SARAJEVO AND ITS SATELLITES

The Baščaršija's Contribution to the New Master Plan of Sarajevo

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ABSTRACT: In 1942, Grabrijan and Neidhardt guest-edited an issue of the Croatian architectural journal Technical Gazette (Tehnički Vjesnik). Titled Sarajevo and Its Satellites (Sarajevo i njegovi trabanti), the publication contributed to architectural and urban debates and to the development of the regulatory urban plan of the city of Sarajevo. It allowed the authors to present their design work and writings–both individually and collaboratively–framed by their shared vision of a new master plan for the city.

This paper argues that despite the authors' interest in and fascination with the historic core of Sarajevo, their master plan denied the relevance of the existing urban fabric to the growing city. Their discussion of the old precinct demonstrates the authors' gradually shifting intentions as they abandon their search for modernity within the old fabric's authentic qualities. Instead, they associated Islamic urban forms with stereotypical and preconceived oppositional relationships between new and old, progressive and backward. As this paper demonstrates, the result of this approach was that Grabrijan and Neidhardt's master plan assigned only a peripheral role to the old precinct within their proposed vision. However, even within this publication, some projects, such as designs of mining workers' housing, anticipate Neidhardt and Grabrijan's later redefinition of Bosnian architecture as innately modern, which would become a major theme of their subsequent collaboration and well-known book, Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity, published 15 years later in 1957.

KEYWORDS: Bosnian Oriental, Modern Architecture, Grabrijan and Neidhardt, Sarajevo, Satellites

INTRODUCTION: Together and individually, Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt have been celebrated as two of the most important practitioners and theorists of post-World War II Yugoslavia. Their capacity to "penetrate deep into the substance of [Islamic] architectural and urban heritage" (Ugljen, 2001, p. 34) is central to their ability to connect local architectural debates with the European modern agenda. However, while their contribution to the creation of Bosnian Oriental architectural expression has been acknowledged, there has only been limited discussion of the origins and evolution of their vision of modern architecture. This paper aims to fill this gap by discussing the development of architectural ideas and the serendipitous journey of the two authors to what became a well-known discussion of the Bosnian Oriental architectural expression.

AN URBAN VISION OF A MODERN CITY: SARAJEVO AND ITS SATELLITES

The opportunity to edit an issue of the journal *Technical Gazette* (Tehnički Vjesnik) in 1942 provided an occasion for Grabrijan and Neidhardt to present their ideas to a broad national audience (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942). Titled *Sarajevo i njegovi trabanti* [Sarajevo and its Satellites], the special issue focused on the city's architectural and urban debates and the development of the regulatory urban plan. The authors presented their design work and writings–both individually and collaboratively–framed by a shared vision of a new master plan for the city of Sarajevo.

The issue built on the work previously done by the two authors and introduced their views, such as those outlined in Grabrijan's 1936 article *Thoughts and comments on the development of Sarajevo* (Čelić, 1970, pp. 101–105). In that article, Grabrijan identified the city's lack of an overarching urban vision as a serious obstacle to future development and raised concerns about the haphazard

approach of local government when dealing with the heritage fabric of the city. In *Sarajevo and its Satellites*, Grabrijan and Neidhardt offered guidelines and suggestions that could be used to address those concerns. The opening statement of latter article: "conserve the old–but build a new Sarajevo!" created a broad framework for understanding the ideas behind the vision of the city presented. "Whichever way the city of Sarajevo develops in the future," the authors argued, certain principles "embedded in its historic development ought to be respected" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 201). Taking the Acropolis as the root of Greek and, ultimately, Western civilization, the authors declared that their search for the "architectural principles" of new Bosnian architecture would consider equally the old precinct and the modern city.

For Neidhardt, the study of the old town in relation to issues of contemporary urbanism reminded him of his time spent in Le Corbusier's office. Neidhardt had worked in Le Corbusier's atelier at 35 rue de Sevres in Paris from 1 January 1933 until well into 1935. He was involved in a wide range of projects, including master plans for Algiers and Nemours. Neidhardt was significantly influenced by Le Corbusier's ideas and was particularly intrigued by the Algerian project, in which the dialog between 'Islamic' and 'modern' echoed themes apparent in Yugoslavia. Convinced that the French architect had "discovered the principle [of urban planning] somewhere in the Islamic world—somewhere in Algiers," Neidhardt was eager to explore the Islamic aspects of Bosnian architecture (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 227). The opportunity to present an urban plan for the city offered an ideal prospect.

