

War damage to the cultural heritage in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina

Fourth Information Report

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Contents

1. Contribution by Dr Colin Kaiser, Consultant expert

I. Introduction

II. Croatia

III. Bosnia Herzegovina

IV. Activities of international organisations

V. Recommendations

2. Information document submitted by the Institute for the protection of the cultural-historical and natural heritage of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, September 1993)

3. Reactions to the destruction of the Old Bridge of Mostar on 9 November 1993: Council of Europe; Unesco; Europa Nostra; Association of art historians of Croatia.

4. Action proposed by Unesco

5. Council of Europe action plan for former Yugoslavia

6. The effects of conflict upon works of art: summary report by Dr Anthea Brook (Courtauld Institute of Art)

1. CONTRIBUTION BY DR COLIN KAISER

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I. Introduction

The War continues

1. Since the summer the war has continued on the confines of the Croatian Krajina: it is mainly a static war with artillery, which means that the levels of destruction in the front zones (and towns and villages behind them) steadily climb. The war has continued in Bosnia-Herzegovina, sometimes on fairly stable fronts (Sarajevo, the Posavinian corridor in the north, the front line at Mostar), but its contours have shifted notably in Central Bosnia, with fighting between the Bosnian Croatian forces (HVO) and the Bosnian governmental forces (BiH), which means that territories that have enjoyed a modicum of tranquillity are in turn drawn into the cycles of destruction and counter-destruction.

Scope of the Report

2. With the exception of information gathered in Dubrovnik, most of the data presented here is second-hand, coming from reports and documents from cultural and political authorities from the region: two reports from Orthodox and Serbian heritage authorities, a Croatian publication on libraries, and a report on the destruction of the cultural heritage of Bosnia-Herzegovina prepared by the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural-Historical and Natural Heritage of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, located in Sarajevo. The lacunae noted and doubts expressed in these pages about the completeness and the objectivity of the information received continue to point to the necessity of work in the field, whatever the difficulties encountered in organising it.

II. Croatia

Reports of the Orthodox Church of Serbia and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Serbia (Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church)

3. The previous information reports presented to the Assembly by the Committee on Culture and Education were received by the Federal Ministry of Education and Culture of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which wrote to the Committee (8 September 1993), drawing attention to the lacunae in information on destruction of Orthodox heritage contained in the reports. This Ministry also forwarded two reports. Since then

the Ministry has shown great interest in the possibility of a mission to Belgrade (letter of 10 November 1993).

4. A copy of an undated (probably from early 1993) letter from the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Secretary General of the United Nations recapitulating damage to Orthodox heritage, has also been received.

5. The first report, entitled "War Damage sustained by Orthodox Churches in Serbian Areas of Croatia in 1991", is a published document prepared by the "Crisis Committee" of the Commission for the protection of cultural property of Serbian origin in war-torn regions" under the authority of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia.

6. The second document, received in a French translation, is entitled "Report on War Devastation to Orthodox Churches in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina" (the section on heritage in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be discussed further on), and was prepared by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Serbia together with the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and is dated January 1993, from Belgrade.

7. The first document, probably prepared in 1992, was destined for widespread circulation, the second, more modest in presentation, has been seen by journalists (it was described by Le Monde's Belgrade correspondent, Florence Hartmann, 20 October 1993), and perhaps by various international organisations.

8. Despite the problems that will be described below, both documents are of great interest, because they address a problem that received little attention in the Croatian reports (whose publication seems to have stopped in the summer of 1992). Even if they do not satisfactorily fill the "information gap", they point to an even worse extent of destruction than described in the preceding information reports.

Cultural Scope of the Reports

9. Except for marginal information on a few villages in the 1993 document, neither report describes the situation of non-religious heritage in Croatia: attention is devoted exclusively to church heritage, "the product of Serbian genius" and of "particular importance for the Serbian cultural, religious and ethnic identity". On the part of the Serbian Orthodox Church, this selection is eminently comprehensible.

However, the second report, coming from a national institute for the protection of monuments, seems more polemical in intent: the Croatian National Institute reports and the report from the Sarajevo Institute describe many types of heritage, religious and secular, monuments and urban residential districts. The "genius" of individual peoples is often blurred by the styles of their vernacular heritage, rural or urban, which they share.

Intention of the Reports

10. The propagandistic purpose of the first report is set out in the opening line: "The present annihilation of cultural landmarks, Serbian Orthodox churches, in the territory of the Republic of Croatia, is a continuation of the vandalism that lasted from 1941 to 1945 in the Independent State of Croatia. Its basic goal was then and remains today the destruction and assimilation of the Serbian people in the north-western region of Yugoslavia."

11. This is reinforced by the discussion in the introduction of this report of damage done by military means (mortars and artillery), noting that "a considerable number of churches or their belfries were damaged or greatly destroyed by the artillery and other armed forces belonging to the Croatian militia, national guard and other paramilitary detachments whose goal was to destroy them, not because they were of strategic military importance but because they were orthodox churches... On the other hand, a considerable number of Orthodox churches or their belfries were used by Croatian paramilitary formations as machine gun and sniper nests whose firepower killed a great number of Yugoslav Federal Army soldiers and Serbs. In order to neutralise and destroy these nests, belfries became the target of artillery and mortar fire which resulted in their damage."

12. In other words, according to the report, most military damage done to Orthodox heritage was the responsibility of Croatian forces. Fortunately this affirmation only infrequently carries over into the entries describing the damage itself, which is usually simply attributed vaguely to "war manoeuvres", or indicating only that "shells" hit the building; moreover, it is curious that report entries rarely indicate that belfries containing Croatian machine-gun nests were shot at and damaged.

13. While it is true that in 1991 (and more so in 1992) some shelling damage is accountable to the Croatian forces, in the opinion of the consultant most artillery damage in 1991 was due to the far stronger Serbian artillery. Moreover, Orthodox urban heritage is part and parcel of the urban tissue of Croatian towns, and saturation firing of the Serbian artillery made little distinction (Dubrovnik, Osijek, Vukovar).

Credibility of the Information

14. The argument of a continuum of atrocities and the blaming of Croatian artillery warn the reader about the propagandistic intent of the reports, and this is unfortunate, because it immediately undermines the credibility of the information - including good information - in the reports. Detailed examination of the documents raises other problems.

i) Methodology of the reports

15. The first report notes three sources of information - from professional teams working in areas occupied by the JNA, reports from the Orthodox Church in Croatia, and reliable witnesses. In effect the varying exactitude of information indicates the different types of sources. The second report is based on similar sources, calling also upon the experts of the National Museum of Belgrade, the Museum of Applied Arts of Belgrade, and the Historic Museum of Serbia, the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church of Belgrade. The Orthodox Church also called upon the EC Monitoring Mission for information, as is revealed in the documents annexed to the letter of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

16. Both reports are organised according to eparchy. Each object has an entry describing its style and history, and a summary description of damage to the building, its interior and works of art. The second report is far more succinct in its description of the churches, which makes it less useful in evaluating the importance of the heritage. Moreover, new entries for damage in 1991 and afterward are usually brief and extremely vague.

17. In these translated documents the word "destroyed" is applied in such a way as to suggest that the original Serbo-Croat word being used is often "razoren", which is ambiguous, encompassing notions of heavy damage and total destruction (the same remark can be made for much of the information received from the war zones, whatever the source).

18. Only the second report has a recapitulative table of damage by eparchy, using three levels of damage: demolished, heavily damaged and lightly damaged. The statistics are often higher than the number of buildings contained in the text, which also undermines their utility.

19. Little attempt is made in these documents to identify the status of the buildings (international and national importance, regional, local importance), even in the first report, which had a strong input from specialists in heritage. The 1993 report adds presbyteries and recent buildings, thus leading to some distortion with regard to the monumental content of the document.

ii) Differences in descriptions of damage and attribution of causes

20. The first report contains entries that are dry and very factual alongside others that are more polemical. The second report tends to take what appears to be good information from the first report and makes it more diffuse. For example, the first report mentions damage to churches in Gabos and Ostrov in the eparchy of Osječko Polje and Baranja caused by specific numbers of shells (4 and 2 respectively). In the second report mention is only made of "shells", which allows the reader to speculate whether it is two shells or twenty, thus creating a vaguer image of the damage. However, in some cases the second report gives a more moderate view of damage, and refers to specific reports (sometimes from church officials, but sometimes the source is not indicated).

21. In both documents there are entries that refer to events that preceded the war (for example, the stealing of fourteen 16th-century Italo-Cretan icons and numerous liturgical works and articles from the Church of St. Nicholas in Pula, in March 1991), and which may or may not have been linked to the political situation. Moreover, some entries (Monasteries of St. Anne and Orhahovica) contain no indication of damage, and one wonders how these have been incorporated into the recapitulative table.

22. It is also interesting to confront the reports with material from Croatian and outside sources. This sometimes raises significant confusion about the nature of damage and, more obviously, the cause:

Sarvas (eparchy of Osječko-Polje and Baranja): The first Serbian report refers to the parish Church of St. John the Baptist (1763) and mentions that it became a Catholic church in the 18th century; it notes that an Orthodox church with the same name was built in 1968 and then notes that the interior (but of which church?) was destroyed by a "bomb" thrown inside and the western part of the naos considerably damaged. The second report simply assimilates the two churches (i.e. the 1763 church was "renovated" in 1968), describes damage to the roof from October 1991, and notes that the iconostasis and inventory were burned. The Croatian report of June 1992 indicates that the 1763 building was mortared on 12 and 17 August 1991 and "destroyed" by this, the belfry having caved in, thus adding a more confusing notion of the type and degree of damage.

Pakrac (eparchy of Slavonia): Bishop's Residence (Baroque building of 1732): The first Serbian report notes that 2 shells hit the residence (which was occupied by Croatian militia); the second, updating the damage, adds that part of the residence burned, a wing of the residence being destroyed and the museum demolished along with all the archives. The Croatian report notes only that the facade was hit by machine-gun fire, but admits that the "valuable archives material store (was) also devastated".

Pakrac: Eparchy Library: according to the first Serbian report this library contained 120 Srbljaks (poems dedicated to Serbian saints) and 5,500 old books (55,000 according to the second report), including an important collection of 18th Serbian works, and many books saved from monasteries and parish churches damaged or destroyed in World War II. According to the Serbian reports some books were burned in the eparchy yard, others in the street and in a nearby park. "Wounded Libraries in Croatia" (1993), prepared by the Croatian Library Association, mentions that the library of the "Slavonic Orthodox Parish" in Pakrac was evacuated by the National and University library in Zagreb, but that the war damages will be assessed when the books are returned to Pakrac.

Karlovac (eparchy of Gornji Karlovac): Eparchy Library and Residence: The collection contained icons and books saved from Orthodox churches in World War II and the residence had a series of portraits of Serbian eparchs. The Serbian reports mention that part of the collections was evacuated before entry of the Croatian militia but that part was removed by these forces to an unknown location. The Croatian report is totally silent about this alleged vandalism and notes only that the Eparchy building was damaged by "nearby" shell blasts in December 1991.

Karlovac: Cathedral of St. Nicholas: This is an extremely important example of Baroque heritage (1785-87), all the more precious because it escaped the extensive vandalism of World War II. The descriptions provided in the Serbian reports are confusing: the first notes that it received "war damage", but that it was "blown up" on 6 January 1992; the second mentions that it was dynamited and badly damaged. The Croatian report notes that it was partly destroyed by mortars and rockets and leaves it at that. Fortunately a photograph taken by Mr. Hatterer in December 1992 reveals serious structural damage to the façade and wall probably from an internal blast, and damage on the roof that looks like shelling. The church is manifestly not "destroyed".

Dubrovnik (Zahumjla-Herzegovine Eparchy): Church of the Annunciation of the Virgin (late 19th-Century): The second report said that it was "partly damaged" in 1992; the consultant knows that the roof was badly damaged by Federal artillery in 1991 and 1992; however, it is possible that stones were thrown through the windows of the façade.

Dubrovnik (Parish house and Museum of the Orthodox Church): the second report says that they were mined and burned, which the consultant can confirm is wrong. However, the museum door is not locked (which it should be, given that the collection has been removed for storage and the museum closed) and the roof of the Orthodox priest's house, damaged by Federal bombardment, has still not received minimum attention (October 1993).

23. Accordingly, there are often doubts about the reality and degree of the damage and its cause, which means that the international community has a role in evaluating it. To their credit, the Serbian reports express the need of international organisations to establish the causes of damage.

Description of Orthodox Heritage in Croatia

24. The first Serbian report on Croatia is of special value in describing the church heritage, both in the introduction and the entries given to each object. Attention is given both to the structures and to the iconostases and icons contained within the buildings.

25. The report notes the existence of a handful of small wooden parish churches dating back to the 15th and 16th centuries, and the edification of larger stone churches in the Serbian Byzantine and Baroque styles (16th to end of 18th century). It points out that numerous Orthodox churches in the Baroque style are externally virtually indistinguishable from their Catholic neighbours, both having been built by the same architects, and observes quite correctly that "seen in this light, these monuments can be powerful motives for rapprochement, above all between Serbian and Croatian peoples, for mutual tolerance and respect in these dramatic and unsure times".

26. Both reports strongly stress the damage suffered by the Orthodox heritage in World War II: the dossier submitted by Yugoslavia to the European Conference of Reparations in 1945 claimed that 456 Orthodox churches had been destroyed by the "German Occupational Power" (which also means that many iconostases and icons were destroyed). The 1991 report claims that 90% had been in fact destroyed by Ustachis and only 10% by the Germans (it is not entirely clear if these figures includes churches in Bosnia-Herzegovina). It would appear from these reports, that there was a tendency for Ustachis and German forces to treat 17th and 18th-century churches more savagely than 19th-century ones. Some new churches were built on these sites, but many were reconstructions.

27. This information is highly significant, for it means that the wars in Croatia (and probably Bosnia-Herzegovina) have affected a heritage that had already taken serious

losses and that, from an architectural point of view, was sometimes a hastily rebuilt image of the past: much destruction in the recent war affects these rebuilt churches (9 of 34 cases of destruction or damage in the diocese of Zagreb-Ljubljana, 9 of 22 in Gornji-Karlovac, 14 of 36 in Osjecko-Polje and Baranja, 32 of 58 in Slavonia, and 4 of 29 in Dalmatia).

The Extent of Damage in Croatia (Statistical Breakdown)

28. **Table 1** presents the number of entries for each report per eparchy.

Eparchy	Number of Damaged Church Building and Collections	
	1991	1993
Osjecko-Polje and Baranja	26	53
Slavonia	24	77
Zagreb-Ljubljana	17	49
Gornji-Karlovac	17	30
Dalmatia*	12	34
Total	96	243

*Does not include damage done in Dubrovnik commune, which is attached to the eparchy of Zahumlja-Herzegovine (Mostar): 5 cases.

The inflation is accountable by the addition of presbyteries and minor structures in the 1993 report, but also to new entries for 1991 destruction, as information became available. There was further damage in 1992, usually - according to the report - due to reprisals that year: 25 cases (and a possible 15 other cases). However, it is clear that most damage to Orthodox heritage in Croatia took place in 1991.

29. **Table 2** presents the causes of damage, extracted from the entries of the first report.

Eparchy	war manoeuvres	vandalism	both	not indicated
Osjecko-Polje and Baranje	19	4		3
Slavonia	10	12		2
Zagreb-Ljubljana	2	15		
Gornji Karlovac	7	5	1	4
Dalmatia	7	4		1
Totals	45	40	1	10

In other words, the first report acknowledges the extensive damage done by artillery in Eastern Slavonia (eparchies of Slavonia and especially the front zone of Osjecko-Polje and Baranja), and the relatively greater extent of vandalism in zones far behind the fronts (eparchy of Zagreb-Ljubljana and the western part of the eparchy of Slavonia).

30. The same type of information can be extracted from the second report.

31. Table 3 Caused by: war manoeuvres vandalism both not indicated

Eparchy	war manoeuvres	vandalism	both	not indicated
Osjecko-Polje and Baranje	21	7	4	14
Slavonia	14	35	4	8
Zagreb-Ljubljana	1	24		16
Gornji-Karlovac	4	8	1	10
Dalmatia	9	11		10
Totals	49	85	9	58

Accordingly, in the second report, the full effect of reprisal vandalism is registered, but the high number of vague notations of damage - some of which must be reprisals in Croat-controlled zones - makes it difficult to draw conclusions. It can be wondered if this vagueness is partly an attempt to minimise artillery damage.

32. The second report resorts to a table that is more confusing, having two categories of "demolition" by war operations and "outside of combat" (vandalism) and two categories of badly damaged and lightly damaged buildings, but not describing the cause. Moreover, as noted above, the figures do not correspond to the textual notations. Only the first two categories are presented below.

33. Table 4

Eparchy	demolished by combat means	demolished outside of combat
Osjecko-Polje and Baranja	5	8
Slavonia	13	29
Zagreb-Ljubljana		5
Gornji Karlovac	3	5
Dalmatia	1	4
Total	22	51

Given the greater efficacy of dynamiting and burning, this is a highly probable balance of very serious damage, with the consultant's observation that the first category is overwhelmingly due to Serbian artillery and the second to Croatian reprisals.

34. Heavily and lightly damaged buildings are presented in **Table 5**

Eparchy	Heavily damaged	Lightly damaged
Osjecko-Polje and Baranja	25	15
Slavonia	24	11
Zagreb-Ljubljana	19	25
Gornji Karlovac	10	12
Dalmatia	17	12
Total	95	75

35. Accordingly, the Serbian reports claim that in Croatia 73 churches, presbyteries and other church buildings have been demolished, 95 heavily damaged and 75 lightly damaged. The Croatian report for June 1992 notes 57 destroyed monasteries and churches, 121 heavily or considerably damaged and 48 lightly damaged, but these are listed monuments. The Croatian figures include Orthodox heritage, but it is not clear how much. Given these factors, these statistics are not comparable. Unfortunately it is not clear from the Serbian reports - but the same can be said about all other reports received from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina - what percentage of Serbian religious heritage has been damaged or destroyed.

Important Damaged Orthodox Cultural Heritage

36. It is clear that Orthodox heritage in Croatia has suffered severely from the war, and that quantitatively the worst damage was caused by reprisals. Here attention is drawn to some important examples of alleged damage, different types of cultural heritage, and to cases (which in addition to the confusing examples already noted) about which the Croatian authorities might have information, especially when they concern moveable cultural heritage.

- Eparchy of Zagreb-Ljubljana

Bjelovar: Church of the Descent of the Holy Spirit (1784, belfry finished in 1822, this church was not damaged in World War II and was a nationally listed monument): belfry damaged by shelling, interior pillaged and "destroyed".

Donja Rasenica: The destruction of the parish Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin, a national listed monument of great importance and fragility (a rare wooden parish church built in 1709), by mortaring, burning and/or dynamiting (destruction confirmed by Croatian and Serbian reports).

Mali Zdenci: wooden parish Church of the Birth of the Holy Virgin (1761, partially damaged in World War II, nationally listed monument); alleged to have been broken into and demolished (5 October 1991) and icons stolen or destroyed.

Rastovac: The destruction of the wooden parish Church of St. Dimitrius (1730) by fire. This was also a nationally listed monument.

Zagreb: destruction of the Orthodox Archdiocese (1886) by dynamiting (11 April 1992), including destruction of the collection of the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox church (67 Serbian, Russian and Cretan icons dating from 16th to 18th century, liturgical objects and books, and two 13th-century evangiles).

- Eparchy of Gornji-Karlovac

Karlovac: see above

Petrinja: Church of St. Spiridon (1976, original parish church of 1743 completely destroyed in World War II): said to have been bombed 3 times, icons and 18th century books destroyed, the very valuable parish registers (1747-1991) removed, presumably to an unknown location.

Peroj: Church of St. Spiridon (post-war rebuilding of 18th century church): 17 Italo-Cretan icons from 17th and 18th centuries stolen.

Staro Selo: Church of St. Nicholas (1858), destroyed according to a report of 4 January 1991 (?), along with iconostasis and other furnishings, but what is particularly serious is the alleged wrecking of the cemetery by bulldozers and tanks.

- Eparchy of Dalmatia

Glavina Donja (near Imotski): Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin (1720, renovated in 1884), dynamited on 19 October 1991 (perhaps on 15 November 1991 as well), and damaged by mortars in 1992; "presently, the church no longer exists".

Smokovic: Church of St. George the Martyr (1567), damaged by mortars on 27 September, but the 1993 report claims that the church was razed.

Zadar: Church of St. Elias (1563, renovated in 1773, profaned but apparently not damaged in World War II), icons stolen and church demolished according to a report of 14 February 1992.

- Eparchy of Osjecko-Polje and Baranja

Gornji Petrovci: Church of the Ascension (1769), belfry and roof badly damaged by shelling; the 60 icons of the 19th century disappeared.

