska Vojna Obrana*

<sup>27</sup> Read more in: Zwierzcowski, J. and Tabeau, E. *The 1992-1995 War in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Census-based Multiple System Estimation of Casualties' Undercount*. (Berlin, Conference Paper for the International Research Workshop on *The Global Costs of Conflict*, HiCN and DIW, 2010).

<sup>28</sup> Read more in: <http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/bosnia/bosagree.html>. (Accessed February 13, 2013).



Milošević, Alija Izetbegović and Franjo Tuđman (Bosnian Muslim president, the president of Serbia and Croatian president). It was created after series of extremely powerful military actions in Bosnia and Croatia (Operation Storm<sup>29</sup>, Srebrenica), as a hopeless attempt to stop the conflict.<sup>30</sup> For Bosnia and Herzegovina it was the end of the war, and for the citizens of Sarajevo the end of 44 months-long siege. (Figure 1.5)

The siege of Sarajevo lasted around 44 months, it is the longest siege in the entire modern warfare and one of the biggest tragedies some European city has ever see. 11.541 citizens of Sarajevo have been killed during the siege (over 1.500 children), and around 56.000 people have been wounded.

The Agreement of Dayton at same time represented the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina: it was its new Constitution. Dayton Agreement also attempts to secure the democratization of Bosnia and Herzegovina, its political transition, human rights as well as other important issues necessary for normal functioning, development, reconstruction and return of refugees. ‘The Dayton Agreement was initially celebrated as marking a major step forward in the development of Bosnian sovereignty, creating the opportunity for Bosnians to establish a democratically accountable state after years of war and division.’<sup>31</sup>

According to the Dayton Accords, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the international protectorate, is divided into two entities: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosniak and Croatian population, composed of 51% of the entire territory) and the Republic of Srpska (the Serbian entity, possessing 49% of the countries territory). Federation of BiH is also consisted of smaller entities (cantons). All together, the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina is probably the most complex political apparatus of a single country in the

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<sup>29</sup> Operation *Oluja*.

<sup>30</sup> The series of similar peace agreement attempts were proposed already from 1991 onwards, but they were unsuccessful due to the fact that the representatives of the countries involved in conflict didn't accepted them.

<sup>31</sup> Chandler, D. *Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Pluto Press, Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2000), 38.

world, and, at same time the most expensive one.<sup>32</sup> There is also a third entity: Brčko District, situated on the north of the country.<sup>33</sup>

The highest political authority in the country is the international High Representative. There is a rotating Presidency composed of three members (Serb, Croat and Bosniak).<sup>34</sup>

Bosnia and Herzegovina today is experiencing big challenges in the political and especially in the economic field. Unemployment rate is over 40% (one of the highest in Europe), the corruption is the key part of everyday life, most of institutions are hardly capable of functioning.<sup>35</sup>

Officially the country is in the integration and consolidation process, aiming to become a part of European Union and NATO (in 2013 it is expected that Bosnia and Herzegovina will become the official candidate for EU membership), but there are the constant political crises remaining unsolved for years and years. Country is today very near to the collapse.

The general situation naturally considerably affects the cultural heritage, even though the enormous efforts and changes have been done during the 17 years after the war.

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<sup>32</sup> There are 14 governments in Bosnia and Herzegovina (entities, cantons, federal government).

<sup>33</sup> The District of Brčko is designed to be an example of the successful development of the rest of the country: it is made of both entities, and it is a neutral, self-governing entity. Today it is one of the rare examples of multicultural development in a single community in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

<sup>34</sup> This system is very often criticized: in Bosnia only Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks can be elected become members of presidency, others (Roma people, Jews, Yugoslavs and others are excluded).

<sup>35</sup> Directly after the war many foundations and investments came to Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Recovery processes started quite intensively, but the improper use of money quickly transformed the country into the paradise for uncontrolled thriving. Today nobody knows how much money exactly entered the country for the reconstruction and recovery and it is even hardly possible to estimate these amounts.

## **2 Condition of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina and legal regulation of its protection before 1992**

### **2.1 Introduction to the cultural heritage of Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Former Yugoslavia was well known for its beauty and the richness of very diverse heritage. Bosnia and Herzegovina, then part of Yugoslavia, was usually described as *the most exotic* among the republics due to the specific structure of its towns and cities, unique multicultural concept and authentic monuments (bridges, mosques, tower-clocks etc).

Bosnia and Herzegovina was strongly industrialized, but the cultural tourism wasn't a priority in Bosnian economy. The multicultural way of living was alive (as it was before the Second World War, the multicultural set-up was the key feature of Bosnian culture and there was the tradition of multiculturalism). The majority of Bosnian places remained multicultural. Many monuments however were lacking the professional attention in order to be better protected and promoted. The main attitude in protection of cultural heritage was extremely a passive one: monuments were observed as the aspects of the society that have to be preserved, but practically to stay away from everyday life. Many monuments under the state protection were in a very poor condition and the actions of protection were often very slow, badly managed and sometimes inappropriate.

However some monuments were internationally renowned such as the Old Bridge (*Stari Most*) in the city of Mostar. That monument was the most photographed monument in the former Yugoslavia after the historical centre of Dubrovnik.

### **2.2 Legal regulation of monument protection**

The legal regulation of the cultural heritage in Socialistic Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina wasn't well organized and generally was inefficient. Reasons for such condition

of protection are multiple. The more rational development in the protection of the monuments practically started only in the decade before the war, but it wasn't applied in practice.

Another more efficient period of the monument protection (whose attitude tended to skip passive approach) started only after the war 1992-96 mainly thanks to the presence of the international institutions and the democratization process.<sup>36</sup>

After the Second World War several laws were introduced (1945, 1946, 1947), they concerned cultural heritage arranging the responsibility of the institutions. These institutions became more independent with the new sets of laws in 1960, 1978 and 1985. The protection was realized in two levels: through the legal protection of cultural monuments and its physical protection.

The institution for the protection of the cultural and natural heritage before the war (there were 5 offices) had 76 employees.<sup>37 38</sup> That means that the small number of appropriate experts was responsible for the large number of monuments. Such disproportion couldn't produce the effective results in protection of monuments.

A significant problem was the legitimate organization of the institution: the offices haven't been hierarchically well organized, the relation between this and other institutions (the institutions for planning, urbanism etc) was also unclear. At the same time the institutions for planning and urbanism were legally not obligated to have an expert for the protection of monuments...<sup>39</sup> Clearly the legal regulation of monument protection had serious deficiencies: logistical, juridical and financial.

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<sup>36</sup> In the post-war recovery and protection of cultural heritage there is a particular importance defined in the Dayton Peace Agreement. The efficiency it-self in the post-conflict period is not easily estimable due to the extremely increased number of damaged/destroyed monuments during the war destruction. However, some major projects have been accomplished successfully.

<sup>37</sup> Among 76 employees there were: 16 architects, 5 art historians, 5 archaeologists, 4 painters or sculptors, 3 historians, 3 jurists, and 2 ethnologists.

<sup>38</sup> Hadžimuhamedović, A. *Razaranje kao dio graditeljsko naslijeđa Bosne i Hercegovine s posebnim osvrtom na razdoblje 1991-1995*. Master thesis. (Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Arhitektosnki fakultet, 1998), 96.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

Speaking of financial issue, it was also one of the main reasons for the ineffectiveness in the monument protection: there was the disproportion between the amount provided for the protection and the number of sites to be protected.<sup>40</sup> Such administrative problems transformed the rich Bosnian heritage into bureaucratic hell, stopping the possibility to enjoy the beauty of the heritage and to benefit from it. This situation also resulted with reduced educational and cultural possibilities to properly valorise the heritage, to research it and to make the academic conclusions about the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These are only the basic issues, having in mind that the protection of heritage is a complex sphere, many other problems and related issues developed during the decades. One of the principle problems was also the lack of the coordinated knowledge in the field of the protection.

During the years such attitude resulted with the large number of improperly treated and neglected monuments, as well as their unintentional destructions and improper interventions. The best illustration for the very poor level of the protection of the monuments in Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the fact that in 40 years of existence of the institution for the protection of the monuments only 70 sites were reconstructed and restored to their original states (which is 9,6 % of all monuments).<sup>41</sup>

### **2.3 Categorization of cultural heritage and statistics**

Categorization of the monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been prescribed by law and it was the main instrument to put some monument under the legal protection.

Monuments were sorted depending on their function, condition, age, importance for the society, importance for the peoples of Yugoslavia.<sup>42</sup> The three grading categories were established according to the importance of monuments.

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 93.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 98.

The list of monuments of culture made by Statistics Department of SR BiH (by 31 December 1986) is one of the most relevant documents for the presentation and analysis of the condition of monuments in the republic before the military conflict. Yugoslavia in 1986 had 9719 registered monuments, 727 were in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Among those 507 were individual monuments and 220 were ensembles. The area under protection measured 272 hectares (0,31 % of entire territory).<sup>43</sup> The biggest number of monuments were concentrated in Sarajevo (more than 100).<sup>44</sup>

Most of the monuments were the military buildings and ensembles, 162 were religious buildings, 52 were apartment buildings and ensembles and 36 were commercial and industrial buildings.<sup>45</sup>

435 monuments were entirely preserved (59,8 %), 178 monuments were damaged (24,5 %) and 114 monuments were in ruins (15,7 %).<sup>46</sup>

Only 70 monuments had the entire documentation, 158 had the architectural documentation and 618 monuments had only the elementary description. Some of the monuments had no documentation at all, even though they have been on the list of the protected monuments.<sup>47</sup>

## 2.4 Conclusion

The pre-war attitude of treating the cultural heritage was a passive one and such attitude strongly affected the condition of cultural heritage and its importance in/for the society. Legal protection was poorly organized, and it affected the physical protection of the monuments either directly, either indirectly (disrespect towards monuments in urban plans etc).

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 91.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 94.

It is expected that Bosnia and Herzegovina has a large number of protected sites, as the land of the rich history that was constantly changing under the different circumstances and influences. However, this is not the case. Bosnia and Herzegovina before the war had no monuments listed as the World Heritage site by UNESCO<sup>48</sup>, and at the same time it had the smallest number of protected sites among other Yugoslav republics.

Poorly organized institutions with insufficient number of experts couldn't assure the proper valorisation of monuments and efficiently organize its conservation. The plans for in-depth historical analysis were vague. The attempt to candidate the site from Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>49</sup> for the UNESCO World Heritage site was rejected due to the poor documentation and argumentation.<sup>50</sup>

There was no unique documentation centre in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the most of documentation was kept improperly and poorly organized.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Only after the war, in 2000's Bosnia and Herzegovina was listed as the World Heritage site for two monuments.

<sup>49</sup> The monument nominated was the historical centre of Sarajevo, *Baščaršija*.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

### 3 War and destruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina

#### 3.1 War and destruction of cultural property

This research will be concentrated on the destruction of cultural heritage. The cultural property presumes the monuments that are determined in the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (important cultural and historical monuments, art works, books or manuscripts of artistic or historical significance, museums, libraries, archives and archaeological sites).<sup>52</sup>

The military conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina started in March 1992, but the intensive battle-fields have widely spread in Bosnia in April 1992. It is important to mention that there were attacks on the monuments even earlier, they involved Federal Yugoslav People's Army (*JNA*) that, before the war started in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was actively engaged in the military conflict in Croatia. As it was stated earlier in this work, the *JNA*'s involvement in the war in Croatia was followed by the huge destruction of the cultural property. Not long after the start of the conflict in former Yugoslavia, during 1991, the *JNA* became practically a Serb army (conclusion made on the bases that the soldiers of other nationalities have already left the federal army, *JNA*).

Due to the geographical closeness, military actions in Croatia affected already inflammable situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The *JNA* often targeted the non-Serb monuments at the beginning of the war: on the night 23-24 September 1991, allegedly *JNA* attacked the Ljubović mosque near Odžak (Herzegovina).<sup>53</sup> The mosque was listed as the

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<sup>52</sup> *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*. The Hague. 14 May 1954. Available from: [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=13637&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13637&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html). (Accessed December 10, 2012).

<sup>53</sup> "Public sitting held on Friday 17 March 2006, at 10 a.m., at the Peace Palace, President Higgins presiding in the case concerning the *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)*". Verbatim record. (The Hague: International Court of Justice, 2006), 19.



historical monument at that time (and in 2007 is designated again the national monument).<sup>54</sup> There was the series of similar attacks where some monuments were affected (for example in the village Ravno, the city of Tuzla). 16<sup>th</sup> century monument under protection, Osman Paša mosque from the historical city of Trebinje, has also been damaged in October 1991 and January 1992.<sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> Other monuments were also destroyed by *JNA* forces: several mosques in the surroundings of the town of Dobož.<sup>57</sup>

One of the first mass destructions of cultural monuments held in the eastern part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This part was closer to the border with Serbia, and it was easily accessible for military operations.

Analysing the nature of the military conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina it is important to mention that, aside of the 'regular' military actions, there were also several paramilitary armies.<sup>58</sup> Apparently, anyone could come to participate in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For many individuals mainly from Serbia it was the unique opportunity to come and rob the private and public properties (even before in Croatia such practice existed). In many cases literally everything from private homes and public buildings was taken away, including pieces of art, collections, musical instruments, jewellery etc. That was the destiny of Muslim property in the towns of Bijeljina, Zvornik and Kozluk. Practically every mosque in these towns has been destroyed. Those were also the zones of the ethnic cleansing (where local population was either expelled from their homes either murdered), they almost regularly included the destruction of the historical monuments.

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<sup>54</sup> From: [http://kons.gov.ba/main.php?id\\_struct=50&lang=4&action=view&id=2922](http://kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=50&lang=4&action=view&id=2922) (Accessed February 19, 2013).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>56</sup> Later during the conflict this historical monument was completely destroyed.

<sup>57</sup> Riedlmayer, A. J. *Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1996: a Postwar survey of Selected Municipalities*. (Cambridge, 2002), 11.

<sup>58</sup> Probably the most famous and the most aggressive among paramilitary formations was the paramilitary army of Arkan (the Serb Volunteer Gard, or *Arkan's Tigers*). They were active in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and later in Kosovo.

Historical monuments had particular meaning during the destruction due to the fact that their presence symbolise historical existence of certain community. The destruction of the buildings with historical value represents the maximum of savageness, the military behaviour that is not in accordance with the war customs. Countless brutal events of this kind took place on many locations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After the conflict started there were many refugees of all nationalities (Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats), and that was only the beginning of the chaos in which cultural monuments, of course, were not the priority to be taken care of.

Soon after the start of war (in April and May) another historical city was attacked by (JNA): the city of Mostar. It was attacked by the heavy artillery<sup>59</sup> and the 12 (out of 14) Mostar's historic mosques were damaged together with three Roman Catholic churches and other significant buildings of the historical centre.<sup>60</sup>

The destruction of the capital city of Sarajevo started from the very beginning of the war. The city's structure and many cultural and religious sites were heavily affected. Siege of the city lasted 3 and half years. The geographical configuration of the city was ideal for the siege – the city of Sarajevo is surrounded by the hills and mountains, therefore the bombing of Sarajevo wasn't a difficult task to perform. At the same time residents couldn't leave the city (the city of Mostar has the similar geographical characteristics, therefore it was possible to perform a wide range of military actions during the bombing).