In addition to the timely urban debates, the physical fabric of Sarajevo reminded Neidhardt of Algiers. Like Algiers, Sarajevo consisted of two distinct urban parts: the old Baščaršija, visually marked by small alleys and Islamic monuments, and the modern European quarters, structured along wide, regular streets lined with eclectic buildings. Grabrijan had already noted this oppositional relationship between modern and traditional in his articles. And for Neidhardt, the Occident-Orient relationship could enrich his own architectural approach by uniting the 'rational' and the 'sensual' and by developing the themes discussed with Le Corbusier.

Adding to the similarities of terrain and configuration was the increasing importance of the urban plan on city development. In Sarajevo, as in Algiers, urbanism was becoming a major public concern. In the 1940s, Sarajevo still relied on an 1891 plan developed by the Austro-Hungarian administration (1878-1913). It addressed the city as a whole and highlighted the colonial government's

01 Schematic representation of the new suburbs of the middle Bosnian mining basin. Map of satellite towns included in the proposal: (1) old and new Sarajevo; (2) Ilidža; (3) Breza; (4) Ričica; (6) Vareš-Majdan; (7) Zenica. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 272.

commitment to the city's westward development, away from Baščaršija. The linear structure of this master plan promoted a rational urban organization, zoning, and the orthogonal street system. The 1891 plan underpinned the basic outline for the city's urban development until well into the 20th century.

Like Le Corbusier, who recommended that Algiers retain its basic linear organization because it was particularly suited to 'modern life' and rapid transportation, Grabrijan and Neidhardt retained the linear layout established by the Austro-Hungarian planners in their new 1942 master plan proposal. The approach supported the linearity of electric tramways, in operation since 1895, and made provision for the city to expand sideways while remaining connected via a central spine. "The city is like a human organism," they wrote. "It has its heart (cultural centre), brain (administrative section), stomach (business section), lungs (green areas), arteries and veins (communications)" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 202). This biological analogy was represented in the drawing 'Schematic representation of the new suburbs of the middle Bosnian mining basin' [FIGURE 01]. Evoking the organic foundation of the proposal, the drawing showed a free-flowing body of streets and urban centers.

Despite their repeated statements that the urban plan would offer a comprehensive solution for the existing city center and historic precinct, Grabrijan and Neidhardt's preoccupation appears to be with the new city–beyond the borders of the old precinct. The proposed plan included a geographically expansive area, which indicated the authors' interest in large-scale planning and regional development. The inclusion of six new satellite towns showed the extent of their ambition. The satellites' proximity to Sarajevo varied from Ilidža (2), only about 10 kilometers away from the old town, to Breza (1), Ričica (3), and Vareš-Majdan (6) up to 45 kilometers away, to towns as far as Zenica (7), some 70 kilometers away. On a micro-urban scale, the proposal aimed to introduce a regular street network, with as many "[town] squares as possible to maximise sun and greenery" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 241). It identified hygiene as a "[precondition] for the development of any healthy and progressive city" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 202). "Well-organised streets and regular blocks" were, they argued, the backbone of a successful urban proposal (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 203).