Koprivna: Church of the Birth of the Holy Virgin (one of the oldest Orthodox churches of the eparchy, built in the Middle Ages, and renovated in the Baroque style in 1757, converted into a Roman Catholic church during World War II, which may have saved it), the 1993 report notes that it was demolished from tower to altar, some of the icons were stolen, but some taken to Matica Srpska Gallery.

Osijek: Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin (1743, destroyed in World War II and rebuilt), belfry destroyed "outside war manoeuvres", pillaged, burned and dynamited in October 1991; the fate of the art collection is unknown.

Vinkovci: Church of the Descent of the Holy Spirit (1794, but damaged and looted in World War II), according to Sell and Wade (1992) the church was shelled twice, causing serious damage, and then destroyed by dynamiting by the Croats "as retaliation for the Serbian attacks on the town". The Serbian reports do not mention this shelling, but indicate that the church was burned and dynamited.

Vukovar: Basilica of St. Nicholas (1732, a Baroque building that has undergone much renovation and was damaged in World War II), the Serbian reports note much damage

through mortaring/shelling (top of belfry, roof and roof vault destroyed, facades damaged by shelling, interior demolished along with iconostasis), and the Croatian report says that in October/November the basilica was "completely destroyed" by shelling.

Vukovar: Paunovic Family mausoleum (neo-Romanesque early 20th century, built on the plans of Vladimir Nikolic) in the Orthodox Cemetery, with frescoes and iconostasis by Stefan Aleksic), and chapel in Orthodox Cemetery, both structures were heavily damaged by shelling, confirmed by the Croatian and Serbian reports; the rest of the cemetery itself suffered much shelling damage.

- Eparchy of Slavonia

Batinjani: Church of St. Dimitrius (1739, contained iconostasis and frescoes from early 18th century, a very important and rare testimonial from the period of resettlement of Serbs from Ottoman territory, recently restored), dynamited in 1991 by Croatian "terrorists", with help from the local Croatian population according to 1993 report.

Kukunjevac: Church of St. Paraskevi (1782, damaged in World War II) and memorial centre commemorating the massacre of 700 Serbs in World War II, both structures dynamited.

Obrijez: Church of St. John the Apostle (wooden church, built in 1747, with iconostasis from this period, closed in 1982 on account of its condition), destroyed in 1991; fate of 50 icons mentioned in 1874 inventory not clear.

Pakra Monastery (foundation dates from 16th century, much restored in 1697, damaged during World War II), abandoned by the nuns, entrances walled up by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Osijek (Croatia), but apparently broken into and ten 17th and 18th-century icons were stolen.

Pakrac: for Bishop's Residence and Eparchy Library see above

Pakrac: Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (1757, much renovated), on 28 September 1991 the interior set on fire and the iconostasis burned, belfry and "half" of the structure "destroyed" during the war.

Pakrac: Chapel of the Birth of the Holy Virgin (beginning of 18th century, mausoleum chapel of the Orthodox bishops), interior burned out on 28 September 1991 by Croatian militia or police, some icons were destroyed but iconostasis seems to have been saved, belfry damaged.

Pakrac: Seminary beside the Cathedral (1850), burned on 28 September 1991.

- Eparchy of Zahumlje-Herzegovine (southern Dalmatian coast)

Kremina: Orthodox Cemetery (18th-20th centuries), completely bulldozed.

The Destruction of Serbian Villages in the Eparchy of Slavonia

37. The letter of the Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia to the Secretary General of the United Nations mentions that 183 Serbian villages in the eparchy of Slavonia have been destroyed.

38. While it is impossible to comment on this evaluation, an annex containing a letter from the ECMM Regional Centre of Belgrade to the Bishop Lukijan mentions 13 destroyed villages in his eparchy - mainly in the Orljava and Londa river valleys - and another village in which every Serbian house has been destroyed (7 November 1992); presumably the Bishop was requesting information on Serbian villages. Part of another letter that seems to concern the same area notes destruction in two villages (Ciglenik, 6 houses destroyed or burned, the last in August 1992, destruction in June 1992 of the church of Crveni Vrhovci, with only the tower standing).

Another letter from these monitors (27 August 1992), mentions destruction of Serbian houses in villages and towns of the Podravina (Danube River valley), between Virovitica and Podravska Slatina (300 houses blown up since 1991).

39. This source is irreproachable: it contains the type of information that was collected by the ECMM throughout Croatia (q.v. first information report), and which is directly needed by this fact-finding activity in order to have a balanced account of destruction of cultural heritage.

Cultural Vandalism against Orthodox Heritage in Karlovac

40. Croatian Foreign Press Bureau releases refer to an incident that took place in Karlovac on Christmas Day 1993- the dynamiting of a structure that is confusingly referred to, by successive dispatches, as "the Orthodox church" (28 December), "the Orthodox church rectory" (29 December), and "the Orthodox Eparchy Building" (5 January 1994). The degree of damage is not indicated by this source.

41. This act of vandalism is significant on two counts: first of all, because this kind of destruction is continuing in Croatia, and secondly, because the Croatian authorities (both national and local) admitted that the incident had taken place and condemned it publically. Moreover, the Croatian government ordered an investigation. There have been a number of such investigations recently (see below), but until authorities recognize their own responsibilities and act accordingly, it is likely that such incidents will continue (see below: *The Double Dynamic of Reprisal and Cultural Cleansing*).

General Conclusion for the Heritage of the Serbian Population in Croatia

42. Whatever the problems of using the two Serbian reports, it is clear that there were massive reprisals in Croatia against Serbian cultural heritage, both monuments, vernacular architecture, not to mention the destruction and stealing of religious art works. Moreover, there are claims that cemeteries have been destroyed and parish records removed. Along with the various intimidations mentioned in the ECMM documents against the Serbian population in Slavonia (seemingly less serious further from the fighting zones), but not described in this report, it is evident that both ethnic and cultural cleansing have taken place on a significant scale against the Serbs of Croatia. However, considering the difficulty of using the Serbian reports, it is all the more necessary for the international community to evaluate what has happened, and for the Croatian cultural authorities to reply to the specific charges made.

Damaged Libraries in Croatia

43. A short publication entitled "Wounded Libraries in Croatia", prepared by the Croatian Library Association (1993), accuses the Federal Army of demolishing libraries "ruthlessly and systematically" just as it "demolished churches, schools, cultural and historical monuments, archives, cemeteries, everything connected with a nation that should be swept from the face of the earth".

44. This booklet is valuable in recounting briefly the history of libraries in Croatia and drawing attention to the impact of past wars on collections: many old Croatian books cannot be found in Croatian libraries, but only abroad. The publication also

demonstrates that in many cases collections were put in safe places in time, though one wonders what the condition of these collections is now.

45. The work does not provide an exhaustive inventory of damage done to Croatian libraries - it notes that the situation of many libraries in occupied zones is not known at the present time. This means that figures contained in the introduction are indicative of a feared situation rather than a confirmed one: there is "reason to believe" that damage or destruction has been incurred by 138 school libraries, 23 public libraries, 12 memorial libraries (monastery collections), 23 research libraries, 11 academic libraries, and 8 special libraries, and the figures might be even higher.

46. The worst confirmed destruction, by fire caused by shelling, occurred in Vinkovci (the Public Library and its entire collection of 85,000 volumes were destroyed): the damage is evaluated at DM 810,000, the highest monetary sum indicated in the publication for a damaged Croatian library building and collection. In Slavonia the collections of the public libraries of Nova Gradiska and Slavonski Brod also suffered severely. The Dubrovnik Inter-University Centre library, mentioned in earlier information reports, is another case of total destruction, and there was serious damage to 2,000 volumes in the Town Library of Dubrovnik, caused mainly in May 1992 when the building, the Convent of the Clarisses, was hit (damages are estimated at DM 390,000). Zadar collections also suffered heavy losses: the new acquisitions section of the Zadar Research Library, the building itself, and the Zadar Public Library (collection saved, but damage to the premises and equipment is estimated at DM 500,000). In most cases this damage was done by artillery fire.

47. However, it would appear that much of the worst damage is only suspected, because it concerns establishments in occupied areas - in Vukovar the collection of the Town Museum (Eltz Castle), the Franciscan Monastery Library, the Public Library, not to mention the Franciscan Monastery Library in Ilok. In the Sisak region there is no information on public libraries of Petrinja, Glina, Kostajnica, and Dvor na Uni; the library of the Franciscan Monastery of Cuntic is "known" to have been destroyed, and the library of the same order at Kostajnica is "thought" to have been destroyed.

48. Serbian authorities should be asked about the whereabouts and the condition of these collections. They replied to a letter from Mr Baumel, that the collections from Vukovar were in safe-keeping in Zagreb (see first information report: Doc. 6756). They have also responded to an attack made by the Croatian representative at Unesco regarding all the Vukovar collections (museum collections, archives and church property), by requesting that a representative of Unesco view these materials in storage in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Dalj, and in some cases Vukovar itself (statement of Dr. Mileta Milic, Deputy Director of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the

Republic of Serbia, 5 November 1993, given to the delegations and observer missions accredited to Unesco).

49. The booklet discusses efforts to reconstitute collections (book donation days in Croatia in 1991 and 1992), notes that the City of Vienna gave a mobile library to Vinkovci, and that the Bili Brig library built close to the Zadar front line was funded by Croatian firms. It does not appear that there has been much international aid to help reconstitute collections or rebuild libraries in Croatia (in contrast to the international campaign for the National and University Library of Sarajevo).

The Situation in the Commune of Dubrovnik

50. The consultant was in Dubrovnik for two weeks (October) for the United Nations, and was able to observe the evolution of the situation there.

51. In the Old Town a number of roofs had still not received minimal attention since the bombardments of December 1991 and May-June 1992. Rebuilding of the roofs, using Unesco-donated and Slavonian tiles, had just begun. The restoration of the medallion of St. Blaise by the French Committee for Dubrovnik was being completed, and the first floor of the Inter-University Centre has been re-opened, but there was no sign of any other restoration work in the Old Town, and no other international help was in sight, according to local sources of information.

52. Old Dubrovnik seems to have suffered in an unusual way from its worldwide fame: it is perhaps presumed abroad that it is receiving much aid, so it is not necessary to help the town; moreover, the expectation of aid has demobilised local resourcefulness. None too surprisingly, the most significant aid has come from the government of Croatia, in the form of DM 2,000,000 allocated for restoration work on the roofs.

53. The tourist economy is totally dead, which means that the economic activity in the commune as a whole is exceedingly low, and unemployment is high. This has had an impact on work on the roofs of the Old Town, because people cannot afford to buy wood or pay for labour, and are very hesitant about taking out the loans made available by the government.

54. This means that, in the absence of significant outside aid, the situation in the wrecked villages of the commune is critical, despite a number of important initiatives: the UNHCR has provide seeds, some agricultural equipment and transport to take

people to work in the fields, and Caritas (Catholic Church) is distributing building materials to the poorest people. While people have returned to their homes, often living in a room or a concrete garage, about 7,000 people from the commune live in hotels on the coast.

55. The consultant made only a one day trip in the rural areas, but nothing has changed for such villages and small towns as Cilipi, Mocici, Zvekovica and Slano. Moreover, at a meeting in Slano the people from the Primorje region told the authorities that they did not wish to return to the villages, but hoped the government would give them funding to build houses on the coast.

56. The Institute for the Restoration of Dubrovnik has estimated that it will cost DM 69,000,000 just to repair the damaged houses, and DM 410,000,000 to outfit them. It has proposed to the Croatian government that it provide loans to refugees to help them rebuild their homes rather than pay DM 7 a day to keep them in hotels, and this idea has been accepted and the commune of Dubrovnik will be a test case for Croatia. A pilot project will be established for Konavle. Once again the main aid has come from the Croatian government itself, but it will require international funding to carry out this work.

57. Within the commune there are a number of small projects that will have an impact on vernacular heritage - establishment of building workshops by the Compagnons sans Frontières, pilot comparative studies on two villages in Konavle and Primorje, and studies funded by the Soros Foundation in Zagreb, but such projects and others aiming at restoration of the villages, can ultimately only succeed if the economy can provide work, and it is generally felt that there must be re-orientation away from tourism.

58. There is a strong necessity for town and country planning in the commune and the integration of the heritage into the planning process. The National Committee of Croatia for the Restoration of Dubrovnik has decided to include the villages in its mission, and this national recognition of the problem is a good sign, particularly if it encourages the Croatian government to seek international help. In 1971 a general plan for the commune was established with the help of UNEP that recommended redirecting the economy away from tourism, but this was largely ignored. Unesco is fully aware of the problem, and will be addressing the problem of the villages (for the rest of Unesco's programme at Dubrovnik, see below). This is also an area in which the Committee on the Cultural Heritage of the CDCC (Council of Europe) could be of some assistance (see Recommendations).

59. The Old Town of Dubrovnik and the commune have been test cases for the international community, the government of Croatia, and local authorities: they have demonstrated to local people the necessity of relying on themselves and their government, and of going to the international community with clear demands, but equally the necessity of concerted international action to back up that action, with coordination in the field. Some striking and successful initiatives have come from charitable and quickly created European associations. The failures and the successes of all partners must be carefully reviewed, because the challenge provoked by the consequences of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be infinitely more arduous.

Paintings stolen in the Commune of Dubrovnik

60. The Montenegrin Deputy Minister of Culture, Rajko Kalezic, stated that 120 paintings and 468 sketches stolen by the JNA troops from private collections during the occupation of the Commune of Dubrovnik were turned over to his Ministry in Podgorica on 15 October 1992. The Montenegrin authorities have listed them and evaluated the damage. The source of this information (Zagreb Foreign Press Bureau release of 21 December 1993) does not indicate if the Ministry stated whether or not it wished to return these works or undertake their restoration, or if the Croatian government has asked that they be returned. However, the admission of the whereabouts of the paintings and the sketches and the damage done to them may be a sign of a desire to begin "normalizing" cultural relations.

III. Bosnia Herzegovina

The Double Dynamic of Reprisal and Cultural Cleansing

61. In the first information report to the Assembly (February 1993) fear was expressed that the phenomenon of reprisals against cultural heritage was becoming widespread, if not necessarily systematic. The cultural cleansing that was clearly taking place in Bosnia-Herzegovina, perpetrated initially by Bosnian Serbian forces (BSA), was followed by reprisals there in 1992, and has since been taken up by both HVO and BiH forces, since the spring of 1993, and more specifically since the collapse of the Vance-Owen plan (refused by the Bosnian Serbian parliament) and the conference of Washington (24 May).

62. Partly because the HVO and BiH forces are usually less well supplied in heavy artillery (but see below for discussion of the destruction of the Old Bridge of Mostar), their cultural cleansing resorts to the methods of reprisal - burning and dynamiting. It should be clear from earlier reports that, except in cases of prolonged or particularly intensive use of mortars and artillery (Mostar, Sarajevo, stable fronts), the type of damage done to heritage by this vandalism is generally far worse (the mosques of Banja

Luka, the New Orthodox Church at Mostar, the orthodox monastery at Zitomislic, the villages in the commune of Dubrovnik).

63. On account of the difficulty of organising missions, the perennial silence of most international organisations in the field about these questions, the very selective press interest in heritage, not to forget the partisan attitudes of much of the Western press, it has been difficult to ascertain the extent of the phenomenon. The cultural and ethnic cleansing carried out by HVO sources in Herzegovina is better known than the similar activities carried out by BiH forces in central Bosnia, where access is more difficult, and information from HVO sources is blatantly propagandistic. Accordingly we are in the situation of vaguely sensing what has happened and what is happening, but not being able to furnish precise evaluations of damage.

64. The purpose of these information reports is not to make up excuses for one side or the other, but simply to describe the cultural landscape that the war is creating. These acts of vandalism are perpetrated by representatives of authority - soldiers and military and probably civilian police. It can be posited that they are sometimes deliberately ordered by local authorities, but that many of them are "spontaneous".

65. The sense of this term should be elucidated. HVO and BiH units are armies of civilians, sometimes led by ex-JNA officers, but often led by other civilians. The lack of discipline combined with the suffering that many of these soldiers have known, either to themselves directly in prison camps or occupied areas or to their families (and their property) has created an extremely dangerous force for prisoners, civilians and property. Moreover, they are encouraged to commit outrages by political and military leaders who envisage Bosnia-Herzegovina as a series of small, pure ethnic states.

66. These considerations may seem out of place in a technical report, but there is no possibility of approaching the problem of the destruction of heritage in an objective way, or attempting to weigh upon the actors unless these points, which many will find unpalatable, are understood. They must be comprehended for another reason, because vandalism, which is accompanied by what can be mildly termed as "befouling", and often by the killing of civilians, is probably more effective than artillery fire in creating hatreds, and these psychological attitudes will have a strong bearing on the possibilities of restoring cultural heritage after the war.

The Destruction of the Historic Town of Mostar

i) The Battle of Mostar

67. Since the last report Mostar has continued to be the scene of a bitter battle between the HVO and BiH forces. The town was virtually closed off to the outside world until the end of August, when the international organisations in the area sounded the alarm about the situation of the largely Moslem population on the east bank. Afterwards only journalists, UN and UNHCR had continuous access to the town.

ii) Destruction of the Old Bridge (Stari Most)

68. On the basis of a video taken of Mostar Bridge in August, showing damage to the parapets on the north side, and at the request of Mr. Tummers, General Rapporteur on the Architectural Heritage, the consultant wrote to Mr. Vucina, President of the Cabinet of the Government of Herzegovina, drawing attention to the damage and asking him what steps were being taken to ensure protection of the bridge (18 August). No response was received. Bosnia-Herzegovina Heritage Rescue also published an appeal.

69. On 8 November tanks, probably of Croatian origin, shot numerous shells at the Bridge; the following day, a few tank shells, which landed at the base of the eastern side of the arch on the south side of the Bridge, brought it down. This was filmed by the crew of a private British media productions firm (Folio Productions), and probably by others.

70. The following day Mrs Fischer, Chairperson of the Committee on Education and Culture, wrote directly to Mr Tudjman, President of Croatia, the same day, drawing his attention to Croatian responsibilities for destruction of the bridge. A reply disclaiming any responsibility was received from Mr Nagy, Advisor to the President (25 November). However, at the request of Mr Zarko Domljan, Vice-President of the Croatian Parliament, a Commission of Croatian experts for Reconstruction of the Bridge has been established (24 November). There have been numerous other protests (Unesco, Bosnia-Herzegovina Heritage Rescue, Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, etc.).

71. Possibly one of the consequences of international reactions regarding the destruction of the bridge, not to mention other acts of HVO forces, was that the new Herzegovinian chief of staff distributed to his officers and rank and file "a detailed brochure" describing international provisions regarding "humanitarian law, war crimes, cultural heritage and prisoners of war", and promised the severest punishment to soldiers who did not respect the laws of war (Croatian Embassy "Bulletin d'Information", 14 December 1993, N° 8, Le Monde, 25 November 1993).

72. Moreover, the Mostar District Military court questioned three HVO soldiers suspected of "firing several tank projectiles which resulted in the collapse of the bridge"; this same court issued a statement saying that these soldiers "acted on their own initiative without orders from their commanding officers" (Zagreb Foreign Press Bureau release, 22 December 1993). Given the available photographic material throughout the period regarding Stari Most and the historic town, and other information from international organizations, the question of responsibilities for this particular incident seems not to have been answered.

iii) The Historic Town

73. Despite the absence of any cultural heritage mission to Mostar, the difficulty of communications with the local institute, and the apocalyptic vagueness of journalists' reports, it has been possible to learn something of the condition of the town's heritage thanks to the footage taken in October and November by the Folio Productions team.

74. This film reveals the catastrophic situation of the left-bank zone around the bridge, which has received numerous impacts from artillery calibres used by tanks and possibly howitzers (very heavy damage to Herzegovinian museum building, Tara Tower, the buildings in the Goldsmith's district, etc.). The minaret (though it is admittedly small) of the nearby Cejuan-Cehaja Mosque, which is just behind the museum, was not visible, and this mosque, one of the few to have not been damaged by the BSA in April-June 1992, may have been damaged by the HVO artillery.

75. Shots of the left bank districts north of the Goldsmith's district (in Brace Fejica) imply that the traditional Turkish housing located here has suffered from heavy mortar fire and perhaps worse (the streets are full of broken stone from roof slabs).

76. An unidentified Austrian building on the left bank has been heavily damaged by artillery, but this building was being used as the BiH military headquarters. Other damage was visible in the river zone just south of Musalla Square, but it was impossible to say how much of it was new.

77. It is possible, however, that several of the mosques on the left bank (with possible exception of the Cejuan-Cehaja and Ibrahim-Age Sarica mosques in Donja Mahalla) have not suffered further damage: no further impacts were visible on the dome of Koski-Mehmed-Pasine mosque, the minaret of the Nesuh-Age Vucjakovica mosque,

damaged last year, was still standing, and the minaret of the Rozhadmedzi Ibrahim-Efendia mosque was also visible.

