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Frontier, Threshold, Interface? Liminal and Trans-Border Cultural Dynamics in the Eastern Posavina During the Nineteenth Century

Borders limit the mobility of people, goods, and ideas–but do they inevitably inhibit development? Drawing on case studies from the Sava River Basin in the nineteenth century, this paper highlights instances where the liminal nature of places has contributed to the mobilization of resources in a culturally productive way. With a focus on works of architecture and the visual arts in three regions that now form part of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia, it aims to identify interrelated events and developments.

Keywords: 19th-century architectural history, Habsburg-Ottoman entanglements, Sava river basin, Đakovo, Brčko, Gradačac, Belgrade, Brod

Introduction

Borders limit the mobility of people, goods, and ideas – a statement so seemingly self-evident that it could be considered a truism. But do borders really inevitably inhibit cultural development?

My paper highlights instances where the very liminality of places has contributed to the mobilization of resources in a culturally productive way. I argue that this fascinating dynamic has been overlooked in a region where borders were more traditionally construed as an obstacle to the integration of national cultures. A dissolution of the borders that divided ethno-linguistic communities came to be equated with cultural liberation.

Nevertheless, I argue that borders have occasionally allowed individuals to engage in culturally productive activities on both sides of a political boundary. In

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the context of antagonistic power constellations, the vulnerability of such areas has occasionally served as a catalyst for innovation, particularly in the field of military architecture. Furthermore, those responsible for protecting such territories have often enjoyed greater freedom in expressing their identity and aspirations monumentally, or simply differently.

In an attempt to substantiate these broad claims with evidence, my paper discusses selected case studies from the eastern Sava River Basin.[1] It examines nineteenth-century developments in three areas that are now part of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia [Fig. 1].[2] Rather than considering the three cases in isolation, I aim to identify interrelated events and developments by repeatedly crossing the river and following a sequential timeline. Thus, each of the paper's three sections covers a period of approximately three decades and highlights the changing realities of the respective areas during that time.

Towers, *Konak*s, and other Materializations of Authority (1800–1830s)

Much like a century earlier, by the early 1800s the River Sava and its tributary, the Una, delineated the border between the Ottoman and Habsburg realms. However, the situation on the ground was somewhat more complex. By 1815, there were two different regimes on each bank. On the left bank, the Slavonian zone of the Military Frontier lay adjacent to the northern side of the Sava. This militarized buffer zone was governed directly from Vienna and was populated by Catholic and Orthodox frontiersmen who were granted land and privileges in exchange for lifelong military service. As a cordon sanitaire, it shielded the civil-administered and less confessionally diverse part of Croatia-Slavonia from aggression. It was only between 1873 and 1881 that the two regions were merged and their former privileges abolished.[3]

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[1] In the title, I have used the toponym "Posavina" in a broad geographical sense, to refer to the Sava River basin as a whole, rather than to the administrative areas in present-day Bosnia and Croatia that officially bear its name. For the purposes of this paper, I will define "frontier" as a place of potential expansion (of rule, knowledge, etc.), "threshold" as a tipping point towards a changed situation, and "interface" as a space of trans-liminal communication. I am grateful to Dragan Damjanović, Richard Kurdiovsky, and Petar Strunje for their useful remarks, while taking responsibility for any inaccuracies.

[2] For an overview of the historiography of the surrounding area, see the relevant chapters in Oliver Jens Schmitt,Michael Metzeltin, eds., *Das Südosteuropa der Regionen* (Vienna: Verlag der ÖAW, 2015). Of particular interest are the following chapters: "Slawonien und Syrmien" by Ludwig Steindorff (39–90); "Die Šumadija: Historische [Nicht-]Region und/oder 'mental map'?" by Holm Sundhaussen (277–312); and "Vojvodina" by Michael Portmann (313–349).

[3] A classic study of this space is Karl Kaser's *Freier Bauer und Soldat: Die Militarisierung der agrarischen Gesellschaft an der kroatisch-slawonischen Militärgrenze (1535-1881)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997).

To the south of the Sava, the Ottoman territory was divided into the *sancak* of Zvornik in the *eyalet* of Bosnia, located west of the Drina River, and the *sancak* of Smederevo (or Belgrade) in the Rumelian *eyalet*, to the east. Following the Second Serbian Uprising (1815–1817), the latter *sancak* achieved a degree of autonomy under Miloš Obrenović–forming the basis for a Serbian polity that gained formal independence in 1878.