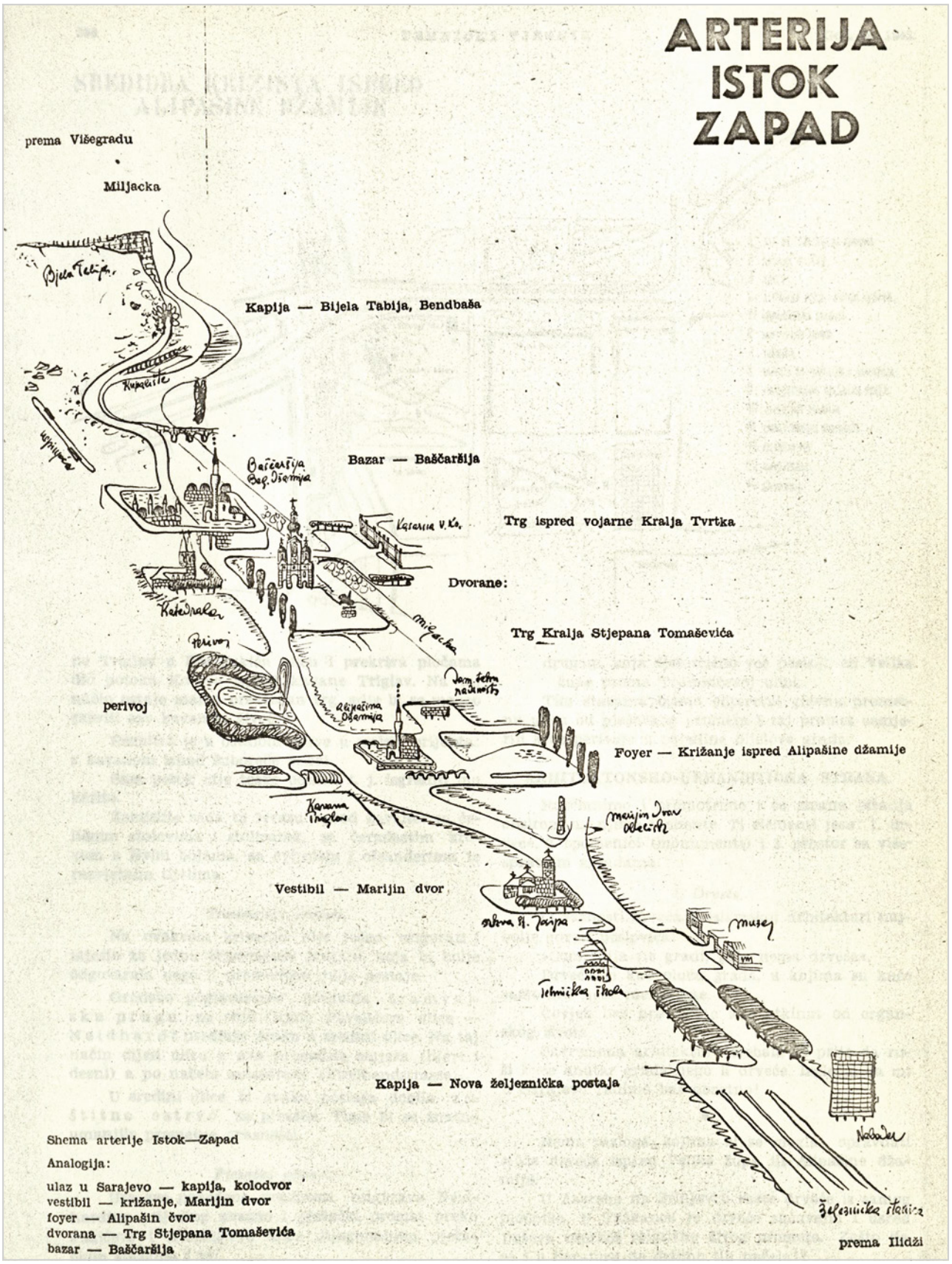
Only a relatively small section of the plan, labeled 'Old and new Sarajevo', related to the existing town of Sarajevo (1). The master plan thus conceptually extended the city boundaries away from Baščaršija, towards the growing Austrian-Hungarian section of the city to the west, and out to the developing mining towns of Bosnia. The mining towns, which were historically independent, were considered new suburbs of Sarajevo, or 'its satellites', as suggested by the project's title.

Even when considering issues related to the existing city, Grabrijan and Neidhardt's efforts focused on the city at large. The drawing titled 'East–west artery' defined the perimeter by existing monuments in a layout that referenced a human body [FIGURE 02]. The entry "gate" was marked by the site dedicated to a new railway station. The "lobby" was associated with the Catholic church at Marijin Dvor (Church of St Joseph, 1940), the "foyer" with the major intersection in front of the Ali Pasha's mosque (1560-61), while other monuments, such as the Orthodox church (Church of Nativity of the Theotokos, 1874) and the Catholic cathedral (Jesus' Hearth, 1889), marked the city center. The central road that coincided with the existing Pavelićeva Street linked the monuments into what appeared to be a natural and organic bodily form, and the old precinct of Baščaršija was enclosed and connected to the rest of the town only by the main road. With major monuments marking the urban context, the proposal's visual presentation looked more like a tourist map than a professionally designed contribution to a developing urban master plan.

