AUTHORITY TO LIBERATE THE OTTOMAN LEGACY

Double Decentralization in Dušan Grabrijan's and Juraj Neidhardt's Theoretical Narrative

Lejla Džumhur, Aida Idrizbegović Zgonić

ABSTRACT: One of the most striking elements of Dušan Grabrijan's and Juraj Neidhardt's *oeuvre* is the extent and freedom of associations with the contested Ottoman legacy in the first decades of the socialist era in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as seen in their book Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity. Such freedom primarily resulted from the increasingly favorable political environment that permitted and encouraged decentralization from the predominantly negative portrayal of the Ottoman past.

This paper seeks to unravel the structure and sources of the main discourses used by Grabrijan and Neidhardt in Architecture of Bosnia to deal with the stigma of the Ottoman heritage. We argue that they utilize a certain syncretic language that reflects their own and varied experiences within the Orient-Occident borderline. We assert that their first generating discourse is that of modernism, while the second one revolves around the so-called 'close neighbor' or 'domesticated foreigner' perspective on the Orient. The premise of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's first position is argued through the parallels of their narrative and the inherent modernist authorization to operate with scientific displacement. The premise of the second position is confirmed through contact nodes with the local differentiated orientalist discourse, which Heiss and Feichtinger (2013) define as distinct in relation to Said's general concept of oriental Otherness as formulated in Orientalism (1978).

In addition to plunging into the dualistic nature of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's work on the lines of modernism and otherness, center-periphery, the conclusions of the paper point to the broader problem of the controversies of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian heritage, where the relationship of modernism towards/with Ottoman heritage is still an underrepresented subject.

KEYWORDS: Modernism, Orientalism, Colonial Heritage, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Le Corbusier

INTRODUCTION: The controversy surrounding the Ottoman heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina stems from the adverse experiences of the non-Muslim residents inside the Ottoman theocracy, a system characterized by the validity of political and economic segregation of its population based on religion. The stigma of the Ottoman legacy solidified by facilitating these experiences into a cultural trauma within the new Balkans' nation-state projects outside the Ottoman context in the 19th century.

Cultural trauma, according to Jeffrey (2012, p. 15), is caused by a fundamental threat to people's sense of "who they are, where they came from and where they want to go" and is the result of "acute discomfort entering into the core of the collectivity's sense of its own identity." Critical to the formation of cultural trauma is not the occurrence of an individual negative experience but rather the collectivization of that experience, conceived as "wounds to social identity."

This process requires exceptional cultural and political work. Traumatized collectives do not just exist as rational identities; they have to be imagined, and the key is to determine the group that 'did it,' that caused the trauma rather than individuals. Intellectuals, political leaders, and creators of symbols of all kinds—writers, poets, and the theater stage—are a critical mass and a resource in balancing the power necessary for conveying cultural trauma (Jeffrey, 2012, pp. 15-16).

The Balkans' national programs of the 19th century portrayed the Ottoman Empire as an acute threat to the collective identity of non-Muslims, as a "religiously,

socially, and institutionally alien imposition on autochthonous Christian medieval societies (Byzantine, Bulgarian, Serbian and so on)" (Todorova, 2009, p. 162) that caused suffering through Ottoman oppression. The stubborn trend to conflate the labels Ottoman, Islam, and Muslims (Todorova, 2009, p. 162) enabled these projects to bind not only foreign conquerors but also local Muslims in the context of 'those who did it.' This political stigma finally pervaded a rather indiscriminate range of allusions to Islam as a religion, a system of values, and societal and cultural customs, also encompassing 'oriental type' architecture (Hajdarpašić, 2008, p. 718).

