АРХИТЕКТУРА ШКОЛСКИХ ОБЈЕКАТА У БАЊОЈ ЛУЦИ ГРАЂЕНИХ ИЗМЕЂУ 1878. И 1918. ГОДИНЕ

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Сажетак
Рад се бави архитектуrom школских објеката у Бањој Луци, грађеним током 40 година дуге владавине аустро-угарских власти на територији данашње Босне и Херцеговине. Зграде за образовање, од веома малих, основних школа, до великих зграда, као што су гимназије, биле су третирани на различите начине и обликоване у стиловима као што су традиционална архитектура локалног поднебља, псеудо маварски стил, неоренесанса или неокласицизам, па и сецесија.

Овај рад се бави истраживањем оригиналног станања свих зграда, локације у оквиру изворног урбаног ткива, архитектонске и историјске позадине датог контекста, оригиналу доприносећи истраживању, анализи и ваљоризацији ове типологије објеката у Бањој Луци из аустро-угарског доба. Стилска припадности и архитектонске особине су такође анализиране. Поред тога, у раду су изучени и приказани развој свих школских објеката, показујући утицај каснијих политичких режима и у неким случајевима природних фактора на ова важна дјела архитектуре. У закључку, приказан је значај ових објеката за развој окружења и допринос стварању урбаног идентитета Бањалуке.

Кључне ријечи: историја архитектуре, школе, Бања Лука, 1878-1918.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF SCHOOLS IN BANJA LUKA BUILT IN 1878-1918

Abstract
This paper deals with the architecture of schools built in Banja Luka, during the 40-year long Austro-Hungarian rule in today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina. The buildings for education, spanning from the basic, very small, elementary schools, to vast buildings, like higher gymnasium, received very interesting set of architectural styles featuring traditional local architecture, Moorish Revival, Renaissance and Classic Revival, as well as Secession.

The paper shows the initial status of all buildings, their location within the original urban fabric, architectural and historical background and specific subject matters, originally contributing to research, analysis and evaluation of this building typology located in Banja Luka, built in Austro-Hungarian era. Their stylistic adherence and architectural properties are analysed as well. Besides that, the paper shows the development and later life of all schools, showing the influences of later regimes, politics and some natural factors to these important pieces of architecture, followed by the conclusion and analysis of the role of these buildings in local development and their contribution to establishment of the citiescape identity.

Keywords: history of architecture, schools, Banja Luka, 1878-1918.
1. INTRODUCTION

With the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian establishment in Bosnia and Herzegovina in summer of 1878, the construction plans for dozens of new buildings were introduced. In majority of cases, new authorities built prevalently buildings for newly opened institutions and facilities like railway stations, industrial and military facilities. Due to very modest educational system in Ottoman Empire, and almost entirely excluded position of non-Muslims within it, buildings for educational purposes were very rare type of facilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the case of Banja Luka, schools of all kind were constructed, filling the gap in spatial resources and Austro-Hungarian laws that were in power after 1878. However, the versality of architectural styles and building properties is very unique in Banja Luka. New authorities engaged range of architects, that powered different approached in stylistic modelling of new architecture. This paper presents the results of thorough research on Austro-Hungarian architecture and urban development in Banja Luka emphasizing the buildings for education, as one part of building typology that created important influence to later development of local society in general.

2. THE ARCHITECTURE AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOLS BUILT IN BANJA LUKA BETWEEN 1878 - 1918

2.1. Tsar’s school - Volksschule

Building was located near the southernmost part of Kaiserstraße, in Street Ferhadija, southern from Ferhadija Mosque, in the place where Faculty of Electrical Engineering stands today. It is the area between contemporary Street of Patre and Street of Patriarch Makarije Sokolović.

There are several contradictions that are misleading the research work regarding the exact name and date of construction of the Tsar’s School; building is also known as Volksschule. Because of a whole variety of primary school departments introduced by Austro-Hungarian authorities, like city schools, public schools and municipal schools, in the same time combined with Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic schools divided between boys and girls, tracing this particular school building is quite hard.