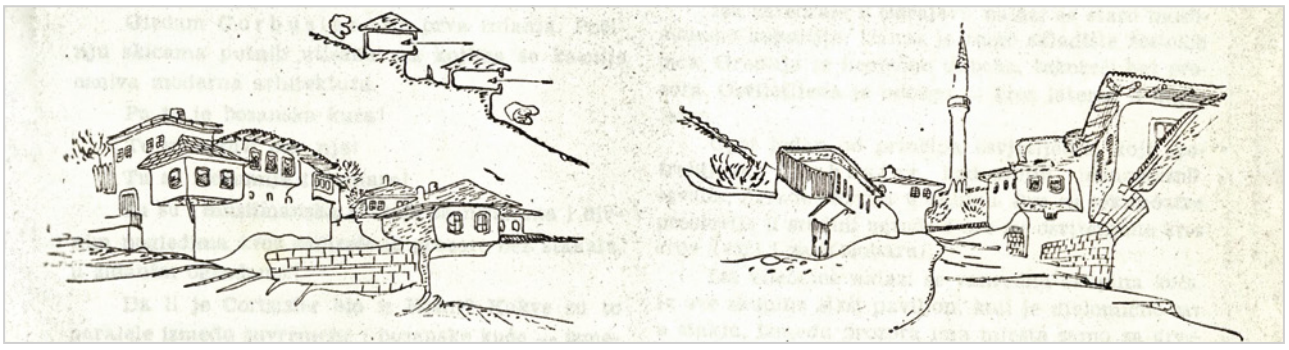
THE OLD PRECINCT AND THE NEW CITY

Grabrijan and Neidhardt presented their discussion of Baščaršija in the section of *Sarajevo and Its Satellites* titled 'Heritage' (Predaja) (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, pp. 210-2 25). Despite the introductory statements suggesting the authors' interest in and fascination with the precinct, the review of historic development relied on two secondary sources. The first was credited to the well-known chronicler of Ottoman times, Evlija Čelebija, and presented an extract from his 17th-century travel journal *Sarajevo from 1069–72 (1650–53)*. The second was Grabrijan's free interpretation of the 1916 article *The right on view*, originally written by the Austro-Hungarian architect Josip Pospišil (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 224).

Both texts presented positive views of Sarajevo. Čelebija's account introduced it as "the most beautiful of all" and "one of the greatest Ottoman cities of the time" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 224). The comments were extended by Pospišil's description of the surrounding fabric of the *mahala* (neighborhood). It was the harmonious relationship between houses and gardens, Pospišil argued, that demonstrated in urban terms the high ethical values of the people who designed and built those structures. Referring to the customary laws that upheld the keeping of neighbors' unobstructed views, Pospišil presented the urban fabric of *mahala* as a physical manifestation of the natural and organic unity of planning and cultural practices [FIGURE 03].



02 East-west artery, an urban vision for Sarajevo. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 239.



03 Drawings illustrating the organic unity of terrain and architecture. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 225.

Čelebija's picturesque vision of the city and Pospišil's complimentary views of cultural and urban practices offered an idealized image of the old precinct. Despite Grabrijan having produced his own record of the precinct and its monuments, the authors did not include those in their discussion.

As stated earlier, the discussion of Baščaršija's business section did not focus on the historical development or the importance of specific monuments to the area's overall fabric. Instead, it considered the precinct's relevance to the new urban development. Like their mentor Le Corbusier, Grabrijan and Neidhardt identified the exploration of religious practices as a key to understanding the private and spiritual life of the city. They focused their attention on what they saw as religious norms that had shaped the development of the urban fabric. The assumption that Islamic faith subsumed all other forms of socio-cultural norms governed their analysis; the "artistic physiognomy of Sarajevo," they wrote, was determined by religious beliefs.

> *"Ahead of many other towns, Sarajevo has a special disposition for architecture. And that specifically comes from Islam. Islam forbids figural representation, and through that discourages sculpture and paintings as art forms, ultimately Islamic art is focused on abstraction; i.e., in ornament instead of painting, in architecture instead of sculpture."*
> *(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 227)*

The generalized and stereotypical views of Islamic art and architecture that framed Grabrijan and Neidhardt's discussion of Baščaršija pervaded their perception of the local population. Despite the precinct's historic inclusiveness of diverse religious beliefs, the discussion presented in *Sarajevo and Its Satellites* focused on Muslims, whose values, the authors argued, were in opposition to Western society's.