As Todorova explains, it was not enough to marginalize this group and make a radical departure; it had to be entirely negated (2009, p. 180). Hajdarpašić (2008) convincingly guides through the ongoing presence of this stigma, which, as he argues, remains dominant throughout the interwar and socialist periods and ominously looms over the horizon of the 1992–95 conflict to burden the post-socialist reality today. Although there is a continuity of numerous innovative perspectives that shed new light on the place of Ottoman heritage in local history, "for a number of reasons, such approaches were often overshadowed by more dominant political events and eventually relegated to archives and publications that are rarely used" (Hajdarpašić, 2008, p. 727).[1] The 1950s, a time significant for the context of this paper, were a whirlwind period. Following the break with the Soviet Union in 1948 and the emergence of a new national consciousness, Bosnia became a model of the larger socialist Yugoslavia as a union of diversity. In this context, the role of the Ottoman past in shaping the identity of Bosnia and Bosnians gradually evolved. However, by reading a comprehensive review of the official historiography produced between 1945 and 1955 on various phenomena of the Ottoman era, it can be concluded that the prevalent historical view of the Ottoman period as being foreign, oppressive, and retrograde has remained unchanged (Vucinich, 1955). In this body of research, the work of Š. Kulišić (1953) on the ethnic origin of Yugoslav Muslims, an "especially controversial subject" (Vucinich, 1955, p. 296), stands out as a novelty. Kulišić draws on numerous themes of identification of Muslims with Serbs, Croats, Bogomils, and Turkish colonists from Africa and Asia to explain how the Bosnian Muslims have evolved into a distinct 'ethnic' community apart from outsiders, regardless of their origin. Those Muslims, as Kulišić concludes, acquired a unique character due to special historical conditions. This perspective on the history of local Muslims is "in harmony with the official line" (socialism), as Vucinich states (1955, p. 296).

An alternative approach that follows such a novel socialist official line and largely challenges the prevalent negative viewpoint of the Ottoman past, enabling other visions, is the modernist narrative of Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt, as summarized in their 1957 book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity.* This writing is deeply immersed in the Ottoman period, reprogramming traditional values from the perspective of a new socialist organization and way of life. The scope and range of allusions to the Ottoman past in *Architecture of Bosnia* are all-encompassing, including not only the vernacularism of the folk residential house, but also the achievements of classical Ottoman profane and sacred buildings, traditions, practices, and culture of living.

Previous studies have described the progression of motivations and incentives for Neidhardt's tradition-inspired modernist agenda. His collaboration with Le Corbusier on the Algerian project in the early 1930s[2] (Kapetanović, 1988) and general admiration for Le Corbusier were certainly an impetus that was further strengthened by his professional contact and long-lasting friendship with Dušan Grabrijan. Grabrijan performed a crucial role in Neidhardt's growth of knowledge, deep respect, and modernist commodification of the Bosnian Orient. Furthermore, Zatrić-Šahović and Šabić-Zatrić (2016) depict how Neidhardt's agenda was shaped by an attempt to conform Yugoslavian political-economic reality and the environmental paradigm of the region to a new kind of modern organicism.

As a contribution to this body of research, this article is intended to unravel the nature of language and the main discourses structuring the *Architecture of Bosnia*, as it confronts the weight of history and liberates the Ottoman legacy from its disturbing presence.

We argue that European modernism, as a way and structure of thinking, is the first generative outset of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's decentralization and displacement from the bias of the Ottoman legacy. We discern such a core narrative in the agenda of understanding, systematization, and objectification, which is very much how the consciousness of the European West works and how Europeans imagine the world (Heynen, 2013, p. 12). Scientific objectivity is an intrinsic instrument of such understanding, and the subject of what is being observed often shifts from capturing natural order by the laws of physics to the European understanding of 'Other' native cultures, customs, and traditions in a (quasi) anthropological manner (Latour, 1993). Laws, lawfulness, order, and harmony are the building blocks of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's rhetoric, which stems, as we assert, from early purists' intentions to induce a positive state of the modern mind through the artificial fabrication of rhythm and harmony.

From a scientific perspective, Grabrijan and Neidhardt occasionally transition to define the Other in a classical

colonial /modernist manner but also in a differential manner characteristic of the 'Bosnian version of Orient.' Although these discourses appear to be foreign concepts about natives, they also reflect the ongoing experiences of Bosnians and generally South Slavs within two empires: both the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian. As Said argues,

> *"even though a hard and fast line separated coloniser from colonised in matters of rule and authority (…), the experiences of ruler and ruled were not so easily disentangled. On both sides of the imperial divide men and women shared experiences—though differently inflected experiences—through education, civic life, memory, war"*
> *(Said, 2003).*

The analysis presented on the following pages separates Grabrijan and Neidhardt as transmitters of scientific modernist aspirations from Grabrijan and Neidhardt as successors to the 'distant neighbor' rhetoric to grasp their decentralized position in addressing the borderline (Orient-Occident) architectural identity. This analysis (re)indicates the context of Bosnian-Herzegovinian 'becoming modern' to be that of a place of transition and syncretic clash of colonial narratives, orientalism, and the superiority of European thinking into something that coheres after all.