There was the additional reason for the Serbian army to bomb Sarajevo: it was the seat of parliament as well as other most important republics' institutions that were already under the control of newly formed sovereign Bosnian government.

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<sup>59</sup> Serbian forces possessed (inherited) practically all the weapon of ex-federal army, JNA.

<sup>60</sup> "Public sitting held on Friday 17 March 2006, at 10 a.m., at the Peace Palace, President Higgins presiding in the case concerning the *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)*". Verbatim record. (The Hague: International Court of Justice, 2006), 20.

The bombing and destruction of the district of Marijin Dvor is going to be particularly presented and analysed as the general example of the destruction of Sarajevo's significant districts during the siege. The parliament is situated in the district of Marijin Dvor and from the early period of bombing many buildings in this district have been damaged. Marijin Dvor is one of the most important and most recognizable ensembles of modern Sarajevo: that is a modern and urban ensemble, composed of the governmental buildings (Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina) on one side of the wide boulevard, *UNITIC* twin-skyscrapers (the business centre)<sup>61</sup>, hotel *Holiday Inn*<sup>62</sup> and the Catholic church of St Joseph<sup>63</sup> on the other side of the same boulevard. Not far from the *Holiday Inn* hotel it is also situated the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Zemaljski muzej*). The entire district with mentioned buildings was constantly under attack of artillery and it was heavily damaged during the war. Bombing the parliament was naturally a heavy response to the Bosnian secessionist politics of that time: the clash between centralist politics (and the ideology) from Serbian side and Bosnian national army under the control of Bosniak main politician Alija Izetbegović. (Figure 3.01, 3.02)

The destruction of the *UNITIC* twin-buildings also had its very symbolic meaning: the nick-names for the buildings were *Momo i Uzeir*<sup>64</sup>, one of the names was Muslim and the other one Serbian. Towers were practically the same, it wasn't possible to differentiate which one would be *Momo* or *Uzeir* (i.e. Muslim or Serb). The concept of visual architectural resemblance was applicable on the ordinary people, everyday life and cultural diversity: in

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<sup>61</sup> Contemporary and technically excellently performed, 97 m tall, twin - buildings designed by one of the most important Bosnian architect: Ivan Štraus.

<sup>62</sup> Sarajevo was one of the first cities in Europe to have *Holiday Inn* hotel. This one was made for the needs of Winter Olympic Games that held in Sarajevo in 1984.

<sup>63</sup> Now church is a protected national monument, designed by famous Czech architect Karel Pařík. This neo-romanic building is made of white stone transported from Herzegovina, and it is a very important component of this urban ensemble.

It is interesting that some traces of fire and destruction left after the bombing were intentionally preserved in the interior of the church: one image on the eastern part of the dome apparently recalls the face of Jesus Christ. It wasn't repainted during the recovery of the church. The inscription next to the image says 'The self-made image as the consequence of the barbaric bombing 1992-95. Protected on the request of faithful'.

<sup>64</sup> Those were two characters from the comedy show transmitted on Radio Sarajevo.

multicultural society there were no real possibility to distinguish people one from another, everyone were the same, coexisting. Its destruction in the war symbolically meant the attempt to destroy the unity, brotherhood and equality. The nick-names of these two buildings, *Momo i Uzeir*, are practically not in colloquial everyday use after the war... These buildings, that once were the proud example of the progressive Yugoslav economy, have burned to the ground after being heavily bombed from the surrounding hills. Not far away from the towers, behind them, there is also the military hospital that was bombed together with the entire complex. (Figure 3.03)

Many public buildings during the war have been bombed and destroyed. Most of them were:

- Hospitals and medical complexes: Sarajevo's main hospitals (especially the Sarajevo University Clinical Centre *Koševo*) were under the constant sniper and shell fire, even though they were properly marked with red cross sign. It is clear that these institutions have been targeted intentionally, many of attacks have been held during the day time, when the hospitals were most visited (many working staff as well as the patients were wounded/killed during these attacks);

- Business centres and banks (People's bank);

- Hotels (Hotel *Bristol*, Hotel *Europe*, Hotel *Bosna*, *Holiday Inn* Hotel);

- Industrial and factory buildings (tobacco factory, candy factory, Elektroprivreda building);

- Schools (Islamic Theological school), University buildings (the Veterinary faculty, the Academy of music), libraries (the National and University library) and museums (the Olympic museum, the National museum, the National Gallery), institutes (Oriental institute), the town hall (*Vijećnica*), Olympic complexes;<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Heritage of the Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games '84.

- Mosques (Gazi Husrev-beg mosque etc);
- Market places (Markale etc);
- Public infrastructure (water supplies, electric tram depot, public transportation network, the international airport etc);
- The flour-mill and the main bakery;
- Cemeteries in and around the city, including Jewish cemetery (which is one of the biggest of this kind in Europe);
- Old town (*Baščaršija*), parks and streets etc.<sup>66</sup>

For people of Sarajevo there was practically no place to be safe during the siege.

During the war every single building in Sarajevo was at least slightly damaged. Many ensembles have been destroyed. The Old Town of Sarajevo - the historical heart of the city composed of the ensemble that has one of the key values as the heritage was heavily damaged. The main and most recognizable part, *Baščaršija*, was heavily affected. One of the Sarajevo's most recognizable symbols, the Town Hall (*Vijećnica*), where National and University library was situated has been destroyed in August 1992. (Figure 3.04)

The destruction of the libraries and cultural and historical record is another specific phenomenon of the human condition, and Bosnian example will be examined in next heads. The structure of the building of the Town Hall has survived the war, but severely devastated. *Vijećnica* was built in the pseudo-Moorish style and was an important heritage of Austro-Hungarian era, generally its importance as the cultural monument is immeasurable.

If the town endures radical destruction, there are considerable changes in its cultural character especially if it loses its core structures. Many Bosnian towns had suffered such destructions.

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<sup>66</sup> Read more in: *Final report of the United Nations Commission of Experts established pursuant to security council resolution 780 (1992), Annex VI – Study of the battle and siege of Sarajevo*. Under Direction of Bassiouni, Ch. 27 May 1994. (New York: United Nations, 1994).

The destruction of the towns and its main and historical ensembles is the phenomenon that is repeated in the history of the human civilization from earliest times. The Bible, for instance, is full of descriptions of the destructions of the early cities. The most important point of Biblical cities was its sanctuary. The sanctuary equalized the reason of existence of the city, state, whole people; the destruction of places of worship was therefore the most significant event for the city: its destruction meant the end of the city. The paradigm with the destruction of the places of worship wasn't always realized during the wars in human history, but during the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina it was performed almost on the regular bases.

### **3.2 Statistics**

The field of statistics of the destroyed and damaged monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina presents a particular challenge in the process of making conclusions about the war, planning the recovery, managing the inclusion of existing structures in further planning of the space. The basic process of counting the monuments as well as estimating the level of the damage was very difficult to manage, making statistics after the war was a very complicated task to do: in many cases the former battle-fields were not accessible. The country was in the complete chaos due to the large number of refugees and the urgent need to organize the recovery of the basic infrastructure for living. At some places it was simply not desirable to come and make any records on the recent events.

One of the first unofficial statistics and estimations about the destroyed monuments have been done by the religious institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They naturally had some basic information about the situations in the parishes, local communities, at least at certain areas. Aside of that, there were also some estimations from the different reports in media and the testimonies of refugees, international commissions etc.

In the first attempts to do so and in further analysis, conclusions and scientific research (that were also used many times on the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia) one particular personality and scholar should be mentioned: Mr Andrés J. Riedlmayer from Harvard University. Mr Riedlmayer intensively worked on the several researches on the destruction of the heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and his work and engagement is of big importance for understanding the entire cultural heritage issue during and after the war.

When he worked on the statistics of the destruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina he didn't visit the entire country nor every village and every town in order to count every single monument, he actually made the wide as possible survey emphasizing the destruction of non-Serbian heritage.<sup>67</sup> In his valuable survey from 2002, he documented 277 mosques in 19 municipalities. Mr Riedlmayer in his survey stated that over 92 % of visited places have been heavily damaged or destroyed, which denies the often repeated statements that on the territory controlled by Serbian forces the 100 % of mosques have been completely destroyed. The percentage of destructed buildings is certainly not far from what is often stated, but it is important to state that there was the case where local Serbian residents intervened and protected the building from the destruction (like it was the case in the village of Donje Baljvine near Mrkonjić Grad).<sup>68</sup>

In his survey he introduced and applied the rating of the level of damage on the monuments using the terms: *in good condition, lightly damaged, heavily damaged, almost*

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<sup>67</sup> The title of his most important survey (related to Bosnia and Herzegovina) is: *Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1996: a Postwar survey of Selected Municipalities*. (Cambridge, 2002).

<sup>68</sup> "Public sitting held on Friday 17 March 2006, at 10 a.m., at the Peace Palace, President Higgins presiding in the case concerning the *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)*". Verbatim record. (The Hague: International Court of Justice, 2006), 18.

*destroyed* and *completely destroyed*.<sup>69</sup> This estimation of the damage was very useful for making first conclusions on the intensity of the military actions that affected cultural monuments. This research is also important due to its exemplary methodology of the assessment: well and detailed description that was/is of big importance for the further treatment of monuments.

There are of course other surveys and statistics made, and they differ from one source to another (but, as it is with the number of victims, estimated final number of victims varies even in the internationally made researches). Generally it is highly probable that the percentage of the destroyed monuments offered in relevant sources is correct or close to the correct. (The importance of organizing the unique documentation and statistics centre here is obvious).

Now, this research is going to rely on the data from the scientific work accepted at the University of Sarajevo, and it is going to be presented; another source that will be mentioned afterwards is from the source that is a part of the report and it concerns exclusively the Muslim religious buildings and institutions (due to the fact they were mostly affected by the war).<sup>70</sup> (Naturally there are other sources - like those made by religious communities etc. However sometimes the number of destroyed monument is the object of manipulation in media, therefore relying on them can bring to make false conclusions.)

In the Serbian entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Republic of Srpska) there have been brutal destructions of the monuments of culture in the period 1991-95. It was mainly the non-Serbian heritage that was affected. The destruction affected 517 monuments, among those there were 449 completely destroyed monuments. The largest number of destroyed

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<sup>69</sup> Riedlmayer, A. J. *Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1996: a Postwar survey of Selected Municipalities*. (Cambridge, 2002).

<sup>70</sup> The author of this MA thesis believes that the statistics concerning Orthodox and Serbian cultural heritage have not been skipped intentionally in mentioned survey: even though some experts find this attitude politically incorrect, it was probably easier to make the conclusions and estimations about their condition due to fact that the number of Orthodox monuments is smaller and that areas where they are/were situated were better accessible.



monuments are religious monuments: predominantly mosques and masjids, and Roman Catholic churches. 306 mosques/masjids have been affected (while 305 have been destroyed completely), 108 Roman Catholic churches have been destroyed (74 completely), then 22 Muslim grave-yards and Ottoman mausoleums (*Turbes*), 12 monasteries.<sup>71</sup>

In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosniak-Croat entity) there are 608 monuments that have been completely destroyed and 1070 of them were damaged. 327 of damaged or destroyed monuments or ensembles were under the protection. Among destroyed or damaged monuments there are: 672 mosques and masjids, 271 Roman Catholic church and 41 Orthodox church.<sup>72</sup>

472 monuments that were damaged or completely destroyed are on the territory of the city of Sarajevo.<sup>73</sup>

From the second document mentioned above: total numbers before the war: mosques – 1149; masjids – 557; total numbers destroyed: mosques – 927 (80,68 %), masjids – 259 (46,50 %).<sup>74</sup>

And to mention one more document of major importance - the *Specific Action Plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Preliminary Phase: Final Report (March 1999)* made by the Council of Europe. Council of Europe performed the research that included the major heritage sites on the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>75</sup> This survey was carried out independently in 1997-98, and it became one of the basic documents for the planning of the heritage recovery: the priorities were determined according to this survey.

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<sup>71</sup> Hadžimuhamedović, A. *Razaranje kao dio graditeljsko naslijeđa Bosne i Hercegovine s posebnim osvrtom na razdoblje 1991-1995*. Master thesis. (Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Arhitektonski fakultet, 1998), 164.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>74</sup> Riedlmayer, A. J. *From the Ashes: the Past and Future of Bosnia's Cultural Heritage*, appeared in *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States*, Ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), 99.

<sup>75</sup> Riedlmayer, A. J. *Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1996: a Postwar survey of Selected Municipalities*. (Cambridge, 2002), 4.

### 3.3 Destruction of religious heritage

Religious buildings and monuments were constantly targeted during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The quantity and the significance of destruction of religious heritage was already mentioned at several points in this work. Now this phenomenon will be analysed more thoroughly.

General practice during the Bosnian war was that the Serbian military forces, in the areas that they controlled, tended to destroy the Muslim and Croat heritage (sometimes these military actions were determined as *ethnic cleansing*). This concept was also performed in the area controlled by Croats with the destruction of Muslim and Serb heritage. In the areas that were under the Muslim control the non-Muslim religious and cultural heritage generally haven't been destroyed.

The most attacked religious buildings during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina were mosques and masjids.<sup>76</sup> The destruction of such institutions often wasn't easy. When bombed, one of the most characteristic part of the mosque - the minaret - wasn't easy to target. Minaret is usually a high tower (it is always higher than the dome), it serves for Muslim cleric to climb and to invite Muslims for prayer 5 times a day. Visually, the minarets are a very important features of the towns with Muslim population (i.e. for the places containing Ottoman heritage). The destruction of the mosques/masjids was the widely performed paradigm in the places that experienced the *ethnic cleansing* during the war; it became a common practice following the conclusion that the *ethnically cleansed* towns have no minarets, therefore they are towns with no presence of Islam, i.e. with no Muslims, i.e.

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<sup>76</sup> Mosques and masjids are the places of worships for Muslims and there is the functional difference between these two. In Bosnia and Herzegovina mosques always have the minaret and the interior with the strict order. Masjids are generally smaller than mosques and they are not suitable for the most important prayer in the week (*Jum'ah*) which occurs every Friday. Generally there are more Muslim places of worship at some place than the number of churches, but they are smaller (especially in the suburbs), that is because in Islam every district has to have at least one mosque/masjid where Muslim can pray. Praying is a crucial part in the life of a Muslim.

with no past coinciding with Islam. Such destruction and attitude in post-war courts was often considered as the part of the genocide.

In the architecture the minarets can be maximally few meters wide. Targeting it from the distance during the siege of the city (for example in Sarajevo) can be a difficult task, and most often there was need for repeatedly targeting and bombing the minaret in order to hit and finally destroy it. Therefore, generally during attempting to hit the minaret other surrounding objects have been hit and damaged.

The destruction attempts of the Sarajevo's and Bosnian main mosque, Gazi Husrev-beg's mosque, started early in May 1992. It is also one of Sarajevo's most important monuments. The mosque was completed in 1531 by Gazi Husrev-beg that was the grandson of Sultan Beyazid II and the provincial governor of Ottoman Bosnia. Few years later Gazi Husrev-beg (who is one of the most popular figures in Bosnian history) built the same mosque in Aleppo (Syria). The entire complex is praised due to the proportions of the mosque, its decorations (stalactites, carpets, windows etc), fountain and the turbe (building where the tomb of Gazi Husrev-beg is situated). This monument was intentionally shelled during the war. In the same month other historical mosque from Sarajevo was heavily damaged: it was Magribija mosque (built in 1538).