Đakovo and its Bishopric

My first case takes us to Đakovo, a town in Slavonia located around 20 kilometres north of the Sava River. Historically, it was situated just outside the dominion of the Military Frontier. The name first appeared on maps when the Bishop of Bosnia moved his residence there due to religious conflicts in the thirteenth century. When much of historical Hungary was recaptured from the Ottomans in the late seventeenth century, the bishops returned to Đakovo. An Ottoman mosque was converted into the parish church, and its hemispherical dome was originally concealed behind a roof [Fig. 2]. The old cathedral, located on the opposite part of town, was re-consecrated and renovated in the Baroque style, but its structural weakness and limited ambition were soon deemed inappropriate for the bishopric's mission, which extended beyond the Habsburg domains.[4]

Such plans were not pursued in earnest until Mirko Karlo (Imre Karoly) Raffay was appointed bishop of Đakovo in 1816. He commissioned the architect Bartholomäus Felbinger, who had relocated from Vienna to Zagreb, to design a new building. However, the bishop did not endorse the first design, which echoed an outdated High Baroque style. A second design, from 1819, more closely echoed contemporary Classicist trends, as reflected in the temple motif on the façade.[5]

Felbinger's project ultimately failed to gain approval from the authorities in Vienna, and Raffay used the building materials he had gathered on site to expand the episcopal residence instead. The same architect was also tasked with constructing a tower with a portal flanked by Ionian columns in front of the former mosque's cubic prayer hall façade, thus further disguising its Ottoman origins [Fig. 3].[6]

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[4] Dragan Damjanović, *The Art Treasures of Strossmayer's Cathedral in Đakovo* (Đakovo; Zagreb: City of Đakovo; Archdiocese of Đakovo–Osijek; Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2017), 19. For Đakovo's history as an episcopal centre, see e.g. Antun Jarm, Andrija Šuljak, *Đakovo, biskupski grad* [Đakovo, A Bishop's Town]. (Đakovo: Biskupski ordinarijat, 2008).

[5] Drawings and discussion in Damjanović, *Art Treasures*, 20–22.

[6] Dragan Damjanović, "Klasicistička obnova jedine sačuvane slavonske džamije: Bartol Felbinger i župna crkva u Đakovu" [Neoclassical Renovation of the Slavonia's Only Preserved Mosque: Bartol Felbinger and the Parish Church in Đakovo], in *Klasicizam u Hrvatskoj*, ed. Irena Kraševac (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2016), 69–87.

Gradačac and its "Kapetani"

At Gradačac, on the Ottoman side of the Sava, it was around that time that a fortification project that had been underway for decades was finally completed. In the mid-1820s, the frontier commander Husein-kapetan (or *kapudan* Hüseyin) Gradaščević added a clock tower, a mosque and a residence to the ensemble.[7] The residence [Fig. 4] became known as his "tower" (Bosnian *kula*, Turkish *kule*). The mosque's dome [Fig. 5] was an exceptional occurrence in the wider region, where such buildings were generally covered with roofs. As I have discussed elsewhere,[8] Husein appears to have hired a builder from Sarajevo to reproduce a type of structure traditionally associated with senior military governors in his peripheral domain. Nevertheless, the naïve painted and chiselled decoration featuring, among other things, spiderwebs serves as a reminder of how far we are from the Ottoman metropolis [Fig. 6].

Previous commentators have wondered whether the peculiarity of these buildings may have owed to "influence" from across the Sava.[9] Was Husein's residence, with its massive tower projecting from a cubic structure, maybe inspired by the avant-corps and towers of Baroque palaces in Slavonia and neighbouring areas (e.g. Valpovo and Bilje)? What appears to have been the case is that an older tower was enveloped with a residential structure so as to increase the useable space and enhance the building's representativeness.[10] In doing so, two traditional Ottoman types, the *kula* and the *konak*, were combined in a way that lacked precedent.

To identify input from the other riverbank, we should focus instead on the fact that Husein's constructions were made of Slavonian brick rather than Bosnian stone.[11] This was clearly due to the various advantages of one material over the other. The lighter weight of the bricks facilitated transportation, while their uniform size sped up construction.

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[7] The classic study is Džemal Čelić, "Arhitektura Gradačca i restauratorski zahvat na kuli Husein-kapetana Gradaščevića" [Architecture of Gradačac and Restoration Work on the Tower of Husein-kapetan Gradaščević], *Naše starine* II (1954): 167–174.