It is important to note that our endeavor is not to indicate any of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's clear (counter) positions or in-depth familiarity with official paradigms that they would have consciously incorporated into their agenda but rather to uncover historical and social influences in an almost intuitive wandering along the intricate paths of heritage. These paths are never clearly demarcated and often represent, as Said (2003) noticed, a reflection of the informal periphery's encounter with the central, imperial, or colonial powers in subsequently created official discourses.

Grabrijan and Neidhardt themselves are Westerners by education, Slovene and Croat and South Slavs by birth, citizens of Sarajevo, and Bosnians by choice, where they meet the Orient, familiar yet exotic. Claiming such incoherent heritage and experience, they gain the authority to understand the same syncretic environment of Bosnia and liberate the Ottoman heritage from its dominant, one-sided, contested anticipations.

ACTING LIKE A SCIENTIFIC MODERNIST

The general discourse used in *Architecture of Bosnia* for coming to terms with Ottoman heritage relies on the objectivity of science. In this chapter, we will demonstrate how science effectively structured the basic scaffolding of Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's narrative, albeit concealed by its poetics toward the local context of Bosnia.

The origins of science in its narrative can be traced back to the early conceptualization of how to incorporate scientific principles and the spirit of modernity into the realm of architecture. This issue was of great concern within an interdisciplinary artistic milieu in which the figure of Charles-Edouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier) played a pivotal role after the end of the Great War and the years that followed. Our reflection on the sources of early purist aspirations is prompted by the enormous influence Jeanneret had on Neidhardt, with whom Neidhardt maintained a professional collaboration during the first half of the 1930s, and, as we learn from recent research (Ivanković, 2016), conducted a written correspondence. Le Corbusier even revised some of his projects, such as the urbanistic project of revitalization and new construction of Marijin dvor in Sarajevo (Ivanković, 2016).[3] Although both architects demonstrated a shift away from the rigorous Cartesian geometry of early purism toward the use of organic and vernacular forms and materials—Le Corbusier during the period from 1930 and 1935 and 1935 (Benton, 2018, p. 373)[4] and Neidhardt in his postwar infrastructural thinking[5]—we argue that the puristic scientific foundation stayed intact.

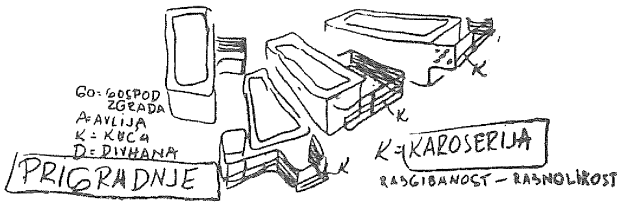
Our argument is founded on recent research by Judy Loach (2018) on the Jeanneret Ozenfant duo's (Charles-Edouard Jeanneret and Amédée Ozenfant) early conception of science-art connection. As we discover, this conception was initially influenced by late-nineteenth-century German parallelist theories, passed down to the duo from the Genevan Cercle Independent, by Le Corbusier's brother, Albert Jeanneret, who joined the duo in 1918. Parallelists, in the tradition of Spinoza, were intensely interested in the indivisible and parallel connection between the states of the body and the mind. The study of the effects of rhythm in re-harmonizing the mind, preoccupying primarily the musician Albert Jeanneret, was the first trigger for the duo to apply the science of both psychophysics and mathematical theories to the field of visual and spatial arts. This approach was further impregnated by Le Corbusier's contact with the multidisciplinary Parisian avant-garde milieu of aesthetes, psychologists, and artists, who became interested in the psychophysics of the relationship between sensory perception and mental/physiological responses (Loach, 2018).