One thing is clear; it was designed to be a public school. Mentioned source leads to a year of design in 1907, but many other relevant sources mentioned [1:94] and also map from 1880-1884 give us enough certain information that it was built 1880-1881. [2:336]

![Figure 1. Tsar’s school; original site condition. Photograph taken probably after the construction from Ferhadija Mosque’s minaret. On the right, western side on the site, beginning of the new section of Kaiserstraße is visible [3]](image)

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Two elements are interesting for this project. First is that the actual house was built according to the traditional Bosnian house: ground floor walls were made out of stone blocks, and first floor structure out of half-timbered system mixed with bricks: basic decoration was designed according to simplified Renaissance revival bases. Second, more interesting is garden situated in the courtyard. For a long time, this building was famous for its (Tsar’s) gardens designed according to French garden type, with strict geometrical rules, colour combinations and the relationship between elements used.

Figure 2. Tsar’s school; original project documentation with site plan, floor plans, section and elevation views. Drawings dated in 1907 [3]

The building does not exist today, with very few verified data on its demolition, and one can only assume that it was torn down in the years between WWII and earthquake in 1969.

Figure 3. Tsar’s school; photograph taken probably between World Wars [3]

2.2. School in Upper Šeher

Building is located by the main road heading outside the city, through Upper Šeher. This city district is today named Srpske Toplice.
It was erected in 1894 [1:95] and style corresponds to pseudo-Moorish style. It is simple, single volume building with a strong and slightly graded main façade plain. It consists of basement, built in stone, ground and first floor. Floor zones are separated either with different materials or decorative elements. On the main façade, starting from the ground floor, stucco decoration is the dominant element.

Figure 4. School in Upper Šeher. View from the southeastern corner. Photograph taken before additional construction works [3]

Ground floor windows are simple rectangular with fake stone architrave decoration. First floor is separated with simple cornice and additionally emphasized with archivolt endings above the windows. Particularly, these elements are important for identifying design with pseudo-Moorish style. Roof zone, barely visible from the street, stretches above the archivols with a series of wooden elements supporting the roof construction.

Figure 5. School in Upper Šeher. View from the northeastern corner; present condition

The structure is simple: stone basement, brick walls above the ground and traditional massive wooden floor and roof construction.

It has preserved most of the original elements and façade design, but during the time and utilization some add-ons and additional works endangered the original context of the building. This building represents one of the rare examples of newly constructed public buildings in the old city district, as it was quite unusual by new authorities to interfere with old Ottoman architecture, as far as case study of Banja Luka is concerned.

2.3. Real Gymnasium - Ober-Realgymnasium

Building was located in Gymnasium street that passed by the Crkvena River and led to the Gymnasium. That street line direction today corresponds to the Street of Ivo Lola Ribar in its extension. Site was rising above the old market place and set just across the Kastel over the Crkvena. It was not drawn in the plan from 1884, but the street that connects the
Kaiserstraße and future Gymnasium was already there. In that place today is one mega structure, Museum of Republic of Srpska and Children’s theatre, that were, along with shopping mall “Boska” designed by team of architects from Zagreb, led by Velimir Neidhart in 1974.

Story behind Ober-Realgymnasium [6:65-83], also referenced in German as Oberrealschule [7:218], in Banja Luka is, as mentioned before, described in dozens of different books and sources with as many background ideas that include political, religious, social, demographic and other aspects of life in Banja Luka at the time. Indeed, not all those sources are completely unbiased, but certainly are really valuable in understanding the importance of this building for wider areas of Krajina region. Consequently, presenting only architectural data about the building where Ober-Realgymnasium was situated is more complicated when one wants to isolate only one part of the story.

Therefore, looking at the wider image of Gymnasium establishment, one has to give at least introductory information about relevant period. At the time of occupation, except the religious Turkish schools, Banja Luka had only School for Serbian boys and girls founded in 1856, although the Ottoman sultan gave the Decree (tur. Ferman) for school opening in 1835, [8:58] as well as the Elementary school for Catholic female children founded in 1872. [9:15] Also, thing that one has not to emphasize specially, Turkish authorities had a whole network of scholar institutions, unfortunately closed for non-Muslim citizens.

