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THE DOMESTIC AND THE ORIENTAL
IN THE MATERIAL CULTURAL HERITAGE
OF BOSNIAN-HERZEGOVINIAN MUSLIMS*

It is usually believed that our people have, by the mere acceptance of Islam as a religion and a view of life, cut off their former civilization roots and cultural heritage, replacing them with new ones, taken over from the Islamic east. Myriad of indicators, starting from the Bosnian language, verbal and written literal tradition written in that language, through songs and plays to, often, pagan beliefs and customs that fruitfully coexisted along with heritage of the Islamic culture through more than five hundred years indicate that it is not true but, on the contrary, by spreading of Islam, here started a centuries-long phase of a fruitful symbiosis of the existing, autochthonous cultural values deposited in this three-border region of European West, East and North, with wide open Arabian, Turkish and Persian Islamic inputs.¹ The symbiosis of the autochthonous with the Islamic-Oriental is easily noticed in the material culture of these regions – in architecture, sculpture, painting, in various forms of applied arts...² The purpose of this presentation is to point out some obvious examples that strengthen this thesis.

Nothing wrong if we start from the grave, i.e. Muslim gravestones. The medieval Bosnia really did express itself in gravestones. Nearly 70.000 registered *stechaks* (*stećaks* -medieval Bosnian standing gravestones) on approx. 2,500 locations today, testify by their existence, by their symbolics and message carved out of stone, about an authentic time and beliefs.³ By accepting Islam, Bosniaks, it seems, radically relinquished lying *stechak*, replacing it, under the influence of Islam, with vertical gravestones. However, over 100

* See: "Domaće i orijentalno u materijalnom kulturnom nasljeđu bosansko-hercegovačkih Muslimana". In: *POF 41/1991*, Sarajevo, 1991, pp. 347-357.

¹ Certain indications can be found in the work of S. Balić: *Kultura Bošnjaka – Muslimanska komponenta* [Culture of Bosniaks – Muslim Component], Wien, 1973.

² Dž. Čelić, "Utjecaj Turaka na materijalnu kulturu jugoslavenskih naroda" [Turkish Influence to the Material Culture of Yugoslav Peoples], *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije VIII*, Zagreb, 1972; Dž. Čelić, "Ni orijentalni ni bilo koji drugi, već bosansko-hercegovački spomenici" [Neither Oriental Nor Any Other But Bosnian and Herzegovinian Monuments], *Oslobođenje*, 05/01/1978; Dž. Čelić, "Tragajući za izvornošću" [Seeking Authenticity], *Slovo Gorčina*, Stolac, 1984, pages 38-45.

³ See: Š. Bešliagić, *Stećci-kultura i umjetnost*, Sarajevo, 1982.

necropolises, so called *Šehitluks*, i.e. groups of gravestones from the early stage of expansion of Islam in this region, are testifying, to varying degrees, about the takeover of major part of the symbolic and decorative inventory of stechaks by those new gravestones, starting from rosette, apple or edging, through various weapons to birds and other animals, arm or hand and complete human figure (Trnovo). The language and script of stechaks were also taken over for the first Islamic epigraphy, for example on gravestones of Mahmut Branković, Soliman Oškopica and others.⁴ It is interesting that the first plastically made turban in our region is on the same gravestone where the longest epigraphic inscription in the local language is, written in Bosnian Cyrillic script (gravestone of Hasan and Ahmet Radilović in the village of Čadovina near Rogatica).

Only by mid-XI century, the first inscriptions written in Arabic script appeared on domestic gravestones. Gravestones of Mustafa – bey Sokolović in the village of Šetići near Rogatica, grandiose by their size and robust by their workmanship, are interesting because of their epigraphy. The letters were not carved (plastic) which was, without exceptions, a characteristic of oriental-Islamic epigraphy, but they were gouged out, like on stechaks. In the message itself, Mustafa – bey is not *el merhum vel magfur* (a phrase usually written on Islamic gravestone), he is *sahibul-kabri* (the owner of the grave) which mentally takes us back to the Middle Ages.⁵ The idea about the grave owner is present on some Muslim gravestones in Herzegovina dating back to XIX century.⁶

However, during XVI century, there were many cases of import of gravestones produced in Skopje, mostly of smaller dimensions with a typical calligraphic Islamic epigraphy. Only since XVII century, mostly in XVIII and XIX, domestic Muslim gravestones developed, again not as a taken over oriental form, but as a product of several domestic schools, highly differentiated by religions. It does not take much effort for us to notice significantly different shaping of gravestones in the territory of Sarajevo, or Travnik or Una region, Southeast Bosnia or Herzegovina. Shapes of gravestones related to Turkish baroque, seen in Travnik on vizierial domed burial sites in Travnik, and to a lesser degree in other places, are, in a way, exceptions that prove the rule, but their number is anyway insignificant.