78. It is more difficult to evaluate the situation of the right bank, but the access zones to the Old Bridge have clearly been damaged further, the Tannery as well. The Tabacica mosque minaret is still standing, and does not seem to have suffered further damage. It was impossible to determine the fate of the Hadzi-Mehmir Cernica and Hadzi-Ahmed-Age Lakisica mosques, behind the front, because the camera crew did not, or could not, film this area. This second mosque is in a particularly sensitive zone, being only a few hundred metres from a bridge being used by BiH forces.

79. Furthermore, a photograph in the Reuters computer bank, reveals that the Filijale Zemaljske Banke (on the left bank), which had suffered from a few hits last year, has since burned.

80. The situation of the small historic core of Mostar is critical, because it was clearly targeted by the heaviest guns available to the HVO, and there has been much bombardment of other areas on the left and right banks, mainly by the HVO. When this is added to the havoc wrought in 1992, the vandalism and the deterioration mentioned in previous reports, and to the high probability of the dynamiting of the last three mosques in the HVO-controlled zone (including the Dervis-Pase Bajezidigica mosque)- though this has not been confirmed by any international organisations on the spot, it can be concluded that the historic town and heritage of Mostar is in a very dangerous situation. One of the worst cultural disasters of the war, about which the information reports have continuously warned, has taken place.

Pocitelj

81. In December 1992 the old town of Pocitelj, perched on a slope on the east bank of Neretva, was largely untouched. Bosnia-Herzegovina Heritage Rescue has claimed that much of the historic district, turned into an artists' colony, had been destroyed along with the Hadzi-Alija mosque (1562) by HVO extremists. A letter from Mr Mustafic, Director of the Sarajevo Institute for Protection of Cultural-Historical and Natural Heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina (10 November 1993) is more cautious, noting only that the mosque has been destroyed by the HVO. The destruction of the mosque has been confirmed by the UN Military Observer mission in Medjugorje, and information on other heritage in the Neretva Valley (see below) is expected from them.

82. If the BHHR information is true it means that the lower Neretva River valley is one of the worst cultural heritage disaster zones of Bosnia-Herzegovina (see below).

Reactions in the Republic of Serbia to the Destruction of the Ferhadija and Arnaudija Mosques in Banja Luka

83. The Ministry of Education and Culture of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia forwarded reactions to the dynamiting of these two great mosques in May of this year.

84. The translation of an article from Borba, written at Banja Luka, notes that "this act of vandalism provoked shock and exasperation among the citizens and even ordinary people wonder how it was possible that such a complicated operation could be carried out in the middle of the city centre during the curfew. Moreover, the Ferhadija mosque is near the police station. Is this only a lack of vigilance as was said by the mayor of Banja Luka, Predrag Radic? It is beyond a doubt that these questions will not take long to be elucidated by the inquiry" (however the title of the article is "An Inquiry that goes nowhere"). Tanjug cites the experts of the Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Serbia: "They underlined the fact that the destruction of cultural monuments is not only a barbaric act, but also the proof of the shaking of elementary humanism and respect for the past era of historic peoples". There are similar comments from the Members of the Society of the Friends of Mount Athos and the League of Communists. (It should also be noted that the destruction of Stari Most aroused considerable comment in the Croatian press as well, and that the dynamiting of the mosques of Trebinje encountered a greater echo in the Serbian press than in the Western - if it encountered any at all).

85. One can interpret these reactions as one wishes: they reveal, above all, a genuine sense of concern about the impact of cultural vandalism on the image of Serbs, some grief at the act, and perhaps a sentiment that "enough is enough".

Destruction of Croatian Heritage and Villages

86. The Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia published a booklet in August 1993, "Ethnic Cleansing of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1991-93", whose obvious intent was to counter-balance the effect created by HVO ethnic cleansing in the Mostar area. On page 10 it is claimed that "a total of 187 Croatian villages have been ethnically cleansed, looted, set ablaze and destroyed or significantly damaged." No list of villages is provided by this document. These figures are similar to those provided intermittently by the Foreign Press Bureau of Croatia.

87. However, given that the perimeter of territory held by HVO forces in Central Bosnia has constantly shrunken since May, given too that "ethnic cleansing" has been widely attested to by international authorities and the press, there can be little doubt that much firing has taken place.

88. The booklet also refers to (pp. 28-29) a certain amount of damage to church property, noting sometimes the enemy side that has supposedly carried this out: destruction of Church of St. Peter and St. Paul and damaging of the Franciscan seminary at Mostar (the former was verified by the consultant in December 1992, but there seems to have been little, if any direct damage to the latter), destruction of the Plehan Franciscan seminary (attributed to the Serbs), partial destruction, desecration and plundering of the Franciscan monasteries of Kraljeva Sutjeska, Fojnica, Guca Gora (without attribution of the perpetrator - however in the third case it was done by BiH forces), destruction of 40% of Catholic churches and damaging of 50% in the diocese of Banja Luka, overwhelmingly by Serbian forces. In the Vrhbosanska archdiocese "most" of 100 parish churches have been destroyed by Serbian or BiH forces.

89. The information is vague (however, it coincides at least to a degree with other documents from the Catholic church mentioned in earlier reports), and the conclusion not surprising: "a fundamental aim of Serb and Moslem formations has been and remains the eradication and annihilation (of) all the traces of the centuries-old Croat presence in this land". Despite the undeniably propagandistic aspects of the booklet, the fundamental question it poses cannot be dismissed, and requires that the international community take the charge seriously.

The Case of Ravno

90. During the consultant's mission to Dubrovnik for the United Nations, he was able to acquire information on the destruction by shelling and burning of the Croatian village of Ravno, in southern Herzegovina, in September 1991, by Serbian forces invading the commune of Dubrovnik from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some 300 houses, some of them traditional structures with slab stone roofs, were ruined and a number of inhabitants killed. The parish churches of Ravno and Trebimlja, which resemble the rural chapels of the Dubrovnik commune, were damaged by shelling. The refugees, many of them in Dubrovnik commune, presented a petition to the national Bosnian and Herzegovinian authorities, the European monitors in BiH and Dubrovnik and to Lord Carrington, then President of the London Conference on Yugoslavia.

91. The case is interesting because a similar fate seems to have befallen the nearby villages of Belenici and Kijev Dol, while the Croatian inhabitants of Prhinja, Koteza, Orahov dol, Cesljar, Bolubnica, Trncina, Trebimlja, Zagorac, Pecina, Circrina, Zatmorje and Strmica were also forced to leave. Accordingly, the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-

Herzegovina that began for the western world in April 1992, had already been taking place for the rural Croatian population in southern Herzegovina in the fall of 1991, but it seems to have found no international echo at that time.

The Situation of Orthodox Heritage in Bosnia Herzegovina according to the Report of the Institute of Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Serbia

92. The entries for this report concerning Bosnia-Herzegovina (which covers only damage done in 1992) contain the problems noted above - addition of less important buildings, sketchiness of information regarding the churches, damage and chronology of damage. To a certain degree they can be supplemented and confronted by other material, especially by the report of the Sarajevo Institute.

Description of Orthodox Heritage

93. With the exception of the Church of the Archangels in Sarajevo (1539) the oldest Orthodox structures that emerge in the reports are located in Herzegovina (Monastery of Zitomislic, 16th century, Church of Zavala, 15th century, a parish church at Klepci from the 17th century). The great period of building began in the middle of the 19th century, and the further north one goes, the more modern becomes the religious building stock, with many churches from the pre-World War II period. There was much damage in World War II, but some post-war rebuilding in villages involved the replacement of older, more modest structures; this was also the case in Herzegovina for Catholic churches.

94. Accordingly, the destruction of Orthodox churches in parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina under HVO control means the loss of one of the oldest parts of the Serbian cultural heritage in the country; the destructions in other zones touch a heritage that has already been greatly modified.

Extent of Damage in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Statistical Breakdown)

95. The 1993 Serbian report is useful in identifying the areas of destruction, and more generally the type of destruction. For many entries, notably the eparchy of Zvornik-Tuzla, it is noted that the Institute has photographic documentation on the damage. The following table notes the different eparchies and distinguishes between structures destroyed by artillery and those destroyed by vandalism.

Table 6

Eparchy	demolished by combat means	demolished outside of combat
Banja Luka		1
Bihac	1	
Bosanski Dabar	3	2
Zahumlje-Herzegovine *		17
Zvornik-Tuzla		45
Total	4	65

* contains five entries for Croatian Dalmatian Coast (see above)

96. The striking difference compared to the reports for Croatia lies in the lesser degree of destruction attributed to artillery fire, which may be questioned, considering the opaqueness of the entries - for example, not one of the Sarajevo entries notes damage from artillery (see below). It could also be posited that figures for 1993 would show a somewhat different pattern. However, it should not be forgotten that in 1992 the BSA rapidly overran the areas it intended to control and had less need for saturation fire.

97. With respect to reprisal vandalism, these figures seem generally credible.

98. The next table notes serious damage and lesser damage to buildings, by eparchy.

Table 7

Eparchy	serious damage	light damage
Banja Luka		
Bihac	2	
Bosanski Dabar	2	4
Zahumlje-Herzegovine	4	19
Zvornik-Tuzla	8	25
Total	16	48

99. As noted above the geographical distribution of damage reflects the development of the fighting: in April and May 1992 the Serbian militias quickly controlled the areas in the eparchies of Banja Luka and Bihac, which have a large Serbian population and this accounts for the low level of destruction of Serbian cultural property in these areas.

There is also a very low level of destruction in the Bosanski Dabar eparchy (including Sarajevo), which is due in part to the rapidity with which much of the eastern area was secured by the BSA, and to the smaller Serbian population in the western part of the eparchy (central Bosnia).

100. The worst zones of destruction are the eparchy of Zahumlje-Herzegovine, which corresponds roughly to Herzegovina, but extends to the Montenegrin border, and especially the eparchy of Zvornik-Tuzla. Nearly all the alleged total destruction by vandalism of Orthodox properties occurred in these areas.

i) Eparchy of Zahumlje-Herzegovine

101. There are two areas of destruction, one of them - the valley of the Neretva - far worse than the valley of the Trebisnjica. This second zone includes damage from artillery, usually not described as particularly serious, and a few cases of reprisal vandalism that took place probably following the re-occupation of the south bank of the Trebisnica in May-June 1992 (Zavala Monastery of 17th century, but the entry is particularly vague- the Sarajevo Institute report notes "war action", 19th-century church of Ravno, not mentioned in Croatian documents concerning the destruction of the village by JNA forces).

102. However, the valley of the Neretva, according to the report, is even worse than that described by the consultant in December 1992, who was not able to see all the localities or monuments:

Blagaj: see first information report

Bijelo Polje (near Mostar?): Church of the Resurrection (1865), burned.

Gabela: Church of the Resurrection (19th century), partially destroyed.

Klepci: Church of the Holy Virgin (17th century), destroyed (the first information report confirmed the total destruction of the village).

Previlovci (near Capljina): memorial chapel to Serbian victims of World War II and ossuary dynamited.

Capljina: Church of the Resurrection (1911), destroyed and bulldozed.

Mostar: see first information report (the Serbian report is incorrect about the date of destruction of the small Orthodox Church, which did not take place in 1992, but it notes that all the icons and liturgical objects were destroyed).

Zitomislic Monastery: see first information report, which is more detailed than the entry of the Serbian report.

103. With the possible exception of the Orthodox Bishop's residence at Mostar, all of this destruction was due to reprisal vandalism, much of it in the summer of 1992.

ii) Eparchy of Zvornik-Tuzla

104. The worst damage to Orthodox heritage took place in this eparchy, much of which is present in the hands of BiH forces (Croatian forces control a small pocket around Orasje on the Sava, and for a long time HVO forces fought side by side with BiH in the area). Much of the vandalism took place in the narrow northern corridor that links the Serb-controlled zones of Western Bosnia with those of Eastern Bosnia before that area was secured by BSA forces, especially in more important urban centres (Bosanski Brod, Derventa, Modrica). Much of the damage attributed to artillery occurred in this zone.

105. Most of the damaged churches were built in the 20th century, and some are very recent (Church of St. Joachim and St. Anna in Dubnica, 1989, St. George in Orasje, 1991, an unconsecrated church in Jeginov Lug, Potpec, unconsecrated funerary chapel in Kostres, etc.), which in no way deprives them of their cultural value.

106. Some cases of reprisals have taken place in large towns that have been long occupied by BiH forces (Church of St. Elijah, 1882, in Gradacac, destroyed, Church of St. Elijah in Maglaj, 1990, destroyed); however, apart from the alleged "damaging" and sacking of the Bishop's Residence in Tuzla, damage to the Cathedral, 1882, and other Orthodox heritage in this town was probably due to shelling from the BSA forces.

107. Whatever the difficulties in using this document - and its silence about vernacular heritage, the conclusions are similar to those for Croatia: the dynamic of reprisals has most certainly engulfed Orthodox heritage in zones controlled by the HVO and the BiH, though the gravity of the damage has still to be established by credible sources.

iii) City of Sarajevo

108. The question of the damage to the Orthodox heritage of Sarajevo provides an opportunity to compare three documents - the Serbian report, the Sarajevo Institute report, and a letter from the Orthodox Church authorities in Sarajevo:

Cathedral Church (the Sarajevo report contains an excellent description of this building, constructed in 1863): damaged according to the Serbian report (the cause is not indicated); serious damage to facades and drums pierced from shelling (according to the Sarajevo Institute report); serious damage to roof and stained-glass windows destroyed (Orthodox Church).

Church of the Archangels (16th century, bell-tower of 1908, contained within the much shelled Barscarsija district): "destroyed" according to the Serbian report, which notes however that services are still celebrated here; "heavily damaged by direct projectile hits" according to the Sarajevo Institute report (which also accuses the Orthodox Church of sending the collection of icons to Serbia before the war); roof and windows damaged, mainly in 1 March 1993 bombardment, but repaired, according to the Orthodox church (which says nothing about the whereabouts of the icons).

Metropolitanate Building (19th century): part of the building burned and pillaged in 1992 (Serbian report); roof construction burned from shelling (Sarajevo Institute); destruction to roof by bombardment confirmed, but library of 5,000 volumes and archives totally destroyed in the fire (Orthodox Church).

109. This mini-comparison demonstrates the unreliability of the Serbian reports about artillery damage from the BSA; it also lends credibility to the Sarajevo report, but it suggests - incomprehensibly in the case of the Metropolitanate collection, because the damage was caused by artillery - possible underestimation of damage to Orthodox heritage.

Destruction of the Cultural-Historical Heritage of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, report submitted by the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural-

***Historical and Natural Heritage of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Sarajevo, September 1993)***

110. The contacts made with the Sarajevo Institute bore fruit in September 1993, when a report was brought out of Sarajevo. It will not be discussed in detail here, partly because some of the data has been indicated in previous information reports, and also because it is hoped that the information contained in it, particularly for Sarajevo, will be discussed and checked on the spot with the Institute - for some cases there is a persistence of exaggeration that is contradicted by visitors and photographs (the Gazi-Husref-Bey mosque may have been hit by over 94 projectiles, but it seems that most of them were very small, too small to justify the appreciation of "heavy damage"). However, certain remarks will be made here.

111. This is the only report received during the war that makes a serious attempt to evaluate the damage done to the heritage of Moslems, Croats and Serbs alike. Even if it attaches much more importance to sacral monuments than to rural vernacular heritage, It gives attention to archaeological sites and to urban districts as well, including towns about which little other information is available (exception made for individual monuments): Jajce, Stolac, Doboj, Visegrad, etc. Moreover, the quality of the description of the monuments is of a very high order, and the report successfully demonstrates the cultural importance to all communities of individual examples of heritage.

112. The report also discusses the damage to moveable heritage, especially to archives and book collections. It draws attention to the destruction of the 100-year old archives of the Sarajevo Red Cross and also part of the documentation on the Winter Olympic games of 1984. A critical problem that has arisen is the situation of collections that have been removed to store-houses: some have been broken open and left to the elements or exposed to further shelling, and many books are stored in places subject to high humidity. Even when collections can be left in situ there is the problem of lack of heating.

113. The Institute asks that "materials which are necessary to import for the conservation of Bosnia's moveable heritage should be treated as a part of the humanitarian aid required by Bosnia, which they at present are not".

114. It pleads equally for "a working relationship...to be formed at once between Bosnia-Herzegovina and relevant world institutions in order to set up movement and procedure in the direction of locating her plundered art treasures, and to provide Bosnia with fuller information on the problematics of such concerns."

115. Although it has not been possible to verify most of the information contained in the report, the consultant believes that this document should be made available to the public, and recommends that it be included in this information report.

General Conclusions on the Situation of Cultural Heritage in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina

116. The war continues in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on much of the territory on the edge of the Croatian Krajina, bringing damage from artillery as well as from reprisals: villages are fired and towns are shelled. The condition of monuments and moveable heritage deteriorates as the third winter of the war for the Croatian people and the second winter of the war for the Bosnians sets in.

117. The tragedy has ravaged the heritage of the Serbs, the Croats, and the Moslems. The fears expressed for the heritage of the Ottoman in preceding reports seem to be confirmed by events at Mostar and in the Neretva Valley: it has largely disappeared, surviving in the tiny territory held by BiH forces, but crumbling in front cities and towns under the effect of bombardment.

118. One cannot separate the condition of cultural heritage from the physical fate of peoples: it is idle to speculate on rebuilding mosques in towns from which most of the Moslem population has fled, or Orthodox churches in villages that have been emptied of their Serbian inhabitants. International discussions on the rebuilding of Stari Most at Mostar neglect to consider that the dynamic of Mostar as a unified multi-cultural city has been shattered: first by the battle in 1992 and the flight of most of the Serbian population, and then by the confrontation between Croats and Muslims, and the establishment of two administrative Mostars. This is not a battle taking place between soldiers in woods and hills, but inside a town where the main victims are civilians and "the shop on the corner", and where the symbols of unity are targeted along with the symbols of cultural specificity. Rebuilding Stari Most as a symbol of reconciliation will turn into a pathetic undertaking if the rest of the historic town is destroyed and its social unity annihilated.

119. Cultural cleansing has deservedly been given great attention in these reports and elsewhere. However, it is too often forgotten in the reports that have been received - and this has unfortunately been largely echoed by the Western press - that the destruction of the cultural heritage that unifies - urban and rural heritage (houses, administrative, commercial and office buildings, parks), museums and libraries, whether they be monumental or not, is equally disruptive of the social cement between Croats, Moslems and Serbs. To compound the problem, in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina much urban and rural vernacular heritage has disappeared since World War II; it has commonly been slighted by the professional conservation community and often not recorded. All

physical ties to the landscape and to the recent lived past (and not just the historic, national or ethnic past) have disappeared and continue to disappear in large areas of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and are creating homeless, atomised peoples.

120. The international community will have to find a way to address the problems of these two types of cultural heritage in an enormously complicated political, social and economic context in the post-war period.

IV. Activities of International Organisations

121. Co-ordination meeting in Paris (2 December 1993)

A second co-ordination meeting was held in Paris, bringing together members of the Sub-Committee on the Architectural and Artistic Heritage of the Parliamentary Assembly, and representatives of Unesco and Icom. The information provided by Unesco is noted elsewhere in this information report.

122. United Nations

- *Creation of a War Crimes Tribunal*

By Resolution 808 of 22 February 1993 the Security Council set up an international War Crimes Tribunal for crimes committed in "the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991". The international laws that form the basis of its activities are the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and customary law (1907 Hague Convention, war crimes defined by the Nuremburg Charter and the Hague Regulations). All types of cultural heritage are included explicitly or implicitly in these documents, including unlisted vernacular heritage: "extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly" (Geneva Conventions of 1949); "wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity", "attack, or bombardment, by whatever means, of undefended towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings" and "seizure of, destruction or wilful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences, historic monuments and works of art and science", and "plunder of public or private property" (laws and customs of war).

A commission of experts is already functioning and has studied the 1991 bombardments of Dubrovnik, and will be examining other cases. Unesco has been instrumental in encouraging the Secretary General of the United Nations to create such a tribunal and will be collaborating with it.

The possibility of such a tribunal hearing cases involving the wanton destruction of cultural heritage is a precedent; perhaps its existence will act as a deterrent for further crimes in this war. However, establishment of a permanent tribunal, combined with implementation of the Hague Convention (see below), could offer greater protection to cultural heritage in future wars.

123. Unesco

- *Action for Bosnia-Herzegovina*

With respect to the cultural heritage Unesco has publicly endorsed the project for the reconstruction of the library collection of the Sarajevo National and University Library. It is also preparing a major mission "to determine the damage to educational, historical, archaeological and cultural property in the region, and to explore the feasibility of sending emergency assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina", which is planned for February or March 1994 (Report by the Director General on the Implementation of Decision 141 Ex/9.3, 11 October 1993, on the Situation of the Cultural and Architectural Heritage and of Educational and Cultural Institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 27 October 1993).