As soon as Austro-Hungarian authorities established primary public institutions, they started to found public schools for all children, both girls and boys. [10:41] First school founded by Austro-Hungarian authorities in Banja Luka, covering more than an elementary level of education, was a three-year programme long Trade school in 1885. Afterwards, in 1898, due to several faults in Trade school program, it was thoroughly transformed and adapted to last 4 years. [9:15]

At the same time, Great classical gymnasiums were founded 1879 in Sarajevo and 1894 in Mostar. There was initiative for new Gymnasium opening, but local authorities from Sarajevo, where State’s Government was situated, wanted it strictly in Sarajevo. Answer from Vienna was positive, but they recommended Bosnian authorities to found the school in Banja Luka. [11:114]

Ober-Realgymnasium was opened in school year 1895/1896, but sadly, pupils waited until 1898 to move into the new premises. Until then, the school operated in one of the old Muslim schools. Some other references lead to information that school was located in a private building. [8:61]
However, the Gymnasium was opened on 5th October 1895, which was a really important date in Austro-Hungarian Empire, as it was celebrated as a Name day of Tsar and King Franz Joseph. [9:16] Lectures in the new building started in school year 1898/1899. It was organized according to known system, actually adapted from one Hungarian model, lasting for 8 years. [7:218]

Several add-ons were built: first in 1903, then also in 1931. After the partial destruction during the German air force bomb attacks in WWII on 24th and 25th September 1944, building was reconstructed in 1946-1947, under supervision by Ljubica Babić-Goldner. [12:67] The gymnasium was working without problems until 27th October 1969 and the devastating earthquake. It suffered substantial volume of damage and it was completely torn down on 31st January 1970. [13:30-31]

After analysis and thorough research [14, 15, 16, 17, 18] it can be concluded that main project for Gymnasium building is actually an adaptation of a project for Gymnasium in Sarajevo, done by famous architects Karel Pařík, August Butscha and Karl Panek. Karel Pařík had substantial architectural production in Sarajevo at the time of occupation and annexation of Bosnia but also in the time of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. [5:52-53]

A floor plan analysis does not give us information about similarities in these two projects because of differences in a backside facilities’ design, but a further comparison of the façades and used details to definitely give us enough right to deny the originality of architectural design for Gymnasium in Banja Luka. Also, some other designs were under influence of Karel Pařík, like Higher school for girls in Sarajevo by Karl Panek in 1893 and the School for Serb boys and girls in Sarajevo in 1897 by Ludwig Huber. [19:22]

However, that fact does not degrade the importance of the project and a facility itself. Some authors give higher importance to this building and grade its value higher than the University of Banja Luka founding some 80 years after that moment. [9:16]

The project was done by Austrian architect and technician M. V. Vitzinger and V. Brückner. [12:65] Construction works started in 1892 and were led by Hypolit Pokorný, Chech construction manager. [9:16]

On 1st March 1898 western wing and part of the central corpus were finally completed, but they could hardly handle the number of pupils that were supposed to attend the school. In 1903 central corpus and part of the eastern wing were added on, therefore making the floor plan in F shape. Some authors [12:68] mention architect Josip Blažeković as the
author of the add-on part. The last extension works were in 1931 when eastern wing was completed building finally got, initially designed, E shape. Only the sports hall was not built, and that’s the major deviation in comparison to the main project.

Comparing the Pařík’s project from Sarajevo and design in Banja Luka, only a couple of important differences of main façade can be found: different windows in the ground floor, which are rectangular in Sarajevo and completed with an arch in Banja Luka, and attic wall, which has windows in Sarajevo and floral decoration in Banja Luka. The overall atmosphere and impression of proportions, materials and architectural logic are nearly the same.

Parts of building that were added later, have completely followed initial idea and implied as the logical extension to earlier phases. Façade treatment is symmetrical with accents on the side wings, end Avant-corpses, which were pulled out a bit in front of the main façade and finished with a floral decoration on the attic walls. Central volume with entrance was still and uniform, with small accent on
doors in the middle. General design, with rough and fine stone façade plains and windows details, as well with pilaster composition, can be compared to Renaissance revival. Floor levels were strictly separated and emphasised with the horizontal cornices between each of the levels, making the difference not only between the stories, but also between different materials used on each of the façade planes. Ground and first floor were covered with two different types of stone, and windows were also treated differently. Windows and doors on the ground floor had arch shaped endings with accents on the perimeter of the window. First floor windows were rectangular and had a triangular emphasised lintel with tympanum. Fine carved stone was also visible. Second story had more still design with simple rectangular window but used half-hidden pilasters to emphasise façade’s partitions.