A particular phenomenon in Bosnian war was the constant destruction of cultural heritage (mainly religious) outside of battle fields: once towns were under the military control one army - its opponents heritage was destroyed. Most often when Serbian Army took the power in many places in Republic of Srpska (often without a lot conflict) the non-Serb heritage has been systematically destroyed (by explosive, or they were simply burned down). Clearly, monuments were not damaged or destroyed as the consequence of cross-fighting: its destruction was planned and intentional, either by vandals or during the riots, or by clear

intention of the government/ideology. (Such intentional destruction of cultural heritage was taken into account on the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia.)

After taking control of the town of Nevesinje (town with several protected monuments), Serbian forces destroyed much of town's non-Serb monuments: two historical mosques (from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century) and the Catholic church. After their destruction the rubble and remains were transported outside of the town. In this case it is known where the rubble was left, but in many other cases the exact place of dumping remains unknown: that was obviously the prevention of making the recovery/reconstruction using the original material. This concept was repeated at several places in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The destruction in some towns went that far that, directly after the destruction, some other building (shops, parking) has been built on the place where destroyed place of worship once stood. The concept of maintaining the *locus sacer* is not likely to be performed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as it was sometimes performed in the human history: in the conquered places, the places of worship have been either transformed to the new religious objects (Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and Acropolis in Athens) or on their places, if they were destroyed, the new places of worship have been built. In Bosnia, people were indifferent to this concept. Some sites however have not been desecrated, like the one in Divić near Zvornik where the new Orthodox church has been built on the site of the destroyed mosque.<sup>77</sup>

Banja Luka is one of the largest cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Today is the *de facto* capital of entity Republic of Srpska (it became the capital of newly formed Serbian Republic in Bosnia shortly after the dissolution of Yugoslavia). Before the war, in its entire history, Banja Luka was another capital example of multiculturalism. Closer to the border with Croatia and Austria, Banja Luka had large Catholic population. It is one of the cities that wasn't situated on the intensive battle-field and during the war it was under Serbian control.

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 14.

Banja Luka had 16 mosques, and some of them were the masterpieces of Islamic architecture on Balkans.

First of all there was Ferhadija mosque, built in 1579. Together with Aladža mosque from Foča, it was the best example of Islamic art in Bosnia and Herzegovina (they both were protected monuments by the state of Yugoslavia). Ferhadija mosque was in the centre of Banja Luka, together with other crucial parts making the typical Bosnian historical heart of the city. It was widely praised for its beauty, its dimensions were 18 m wide, 14 m long, 18 m high, and its minaret was 43 m high. Ferhadija mosque was built in the classical Ottoman style by anonymous architect.<sup>78</sup> There were the buildings of Islamic community in Banja Luka next to the mosque. Another significant mosque was only 800 m away from Ferhadija, it was Arnaudija mosque, built in 1594. (Figure 3.05)

Destruction of these two mosques held on 7 May 1993 (on the Serbian holiday). They were destroyed during the night, within the time frame of 15 minutes. The next days, some of the remains of Ferhadija that somehow survived the first attempt of destruction (its minaret) were destroyed as well, and the entire rubble was taken away to the dump. According to the evidences and the sequence of the events of destruction, it is clear that the demolition of these two mosques was supported by the government.<sup>79</sup> Shortly after their destruction, the nearby clock-tower<sup>80</sup> that was one of the oldest Ottoman clock-towers in Europe was also destroyed. The entire architectural ensemble of the centre of Banja Luka was destroyed and consequently transformed.

Five mosques in the town of Bijeljina were destroyed on 13 March 1993, followed by *ethnic cleansing* of local Muslim residents.

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<sup>78</sup> It is believed that this architect has been a pupil of Mimar Sinan, the most important Ottoman architect.

<sup>79</sup> See more in: Read more in: *Final report of the United Nations Commission of Experts established pursuant to security council resolution 780 (1992), Annex VI – Study of the battle and siege of Sarajevo*. Under Direction of Bassiouni, Ch. 27 May 1994. (New York: United Nations, 1994), 26.

<sup>80</sup> Clock-tower *Sahat-kula*, is one of the main characteristics of the towns that developed under the Ottoman influence. During the war in Banja Luka it was considered as a sign of presence of Islam in the city, therefore it had to be destroyed.

Foča is the town situated in Eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has a very rich history, its cultural and trade importance during the Ottoman empire was exceptional. Before 1992 there were many signs of the town's glorious past. Foča's Muslim residents were heavily affected by the conflict: most of them were forced to leave, many have been massacred, there were even the rape-camps for Muslim women and, at the same time, practically every building/monument that was related to Muslim community was completely destroyed.

14 mosques of Foča were completely destroyed very early during the war. The rubble and remains of 13 of them were afterwards transported to the various locations, including nearby river.

One of the most important monuments from Ottoman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the one that was already mentioned in this work, was Aladža mosque (popularly called *Coloured* mosque). The mosque was built in 1550, it was the example of the classical Ottoman style with some unique features. It had excellently performed stone decoration (the finest and the best performed stone fittings in Bosnia and Herzegovina), the incredible painted decorations that included calligraphic inscriptions on the portico. Aside of its plastic and painted decoration the mosque was considered a masterpiece of Ottoman architecture due to its sublimely balanced proportions. It was destroyed already in 1992.<sup>81</sup> After the destruction of the mosque, the rubble and remains were transported to two different locations. The exact locations have been found:

- One in the Drina river (the bodies of murdered Muslim residents of Foča have been found together with the rubble in the river);

- The other location was found not far from the first one, distributed in the several probes on the surface of over 1000 square meters.

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<sup>81</sup> *Preliminary Technical Assessment: Aladža, Foča, Bosnia and Herzegovina - Integrated Rehabilitation Project Plan – Survey of the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage*. (Sarajevo: European Commission: Regional Programme for the Cultural and Natural Heritage in South-East Europe, 2008).

It is interesting that many pieces of the decoration made of stone are solidly preserved, even though the mosque was destroyed by the powerful explosive and the remains later transported and dumped. These surviving stone pieces are now of the meaningful importance for the reconstruction of the mosque's decorative parts. These pieces have been precisely cut during the construction of the mosque, stone used is of big strength, and, obviously, its total destruction wasn't even possible. Again: it is probable that the performers of such war crime of destruction were aware of the probability that remains would one day be used for the reconstruction, and that is why the rubble has been transported to several different places and there covered with ground or thrown to the water.

Many social and ideological turbulences have had place in Foča during the war, its cardinal points are the *ethnic cleansing* of Muslim population and the destruction of their heritage, (at the same time) the arrival of many Serbian refugees expelled from other towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Town's officials changed the name of the town: from Foča to Srbinje (*Srbinje* meaning: the town of Serbs) which is the illustrative fact of powerful political changes in the town during the nineteen's. (Figure 3.06, 3.07)

Identifying the houses of worship with the existence of the people was the common practice in Bosnian war: example of the conflict in Bosnia is very important for understanding the linkage between the architecture and people due to the powerful symbolism during the conflict. There were particularly brutal events in which the mosques have been used as the places of war crimes that included humans. In the northern town of Brčko the rubble and debris of the destroyed mosque was thrown directly on the buddies of murdered Muslim residents in the mass grave. In some places Muslims were forced to enter the mosques, and after that the building has been set on fire (the case of village mosque in

Hanifići where 30 people were burned alive together with the mosque).<sup>82</sup> The similar crime happened in the village Sasine, near Sanski Most: on 21 September 1995 (during the closing weeks of the war) the group of 65 non-Serbs (both Muslims and Croats) were massacred by Serb paramilitaries. They were buried after the massacre at the foot of the church.<sup>83</sup> The Roman Catholic church in Briševo near Prijedor has been destroyed at the moment when 78 local Croats have been massacred.<sup>84</sup> (Figure 3.08, 3.09)

In Mostar, which is one of the most important and the biggest cities in the country the destruction of cultural heritage is also in tight relationship with the expulsion of Serbian residents; almost the entire Serbian culture in this city was destroyed including the priceless historical monuments. Shortly after the beginning of the war (in 1992), the Orthodox Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity and the Orthodox Church of the Birth of the Holy Virgin (both from 19<sup>th</sup> century) were completely destroyed by the Croatian army (*HVO*), together with other administrative buildings of the Serbian community. All these churches and buildings were of big architectural and cultural importance and at the same time they were the symbol of presence of Serbian people in this region.<sup>85</sup> Particularly aggressive was the destruction of the Serbian Cathedral: it was bombed several times, its tower destructed, and the place was afterwards entirely levelled with the ground. (Figure 3.10)

Another Serbian monument from this region has captured a lot of attention due to its destruction. That is the monastery of Žitomislić, situated near Mostar, the sanctuary with incredible history built in 1566. It was situated on the place where previous orthodox place of worship was ruined. The monastery was decorated with the paintings (frescoes) of

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<sup>82</sup> "Public sitting held on Friday 17 March 2006, at 10 a.m., at the Peace Palace, President Higgins presiding in the case concerning the *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)*". Verbatim record. (The Hague: International Court of Justice, 2006), 28.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>84</sup> Riedlmayer, A. J. *Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1996: a Postwar survey of Selected Municipalities*. (Cambridge, 2002), 16.

<sup>85</sup> See more in: Ševo, Lj. *Pravoslavne crkve i manastiri u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1878 godine*. (Banja Luka: Glas Srpski, 2002).



exceptional artistic value. Around the building there was the old graveyard. The complex was also consisted of a library. Generally, the entire ensemble was of the exceptional artistic and cultural value. The delicate church together with the entire complex (graveyard included) were brutally destroyed (dynamited and then bulldozed) in July 1992. The destruction of the monastery Žitomislić was one of the biggest losses of Serbian heritage sites as well as one of the biggest cultural catastrophes that occurred during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>86</sup>

(Figure 3.11)

At some places religious buildings have been destroyed intentionally by putting the explosive inside of the buildings. Afterwards the structures looked ‘ballooned’ and it is easy to conclude that buildings were not destroyed by cross-fighting.

Particularly hypocritical phenomenon of the destruction of monuments was the ‘discreet’ destruction of mosques and Roman Catholic churches in the areas under Serb control. Those buildings were situated very close to the Orthodox sanctuaries, therefore the aggressive destruction wasn’t performed fearing that it might damage Serbian church. ‘Discreet’ destruction has been systematically performed at several places: in the towns of Čajniče and Bosanska Krupa. The case of Bosanski Šamac (the town under Serbian control) perfectly illustrates this manner of the destruction: the Roman Catholic church was situated only on the other side of the street from the Orthodox church (they were positioned face-to-face on the quite short distance). The destruction of Catholic church in this small town took quite a long time: piece by piece, performed gradually. At the end of the war there was only an empty space where Catholic church once stood and, on the other side of the street, the intact Orthodox church.

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<sup>86</sup> Riedlmayer, A. J. *Žitomislić (1566-1992): Meaning, history and tragic end.* (1997).

### 3.4 Destruction of libraries

Special aspect of the destruction of cultural property is the destruction of cultural record and archives. Written record in Bosnia and Herzegovina has the multiple importance:

- First of all it has the main registration and administrative importance particularly for the period before the introduction of civil registration (that happened in the 20<sup>th</sup> century). In Bosnia it was the local Islamic and Jewish communities, Catholic and Orthodox parishes that have registered people, families, gifts to the communities, taxes and other administrative issues. These archives are naturally of big importance for country's history and for the history of these communities;

- Secondly the numerous written record has huge cultural importance. Bosnia and Herzegovina was home to many important documents, manuscripts of big cultural and historical value. There have been made many books of scientific, philosophical importance.

Aside of destruction of religious heritage that is, as we saw, one of the main means of deleting the existence of some community, the destruction of written sources has its considerable place in the Bosnian war. This kind of the destruction have happened in many places in the country.

Many archives were physically related to the local religious communities (often in the same building or in the building that was the part of the complex), and they were destroyed together with the mosque or church. But, the institutions that served as the archives/libraries/registers in the completely separate buildings were also intentionally destroyed. Such destruction started very early in the Bosnian war.

Unlike most of the destroyed buildings in Bosnia, whose eventual reconstruction is theoretically possible (thanks to the descriptions, photo and video materials, plans etc), once it is burned – the book or manuscript is lost forever.

The destruction of written heritage was a common practice before and during the Second World War. Nazis were well known for burning the books of prohibited authors and contents. The practice of destruction of written material is called libricide (biblioclasm).

One of the first libraries to be destroyed was the Institute of Oriental Studies from Sarajevo. This institutions possessed one of the largest collections of Islamic and Ottoman manuscripts in the world. It was composed of over 200.000 documents. It had more than 5.000 codices in Turkish, Arabic, Bosnian, Persian. The library had many of the most important historical documents testifying Ottoman Bosnian past. The 99% of manuscripts are destroyed after the attack that held on 17 May 1992. The shelling was performed with incendiary munitions. Aside of its priceless cultural value, among the books and manuscripts there were many documents with juridical value etc.

Another brutal attack on the cultural record happened on 25 August 1992. It was the destruction of the National and University library (situated on the already mentioned Town Hall, *Vijećnica*).

It is important to mention that in both of these cases the firemen tried to put the fire under the control, but it was not possible. In first case, the fire was unbearable, the books were already caught by the fire. In the second case, in *Vijećnica*, firemen (as well as civilians that wanted to help) tried to fight with the fire, but, the continuing armed attacking – the heavy artillery stopped them (at that period the city already had no water supplying because it was cut by Serbian forces). This loss is ‘the largest single incident of deliberate book burning in modern history’.<sup>87</sup> There were 700 manuscripts and incunabula, the unique collection of unique Bosnian publications, over one and half million volumes and over 155.000 rare books were lost. During the attempt to save the books at least one person died. (Figure 3.12)

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<sup>87</sup> Riedlmayer, A. J. *Crimes of War, Crimes of Peace: Destruction of Libraries during and after the Balkan Wars of the 1990s*. 56 Vols. Number 1. Summer 2007. (Baltimore: Library Trends, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 110.

Ten of sixteen libraries of faculties of University were also affected by the war during the shelling, but every library suffered the damage of some degree. Eight branches of Sarajevo's municipal public library were destroyed as well.<sup>88</sup>

The Episcopal library in the complex of Roman Catholic bishop's Palace was attacked in May 1992 by Yugoslav Federal Army (*JNA*) and the 60.000 volumes were burned. Croatian army (*HVO*) after the destruction of the Orthodox cathedral, have also burned the monastery Žitomislić. Monastery had a very important smaller library containing rare manuscripts and books (from 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, mainly gifts or copied books), as well as the smaller archive of Ottoman documents. The entire content of the monasteries library has been destroyed.

In the small town of Janja on the north of the country two mosques (the Old Mosque and the newer one) were destroyed in April and May 1993. Together with Old Mosque there was a little library composed of old printed books and rare manuscripts that were given by several Muslim families (one of them was effendi Alija Sadiković, a distinguished scholar and author). There were around 3.200 valuable written materials that included, among others, the precious copies of Qu'ran, codices, theology works, Islamic law, philosophy and history. Many of the works had been written in the Bosnian language but with Arabic alphabet, belonging to one of the last generations of books made in this specific combination of the language and alphabet that was an important cultural phenomenon appeared during the Ottoman government. The cultural value of this small library was enormous. The entire library has been destroyed in the spring 1993, together with the Old Mosque as well as with the tombs of distinguished members of Muslim community of Janja.