Regional differentiation of cultural heritage of Bosnian – Herzegovinian Muslims is especially noticeable in architecture. Three strong segments: Middle Bosnian, Sarajevo – Foča and Herzegovinian with numerous sub-

⁴ M. Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika u BiH* [Islamic Epigraphics in BiH], book II, Sarajevo, 1977; Dž. Čelić, "Kontinuitet srednjevjekovnih formi u doba turske dominacije u BiH" [Continuity of Medieval Forms in the Time of Turkish Domination in BiH], *Radovi Muzeja grada Zenice III*, Zenica, 1973, p. 355-369.

⁵ M. Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika u BiH*, book II, page 104.

⁶ M. Mujezinović, book III, pages 367-68 (inscriptions on gravestones of Zulfikar-captain and Muhamed-captain Rizvanbegović).

regional and transitional inter-regional zones and occurrences, testify about a very different older stratum of architecture in this region and a different attitude towards influences brought by Islam.⁷

It is quite understandable that a Bosniak, at the moment when he received Islam and replaced his previous name with a Muslim name, destroyed neither the house in which he had lived till then, nor the item that he had been using till then. On the contrary, he remained on his property, in the house that belonged to his father and grandfather (old documents testify that parents in the old religion and their children in the new religion often lived in the same house), adopting gradually, from Muslims surrounding him, some new customs, new esthetics, new functional and formal solution, adjusting not only himself to the taken over cultural heritage but also adjusting the cultural heritage to himself. A peripheral position of Bosnia in relation to the vast Empire and close contacts with neighboring cultures, since the Middle Ages inherited self-confidence, and especially climatic and other natural factors, as well as material conditions of the environment, acted simultaneously as catalyzers on what had come here along with Islam, from the cultures of the East.

One cannot overlook the fact that for over 200 years Bosnia has been gradually adjusting to the Ottoman Empire, from the first conflict against the Ottoman force near Bileća in 1388 (a year before the Kosovo battle), through 1463, when the Bosnian kingdom fell (by then, Vrhbosna has already been transformed into Ottoman Sarajevo), until the fall of Jajce in 1528 and Bihać in 1592. The process of accepting Islam lasted at least that long, and certainly gradual adjustment of Bosnian cultural traditions to the Ottoman Islamic norms was not a bit shorter.

Ottoman-Islamic architectural forms were reaching us primarily via Constantinople, through Novi Pazar towards Foča and Ustikolina, than through Sarajevo and further. Near the medieval Ras, Isa-bey Ishaković established Novi Pazar⁸ and near the medieval Vrhbosna he established Sarajevo.⁹ In both towns, on the basic urban scheme that he introduced, he built the first mosques and other public facilities characteristic for an Ottoman – Islamic town from that period. We, unfortunately, do not have any Isa-bey's endowment preserved, and we can only speculate about his architecture. And the speculation itself is based on monuments that were built after 60, 70 or even 100 years, when incomparably more favorable conditions were created for construction of public facilities. The mosque in Ustikolina, known by tradition as the oldest

⁷ Čelić, "Utjecaji ...".

⁸ See: Hatidža Čar-Drnda, "Osnivanje Novog Pazara i njegov razvitak do kraja XVI st." [Establishing of Novi Pazar and Its Development Until the End of XVI Century], *Novopazarski zbornik VIII/1984*; M. Radovanović, *Transformacija urbanog jezgra Novog Pazara* [Transformation of the Urban Core of Novi Pazar], non-published M.A. thesis, Zagreb, 1990.