![Figure 10. Ober-Realgymnasium in Banja Luka; section detail between ground and first floor with cornices between](image)

Building was designed with cellar, ground floor and two stories. Sports hall, which was designed in extension of the middle part of the building, was never erected. Structure system was massive, with the traditional system of construction works realization. Walls were made out of a combination of brick and stone, with wooden beams as the floor structure. Roof construction was also traditional, made out of wood. As mentioned, used materials were brick, stone and wood for construction. Different floral decorations and cornices were made in stucco. Roof was covered with clay tiles. Building was designed and used as a gymnasium. Only at the time of WWII, it was occupied by German forces causing the problems in lecture holding. As mentioned earlier, it followed general guidelines for gymnasium design in Austro-Hungarian Empire. Floor plans were more or less typical with the usual disposition of classrooms, special cabinets, library, and other service areas like flats for teachers etc. 478
On 27th October 1969, Banja Luka suffered large earthquake that made substantial damage to many buildings in the wider area. One of those that were partly demolished was Gymnasium. Just like in many other cases, committees were established in order to evaluate the damages, reaching the decisions weather the building should be repaired or demolished entirely. Even though Gymnasium did not suffer as voluminous damages as some other building that were repaired, like buildings in former Herrengasse, it was decided to demolish it entirely in 1970.

2.4. Higher school for girls

Original building complex was located in the Street of Banja Luka field, a pedestrian street that was heading towards Military campus Vrbaš, just across the Metropolitan Palace. If it existed today, in its full size and shape, an address would be in the Alley of Saint Sava. The remaining parts of the building are located in Street of Simo Šolaja.

This school building was erected in obvious Renaissance revival style in 1898, but with rather odd proportions and volume disposition of the time built. It had one frontal corpus, torn down after 1969, and back, elongated one, today hardly recognizable and used as a cinema.
2.5. Gymnasium of Convent of Sisters of Mercy of Saint Vincent de Paul

The building ensemble of Convent of Sisters of Mercy of Saint Vincent de Paul is located in former Salvatorgasse, later known as Street of Fra Grga Martić, today Serbian Street No 30. The site is in the close vicinity of the Banja Luka Parish Church devoted to the Quest of Blessed Virgin Mary to Saint Elisabeth, which is located just down the street, towards former Herrengasse.

Some contradictions exist regarding the design of Gymnasium building. Some authors mention Eberhard Wegnandt as the architect, but some “inside” sources are naming Ivan Blažeković. Furthermore, it is unknown if this was the same architect that designed Metropolitan palace for Orthodox church in Banja Luka, there named as Josip Blažeković, considering the fact that in terms of some linguistic differences between Serbian and Croatian, names Josip and Ivan are the same.

Nevertheless, data that remain correct for sure are the dates: after buying the construction site in 1907, works started on 29th September 1910, and were finished on 10th October 1910. All construction works and furnishing were completed on 1st November 1911. Building, alongside Convent building in the courtyard, retained its function until the end of WWII, when it was nationalised. Still, scholar functions continued their life in the building; 7th primary school had its seat there until 1992, then from 1992 until 2004 School for civil engineering.
The process of a denationalization lasted until 1999. In the meantime, reconstruction project for Gymnasium and new project for Convent, that was due to bad condition and damages, torn down, were prepared, which lead to ultimate Gymnasium reconstruction and adaptation works along with new convent building erection. [21:571]

Minor interventions on Gymnasium were undertaken: main structural change was a roof elevation in value of 20 cm, providing conditions for roof area utilization, and façade colour change in grey.

The complex was reopened in 2005, and new Catholic Gymnasium with belonging facilities was founded.

On façade, three zones are visible and distinctive: first zone corresponds to slightly elevated ground floor and cellar that is not completely visible from the outside, second zone is divided from first with a strong perimeter wall, now even emphasised with yellow colour, just like the crown cornice change from second to third, roof zone.

First zone has strong stucco decoration, which is aligned with the firm fence design, making the entrance and link as one whole. Second zone is the interesting one: it has discrete secession decoration vertically displaced between windows, which alongside with small and shallow Avant-corps emphasises vertical guidelines of design. Avant-corps is completed with a decorated gable wall, extending from the hip roof construction.