Very brutal case of libricide happened in historical town of Stolac. Nowadays Stolac is an example of one of the most divided towns in Europe. Town is situated in the southern

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 114.

part on Herzegovina, and its structure is one of the richest and most interesting in entire region:

Containing, in one small space, unique cultural-artistic and aesthetic values, Stolac's historic core is an example of a complex cultural-historical and natural environmental ensemble. It is an example of the organic link between human and natural architectures, which also witnesses that the beauty of the location was decisive at its planning and building - the principle often present in the development of mediaeval towns.

Nine historical layers constitute the architectural ensemble of Stolac: pre-history, Illyrian-Roman epoch, the early Middle Ages, developed and late Middle Ages, Ottoman epoch, Austro-Hungarian epoch, and first and second Yugoslavia. The most visible material part of evidence of the town's statement shows a multitude of various, influences on the architecture of town, in that encounter of contrasts and similarities, laws and paradoxes, planning and full spontaneity, lend this town a complex image of outstanding and universal value.<sup>89</sup>

This historical town experienced very sad destiny during the war. Most of its historical religious buildings were destroyed (many mosques, Orthodox church). Stolac was very rich with the libraries but, unfortunately, they have been destroyed:

- The library of Muslim Community of Stolac (with 40 old and important manuscripts, also with the community's archive, rare books) was destroyed in July by Croatian extremists (*HVO*);

- The library of the Emperor's Mosque (built in 1519) that contained very rare manuscripts in Bosnian, Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages, then valuable illuminations of Islamic calligraphy. It was burned down together with the mosque;

- The library of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Podgradska Mosque containing historical documents and manuscripts, burned together with the mosque in July 1993;

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<sup>89</sup> Retrieved from the article *The natural and architectural ensemble of Stolac*, (UNESCO) <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5282/UNESCO>. (Accessed February 22, 2013).

- Many old Muslim families from Stolac possessed private manuscripts, rare books, historical documents etc. When their owners were expelled from their homes (July-August 1993) those private collections have been destroyed.<sup>90</sup>

Similar cases happened elsewhere (Bosanska Krupa, Bosanski Novi, Bosanski Šamac, Ključ, Nevesinje, Zvornik, Višegrad, Srebrenica, Prijedor etc). The case of loot of valuable objects (in this case books) was already mentioned.

### 3.5 Bosnian historical bridges during the war

The main components of the towns that have been developed for a longer time under the dominant Ottoman influences are: masjid (the mosque), clock-tower, han<sup>91</sup>, hammam<sup>92</sup>. The network of important routes (Bosnia and Herzegovina is predominantly a mountain region with many rivers, so, the construction of the transport infrastructure was a very difficult task to this date). The bridge-construction was a specific feature of Ottoman construction and architecture. They have been built mainly of stone, designed in very characteristic manner. Aesthetically they are very harmonious structures being the strong stone-built constructive units that at same time contained very elegant and delicate features. The desire for specific appearance was combined with very challenging physical abilities: bridges had to resist powerful floods, and they were often performed in the very narrow but deep cols. They are often part of ensembles in towns (Mostar), making the incredible interaction between the different constructive units, fusion of different material used and their 'communication' with the natural landscape. Today the Ottoman bridges are one of the most recognizable symbols of Bosnia and Herzegovina and South-Eastern Europe.

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<sup>90</sup> Riedlmayer, A. J. *Crimes of War, Crimes of Peace: Destruction of Libraries during and after the Balkan Wars of the 1990s*. 56 Vols. Number 1. Summer 2007. (Baltimore: Library Trends, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 114.

<sup>91</sup> Han or Caravanserai or Khan was the roadside complex where travellers could stay, eat, feed the horse. Hansas were very important institutions in the trade routes in Asia and Maghreb. They were the regular parts of the Ottoman settlement (for example in Sarajevo).

<sup>92</sup> Hammam is the Turkish public bath.

Sarajevo has several bridges of this type. One of the oldest is the Goat Bridge (*Kozija Čuprija*), built already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and it wasn't affected by the war. There is also a Roman Bridge (*Rimski Most*) over Miljacka river, than the very famous Latin Bridge (*Latinska Čuprija*).<sup>93</sup>

Another wonderful bridge is Arslanagić Bridge from the historical town of Trebinje. It wasn't affected by the destruction during the war, but it was used for the nationalist propaganda and its name was changed to Perović Bridge.

Finally, two most important bridges, that are on the same time the World Heritage Sites (the only two UNESCO monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina): the Old Bridge from Mostar and Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge from Višegrad.

Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge from Višegrad (on the east of the country) is, due to its significance, the core monument for understanding of Bosnian and Herzegovinian pluralist society. This fact was confirmed first of all by the history of the bridge. The significance of the bridge was literary featured in the book *The Bridge over the Drina-River*, written by Ivo Andrić (the only personality that received the Nobel Prize in Literature from the former Yugoslavia). The novel, written in 1945, thoroughly describes the human condition in Bosnia, the lives of the local inhabitants, mainly Muslims and Serbs. Thanks to this book, the bridge emerged to the centre of world's attention in 1961, when Andrić has received the prize.

The Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge of Višegrad across the Drina River in the east of Bosnia and Herzegovina was built at the end of the 16th century by the court architect Sinan on the order of the Grand Vizier Mehmed Paša Sokolović. It is characteristic of the apogee of Ottoman monumental architecture and civil engineering. It numbers 11 masonry arches, with spans of 11 to 15 metres, and an access ramp at right angles with four arches on the left bank of the river. The 179.50m long bridge is a

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<sup>93</sup> The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand held on this bridge in 1914, the event that is known to be the cause of the First World War.

representative masterpiece of Mimar Koca Sinan, one of the greatest architects and engineers of the classical Ottoman period and a contemporary of the Italian Renaissance, with which his work can be compared. The unique elegance of proportion and monumental nobility of the property as a whole bear witness to the greatness of this style of architecture.<sup>94</sup>

This monument wasn't destroyed during the war 1992-96. However it was the place of brutal war crimes against Muslim civilians during the conflict in this region. It was one of the most horrific massacres that Bosnia has experienced during the war (Višegrad massacres where more than 1600 civilians have been brutally murdered, children included).

The bridge is also often used for ideological propaganda. It is one of the rare monuments of that kind that wasn't affected by the war: this Ottoman bridge presents the particular phenomenon having in mind that heritage of Muslim communities during the war and under Serbian control wasn't well treated. (Figure 3.13)

The Old Bridge in Mostar is Bosnian and Herzegovinian most recognizable monument. It was also one of the key heritage sites of the former Yugoslavia. The Old Bridge was built in 1566 by Hajrudin, who was a student of Mimar Sinan (a personality that already mentioned in this work) - the greatest Ottoman architect. It was Sultan Sulejman the Magnificent that ordered the construction of the bridge on the place that became a very important point for transit and trade, Mostar also was an important strategic place. 'There are no documents about the building procedures, the site organization of the construction. It is believe that the centring (semi-circular scaffolding) was made of wood, and that the bridge was built in a short period of time – maybe even in a single dry season'.<sup>95</sup> The bridge was built over the Neretva river that is well known as the untameable river: strikingly cold and sometimes very aggressive; the bridge is situated 24 meters over the river.

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<sup>94</sup> *Bosnian Bridge among five new sites inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage list this evening*, June 28 2007, on <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/361> (Accessed March 5, 2013)

<sup>95</sup> Popovac, M. "Reconstruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar". *Acta Polytechnica*. 46 Vols. No 2/2006. (Prague: Czech Technical University in Prague, 2006), 50.



The Old Bridge in Mostar is another Ottoman bridge made of stone. The large pieces of stone were used for its construction. The type of stone used was the tenelija stone, that has the unique characteristics: it is of the light colour tone but it is changing its nuances during the day depending of the position and the strength of sunlight. The bridge is very slender, it has a very fine and elegant shapes.

The bridge has few aesthetic devices and no ornamental element, its architectural beauty and value were to be found in the simplicity and in the essentiality of the structure: the shapes of the bridge were not linked to any time, to any style or any fashion, in but the bridge of Mostar has always been admired as symbol.<sup>96</sup>

The Old Bridge takes part of the complex that is the historical part of the city of Mostar. There are two towers from both sides next to the bridge (Helebija tower on the northeast and Tara tower on the southwest). The entire ensemble has important aesthetic value. It's appearance, dominated by the stone, is one of the most beautiful ensembles of this kind in Europe. Actually the name of the city was derived from the Old Bridge: *Mostar – the city of bridge (Most)*. The bridge is hump-backed, it is 4 meters wide, 30 meters long.

Destruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina reached its maximum with the destruction of this internationally renowned bridge. Even it was discreetly damaged on the very beginning of the war by Federal Yugoslav People's Army (*JNA*), it was likely that the bridge will manage to survive the war. It was destroyed on 9 November 1993 by intensive shelling from the side of the Croatian Army (*HVO*). It was hit with more than 60 shells before it collapsed. Its destruction caused the huge international attention. (Figure 3.14)

The bridge, connecting two sides of the river was a symbol of pluralism of Bosnia and Herzegovina: its destruction was another confirmation that Bosnian society was deeply torn apart, it meant the disappearance of the tolerance between people and the end of coexistence. For army the bridge had no particular strategically importance, the motivation for its

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 51.

obliteration was nothing else but the reflection of destructive attitude towards the cultural and historical heritage, in this case towards monument from Ottoman period.

The reconstruction of the Old Bridge together with the historical heart of the city of Mostar, was one of the most challenging operations performed in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the international community. It took about 3 years of intense works, large costs and the engagement of many experts and international institutions. (The reconstruction process is going to be described thoroughly later in this work).

### **3.6 Engagement of international institutions in heritage destruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina; UNESCO engagement**

There were calls for the international attention and help from the very start of the war. Aside of the official governmental statements (of new-formed Bosnian government that wasn't recognized by all sides that took part in the conflict), there were striking reports from the media as well as announcements by the religious institutions.

On the international level the war in the former Yugoslavia has been observed almost unrealistically, even though media showed lots of interest in armed conflict. The war was perceived like something that was happening somewhere far... not in Europe... The images coming from Bosnia and Herzegovina have been described as horrifying and dehumanizing destruction.

Aside of official statements and attempts to improvise peace agreements, Bosnia and Herzegovina didn't benefit much from the international community.

In response, the Committee on Culture and Education of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly sent a series of missions to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia to collect information on the destruction by war of the cultural heritage. The first of the ten information reports submitted by the Committee on this matter (Council of

Europe Parliamentary Assembly Doc. 6756. 2 February 1993), characterized the destruction as *a cultural catastrophe in the heart of Europe*.<sup>97</sup>

The UNESCO's Executive board made the decision on the situation of the cultural heritage, cultural and educational institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, adopted on the 139<sup>th</sup> session in Paris (the decision number 7.5):

The Executive Board,

1. Recalling the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict adopted at The Hague on 14 May 1954, United Nations Security Council Resolutions 749 (1992) and 752 (1992), the Appeal by the General Conference concerning the natural and cultural heritage in Yugoslavia (25 October 1991) as well as the statements by the Director-General of UNESCO on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina (7 May 1992 and 21 May 1992),
2. Expresses its deep anxiety concerning the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the gross and persistent violations of SCE commitments, especially by the authorities in Belgrade and by the Yugoslav National Army, as well as the extension of the conflict on an unprecedented scale and the relentless attacks on Sarajevo by the air force and heavy weaponry of the Yugoslav National Army;
3. Reiterates its concern about the damage done to many secular and religious buildings of historical significance and to the 400-year-old sites which embody the historical and spiritual values of the Islamic, Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish communities living on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina;
4. Condemns all violent actions that cause loss of life and destroy the historical, religious and cultural heritage as well as educational and scientific institutions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and expresses its sympathy and solidarity with the communities whose cultural identities are endangered;
5. Invites the Director-General, as soon as the situation permits, to send a mission to Bosnia-Herzegovina to determine the damage to educational, historical, archaeological and cultural property in the region and to explore the feasibility of sending emergency assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and requests him to

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<sup>97</sup> Riedlmayer, A. J. *Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1996: a Postwar survey of Selected Municipalities*. (Cambridge, 2002), 3.

report to the Executive Board at its 140th session.<sup>98</sup>

However it wasn't possible to send the special mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina due to violent situation. Any further reaction was ineffective.

...the international institutions proved that they were not capable to ensure the application of the international law. The cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been destroyed, contrary to the all declarations and conventions, laws and international obligations, consequently every fact that these legal acts were composed of were annulled. The inefficacy of the international legal acts is based on the fact that these acts are not applicable on the contemporary warfare.<sup>99</sup>

The importance of finding the solution that would resolve the question of Bosnian cultural heritage (that was quickly considerably destroyed) was perceived as one of fundamentals of the peace agreement that became Bosnian new constitution. The Dayton Peace Accords (that was internationally created) contains, among others, the Annex 8 that obliges the creation of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments. This Commission today is the main institution in the country dealing with the cultural heritage.

Why the international community didn't try more hard to have an effect on the violent conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina will remain the query from the side of many people affected by the war... for many people the silence from the international community was interpreted as the approving of the destruction. It is probable that the countries outside of Bosnia have been too much politically divided about the war... had the international community too much confidence hoping that politicians from the sides involved in the conflict would manage to make the agreements of some sort and to stop the war themselves or there was really no possibility to make harder diplomatic pressures?! This issue goes beyond the cultural heritage preservation: it also includes consideration about the human condition. Human been is obviously capable to build and destroy making a circle... Was the

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<sup>98</sup> *Decision adopted by the Executive Board at its 139<sup>th</sup> session.* (Paris: UNESCO, 16 June 1992). Available from: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000931/093155E.pdf>. (Accessed January 19, 2013), 31.

<sup>99</sup> Hadžimuhamedović, A. *Razaranje kao dio graditeljsko naslijeđa Bosne i Hercegovine s posebnim osvrtom na razdoblje 1991-1995.* Master thesis. (Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Arhitektonski fakultet, 1998), 110.

world actually ignorant about the conflict?! At the very moment of realization of this thesis there is an ongoing war in Syria where many people and famous Syrian cultural heritage is affected. However there is no intervention coming from the outside of the country, and world's heritage of every sort is being destroyed... humanity is failing...

Legal efforts on the international level are mostly unified in the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (signed in The Hague on 14 May 1954). This treaty was initiated after the horrible destruction that have held during the Second World War, even though the consideration of the treatment of cultural heritage during the armed conflict existed from earlier (7<sup>th</sup> century during the caliphate in Arabia, then Renaissance): these reflections essentially meant that during the conflict only military objects could be targeted. Destruction of civilian objects is romantically strongly not recommended (and forbidden, unless its proved that these objects have military importance). Another significant international document is the Roerich Pact (signed in Washington DC in 1935). Related to these two major documents there were valid sets of regulations in former Yugoslavia and in republics: Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (i.e. Serbia and Montenegro). During the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina all these laws and conventions failed to have apposite effect on the events.