⁹ From the extensive literature about the origin of Sarajevo, we are pointing out H. Šabanović, "Postanak i razvoj Sarajeva" [Origin and Development of Sarajevo], *Radovi naučnog društva BiH*, Sarajevo, 1960, book XIII, pages 71-115.

one in Bosnia and Herzegovina, does not have any authentic elements older than mid-XVI century, and its minaret best illustrates it. All valuable things that the Ottoman – Islamic architecture left on these territories, falls into the timeframe from the first decades of XV century (Firuz – bey's hammam and Skenderija mosque in Sarajevo, Balaguša in Livno (?), Emperor's mosque in Blagaj), until the ninth decade of XVII century (bridge on the Neretva in Konjic), with the highest density and qualitative level between 1530 and 1590 (from construction of Gazi Husrev-bey's endowments in Sarajevo, concluding with endowments of Ferhad-pasha Sokolović in Banja Luka).¹⁰

The number of these monuments is very limited and it comes to some thirty mosques, mostly domed, and hardly the same number of other public buildings.

In terms of style, to a less extent, these monuments belong to the pre-classical, so called early Constantinople architectural school, and to a larger extent they are provincial achievements of the classical Ottoman school of Kodža Mimar Sinan. From the pre-classical phase, this would include the aforementioned Skenderija, Balaguša and Emperor's mosque in Blagaj, Čekrekči Muslihudin's and Havadže Durak's mosques in Sarajevo, as well as majority of Gazi Husrev-bey's endowments. (With rather good reasons these are ascribed to Adžem Esir Ali,¹¹ head-constructor who would be, in the same capacity, replaced by Kodža Mimar Sinan.) Works of Mimar Sinan and his associates, starting from Aladža mosque in Foča (Mimar Ramadan-aga),¹² through Karadžoz-bey's mosque and madrasah in Mostar (possibly Mimar Sinan in person), Hadži Alija's mosque in Počitelj, Ali pasha's mosque, Ferhadija and Emperor's mosque in Sarajevo, Brusa-bezistan (domed market building), bridges in Mostar (Mimar Hayrettin) and Višegrad (Mimar Sinan), to Ferhadija and Arnaudija mosques in Banja Luka (it seems that the unusual concept of Ferhadija mosque was an experiment of Mimar-Sinan's school for the somewhat younger mosque of Murat III in Manisa).¹³ The post-classical phase of XVII century is characterized by Koski Mehmed pasha's mosque in Mostar, Mehmed-čauš's mosque in Konjic, madrasah, hammam and Šišman Ibrahim-pasha's han in Počitelj, Old bridge in Konjic... We certainly did not list here all the Ottoman-Islamic monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina that belong in some of these phases, but their number still remains very limited.

¹⁰ There have been many texts about these monuments, however, unfortunately, there are no complete works. We are pointing out: A. Bejtić, "Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture u BiH" [Monuments of Ottoman architecture in BiH], Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, *POF III-IV*, Sarajevo, 1953; E. H. Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimarî Eserleri – Yugoslavia*, Baha matbaası, İstanbul, 1981.

¹¹ Mimar Kemal Altan, *Esir Ali*, magazine *Architect*, 1973; Dž. Čelić, "Graditelj Gazi Husrevbegov" [Gazi Husrev-bey's Constructor], Magazine *Radio Sarajevo, treći program*, 60/1988.

¹² A. Andrejević, *Aladža džamija u Foči* [Aladža Mosque in Foča], Institut za istoriju umetnosti, Beograd, 1972.

¹³ A. Andrejević, *Islamska monumentalna umetnost u Jugoslaviji* [Islamic Monumental Art in Yugoslavia], Beograd, 1984, page 59.

Parallel with these monuments we have also a large number of monuments of a lower level, which basically imitate forms and characteristics of the previous ones. However, these monuments reflect weaknesses of the masters; those were either masters from the East, however of a lower level, or domestic people who mastered basic forms, however without enough knowledge about proportion and details, left on their works their own, mostly local mark. We could notice such specifics on Begluk mosque and Glavica mosque in Livno, and especially on the mosque of Nesuh-aga Vučjaković in Mostar which, for example, does not have windows under the dome, and in the details the master undoubtedly used retarded Romanesque-Gothic forms.¹⁴ The main form of a one-room mosque under dome will be continued through all of XVII, XVIII and XIX centuries, and in the last phase, on Husejnija mosque in Gradačac elements of Bosniak Romanticism were expressed,¹⁵ the mosque of Ali-pasha Rizvanbegović on Buna has an archaic form with distorted proportions, while Azizija mosque in Brezovo Polje took a baroque veil.