[8] Maximilian Hartmuth, "The Domical Frontier: Architectural Manifestations of Political and Cultural Demarcations in Nineteenth-Century North-Eastern Bosnia (Gradačac, Brezovo Polje, Tuzla)," *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie* IX (2023): 64.

[9] Čelić, "Arhitektura Gradačca," 168.

[10] See also Husnija Kamberović, *Husein-kapetan Gradaščević (1802-1834): Biografija, uz dvjestotu godišnjicu rođenja* [Husein-kapetan Gradaščević (1802–1834): A Biography, on the Bicentenary of His Birth] (Gradačac: BZK Preporod, 2002), 32.

[11] Čelić, "Arhitektura Gradačca," 167–168; Kamberović, *Husein-kapetan Gradaščević*, 31.

Belgrade-Savamala and the "Knez"

Brick was also an issue in contemporary constructions at the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers, that is, in Belgrade. There, Miloš Obrenović–who had emerged from the Second Serbian Uprising as the area's foremost *knez* — committed himself to developing a Serb suburb in the shadow of the Ottoman fortress into a place to be reckoned with.

Before Miloš turned to the rebuilding of its Orthodox church, the seasoned Macedonian builder Nikola Živković (nicknamed Hadži-Neimar) was entrusted with planning a residence for the *knez*, which sources say he wanted to be "in the style of Istanbul."[12] For the most part, this is what Hadži-Neimar delivered: we see a typical two-storey *konak*-type elite dwelling from the late Ottoman period with a symmetrical façade centred on an upper-floor projection [Fig. 7] – a feature known variously in the post-Ottoman world as a *cumba*, *doksat*, or *şahnişin*. At the same time, Europeanizing features such as pilaster strips, cornices, and arched windows are also evident. Those responsible for these features may not have been aware of their lack of contemporaneity with current trends across the border.

As the first building of its kind in Belgrade, Miloš's "novi konak"[13] was intended to be constructed entirely of brick. However, as in Gradačac, the quality and quantity of local brick production were deemed insufficient. The necessary construction materials had to be imported from the Habsburg town of Zemun and other places along the Sava and Danube rivers, which proved to be a serious logistical challenge.[14]

Images of Renewal and Regeneration (1830s–1860s)

Foreign Nationals as Development Workers in Serbia

Recognizing the limitations of working with traditional builders, Miloš embraced the idea of recruiting foreigners for his projects. The Viennese Franz Janke was commissioned to advance the development of the area then known as Savamala (from Turkish *Sava mahallesi*) by regulating and cobbling the streets. Janke also built the Rajović residence [Fig. 8], widely regarded as the first West-

[12] Danijela Vanušić, Angelina Stojanović, Pavao Poša, *The Residence of Princess Ljubica: The Interiors of 19th-Century Homes in Belgrade* (Belgrade: Muzej grada Beograda, 2012), 24–25.

[13] The building later became known as "Princess Ljubica's Konak" because Miloš chose to reside outside the range of Belgrade's (Ottoman) fortress mortars instead. Vanušić, Stojanović, Poša, *The Residence of Princess Ljubica*, 10.

[14] Vanušić, Stojanović, Poša, *The Residence of Princess Ljubica*, 25. For Belgrade and Zemun, see also Riedler and Stefanov's contribution to this special issue.

ern-style dwelling in Belgrade. To plan a new cathedral church, Adam Friedrich Querfeld was recruited from Pančevo, across the Danube [Fig. 9]. Both projects were completed in the second half of the 1830s and reflect the Classicizing tendencies of the period.[15]

In the 1840s, the interest of Serbian rulers shifted towards able men of various Slavic backgrounds. Jan Nevole, a graduate of the Prague Polytechnic, relocated to Belgrade in 1845 to oversee public works under Alexander Karađorđević. Nevole's best-known preserved work is the so-called *Kapetan Mišino zdanje*, which now houses Belgrade University's Rectorate [Fig. 10]. However, it was originally built as a palace by the wealthy logistics entrepreneur Mihailo "Miša" Anastasijević. He had arranged for his daughter to marry a Karađorđević, and the building was intended as the couple's future courtly residence. Yet, with the Obrenovići's return to power, Captain Miša chose to endow the building for the public good instead.[16] This decision obscured the unusual stylistic choice (of the so-called *Rundbogenstil*, that is) for a building of this function. Its resemblance to fortified residences may lead us to wonder if it was conceived as a figurative counterpart to Belgrade's actual fortress, which was still under Ottoman control at the time.