The importance of these initiatives cannot be underestimated, for as an agency of the United Nations, and with its logistical assistance, Unesco will be able to function in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moreover, because of this capability it will be in an excellent position to coordinate and bring to fruition many projects of associations, blocked by logistical problems, and provide the methodological framework for restoration and reconstruction projects.

- *Programme for Dubrovnik*

In addition to points mentioned above and in earlier reports the following should be noted. A mission of an engineer to the Old Town in October 1993 evaluated the structural damage suffered by the burned buildings and prepared restoration projects. The 1994 programme includes a cycle of ICCROM/Unesco courses at Split and Dubrovnik for Croatian specialists, a symposium or round table on structural problems, a training programme on a pilot worksite, and a systematic fund-raising campaign for the burned palaces of the Old Town.

- *Study on the Hague Convention*

In the summer Unesco published the report of Prof. Patrick J. Boylan, "Review of the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (The Hague Convention of 1954). This complete study notes that "technical improvements to

the detailed provisions of the Convention and Protocol may perhaps be desirable in the long term. However, these are a far lower priority at this time than the over-riding priority of achieving greater recognition, acceptance and application of their provisions" (page 7). Greatly needed recommendations for practical action are made to Unesco, inter-governmental international organisations, states-party to the convention, non-signatory countries and interested non-governmental organisations.

124. Council of Europe - Cultural Heritage Committee

An action plan has been drawn up regarding the protection of the cultural heritage in former Yugoslavia. At present this applies to Croatia and Slovenia only.

125. Icom

In October Icom sent a consultant to Croatia on a three-week mission to study the situation of museum collections that have been moved. The information that has been collected will be an indispensable tool for aid to Croatia from museums and specialised associations working in the protection and restoration of moveable cultural property, and will be presented in the next information report.

This is the first practical initiative of an international non-governmental cultural organisation, and it is to be hoped that it will stimulate similar activities in the field by other NGOs.

126. Bosnia-Herzegovina Heritage Rescue (BHHR)

This organisation, chaired by Mr Patrick Cormack, M.P., has been active in attempting to halt destruction (letters, press releases, interviews with the media). On 25 November, with the support of the Courtauld Institute of London and the Bosnian Information Office in the U.K. it held a seminar on the Bosnian cultural heritage. Papers presented covered art and architecture, destruction in Sarajevo and Mostar, projects and prospects for the post-war. The input of Bosnian architects was especially important, because they strongly underlined the necessity of listening to the desiderata of Bosnians and helping them to carry out their own solutions rather than imposing them.

This association has a project for protection of the Zemalski Museum and is in contact with Sarajevo cultural authorities, but is presently confronted with the problem of transport of materials. It has developed contacts with the City of Amsterdam for this initiative.

127. Commission of Architects of the Sarajevo Cultural Capital Project (Paris)

This is a new group, which does not address specifically the problem of cultural heritage, but will include it.

128. ARCH

ARCH has continued its activities in the commune of Dubrovnik, concentrating for the present time on its painting conservation workshop in the Franciscan Monastery, where an Arch conservator is working with several local specialists.

129. Courtauld Institute (University of London)

As part of the preparation of a joint conference by the Courtauld Institute of Art and the Hamilton Kerr Institute of Conservation (Cambridge University) on the effects of conflict on works of art, Dr Anthea Brook of the former institute carried out a research trip in Croatia in October 1993, concentrating on the Dalmatian coast (Split, Zadar, Sibenik, Dubrovnik). The document included in this fourth information report summarises an article that is to be published in Museum Management and Curatorship in the spring of 1994.

Dr Brook draws attention to the extent of indirect damage to works of art from moving and storage under inadequate conditions, the small number of art restorers, and the difficult financial conditions.

130. Study Centre for Reconstruction and Development of Dubrovnik and Post-War Reconstruction & Development Unit (Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York)

A one-week workshop on the theme of "Settlement Reconstruction in Croatia" is planned for 12-16 September 1994 in Dubrovnik. This multi-disciplinary workshop is designed to help Croatian professionals to benefit from the experience of individuals and organisations working in reconstruction following war or natural disasters.

131. 4th International Congress on Architectural Heritage, 12-15 May 1993, Graz, organised by the International Society for Town Planning (Internationalen Gesellschaft für Stadtgestaltung)

This congress, devoted to the problems of reconstruction after war and earthquake, with special reference to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, brought together 150 speakers and participants. The congress made recommendations for the establishment of a reconstruction fund "similar to the U.S. Marshall Plan", sensible priorities for aid

(providing housing, creating equipment yards for materials and tools), the necessity of setting up "information centres" for reconstruction in order to create "a direct exchange of experiences"- a recommendation that is in great need of being implemented; it advised doctrinal flexibility with regard to identical reconstruction, caution before pulling down damaged buildings, creation of depots of recuperated building materials, and giving attention to less well known vernacular heritage. It stressed the importance of heeding the desiderata of the local population.

V. Recommendations

132. In addition to the recommendations made in earlier reports (notably involving the establishment of forward bases for cultural heritage in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the presence of heritage observers in UN and ECMM operations in the field), the consultant adds the following:

- The second Serbian report specifies that international organisations should determine the cause of damage to cultural properties. If the information reports to the Assembly have demonstrated anything, it is that all too often information coming out of the regions is significantly "contaminated" for one reason or another in its evaluation of quantitative and qualitative nature of damage and the attribution of cause.

Both types of information are necessary, for the peoples concerned, and for the international community. It would be a very myopic attitude to keep damage evaluations for architects and conservators and specialised institutions and to restrict concern for causes of destruction to the criminal responsibility for a certain number cases that will be judged before tribunals. A kind of inventory must be drawn up, to counter-act the propaganda to which each people has been subjected and to inform the international community of the exact extent of the cultural disaster that has taken place. A number of dangerous myths that are rapidly taking root must be ripped out now to contribute to local reconciliation. The proven process of cultural cleansing must be presented and analysed for the international community so that, hopefully, it will not happen again.

The case has been established for continuous monitoring, especially on-site, and for presentation to the public of the results, but a more permanent basis must be found for this activity.

- In connection with the above, or separately, the European Commission Monitoring Mission, should be asked to open up its archives or publish a balanced account of war destruction in the areas in which it operated. Moreover, as long as the war continues, the ECMM should make available information to those international governmental and non-governmental organisations working in this area.

- Action on the spot is necessary to establish priorities, with the help of local institutes and authorities, organise first aid, help planning reconstruction and also carrying out that reconstruction. The Unesco initiative in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a very important one - the most important to date - and the sooner it becomes operational in the field, the better. It must be backed up by assistance from governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental bodies. The Cultural Heritage Committee of the CDCC (Council of Europe) should extend its activities to include integrated conservation and town and country planning in the commune of Dubrovnik (now part of the Neretva-Dubrovnik Region), in co-operation with Unesco.
- In this last report much attention has been given to accusations made especially by Croatian and Serbian cultural authorities regarding the whereabouts and condition of moveable heritage, including library collections and archives. These accusations have not been endorsed here as conclusive proof, but it is recommended that the respective authorities inform the Council of Europe, Unesco, Icom and each other about the collections concerned.

2. INFORMATION DOCUMENT

submitted by the Institute for the protection of the cultural-historical and natural heritage of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, September 1993)

INTRODUCTION

From the start of the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina in April, 1992, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural-Historical and Natural Heritage began collecting information concerning the destruction and damage inflicted upon the cultural-historical heritage of Bosnian and Herzegovina.

Meanwhile, the Institute itself has been driven out of its premises, which now lie within occupied territory, and entered into a period of great difficulty - difficulty in respect to gathering all relevant information concerning the threatened cultural patrimony, difficulty in respect to continuing contact with the various organisations responsible for cultural patrimony within Bosnia and Herzegovina, and difficulty in passing information to international organisations in Europe and the rest of the world. Experts in the Institute had the wish and the intention both to study scientifically the devastation which had already occurred to their monuments, and also to protect them in various

ways, but these goals have not been able to be carried out up till now for the following reasons:

- From the very beginning of the period of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republican Institute for Protection of Monuments in Sarajevo lost contact with the Institute for Protection of Monuments in Mostar, whose work was rendered impossible first because of the aggression of the Serbian and Montenegrin armies, and later because of the usurping of that Institute by the so-called Herceg-Bosna authorities and by the aggressive Croatian army in Mostar. We also lost contact with the Institute in Banja Luka, when that town became occupied. The Institute in Tuzla, with the aggression against that town, readjusted itself to work under wartime conditions.
- The situation concerning the blockaded city of Sarajevo is known to everyone, and it was such that the experts of the Institute were in fact unable to visit and evaluate damage to monuments elsewhere within their Republic, and consequently to give a carefully weighed, scientific judgement about their damage.
- Circumstances within the Institute itself were difficult in the extreme. The Institute had to function in rented rooms without electricity, heating, or any of the usual necessary office and scientific equipment (film, computer discs etc.,) which because of the blockade of the town and the Republic had become impossible to buy.

Meanwhile, in spite of that situation, experts of the Institute had already - some time ago - begun to compose an inventory of the destruction and damage of Bosnian cultural heritage which they culled from a variety of sources, many of which, however, were unable to be confirmed because of the extenuating circumstances of war.

Some such information is that which is presented here, which must serve only as preliminary information, and which must not be regarded as a scientific treatment, compiled according to the tenets of the proper evaluation of cultural heritage, for those reasons cited above.

THE ANNIHILATION OF BOSNIA'S SACRAL COMPLEXES

Bosnia has had the fate to be the territorial demarcation of the Roman Empire between East and West, and subsequently to be the meeting point of two of the greatest civilisations of the world: Islam and Christianity, into which area Judaism also came to be introduced. It was also Bosnia's fate that specifically on its land, interests became interwoven on the part of some of the greatest world powers of various times - the

Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the Russian Empire, etc. The interests of these greater powers were joined with interests of a series of small states, such as Montenegro, which steadily, at the expense of Bosnia, strengthened their own positions. Nonetheless, Bosnia had the internal strength to maintain its own identity and in a great measure to establish its autonomous worth, which it was able to demonstrate philosophically by means of the philosophy of its Bosnian Church, and to demonstrate culturally by the production of the highly individual mediaeval tombstones of great variety, called "stecci". Bosnia's specific, individual culture, existing over a long series of years and merging during that time with new philosophies and new cultural influences, formed the nucleus according to which Bosnia always remained unique.

Thanks to the constant contact within Bosnia of varying civilisations, philosophies and cultures, Bosnia developed very early in her history the kind of existence which is today seen as the achievement of a European civil society.

The specific expression of such a European civil society includes its determination to possess and make plain its own ideas and viewpoints concerning the world (today, one of the greatest achievements of the civil society). A personal viewpoint can be expressed through urban architecture - the structure and conception of an historic urban fabric - and by means of various works of art, crafts, and so on. We see the expression of Bosnia's civil society particularly embodied in two of the most precious cultural spheres within Bosnia-Herzegovina, which are insufficiently recognised outside. These are Bosnia's graveyards and her sacral complexes.

Only Bosnia, in contrast to her near neighbours, and specifically because of her traditionally high cultural level of existence, carefully preserved the graveyards of all her peoples, and this can be shown to have been the case from the very earliest times until now. Within Bosnia, ancient tumuli are to be found, and then "stecci" - the Bosnian development of the mediaeval effigy tomb - along with cross-form tombstones and Moslem steles (nisans), as well as gravestones of the Austro-Hungarian period, including those dedicated to Austrian soldiers who died in the course of the conquest of this land, such as that at Zegulja, near Stolac. Throughout history, then, there has been a respected place on Bosnian soil for all dead, because all were thought to deserve the same eternal repose. In this way Bosnian culture and civilisation have been unique.

Unfortunately, these days the aggressor consciously, intentionally and according to plan destroys the great wealth of the cultural-historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially destroys Moslem graveyards to the very ground - those concrete documents of the long-lasting existence of one particular people. The graveyards are levelled, and the stele tombstones are broken up. In this way, for example, the old Moslem graveyard located next to the oldest mosque in Ustikolina, Foca region, was destroyed, along with numerous other similar graveyards. This attitude of vandalism

extended even so far as to devastate certain modern Moslem and Catholic graveyards within the region of Sarajevo (Vlakovo), which is on occupied territory, and the related lack of cultural nicety expanded to the degree that Sarajevo's Old Jewish Graveyard, the most valuable graveyard of its sort, located in the occupied territory of Kovacici in Sarajevo, has been used as an emplacement for the artillery range now shooting at the town. In this case, the old graves have served as parapets for the weaponry, such that the soldiers step up on them in order to take better aim at their targets. Shelling has not even been spared the graveyards of mediaeval tombstones - stecci - or the most valuable examples of this genre which are located in the courtyard of the Zemaljski Museum, Sarajevo, in the graveyard of Radimlja near Stolac, and so on. According to existing information, prehistoric tumuli have also been used in recent times to support artillery.

Another striking characteristic of Bosnia is that certain regions have specific non-material, spiritual values accorded to them, which though little known outside Bosnia, have great multicultural reality within that sphere. For example, these particular places are often small, and of insignificant aspect, yet are at one time a holy spot for all three, or rather all four, of the great monotheistic religions of the world. Each one of these holy places has its own worshippers and devotees, but has further attracted devotees from other religious groups.

Among the most powerful of these holy spots is the complex of Ajvatovici and Prusac, near Donji Vakuf, which together form the greatest Bosnian Moslem religious centre. The locality of Prusac is a sacred architectural complex of exceptional cultural-historical value, with its old mosque and mausoleum of Hasan Kjafija, one of the greatest Moslem philosophers and easily the greatest in this part of Europe. Prusac, and Ajvatovici have now both fallen victim to the efforts of enemy artillery. How thorough the destruction has been is not possible to ascertain precisely because of the information blockade, but it is sure that destruction within this region has been huge.

Early in December 1992, the mosque of Krupac near Visoko was destroyed, and this too was a well-known Moslem holy place.

Traditionally, the best known holy spot in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the place where the sick of all confessions gathered together to be healed was the Catholic sanctuary, the Church of St. Ivan at Podmiljacja near Jajce. According to what we have heard, this holy place is now demolished and the reliquaries within plundered.

In fact, the only Bosnian holy shrine which according to our information seems to have escaped being threatened is a place where in the main Orthodox believers gathered, and where the famous Icon of the Virgin at Cajnik was preserved - the Old Orthodox

Church at Cajnik. Its preservation may, however, be ascribed to the fact it lies outside any nearby field of war. Naturally, this may be only a momentary situation, with great probability that it will change. However, it is fair to assume that the relic in question has already some time ago been stored abroad, in view of the fact that the aggression in respect to Bosnia had been long planned, so that well before the war, and without the knowledge of official Bosnian authorities and those in the service of the protection of monuments, the systematic removal abroad of the most valuable movable treasure of the Old Orthodox Church in Sarajevo had taken place. There are indications that movable treasures of the Catholic Church had likewise been taken elsewhere, but we have little information of the amplitude of any such removals, or of the kind of movables in question.

At this point it is necessary to emphasise that certain holy spots of the various groups have always been located virtually side by side. For example, within a radius of 50 kilometers or a little more, a circle in fact, virtually possible to visit on foot within one day, is found: first, a Jewish holy spot that is the greatest of its kind in the whole of the former Yugoslavia - the grave and shrine of the Jewish rabbi Mose Danon in Stolac; second, a Moslem holy spot, equally unique, the Moslem monastery (tekije) at Buna near Mostar; and third, the important East Orthodox monastery of Zitomislic near Mostar. Finally, in the same area is the greatest Catholic holy spot in this part of the world and one of the greatest in Europe, Medjugorje near Citluk, also near Mostar.

All four holy places, as far as is known, gathered their believers throughout the long series of years within which they existed near to each other in the past, without a single conflict or even incident between their diverse groups. In fact, there exists written information that the Monastery of Zitomislic, following traditional rules, gave monetary assistance to certain poor Moslem families in Stolac until the middle of this century . Today these holy places are either threatened or in the case of Zitomislic flattened to the ground. There are indications that the Buna "tekije" and the grave and shrine of Mose Danon are damaged.

Another cultural complex of great spiritual value deserves particular attention. That is the area of the Bascarsije in Sarajevo. In general, when the value of the Bascarsije to Sarajevo is commented upon, these spiritual components are seldom taken under consideration, probably for the reason that in the last 70 years the world lost the practice of giving much attention to these aspects of religious co-existence in respect to this kind of cultural-historical heritage.

The so-called "Sarajlije", the citizens of Sarajevo, and above all , old and ill people, young students, and lovers had the traditional practice - or had it until this war - of visiting the triangle formed by the Old Serbian Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church of St. Anthony, and the Moslem Mausoleum (turbe) of the Seven Brothers, in the course

of which they presented traditional, symbolic gifts to each shrine. This custom was the personification of a spiritual approach common throughout the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bosnians were able to adhere to this spiritual approach without bearing in mind the specific religious groups to which various individuals belonged or the varying philosophical views held by certain of them concerning the world. Today all three of these holy places are damaged, and the region of the Bascarsija has been devastated to its foundations by shelling from the neighbouring hills.

The exact number of damaged and destroyed sanctuaries and shrines in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not at present possible to ascertain. Meanwhile there exists a real danger that these holy places are not only annihilated, but that their basic function may have been annihilated as well - the gathering together of believers and others who simply need help. If this were to be so, a very important component and specific quality of Bosno-Herzegovinian life would be forever gone.

THE ANNIHILATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL LOCALITIES

As well as the great devastation and destruction wreaked upon the cultural-historical treasures of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its built heritage in settled places, destruction has also been accorded archaeological localities which include monuments of various civilisations and of all epochs. Of some thousands of such localities which have been recorded, a great number have been caught within the sphere of fighting and have thereby undergone direct annihilation.

In view of the fact that the geographical boundaries of Bosnia-Herzegovina have within them a uniquely high percentage of prehistoric hill-fort settlements of the Iron and Bronze Ages which tend naturally to be located on the dominant elevations of hummocks and hills, these localities have been particularly threatened. since they have tended to be used as outposts. In this way an artillery emplacement can perform total destruction of a site in respect to its archaeological contents.

Mediaeval fortifications are also quite naturally located on such high spots, and these are also quite useful to the military as outposts or for protection during attack, and thus they too have been cruelly damaged or annihilated. Examples of this are Zvornik Citadel, Srebrenica castle or Maglaj Fortress.

In the same way the characteristic Old-Bosnian monolithic tombstones (stecci), our most valuable archaeological and cultural-historical type of monument, have been seriously threatened. The greater proportion of them lie on heights and on slopes, and in hand-to-hand infantry battles they have been used as shields, with catastrophic results.

In this way our best known necropolis of these tombstones, Radimlja near Stolac, Herzegovina, is greatly damaged, and the same is the case with Pavlovac near Sarajevo. Even the outstanding examples which were removed to the courtyard of the Territorial Museum (Zemaljski Muzej) are greatly damaged because of the frequent shelling of the courtyard where they are placed.

It is very often the case that the enemy side intentionally destroys or damages archaeological localities and the monuments thereon. A target frequently chosen has been the remains of mediaeval castles, of which a great number are by now totally demolished. Such is the case with the Castles of Tesanj, Zvornik, Gradacac and Maglaj.

The special target of the enemy has been monuments of the Ottoman period, such as mosques, turbes (mausoleums), and sepulchral complexes, the last of which they simply plough up and level. As for the mausoleum of our famous mediaeval hero Alija Dzerzeleza (near Mrkonjic Grad), the enemy mined it with explosives, and the whole construction blew up into thin air. The same thing happened to those turbes alongside Banja Luka's Ferhadija and Arnaudija mosques, as well as to other "turbe" mausoleums in Foca, Cajnik, Buna near Blagaj, Stolac, etc.

Although under present circumstances we cannot arrive at complete information concerning the state of archaeological localities or of specific monuments within the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, we can reliably say concerning those monuments which are known to us as having been attacked, that they represent an irreparable loss to our cultural-historical heritage.

THE DESTRUCTION OF URBAN SETTLEMENT COMPLEXES

Sarajevo - Bascarsija

Sarajevo began to function as an urban entity in the middle of the 15th century; the new Ottoman settlement was established alongside an already-existing mediaeval settlement, according to the urban practices of early Ottoman times. In the first phase of Sarajevo's urban development there emerged a series of monuments endowed as memorials for the soul of Gazi Isa-beg Ishanovic, which represent the earliest sacral monuments in Sarajevo built in the Ottoman town style, and which influenced further architectural development of the town. The entire town centre came into shape around the time of the building of the Czar's mosque, and included bridges, caravanserai, hamam baths, hans, shops, fountains, and other constructions. The second stage of the development of the town was again marked by major sacral building, this time the pious endowment of Gazi Husref-beg, erected during the third decade of the 16th century. In fact, most monumental structures in Sarajevo were erected before the end of the 16th century.