All the remaining Islamic architectural heritage in Bosnian and Herzegovina, and it means over 1000 mosques,¹⁶ all Muslim primary schools, madrasahs, except Kuršumljija in Sarajevo, Karadžoz-bey's madrasah in Mostar and Šišman Ibrahim-pasha's madrasah in Počitelj,¹⁷ almost all Muslim monasteries and numerous domed burial sites, most bridges and inns, and other economic and utility, and especially all housing architecture,¹⁸ is, to a larger or less extent, under the influence of the Ottoman-Islamic pre-classical, classical or post-classical architecture, however, it basically belongs to the regional architectural schools of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

What is the characteristic of these regional schools?

Essentially, it is a regional expression – Central Bosnian, Herzegovinian, originating from Sarajevo and Foča, created by interaction of the autochthonous pre-Islamic experience and imported Ottoman-Islamic contents and forms, adjusted to the climate, local materials and abilities of the local masters.¹⁹

¹⁴ C. Fisković, "Dalmatinski majstori u srednjovjekovnoj BiH" [Dalmatian Masters in the Medieval BiH], *Radovi Muzeja grada Zenice III*, Zenica, 1973.

¹⁵ Dž. Čelić, "Arhitektura Gradačca i restauratorski zahvat na kuli Husein-kapetana Gradašćevića" [Architecture of Gradačac and Restoration Work on the Tower of Husein-captain Gradašćević], *Naše starine II*, Sarajevo, 1954, pages 167-174.

¹⁶ See: E. H. Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da ...*, M. Bećirbegović, *Džamije sa drvenom munarom u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Mosques with Wooden Minaret in Bosnia-Herzegovina], Sarajevo, 1990; M. Hrasnica, *Arhitekt Josip Pospišil – život i djelo*, Biblioteka "Kulturno nasljeđe" – "Veselin Masleša".

¹⁷ M. Bećirbegović, "Prosvjetni objekti islamske arhitekture u BiH", *Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, POF XX-XXI*, Sarajevo, 1974, pages 223-364.

¹⁸ The residential architecture issues have not been addressed too comprehensively up to the present date. Some partial reviews can be found with R. Meringer, E. Styx, M. Karanović, Š. Soldo, V. Čurčić, D. Gabrijan and J. Neidhardt, with A. Bejtić, M. Kadić and the like.

¹⁹ Dž. Čelić, "Utjecaji ...".

Certain types of forms, or even individual forms, are to a larger or a less extent reflected either domestic or oriental component in its entirety.

We are not quite familiar with the domestic pre-Islamic component. It left us a large number of medieval fortified cities, poorly preserved, later partitioned, ruined for a long time, and then a few also almost destroyed church facilities ... Not only that settlements and profane architecture in them have not been preserved, but also there is not a trace of them either. However, interesting data for studying older architecture are again provided by *stećaks*, i.e. their very extensive architectural *décor*, which, just like the fortification and the sacral architecture, gives us undeniable proofs about presence of the Romanesque and the Gothic stylish expression in the impoverished provincial interpretation.²⁰ Analysis of that *décor*, as well as analogy with events in Central Europe of that period, makes us conclude that the most of the construction was carried out in wood, and wood, as a non-resistant material, had to deteriorate long time ago. On the contrary, architectural *décor* of Herzegovinian *stećaks* refers us to forms that were made in stone, under the Mediterranean-Dalmatian influence. However, authentic works have not been preserved in those regions either. Beside the aforementioned indications, old village houses that have occurred on territories far from Oriental-Islamic influences and for which we even can establish certain analogy with the oldest, archeological method of fortified Illirian settlements, are certainly interesting for the analogy. Division into areas of mostly wooden or mostly stone construction certainly cannot fail to take place in any phase.