Without going into depth on the transfer of influences from one avant-garde circle to another, we will only outline the general attitude propagated by Le Corbusier (first with Ozenfant) in *Après le Cubisme* (1918) as a purism manifesto and then in the magazine *L'Esprit Nouveau* (launched in 1920), by publishing the positions of psychophysicists, aestheticians, musicians, and playwrights. These *L'Esprit Nouveau* texts also made up the bulk of his *Vers une Architecture* (1923).

Effectively, this conjunction of theories was about experimentally determining the "mechanisms of emotions" (Ozenfant & Jeanneret, 1918, p. 43-45). The human intellect and spirit, purist asserted, could sense universal (mathematical) order. In this relationship of universal order–senses–emotions, the artist (architect) has a special capacity, acting like a resonator with a high sensitivity to the vibrations emitted from the objects they sense. They (the architects) can reinstall the conditions that caused the positive emotions, hence materializing such emotions. By translating the sensed natural order into art and architecture in a controlled manner, they are able to generate identical vibrations in the observers and users of architectural space, causing the "greatest feeling of delight" (Loach, 2018, p. 213).

The deterministic potential of two-dimensional and spatial art is also underpinned by the use of pure forms "that capture the timeless essence of a thing through its carefully selected and simplified representation in material form" (Loach, 2018, p. 214), a view that has led to the creation of purist archetypes or types of objects and forms that have proven best adaptation to their function. The use of simple, geometric forms, both tectonic and stereotomic, can elicit the purest and most direct emotional responses. Acting like a modernist, or an architectural modernist, thus entailed not only harnessing the messy behavior and phenomena by rational means but also further regulating that behavior that can be predicted, ordered and structured by the scientific method. Spatial, demographic, and cultural disorder flowed into the funnel of modern ratio that was about to deal with its purification, selection, and harmonization. This "bias for purity," one of the fundamental characteristics of modern practice (Lawl, et al., 2014, p. 174), actually had a scientific background. How does it reflect in Neidhardt's modern-traditional relationship?

Beholding the form and function of the traditional architectural fabric in Bosnia and Herzegovina, not as disparate entities but primarily as a system and organism, Grabrijan and Neidhardt imply the underlying harmony of the proportion and function of the organs of a biological object. Such harmony is as predictable as the one that emerged from mathematical calculations, given that the origin of both is identical—natural order. The harmony of the traditional, mostly Ottoman, fabric and buildings exists due to their resonance with nature, and the artist-builder, as a resonator sensitive to vibrations, only allows themselves to be permeated by balanced forms. The purest forms of Ottoman domes and arches, as well as the tectonics of the Ottoman house, are a means of restoring harmony (Grabrijan and Neidhardt call these archetype forms "cubic and domed architecture").



01 The laws that make a machine move and unwritten laws of traditional craftsmanship are seen as coming from the same source–Natural Order. © Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, p. 237. (Partial)

In *Architecture of Bosnia*, the often-used terms "harmonious" and "disharmonious" amounted to what has been the dialectical relationship between the traditional (Ottoman) city and the first effects of modernization (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, pp. 11, 14, 72, 110). The disorganized urban contingent needs to become a lively modern organism of the city again, and harmony is endorsed if certain laws are employed. Grabrijan and Neidhardt do not ascertain them using precise scientific methods but rather sense them as rules (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, pp. 249-316) that have survived in the process of resonance and record them as the "unwritten laws." By applying them, they determine the resonant response. The laws that have arisen in the long-term process of resonance are no less deterministic in assuring emotional harmony than psychophysical laws or mathematical relations.

The issue of the universality of laws–those that make the machine move and those emitted from the order comprising the vernacular organism–was evoked, for example, through the traditional Ottoman-Bosnian house, which they observe as a system composed of the main body and annexes (*divanhane, doksat*). By calling the latter a car body (*karoserija*) to align them with the nature of a mechanized system, they allude to the architect's ability to extract unwritten natural laws and translate them into a system of signs inherent to rigorous science [FIGURE 01]. This is just one example of such a conjuncture.

Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's discourse tracks the scientific postulates of the early branch of modernity, which was seriously engaged in the problem of fabricating the essence of art–harmony. The trajectory of creating harmony and balance, visible in *Architecture of Bosnia*, is in the tradition of avant-garde purists led in the 1920s and 30s by Le Corbusier. Acting like a modernist, by objectifying the principles of Ottoman architecture as laws, and by rendering explicit and conflicting Ottoman forms into purist archetypes, they strip them of their controversial meaning. Thus, science and scientific modernism became the means of their latent decentralization.