Also, some small floral and rounded motives can be found in the zone under the crown cornice.

![Figure 16. Convent of Sisters of Mercy of Saint Vincent De Paul, Gymnasium building; floor plan of reconstructed building. {12:190}](image)

Some of the decorative elements used here can be found in other designs in Banja Luka, like Evangelistic church and parish house or Banja Luka Stadt Bahnhof, characterized as historicism supporting the Renaissance revival. Interesting is the transformation of the role of the same elements, from situation where they had secondary role, just to frame the outlines and divide the corpses, to design where they make the whole with a floral decoration and other elements emphasizing vertical dimension of the building.

Structure is in the context of the time: massive brick walls in width that exceeds 70 cm. Available documentation does not give us enough information to give conclusions about floor structures, but they are possibly made out of reinforced concrete, due to several reasons: fact that no reconstruction was undertaken on the floor structures in the meantime; visual inspection also confirms assumption and spans are larger than 7m. Some unpublished references state that this building was the first one in Banja Luka with floor structure made out of reinforced concrete.
Roof construction is classic wooden, made out of traditional structural elements. The first functional concept included rooms for boys in ground floor, girls in first floor and zones for handcrafts and musical education on second floor. Today, function is adapted to new Gymnasium function: on the ground floor are situated common spaces for teachers and administration, while each floor is accommodating three lecture rooms. As it is presented, brick and concrete are main structural materials. Visible material used for decoration is only plaster: walls are entirely plastered and in recent time coloured with a combination of white and yellow colour. The roof is made out of traditional clay tiles.

Present condition After the last reconstruction works, Gymnasium building is in excellent condition and is maintained properly. The convent is in even better, but reasonably, because it is built old not more than 9 years now. Comparing to the old complex design, only sports hall was added behind the school, but it is not interfering with the atmosphere and overall expression due to its “concealed location”.

The convent with the school building is on the list of the Provisional National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina. [23]

2.6. School of Adorers of the Blood of Christ

The school building was located in the vicinity of villa Stockmann, where branch named Mary Help of Christians (Mariahilf) had its seat, from 1887. It is the site between former Kaiserstrasse and the street today named Street of Petar Kočić, just across the Cathedral complex.

Figure 17. Convent of Sisters of Mercy of Saint Vincent De Paul, Gymnasium. View of main façade and courtyard side from the northwest; present condition.

Figure 18. School of Adorers of the Blood of Christ; main façade view. Postcard issued in 1908 [20:186]
Construction works for first convent and school buildings started in 1888. School started working in 1890, and in 1894 first High school for girls was opened. Until 1919 lectures were held in German. [21:594]

The new school building was completed in 1903 and was certainly one of the most prominent buildings in Banja Luka at the time. And of course, one of the best with clear secession design, project that followed all contemporary guidelines. Simple corpus geometry, shallow Avant-corps with emphasized gable wall, everything followed by strong structural decoration with floral motives, which were levelled up from ground zone to the peak in the mentioned gable. Unfortunately, these are the only facts that exist now in available research sources.

The complex was operating until 1943, and on 18th September 1946 due to nationalisation process, building was confiscated and public Gymnasium for girls was founded in it. It was operating until 1969, when it suffered earthquake destruction and was torn down. In its place Army’s Centre was built later on, currently being used as a National Assembly.

2.7. Serbian primary school

The site of Serbian primary school, just behind former Orthodox church corresponds to the last part of former Herrengasse, in the vicinity of Military authorities’ headquarters in Kaiserstraße. Today, it is the connecting part of Street of Simo Šolaja to the Street of Veselin Masleša. The contemporary address is Street of Simo Šolaja No 1-3.

A new building for Primary school was built in 1907. This school, which was attended by girls and boys together, was founded in 1856, while first Serbian school in Bosnia was opened in 1832. [7:81] Although no clear evidences exist regarding the building in which school operated before 1907, it is sure that it has been just the transfer of the function from one to the new building. [8:58]

Main façade faces the west, and contains all elements needed to understand the concept. Used project is for sure typical and corresponds to dozens of school and administrative buildings built during the Austro-Hungarian period not only in occupied Bosnia, but also in other countries belonging to the Empire. The floor plan is H shaped, with completely symmetrical composition: main volume extending through the whole length of the building is finished with two building parts, extruded in front of the main volume’s façade; same move is made in the back-side façade, making the entrance points in the centre more emphasized.