Our old housing architecture – Bosnian and Herzegovinian was created on such a double starting point. In principle, the old house in Kreševo, Vareš, Jajce, Travnik etc. is a cube, usually consisting of a massively constructed ground floor and wood-paneled floor protruding above the ground floor. In its core, that house has a hearth, it preserves fire and its warmth. A high and steep hipped roof, covered with shingle, functionally and aesthetically act as an icebreaker at times of heavy snow and drifts. Everything is under a single roof. Even cattle is often on the lowest floor dug in a slope, so there is no need for the oriental yard, that intimate part of nature needed for family life. A man here fights against nature, and it is more important for him to bring under control snow, ice, winds and cold than to enjoy in its beauty.

Results of bringing nature under control are transferred further to higher forms of dwelling, even to the vizierial inn in Travnik (which is, unfortunately, known to us only from the preserved documentation).²¹ Women's quarter of a house and men's part of a house, as a rule in separate buildings, are under the same roof even in the Travnik inn, which is certainly a product of the specific climate, but also the products of the deeply rooted tradition. The same

²⁰ Architectural motives on *stećaks* were treated in the work of Marian Wenzel, *Ukrasni motivi na stećcima* [Decorative Motifs on Stećaks], Sarajevo, 1965.

²¹ See: H. Kreševljaković, "Saraji ili dvori bosanskih namjesnika", *Naše starine III*, Sarajevo, 1956, pages 13-22.

construction systems, same materials, shapes of roofs...are used on production and other economic facilities, from village mills and blacksmith workshops, through shops and warehouse, to inns and caravanserais, even on educational and sacral buildings, starting from primary schools and madrasahs, through Muslim monasteries and smaller or larger mosque, to domes on graves of dignitaries. Keeping the basic spatial concept of the Ottoman mosque, in Bosnia, by construction, detail and especially roofing is in close relations with a house or a mill, so it usually has its minaret in specifically local forms, especially if it is made of wood, and there are 70% of such mosques in these regions.²²

In the vizierial Travnik, in spite of the fact that holders of power, often of non-Bosnian origin, resided there for 150 years, there are only two mosques, Jeni mosque and Teskeredžić's mosque, only four vizierial domed burial sites, and only few erected minarets, held the relation with the Turkish-Islamic official architecture, while all other facilities were dominantly domestic.

We can notice the same phenomenon, with exceptions of few mosques and domed burial sites, in Banja Luka, Jajce, Mrkonjić Grad, Maglaj etc. However, in the widest spaces of the Bosnian Borderland, it looks as if the official Ottoman-Islamic architecture was proscribed and exiled. What is present is only domestic Bosnian-Islamic creativity, if there is anything preserved at all. It also shows certain continuity of medieval gothic forms, e.g. in elongated layouts and high peaked windows on Border land mosques, which is only a proof of the influence of Bihać Fethija (former church).

The situation in Herzegovina is even more obvious. Extensive use of construction stone, i.e. the material with greater resistance to ravages of time than wood and cob, and direct influences of Mediterranean-Dalmatian and West-European styles – the Romanesque, the Gothic, the Renaissance, even the Baroque – which were, in Herzegovina and South-West Bosnia, much stronger than in the North and Central Bosnia, resulted in a specific Islamic-Herzegovinian school with many repeated characteristics, so that, they are not unique phenomena.²³

By some characteristics, the Muslim house in Herzegovina seems even closer to the Ottoman-Islamic house than the one in Bosnia. With its projection in the environment, with its yards fenced by high walls and direct relation with nature, it is experienced as a cultivated piece of nature and it almost fits into the formulation of the Turkish house given by Prof. E. Egli: a yard, a wall surrounding the yard and a pavilion in the yard.

²² M. Bećirbegović, *Džamije sa drvenom munarom u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Mosques with Wooden Minaret in Bosnia-Herzegovina].

²³ Dž. Čelić, "Utjecaji ...", "Tip kuće u Hercegovini" [Type of a House in Herzegovina], *Radovi IX. kongresa folklorista Jugoslavije*, Sarajevo, 1963. A. Pašić, *Prilog proučavanju islamskog stambenog graditeljstva u Jugoslaviji na primjeru Mostara – Koliko je stara stambena arhitektura autohtona pojava* [Contribution to Studying of Islamic Housing Structural Engineering in Yugoslavia on the Example of Mostar – How Autochthonous the Old Housing Architecture Is?], non-published Ph.D. thesis, Zagreb, 1980.