THE IMPACT OF LE CORBUSIER'S VIEWS

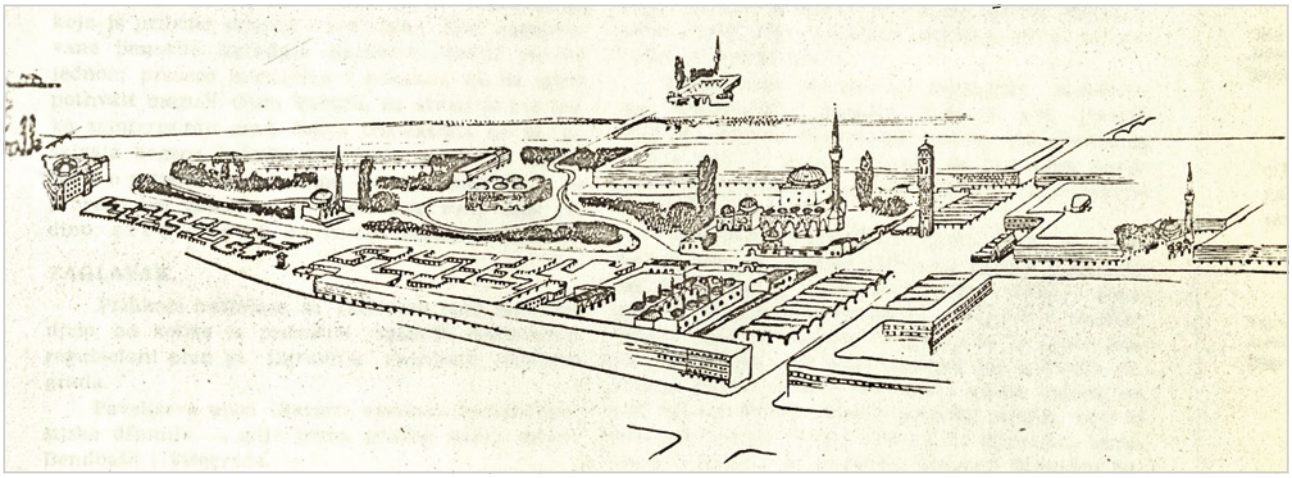
For Neidhardt at least, this interest in the Oriental can be explained by his time spent in Le Corbusier's office. Architectural historian Zeynep Çelik has argued that in projects such as Algiers, Le Corbusier showed a genuine, if biased, interest in local culture (Çelik, 1992). Defining the East as emotional, irrational, ahistorical, and timeless and the West as rational, progressive, and dynamic, Le Corbusier established an oppositional relationship between Orient and Occident. His observations of the East conformed to what Edward Said has referred to as an Orientalist construction of the Other (Said, 1987).

Said has argued that the Orient was a virtually European invention, a system of representation framed by Western political power. He defined 'Orientalism' as a mode of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident'. In Europe from the 18th century on, Orientalist thinking underpinned understandings of the East-West relationship. Said's thesis has provided a framework through which the work of many modern architects, including Le Corbusier, has been critiqued.

Unlike Le Corbusier, who, in his attempts to gain knowledge of other places and cultures, relied on secondary sources and French colonial policies, Grabrijan and Neidhardt were much closer to their subject of investigation. Bosnia was an integral part of their home state, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The kingdom's main policies and constitution were defined in relation to the Ottomans' colonial occupation of the Balkans from the 15th to the 19th century. While the Ottomans never reached Grabrijan and Neidhardt's hometowns of Lož and Zagreb, respectively, their legacy was felt widely and formed a strong part of the history of all Southern Slavs. However, in Grabrijan and Neidhardt's exploration of the city's cultural context presented in the *Technical Gazette*, they never stated their relative closeness to their subject, if it ever existed. In an article published in 1940, Grabrijan acknowledged the difficulties they had accessing the interiors of Muslim homes: "Muslim houses are too enclosed to allow free observations and to draw conclusions from them" (Čelić, 1970, p. 67). Unfazed by the lack of access, they identified an alternative approach "via the study of Muslim public buildings: *hans* [inns] and coffee shops" (Čelić, 1970, p. 67). Their sense of exclusion, coupled with their preconceptions about Islam, determined their understanding of the Oriental within the Bosnian context. Their observations of local culture presented in *Sarajevo and Its Satellites* were framed by an inquiry into social norms, particularly religious and sexual norms–the realms that Çelik has argued defined Le Corbusier's Orientalist approach (Çelik, 1992).