Figure 19. Serbian primary school. View of the western façade; photograph taken probably before 1969. [22:144]

Structural components are simple and include stone walls in the cellar, brick walls in ground floor and wooden construction for floor and roof elements. Walls are plastered and
coloured in ocher colour and discretely decorated with white elements, used around windows and on building corners. Also, some wooden decorative elements are used in contact with roof construction points. The overall experience of the original design is for sure idea of historicism revival, but some contradictions lead to the doubts: stucco decoration, especially floral, is definitely secession influence. This mix can be justified with explanation that the original design and composition was originally from the end of XIX century, but in this particular case it was implemented under strong influence of secession, resulting with this outcome.

The building has a cellar, ground floor and partly usable roof area. Several changes to original state are recognized: roof ridge straightening, small canopies above the entrance doors and some decorative stucco elements removal. During the time, the building changed several holders. After the school, Serbian centre was there, and now “Kolo srpskih sestari”, Orthodox kindergarten “Andelak”, Serbian Choir Association “Jedinstvo”.

Building of “Serbian Primary School” is listed as the Provisional National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina. [23]

3. CONCLUSION

As it is indicated in the researched materials and discussed results, the Austro-Hungarian authorities supported the establishment of educational institutions and their belonging facilities after the centuries of educational prohibition for non-Muslims. In some cases, new legal authorities were the initiators and founders of some schools, out of which the most important is the most prominent in the same time, Gymnasium. In other cases, sacred institutions - both Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches financed the construction of buildings that hosted their own schools.

From the historical point of view, this building typology has very wide stylistic adherence, spanning from local architecture, Moorish revival, Renaissance and Classic Revival to Secession, making it very good showcase of approaches in architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian time. As far as the materials and constructions are concerned, none of these buildings exercised remarkable and elsewhere not introduced properties. It was already established and proven approach of tectonic structural system that used bricks and wood, with rare application of poured and reinforced concrete.

Unfortunately, not all buildings survived later regimes and natural catastrophes. Some of them changed their function becoming the victims of new authorities, while some suffered
damages in earthquake in 1969, and later demolished in order to be replaced by new buildings illustrating the values of newly established society. In contemporary perspective, in terms of heritage, that these buildings and their former sites have, it is important to point out their outstanding potential. It is only to doubt whether harsh conditions in this society are wide enough to let them be recognized and protected from further deterioration. Fortunately, the sites preserved until today are maintained, but it remains questionable if it will stay the same in future. That is why it is important to raise the awareness of the importance of tangible heritage, historical architectural values and built environment that makes our cityscapes so original and irreplaceable.

Undoubtedly, however, is the fact that school buildings erected in Banja Luka during the Austro-Hungarian era left an inerasable mark in both local and regional history. It is irrelevant to compare the influence of the schools themselves and their architecture only, but some conclusions can be drawn. Whether the schools got destroyed, or still serve their original function, in the cultural identity of Banja Luka, they are all carved as important milestones for education, culture and prosperity, foremost the Gymnasium, that produced outstanding number of prominent young people that had important role in later historical development of Banja Luka. Moreover, very important buildings are the ones that are preserved, and still act as strongholds of national and religious identity of all citizens of Banja Luka, like Gymnasium of Convent of Sisters of Mercy of Saint Vincent de Paul or Serbian Primary School, which even upgraded its role in cultural horizon. When discussing on effects of architecture of these buildings to surrounding streams, it is more appropriate to refer to mutual reflections of general architectural trends in whole Bosnia and Herzegovina, as influences and highlighting projects were easily accessed and used as role models. It is clear and shown that Austro-Hungarian production in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not offer particularly original pieces of architecture, but nevertheless has at least started to fill the gap of the Modern History architecture, that was almost entirely wiped away during the Ottoman time. Unfortunately, upstream that began in 1878, at least when the architecture is concerned, was brutally brought to an end at the dawn of the WWI, later being continued in different social, political and religious circumstances.

LITERATURE

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