Painters, too, found opportunities on the other side of the Sava – first to meet the demand for portraits and eventually to paint in the newly erected churches. Dimitrije Avramović, who hailed from the environs of Novi Sad, had a career that was far from untypical in this regard. While training at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, he was influenced by artists such as Leopold Kupelwieser and Joseph von Führich. Their religious painting was in the stylistic tradition of the Nazarenes, a Romantic movement of the early nineteenth century that sought to regenerate religious art through a reorientation toward the early Renaissance. Avramović then translated this style to Belgrade"s cathedral's interior [Fig. 11]. Dejan Medaković believed this commission to be a turning point: through this connection with international trends, according to him, Belgrade became the centre of Serbian art.[17]

Academically trained artists tended to be interested in more than just icons and portraits. The aforementioned Avramović also pioneered lithographed carica-

[15] For basic information about actors and projects, see the relevant entries in Giša Bogunović, *Arhitektonska enciklopedija Beograda XIX i XX veka* [Architectural Encyclopedia of Belgrade of the 19th and 20th Centuries], 3 vols. (Belgrade: Beogradska knjiga, 2005). For these works' specific historical context, see Nenad Makuljević, *Osmansko-srpski Beograd: Vizuelnost i kreiranje gradskog identiteta (1815-1878)* [Ottoman-Serbian Belgrade: Visuality and the Creation of a City's Identity (1815–1878)] (Belgrade: TORU, 2015).

[16] See e.g. Biljana Mišić, *Kapetan Mišino zdanje = Captain Misa's* [sic] *Edifice* (Belgrade: Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute of Belgrade, 2008).

[17] Dejan Medaković, "Der Aufstieg Belgrads zur Residenz- und Hauptstadt, " in *Hauptstädte in Südosteuropa. Geschichte – Funktion – Nationale Symbolkraft*, ed. Harald Heppner (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), 191–192.

tures in a Serbian context. The Bulgarian-born Anastas Jovanović trained in typesetting in Belgrade before receiving a stipend from Miloš to study lithography at the Viennese Academy. He eventually turned to photography and produced some of the earliest shots of historic Balkan personalities.[18] These include a portrait of the future *knez* Mihajlo posing dandily in front of a portrait of his father [Fig. 12]. Interestingly, in this portrait of 1848 (thus postdating his removal from power), Miloš is wearing an Ottoman order bearing a portrait of Sultan Mahmud II. Remarkably, this expression of the Obrenovići's perceived entitlement to eminence was realized through association with the very institution from which their authority had once been wrested.

Reshaping the Bosnian Posavina in the 1860s

The Obrenovići's return to power in 1858 was followed by an exodus of Central Serbia's remaining Muslims until 1867. Many were relocated by the Ottoman authorities to Bosnia's Posavina, where evacuee settlements were laid out for them by, supposedly, French engineers. Towns such as Šamac [Fig. 13] and Orašje owe their existence to these developments.[19]

Of the mosques that Sultan Abdülaziz sponsored in these settlements, only the Aziziye/Azizija in (Novo) Brezovo Polje was built with a dome [Fig. 14]. Unusually, its circular drum extends into a cylindrical prayer hall outline. Other features suggest an awareness of the work of the Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio and his modern-age followers. As this was clearly not the work of a provincial builder, it is not unlikely to have been the work of the sultan's Paris-trained architect, Sarkis Balyan, who had recently incorporated Palladian forms into his design for the Beylerbeyi Sarayı in Istanbul.[20]

Equally interesting is the fact that this mosque was not built in the centre of the settlement, but on its outskirts. As there are no significant roads or towns on the opposite shore, the mosque may have been intended to greet passengers travelling on Austrian steamships along the Sava between Sisak and Zemun, where they connected with services between Vienna and Istanbul. It should also be noted

[18] For a recent appraisal of Jovanović, see Tijana Borić et al., *Identiteti i mediji: Umetnost Anastasa Jovanovića i njegovo doba* [Identity and the Media: The Art of Anastas Jovanović and His Era] (Belgrade: Muzej grada Beograda, 2017).