However, we have to keep in mind that the connection of a Turkish house with nature is not a phenomenon specific to a Turkish house only. On the contrary, in terms of space, from the Atlantic through Spain and southern France, northern Africa and Italy, Balkan, the Near and the Middle East, all the way to Japan, in terms of time, from ancient times until now, the principle of some atrium, peristyle, yard, the principle of an intimate piece of nature, is generally present. There is no reason for us to believe that it occurred here only upon the arrival of Ottomans.

For a more careful observer, there is discrete similarity between a better Herzegovinian house (from Mostar, Blagaj, Stolac ...) and Dubrovnik ex-urban palaces on Lapad and Rijeka Dubrovačka, e.g. in the symmetrical composition of the main building, in arrangement and forms of windows, in ground-floor porches, which are also in our regions sometimes with stone pillars and constructed arches²⁴ (which, at the same time, refers to details of architectural décor of *stechaks*). Stone wall mass dominates here, with a little oriels, and if there are oriels then they, due to change of construction system, strongly deviate from the basic body. Low, hipped roofs are covered with slab, however, there are also three-pitch roofs and V-roofs, and houses with strong gable sides of façade facing the street which can still be found in Stolac (and certainly belong to the oldest ones), undoubtedly have Gothic tradition. Until a few years ago, porches behind stone pillars connected by arches could be seen on the old Čelić's house in Stolac, and even today they are very impressive on Hadžiahmetović's house near Trebinje. Windows with a peaked arch on upper floors seem very Oriental. However, we can hardly find that form in Sarajevo or further towards Constantinople, but it is very close to shapes on *stechaks* and Dubrovnik palaces as well. Etc. etc.

The same influences are transferred to public facilities, so if we look at clock-towers as dualistic contrasts to minarets, we see that the Počitelj clock-tower is essentially a simple retarded tower in Romanesque style, Mostar clock-tower is late-Gothic and Trebinje clock-tower – Baroque style.²⁵ Here also, mosques, respecting the same functional and spatial concept, have the cover and the roof of the same structure and roofing like housing architecture, while minarets are mostly in classical Ottoman – Islamic forms (true, sometimes short and thickset, which is the result of a limited skill of the domestic constructor). In terms of culture, a special point of interest are at least some ten mosques in the part of Herzegovina from Neretva to the East, which, instead of the classical minaret have (or had) the minaret of a simple Romanesque – Gothic tower, with a square basis, with one window on each of the four sides on the highest floor. Today, such minarets can be seen on the ruin of the Old Mosque in Bileća, on Plana, in Dabrica, in Bjeljani, and, earlier, there were at least three mosques in Mostar and one in Nevesinje. In the

²⁴ Compare: I. Zdravković, *Dubrovački dvorci* [Dubrovnik Castles], Beograd, 1951.

²⁵ H. Kreševljaković, "Sahat-kule u BiH" [*Clock-towers in BiH*], *Naše starine* IV, Sarajevo, 1956, pages 17-32.

village of Kotezi, the cylindrical minaret reminds us of examples of towers from the Paleo-Christian phase.

The fact that e.g. Sinan-pasha's mosque in Mostar, probably the oldest mosque in Herzegovina, had the minaret in the form of tower, testifies that a domestic constructor, with the inventory of forms from his own experience and with some imported constructors, very early got involved into purely sacral Islamic contents. The same thing happened with the Čejvan-čehaja's mosque dating from 1552. Karadžoz-bey's mosque in Mostar dating from 1557 was the first true achievement of the Ottoman – Islamic construction in Herzegovina, in terms of style, and in the same town, as far back as at the beginning of XVII century, the endowment of duchess Fatima Šarić got the minaret in the form of a tower.²⁶

Sarajevo–Foča region, most directly exposed to influences from the East, received influences of the Orient to the largest extent, which is evidenced by the discord between open living rooms and low tiled roofs and long and harsh winters that are common in these regions. The house is wider along with yards surrounded by walls, split into a winter part and a summer part, opened toward nature with its porches, living rooms and oriels. However, the construction system mastered on the house and the shape of roofing was strongly transferred to public buildings, starting from shops and warehouses, through inns to primary schools and madrasahs, mosques and Muslim monasteries. The form of Sarajevan or Fočan mosque is significantly different from the form of mosques in Banja Luka or Travnik, and both differ from mosques in Mostar, Stolac or East Herzegovina.