### **3.7 Cultural life in Sarajevo during the war**

The way of maintaining the cultural life in the conflict zones is a specific phenomenon of the humanity. It is a completely separate topic that deserves to be analysed in the different research. However, only the basic facts about the culture in Sarajevo under the siege will be mentioned because it created something that can be observed as the cultural heritage originating from the conflict. The conflict in Sarajevo was extremely violent, most often was described as *the horror* and *the hell on Earth*.

The case of the St Joseph's church in Sarajevo where the self-made image made during the shelling was intentionally preserved was already mentioned. There are numerous similar examples.

Many of cultural institutions from Sarajevo were active during the siege under surrealist circumstances. Sarajevo War Theatre (*SARTR – Sarajevski ratni teatar*) was created on the initiative of Sarajevo based actors. The theatre gave over 2000 performances during the war. Its existence is very significant for the context of siege, not only as, for many, the symbol of life and resistance.

It's a fact that the piece of art made under such circumstances has different values, due to a different way of interpretation of reality. One of very famous performances that held during the siege of Sarajevo was captured by an artistic photographer Mikhail Evstafiev. He took the photo of cellist Vedran Smailović playing his instrument on the rubble of the burned Town Hall. This disturbing photo was and still is very popular, it demonstrating the postmodern encounter between men, art and destruction. (Figure 3.15)

Many world's renown artists and musicians came to Sarajevo during the war.

One of the most important institutions opened is also the Ars Aevi, the museum of contemporary art in Sarajevo. It has one of the most valuable collections in Europe, composed of the œuvres of Michelangelo Pistoletto, Joseph Kosuth, Joseph Beuys, Jannis Kounellis.

During the war in Sarajevo there were 170 exhibitions and 48 concerts.

Another significant heritage from the siege of Sarajevo are *Roses of Sarajevo*. Points on the ground all over the city that were reached by the shells, leaving a very obvious mark, were after the war filled by red resin. These points are known as *Roses of Sarajevo*, red symbolically presenting the blood and suffering. The monuments were made on the places where shell's explosion killed one or more persons, having almost a floral shape and coloured

in red they remind of roses. Roses of Sarajevo are very meaningful heritage making also an important visual experience of Sarajevo's streets. With replacing of asphalt Roses are slowly disappearing. (Figure 3.16)

## **4 Post-war legal regulation of cultural heritage and its recovery in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

### **4.1 Post-war and current legal regulation of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Annex 8: Commission to Preserve National Monuments**

The agreement that has brought the peace - the Dayton Agreement became the new Bosnian Constitution. It is a complex document that covers many important aspects of the society necessary for the normal functioning of the state.

Today the Dayton Agreement shows serious deficiencies, proposals for its changes are constantly under consideration, but however there is never census about it. Having in mind that Bosnia and Herzegovina is composed of three principal communities-people (Serbs, Bosniaks and Croats), the compromise is unlikely to be found, and the country remains in the profound crises unable to obtain the economic stability. Bosnia and Herzegovina is the country dependent of the international supervision and help.

The Annex 8 is part of the Dayton Agreement concerns the national monuments. In the Dayton Agreement the cultural heritage is incorporated in the process of the conflict resolution, reconciliation and rebuilding of coexistence. Annex 8 in practice meant first of all the establishing of the neutral Commission (the Commission to Preserve National Monuments), composed of five members. Aside of this (main) institution, there is a whole network of other institutions that are related with the heritage: ministries in both entities and in cantons, several non-governmental organizations etc.

The system of heritage protection is far from being efficient, even though many capital projects of the international importance have been realized.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Read more in: *Analysis and reform of cultural heritage policies in South East Europe*. (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2008).



The general situation in the institutions responsible for the cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina is quite complex and it was analysed at several places in this research.

As it is analysed at several points in this work, the Dayton Peace Agreement conceives the post-conflict organization of the Bosnian society as the recovery of coexistence (i.e. multiculturalism). Annex 8 treats monuments in that way as well.

#### **4.2 The recovery of cultural heritage after the war**

As we saw, Bosnia and Herzegovina was a completely ravaged country after the ethnic conflicts 1992-95. Already making the clear statistics on the devastation of the cultural heritage was a very difficult task. However, country's main cultural monuments had to wait for the establishing of the commission and for consolidation of experts, institutions, financing in order to start planning the recovery of cultural and historical heritage.

Country's main cultural sites have been destroyed. Many of them completely, the idea of eventual reconstruction was difficult to envisage, due to the monuments' complicated and delicate structures, materials that have been used, techniques and deformed cultural meaning of Bosnian post-conflict society.

The recovery of Bosnian cultural heritage was the key project of numerous international institutions, and many of performed interventions after the war have been made under international supervision. Some of the reconstructions challenged international criteria, some of them have been performed experimentally.

Very big problem was the lack of the experience and experts that would be able to organize and perform the recovery of heritage. There was an urgent need for the architects and conservators capable to deal with the recovery of Bosnian cultural heritage that would be in accordance with all international criteria. In that way the heritage, properly treated, would be able to serve for the future generations and compete with the heritage of other countries on the international scene.

Important set of challenges and problems was to organize the recovery of the heritage in zones where big demographical and ethnical changes have happened. The return of refugees to their original places was one of the priorities after the war, but the implementation of such task wasn't hardly imaginable. The refugees often never wanted to return to their places of origin and that is one of further reasons for the creation of towns with new cultural profile.

In many cases the eventual recovery of religious monuments in the zones of *ethnic cleansing* has been intentionally avoided or postponed, fearing that it could negatively influence the attempts of reconciliation. Andras J. Riedlmayer stated that this attitude was a mistake. In his opinion the projects of recovery of religious infrastructure could promote the return of minority refugees that was one of the main goals of the international community after the war in Bosnia.<sup>101</sup> This statement is however highly questionable due to the fact that in some highly vulnerable post-war communities the immediate reconstruction of the destroyed heritage is simply not manageable from various reasons. There are many cases of the attempts of the recovery of the destroyed heritage that were radically rejected from the side of local community, such was the attempt to celebrate the reconstruction of Ferhadija mosque from Banja Luka that has completely failed and turned practically into pogrom against Muslims. The similar reaction happened in town of Stolac. The attempt to recover the significant mountain villages from the municipality of Trnovo (on the mountain Bjelašnica) was extremely unsuccessful, even it was performed by the international institutions. Highly improper way of recovery that held there resulted with complete destruction of local vernacular architecture.

Some places practically ceased to exist after the conflict, and some new have been created. The traditional determination of 'Bosnian town' is very questionable after the war

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<sup>101</sup> Riedlmayer, A. J. "From the Ashes: the Past and Future of Bosnia's Cultural Heritage". *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States*. Edited by Shatzmiller, M. (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), 117.

because there are hardly any examples of the multiculturalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina today. The recovered country's monuments that testify Bosnian multicultural past have practically different significance in post-conflict period. The model of urban transformation will be presented on the following example.

The capital city of Sarajevo was divided into two parts after the Dayton agreement: practically the entire pre-war Sarajevo kept the position of the capital of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Eastern Sarajevo (till recently its name was officially Serbian Sarajevo).<sup>102</sup> Eastern Sarajevo is composed of the tiny part of the pre-war Sarajevo as well as of the several municipalities and surroundings that joined the greater area of Eastern Sarajevo (which *de jure* is the capital of the Republic of Srpska entity). The capital Sarajevo's population is predominantly Muslim: there are residents from the pre-war period, many refugees that were expelled from other parts of the country and also residents from other countries from the region that came to live in Sarajevo (that are mainly Muslims from the region of Sandjak in Serbia, Kosovo and Montenegro). The Eastern Sarajevo's majority is Serbian.

Such ethnical composition polarized the future development of Sarajevo, for example, the large number of mosques have been built for the needs of the Muslim community of Sarajevo. It is very often stated by the independent intellectuals and institutions that the hyper-production of mosques in Sarajevo (and in some other places in Bosnia and Herzegovina) became the matter of the trend and that is certainly not the priority of society, i.e. it doesn't correspond with the huge unemployment, and practically dead economy.

Officially Sarajevo struggles to keep its secular spirit, it is obvious that the new cultural identity goes towards religiously-oriented and highly-politicized one.

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<sup>102</sup> Croats are the minority in today's Sarajevo.

Newly formed city of Eastern Sarajevo with predominantly Serbian majority, composed of large number of refugees from diverse parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, had to develop the basic infrastructure for a short time. Its major institutions (University, medical centre, libraries, schools etc) have been built for the need of the city's population. Contrary to Federal Sarajevo, the Eastern Sarajevo practically has no cultural heritage (i.e. the buildings and monuments of cultural and historical significance): the city is entirely composed of newly built buildings (there are no mosques; the new buildings have been made in the neutral style indicating no tradition or what-so-ever). The development of Eastern Sarajevo is also conditioned by the cultural identity of its citizens, and the traditional Bosnian multiculturalism naturally is not a priority. The time will show in which direction will be developed places like Eastern Sarajevo and what will be the content of their heritage one day. Often is stated that someone can experience the *cultural shock* passing from Sarajevo to Eastern Sarajevo even there is no border.

Many towns and places in Bosnia and Herzegovina share the similar destiny. The meaning of recovered heritage that originates from the multicultural context is deeply questionable in the ethnically polarized societies. Many of the monuments are nowadays interpreted in new manners, which don't coincide with multiculturalism (that was one of the key features of Bosnian and Herzegovinian cultural identity).

Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the rare countries in the world that couldn't manage to perform the census after the war. The last census took place in 1991, and the conclusions can't be made based on the pre-war demographics having in mind huge changes during and after the war. The next census is announced for the autumn 2013 and its realization will also be of use for the analyses that concern cultural heritage.

Bosnia and Herzegovina lacks the stronger engagement of the Civil Sector on the local level.

As the postwar experience in Balkans has amply demonstrated, most of NGOs in the aftermath of war and *ethnic cleansing* are neither interested in nor well qualified for undertaking such projects... By keeping their distance from such projects, the secular organizations have also left the field open to sectarian sponsors, among them Islamic fundamentalist aid agencies from the Arab world that have their own radical agendas and have little interest either in the preservation of heritage or in the promotion of interreligious and intercommunal harmony in Bosnia.<sup>103</sup>

The practical and successful example of the recovery of almost completely destroyed monument will be presented on the example of Sarajevo's Town Hall: the building containing lots of delicate details, obliging to have the extremely careful and complex approach in the restoration attempt.

The Town Hall of Sarajevo (*Vijećnica*) where was situated the destroyed and burned National and University Library (whose barbaric destruction was presented), is one of the most recognizable symbols of Sarajevo. The masterpiece of the Austro-Hungarian architecture was completed in 1896, constructed in a mixture of styles that combines the historicism and pseudo-Moorish styles. The basic constructive elements are columns, walls, arches and glassed dome roofing the hall. The building has an unusual triangular foundation with a big six-angled centre – the hall. The hall is the most important part of luxurious interior topped with the glass dome. Following the common architectural plan of the western European architecture, the building is organized in two levels: the Ground floor (loggia for a courtroom or a marketplace) and the First floor with its main auditorium and places for important meetings and a balcony. The tower in this case was placed on the backside of the central dome erected over the six-angled hall roofed with the glass dome. There is a luxurious façade, applied with a representative front-side doorway. The façade is coloured red and yellow in turns with ornamental faïence boarding. Much of details on the façade are coinciding with Islamic traditions (mainly of Egyptian origins), which is a unique connection

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 117.

of the Oriental World with the European (Austro-Hungarian) tradition. The painted decorations are placed in the main stairway, walls of main auditorium, doorway and the central hall, and at the same time the stained-glass showcases ornamented with floral patterns of modelling decoration, seen in the main stairway and under the dome, illustrate a flowery style of the building.

As it is said, this building demanded lots of attention and considerable financing for its restoration. Due to the complicity of the entire project it was questioned several times if there is a real need for its restoration: the doubts about it have been denied. The strongest argument for the restoration was the design of the building as the cultural monument, from the point of view of the historical context, as well as the part of the urban ensemble of the historical centre of Sarajevo. It took years and years for the preparation of the restoration, which included finding the original documents, photos, descriptions, careful planning of the restoration processes and reconstruction on the places where it was necessary (mainly on the façade).

The recovery of *Vijećnica* included the restoration of building and the reconstruction of its elements that were destroyed. The reconstruction of the details was mainly performed on the façade of the monument, only on the places where there was no possibility to apply the conservation works. Very delicate design of the building, its decoration, demanded a very careful study of the documentation and understanding the entire building.

The entire costs of the recovery of building is around 14.000.000 Euros.<sup>104</sup>

The primary two stages of the recovery of the buildings were: the first stage where the structural assembly of masonry structures has been stabilized, the reconstruction of the roof has been done with the works on the installation of the roof. There was also the restoration of the steel dome and the descending ceiling, the restoration of the glass roof

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<sup>104</sup> *Business Plan: The Town Hall, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina - Integrated Rehabilitation Project Plan – Survey of the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage.* (Sarajevo: European Commission: Regional Programme for the Cultural and Natural Heritage in South-East Europe, 2009), 29.

covering with the development of lightning, the capturing of damaged structure of the hall with supporting scaffolding. On the second stage of the works the restoration of the horizontal structures has been performed as well as the restoration of the hall.<sup>105</sup> The third and fourth stage of the restoration are consisted of final works on the building (restoration and reconstruction of sculpture, paintings and other details).

The recovery of the Sarajevo Town Hall (*Vijećnica*) represents the very important step in the recovery of the Bosnian heritage from the Austro-Hungarian period. Together with other two important buildings of similar origin and similar style (the High school building from Mostar, *Gimnazija*, and the Town hall from Brčko, *Vijećnica*) that have been restored in recent years and now are under the protection, it can be concluded that important monuments of the pseudo-Moorish style were recovered with the big success. Having in mind that heritage of this type takes the considerable and characteristic part of Bosnian heritage, it can be concluded that on the recovery of Bosnian heritage has been made the immeasurable progress. These three pseudo-Moorish monuments have demanded lots of attention and the completely professional attitude in order to successfully restore and reconstruct every aesthetical aspect of the monument and big financial means. Recovered buildings are bearing today their full original value and significance as the parts of the structures of the places where they are situated. The success of the recovery of buildings is also related partially to their public (secular) function in the society, as they will mainly be used for the same purposes as it was the case before the war (as we saw, big demographical changes questions the new significance of the recovered monuments). (Figure 4.01, 4.02, 4.03 and 4.04)

The Ferhadija mosque presents one of the most significant reconstruction projects in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The mosque was situated in now predominantly Serb city (which is *de facto* capital of the Serbian entity). The recovery of heritage in former multicultural places

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 13.

is one of the capital challenges in the heritage protection. The city of Banja Luka has experienced the radical demographic changes during the war, its direction is now inverted towards one dominant culture and its politics (Serbs). The realization of this recovery can't be compared with many other capital recoveries (such as the ones in Mostar, Sarajevo etc) due to the particular political vulnerability in this case. The attempt to celebrate the reconstruction of the destroyed mosque in 2001 turned out to be the horror.