[19] For these migrations and related developments, see Mirza Hasan Ćeman, "Urgentne urbane intervencije osmanske vlasti na području Bosne i Hercegovine nakon 1860. godine" [Urgent Urban Interventions of the Ottoman Authorities in the Territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina After 1860], in *Centres and peripheries in Ottoman Architecture: Rediscovering a Balkan Heritage*, ed. Maximilian Hartmuth (Sarajevo: Cultural Heritage without Borders, 2011), 136–151.

[20] Maximilian Hartmuth, *The Kaiser's Mosques: Islamic Architecture and Orientalizing Style in Habsburg Bosnia* (Geneva: Peter Lang, 2024), 71.

that according to local tradition, many of the mosque's components, notably the prayer niche (*mihrab*), were prefabricated in Istanbul and transported by ship to Brčko.[21] I imagine that the terracotta elements used so widely in Captain Miša's building, too, had been sent down the Danube to Belgrade.

Enterprise (1860s–1900)

Post-Ottoman Belgrade

Shortly after the last Ottoman left the city in 1867, Emilijan Josimović, a protégé of the said captain, was hired to design Belgrade's first urban regulation.[22] The plan's most notable outcome is Knez Mihajlova Street, which was designed as a straight axis connecting the fortress and the outlying residential quarters. A small group of compact buildings from this period still stand, demonstrating the popularity of early Historicist styles. Nevertheless, traditional spatial concepts continued to be evident in some of the new buildings. The former Hotel Srpska Kruna (Knez Mihajlova no. 56, currently Belgrade's Municipal Library), for example, conceals the traditional courtyard structure of an Ottoman-period *han* (inn) behind its early Historicist façade.

The architecture of Belgrade in the last quarter of the century was somewhat more predictable than that of the 1860s, bordering on dull. Serbian building in Hungarian towns along the Danube, such as Novi Sad and Sremski Karlovci, was at least as original.[23] Therefore, it could be argued that even gaining independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878 did not automatically make Belgrade the sole centre of modern Serbian cultural expression.

Post-Bosnian Đakovo

I return to the Slavonian bank for the penultimate case. When Josip Juraj Strossmayer was elected bishop of Đakovo in 1850, plans were resumed for the construction of a monumental cathedral [Fig. 15]. A seasoned Viennese architect, Carl Rösner, was commissioned to design it in the still uncommon Romanesque. Strossmayer intended it to be a bridge to the Byzantine style – a welcome association given that one of the central challenges of Yugoslavism was confessional

[21] Amra Hadžimuhamedović, Fehim Hadžimuhamedović, "Turski neoklasicizam Azizije džamije u Brezovom Polju = The Turkish Neo-Classicism of the Azizija Mosque in Brezovo Polje," *Baština / Heritage* 5 (2009): 251.

[22] See Ljiljana Blagojević, "Urban Regularisation of Belgrade, 1867: Trace vs. Erasure," *Serbian Architectural Journal* 1 (2009), no. 1: 27–44.

[23] Take, for example, the iconic Karlovci Gymnasium of 1891 by Gyula Pártos and Ödön Lechner – one of the first modern buildings to specifically quote a medieval Serbian monument (in this case, the Lazarica church of Kruševac).

disunion among its Christians. Due to Slavonia's lack of natural stone, the cathedral was built using brick. Rösner's final design drew inspiration from Northwest Italy, where this combination of style and material had historically existed. For the interior's painting, Strossmayer preferred the "Nazarene" style, in which the German artists Alexander Maximilian and Ludovico Seitz executed Croatia's most extensive nineteenth-century fresco cycle.[24]

The cathedral's iconography conveyed the perceived responsibility of Đakovo and Strossmayer for Bosnia and the wider region. In the transept's southern apse, representatives of various South Slav ethnicities (or "tribes"), including a Croat, a Dalmatian, a Bulgarian, a Slavonian, and a Serb [Fig. 16], are depicted. The frescoes in the main apse more literally visualize the bishopric's mission in Bosnia: Strossmayer is depicted as a church donor overseeing the reunification of lost tribes under Roman leadership. He is flanked by an Orthodox woman and a Muslim man, both accompanied by their children. They are led to embrace Roman Catholicism by an angel and a Franciscan, thereby acknowledging the historic role of that order in Bosnia [Fig. 17].[25]

The concentration of artistic talent in Đakovo also had some welcome by-products. In 1885, the interior of the parish church was repainted in an Orientalizing aesthetic, in secco, and in accordance with designs by Ludovico Seitz [Fig. 18]. This was clearly a reference to the building's origins as a mosque, which were no longer to be obscured. The establishment of a Bosnian diocese in Sarajevo in 1881 required Đakovo to reorient itself towards its more immediate surroundings. Was the Orientalization of the church's interior intended to serve as a reminder of Đakovo's historic role in overcoming Muslim domination?