ATTEMPTS OF 'DISTANT NEIGHBOR'

Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's decentralization from negative ideas on Ottoman legacy may also be seen in what is known as the 'differential orientalist discourse' (Heiss and Feichtinger, 2013). But, before delving into the differential

representation of the Bosnian Orient, let us first observe the classical colonial orientalist discourse which modernists often, deliberately or not, introduced to their agenda.

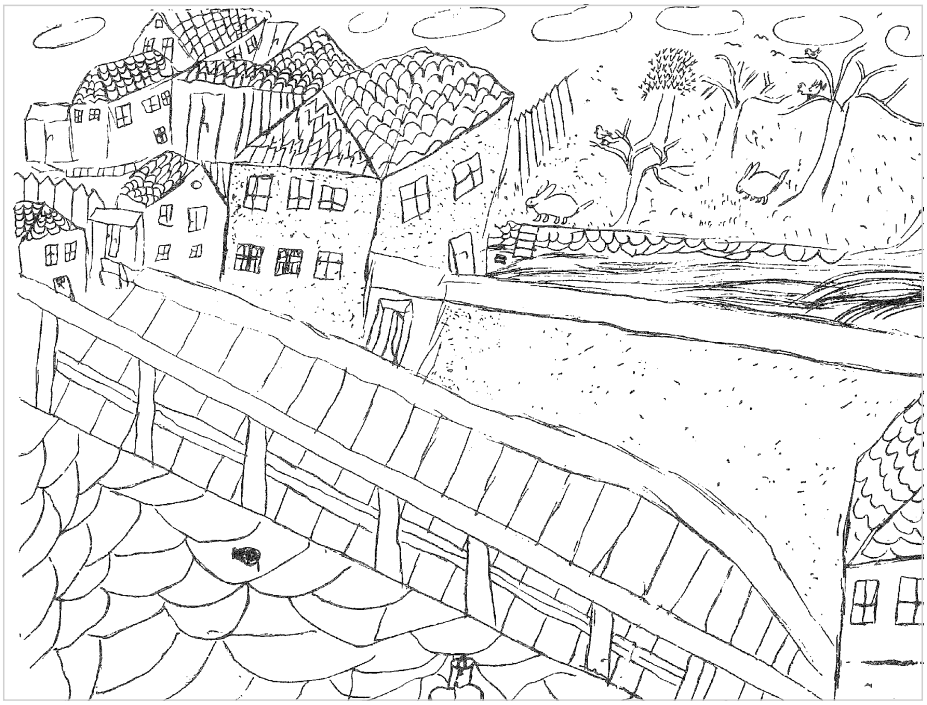
The similarities between colonialist and modernist positions have already been discussed (Heynen, 2013). The discourse that justified colonialism–orientalist discourse inherent to Western European culture–spills over into modernism. Essentially, the conquest of distant territories and peoples, understanding the natives as primitive, backward, and sort of wild, was necessary for Europe's self-explanation as superior, progressive, and modern (Heynen, 2013, p. 11). Such a subjective mirror reflection of the objective Other did not merely serve as justification for the colonial civilizing mission. Without such a reflection, the very existence of the European concept as a collection of ideas, narratives, and practices would be called into question. It could not be sustained without its diametrically opposing inferior (Said, 1978).

The colonial bias is noticeable in Loos', Le Corbusier's, and Rudofsky's views on the primitive in architecture. According to Loos' principle, the primitive is 'childlike,' evolutionarily undeveloped, a stage to be overcome. Controlled development is necessary in order to prevent extinction (Heynen, 2013). An identical attitude permeates Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's narrative. *Architecture of Bosnia* is illustrated by a multitude of children's drawings that depict the essence of folklore architecture. This essence is so simple that children's logic and perception can grasp it [FIGURE 02].