The trading and business core of the town formed its centre, and is the best preserved in the Balkans. Sacral buildings, as well as shops and warehouses, were laid out within the market complex, and among them were those dedicated to all confessions - mosques, Serbian Orthodox and Catholic churches, and synagogues. These were alongside a number of buildings dedicated to the community as a whole and its economic needs.

Sarajevo as a typical feudal town was to undergo crucial change at the end of the 19th century with the building of new structures in a pseudo-mediaeval, historicising style, and subsequently with the introduction of electricity and buildings in the style of Art-Nouveau. The Bascarsija is for all that, a unique example of the interweaving not only of a variety of styles and architectural trends, but also of the taste of those representing varying civilisations, to be found within the town's population. For this reason, the Bascarsija was proposed to Unesco in 1988 for registration on their list of world heritage sites.

Precisely this historical architectural core of Sarajevo which we describe, set out in the very center of the town, was marked for devastation and annihilation. Nearly all the cultural monuments within this complex are damaged: the Emperor's Mosque, the Ghusref-Beg Mosque, the Bascarsija and Ferhadija Mosques, the Old Serbian Orthodox Church, the Cathedral, the Synagogue, the Kursumli School, the Dervish House (Hanikah), the bridges, Morica Han, the Gazi Husref-Beg Bezistan, the old shops, the Emporium "Magazin Daire", the Vjecnica Library, the hotel "Evropa" and many public and domestic buildings of Austro-Hungarian date.

Mostar - the old town

Before the foundation of an urban agglomerate on the site of the present town of Mostar, there had been a succession of settlements on the spot since prehistoric times. In the second half of the 16th and the earlier 17th century, a settlement with all the characteristics of the typical Ottoman-Turkish town began to grow up around the Old Bridge which had linked the right and left banks of the Neretva from the Middle Ages. Mostar developed as a trading and manufacturing town with a clear urban division between the business and residence areas.

The market (carsija) formed itself on the left bank of the Neretva, and consisted of a series of buildings which extended from the tower on the south, to the clock tower on the east, and the Sinan Pasa mosque on the north. Alongside the upper main road the district "Vela Tepa" grew up, and parallel to it, alongside the Koski Mehmed Pasa mosque, the "Mala Tepa" formed, while its continuation towards the stone bridge was the silversmiths' quarter, "Kujundžiluk". On the right bank of the Neretva, from the Old

Bridge to the Tabacica mosque, the Prijecka market and Tabhana leather market was spread out, with a range of streets around the glove manufactory, "Radobolje". The old market consists, then, of a well-preserved complex of small shops and larger stores, within the structure of which the architectural influence of Dalmatia can be observed, and, together with the Old Bridge, towers, sacral, public and residential structures, forms a unique architectural-urban entity. In the period of the 19th and 20th century, new urban structures were added to it, and the new additions were characteristic of Central European town architecture at the end of the 19th century. The entire complex has been revitalized in the last 40 years, with the result that Mostar received the Aga Khan Award for the preservation of cultural heritage.

According to our present state of knowledge, the urban centre of Mostar is one of the most destroyed in our country. Within a short period, intensive shelling of the town eliminated whole quarters, streets, and structures of all types. All the bridges were ruined except the Old Bridge, the stone parapets of which were damaged. Because of frequent explosions in its vicinity, its stability has come under question. Of 14 mosques in Mostar, only two remain undamaged. Also damaged are the Upper Franciscan Church, the Bishop's Palace, the Nunnery, the Hotel Neretva, the Baths, the Law Court, the Municipality Building, the Land-Registry, and the Serbian Orthodox Church, the last of which is demolished to its foundations. The museum and the archives are damaged, that is to say, all those things which together formed the familiar picture of this town.

Jajce - a fortified urban complex

The town of Jajce consists of a collection of remarkable and rare natural beauties and important historical monuments. Development of the town can be followed from prehistoric times, even though its Slavic name was first mentioned in written sources only in 1396. The town area of Jajce had been occupied from Roman times. Ancient traces of this occupation are apparent within the town itself and a witness to the occupation is the remains of a temple to the God Mithras. The year 1363 is important to the town of Jajce, for from this year Jajce began to play an increased political role in the history of Bosnia and rapidly became the seat of its rulers, maintaining its importance as such until the fall of Bosnia to Turkish rule.

In the Middle Ages a fortification was built round the town, which in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, had a palace constructed within it in the late Romanesque style. The fortifications were extended, and the Medved, or "Bear" tower was built, which was joined to the castle in its downhill direction - one side of it facing the Vrbas River, and the other side, the Pliva. In its volume and architectural framework, Jajce was one of the largest castles in mediaeval Bosnia. Castle and town became the seat of Bosnia's kings, and, as well as being the legal and political centre for the then Bosnian kingdom, in the 20s of the 15th century took on the position of economic centre as well. The preserved

fragments of its material culture demonstrate that Jajce had developed into a highly important town settlement.

Beneath the Castle of Jajce, where the Pliva River joins with the Vrbas, Jajce's town settlement underwent intensive development because of its advantageous economic position. After the fall of the Bosnian Kingdom to Turkish rule the town gained a new urban physiognomy, which is recognisable in its specific residential architecture, and the high level of sophistication shown in the design of its residences. Meanwhile, in the Turkish period the castle was often extended and adjusted to new defensive needs. Houses were built as well as schools and the Sultan's mosque (1753), and certain residential installations within the city walls, all of well-known architectural types.

Jajce, one of the oldest towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina, underwent huge devastation to its old urban, fortified core. An airplane bombardment damaged the following: the 15th century Citadel, the Church of St. Mary, the 15th century Tower of St. Luke, the Sultan's Mosque of the 18th century, and various residential installations in the urban centre, with characteristic woodworking in their interiors.

Stolac - an urban settlement

This settlement on the River Bregava in Herzegovina is first mentioned in 1436, and yet is one of the oldest settlements in Bosnia-Herzegovina, containing within it cultural monuments dating from prehistory down to recent periods. The earliest beginnings of the town of Stolac go back to the 2nd century BC. Remains dating to the Roman and Late Antique periods are found here on precisely the same site which only enters written sources in the 15th century. The mediaeval castle has grown up over Late Antique remains and owes its final physiognomy to Turkish and Austro-Hungarian times. This castle now dominates a settlement which in the Turkish period formed itself on both sides of the Bregava. In this settlement the market, with its oriental urban characteristics, appears somewhat separated from residential buildings of the 18th and 19th centuries. The same is the case of the complex of domestic buildings called "Begovina" - a Turkish-style complex relating to the Rizvanbegovic family.

The individuality of the architecture of Stolac derives from its mediaeval tradition, which joins with later structures in echoing Mediterranean styles, indicating the proximity of this town to the sea and its distance from any true centres of Oriental culture.

The continual bombardment of Stolac from the nearby hills has virtually annihilated the entire settlement. The residential complex of Begovina, the Sultan's Mosque at Tepa,

and the Ali Pasa Rizvanbegovic Mosque have all suffered particularly extreme damage. Until now we lack exact information concerning what damage if any has occurred to the prehistoric fortress of Osanici, located in the vicinity of Stolac, or the present condition of the Serbian Orthodox Church of Osanici, which dates from the 15th century.

Blagaj - an urban settlement

The development of present-day Blagaj and its near environs can be traced from prehistory to the present day, with certain breaks in residential use. On the south-west peak of the mountain of Blagaj lay fortifications in Roman times. In the 6th century a new settlement was built on the Roman ruins and this is cited in written documents of the 10th century. Between that time and 1465, when the area fell under Turkish rule, Blagaj had formed itself into an organized urban settlement. Within this urban structure, certain buildings stood out - the Sultan's mosque, bridges, the bath, the "han", and then a series of small shops and residential buildings. Blagaj's Moslem monastery (tekija) was built before 1664 and is one of the most original examples in our country of buildings which incorporate elements of Turkish Baroque.

In the course of constant enemy action not even this town was preserved from the sort of ravage which has struck those most valuable examples of the built heritage within our state. Damage has been inflicted upon the Old Castle of St Jovan-Grad, the Tekija, the Musafir Han near the tekija, and the residential complex "Velagic house".

Foca - urban settlement

Foca is mentioned for the first time in 1368, as a stop on the Dubrovnik-Nis trading route, and it was conquered by the Turks in 1465. In the period 1470 to 1572 it became the seat of the Turkish administrator, or "Sandzak", of the governmental region of Herzegovina.

During the course of the settlement's development, a considerable amount of traffic passed through the town, first, along the Dubrovnik trade route, and later, in connection with its role as residence of the Sandzak.

The shape of the town adjusted itself to the hilly terrain of the Rivers Drina and Cetina. The oldest settlement sprang up in the angle formed by the joining of these two rivers and a remnant of it remains there today in the form of a basilica church. In the 16th century Foca grew into an extremely strong trading and craft manufacturing centre. A great number of important buildings were erected there over the years -

mosques, schools (medrese), primary schools (mektebi), baths, hans, shops and residential buildings, many built under the influence of Byzantine-Aegean models.

In the course of aggression, the town of Foca was almost totally destroyed. Among the many monuments of cultural significance which were annihilated are the Aladza Mosque of 1550, with its sadrvan, mausoleum and fountain. The Sultan's Mosque (1500-01), the Sehova Mosque (1593-94), the Domed Mosque Mehmed Pasa Kukavica (1752), then the Karav Saraj (1593-94), the Clock Tower (18th century), the Musluk Fountain, and a great number of old residential buildings. The craft and trading core of the city, which had been recently renovated, was left totally destroyed.

Gradacac - urban settlement

It is believed that a Castle of Gradac, later Gradacac, existed in the Middle Ages within the old Bosnian governmental area of "Zupa Gradacac" some time before it was first mentioned in 1465. As Gradacac, it is again mentioned in 1634. In its present state Gradacac Castle is an example of the late phase of fortified castle-residences which were produced between 1765 and 1821. The Husein-Kapitan's tower within the fortification functioned as residence for the commander of the fortress.

In the course of war, Gradacac suffered enormous ravages, and is suffering them still. It was heavily damaged by air strikes against the castle; the ramparts were damaged and so too the castle entrance towers and the residence (konak) of Husein Kapetan Gradiscevic, which was part of the interior complex which had been restored to its mediaeval appearance. One of the most important structures in the adjoining town, the mosque of Husein Kapetan Gradiscevic (completed 1826) was completely destroyed, and the Clock Tower of 1824 was badly damaged.

Bosanski Brod - urban settlement

Bosanski Brod grew up on the right bank of the River Sava and was developed in the 16th century on the mediaeval territory of the Berislavic family as an outpost on the Turkish frontier. The Turks conquered the town in 1536 and themselves organised a settlement there as a frontier outpost. The town developed from then on, particularly in the post-war period.

In the course of the present aggression, the settlement underwent huge destruction of its urban part. The buildings of cultural importance which were damaged were the Mosque of Husein-Beg and the Church of St. Elijah the Prophet.

Derventa - urban settlement

Derventa as a mediaeval fortress-town taken under Turkish rule is mentioned in the 16th century when the castle was re-fortified several times. On the arrival of Austria-Hungary, the fortress was demolished and the town centre built in its place. Today the town is characterised by architecture of Austro-Hungarian times which include the municipality building, the Museum, and the gymnasium designed by the architect J. Vancas. Some buildings remained from the Turkish period (the mosque and turbe mausoleum from the 16th century).

In the course of aggression the town suffered serious damage. Among the monuments destroyed was the town mosque as well as many buildings of the Austro-Hungarian period.

Doboj - urban settlement

Doboj is mentioned in the 15th century as a mediaeval fortress; this had in fact been formed by rebuilding the remains of a Roman military barracks. In the period of Turkish rule the settlement outside the fortification developed, taking on characteristics of that time. Mosques were built near the castle, including the Selim mosque of the 16th century. Important archaeological and architectural exploration and conservation was subsequently carried out on the Old Castle of Doboj.

In the course of aggression the town of Doboj suffered considerable damage. Monuments of cultural importance which were damaged include the old fortified castle (recently restored) and the Selimija Mosque.

Visegrad - urban settlement

Visegrad is located in Eastern Bosnia on both banks of the River Drina; it is first mentioned in 1448. In the Middle Ages and later in the Turkish period, Visegrad was important as a river crossing point. Its famous stone bridge was erected in the time of the Bosno-Ottoman vizier Mehmed Pasa Sokolovic and an important caravanserai, baths and aqueduct were also set up.

In the course of continuous war action, the Bridge of Mehmed Pasa Sokolovic (erected 1571-1578) was considerably damaged, and all mosques, including the culturally and historically important Mosque of Gazanfer-Beg, suffered.

Srebrenica - urban settlement

An important silver mining centre, Srebrenica is mentioned as such from the second half of the 14th century. In the 14th century its settlement lay somewhat deeper between hills than now, but it was roughly on the site of the present town. The old core of Srebrenica probably took its form in the first half of the 14th century and was added to from then on. The Franciscan monastery with its church of St. Mary is mentioned in 1387, and the church was given additions between 1415 and 1453. At the end of the 17th century the town complex declined. The Church of St. Nikola, which is mentioned in 1393, was turned into a mosque in the course of Turkish rule - it is the present White Mosque. Within the town of Srebrenica are the remains of both mediaeval and Turkish fortifications, as well as examples of old domestic architecture.

In the course of constant war action this town underwent huge destruction. Of its cultural monuments, the White Mosque, originally the Church of St. Nikola, has been very badly damaged.

Bihac - urban settlement

The earliest information concerning Bihac dates from 1260. The town today possesses fortifications which in fact date from 1890-91. Of these, only the Captain's Tower, which served as residence for Bihac's army commanders, remains. Under Turkish rule, Bihac became the seat of a sandzak. The mediaeval church of St. Anthony, with Gothic elements, was transformed into Fethija Mosque.

In the course of constant war action this town underwent marked destruction. Of its cultural monuments, the Fethija Mosque suffered badly.

THE ANNIHILATION OF SACRAL MONUMENTS

Having decided to annihilate the multi-cultural and multi-religious spirit of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serbian paramilitary groups and the Yugoslav Federal Army set out to destroy all Bosnian pillars of belief. These they interpreted as being the sacral buildings of all confessions - Moslem, Catholic, East-Orthodox and Jewish - which certainly confirmed the multi-religious cultural identity of this land.

In the history of wars, no similar barbarism can be recalled to parallel this completely global destruction of sacred shrines, because some aspect of religious belief had virtually always been respected on the part of invaders, along with some aspect of cultural, historical or artistic production.

The primary basic intention of the above mentioned groups was clearly, however, to wipe out of existence all Islamic and Catholic elements in Bosnia, both of which had been present there for centuries, and which had become inseparable from the cultural being of the Bosnian state. Hence, the aggressor particularly attacked the shrines of these two groups.

Moslem buildings

Under continuing blows of aggression, the greatest number of ruined sacral structures in Bosnia-Herzegovina are those of the Bosnian Moslems. Of 500 Islamic sacral structures which have been accorded the status of cultural monuments, a great number are either damaged or destroyed. On territory which the aggressor holds under seige, the most valuable sacral monuments of the Islamic culture have been systematically shelled.

All the mosques of Sarajevo have been damaged, and of these 71 are listed as cultural monuments.

Gazi Husref-Beg Mosque, dating 1531, the outstanding urban symbol of this town, is placed in the 16th century cultural and economic core of the city of Sarajevo - the Bascarsija. It is one of the most beautiful monuments of Oriental architecture, a multi-space and multi-cupola sacral structure. It possesses rich stonework decoration. This mosque has been struck by over 94 projectiles, which have caused it heavy damage.

Alongside the mosque are two monumental turbe mausoleums of stone, both dating to the 16th century, and these also have been heavily damaged by shells, as has the fountain (sadrvan) in front of the mosque. In the broader mosque complex are other important sacral structures - the imaret (kitchen for the poor) and musafirhane (dining-room), the hanikah (dervish house), the school, the primary school, the muvekithana (attendant's residence) and the clock tower, all from the 16th and 17th centuries. All these objects have suffered damage from being shelled.

The Ali Pasa Mosque, dated 1560, is stylistically the purest example of a classical Ottoman domed mosque. By the harmony of its proportions and its decorated fittings, it can be placed among the most beautiful examples of oriental architecture known. This mosque has been damaged by shells and the cupola has especially suffered.

The Ferhadija Mosque of 1561 is the most recent of all the cupola-style mosques in Sarajevo. It was created in the full maturity of the classical Ottoman style. This has been gravely damaged by shells.

The Bascarsija Mosque of 1528 is one of the most beautiful cupola mosques in the Ottoman style. It occupies a prominent place in the urban centre of the Bascarsija. It has been heavily damaged by a great number of projectiles.

The Tabacki Mosque without minaret (mesdzid), albeit of small dimensions, is an especially valuable example of sacral architecture, under a traditional coffer roof with four roof surfaces (cetvorovod), without minaret or (trijem). It is placed in the thickly populated urban centre, Bascarsija. This mesdzid burned down in a conflagration caused when it was shelled.

The White Mosque, 1536, is one of the most beautifully shaped mosques with a traditional coffer roof, and with an elegant, slim stone minaret. It has a characteristic solution to its (trijem), where the outer soffit is formed into two levels. There is a graveyard alongside the mosque, with an open turbe mausoleum under a cupola, and with the only examples of wooden nisan stele tombstones in Sarajevo. The mosque and its entire complex have been heavily damaged.

The Magribija Mosque of 1538 is a mosque of unusual resolution to its design, with an interior wooden barrel-vault ceiling under a peaked, four-sided roof. In the course of shelling the mosque was destroyed and the stone minaret ruined.

Grave damage has been undergone by a whole series of mosques which possess traditional coffer roofs with four roof surfaces and stone minarets such as : the Cobanija Mosque (1562), the Sarac Alijina Mosque (pre 1528), Sheikh Feruh Mosque (1516), Lubina Mosque (pre 1525), the Mesdzid of Hadzi Ibrahim Kasapovic (16th century), the Cekalusa Mosque (16th century), and others.

Smaller mosques of domestic construction, with wooden minarets emerging from a massive roof with four roof surfaces, and which have also undergone damage are: Mosque of Dajanli Hadzi Ibrahim (17th century), Mesdzid Hadzi Alija Gazganija (1561), Mesdzid Ivlakovali Hadzi Mehmed (1528), Mesdzid Iplidzik Sinan (pre 1565), the Mosque of Sinan Vojvode Hatun (1552), Mesdzid Mokro Zade (16th century), the Mosque of Komatin Hadzi Memija (16th century), and many others.

The shelling of Mostar meant that 19 out of the 21 Moslem shrines of the status of monuments of culture underwent grave damage or total annihilation. These include:

The Mosque of Hadzi Mehmed Bega Karadzoz (1557), was one of the most beautiful cupola mosques in the classical Ottoman style. In respect to the spatial distribution of its form, its monumental architecture and its wall painting, it is a fine, representative example of oriental art. Projectiles have gravely damaged the minaret and one part of it is ruined, as is the "trijem".

The Mosque of Nesuh Aga Vucjakovic, built before 1564, is a beautifully proportioned single-bay mosque under a dome, with elements of the Mediterranean method of building in the formation of its stone walls, its proportions, its architectural relief and the shape of its portal, its window openings and its "trijem". It has damage to the minaret, windows, and plastic decoration.

Koski Mehmed Paša Mosque (1618) received very grave damage as the result of shelling. It is located in the historical core of the town, about 150 m. north of the Old Bridge. It is one of the most beautiful Islamic endowments on our soil, of the type of a single-space interior under a cupola. Its original wall-painting, which has been preserved, is now endangered because of four holes in the cupola. The stone minaret is completely ruined and the "trijem" is seriously damaged.

Those mosques with traditional coffer roofs and stone minarets that have been most seriously damaged, are:

The Sivri Hadji Hasanova Mosque (built before 1620) has been absolutely flattened. The stone minaret has been brought down to its foundations, the roof construction is totally demolished, as are the greater proportion of the walls.

The Mosque of Ibrahim Bega Sarica (1623) presents an unusual solution, in the form of a mosque with an interior wooden cupola under a tent-like roof. Alongside the mosque is one of the biggest Moslem graveyards in Mostar, with a turbe mausoleum with a single opening. The stone minaret, with a rich wreath of stalactite ornament under the balcony (serefet), is now ruined to below the level of the balcony. A good portion of the roof construction is also ruined, and the graveyard has suffered damage.

The Tabacica Mosque, built before 1600, has the unusual solution with its interior and exterior women's gallery (mahfil), and with an interior wood cupola underneath a traditional peaked roof with four roof surfaces. This building is greatly damaged.