The area of wall painting, which is poorly studied here, also gives us many examples of domestic and oriental interaction. While painting décor on Aladža mosque in Foča gives examples of the highest achievements of Islamic ornamentation of XVI century, on some other facilities we can observe a whole drama of confronted values. So, in the Emperor's mosque in Sarajevo, after completion of conservation and restoration of the interior, we can see even four layers of painting and development of ornamental expression, which are dominated by the classical phase of XVI century and two Turkish – Baroque from XVIII and XIX century. On the contrary, in Balaguša mosque in Livno and Karadžoz-bey's mosque in Mostar, we can see realistically, almost naturalistically, treated fruit trees of domestic flora with flowers and fruits competing with elements of stylized *décor*. In Sulejmanija mosque in Travnik, domestic flora but also exotic flora and stylized archaic décor gave an unrepeatable harmonious entity, while Faginović in Sarajevan Miščina mosque almost realistically presented panoramas of Mecca and Medina. Perhaps an unknown painter (Nakaš) from Počitelj madrasah went furthest, by painting four monotonous coastal landscapes in four segments of the classroom dome, and those landscapes, by strong impression, make us long to go to

²⁶ See: H. Hasandedić, *Spomenici kulture turskog doba u Mostaru* [Cultural Monuments of the Turkish Age in Mostar], Sarajevo, 1980.

the Adriatic coast.²⁷ That Bosnia used to receive initiative, but also the fact that it gave a peculiar contribution to Turkish – Islamic culture is, maybe, best testified by two painters-miniaturists of XVI century, Nesuh Matrakçi and Osman Nakaš, who worked in the Constantinople Palace bringing into their works many new things, so that the theoretician Nurullah Berk²⁸ had to mark Osman Nakaš as a key person in the overall development of Turkish miniature.

In regard to wood carving,²⁹ copperplate engraving,³⁰ embroidery and textile, we must also conclude that Bosnian-Herzegovinian artist in principle did not accept the endless Oriental motif. On the contrary, he used the same motif in circular, square, hexagonal or rhomboid closed units.

A deeper analysis of all these still insufficiently observed and mostly untreated occurrences would take us far away. However, it all leads us to the undoubted conclusion that no one simply implanted the art of the Islamic orient here and that the domestic man was not a compiler of somebody else's achievements that filled him with admiration. On the contrary, he was a self-confident author who enriched his own, deeply founded creativity on the fertile interaction with the influence of the East.

DOMAĆE I ORIJENTALNO U MATERIJALNOM KULTURNOM NASLIJEĐU BOSANSKO-HERCEGOVAČKIH MUSLIMANA

SAŽETAK

Prihvatanjem islama Bošnjaci i Hercegovci nisu prekinuli sa svojim ranijim civilizacijskim i kulturnim tekovinama. Naprotiv, nastupila je vjekovna plodna simbioza zatečenih autohtonih kulturnih vrijednosti s orijentalno-islamskim uplivima. Ta simbioza manifestira se, kako u duhovnoj, tako još više u materijalnoj sferi ukupnog kulturnog naslijeđa bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana.

Srednjevjekovna umjetnost stećaka nastavila se u muslimanskim "šehidskim" nišanima na oko stotinu lokaliteta, pa je i epigrafika na tim spomenicima

²⁷ Outstanding works about painting decorations in mosques in BiH were done by: M. Zarzycki, E. Arndt and Đ. Stratimirović, *Aladža džamija u Foči* [Aladža Mosque in Foča], GZM 1891, A. Andrejević, *Aladža džamija u Foči* [Aladža Mosque in Foča], Beograd, 1972, A. Andrejević: *Islamska monumentalna umetnost...* [Islamic Monumental Art...] Beograd, 1984. Conservation and restoration were mostly done by Nihad Bahtijarević, painter-conservator and his associates.

²⁸ Nurullah Berk, *La peinture turque*, Istanbul, 1951.

²⁹ V. Čurčić, "Drvorezbarstvo u BiH" [Wood Carving in BiH], calendar *Napredak* for 1934, Dž. Čelić, "Drvorezbarstvo u BiH", [Wood Carving in BiH], *Most* 11, Mostar, 1976.