The reconstruction of the mosque has the strong symbolic character. Having in mind that all mosques in Banja Luka have been destroyed, and Ferhadija was the most beautiful one (even among other Bosnian mosques). The reconstruction is pointing out the particularity of Ottoman architecture and Bosnian culture. The attempt to start reconstruction took long-time and it was painful: from the local authorities it was practically impossible to obtain all the legal documents in order to start the recovery. There were other practical issues as well:

- Organizing the unique possibility to do the archaeological survey on the ground where the mosque once stood;
- Finding the most suitable constructive solutions in the comparisons with similar mosques that are situated on the south of Turkey;
- Studying the documentation from the period after the violent earthquake (that happened in 1960's) that could provide the improvement in the construction;
- The search for the remains on the city's dump-fields, finding the rubble of the mosque, cleaning and categorizing founded remains.

The reconstruction of Ferhadija is another capital project that demanded the strong inter-disciplinary attitude.<sup>106</sup> (Figure 4.05)

The particularly inventive and successful attempt of the recovery of the heritage has been made on the international level in order to restore a part of the destroyed written

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<sup>106</sup> Group of authors. *Studija: Principi i metodološki postupak za obnovu Ferhad-Pašine džamije u Banjoj Luci*. Edited by Hamidović, M. (Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet u Sarajevu, 2002).



heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina (manuscripts, codices, documents, books etc. that have been destroyed together with the buildings of the Oriental Institute, National Library and other libraries in Bosnia and Herzegovina). The groups of scholars from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada and the United States created the Bosnian Manuscripts Ingathering Project.<sup>107</sup> The goal of the organization was to collect any kind of remains (copies) of the lost written documents on the microfilms, photocopies, and other different facsimiles. During many years before the war the rare written material from Bosnia and Herzegovina has been send to the diverse exhibitions, researches to foreign Universities, institutions etc. The authors of this project had reason to believe that some copies existed in different corners of the world, and they lanced the call in the international magazines. The project managed to collect a surprisingly big number of copies, for example:

...a haul of ca. 700 pages of recovered copies of manuscripts, came from a retired professor at the University of Toronto, who had brought the copies back from a research trip to Sarajevo nearly 20 years ago... While that represents a mere fraction of what was lost, we are determined to continue.<sup>108</sup>

This action and its success recovered much of Bosnian and Herzegovinian written heritage and saved it from disappearance. Even the material collected is not the original manuscript or codices or a book, it presents the continuing of their existence in some way and further application in science.

However, many attempts of recoveries haven't been at all that successful. In post-conflict circumstances many quick solutions have been made, without proper attitude, and many of the ensembles have been destroyed. Such is the example on the Olympic mountain Bjelašnica, the specific space and the home of many villages. Villages such as Teočak, Prusac, Sapna etc (Trnovo municipality) had the big cultural and historical importance, the

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<sup>107</sup> The project is available on the link: <http://www.kakarigi.net/manu/moreinf.htm> and <http://bmip.info/>. (Accessed February 10, 2013).

<sup>108</sup> Riedlmayer, A. J. "From the Ashes: the Past and Future of Bosnia's Cultural Heritage". *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States*. Edited by Shatzmiller, M. (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), 113.

symbiosis between the landscape and the architecture in these villages was outstanding.

These places have been listed as the exceptional and unique ensembles. Houses have been built of stone and timber. The residents of the village have been expelled during the war. The destruction of local buildings (houses) were complete.

The reconstruction of villages after the war has included the wrong methods and attitude that resulted with the complete irreversible destruction of the authentic village's architecture. The new material was introduced as well as the different (unoriginal) architectural models. Obviously the process of recovery has mainly been motivated by the big number of refugees that needed the shelter. The whole intervention resulted with the completely new ambient, that is not corresponding with the landscape nor with the original cultural identity of the place.

Certainly the worst scenario is the construction of the completely new building on the place where destroyed or damaged buildings once stood. Such practice have been performed in many places in Bosnia and Herzegovina and it is still being performed practically without any restrictions. They are caused either by the desire for the profit (the investors often build the malls on this sites) either by the lack of the knowledge for the preservation. The monuments affected are not just those that have been damaged during the war, but also the buildings that were not affected by the war. That was the case with many Sarajevo's buildings situated in the Old Town, the historical synagogue from Travnik (the shopping mall has been built directly after the intentional destruction of the synagogue), and many other buildings all over the country. Different (false) reasons were presented in order to destroy those buildings: the necessity of their destruction due to the damage or age, manipulations with the propriety owners etc. This phenomenon demonstrates first of all the real power of the state, constitution and the law in the monument protection. In Bosnia and Herzegovina none of the responsible institutions or individuals that performed such illegal act

have been sentenced nor invited to court. Bosnian case should also serve as an example for other countries facing similar problems: the lack of proper and strict legal regulation and public awareness can result with the loss of important historical and cultural monuments.

#### **4.3 Recovery of Old Bridge in Mostar and challenges in heritage protection: justification for the use of reconstruction method in post-conflict recoveries**

Most of world's attention concerning monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been related to the destruction of the Old Bridge from Mostar. The idea of its reconstruction appeared directly after the war. It bears the key significance of country's reconstruction and the existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is: connecting two different sides. Aside of that significance, there was a very practical need to either reconstruct the old bridge or to build a new one for everyday use of local people to pass over Neretva river. The bridge was part of the very specific ensemble that is one of the most beautiful in Balkans and one of the most unique in Europe.

In Mostar, during the Ottoman period, the place developed in the very particular way, it represents the connection between the landscape and men-built elements intermixed with multiculturalism. The most important part of ensemble is certainly the Old Bridge that is a masterpiece of Ottoman architecture. Other parts of Old Town have visible some other style influences (pre-Ottoman, Western European etc).

The case of recovery of Mostar's heritage is one of the most challenging processes that divided many experts all over the world, especially after the decision to run for the World Heritage list. ICOMOS decided in 2000 to support the inscription as a special case, determining the whole project as a 'positive contribution to the protection and management of this outstanding multicultural heritage site'.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> *Advisory Body Evaluation, Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina) No 946 rev.* (UNESCO, 2005), 180.

There is no doubt that the historical centre of Mostar had exceptional cultural and historical values for the human civilization, but, the destruction of Mostar was that extreme during the war (destroying its key part – the Old Bridge), that many experts were convinced that it's not possible to authentically recover this site. It was clear that the main method will be the reconstruction.

Pretty sensitive decision has been made to nominate this site, as the place whose recovery will be performed based on the maximally authentic reconstruction of the historical Old Town and Old Bridge. This case reminds of many similar cases made after the Second World War in many towns and cities all over the Europe: the issue that represents one of the most challengeable domains in heritage protection.

Having in mind the entire effort and engagements invested in entire project of recovery of Mostar's Old Town this work will try to put the emphasis on the positive outcomes of the project and will not categorically reject them. ...the life continues, the reconstruction performed certainly managed to return the ancient look of the place (even though there are persuasive arguments on use of reconstruction method from the academic community) as well as the feelings related to pre-conflict meaning of bridge among town's residents.

This particular case reminds of the interventions in Dresden and Warsaw after the Second World War. The historic centre of Warsaw was heavily destroyed during the war: more than 85 % of the buildings was completely destroyed. The acceptance of recovery that would predominantly be composed of the reconstruction is highly vulnerable issue. Its sensitivity lies in following facts:

- The possibility to **authentically** reconstruct the site according to the documentation and other studies on the original destroyed structures (the availability of such documentation);

- Highly **neutral** attitude in interpreting of such documentation: reconstructed parts should be authentically realized only according to the original pre-destruction context, the interpreting of monument and its documentation according to the new political or any other circumstances is absolutely not acceptable;
- Such recoveries of ensembles are generally consisted of very high percentage of reconstructed parts;
- In the recoveries there is a very high percentage of the **new material** that was used;
- In the realization of the reconstruction the possibility to perform the **original techniques** and **methods** of the construction;
- The danger to make **modernizations** or **alterations** during the reconstruction that differs the structures from the original ones;
- In this case possible political implication of listing this site as the attempt (obviously made on the international level) to support the recovery of the extremely divided city, its conflict resolution as well as the renewal of the coexistence of its communities;
- The possibility to ensure high financial means obligatory for the realization of the entire project.

The city of Mostar before the war was a multicultural city composed of three nations: Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks (Muslims). Today, Mostar is a radically divided city between Croats and Bosniaks (*Eastern* and *Western* Mostar). Serbian residents were expelled from the city during the war.

The recovery of the historical town included the complete reconstruction of the Old Bridge. The material used was completely new but there was some integration of the original historic material (mainly on the surface). Positioning of the ensemble in the natural and urban landscape is one of the most positive achievements of this project. Many different studies of this case had to be made, studying the authenticity of the reconstructed parts as well as the

valuing the ensemble all together. The possibility to reconstruct the authenticity of the site tightly depends of the accessibility of such documentation, description, photos as well as the possibility to perform the reconstruction of the ensemble in the non-spontaneous way and to fit the reconstructed parts together with the preserved remains. (Figure 4.06, 4.07)

It can be concluded that the ‘operation’ of recovery of Old Town of Mostar has been performed rather experimentally. For some experts the idea of the recovery of the ensemble and its listing as the Protected site was out of question, for them the main argument was: the bridge that was built is a completely new bridge that has nothing to do with the old one. There lies the most vulnerable issue of the recovery of heritage in the post-conflict zones. In the heritage protection the history is being regarded as the irreversible process consisted of original elements, even they represent something that was destroyed. The reconstruction is regarded as the faking of history and conscious loss of these original elements.

In the Venice Charter (1964) in the article 15, related to archaeological excavations is stated:

All reconstruction work should however be ruled out *a priori*. Only anastylosis, that is to say, the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts can be permitted. The material used for integration should always be recognizable and its use should be the least that will ensure the conservation of a monument and the reinstatement of its form.<sup>110</sup>

This represents the general attitude towards reconstruction (the reconstruction cannot replace the original building). In theory there are only slight ambiguities and approving of the reconstruction as the method of recovery. In the Florence Charter (1981) that is dedicated to the historic gardens, in the article 9. it is stated that:

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<sup>110</sup> *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)*, 2nd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments (Venice, 1964). Available from: [http://www.icomos.org/charters/venice\\_e.pdf](http://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf). (Accessed January 13, 2013).

The preservation of historic gardens depends on their identification and listing. They require several kinds of action, namely maintenance, conservation and restoration. In certain cases, reconstruction may be recommended.<sup>111</sup>

With remarks that:

In any work of maintenance, conservation, restoration or reconstruction of a historic garden, or of any part of it, all its constituent features must be dealt with simultaneously. To isolate the various operations would damage the unity of the whole.<sup>112</sup>

...no reconstruction work on a historic garden shall be undertaken without thorough prior research to ensure that such work is scientifically executed...<sup>113</sup>

Where a garden has completely disappeared or there exists no more than conjectural evidence of its successive stages a reconstruction could not be considered a historic garden.<sup>114 115</sup>

The general clear attitude towards the reconstruction as the method of the recovery is obviously rejected, but the idea of its reconsidering comes from the various study cases. What about the areas where heritage was completely and irreversibly destroyed leaving no place for other ways of recovery?! Would it be justifiable to plan a completely new ensembles and units with absolutely no regards to the history and the meaning of destroyed ones?! This issue in Mostar's case probably wouldn't leave many people indifferent...

The conclusion from this observation is that if accepted the method of reconstruction should be performed according to the original and scientifically acceptable documentation. Making decision about the realization of the reconstruction differs from one case to another. Having in mind overall experience, the reconstruction as the method should not be put out of question in post-conflict recoveries. In recovery the monument should absolutely be

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<sup>111</sup> *Historic Gardens (The Florence Charter 1981)*. Adopted by ICOMOS (Florence, 1982). Available from: [http://www.icomos.org/charters/gardens\\_e.pdf](http://www.icomos.org/charters/gardens_e.pdf). (Accessed March 19, 2013).

<sup>112</sup> Article 10.

<sup>113</sup> Article 15.

<sup>114</sup> Article 17.

<sup>115</sup> *Historic Gardens (The Florence Charter 1981)*. Adopted by ICOMOS (Florence, 1982). Available from: [http://www.icomos.org/charters/gardens\\_e.pdf](http://www.icomos.org/charters/gardens_e.pdf). (Accessed March 19, 2013).

prevented of making quick and ignorant solutions, and that often includes the additional studying.

The reconstruction as it is described here is obviously ‘loaded’ with additional meanings: aside of its ‘revival’ (‘reanimation’) the monument should also ‘continue’ the ‘life’ of the original monument bearing its complex physical and aesthetical experience (that includes its incorporation in the urban units, interpolation with other monuments or landscape, consolidation the experiences like earthquakes as we saw and so on) as well as its significance in the community.

Humanity didn’t manage to stop conflicts and mass destruction of happening, even though there are attempts in the international law tending to ban the wars. Wars are obviously part of the basic human reality. Conditioning the recovery of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the way that should exclude the method of reconstruction wouldn’t be fair towards its cultural value and place in human civilisation significantly due to the fact that salvation of saving of cultural heritage failed.

In 2005 rather positive estimations has been made in a favour of the authenticity of recovered ensemble underlining the success of the attempt to recover the constructive unit that was significantly destroyed during the conflict.<sup>116</sup> It has multiple importance:

- The stimulus for other similar cases in the world;
- Improving the post-conflict management of the cultural heritage;
- Manipulating the reconstruction during the process of recovery of ensemble.

The conclusion was that ‘the authenticity of form, use of authentic materials and techniques are fully recognizable.’<sup>117</sup> The stimulus for other similar cases in the world is one of the greatest achievements of this project because it offers an open door with lots of hope that values that have been destroyed in the catastrophes can be recovered.

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<sup>116</sup> *Advisory Body Evaluation, Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina) No 946 rev.* (UNESCO, 2005), 181.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.



The result is not a kind of invented or manipulated presentation of an architectural feature which never before existed in that form, rather the reconstructed bridge has a kind of truthfulness, even though in strictly material terms a considerable portion is not of identical or original pieces.<sup>118</sup>

Other important positive outcomes of the recovery of the historical ensemble from Mostar are:

- The underlined necessity of avoiding the alterations in the ensemble that could violate the original concept;
- The opportunity to research the important archaeological area after the destruction of the bridge that wasn't accessible before.

Of particular importance is avoiding the alterations in the ensemble that could violate the original concept of the landscape and urbanscape, this attitude will prevent further development of the zones into new, unpredicted directions that could violate the original values of protected site. The surrounding area of Old Bridge is also an important archaeological site that, after the destruction of the bridge, has opened up the possibility for in-depth research of the ancient construction methods. This actually increased the value of the whole site.

The archaeological research has been completed in March 2003, and findings on the both sides were quite interesting. There were masonry structures (attributed to the previous bridges that existed prior to building of the glorious Old Bridge), about 200 pieces of the pottery, metal and stone cannon balls, about 250 metal wedges, some medieval tools etc.<sup>119</sup>

Another consequence of the recovery of the Old Town of Mostar is its immeasurable positive influence on the city's economy. The significance of the reconstruction of the Old Bridge is very considerable not just for Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also on the international level: the case of the 'rebuilt bridge' is striking and considered as the symbol of the peaceful

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 181.

<sup>119</sup> Popovac, M. "Reconstruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar". *Acta Polytechnica*. 46 Vols. No 2/2006. (Prague: Czech Technical University in Prague, 2006), 58.

conflict resolution and reconciliation. It is also considered as a hope for human solidarity (due to the cooperation of many international institutions) for the peace and resisting the catastrophes.