Moreover, primitivism and backwardness are highly desirable characteristics in Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's modernist mission–an idea entirely consistent with the structure of European thinking. Bosnian Ottoman dwellings, for example, are receptive to further development since they are "not rich, but typically peripheral architecture" within the Ottoman Empire, "simple and straightforward." "Unlived," pure forms, like the spirit of a child, are a kind of *tabula rasa* in his modernist civilizing mission:

> *"Everything has its beginning and end... architecture is justified as long as it is alive, until it decays, until it turns into schematism, and then it withers within itself. Many cultures have diluted in this way. Gothic, for example, cannot be further built upon. But while the one's country culture has not yet developed so much as to be saturated, it can be built upon its foundation. In Bosnia, it is about ... succulent architecture, ... unfinished, unlived culture, which can be further built upon and it would be a shame if it did not come to life" (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, pp. 12-14).*

Folk architecture cannot survive without modernist common sense. Since it is too "subtle and emotional" (characteristics again attributed to the spirit of a child), modernism takes on the task that has always been Western–rationalizing, using "common sense and healthy sentiment" to enable the creation of "harmonic contemporary architecture" with the primitive as a starting point (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, p. 14). Such an evolutionist narrative in thinking about differences in the cultures of individual peoples "is very much part of the colonial discourse" (Heynen, 2013, p. 13).



02 A child's drawing of the Bosnian oriental residential fabric. © Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, p. 155.

Unlike this classical colonialist and accordingly modernist 'Othering of the Other' as outlined by Said (1978), the local orientalist discourse to whose contours Grabrijan and Neidhardt align in their liberation from the Ottoman stigma is somewhat more complex; in fact, it is differential. Heiss and Feichtinger (2013) reveal this local polarization of the Orient by looking at the variants in the rhetoric of different opinion makers within the Dual Monarchy. Divergent views on the nature of Ottomans circulated among Austro-Hungarian politicians, intellectual elites, and clergy in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, clashing with local views to eventually merge into the official colonial paradigm (Ruthner, 2018). It is important to emphasize that official politics was not only influenced by the Austro-Hungarian image of the Orient, the Ottomans, or the Turks but revolved around the widespread local stances and utilized them to forward its own agendas. As Ruthner (2018) informs us, the separatist nationalist movements in Bosnia that disputed the uniqueness of Bosnian Muslims on the one hand and the lively native discourse on the united Bosnian identity on the other were local factors around which the scaffolding of the colonial paradigm was built.

WHAT WAS THE NARRATIVE FLOW OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN DIFFERENTIAL DISCOURSE?

In short, one polarity represents the image of the Orient as 'distant.' It refers to the Ottoman Empire and the Turks and is a consequence of the all-pervading *metus Turcarum* and *Türkenhass*, which became particularly prominent following the siege of Vienna in 1683. It was of vital importance to demarcate the Ottomans and keep them at a safe distance. The other polarity creates the idea of the Bosnian Orient as 'close to home,' focusing on the geographical and cultural proximity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the South Slavic people (Heiss and Feichtinger, 2013, p. 148).

'Distant Orient' aligns with Said's concept of the 'imperial divide'. Nevertheless, while the 'imperial divide' speaks of the distinction between the colonizer and the colonized, the discourse of the Orient as 'distant' is used to establish stable borders between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. The second idea of the 'Orient close to home' follows Said's notion of 'shared experience' but also extends to 'shared spaces' as zones of transition that exhibit both Western and Eastern cultural influences. Bosnia and Herzegovina belong to that zone, where the native Southern Slavs, both Christians and Muslims, are opposed to the savage and tyrannical Turks. As "good Orientals" residing in the Orient "close to home," they are worthy of an enlightenment mission effort (Heiss and Feichtinger, 2013, pp. 148-149). Benjamin Kallay, a Hungarian who led the Habsburg civil administration in Bosnia for twenty years (until 1903), was one of the main creators of the colonial concept for Bosnia and Herzegovina. He managed to integrate the described twofold orientalist discourse into the Austro-Hungarian colonial paradigm and its identity politics (Ruthner, 2018).