³⁰ M. Karamehmedović, *Umjetnička obrada metala* [Artistic Metal Processing], Sarajevo, 1980.

na narodnom jeziku, pisana "bosančicom". Tek u 16. stoljeću i kasnije prevladavaju orijentalno-islamski oblici bašluka, s arapsko-islamskom epigrafikom, no i dalje su oblici izdiferencirani po regijama.

Regionalna izdiferenciranost posebno je uočljiva u oblasti arhitekture, s tri snažna segmenta – srednjobosanskim, sarajevsko-fočanskim i hercegovačkim, te nizom prelaznih zona i pojava.

Sve što je vrednije ostavila osmansko-islamska arhitektura uglavnom pada u 16. i početak 17. stoljeća. No, broj tih spomenika ograničen je na 30-tak džamija; većina javnih objekata i sva stambena i proizvodna arhitektura, pod utjecajima je Orijenta i islama, no u biti pripada domaćim regionalnim školama.

Na dvojnim – domaćim i orijentalnim ishodištima formirala se stambena arhitektura: zatvoren kubus centralne Bosne s visokim i strmim četverovodnim krovom, kamena kuća s niskim krovovima od ploče po Hercegovini, kuća s rastvorenim hajatima i divanhanama pod niskim krovovima od kupe-kanalice (očito u neskladu s prirodnim uslovima, no na direktnoj vezi s Istokom) u Sarajevu i Foči. Bitne karakteristike stambene izgradnje prenijele su se i na džamije i druge javne objekte. Bosna je razvila svoje tipove drvenih munara na preko 70% džamija, Hercegovina je u nizu slučajeva munaru "zamijenila" skromnim tornjem retardirane romanike.

Forme zidnog slikarstva, drvorezi, obrade metala i tekstila... također se prepliću islamsko-orijentalni i domaći motivi kroz osebjune pojave. To sve skupa govori da domaći čovjek nije kompilirao, već vlastitu kreativnost samo bogatije utjecajima s islamskog Istoka.

THE DOMESTIC AND THE ORIENTAL IN THE MATERIAL CULTURAL HERITAGE OF BOSNIAN-HERZEGOVINIAN MUSLIMS

SUMMARY

After the acceptance of Islam, Bosnians and Herzegovinians did not break their earlier cultural and civilizational streams off. On the contrary, long lasting symbiosis started between the existing, autochthonous culture and Oriental-Islamic influences. That symbiosis was visible in the intellectual and even more in the material sphere of cultural heritage of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims.

Medieval art of old Bosnian pre-Islamic tombstones (stećak) continued to exist in Islamic nishan-tombstones which could be found in more than hundred sites. Epitaphs on that tombstones were written in vernacular called "Bosnian language" (bosančica). Oriental-Islamic form of bashlik-tombstones, with Arabic-Islamic epigraphy, started to prevail during and after the 16th century, but the difference between tombstones still existed in some regions.

Regional differences were especially visible in architecture, with three basic regional characteristics prevailing: Medieval-Bosnian, Sarajevo-Foča region and Herzegovinian, as well as with lot of transitional areas and appearances.

Valuable heritage of Ottoman-Islamic architecture was mainly on the decline from the 16th century, and the beginning of the 17th century. But, the number of monuments was limited to about thirty mosques and hardly the same number of other buildings. All other monuments, i.e. over 1000 mosques, the majority of public buildings, all the private houses, trade and handicraft places, although being under the influence of Orient and Islam, belonged to native regional schools of architecture. Housing architecture was based both on native and Oriental influences: in Central Bosnia prevailed houses in form of closed cube with high and inclined four-sided pavilion roof, in Herzegovina stone houses with low, flat roof, in Sarajevo and Foča houses with open *hayats* (porches) and spacy open *divanhanas* (anterooms), covered with low pantiles roof (direct influence of the East, but the roof was unsuitable to weather conditions). Basic characteristics of dwelling architecture were transferred to mosques and other public buildings. Bosnia developed its own type of wooden minarets in more than 70% of mosques, while Herzegovina mainly changed minarets for wooden tower in the style of late Romanticism.

Other forms of art like wall painting, wood carving, processing of metal and textile, produced an outstanding results by combining Islamic-Oriental and native motifs. All these facts gave the proof that native man did not surrender but enriched his creativity with the influences coming from the Islamic East.