BAŠČARŠIJA: "SURGERY OR MEDICATION"

Despite the interest in local context expressed in Grabrijan's writings, *Sarajevo and Its Satellites* revealed that historic precinct was given very limited value in their master plan, as the East-West Artery bypassed the Baščaršija precinct, compounding its isolation. To support the re-zoning, an improved internal street network was proposed. In contrast to Grabrijan's earlier attempts to establish an argument of relevance, the proposal highlighted the artificial nature of the precinct. "In relation to today's life," they wrote, Baščaršija had no value:



04 Design proposal for urban regulation of Baščaršija. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 212.

"[Its built fabric] is like a stage set where nothing is real. The precinct's purpose is unclear and its existence is irrelevant. With no other purpose than to hide the lack of content behind the surface; the ornaments [and arabesque] have only superficial meaning. Their purpose is to cover up the poor quality and the absence of relevance. It is all false and deceptive. It has all lost its purpose. Baščaršija, is [not real] but a 'mirage'."
(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 218)

In the final analysis, the precinct's existing fabric had little to offer to their new master plan: "If the purpose of going to Baščaršija is to do historical research," they argued, "then something should be learnt." "But if the idea is to search for new ideas," there was "nothing new to be found…". Reducing Baščaršija to little more than a two-dimensional backdrop or a "scenographic display," the master plan focused on the new city. The discussion of the old precinct's future, labeled "surgery or medication," was concluded with the statement "Baščaršija is dead" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 201). In a damning assessment of the built fabric's condition, the authors stated, "Wherever you look into the *avlija* [courtyards]—everything stinks of dirt and rot, and many pests are walking around, even in broad daylight" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 256).

In contrast to this, the authors associated the new city with the terms "efficiency", "circulation", and "standardisation", demonstrating that their belief in a rational and pragmatic approach aligned with the modern. Presenting themselves as responsible social scientists, not simply architects acting upon aesthetic ideas, they argued that the experts would confirm their analysis of the old precinct. Calling upon educated professionals who lived or worked in the precinct to support their views, they wrote:

"If we consult doctors, fireman, insurance experts, or tradespeople and businesspeople who live in Baščaršija, they will all agree about the unbearable conditions that are present there … Today's Baščaršija is like sick lungs, full of cavities. There are empty holes left from the burned down hans, courtyards and ruins of all kinds of baths and residences that should no longer have any place in this bazaar."
(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 256)

With limited prospects for the precinct's reintegration into the new city, the authors stated that "any attempt to revitalise Baščaršija and include it in the new city would be contrary to natural development" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 255). Their "diagnosis"–a term they used to present their conclusions–was to surgically remove the offending elements of the old city. Summarising the position of Baščaršija within the master plan, they stated:

"… we realise that medication cannot help here any longer. Trying to heal the existing situation by correcting, repairing, mending and filling in the empty places would only result in a half mended and weak solution. Here, surgical intervention can help, i.e., the demolition of deteriorating and weak structures, followed by zoning. A zone of high-rise buildings surrounds the precinct of Čaršija [Baščaršija] from outside—a zone of low structures making the inner circle, to be followed by a zone of old cultural buildings, all finally unified by a park!"
(Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 257)

The proposal suggested the clearance of all but the most "important buildings built of solid material" [FIGURE 04] (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 257). The complex of the Gazi Husref Beg was to be kept, as were the two other mosques, Baščaršija and Careva mosques, and the nearby *medresa* (religious school). Basing their judgment on the quality of the physical fabric, Grabrijan and Neidhardt hesitated in including the Morića Han (an inn), as the structure was "partially built out of timber" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 257). Ultimately, they suggested retaining it, but on the condition "all remnants of the past" that surrounded the building were cleared (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 257).

05 Map of satellite mining towns included in the proposal. © Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 274.

With a limited interest in protecting and preserving the existing structures, Grabrijan and Neidhardt's master plan proposed significant clearing of architectural fabric deemed in poor physical condition.