Be that as it may, following the Congress of Berlin (1878), which placed Bosnia under Habsburg control and sealed the independence of several Orthodox nations in the region, the cathedral's frescoes came to be viewed differently by some. The Serb and the Bulgarian in the transept's frescoes were identified as a Herzegovinian and a Bosnian respectively, and all of those depicted were understood to be subgroups of a Croatian people.[26]

Post-Ottoman Bosnian Posavina

In the Bosnian Posavina, we witnessed a shift in focus from the hills to the river in the 1860s. Following the Habsburg occupation (1878), towns such as Brčko, Šamac, and Brod became increasingly busy interfaces of exchange with the other

[24] Damjanović, *Art Treasures*, 23–64.

[25] Damjanović, *Art Treasures*, 149–165. On Strossmayer's Bosnian politics and the questions of conversion and authority, see also Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg "Civilizing Mission" in Bosnia 1878-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 14–15, 19, 42, 47, 118–120.

[26] Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 149, 156.

side of the river. Almost a quarter of Brčko's 7,000 inhabitants in 1895 originated from the other side of the Sava.[27] Two iconic buildings reflect the region's transformation into such an interface:

Brčko's town hall (or *Vijećnica*, 1891/2) appears to have been a test-case in some respects. Chronologically, it was the first municipal seat in Bosnia to be completed in a style evidently evoking Bosnia's "Oriental" heritage. Yet, many features like the twin towers, which may have resulted in an unwelcome association with church towers or defences, and the extensive façade decoration, were never repeated. Its tripartite palatial facade scheme, too, remained an outsider within the municipal typology.[28] The fact that this town hall turned out to be Bosnia's most expensive after Sarajevo's may have prompted a re-evaluation of design choices.[29]

The region's second iconic building was the railway station of Bosanski Brod, completed in 1897. The station's importance stemmed from the fact that it was here that passengers were required to change from Hungary's standard-gauge railway to Bosnia's narrow-gauge system. The building's monumentality was completely disproportionate to its surroundings. I have argued elsewhere that the station's iconicity may have been intended to compensate travellers for their often disappointing first impression of Bosnia.[30]

Conclusion

In the cases discussed, peripheries figured as stages for experimentation and as sites of opportunity. However, the creative forces employed were more often than not recruited from further afield rather than from just across the border. Overall, the concept of 'influence', which is usually employed to describe the diffusion of innovations, has not proven particularly useful for mapping the cultural undercurrents of river crossings. It ultimately fails to capture the complexity of the "geo-referencing" encountered in our case studies.

[27] In the 1895 census, "Brčka" had a population of 6,972, 22% (1,341) of whom were from outside Bosnia. Most of these were Croats, Serbs and Germans from the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. There were also 68 Protestants and 189 Jews, while less than half of the town's population were Muslim (45%). By contrast, Gradačac was half as populous (3,562), predominantly Muslim, and had only 35 Jews and Protestants and 5% foreign nationals. Anon., *Hauptresultate der Volkszählung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom 22. April 1895* (Sarajevo: Landesdruckerei, 1896), 306–307, 322–323.

[28] Hartmuth, *Kaiser's Mosques*, 42–44, 46, 89, and *passim* for the phenomenon and evolution of the Orientalizing style in Bosnia.

[29] For a list of construction costs for town halls in Habsburg Bosnia until 1904, see Table 1 in Maximilian Hartmuth, "Bevormundete Selbstermächtigung? Architektur und Öffentlichkeit im habsburgisch-besetzten Bosnien (1878-1908)," *Südost-Forschungen* 83 (2024/5), 123–140.

[30] Hartmuth, *Kaiser's Mosques*, 94–103.

As the Đakovo bishopric's mandate extended beyond the Sava, this was naturally reflected in the iconography of its cathedral. Belgrade recruited talent from the other riverbank, but this was an imbalanced exchange as Zemun did not mirror Belgrade's dynamic development. Compared to Novi Sad with Sremski Karlovci, which were, in a sense, Belgrade's real cultural bridgehead on the other side, Zemun was little more than a landing site. Thus, we deduce that proximity was not the most important factor with regard to exchange dynamics. The presence of institutions, such as Karlovci"s patriarchate (established in this form in 1848) and Novi Sad's *Matica Srpska* (transferred there from Pest in 1864), was more compelling than mere proximity.