As a reflection of this split in the imaginations of the two Orients, identity politics operated through two tools: a) the othering of the Other, and by b) creating of a unified Bosnian identity.[6] The othering of the Other follows the depiction of the distant Orient and contrasts the superiority of the Habsburg Monarchy and the backwardness and savagery of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as "an important pretext for the necessary 'education' of the Other" (Ruthner, 2018, p. 8). Creation of the unified Bosnian identity, as a second tool, was initially intended to tame national particularisms in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It pointed out the importance of a unifying Old Slavic identity for the particular Bosnian identity. Furthermore, it strengthened the concept of transitional and mediating Orient. Namely, Kallay shifted the traditionally conceived border between East and West from the Bosphorus to the West towards Hungary and Bosnia and Herzegovina to emphasize Hungary's qualification for a civilizing and indirect colonial role. Hungary, as Kallay propagated, by its centuries-long experience of being a zone of transition, is naturally predetermined for a mediating role (Kállay, 1883). The significance of the autochthonous, oriental Hungarian identity in understanding both East and West is mirrored in the similar encounter of the old Slavic identity with the Orient in Bosnia. The successful Hungarian experience of the transition zone should be transferred to Bosnia and Herzegovina by means of a civilizing mission (Heiss and Feichtinger, 2011, pp. 157-158).

In this political setting, the cultural production of Muslims as oriental Slavs was portrayed as simultaneously oriental and distinct from the rest of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, Ottomanization had never taken hold.

The official paradigm gave the differential orientalist discourse its structure and persistance due to the extensive scientific research and publication efforts of the Dual Monarchy that explored and explained the local context in its favor. In described pursuit to curb the national tendencies of neighboring countries threatening Bosnia, Kállay insisted on Bosnia's cultural and artistic specificity and therefore delved into ethnographic research on the Bosnian population's provenance, traditional arts, and crafts and supported their collecting, systematizing, and development (Dervišević, 2021, p. 144). Reynolds Cordileone emphasizes that these processes of canonization allowed the Austro-Hungarian discourse toward Bosnia to endure over time. "The Austrians did not remain in Bosnia but, in the end, the imaginative power of their project persists" (Reynolds Cordileone, 2015).[7]

The mentioned identity politics remained deeply rooted in subsequent political systems that aimed to unite the South Slavs, and the narrative spills over into art and literature (Alić, 2010, p. 19-20) to be finally visible in *Architecture of Bosnia*. At the very beginning of the publication, as if they want to preempt any misunderstanding, Grabrijan and Neidhardt claim: "Our Muslims are therefore Slavs" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 23). With such a statement, they open up the discussion on the duality of their identity as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina's position as a transition zone between Christianity (West) and Islam (East) (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 23-28). The architecture of Bosnian Muslims, although strongly oriental, is nevertheless connected to European tradition. Thus, everything created in such a zone–the oriental type of house, but also the dome and vertical of mosque minarets–is ambiguous, simultaneously exciting, and an unknown Other[8] but also 'our Orient' entangled with the in-betweenness of Europeans. Such an oriental is not ottomanized and hence is beyond the conflicting narratives.

CONCLUSION

Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's enduring masterpiece *Architecture of Bosnia*, engaging largely with the modernist deployment of Ottoman heritage, left us with a trace of their path of decentralization from dominantly negative perceptions. Their double detached vantage point, derived from the objectivity afforded by scientific inquiry and differentiated orientalist discourse that portrayed Bosnia and Herzegovina's culture as closely aligned with European culture, enabled them to transcend the contentious debates surrounding the Ottoman legacy. Instead, they discovered a source of inspiration.

In order to deepen the provided conclusions, we will end this essay with an encouragement to further develop theses about the modernist's confrontations with the stigma of the Ottoman heritage. It would be very instructive to investigate the significant absence/presence of the Ottoman-Islamic association in the work of the prolific modernists and Bosnian Muslims, the Kadić brothers, notably on the numerous projects they completed for the Waqf Directorate between the two World Wars. Modernism here, it seems, becomes not an unfortunate or even neutral substitution but a completely plausible answer to the quest for a unique architectural style for one of the major Islamic institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It showcases unexpected combinations of apparently incoherent logic and practices of modernism and 'retrograde' Islamic legacy. Today, in the post-transition period, we are witnessing again the emergence of concepts that try to present themselves as too stable, homogenous, and 'pure' in terms of understanding the relationship between the past and architectural identities. Our analysis, which "focuses not on identity but on identification as a result of contentious contact" (Lambropoulos, 2001, p. 229), can be instrumental for understanding tradition-inspired modernism not as a finished phenomenon, a complete synthesis, but as a syncretic process that mirrors the same syncretic environment of Bosnia and is open for further use and negotiation. Grabrijan's and Neidhardt's multiple, non-coherent experiences and provenance authorized them to confront the problem of the Bosnian oriental legacy in a coherent, thoughtful, and lasting way.