Unlike Grabrijan's earlier writings, which challenged the authorities and called for a review of preservation policies and urban development approaches, the master plan complied with the official line. It, too, proposed the preservation of individual monuments, but not the surrounding fabric, undermining the interdependency of the Baščaršija's built fabric instilled in the principles of the *vakuf* institution. Further, the Baščaršija's proposed change of role–from an economic, cultural, and trade center into a retail zone of "bazaar bijouterie"–confirmed Grabrijan and Neidhardt's lack of belief in reviving the ailing fabric and economy. The plan's overall focus on modernization, efficiency, and rational planning of the city at large demonstrated that their interest in urban planning was in developing new satellite towns–not the old town.

THE NEW SATELLITE MINING TOWNS

Though the proposals presented in *Sarajevo and Its Satellites* emerged from Grabrijan and Neidhardt's interest in urban debates, they often included the actual projects or competitions in which Neidhardt was involved as an architect. When Neidhardt came to Bosnia in 1939, after years of working in Western Europe, he did so to become a company architect in the mining conglomerate Croatian Mines and Steel Production (HRUDAT), a successor of the German-backed iron-and-steel company Yugoslav Steel (Jugočelik). From 1939 to 1942, Neidhardt worked on numerous proposals for the development of mining towns. They included large urban plans for the Middle Bosnian basin, master plans for the towns of Zenica, Vareš-Majdan, Ljubija, Breza, Podbrežje, Ilijaš, Zenica, and Ilijaš, and design proposals for workers' housing [FIGURE 05] (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, pp. 273-322).

Neidhardt saw developing mining towns not in relation to the relatively limited scope of the architectural task but within the broader context of Yugoslav social and political changes. The German-backed iron-and-steel complex

at Zenica was expected to transform the region into a 'Yugoslav Ruhr' and Neidhardt's design proposals for the towns aimed to establish a connection between urban planning and social change.

For Neidhardt, urbanism was based on a connection with the land and the natural environment, and with regional industry. While this model did not recognize the specifics of culture and history as significant, it expected dramatic socio-economic changes would underpin the urban changes. The proposal for the mining towns of the Bosnian basin was thus premised on re-zoning land "to achieve organised and regular blocks of a contemporary city" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1942, p. 201).

CONCLUSION

Sarajevo and Its Satellites was a publication undertaken in the early years of Grabrijan and Neidhardt's collaboration, prior to their celebrated book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity*. In *Sarajevo and Its Satellites,* the approach to urban planning and the discussions of the relevance of the old precinct of Baščaršija to the new master plan emphasized Neidhardt's formal and architectural approach, rather than Grabrijan's cultural and theoretical explorations. Ultimately, the master plan proposed in this publication suggested limited engagement with the city's historic fabric, as the architects initially struggled to reconcile their existing visions and training with the specifics of Bosnian Islamic heritage. When contextualized within their era, the debates presented in their publications echo broader historical shifts in urban discourse, which progressed from neglecting historical elements to integrating them in later years. In *Sarajevo and Its Satellites*, the architects' engagement with the context was primarily confined to historical referencing in the mining housing design, albeit serving as a significant precursor to their subsequent work. Yet in their later book, *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity*, Grabrijan and Neidhardt begin to substantially explore the importance of their connection to the context (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957).

Grabrijan and Neidhardt's research on Bosnian architecture culminated in *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way towards Modernity,* published in 1957, some 15 years after *Sarajevo and Its Satellites*. The book gained broad recognition in Titoist Yugoslavia (1945-92), and its socialist policies made it one of the seminal texts on modern Bosnian architecture. Unlike the thesis developed in *Sarajevo and Its Satellites,* which marginalized the relevance of Baščaršija to the new urban plan, the discussion presented in this book identified it as a catalyst in creating a new and modern city. It argued that the Islamic architecture of Sarajevo represented a uniquely Bosnian Oriental architectural and cultural expression. The changes in their urban vision from the first to the second publication indicate the development of their modernist ideas and their growing awareness of the specifics of Bosnia's political dilemmas. This progression underscores Grabrijan and Neidhardt's dedication to consistently reevaluating and refining their conception of Bosnian architecture within the ever-changing political, cultural, and architectural milieu of their time.

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