In the Bosnian Posavina, the Gradašćevići derived their authority from defending the Sava border, which was nevertheless open to trade and refugees. Husein-kapetan went into exile in Osijek, where he enjoyed conversing in his mother tongue. The sight of the turbaned nobleman on horseback made quite an impression on locals such as the young Strossmayer, who was schooled in Osijek at that time.[31]

When the Sava was finally downgraded from a perceived civilizational border to a political or even internal one in 1878, the riverside "colonies" that had previously been populated by displaced people became focal points for increased mobility across the Sava, and this was duly reflected in the period's architecture. It is remarkable how, under certain circumstances, a political periphery could double as a centre of innovation.

[31] Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Husein kapetan Gradaščević: Zmaj od Bosne* [Husein-kapetan Gradaščević: The Dragon of Bosnia] (Sarajevo: Hrvatska Tiskara, 1931), 27–28.

FIGURES



Fig. 1. Map showing the locations mentioned in the text and the major bodies of water between them, drawn by author, 2025.



Fig. 2. Đakovo, Parish Church, appearance post-1980s intervention, revealing origin as mosque. Photograph by author, 2025 / **Fig. 3.** Đakovo, Parish Church, main façade after interventions in 1819/1839. Photograph by author, 2025/ **Fig. 4.** Gradačac, Gradaščevića kula, 1820s (?). Photograph by author, 2025 / **Fig. 5.** Gradačac, Gradaščević mosque, 1826. Photograph by author, 2025 / **Fig. 6.** Gradačac, Gradaščević mosque portal, 1826. Photograph by author, 2025.



Fig. 7. Belgrade, Konak of Kneginja Ljubica, 1829–31. Photograph by author, 2024 / **Fig. 8.** Belgrade, Cvetko Rajović residence, 1835–40, arch. Franz Janke. Photograph by author, 2024 / **Fig. 9.** Belgrade, Cathedral, 1837–41, arch. Adam Friedrich Querfeld and Franz Janke. Photograph by author, 2024 / **Fig. 10.** Belgrade, Kapetan Mišino zdanje (Belgrade University rectorate), 1857–63, arch. Jan Nevole. Photograph by author, 2024 / **Fig. 11.** Belgrade, Cathedral, 1837–41, artwork in interior by Dimitrije Avramović. Photograph by author, 2024.



Fig. 12. Anastas Jovanović, photograph of Mihailo Obrenović, ca. 1855. Source: Wikimedia Commons/Sampita (CC BY-SA 4.0).

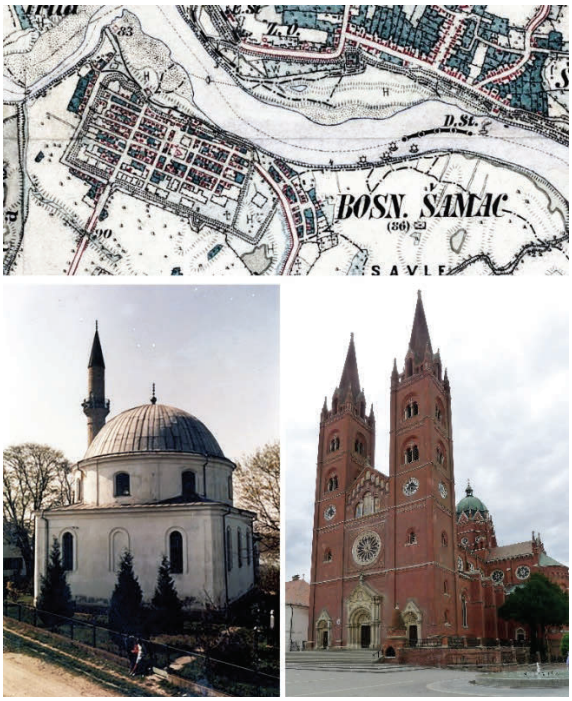


Fig. 13. The planned settlement of (Bosanski) Šamac, with (Slavonski) Šamac across the Sava, ca. 1885 (?). Source: Franzisco-Josephinische Landesaufnahme (1869–87) / **Fig. 14.** Brezovo Polje, Azizija mosque of 1860s prior to destruction in 1992. Source: Wikimedia Commons / **Fig. 15.** Đakovo, Cathedral, 1866–82, arch. Carl Rösner, Friedrich v. Schmidt, Hermann Bollé. Photograph by author, 2025.