The Warsaw's Old Town was described as 'an outstanding example of a near-total reconstruction of a span of history covering the 13th to the 20th century.'<sup>120</sup> The case of Mostar is practically more than that<sup>121</sup> having in mind that the Mostar project was under supervision of many international (and local) organisations and experts, resulting with the huge project of capital importance (which wasn't the case in many other previous recoveries and reconstructions).

From the technical point of view the entire project was very demanding.<sup>122</sup> The first task, after preparations of complex documentation and planning, was to take-down the existing remains of the bridge in order to restore the abutment walls on both sides that would provide the solid bases for the arch. The scaffolding have been erected in July 2002. Many composing pieces of the bridge had to be dismantled during the conservation of the support structures, to ensure the solidity of the further work. Particularly difficult was the building of the arch: composing the voussoirs and other parts of it. (Figure 4.08)

The maximum of the original pavement was used, naturally. The pavement on the right side of the bridge has been decomposed, every piece properly marked, measured and documented. Afterwards, the goal was to return as most as possible of pieces to their original place.

At several points it was the additional issue to arrange the solid places for putting the crane for the reconstruction of the bridge, steel grids during the centering and complex network of scaffolding that served during most of the time of reconstruction.

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<sup>120</sup> Available from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/30> (Accessed March 2nd, 2013).

<sup>121</sup> *Advisory Body Evaluation, Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina) No 946 rev.* (UNESCO, 2005), 182.

<sup>122</sup> Read more on: Popovac, M. "Reconstruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar". *Acta Polytechnica*. 46 Vols. No 2/2006. (Prague: Czech Technical University in Prague, 2006), 53-58.

Material used for the reconstruction corresponds with material of the bridge before destruction (the remains have been used as much as possible in order to preserve the authenticity of the bridge). There is tenelija stone (for the large number of bridges' elements), the limestone (for the pavement and stone slabs), the iron (for the connectors, cramps and dowels as well as for the fence), the lead (particularly important for the bridge, it ensured the high resistance of the bridge to very strong wind, flood, earthquakes...) and mortar. Pouring the lead in the voussoir stones was particularly demanding.

Again, the success of the reconstructed site has been confirmed by detailed scientific analysis and reports. Very demanding process of the reconstruction is proof of the supreme skills of the ancient constructors, which is one of the main values of the bridge and the argument for its listing as the World Heritage Site. (Figure 4.09, 4.10)

#### **4.4 Challenges and suggestions for improvement of current situation;**

##### **Valuable experiences applicable to military conflict zones elsewhere**

The complex political organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina influences the condition of its cultural heritage. Even though the significant efforts have been made in order to organize the efficient functioning of the appropriate institutions (through the Commission to Preserve National Monuments) the system of Bosnian politics is that much divided that there are many practical unsolvable problems and issues.

In the past century there have been three main periods that directly changed the face and the character of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian culture:

- The Holocaust in Bosnia and Herzegovina when the Jewish community, which was the integral part of Bosnian culture, ceased to exist: the one of its four main components has been wiped out;
- The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995 when the majority of Bosnian cultural heritage was destroyed or heavily damaged;

- Post-war organization of the recovery of country that includes the construction of new homes and shelters, infrastructure, efforts to recover the destroyed monuments of culture, directing and managing their use and promotion.

Country's political division is tightly related with the possibility to efficiently deal with the cultural heritage. The composing units are so badly coordinated that Bosnian cultural heritage is poorly managed, the sustainable maintaining is practically impossible, the potential sites are forgotten, the citizens are practically not aware of importance of the cultural heritage as well as the possible benefit out of it (not to mention that cultural heritage is often the object of vandalisms and chauvinist fighting).

The programs of return of refugees to their home are still actual. Aside of that there are many different programs related to collecting the facts about the war 1992-96. There is no proper dealing with the issues related to the cultural heritage during the management of the return and organization of the local communities.

The economy of some country naturally strongly influences the condition of the cultural heritage: in higher developed economies chances for better preservation of monuments are higher. Bosnia and Herzegovina is experiencing huge economical issues, therefore it is another circumstance that is negatively reflecting on the entire condition of the cultural heritage.

Higher measures against vandals that intentionally damage or destroy monument of culture should be legitimately proposed and applied with no exception. Peoples of many of Balkan countries are generally well known for their ignorance and often vandal attitude towards natural and cultural heritage. Normally the governments should invest more effort in order to solve this problem, but in practice in Balkans that is not the case: nevertheless, governments even cooperate in many cases with the local communities (mainly individuals) that are taking the illegal benefit out of cultural and natural resources (there are many cases

where cultural heritage was neglected and intentionally destroyed or damaged for being illegally used). There is practically no education about the importance and significance of the cultural heritage for the society and civilization, on the contrary the cultural heritage issue is often (as it was already illustrated) a victim of still very powerful political chauvinisms. Obviously the civil sector organizations (NGOs) are not strong enough to deal with this urging problem.

The independence of monuments should be respected and they should not be used as the political symbols as it is the case in Mostar with the Old Bridge that is supposed to symbolise the connection between people but it is often 'decorated' with emblems of only one people...

The independence of the monuments during their recovery should be as well strongly respected: there was no respect of archaeological, urban concepts in many cases during the recoveries. As the consequence many completely new inappropriate structures appeared, they are not related to landscape nor urbanscape, and this phenomenon represents the irreversible destruction of the architectural ensembles. Many of institutions that performed the quick solutions will argue that there was the most urgent need to provide the shelters for homeless people, and that during the quick recoveries there was no possibility to organize the proper recoveries that will include the restoration of the heritage places and the respect of the authenticity of the places and their cultural contexts. This clash between the urgent need and the need for the respect of the natural and cultural environment is obviously not easy solvable in post-conflict management of heritage sites. However, in many cases this reason was just used in order to have quick results and to neglect the entire cultural heritage issue.

The improper solutions on monuments have been very often performed by the religious institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They were one of the rare to have enough means and power to do the recoveries, but those attempts have often been performed

catastrophically. The solutions have been made very quick, without the respect of the nature of the buildings; that especially included the improper use of the concrete (Gazi Husrev-beg's mosque in Sarajevo). Performing the quick *ad hoc* solutions meant the further destruction of the heritage: changing the forms, addition of parts that are changing the structure and derange the original values (all kinds of deformations that are strictly forbidden in the protection of monuments).

Obviously, in Bosnian and Herzegovinian case, there is much of further **post-conflict destruction of cultural heritage** through the attempts of its recovery. These cases should be analysed and the methodology should be introduced (based on the Bosnian case-study) that would assure the efficient recovery of the cultural heritage elsewhere in the post-conflict zones.

In recent years in heritage protection domain there is more discussion about preparations for the destruction that can occur during the armed conflict. Those discussion somewhat appeared after the terrorist attacks in United States on 11 September 2001. Aside of that, a huge loss of cultural monuments during the civil wars also influenced preparation and planning in certain cultural institutions and debates in expert circles. That is how the post-conflict recovery also starts to include the pre-war preparations for eventual destruction.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a major European case that provoked much of world's consideration about this topic, deliberation about the ideas that could prevent cultural monuments from the destruction. In past few decades there were other cases of immeasurable destruction: in Iraq, Kosovo, Afghanistan etc. Many of employees in various countries had to face the difficult situation and make quick decisions bearing huge responsibilities. There have been huge preparations for the military conflict at the beginning of the war in Lebanon, where the working and management staff of the Museum in Beirut had to organize the emergency plan in order to preserve the collections. Many of similar attempts failed completely in Iraq,

after the war 2003. Iraq became famous destination for looting, losing tens of thousands of artefacts. Illegal appropriation and the black market play a crucial role in this events.

The mass destruction during the 90's (especially in the former Yugoslavia) initiated the more effective reconsideration of the international law that concerns cultural heritage. The Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict has been discussed and as the result the Second Protocol to this convention has been signed in 1999. This protocol puts an emphasis on the **preparation** of the cultural heritage for the eventual destruction **before** the conflict starts. After careful consideration of experiences in Lebanon and Iraq, much of attention should be dedicated to the planning of emergency measures in the cases of sudden attack, blaze, collapse of buildings etc. Thanks to this treaty, cultural institutions from all over the world are facing the idea of armed conflict scenario, which can certainly be of help if needed. (Similar to the recommendations launched after the 9/11 attacks: certain cultural institutions in Europe had prepared plans for action in the case of terrorist attacks).

The urging problem in most of world's conflict zones is surely the black market of weapon. World should invest much more effort in order to limit the illegal transport and selling of arms. This research isn't going to propose the utopia that the world should stop produce the weapon completely (it's obvious that it wouldn't work having in mind that this is one of the most profitable businesses), but the fact is that the controlled market of weapon would ensure the preservation of cultural heritage in conflict zones. The efforts on the international level to completely suppress the black market of weapon is not functional, but what could be done is to ensure the heavy penalties for the individuals or groups that violate these mechanisms.

The significant problem coming to attention in zones of armed conflict is the use of blue shield emblem on the protected monuments as the specified determination from the

Hague Convention. In many cases it is intentionally avoided to properly apply this sign ("Cultural Red Cross") because such monuments afterwards have been intentionally attacked. In Bosnia and Herzegovina even the hospitals marked with red cross were deliberately bombed, monuments of culture as well, therefore it is a relevant question if use of such emblem is desirable. Therefore the strong recommendation to all countries in the world is to properly educate soldiers that once might be present in some armed conflict about the proper meaning of the blue shield emblem as well as the awareness of responsibility of eventual deliberate destruction of marked monument. Monuments marked with blue shield shouldn't be intentionally targeted.

The Hague Convention stresses the importance of the cooperation on the international level, that could ensure the more efficient protection of cultural heritage, application of the international law, preventing the illegal trade on the black market and so on. In the case of the former Yugoslav republics this cooperation would be of particular importance: the region would have stronger cooperation between the experts, there would have been more efficient exchange of the important information and displaced artefacts. The cooperation also would be a very positive example for the further consolidation of this post-conflict region.

It is perfectly clear that for the cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina there is no instant solution. The notion of the preservation of cultural good should be developed both as an awareness (of heritage as the integral part of the humanity, and this first of all means the appropriate education) and as the efficiently organized system supported by administration and infrastructure, capable for protection and promotion of heritage. Years and years of efforts should be invested in order to obtain the sustainability in the protection and significance of the cultural heritage.



## **5 Current condition of the cultural institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

### **5.1 Current situation in the National Museum, National Gallery and other crucial institutions of culture in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina**

To reflect the general situation in the country and its cultural sector most suitable is the example of the major cultural institutions that collapsed in previous year.

National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Zemaljski Muzej Bosne i Hercegovine*) is the biggest Bosnian museum and the oldest institution of that kind in the region, established in 1888. It is situated in the important historical building that was also targeted during the war, it has an important library as well as several departments.

The museum has many important artefacts and some of them have huge values for the human civilization. The Sarajevo Haggadah is one of the most important and most precious illuminated manuscripts in the world, originating from Barcelona (around 1350), it is now held in the museum. This manuscript is also a witness of the erased Jewish aspect of Bosnian culture.

This prestigious institution closed its operations on 4 October 2012 (after 124 years of its existence) due to financial issues. The bizarre decision to shut down indefinitely the oldest and the most important cultural institution in the country perfectly demonstrates the political will to maintain and support the culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as the complex social changes that its peoples endures. Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina are experiencing the absurd situation: the cultural experiment – the transformation of the identity of its culture which is consisted of:

- First of all the suppression of the multiculturalism that was the key feature of Bosnian and Herzegovinian culture that shaped its cultural heritage and national style;

- Imposing and forcing the politically motivated national-chauvinisms and dominance of religious institutions;

- The unrestricted development of commercial country postmodern culture that in Balkan states is very powerful, characterized by its mainly vulgar content and rapid expansion especially during the time of huge economical crises. Such circumstances also change the meaning of the cultural heritage. Such 'new' culture is enforced by the huge economical crises and massive unemployment, poor education and shutting down countries main cultural institutions;

- Imposing the new 'alternative' heritage sites, widely popular among Bosnian citizens and media.

National Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Umjetnička galerija Bosne i Hercegovine*), established in 1946, is another institution of the fundamental importance for the culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its content is composed of over 6.000 pieces of art of the most important domestic artists. The particularly bizarre fact is that the gallery has been opened during the siege, but together with the National Museum it was closed in 2012.

Shutting down country's most important institutions of culture also reflects the census between the three constitutional peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina over Bosnian heritage as well as its future. Bizarrely, another Sarajevo's Museum, the Museum Alija Izetbegović (Bosniak political leader during the war), is not likely to have any problems with functioning, on the contrary, the museum possess very advanced technology for presenting its content.

## **5.2 'Alternative heritage' sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

The specific phenomenon in Bosnia and Herzegovina, by most of Bosnian academic community described as 'scandalous', is the appearance of 'alternative heritage' sites. Scientifically they are not recognized, but they are widely popular and having lots of support.

Most important is the 'Bosnian Pyramid Valley' that came to the centre of country's and World's attention in 2005. Situated northwest from Sarajevo, near the town of Visoko, their protagonist Semir Osmanagić determined them as the largest human-made pyramids on Earth. According to him, the pyramids have been constructed by ancient Illyrians around 12.000 BC. However, experts, archaeologists, and scientists agreed that the site is the natural geological formation that also contains some remains of the medieval town and settlements. The phenomenon is related to the notion of nation's glorious past and particular importance in world's hierarchy of events: Bosnian pyramids will, according to their protagonists, change the world's view on the entire history.

Behind the whole story of its credibility, it is sad that the public's attention is being kept exclusively on these 'alternative heritage sites' while real and existing heritage is not just falling apart. Many of heritage sites are being intentionally destroyed, there is no public consciousness for its state and preservation, and the government showed no will and no mean in order to improve its condition.

## 6 Conclusion

Bosnia and Herzegovina has a rich and very diverse cultural heritage. Its culture is often determined as the civilization border between the West and Oriental world. Bosnian cultural heritage has a particularly special place in European context, due to its original features and complexity.

The heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been shaped during the centuries, often experiencing radical transformations. There have been four most dominant periods with decisive influences (chronologically): the Medieval Bosnian period, Ottoman period, Austro-Hungarian reign and period of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the integral part of Yugoslavia.

In academic literature the determination 'Bosnian style' is characterized as the **unique** and **authentic** (Marian Wenzel). However, Bosnia and Herzegovina was always in the centre of political manipulations and controversies, such circumstances affected the condition of the cultural heritage as well as its academic determinations and importance.

One of the most crucial features of cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the **multiculturalism**. The key four components are: Muslim, Orthodox Christian, Roman Catholic Christian and Jewish culture. The first immeasurable loss in Bosnian culture was the extermination of the Jewry during the Second World War. Even though there is incredibly rich cultural heritage left behind Jewish people, losing its component the Bosnian culture could never be the same.

The war 1992-96 presents the largest military conflict in Europe after the Second World War. It followed the break-up of Yugoslavia coming after the wars in Slovenia and Croatia. Already in Croatia in 1991 the exceptional sites of culture have been brutally and barbarically attacked. During the war (that also included a military aggression) in Bosnia and Herzegovina the large number of monuments has been completely destroyed or heavily damaged. The attempt of the recovery and the reconstruction of cultural heritage was a very

difficult task to perform, even its first phase, making the statistics of destroyed monuments after the war was practically impossible due to difficult circumstances. First to give some basic idea about the level of destruction were religious communities. However, years after the conflict few international experts and commissions made some surveys in the field and presented conclusions.