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Lejla Džumhur *is head of the Department of Theory and History of Architecture and Protection of Built Heritage at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo. She has collaborated with the Bosnian and Herzegovinian State Commission to Preserve the National Monuments on the reconstruction of the Ottoman heritage destroyed in 1992-95. Her research explores the history of architecture and urbanism of Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly the intertwinement of Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and socialist architecture in ex-Yugoslavia and its representations in postcolonial and post-war contexts.*

Aida Idrizbegović Zgonić *is an architect and a full professor at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo. Her field of interest is the theory and history of architecture and the protection of cultural heritage. In 2005, she was part of the team that prepared the documentation for the nomination of the Old Town Mostar/ Old Bridge for the UNESCO / World Heritage List. More recently, she was involved in the restoration project of the Historical Museum (former Museum of Revolution) in Sarajevo. Her focus is on new interventions within historic cores, an ever-evolving topic as the pressure on urban environments mounts.*

ENDNOTES

1 Notable figures in these alternative approaches include Vladimir Dvorniković and Jovan Cvijić, as well as the works of Jelica Belović-Bernadzikowska and Milenko S. Filipović.

2 Neidhardt's sketch in a letter to Karl Mittel reveals his involvement in designing a residential building, for which he also made a model (1933) (Kapetanović, 1988, pp. 46, 47).

3 Le Corbusier studied this document in detail, as evidenced by some comments he wrote in blue ink on Neidhardt's attachments (Ivanković, 2016).

4 "Between the completion of the Villa Savoye in 1931 and that of the Villa Le Sextant aux Mathes, in 1935 (…) Le Corbusier threw out the 'Five Points of a New Architecture', formulated in 1927." Benton observes this "sudden shift towards vernacular construction and the use of natural materials" on two projects: The Villa de Mandrot, France and The Errazuriz House, Chile (Benton, pp. 218, 373, 374).

5 According to Zarecor, "Infrastructural thinking is decision making propelled by the requirements and scale of urban infrastructure" (2017, 5). Neidhardt's greater shift towards modernist organicism actually becomes apparent just at the onset of World War II in his and Grabrijan's conceptual regulation proposals for the city of Sarajevo (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942). "Compared with Neidhardt's prior urbanistic engagements, this 'organic whole' was much broader and now included 'the satellites'–the mining and industrial towns that surrounded the central city" (Zatrić-Šahović and Šabić-Zatrić, 2016, p. 437). After 1945, the scale of infrastructure thinking takes on a regional aspect, making this 'organic whole' more complex on both a horizontal and vertical level.

6 One of the factors of the colonial paradigm was Identity politics, which acts in turn to a) create a unifying Bosnian identity (Bosnianhood) top-down to combat the particularism movements of the three major population groups, the Muslims, Orthodox, and Catholics, and b) The othering of the Other (Ruthner, 2018, pp. 7-9).

7 Illustrative of the persistence of cultural practices that acquired syncretic character is the well-explored example of Bosnian kilim (traditional carpet) production, as demonstrated by Reynolds (2015). "Carpets sold in Sarajevo's bazaar today (as well as on the internet) are (the buyer is assured)–authentically 'Bosnian' or 'Sarajevan' because they rely on the old, presumably ancient, motifs–designs that were actually collected, refined, and standardized under Austrian Administration in the late nineteenth century. The efforts of administrators and scholars helped to create a canon of styles around 1900, styles that continue to be reproduced, adapted, and celebrated as symbols of the Bosnian craft traditions. (…) In 1984, the motif of the stylized circle (kolo), an unmistakable symbolic reference to an ancient Sarajevan/ Yugoslav textile motif, became the snowflake symbol of the Winter Olympics" (Reynolds Cordileone, 2015).

8 "Dual Monarchy was concerned that 'civilization' would effectively forfeit the appealingly exotic 'oriental' character of its unique Balkan possession at the expense of a townscape just about identical to most urban centers of the monarchy" (Hartmuth, 2015, pp. 150-160).