Fig. 16. Đakovo, Cathedral, fresco with representations of various South Slav "tribes" in the transept's southern apse, 1878, Ludovico Seitz. Photograph by author, 2025 / **Fig. 17.** Đakovo, Cathedral, fresco in apse with donor portrait, 1879, Alexander Maximilian Seitz. Photograph by author, 2025 / **Fig. 18.** Đakovo, Parish Church, decorative painting by Ludovico Seitz, 1885. Photograph by author, 2025.



Fig. 19. Brčko, Town Hall, 1892, arch. Ćiril Metod Iveković. Photograph by author, 2025.

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Maximilian Hartmuth *

Granica, prag ili sučelje? Pogranična i prekogranična kulturna dinamika u istočnoj Posavini tijekom 19. stoljeća

Sažetak

Rad ukazuje na primjere u kojima je pogranična narav pojedinih prostora poticala mobilizaciju resursa na kulturno produktivan način umjesto da koči razvoj. Prema autoru, ta se zanimljiva dinamika donedavno previđala u regiji u kojoj se na granice tradicionalno gledalo kao na prepreke integraciji nacionalnih kultura, dok se uklanjanje granica koje dijele etnolingvističke zajednice počelo poistovjećivati s kulturnim oslobođenjem. Međutim, granice su povremeno omogućavale pojedincima da se bave kulturno produktivnim djelatnostima na objema strane političke međe. U okolnostima suprotstavljenih odnosa moći ranjivost takvih područja ponekad je poticala inovacije, osobito u vojnoj arhitekturi. Nadalje, oni koji su bili zaduženi za zaštitu takvih teritorija često su uživali veću slobodu da svoj identitet i težnje izraze monumentalno ili jednostavno na drugačiji način.

Kako bi se potkrijepile ove općenite tvrdnje, rad razmatra odabrane studije slučaja iz istočnog porječja Save. Analiziraju se zbivanja tijekom 19. stoljeća na trima područjima koja danas pripadaju Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji. Umjesto da se ta tri slučaja promatraju odvojeno, nastoje se prepoznati međusobno povezani događaji i procesi stalnim prelaženjem rijeke i praćenjem kronološkog slijeda. Svako od triju poglavlja obuhvaća razdoblje od tridesetak godina te ističe promjenjive stvarnosti promatranih područja tijekom tog razdoblja.

Prvo poglavlje, naslovljeno „Kule, konaci i druge materijalizacije središnjosti (od 1800. do tridesetih godina 19. stoljeća)", istražuje arhitektonske projekte u Đakovačkoj biskupiji, Gradačačkoj kapetaniji i srpskom predgrađu Beograda. Drugo poglavlje, naslovljeno „Slike obnove i preporoda (od tridesetih do šezdesetih godina 19. stoljeća)", razmatra zapošljavanje stranaca i povratnika u Beogradu sredinom stoljeća te planiranje naselja za izbjeglice u Bosanskoj Posavini. Treće poglavlje, naslovljeno „Poduzetništvo (od šezdesetih godina 19. stoljeća do 1900.)", bavi se Beogradom nakon 1867. godine, izgradnjom i ikonografijom đakovačke katedrale te istaknutim projektima iz habsburškoga razdoblja u Bosanskoj Posavini (Brod i Brčko).

U zaključku se ponovo naglašava da je u razmatranim primjerima periferija služila kao pozornica za eksperimentiranje i prostor novih mogućnosti. Međutim, kreativne snage koje su pritom djelovale češće su dolazile iz udaljenijih krajeva nego iz neposrednog susjedstva s druge strane granice. Općenito gledano, pojam „utjecaja", koji se obično koristi za opis širenja inovacija, nije se pokazao osobito korisnim u mapiranju kulturnih strujanja povezanih s prelaženjem rijeke, budući da u konačnici ne uspijeva obuhvatiti složenost „georeferencija" koje su uočene u analiziranim studijama slučaja.

Ključne riječi: arhitektonska povijest 19. stoljeća, habsburško-osmanske povezanosti, porječje Save, Đakovo, Brčko, Gradačac, Beograd, Brod

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