The Cose Hadzi Jahjina Mosque (built before 1620), the Mosque of Drvis Paša Bajezidagica (1592), and the most recent mosque in the town Ahmed Aga Lakisica (pre 1649), underwent heavy damage from projectiles.

The Mosque of Hadzi Memija Cernica (17th century), the Mosque of Hadzi Alibega Lafa (pre 1633), and the Baba Besirova Mosque (pre 1630) underwent somewhat less damage.

The Mesdzid Hadzi Husain Kotla (18th century) is the only mesdzid preserved to us today with a little minaret (munarica). It was damaged by shells and set on fire.

The Mesdzid Sultana Selima Javuz (1512-1520) is the oldest Islamic sacral building in the town and is preserved in its original form within the complex around the Old Bridge. Its roof construction has been seriously damaged.

The Mosque of Ali Paša Rizvanbegovic in Blagaj on the Buna, built in 1848, is the last mosque under a cupola to be erected in Herzegovina. It has been unroofed by projectiles.

The Tekija on the Buna, built before 1664 with elements of Turkish Baroque, is the most valuable structure of its kind in Bosnia. It underwent grave damage.

In Konjic a number of Islamic sacral objects were gravely damaged.

The Tekija Mosque (1559), a mosque under a cupola in classical Ottoman style with beautifully carved and decorated stone fittings, has been gravely damaged.

The Repovacka Mosque (16th century) is a large stone mosque under a pyramidal roof and with a stone minaret. Certain specific architectural elements, such as the portal and minaret, are composed with quite individual solutions. This has undergone grave damage.

The Carsijske Mosque (16th century) is a rare example of a mosque with an interior wood cupola under a traditional peaked roof with four surfaces and with a beautifully formed stone minaret. This underwent heavy damage.

In the course of the beseiging of Stolac the following monuments received severe damage:

The Mosque of Ali Paša Rizvanbegovic (1812), one of two mosques in Bosnia and Herzegovina which combine the profane and sacred functions: the sacred space is elevated over a shop on the ground floor. The walls are of stone; there is a traditional coffered roof and a stone minaret. In its architecture, this mosque displays elements of the Mediterranean school.

The Sultan's Mosque (1519), built on the foundations of a Christian monastery, which brought upon it the a-typical solution of an elongated foundation under a two-sided, peaked roof.

The Mosque of Ismail Kapetan Saric (1741) is a smaller mosque, but related in form to mosques under four-sided peaked roofs.

The Mosque of Hadzi Alija Hadzisalihovic (built before 1736) is one of the larger sacred buildings to be set up under a four-sided, peaked roof. It has a stone minaret, and a gallery elevated above an exterior, built seat (sofa trijama). It has a central position in the town, having been erected in the historical centre alongside the Bregava.

Aggression in Gradacac resulted in the destruction of all the four mosques in that town which have the status of cultural monuments.

The Husenija Mosque, built in 1826, was in fact the last mosque with a cupola to be erected on Bosnian soil in the time of Turkish rule. It is a monumental construction, whose rich decor carries elements of Turkish Baroque. The mosque was given a commanding position, at the foot of the Old Castle walls, and appears as part of the Old Castle complex, of which the ramparts and entrance towers, clock tower and residence buildings (konak) of Husein Kapetan, form a unique urban composition which dominates the entire town.

In Travnik, virtually every mosque was gravely damaged following the barrage of projectiles showered onto the town.

Damaged mosques include the Sarena (or the multi-coloured) Mosque of 1757, a monument of high cultural importance, both for its architecture, and for its wall painting, and its decoration in carved wood. It is one of only two mosques in Bosnia-Herzegovina where the sacred space is positioned above an area for profane use (bezistan), on the ground floor. It has been gravely damaged.

The Hadzi Ali Begova (Kukavicina) Mosque (18th century) is a non-typical example of a mosque under a peaked roof with four sides and with a stone minaret, and with a specific dispositional solution to minaret "trijem" and portal. It is an important part of the historical complex in the town which includes : the clock tower, fountains, graveyards, the bezistan and the school. This mosque suffered considerable damage.

In Turbe near Travnik, the structures within the 18th century monumental complex, including the mosque, mausoleum and fountain, were heavily damaged.

The Kursumlija Mosque in Maglaj, 16th century, is a fine example of the single-space mosque under a cupola of classical Ottoman style, with masterful shaping of the stone minaret. Both mihrab and portal are decorated with rich ornamental stonework. This building has been badly devastated by projectiles.

The Carsijska and Jalska Mosques in Tuzla are worthy examples of mosques under peaked, four-sided roofs and with stone minarets. All are from the 16th century. These mosques suffered heavy damage following the action of war.

The Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Bugojno, 1693, a type of mosque with stone minaret and four-sided, peaked roof, underwent heavy damage from grenades.

The Necropolis of Nisans in Kopčići near Bugojno suffered heavy damage. This graveyard contained valuable examples of stone sarcophagi, nisans, and a stone turbe mausoleum with cupola.

The attack on the mediaeval castle and town of Prusac near Donji Vakuf destroyed a number of valuable monuments of the Islamic heritage.

The Hasan Kafijina Mosque, built before 1612, is an example of Bosnian-style mosque under a four-sided peaked roof and with a beautifully shaped wooden minaret, placed within an historical monumental ensemble which also contained the Hasan Kafijine tekije, school and turbe, all from the 16th century. The conception of building composition utilised for this mosque is atypical - one structure fulfilled an assortment of functions. The name of the group is of exceptional documentary and historical interest, for it is that of Hasan Kafije, famous writer, philosopher and lawyer, in whose time Prusac was affirmed as a centre for the cultural life and production of Bosnia and Herzegovina. All the monuments of this group were severely damaged.

Handanija Mosque, 1617, is a valuable cultural monument, being a rare example of the kind of mosque with an interior wooden cupola shielded by a four-sided, pointed roof on the exterior and with a stone minaret. This was heavily damaged by projectiles.

Malkoc Alibegova Mosque and primary school (mekteb), from 1820, is an example of a mosque with a pointed, four-sided roof and wooden minaret, distinguished by rustic workmanship and decorative elements produced as an expression of domestic architecture. It is badly damaged and the minaret is destroyed.

In the course of the siege and shelling of Jajce, all six mosques within the town with the status of cultural monuments were gravely damaged. Following the conquest of the town by the Serbian paramilitary forces, the further fate of these cultural monuments is unknown.

The Esme Sultan Mosque (18th century) is one of the last mosques in and Herzegovina to continue the tradition of a classical Ottoman-style mosque with single open space

under a cupola. The decorated fittings in the interior included a wooden women's gallery (mahfil), and a minbar and mihrab of stone. Alongside the mosque was a fountain (sadrvan) and a graveyard. Everything in the sphere of this mosque was heavily damaged by projectiles.

Two further mosques in Jajce suffered destruction, both of which represented a unique architectural solution on Bosno-Herzegovinian soil, with an interior stone cupola under a peaked, four-sided roof, and with a wooden minaret, developing as an expression of the local building tradition. These were the Sinan Begova Mosque (1682), which is now burnt down after a fire caused by grenades, and the Dizdar Mosque (1812), heavily damaged by cannon mortars.

The Simic Mosque and Ibrahim Begova Mosque, both from the 17th century, are examples of the mosque type with wooden minarets which emerge out of peaked, four-sided roofs (like chimneys). They suffered heavy damage as did the Hadadan Mosque, which was of unusual 19th century construction.

The Sinan Begova Mosque in Cajnik, dating 1570, is an example of a single-space mosque under a cupola of classic Ottoman style. It contains a particularly valuable minbar, mahfil, portal and minaret, all of which are worked in stone with rich ornamentation. In the mosque complex are also a small fountain (sadrvan), a graveyard and two monumental turbe mausoleums under cupolae. The mosque is heavily damaged, particularly the cupola and minaret. After the town was conquered, the further fate of these monuments is unknown.

Four valuable examples in northern Bosnia of mosques under traditional-design peaked roofs and with stone minarets have been totally destroyed. These are the Mir Ahmedova Mosque, a monumental construction of the 19th century in Bosanski Samac; the only mosque in Bosanski Brod, which is the Husejinbegova Mosque; and in Derventa the Gradska or City Mosque, of the 16th century. With this last, a turbe mausoleum was also destroyed.

In Bjeljina, the Atik Mosque, of the 16th century, famous for its brick minaret with two (serefet) balconies - the only example of this kind in Bosnia-Herzegovina - and the Salibegovic Mosque, a beautifully formed mosque with a wooden minaret which emerges from the mass of its roof, were both damaged.

In Bosansko Novi the Town Mosque - or Gradska Mosque - constructed in 1820 with a four-sided peaked roof and a stone minaret, is badly damaged, and the monumental Vidorija Mosque, with its unusually shaped wood minaret in the form of a stone minaret with four serefet balconies, emerging from a pyramidal roof, is totally destroyed.

The Azizija Mosque (19th century) in Bosanska Kostajnica is known for its powerful, octagonal brick minaret. This mosque is badly damaged, as is the Azizija Mosque (1863) in Orašje, with four-sided, pointed roof and beautifully shaped minaret. Following the capture of this town, the further fate of these important monuments is not known.

Before this war struck Foca there were 13 admirable examples of Islamic sacral architecture to be found in the town. All of them suffered grave damage from shells and after the town was captured many of them were simply demolished.

The Aladza Mosque of 1550, is a work of the architect Ramadan Aga from the school of the court architect Mimar Sinan, the most famous Ottoman architect in history. In style it is one of the purest examples of a classical Ottoman single space mosque, surmounted by a cupola. By the harmony of its proportions, the rich relief decoration in stone and the wall painting incorporating the height in harmony, it is a masterpiece from the point of view both of architecture and of the decorative arts.

Within the mosque complex was a large graveyard with a number of the oldest Moslem grave steles on Bosno-Herzegovinian soil, a stone turbe mausoleum under a cupola, a small fountain (sadravan) which was a masterpiece of the stonecarver's art, and another fountain. After the town was captured, the aggressor mined this mosque, flattening the ground to the level of its foundations. According to sources of information not yet confirmed, all the objects within the mosque complex were annihilated as well, and a new structure has started to be built on the site.

The Mehmed Paša Kukavice Mosque (1751), the second most important single space mosque under a cupola to be built in Foca, has been annihilated as well. It formed a unit with the School of Mehmed Paša Kukavice, erected in 1758, which was also destroyed.

The Careva (Sultan's) Mosque (1500) was the oldest mosque in Foca and formed a continuation and adaptation of the three-bay basilica. This was erected under a pyramidal roof with a slim, elegant minaret; a very a-typical use for the basilica model. Carved wood capitals surmounting pillars in the interior were remarkable works of art,

as Islamic-style capitals in wood are a great rarity on our soil. The mosque was set alight and completely destroyed.

The Musluk (Atik Ali Pasina) Mosque (1546) is a fine example of oriental building, with a peaked and four-sided roof and with a slim stone minaret. Its shape and the decorative solutions of its stone elements give witness to the high level of oriental art production in Foca at its time. The mosque suffered extensive damage in April 1992.

Three other Foca mosques, all three with peaked, four-sided roofs and stone minarets, are believed to have been completely destroyed. These are the Dev Sulejman Begova Mosque (of 1633), the Nazorova Mosque (16th century) and the Sehova (Kadi Osman Efendijina) Mosque (of 1593). This last mosque was known for its variety of unusual features. It had a-typical extended foundations and two mihrabs, one in the interior sacral space, and the second in the (trijen) porch, as well as an unusually positioned stone minaret, on the left rather than the right side of the building, and rich plastic decoration in stone.

Certain smaller sacral buildings were produced as an expression of those local building traditions in use in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 16th century that favoured peaked, four-sided roofs with wood minarets emerging from the mass of the roof. Examples in Foca are the Mumin Begov Mosque and the Tabacki Mesdzid. These two have been burnt, and another, Pilavski Mesdzid, has suffered projectile damage.

The same sad fate has been suffered by Moslem sacral monuments in the region of Foca.

The Mosque in Jelec, of 1477, one of the oldest in Bosnia, was designed with a four-sided peaked roof with a beautifully shaped stone minaret. This mosque was mined and is now totally destroyed.

The Turhan Emin Begova Mosque in Ustikolina, from the 15th century, is a valuable architectural and historical monument - a type of mosque with peaked, four-sided roof and stone minaret. The minaret is a masterpiece of stonecarving; around it is a rich wreath of stalactite, or so-called "muqarnas" relief ornament. The aggressor shot the mosque with projectiles, as a result of which it burnt.

Following the conquest of Visegrad, the aggressor burnt down Gaznafer Beg's Mosque, dating from the 17th century, with a traditional peaked roof and stone minaret, and also the Old Mosque at Dobrun, from the 15th century, with its unusual cylindrical stone minaret, unique in Bosnia.

The Carsijska and Arnaudija Mosques in Rogatica, both from the 16th century, were destroyed. They both had extremely beautiful shape and decorated stone minarets.

The Mehmed Celebijin Mosque in Kozluk near Zvornik, East Bosnia, dating to the 17th century, under a peaked, four-sided roof and with a stone minaret, was destroyed, while the fate suffered by the six other Moslem sacral buildings in Zvornik is unknown.

The Selimija Mosque in Doboj, of the 16th century, is an example of a mosque under a pyramidal roof and with a slim stone minaret, and always made a visual contribution to the picturesque appearance of the town, since it was built on a hill just below the old fortress. This has been destroyed.

Three mosques with wooden minarets which emerged from the mass of their four-sided roofs have been destroyed in Koraj, as well as the only mosque in Bosanska Krupa, which was an example of the sort of mosque with four-sided, peaked roof with stone minaret, and dated from the 18th century.

The Mosque in the Old Castle of Otok near Bosanska Krupa has been burnt. This mosque was made with a four-sided, peaked roof and with a slim stone minaret.

The Old Mosque in Kozarac near Prijedor, with a stone minaret, has been destroyed.

The Malkoceva Mosque in Donji Vakuf, dated 1572, which has a stone minaret of extraordinarily lovely form, has suffered heavy damage.

The Duzica Mosque with a wood minaret, and the Crkvena Mosque with a stone minaret, both monuments from the 16th century and in Donji Vakuf, are burnt, as is the Mosque in Jemanlici. The fate of the remaining three Moslem sacral structures in the same town is not known, as the town is occupied.

In the territory where there has not been war action and over which the Serbian paramilitary organisations have established control since the beginning of the war, it seems they have already completed their elimination of all Moslem sacral buildings, with the intention of stamping out every trace of Islam.

In Banja Luka, two of the most valuable cultural-historical monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina were completely demolished by the intentional use of large quantities of explosive.

The Ferhadiija Mosque (1579) is one of the most beautiful monuments of oriental architecture. This mosque is a fine example of a classical Ottoman design - a multi-space and multi-cupola mosque, with stone minaret. The sculptural qualities of the structure arouse a feeling of freedom over and above the actual spacial conception. Building the interior had utilised highly original construction techniques combined with rich ornamentation in stone relief. Within the mosque complex is the sadrvan fountain, the graveyard and three stone turbes, and very near is the clock tower, the first public clock to be erected in our country. All these objects together form a superb cultural ensemble, a fine example of a 16th century conception of urban arrangement. On 8 May 1993, the mosque was mined and totally destroyed.

The Arnaudija (Hasan Defterdara) Mosque (1594) is one of the most beautiful sacral buildings of the Turkish period. The building is in classical Ottoman style of one interior space surmounted by a cupola. It is distinguished from others by the technical skill by which it had been erected and by its rich relief decoration in carved marble. Individual features are a small, extra minaret in the courtyard wall and a massive stone turbe mausoleum with cupola directly against one wall of the mosque, which forms a compositional unit with the wall itself. On 8 May 1993 the mosque was mined and demolished. After the demolition of these two structures, all remaining material was carted away to eliminate any possibility of their eventual reconstruction.

The fate of the remaining 12 monuments of Islamic sacral construction in Banja Luka is unknown.

Krzlar Aga's Mosque in Mrkonjić Grad, from the end of the 16th century, was mined and completely demolished. It is actually the most beautiful Bosno-Herzegovinian example of a single space mosque, surmounted by a cupola in classical Ottoman style. Its particular value is its rich relief decoration in stone. A graveyard and sadrvan fountain have been set out alongside the mosque.

The Rijecka Mosque in Mrkonjic Grad was gravely damaged, and the Turbe (mausoleum) of Alije Dzerzeleza, a legendary hero, in Gerzov, was demolished by means of explosives.

The Atik Mosque in Kljuc, an example of the individual architectural solution where a mosque is given a wooden minaret in the same shape as a formal stone minaret with open serefet balcony, was demolished using a huge quantity of explosives on 29 July 1992.

In Trebinje, the intentional detonation of explosives created grave damage to the following buildings : the Mosque of Osman Paša Resulbegovic (1726), a rare example of a mosque with an interior wooden ceiling under a traditional peaked, four-sided roof, and with decorative fittings in the style of Turkish baroque, and also the Sultan's Mosque (1719), the oldest mosque in Trebinje, under a peaked, four-sided roof and with a stone minaret, with obvious influence from the Mediterranean school. The roof construction was gravely damaged, and also the minaret and interior fittings.

The Mosque in Kotezi, near Trebinje, one of the oldest in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was erected in the 15th century. Its architectural design displays a Mediterranean way of design and its individual cylindrical minaret carries archaic features such as are not met in other regions. The structure suffered great damage.

In Nevesinje some valuable examples of Moslem sacral architecture were demolished by explosives. These were designed in the Mediterranean building tradition with the addition of local elements.

The Careva (Sultan Bajezid Velina) Mosque (1481-1512) was the oldest mosque in Bosnia and Herzegovina. An individual feature of this building was its interior wooden cupola under a peaked roof with four sides.

The Dugalica Mosque (1515) had a peaked, four-sided roof with a stone minaret of an unique design solution; without serefet balcony and with 12 openings towards the top. This building was demolished to its foundations.

The Celebica Mosque in Donja Bijenja, and the Mosque in Krusevljani by Nevesinje were both built with peaked, four-sided roofs and with characteristic solutions in the design of their rectangular minarets, which by their form are reminiscent of church towers. Both suffered heavy damage from explosives.

In and near Bileca the following structures were heavily damaged by explosives:

The Sultan's (Careva) Mosque, a monumental stone structure built in 1895, which in its construction approaches the traditional Ottoman solution of a single space under a cupola dome, but it is covered by a tent-like roof. It takes up a prominent position in the centre of the town in the main market square just opposite the Serbian Orthodox church.

The mosque in Polje, 1572, with a characteristic rectangular minaret in the form of a church tower.

The Skender Mosque in Skender Vakuf, 17th century, so named after the founder of all the mosques in the settlement, Ali Dedi Iskander, is now ruined. It was made under the inspiration of local building style, an example of the type of mosque with pyramidal roof and with a wooden minaret which emerges out of the roof mass. The individuality of this mosque is its founders' grave, most unusually placed in the interior of the sacral space.

The Mosque of Mehmed Paša Zvizdica, built 1760, is the only mosque in Gacko, and is constructed of shaped stone under a peaked, four-sided roof and with a stone minaret. This mosque has been severely damaged by explosion.

Catholic buildings

Inestimable loss has been suffered by Catholic as well as by Moslem monuments. Over 100 church buildings are reckoned to have been destroyed. Various monasteries have been badly struck, along with their collections of precious books, their archives and their collections of works of art. In those territories where there has not been specific war action and over which Serbian paramilitary groups established their control from the very beginning of this war, such as Banja Luka, the annihilation of Catholic sacred buildings and robbing them of their valuable objects has been common practice.

Following the shelling of Sarajevo by the aggressors, there are a number of severely damaged buildings relating to the Catholic faith.

The Roman Catholic Cathedral, completed in 1899 by the architect Josip Vancas, is the most beautiful Roman Catholic structure in Sarajevo. Its form is of a three-bay basilica with two bell-towers flanking the entrance, built in neo-Gothic style. The rich interior contains a luxurious main altar of white marble, a sculpturally rendered pulpit, a bishop's throne, and decoration incorporating paintings. The stained glass made in Innsbruck has been completely destroyed. The Cathedral itself is damaged, particularly the stone walls and ornamental stonework.

The square round the Cathedral carried a variety of eclectic architecture within which certain structures have been gravely damaged and others burnt out in fires started by shells.

The Church of St. Vinka, 19th century, was shelled and the roof structure and part of the interior completely demolished.

The Church of St. Anthony of Padua was built in 1912-13 in neo-Gothic style from a plan of J. Vancas. The interior of the church is worked in the pictorial taste favoured by late 19th century workshops in Bavaria and the Tirol where such workshops flowered and is decorated with sculpture and paintings by contemporary artists. In the monastery alongside the church is a richly-equipped picture gallery containing a variety of works by painters and sculptors of various artistic directions as well as an ecclesiastical archive.