The destruction of the cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been performed systematically, violating international law. International community had no impact on the treatment of cultural property in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The destruction affected mainly religious monuments of cultural importance (mainly mosques, but also monasteries and churches), historical urban ensembles, bridges. There were also heavy destructions of libraries and written record (including most important and the biggest libraries that have been completely destroyed with their entire contents). Particularity of Bosnian war was the destruction of cultural heritage outside of battle fields. In some cases cultural monuments were the places of atrocities and massacres.

During the siege of Sarajevo (that was the longest siege of the city in the entire modern warfare) the aggression naturally shaped the cultural life: dealing with the culture became the form of resistance. Much of war traces in Sarajevo became the integral part of cultural heritage that originates from the period during-the-siege.

The military conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina was stopped with the Dayton Peace Agreement. This agreement became the new Bosnian constitution that contains the Annex 8, which is responsible for the post-conflict organization and management of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The recovery of the destroyed cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been conditioned by two main facts:

- The necessity of infrastructure in everyday life;

- The constitutional regulation that obliges the reconstruction and preservation of the heritage that is in the tight relationship with the return of refugees to their original places.

In fact, the second condition can be understood as the attempt of the recovery of multiculturalism that was one of the key features of pre-war Bosnian and Herzegovinian cultural identity.

Even though often well planned, the return of refugees to their home-places as well as the recovery of multiculturalism after the dramatic events and atrocities was and still is practically unmanageable due to many reasons. **The recovery of multiculturalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the biggest challenge for the sustainability of its cultural heritage.**

However, during the years, there have been different changes in the society - places are ethnically and politically polarized, which conditioned the significance of existing cultural heritage of minorities in many places, as well as the formative processes in the development of existing and the formation of new aspects and codes of cultural heritage.

In many cases the experience of recovery of heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be compared with the recovery of some of European cities after the Second World War; some places experienced the same challenges as the reconstructions of the destroyed synagogues in many places all over Europe where Jewish heritage has been completely destroyed during the Holocaust.

The recovery of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina was widely supported by the international institutions, governments, institutes, experts, individuals etc. Some projects have been performed experimentally. Due to its complexity the case of Old Bridge in Mostar has divided the experts. However, the reconstruction and the consolidation of the bridge and the majority of destroyed or heavily damaged buildings have been performed very carefully, respecting every criteria under the strict supervision of major international institutions (UNESCO and ICOMOS). Some of the outcomes of this recovery are often under the

discussion in heritage protection circles. ‘The reconstruction of the neighbourhood of the Old Bridge as well as its destruction is associated with events of universal historical significance.’<sup>123</sup>

On the study of Bosnian experience the use of reconstruction method in recovery (that is generally categorically rejected in heritage protection) can be justified and realized legitimately. The conclusion is however that every different case should be **carefully considered separately**. If realized, the reconstruction should be performed according to the original and scientifically acceptable documentation – only the authentically performed reconstruction in post-conflict zones can be acceptable. The surviving parts of the monument should be maximally used. The material used in reconstruction should correspond to the original material of the monument destroyed.

In-depth discussed in this work, the reconstruction as the method shouldn’t be rejected in post-conflict recoveries, especially after its application with positive outcomes in Warsaw, Mostar, Dresden and so on. The historical centre of Warsaw was reconstructed after the Second World War (the reconstruction included more than 85% buildings of the Old Town), and its importance was recognized by all relevant international authorities. Previous examples of similar reconstructions from Europe and elsewhere in the world were useful. In Mostar’s case the recovery included the involvement of many international institutions, which wasn’t the case in Warsaw. The preparations in several projects lasted for years and years, and it involved huge efforts on the international levels (Ferhadija mosque, Old Bridge, Sarajevo Town Hall etc).

The monument in recovery should absolutely be prevented of making quick and ignorant solutions, which was often the case in Bosnian post-conflict recovery. The preparation for the recovery often includes the additional studying (the example of

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<sup>123</sup> *Advisory Body Evaluation, Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina) No 946 rev.* (UNESCO, 2005), 182.

reconstruction of Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka, that once was one of the most beautiful sacral buildings in Europe, included a considerable additional efforts in order to make studies of similar type of mosques situated in Turkey, then studying of post-earthquake documentation etc).

The recovery of cultural heritage tightly depends of its legal regulation. In Bosnia and Herzegovina there are serious bureaucratic issues especially due to the complex political apparatus. The financing isn't clearly organized as well. Unfortunately the cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a victim of often demonstrated political chauvinism. The public awareness of the importance of protection of heritage is not sufficient mainly due to the very poor education and the bizarre propaganda of popular and chauvinist culture that directly affects the condition of historical and cultural monuments. Even though many major and challenging projects of recoveries have been performed with great success in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the sustainable protection of cultural heritage is not likely to be assured and enabled.



## 7 Figures



Figure 1.1 Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina



Figure 1.2 Bosnian medieval tombstone (Stećak) from Radimlja



Figure 1.3 Ottoman house in Mostar



Figure 1.4 Old Orthodox church in Sarajevo



Figure 1.5 Signing of Dayton Peace Agreements



Figure 3.01 Marijin Dvor during the siege of Sarajevo (the Parliament building on the back)



Figure 3.02 Marijin Dvor, part of urban ensemble, during the siege of Sarajevo (Momo and Uzeir twin buildings with St Joseph church)



Figure 3.03 Destruction of Momo and Uzeir (today UNITIC Business Towers) with the view on Marijin Dvor district.

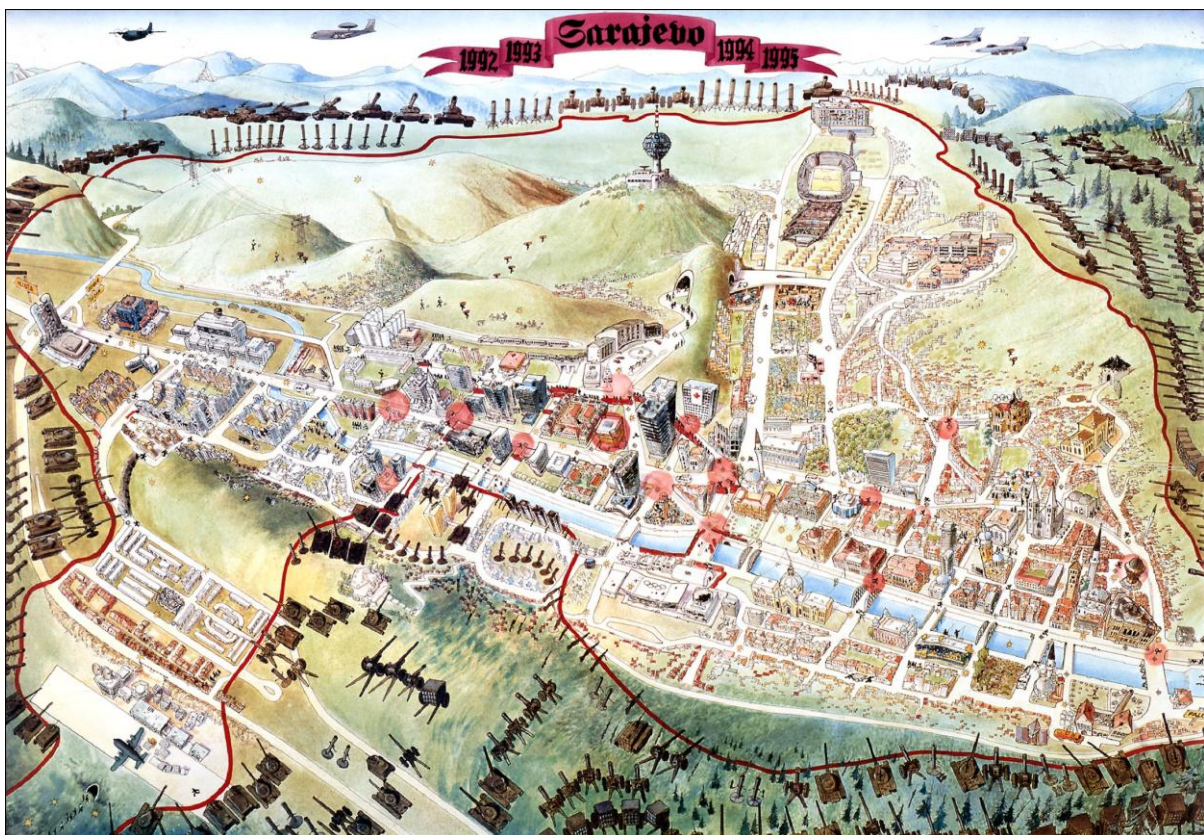


Figure 3.04 Plan of Sarajevo under the siege (popularly known as *Surviving map*).



Figure 3.05 Destroyed Farhadija mosque in Banja Luka

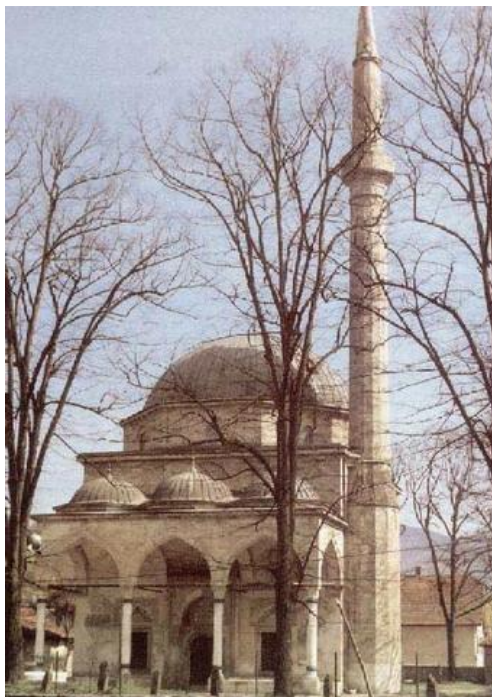


Figure 3.06 (on the left) Aladža mosque in Foča before the destruction

Figure 3.07 (on the right) The ground after destruction of Aladža mosque in Foča



Figure 3.08 (on the left) Barbarism in Bijeljina: sacking of the mosque



Figure 3.09 (on the right) Rubble after the sacking of the mosque in Bijeljina



Figure 3.10 (on the left) Orthodox Cathedral church in Mostar after destruction



Figure 3.11 (on the right) Orthodox Monastery Žitomisljić in Mostar after destruction



Figure 3.12 National and University Library in flame, Sarajevo

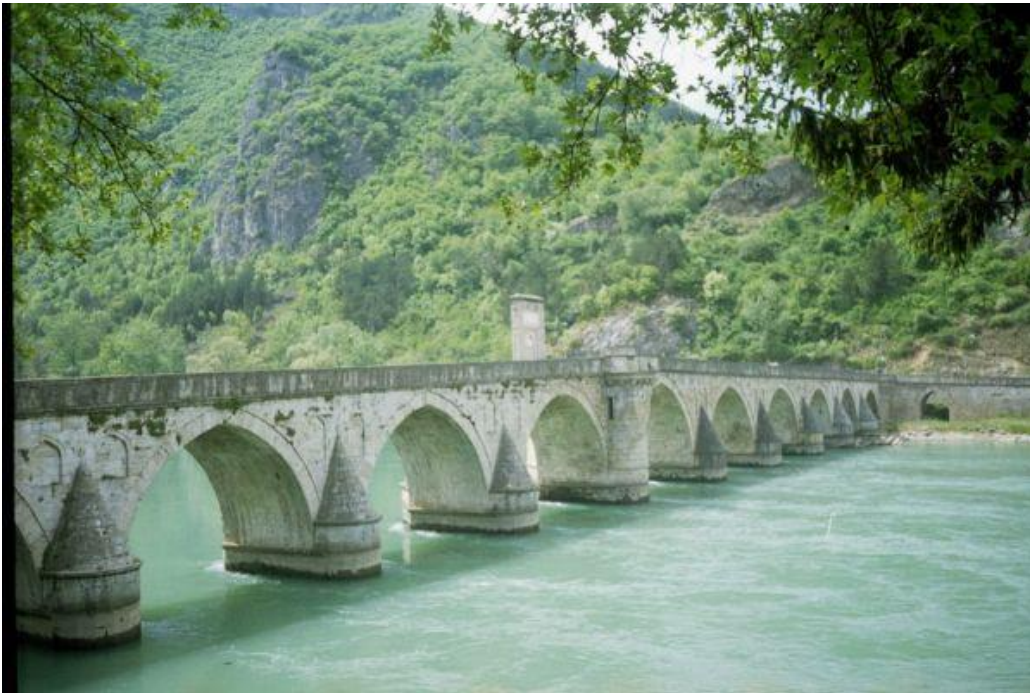


Figure 3.13 Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge in Višegrad (World Heritage Site)



Figure 3.14 Old Bridge in Mostar at the moment of destruction, captured on camera



Figure 3.15 Vedran Smailović playing on the rubble of Sarajevo Town Hall. Captured by  
Mikhail Evstafiev



Figure 3.16 *Sarajevo Rose*



Figure 4.01 Recovered Town Hall of Sarajevo (*Vijećnica*)





Figure 4.02 Detail during the façade recovery of Sarajevo Town Hall



Figure 4.03 High School in Mostar after recovery



Figure 4.04 Town Hall of Brčko after recovery



Figure 4.05 The reconstruction of Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka



Figure 4.06 The improvised bridge on the place of Old Bridge after its destruction. Mostar



Figure 4.07 Cleaned watersides of Neretva river before the reconstruction. Mostar



Figure 4.08 Old Bridge during the reconstruction, scaffolding. Mostar



Figure 4.09 Old Bridge, townscape and landscape after reconstruction. Mostar



Figure 4.10 Old Bridge and Old Town, view from the air. Mostar

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## **Declaration**

Herewith, I assure that this master thesis was written independently by myself and that no further sources or means apart from those cited in the text were used.

In Olomouc (Czech Republic), April 2013

Andrej Radulović

## The Abstract

The research attempts to present and analyse the human phenomenon of the destruction of cultural heritage on the case study of armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-96. Bosnia and Herzegovina has a rich and diverse cultural heritage that was created under different influences during the history bearing the multiculturalism as a main feature.

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina happened shortly after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. It was the largest military conflict in Europe after the Second World War. The conflict resulted with:

- The large number of killed and displaced person;
- Heavy violations of international law and human rights characterized with atrocities;
- Mass destruction of infrastructure, private and cultural property.

Research presents the different aspects of destruction and phenomenon that appeared during the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The post-conflict recovery was a very complex task whose realization is guaranteed by the Annex 8 of Dayton Peace Agreement. The recovery and management of monuments were often performed under the supervision of international institutions (UNESCO etc) and two monuments were successfully listed as World Heritage Sites in 2000's.

Some of recoveries are in detail presented and analysed. The method of reconstruction has been in-depth discussed on the study of recovery of Old Town and Old Bridge in Mostar.

Research presumes the conclusions made on experiences in Bosnia and Herzegovina that would be usefully applicable on the other cases of destruction of cultural heritage in conflict zones as well as their post-conflict recovery.