The Church of the Holy Trinity, 1904-1906, was designed by J. Vancas in the neo-Romanesque style as a single-bay church with a bell-tower. This was devastated by grenades as was the Church of St. Joseph.

The Residence of the Archbishop and Canon was built in 1895 by J. Vancas. This underwent grave damage to the roofing structure following shelling.

The Church of the Ascension of Mary at Stup was designed in 1892 by the architect J. Vancas. It is known for its high quality stained-glass windows which have been

completely destroyed by shells. Shelling also destroyed a rich library of over 20,000 books at the Franciscan Monastery at Nedzarici.

The shelling of Mostar did not spare a single Catholic sacral structure.

The Bishop's Residence with its chapel, built in 1847, suffered severe damage.

The Church of St. Peter and Paul of 1866, built in the eclectic spirit with a neo-Baroque facade, and remaining architectural features in neo-Romanesque flavour. On 9 May 1992 this structure was hit by rockets, which set up a fire, completely demolishing it.

The Bishopric building, dating 1906, was designed in neo-Romanesque style by the architect M. David. On 6 May 1992 grenades set up a fire and destroyed the library of 50,000 volumes and the building itself underwent grave damage.

The Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, 1909, was built in the neo-Gothic style was gravely damaged by grenades, as was the Franciscan Nunnery.

The church in Potoci was gravely damaged.

The siege and shelling of Jajce inflicted grave damage on all Catholic sacral objects. After the town was captured and occupied by Serbian paramilitary groups, the further fate of those monuments has not been possible to ascertain. The Church of St. Mary and the Tower of St. Luke, highly valuable cultural monuments, underwent grave damage. The tower was erected in 1460, and while the lower part is worked in Gothic style, the upper three galleries are in the form of Romanesque triforia.

The Franciscan Church and Monastery. Of these, the church was erected in 1866 as a formal three-bay basilica, and the interior was painted throughout by Marko Antonini in 1911. The facade of the monastery was renovated in 1935 according to a plan of Karlo Parzik. In the monastery was a valuable collection of paintings, as well as a treasury of objects of cultural, historical and artistic value, a rich museum of archaeological monuments, ethnographic collections, and a library. Shelling gravely damaged both structures - the monastery and the church.

The "Zupna" Church of St. John the Baptist, 1912, which incorporates in its structure a 15th century church, was plundered, as was the entire shrine to St. John the Baptist at Podmiljac, but we cannot know the degree as it is under occupation.

The Church of the Ascension of Mary in Suho Polje, built 1884, was struck by projectiles a number of times. After occupation the church was simply demolished.

The Church of St. Anthony in Bugojno. 1879, was gravely damaged, and its tower burnt down.

The Franciscan Monastery in Plehan near Dervent was built in 1932 according to a plan of Karlo Parzik and incorporated within its structure part of the older monastery of 1874. By its architectural conception and its position, it produced the impression of a palace on a hill dominating the whole area. Alongside this monastery, there was built in 1902 a handsome church in neo-Romantic style, as a triple-bay basilica with paired towers on the facade. The interior of the church was richly painted by the hand of the master M. Antonini, and the fittings were fine pieces contributed by a wide group of artists: stained-glass craftsmen, mosaicists, painters and sculptors. In the monastery collections of works of art there was a large number of fine paintings, from old masters of the 16th century to painters of the present century. There was also a rich library and an archive of important historical sources. The monastery was burnt and the church was totally ruined and burnt.

The Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Novo Selo near Dervent, was built in 1926. The roof and nave were damaged by a number of direct hits.

The Church and Monastery of the Ascension of Mary in Tolisi near Bosanski Samac were gravely damaged by direct hits. The church, built 1864-1881, was built in the form of a three-bay basilica with two bell-towers and two rows of columns in the interior. The tops of the bell-towers are onion-bulbed, which is unique among Franciscan churches of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the possession of the monastery was a gallery of paintings by famous painters from the 18th to the 20th century, an archive of important documents concerning church history and a library of around 10,000 books as well as a museum collection containing valuable museum objects. After the occupation, the fate of this monastic cultural wealth is not known.

The Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Bosanski Samac, 1926. Following the occupation of the town, the Serbian paramilitary groups blew up this church with explosives.

The Lord's Sanctuary (Gospino Svetiste) in Olovo, from the 16th century, was hit by grenades and gravely damaged. The present pilgrim church in this position was erected in 1923 to a design by Karlo Parzik, and is the symbol of the number of centuries of Franciscan work in this region. The church is built in the Romanesque manner and in the shrine are two valuable works of art, both paintings. Alongside the church is a monastery where there is a treasury of valuable objects, the most valuable dating from the 15th to the 19th centuries, then a museum with a number of archaeological finds and a memorial room relating to Fra Grga Martić, who was a famous cultural and political figure.

The Church of St. Elijah the Prophet in Bosanski Brod, built in 1908, was dynamited after occupation of the town and destroyed.

The Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Doboj, dating from 1910, was burnt down after being shelled.

The Lord's Shrine in Komusina near Doboj and the Testament Chapel (Zavjetna Kapelica) in Kondziluk were damaged by the aggressor. The church was wrecked and the tower was ruined.

The Church of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Bezelj near Doboj, built in 1887, was completely demolished.

The Zupna Church of St. Joseph in Gornja Dubica, built in 1857, was gravely damaged by projectiles and demolished after occupation.

The Zupna Church of St. Aloysius in Pecnik, built in 1896, was totally demolished by dynamite.

The Zupna Church of St. Mark in Gradacac, 1888, and the Church of the Lord of Angels (Crkva Gospe od Andjela) in Gornja Tramosnica, also built in 1888, have been gravely damaged by grenades.

Orthodox buildings

Certain Serbian Orthodox monuments have been damaged as the result of war action, although a smaller proportion are damaged than are damaged amongst monuments of the other groups.

In the course of the shelling of Sarajevo, all monuments relating to the Eastern Orthodox confession in Sarajevo were heavily damaged.

The Old Serbian Orthodox Church, built before 1539, was heavily damaged by direct projectile hits. Its interior space is given an unusual solution in the sense that it is designed as a simple cube, to which the present tower has been added in more recent times. The interior is surrounded with arcades on three sides and an extended gallery for women, with a separate entrance from outside. The church was located in the urban tissue of the Barscarsija. It underwent grave damage to its roof construction and walls. Within the complex of the church is the Church Museum, founded in 1889, with a treasury of the most valuable icons in the Balkans. Already before the beginning of the war, early in 1992, the Serbian Orthodox Church systematically and in an organised way removed this valuable collection of icons to Serbia - an inestimable loss to the cultural heritage of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Serbian-Orthodox Cathedral Church, dated 1863, is the work of the architect Andrije Damjanovic. This is a monumental three-bay basilica with five neo-Byzantine cupolas with tall drums and a High Baroque bell-tower. The iconostasis of this church was a gift from the Imperial House of Romanov, and its icons were the work of masters of the school of Andrej Rubljov. The structure suffered a number of direct hits from projectiles which produced heavy damage to its facade and pierced the drums on the cupolas.

The building of the Metropolitan of the Serbian Orthodox Church (Mitropolija), with its gallery of portraits of church notables, was heavily damaged by grenades. In the fire resulting from this part of the building and its roof construction were burned.

In Mostar the Old Serbian Orthodox Church of the Holy Virgin, built in 1634, was unusual in that one part extended below the ground. In the church was a very valuable collection of icons by both local and Byzantine masters, Italo-Cretan masters and the Russian school. By independent, wilful action, the church was mined and completely destroyed.

The New Serbian Orthodox Church in Mostar (1873), the work of the Macedonian builder, stonecarver and painter Andrej I. Damjanovic, was produced in the spirit of post-Byzantine sacral building, with elements of late-Serbian Baroque. The architectural relief of the portal as well as the woodcarving in the interior was by the same master. The church was set on fire on the occasion of the withdrawal of the Serbian army from the town and subsequently, as the result of independent action by unknown parties, was mined and destroyed.

The Monastery of Zitomislic with the Church of the Annunciation, on the Neretva near Mostar, has been completely destroyed as the result of war action. The church was erected after 1566, and within it was a portrait of the donor, spahija Milislav Hrabren; in fact, the whole monastery was an endowment for the souls of the Hrabreni family. The church was painted with wall paintings in 1609. Its iconostasis, painted in 1710 by the icon painter Mihailo, was of exceptional value. Within the monastery was a collection of manuscripts from the 16th-18th century.

The Church of St Nikola at Zavala, near Trebinje, dates from the 15th century, and in the past was part of a monastery complex. It has an interesting architectural solution, in that the church on its north facade was built onto bare rock, so that a rock wall served as one of the interior walls of the church. Its wall paintings were of particular artistic importance. They dated from the 16th century and were painted by the best known fresco painter of that time - Georgije Mitrofanovic. Following the action of war, this church has been gravely damaged.

Jewish buildings

The aggressor has also damaged some of the most important Jewish monuments of our cultural inheritance.

The Old Graveyard of the Sephardic Jewish community in Sarajevo was a memorial complex unique in the whole of Europe because of the unusual shape of its tombstones. They are monolithic coffer-shaped objects, sometimes on an expansive platform, and with the front face - which usually carries a Hebrew inscription - broader and more elevated than the back. The graveyard was used from the 16th until the 20th century,

and the earliest dated monuments are of the 17th century. The aggressor used this graveyard as an artillery range for its action against Sarajevo. Graves have been dug up to make trenches and tombstones destroyed to make fortifications.

The Memorial Park "Vraca" in Sarajevo is outstanding from the point of view of its architectural, sculptural and aesthetic qualities, and is dedicated to those who sacrificed their lives to fascist terrorism during the Second World War. In this park are buried the bones of 9,091 victims, of which the greatest number were Jews. This park is now also used as an artillery range from which to bombard the town.

ANNIHILATION OF MOVABLE HERITAGE

Alongside the alarming destruction and devastation of the built cultural heritage, of monumental complexes of all traditional sorts, and of old urban and rural complexes, the aggressor has consciously and by plan plundered and annihilated movable heritage.

First of all, the aggressor has directed his action against the buildings within which movable heritage of all types is housed and particularly documents, which give witness to the long centuries of history of Bosnia and Herzegovina within its present boundaries, and the continuity of the living together which occurred there, and in fact, all witness to what and how we once were.

Thus in Sarajevo in particular the Museum of the Winter Olympic Games of 1984 has been shelled and destroyed, the Town Museum is badly damaged, the Jewish Museum has been shelled, and even the Territorial Museum (the Zemaljski Muzej) the most valuable Museum in the Balkans, has been attacked. Shells have landed directly upon it and nearly upon it (the windows have been shattered and with their loss, the atmosphere inside has changed) - shells have annihilated the lapidarium, stecci, rare plantings in the arboretum, the natural-history collections, etc.

The Red Cross building is annihilated together with its archives and documentation about the hundred years' work of this institution.

The greatest tragedy is the destruction of the Oriental Institute which had the most valuable collection of oriental manuscripts and documents in Europe. In view of the location of the Oriental Institute and the force of flame produced, it is fair to presuppose that the shelling was carried out to plan: the Institute was directly targeted. This is even more believable in view of the fact that sources have provided details of how the

invaders possessed remarkably precise military maps, and it is well-known that on the occasion of sorting through the Yugoslav Army material left in its building in Sarajevo after it withdrew, maps were found which had marked on them in precise detail all the targeted objectives in Sarajevo.

Another exceptional tragedy was the fact that in Mostar the documentation of the Regional Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments was totally destroyed, and that, as well as the technical material, the photo-library and the library were also destroyed. A certain portion of the preserved material has been destroyed by damp.

What the position is with the documentation of other Institutes and remaining organisations involved with protection of cultural goods, such as museums, galleries etc. within occupied territories, especially Banja Luka, is not known.

From sources of public information as well as from the reports of refugees and exchanged persons previously within the occupied portions of Sarajevo, as well as within other occupied parts of the state, it is indubitably known that the aggressor has completely plundered libraries, collections and other exceptionally valuable material. For instance, that in the possession of the Agricultural and Forestry faculties of Sarajevo University, which were in Sarajevo, but located in Serbian-held Grbavica, and the Electro-technical faculty in Sarajevo, which was located in Serbian-held Lukavica, has been plundered.

Private libraries and collections of all kinds in private hands have been systematically plundered whenever anyone possessing such collections was forced to leave their homes, all with the goal of enriching the Serbian National Library and other appropriate Serbian museums and galleries, concerning which there have even been public reports on the so-called "SRNI" - the television programme of the occupiers. The remaining plundered movable treasures are carried into Serbia and Montenegro in accord with general organised plundering and as a reward for "volunteers" of the type of the Seselj and Arkan paramilitary groups, the "White Eagles" and others, from which we may conclude that paid mercenaries were often involved.

There are indications that certain books, especially Korans and books of religious content, have been intentionally burnt and otherwise destroyed, by which the religious sensitivities of their owners are wounded. The selection of objects for destruction is carried out with scientific understanding, indicating that this is not spontaneous action or the action of groups out of control.

It is very characteristic of the aggressors that they do not in the smallest degree follow the rules of The Hague convention, although the Yugoslav Army is part of a state which accepted this convention. For example the professional members of the Institute for Protection of Cultural-Historical and Natural Heritage of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina were driven out of their own work-space in Grbavica and part of the library and technical equipment which they were not able to remove at the time has been confiscated and very probably plundered as well.

As a consequence of the configuration of Sarajevo's terrain and above all following on from the aggressor's plans, the town receives either occasional or steady shelling on all of its parts and urban configurations, including residential districts, work spaces, medical complexes and so on. For this reason all available safe shelters and basements in the city are first and foremost used for the protection of citizens and has reduced the crucial space needed for the storing of Sarajevo's mass of books, which in itself is very bulky. Although great care has been taken with the storing of the most valuable collections, such as certain treasures from the Gazi Husrefbeg Library, an enormous mass of books has either been directly ruined - through shelling and burning - or indirectly and gradually ruined, by the store-places of the books being broken open, so that they have been left open to the elements and to further shelling, or by storing the books in places which were subject to damp.

There are some indications that local experts were sometimes involved in plans of action by the aggressor, an example being the keeper of the Tuzla Museum, who plundered - or carried off - earmarked collections belonging to the museum. Indeed, directly before the beginning of the war, exhibitions of certain museums' most valuable objects were organised, or attempts were made to organise this type of exhibit (Foca for instance), in a manner which made plundering easier or increased its speed. Naturally, these suppositions need to be totally investigated with the cooperation of appropriate legal executive bodies.

Finally, one must indicate the likelihood of the continued destruction of Bosnia's movable heritage, particularly of her store of books, because of the large-scale migration of inhabitants which is still taking place, as a result of which private libraries and collections remain uncared for, and then also because of the lack of heating, which seems likely to continue throughout the forthcoming winter period, and the continued negative influence of the atmosphere on objects which are already damaged. There is urgent need, therefore, that along with the preventative measures that have already been accomplished - the installing of plastic etc. - further necessary measures in respect to conservation should be arrived at, and that urgent rescue action should as soon as possible bring in those necessary conservation materials which we at present lack.

More precisely, materials which are necessary to import for the conservation of Bosnia's movable heritage should to be treated as a part of the humanitarian aid required by Bosnia, which they at present are not.

Also, a working relationship needs to be formed at once between Bosnia-Herzegovina and relevant world institutions in order to set up movement and procedure in the direction of locating her plundered art treasures, and to provide Bosnia with fuller information on the problematics of such concerns.

THE ANNIHILATION OF CULTURAL INSTITUTES

Many Bosnian cultural institutions now find themselves wounded by the aggressor's stroke, and these include: institutes, museums, galleries, libraries, archives and other places in which objects and documents repose which are of importance to the historical memory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Oriental Institute in Sarajevo (founded 1950) was completely burned on 17 May 1992 in a fire started by shells. In this fire, all the works belonging to the Institute - which were divided into three classes of holding: the Manuscript Collection, the Archive and the Library - were destroyed in their entirety.

The Manuscript Collection was the richest in the Balkans; it consisted of 5,263 codices - manuscripts in the Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian languages. The manuscript holdings included those from every possible scientific discipline, from encyclopedias, works of history, geography, and politics, through theological discussions, to works of Islamic philosophy and Sufism, all areas of physical-mathematics, law and ritual ceremonies, manuscripts of the Koran and hadith, copies of grammatical and lexicographical works for use in schools, and poetry - both works of local poets and of Ottoman poets. The oldest manuscript preserved there, dating AD 1024, was a legal document concerning religious (serijat) law.

The Archive of the Institute was the only archive in this country which preserved historical sources covering the many centuries of Ottoman rule. The original documents in this Archive were divided into four collections. First was the Turkish collection, which contained 7,000 documents from the period between the 16th and 19th century. In this group were preserved firmans, diplomas, orders (bujuruldije) of the Bosnian general governor (valije), law judgements, title deeds (tapije), summaries of the defters, and other reports. The second was the collection of over 60 preserved law reports (sidzila) of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian judges (kadija and naiba). The third group was the vilajet archive (archive concerning large governmental areas, which are made

up of smaller divisions, sandjaks), which consisted of around 200,000 documents which the central vilayet government sent to smaller administrative centres, receiving correspondence back both from them and from the central authority in Istanbul. The fourth collection of original sources was a collection of tapija (deed) documents relating to land-holdings from the second half of the 19th century, citing the names of the landowners, the type of land which was involved, and its location and size.

In the Library of the Institute were over 10,000 published works. The importance of the Institute was many-sided, and the loss of its holdings represents a real cultural catastrophe.

The building of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo was completely burnt out on 25 August 1992 in a conflagration started by shells. The Library was located in the building of the former Town Hall (vijećnica), dating from 1890-1892, and designed by the architects C. Ivekovic and A. Wittek. The building itself was the best-known structure in pseudo-Moorish style in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; its facade, its central hall, staircase and reception chamber were all decorated with rich historicising detail. All that remains of it after the fire is its exterior architectural mantle.

The Library within this building was the largest in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with many scientific sources within its store of books. Among them were source material concerning the territory of the former Yugoslavia, literature in leading world languages, and monographs and periodical publications. The Library had at its disposal over three-million individual items of different sorts. Of particular value amongst its holdings were the gramophone records, cassettes, scores, and musical literature relating to the territory of Yugoslavia. Around 600,000 books and 30,000 periodical publications went up in flames, including the entire musical collection. The entire reference library was burnt - all encyclopedias, dictionaries and literature in foreign languages. The entire information infrastructure and computer system with central memory and 60 terminals also burned. The fully equipped photo-laboratory was entirely lost, as well as the conservation workshop and its equipment, the bindery and the printing-works.

The Zemaljski Muzej (Territorial Museum) in Sarajevo, founded in 1888, is the oldest and most valuable museological institute in the Balkans. Its building takes the form of a monumental complex of four neo-Renaissance style pavilions, designed by the architect Karlo Parzik, and set in a luxurious botanical garden. The Museum is in fact a complex of scientific institutes, bringing together the practising of scientific research of an institutional character from three basic spheres - archaeology, ethnography and natural history, which it combines with up-to-date museum work. The contents of the study and display collections of the Museum are rich in the extreme and include the most valuable examples of cultural-historical produce and natural history from the whole territory of

Bosnia-Herzegovina. Within the Museum is also found an exceptionally rich scientific library - the oldest in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The rich botanical garden collections have very rare plantings and some are the only examples of such in this entire geographical region.

Direct hits by over 100 projectiles have gravely damaged the structure of the Museum and the plantings in the botanical garden, and one part of the Museum collections, particularly of the ethnographical collection, has been destroyed.

The Museum of the City of Sarajevo, housed in an interesting pseudo-Moorish building of 1887 (by the architect Karlo Parzik), has important archaeological, historical and ethnographical collections, which represent the culture of Sarajevo from earliest times to the present. Permanent museum displays which also relate to the architecture and history of Sarajevo are in Svrzina House, the Jewish Museum in the Old Synagogue, and the Museum of Young Bosnia; these are annexes to the Museum of the Town. Systematic shelling has greatly damaged the Museum and its annex buildings.

Shelling did not spare a number of other institutional, cultural structures in Bosnia-Herzegovina: the Historical Museum, the Archive of the Town of Sarajevo, and the Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, this last located in an Art-Nouveau style building (dated 1912), and the Museum of the XIV Olympic Games, which occupied a remarkable Art-Nouveau style building, created by the architect Karlo Parzik in 1903. This building burned after having been shelled and with it went part of the archive and documentation relating to the Winter Olympic Games which were held in Sarajevo in 1984.

The Red Cross building and the archive of this institution, over 100 years old, was set fire by projectiles and destroyed.

The Museum of Herzegovina and the Archive of Herzegovina in Mostar underwent very grave damage in the course of being shelled. Among that which was lost was a valuable collection of weapons and coins from the Museum of Herzegovina.

3. REACTIONS TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE OLD BRIDGE OF MOSTAR ON 9 NOVEMBER 1993

A. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

Message to President Franjo Tudjman from Mrs Leni Fischer, MdB, Chairperson of the Committee on Culture and Education (10 November 1993).

We condemn in the strongest terms the destruction by tank fire of the Old Bridge in Mostar. The means used are totally disproportionate to any possible military use of the bridge.

The bridge had survived as a symbol of the bonds that still exist between Moslems and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. With its destruction, our responsibilities for rebuilding such bonds are redoubled.

You have a direct share in this responsibility and we call on you in the first place to withdraw immediately any fighting units and military material that we have been informed you have on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Reply from Prof Dr Biserka Nagy, Advisor to President Tudjman (25 November 1993)

Madame,

In reply to your message of November 10th, 1993, I have the honour to address you on behalf of the President of the Republic of Croatia.

The President of Croatia, Dr Franjo Tuoman was indeed very sorry to hear of the destruction of the old Bridge in Mostar, one of the most beautiful, cultural monument and the symbol of link between the eastern and the western cultures.

He sincerely regrets the destruction, as he condemns without reservation any mass atrocity in Bosnia and Herzegovina that may be allegedly attributed to Croatian side.

However, President Tuoman clearly disassociates the Republic of Croatia and her Armed Forces from those activities.

We do hope that the investigation of the circumstances will provide reliable evidence to convict those who committed such crimes.

As it has been witnessed before, President Tuoman dedicated himself with all his heart to stop the fighting destruction and loss of human life, and he thanks those helping to fulfil this difficult task.

B. UNESCO

Paris 11 November: The Director-General of Unesco, Federico Mayor, made the following declaration on learning of the destruction of the Stari Most Bridge at Mostar, in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

"After the continuing and shocking loss of life, it is also the cultural heritage which is being destroyed. Another important monument belonging to Bosnia and Herzegovina has disappeared.

"As Director-General of Unesco, I cannot remain silent at the wilful destruction, on 9 November 1993, of the Stari Most Bridge at Mostar. A graceful sixteenth-century example of Ottoman architecture, built by Suleiman the Magnificent, the Bridge at Mostar, spanning the Neretva river, was both a symbol and a reality. By destroying it, the perpetrators of this disgraceful act are trying to eradicate the history of a country and its people. They are thereby also destroying the bridges of mutual understanding built by people of different origins and religious beliefs who had learnt to live together in harmony.

"It is an attack against the values cherished by the international community and dear to the lovers of freedom. The destruction of the Stari Most Bridge has robbed all the communities of Bosnia and Herzegovina of a symbol of hope, ruptured their links with a time of peace and struck at the very roots of their cultural heritage.

"Unesco has a mandate for the protection of cultural heritage. I deplore this loss and once again solemnly appeal to end this conflict and thus spare our cultural heritage and, most important of all, human lives."

C. Europa Nostra

Letter from Daniel Cardon de Lichtbuer, Executive President of Europa Nostra to Dr Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia

(8 December 1993)

.....

1. Europa Nostra/IBI, a pan-European heritage-protection association with over 200 member organisations in 29 European countries, associates itself with all those who have vigorously condemned the deliberate destruction of the Old Bridge at Mostar by armoured Croatian forces on 9 November 1993. We regard that act, for which there was no military justification, as a serious and manifest violation of the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and accordingly request that you take whatever steps are necessary to issue a public denunciation of those responsible.

2. We would take this opportunity of reminding you that Europa Nostra/IBI has twice (in December 1991 and May 1992) adopted resolutions condemning all destruction, by whatever side, of the outstanding architectural and natural heritage in regions of the former Yugoslavia.

*

Letter from Baron Janko Vranyczany-Dobrinovic, Ambassador of Croatia, Brussels

to Jonkheer Daniel Cardon de Lichtbuer, Executive President, Europa Nostra

(9 December 1993)

.....

I acknowledge receipt of a copy of Europa Nostra's letter to the President of the Republic of Croatia, Mr Franjo Tudjman, concerning the destruction of the Old Bridge at Mostar.

Since I myself am involved, in my spare time, in the conservation of castles and monuments in Croatia (all of which have suffered, many of them irreparably, whether from the treatment they received under the Communist regime or the destructive assaults on Croatia by the former Yugoslav army and the Serb militia in 1990-92) and having personally instigated the setting-up of a small Croatia Nostra group in 1991, I need scarcely say that I personally am extremely saddened by the destruction, on this occasion apparently by Croatian units in Bosnia-Herzegovina, of an internationally renowned monument.

The vast majority of the Croatian people, who have been deeply shocked by the barbaric destruction of the 18th century town of Vukovar and much of Dubrovnik, the destruction of hundreds of churches and monasteries, and the damage to Sibenik Cathedral one of the finest Renaissance monuments in Dalmatia, would not approve of any destruction of the cultural heritage, whether in Croatia or elsewhere.

Allow me to quote the latest statement by President Tudjman, made at a press conference: "The destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar happened under war-time conditions. From the historic standpoint, from the standpoint of the protection of these historic structures for communications, I consider that detrimental. As far as I am concerned, I can openly say that I sent a demand to the people in the leadership of Herceg-Bosna to examine why this occurred and that those who did this should be held accountable."

Assuring you that your work has my entire support

D. Association of Art Historians of Croatia

4. ACTION PROPOSED BY UNESCO

Progress of rehabilitation work at Dubrovnik: update by the Physical Heritage Division, UNESCO

Dubrovnik - progress of work

(8 December 1993)

1. MARSHALLING OF TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES

1.1 The Director-General of Unesco has written to member states requesting offers of money, equipment or services, to assist the work being done by the Croatian authorities, in co-operation with Unesco, to rescue damaged cultural assets.

1.2 Booklets produced jointly with the Croatian authorities are being used to publicize the project, both by Unesco and the Croatian local and national authorities.

1.3 In a number of countries private associations have set up appeals to assist the local agencies. Some of them are also in contact with Unesco.

France: Le Comité National d'Aide Humanitaire et de Sauvegarde de Dubrovnik

United Kingdom: International Monuments Trust, Croatia Appeal

Friends of Medieval Dubrovnik

Italy: Comitato di Solidarietà per la Croatia (Milan)

USA: Rebuild Dubrovnik Fund

Germany: Artists of Dusseldorf Help Dubrovnik

Hamburg Society of Artists

1.4 Since 1992, in addition to the funding which local agencies are receiving from the Croatian government, money and technical assistance have been forthcoming from within Croatia (private funding, gifts from families and artists, and so on).

2. STUDIES AND WORK CARRIED OUT IN 1992-93

With the US\$ 200 000 granted by the Director-General in 1991, the US\$ 49 000 from the World Heritage Fund and funds made available under the Physical Heritage Division's regular programme.

2.1 A meeting of specialists which agreed the basic approach.

2.2 Unesco experts attended the meetings of the Advisory Committee of Experts.

2.3 Study visits to France and Italy by Croatian architects.

2.4 Purchase of materials and equipment.

2.5 Publication of two booklets on Dubrovnik.

2.6 Visit by a civil engineer in October 1993 to assess structural damage to fire-damaged buildings and draw up proposals for restoration schemes using flexible technology and in keeping with the architectural style.

2.7 Restoration work completed or in progress:

- some of the roofs
- the ramparts/gateways
- the Onofrio Fountain
- the Sponza Palace
- the Rector's Palace
- house at 11, Miha Pracata and house at 3, Boskovicewa
- the Clock Tower
- tower and stairs at the Franciscan Monastery
- Church of St. Blaise (balustrade and medallion)
- Sigurata Church of the Transfiguration
- St. Clare's Convent
- St. Joseph's Church
- the synagogue

3. COMMITTEES SET UP TO DEAL WITH REPAIR OF DUBROVNIK

3.1 Advisory Committee of Experts, whose membership includes international specialists, including three Unesco experts.

3.2 Committee on Promotion of the Dubrovnik Cultural Heritage, chaired by the Minister of Tourism.

3.3 Committee on Co-ordination of Rehabilitation Law, chaired by the head of the Croatian Legislation Office.

3.4 Finance Committee, chaired by the Minister for Finance.

4. PROMOTION WORK

4.1 In addition to the booklets there are a touring exhibition and regular reports by Croatian television on the progress of repair, consolidation and restoration work.

4.2 Many foreign television companies have made programmes about Dubrovnik.

4.3 Concerts and exhibitions held by private associations.

5. ACTIVITIES PLANNED IN 1994

5.1 A training course (ICCROM/Unesco), at Split and Dubrovnik, for Croatian administrators and technical specialists.

5.2 A round table or seminar on a subject to do with structural problems.

5.3 A training course linked to a pilot rehabilitation project.

5.4 A drive to gather funds for repair of fire-damaged palaces.

SUMMARY

Since 1991 Unesco has been constantly involved in joint action with the Dubrovnik Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, the Institute for the Rehabilitation of Dubrovnik, the national Unesco committee, and the local and national authorities.

As far as its legal powers permit, Unesco has provided backing for action by private and public associations recognised by the Croatian authorities.

In the year ahead, action is going to focus on assisting agencies with information, training and promotional programmes and on setting up short-term projects.

It should also be pointed out that Unesco is interested in the rehabilitation of villages in the Dubrovnik area, some of which are of historic importance.

5. COUNCIL OF EUROPE ACTION PLAN FOR FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Further to Parliamentary Assembly Recommendation 1172 (1992) and the Committee of Ministers terms of reference, the Secretariat has prepared an Action Plan for former Yugoslavia and a Specific Action Plan for the Baltic States.

The action plans were submitted to and endorsed by the Working Group on Technical Co-operation and Consultancy at its meeting in Paris (28-29 June 1993).

The delegates to the Cultural Heritage Committee have expressed their agreement with this document during the meeting held on 21 and 22 October 1993.

OBJECTIVE

The concept of "Specific Action Plan" is a means proposed by the Council of Europe to provide technical support for the efforts undertaken to frame new heritage policies in the Central and Eastern European countries.

The purpose of the "Specific Plans" is to develop intervention systems designed to supply rapid responses to such basic questions as the establishment of administrative and financial machinery suited to the policies chosen, or to particular needs expressed by different states in a given area.

STRUCTURE

The "Plans" are based on interaction and complementarity between the activities in the work programme of the Cultural Heritage Committee, financed by the Cultural Fund and Vote IX of the general budget: "multipurpose workshops", technical co-operation and consultancy, professional exchanges and training programmes.

1. The "multipurpose workshops" enlist the aid of specialists in each field of action designated by the Council of Europe. The specialists are asked to pass on the Council of Europe's distinctive thinking, reflected in particular in the principles of integrated conservation, and their professional experience.

The "multipurpose workshops" necessarily cover three closely interlinked areas of expertise: the deontological principles and models which underlie general heritage policies, the administrative management of those policies and the financial mechanisms which render their application possible.

The "multipurpose workshops" bring together all the local officials concerned in one place, for several days, and produce multiplier effects which are essential if the work undertaken is to assume a national dimension.

2. The Technical Co-operation and Consultancy Programme (Cultural Fund 1993, service activity 401) gives practical form to the content of the discussions conducted in the "multipurpose workshops" through the arrangement of missions focusing on specific examples.

Technical co-operation and consultancy missions entail sending a team of experts to carry out a field study of practical problems. The experts propose the basis for solutions. Their opinions are reproduced in Council of Europe reports.

The experience thus acquired constitutes a large data bank which provides further input for discussions in other "multipurpose workshops" or helps to solve similar problems elsewhere in the country or in Europe.

3. The "multipurpose workshops" and technical co-operation and consultancy missions are followed by the organisation of information, training and refresher courses for national administrations or other bodies involved in the conservation of the built environment.

Professional exchanges and training programmes (service activity 402.2) are provided first and foremost for local officials involved in the development of heritage policies in countries concerned by "Action Plans". Learning practical skills tested in other European countries and largely confined to specialists enables these officials to help spread skills and apply them immediately in priority areas identified by "multipurpose workshops" or technical co-operation missions.

IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY

1. Appointment a co-ordination unit whose staff, at the Council of Europe and in the states concerned, will be responsible for development and management of the plan.

2. Analysis and monitoring of the situation in the various countries by:

- research missions (as part of the plan in general);
- preliminary visits (as part of a particular activity under the plan);
- specific studies.

3. Identification of priority needs and activities (urgent needs arising from war damage; structural needs arising from a country's independence; special needs arising from political and economic transition).

4. Setting up of projects (depending on priorities):

- multipurpose workshops on heritage policies;
- technical co-operation and consultancy missions;
- training and professional exchange programmes.

5. Assessment of material requirements for implementation of the plan.

6. Identification sources of funding for implementation of the Specific Action Plan and devising of financial plans for the setting up of pilot restoration schemes.

ACTION PLAN FOR FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Specific objectives

The ultimate aim of this action plan is to support the efforts of states situated on the territory of former Yugoslavia to develop heritage policies and devise the corresponding administrative machinery and suitable financial arrangements, and to help resolve the pressing problems arising from the destruction of the cultural heritage by war or prevent such destruction.

Duration

Implementation of the plan could be spread over 3 to 5 years.

Content

i. Specific Action Plan for Croatia

Action scheduled:

- a. multipurpose workshop (programme to be specified) Zagreb, 2-3 December 1993;
- b. technical co-operation and consultancy missions:
 - Zadar and Sibenik, 4-5 December 1993: definition of urgent measures to be undertaken to conserve and restore the Palace of the Dukes (Zadar) and the Dome of the Cathedral (Sibenik) damaged by bombs.

- Osijek (Tvrda), 2-3 February 1994: framing of a comprehensive strategy for reviving the historic centre, based on the development of university services. Project aimed at the public sector.
- Ludbreg, 5-7 April 1994: conversion of Bathani castle into a storage facility for works of art and decorative objects. Setting up of a training centre for conservation craftworkers and specialists. Project aimed at the public sector and geared to the need for reconstruction of the cultural heritage in view of the war damage it has sustained.
- Lipik: planning of urban rehabilitation and restoration of spa buildings. Project aimed at the private sector.

c. training and professional exchange programmes (documentation techniques and others to be specified).

ii. **Specific Action Plan for Slovenia**

Action scheduled:

a. multipurpose workshop (programme to be specified) Ljubljana, 1994;

b. technical co-operation and consultancy mission:

- Skofja Loka: protection and improvement of the architectural and natural heritage in the historic town.

c. training and professional exchange programmes (to be specified).

6. THE EFFECTS OF CONFLICT UPON WORKS OF ART

Summary report on a research trip to Croatia 17-30 October 1993 by Dr Anthea Brook

(The Courtauld Institute of Art, London)

This report sets out the results of a research trip to Croatia forming a part of the planning process towards a projected conference to be held jointly by the Courtauld Institute of Art (Univ. London) and the Hamilton Kerr Institute of Conservation (Cambridge) on the theme of *The effects of conflict on works of art*. Research fell into the main categories: (1) to determine the effects of war on works of art, both directly and indirectly, (2) to establish what preparations for the safeguarding of works of art

existed in the event of armed conflict, (3) to discover what quality of documentation, both technical and photographic, existed, (4) to find out what kinds of help, both financial and practical, were available to the art restoration workshops, from within Croatia and from other countries, and (5) to ask these workshops what forms of help they required or preferred from outside Croatia.

Research was conducted under the auspices of the institutes by means of interviews with the members of four art restoration workshops, namely those attached to the Regional Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Zadar, the Art Restoration Workshop of Dubrovnik, and the independent Art Restoration Institute of Zagreb. Additional research was conducted at the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Sibenik, in the Museum Documentation Centre of Zagreb (hereafter MDC), and at the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments and with the Ministry of Education and Culture of Croatia in Zagreb.

The report will appear in article form in a technical journal later this year.

I should like to make it clear that this report forms a part of a continuing programme of research towards the conference, and that it represents only one stage, albeit an important one, of research in progress, as the conference programme will be without geographical limitation.

I should also like to take this opportunity to register my grateful thanks to the staff of the institutes and workshops of the Service for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Croatia, to the staff of the MDC and to Marija Kojabovic, architect of Dubrovnik, for their co-operation and practical help in the course of my research.

Provisional report

1. All of the problems referred to in this interim report are already known to the relevant institutes and to the MDC, but they are not well known to the art-historical and art restoration communities outside Croatia in general with the exception of certain specialist organisations, despite the best efforts of the MDC to publicise their plight.

2. Owing to the fact that Croatia remains on a war footing, and that a large part of South Dalmatia is still being shelled, the passage of information between the institutes for this area and Zagreb, and inter-institute, is sluggish. This also has consequences for morale. The fact that physical communications between littoral Croatia and Zagreb is only possible by air not only hampers information flow but creates severe material shortage in this area.

3. All the contents of the museums and art galleries, with the exception of 17 within the occupied territories, have been evacuated to depots. This is no mean achievement in view of the museum service's lack of preparation in the event of armed conflict and the

fact that evacuations took place after the onset of hostilities. Given that the fate of the contents of the museums, galleries and religious buildings in the pink zones is as yet little known, the numbers of moveable works of art in museum collections so far known to have been directly damaged are low and are mainly works of art from ecclesiastical buildings, whose evacuation often came late in the day. The depots, however, are not immune from danger. They may be hit by missiles (Dubrovnik), or discovered and looted (Vukovar, Cilipi).

4. In view of 3. above, the number of works of art directly damaged by enemy action is limited, and mainly takes the forms of (a) the effects of structural collapse, (b) fire, (c) vandalism, i.e. slashing, bullet-holes, (d) bomb blast causing damage via flying debris, and (e) blast causing radical air suction and propulsion. Unlike wall-paintings, which are hostage to the wall of which they are part, moveable works of art are very rarely directly damaged by missile impact. In terms of restoration, the only damage that raises restoration problems of an unusual nature is the effects of blast (air movement). A more insidious form of damage stems from structural shock, which results in microdamage which will only reveal itself in the longer term.

5. The range of indirect damage is perhaps more extensive. Both the methods of transport to the depot, and the conditions of the depot itself, contain hazards. Very much depends upon the conditions (level of danger) and personnel available at the point of evacuation, the opportunity to prepare the object for transport, and the means of transport. In the second case, there is a lack of suitable depots and of finance to ensure suitable packaging and climatic conditions within the depot.

6. Advice on emergency responses for the evacuation and storage of works of art was sent to the museums and institutes both by the central institute of the Ministry in Zagreb and by the MDC. Whether or not these handbooks arrived before the outbreak of hostilities, it is clear that their instructions were not put into practice until afterwards. The effectiveness of their implementation was determined by the individual circumstances of each site, by the availability of suitably qualified personnel, packaging materials, and other practical considerations. The training provided by museums and institutes for their staff for emergency responses in the event of armed conflict appears to have been negligible.

7. With regard to documentation, after the outbreak of war the MDC discovered that not all museums and galleries had been inventoried. Nevertheless where documentation (technical data and photographs) exists it tends to be of high quality. Photographic documentation, most relevant to restoration of works of art, was good if sometimes rather old.

8. There are special funds set up by central government for restoration of damaged cultural treasures, but such is the extent of damage to buildings that there can be little enough for these alone. Funding of the museums and institutes, scarce though it was in time of peace, is drastically contracted by the absence of tourist revenue and the weakness of the Croatian economy in general.

9. Aid for restoration of works of art from outside Croatia has been received, but attention tends to be concentrated on certain perceivedly important locations. The ARCH Foundation has played a particularly significant role in aiding the art restoration workshops, and I salute here the efforts of its chairman, the Archduchess Francesca von Habsburg. Nevertheless, information about her initiatives is not as well diffused in Croatia as I would wish. ARCH's resources are limited and concentrated on those workshops where restoration of war-damaged works of art is at present taking place; namely in Dubrovnik and Zagreb. The workshop at the Institute of Split benefits to a small extent from its connections with laboratories in Italy, Austria and Hungary. The workshop of the Institute of Zadar seems to receive no financial or other assistance either from within Croatia or without.

10. The members of the workshops, with the exception of Zadar, would like to send works of art for restoration abroad, and would like sponsored training for their students in laboratories abroad. There was consensus however on the preferred mode of receiving aid: this was for a senior restorer to come and work with their trainees in their workshops.

11. There is at present no institute or course dedicated to the training of art restorers in Croatia. The reason for this is that the one place where they could be thus trained in the whole of the former Yugoslavia was in Cetinje, Montenegro. The central institute in Zagreb is however planning to remedy this situation. Art restorers are therefore recruited at present from such freelance practitioners and students of fine arts as are available. Owing to the poor pay and technologically impoverished conditions currently obtaining in the restoration workshops such recruits are hard to find.

12. Owing to all of the factors mentioned above, the art restoration workshops are, without exception, labouring under immense difficulties and in severely restricted material and financial circumstances. There are shortages not merely of sufficient technological equipment but of the most basic equipment and materials. Given these circumstances, their struggle to sustain their operations is little short of heroic.